

**THE TRANSLATION OF COHESION, PASSIVIZATION AND
IDEOLOGY:
*NEWSWEEK IN ARABIC AS A CASE STUDY***

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DECLARATION

**I, THE UNDERSIGNED, HEREBY DECLARE THAT THIS
THESIS IS WRITTEN BY MYSELF AND ANY REFERENCES
MADE TO THE SOURCES ARE DULY ACKNOWLEDGED**

Ula Mohammad Kamel Dabbagh

ABSTRACT

This study examines how the insights provided by the models of translation derived from the disciplines of linguistics and cultural studies contribute to our understanding of the translation decisions undertaken in the act of translating *Newsweek International* from English into Arabic. The main argument is that the aforementioned models are complementary and should be taken into consideration in the analysis of journalistic texts that have been translated between two languages and cultures that are very distant. To show how these models can both be applied to translation studies, the study examines how the cohesive devices, the ideological images pertaining to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam and the ideologically significant instances of passivization employed in *Newsweek International* are rendered in *Newsweek in Arabic*.

The thesis comprises an Introduction, five chapters and a Conclusion. The Introduction outlines the aim and scope of the study, gives a brief introduction to *Newsweek in Arabic* and provides the methodology used in the analysis of the empirical data. Chapter One presents the models of cohesion that discuss the explicit cohesive devices used in English and Arabic to create intersentential cohesion. It also discusses how translation theorists have tackled the concept of cohesion. Chapter Two provides an overview of the most comprehensive work on cohesion proposed by Halliday and Hasan in *Cohesion in English* (1976). The information provided in this chapter will be referred to in the analysis of the cohesive devices used in *Newsweek International*. Chapter Three examines how the cohesive devices used in *Newsweek International* are rendered in *Newsweek in Arabic*. In the analysis, the target texts are compared against the source texts to identify the translation strategies adopted in the rendition of these linguistic features and the impact these strategies have on the target language texts. Chapter Four investigates how the ideological images pertaining to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam, as presented in *Newsweek International*, are translated into Arabic. This investigation aims at studying how the cultural studies approach to translation can better our understanding of the reasons underlying the translation choices undertaken by the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* in transferring the differing beliefs and values that represent the regions and religion under examination. Chapter Five draws upon the critical linguistics approach to language, and investigates how one linguistic tool, namely passivization, can be used to convey ideological messages concerning the parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In this chapter, a linguistic feature and its ideological significance are analysed and the translation strategies adopted in rendering this linguistic device are examined. The Conclusion summarises the findings reached pertaining to the translation of the linguistic features and the ideological images analysed in this study.

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KEY TO TRANSLITERATION

Consonants

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

Short Vowels

fathā	a
kasra	i
ḍamma	u

Long vowels

fathā and alif	ā
kasra and yā'	ī
ḍamma and wāw	uu

Diphthongs

fathā and yā'	ay
fathā and wāw	aw

Introduction

1. Aim and Scope of the Study

In June 2000, *Newsweek bi al-lugha al-'Arabiyya*¹ was launched. In the first issue, the Editor-in-Chief, Mohammed Al-Jassem (2000: 10; my translation), introduced this new edition to the Arab readers saying: '*Newsweek in Arabic* will function as a medium of communication between the American culture and the Arab reader. By assuming this role, it will act as an eye-opener to the world'. It was this statement that aroused my interest in the translated Arabic edition of *Newsweek*, and led to the investigation of the translation strategies adopted by the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* in order to achieve the goal that Al-Jassem has specified.

The fact that English and Arabic are linguistically and culturally very distant, and that the people speaking and belonging to these languages and cultures express their beliefs and values differently, may have been the two main reasons for undertaking this research. It is our contention that a news article written in English for *Newsweek International* will employ linguistic features and portray ideological images that are unlike the ones used and expressed by an Arab writing to an Arabic newspaper or magazine. With this in mind, this research sets out to examine how the writers of *Newsweek International* use certain linguistic features and express ideological images pertaining to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam, and then investigates how these features and images are translated and presented to the Arab audience of *Newsweek in Arabic*.

¹ This is a translation for *Newsweek in Arabic*.

Although many studies have been conducted on the translation of the journalistic genre from English into Arabic, the researcher believes that this study acquires its importance for the following two main reasons: (1) this is the first comprehensive study that tackles the translation of *Newsweek in Arabic*; and (2) this study attempts at investigating how the models of translation derived from the disciplines of linguistics and cultural studies can both contribute to our understanding of the translation strategies adopted in the process of reworking texts between two different languages and cultures.

Therefore, the present research aims at investigating to what extent the discipline of translation studies is 'interdisciplinary in nature,' and hence in the study and analysis of translated texts 'there is no need to set various disciplines in opposition to each other nor to resist the integration of insights achieved through the application of various tools of research, whatever their origin' (Baker, 1996: 18). In carrying out this task, the explicit cohesive devices, the ideological images that depict the Arabs, Muslims and Islam and the ideological instances of passivization that portray the parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as employed in *Newsweek International*, are analysed; then, the translation strategies adopted in rendering these components into Arabic are investigated. In studying how these linguistic features and ideological images have been rendered in *Newsweek in Arabic*, the researcher aims at examining the following issues: (1) the strategies adopted in the act of reworking the texts from English into Arabic; (2) the reasons underlying the adoption of these translation strategies; and (3) the impact these strategies have on the translated texts and the end-receivers of these texts.

However, it has to be mentioned at the outset that in the analysis of the above components, the cohesive devices are given special attention. The emphasis on cohesion is adopted for three main reasons: (1) the majority of the linguistic-oriented approaches to translation discuss this textual constituent; (2) mistranslation of the cohesive devices in the Arabic texts impairs text comprehensibility and fails to fulfil the efficiency and effectiveness criteria necessary for text interpretation; and (3) the translation strategies adopted in the act of transferring the cohesive devices from English into Arabic indicate that the choices the translators make are ideologically oriented and fulfil the 'skopos' identified by the commissioning agent (*Newsweek International*).

In the analysis of the translated texts, the models of translation derived from the disciplines of linguistics and cultural studies will be considered.

2. Introduction to *Newsweek in Arabic*²

As stated earlier, in June 2000, *Newsweek bi al-lugha al-'Arabiyya* was launched. Its importance emanates from the fact that it is the first international newsweekly translated into Arabic that presents the Arab readers with the American world-views, beliefs and values about the world. Consequently, the Arab readers are confronted with translated texts that are, to a great extent, linguistically and ideologically 'foreign' to them, and fail in some instances to meet their expectations; this is an end-result that is attributable to the 'skopos' set by *Newsweek* which advocates close adherence to the original texts (see Chapters Three, Four and Five). One can

² The information provided is based on interviews conducted in Kuwait during the period February 21-24, 2003 with the Editor-in-Chief of *Newsweek in Arabic*, Mohammed Al-Jassem.

therefore infer that *Newsweek in Arabic* presents a case of cultural colonization since the linguistic conventions and the ideological beliefs and world-views of the dominating party (*Newsweek International*) are 'imported' by the dominated party (*Newsweek in Arabic*).

Newsweek in Arabic is published in Kuwait by Dār Al-Waṭan Publishing Group and is distributed in the Middle East, Africa, Europe, Canada and the United States, with the highest sales in Kuwait, the Sudan, and Egypt, respectively.³ The actual process of production takes place in two venues: Washington and Kuwait; accordingly, the production process undergoes two main stages.

The first stage is carried out in Washington under the supervision of the Washington editor, Mahmud Shammam. Mahmud Shammam is entrusted with the story-selection decisions⁴ and the delegation of the translation and editing to the team based in Washington. This team comprises 25 translators and editors who are mainly employed on a part-time basis and are chosen for their linguistic abilities, computer knowledge and familiarity with the American culture.⁵ Every week, translators⁶ are delegated an article to translate that does not exceed 3,000 words with the aim of achieving accurate translations and meeting deadlines. Once the translations are completed, the work is passed on to the editors for provisional editing. When this

³ Although *Newsweek in Arabic* is distributed in many parts of the world, the researcher was unable to access statistical data concerning the number of issues distributed in each country. The researcher also failed in getting background information about the readership of *Newsweek in Arabic*.

⁴ The selected stories are drawn from the story lists provided for the four English-language editions of *Newsweek*. According to Al-Jassem, the interests of the Arab audience, rather than political considerations, guide the story-selection decisions; hence, only one per cent of the choices made are politically oriented.

⁵ It is interesting to note that the need for translators that are familiar with the American culture was one of the reasons underlying the choice of Washington as the venue for the translation stage.

⁶ The translators are not necessarily chosen because they have degrees in translation.

step is accomplished, the first stage of the production is completed and the material is emailed to the Editor-in-Chief based in Kuwait.

The second stage of the production process takes place in Kuwait and commences on receiving the translated texts; it is completed in less than forty-eight hours under the supervision of the Editor-in-Chief, Mohammed Al-Jassem.⁷ This stage is fundamental in the production of the final copy of *Newsweek in Arabic* and involves a number of interrelated procedural steps undertaken by a team, mainly employed on a part-time basis. These steps include: (1) downloading the translated articles and layout formatting; (2) reviewing and editing the Arabic language of the translated texts; and (3) checking the translated texts against the original ones to identify discrepancies between the two versions.

The Editor-in-Chief, Mohammed Al-Jassem, and the operation manager, oversee the implementation of the aforementioned steps with the help of the following teams: (1) the computer data entry personnel; (2) the editors; and (3) the co-editors. With the exception of the computer data entry personnel, the other team members are employed on a part-time basis and work in shifts. Each team is assigned a task and is responsible for accomplishing it within the time limits set by the Editor-in-Chief.

On receiving the target language texts, the data entry personnel produce hard copies of the translated texts on A3 paper and pass the material to the editors. The editors (9 employees), who have degrees in Arabic Language, review and check the Arabic.

⁷ The actual process begins on Sunday and ends late Monday.

They correct and edit the grammar, the style, as well as the punctuation to make the target texts linguistically acceptable to the end-receivers. Once this stage is completed, the work is given to the co-editors (6 employees) who are chosen for their linguistic abilities in English. This group is responsible for comparing the translated texts with the originals and editing the discrepancies noted between the two versions; it is this group that ensures the fulfillment of the 'skopos' set by *Newsweek*. According to Al-Jassem, the editors and co-editors are considered the 'safety net' of the production process.

On completion of the preliminary corrections, the data entry personnel, using the programme 'Quark Express', replace the English texts with the corrected translated ones and pass the material once again to the editors and co-editors for reviewing and editing. The second round of reviewing and editing is conducted to ensure maximal accuracy.

On completion of the last round of corrections, the data entry personnel integrate all the changes made, and the work is then passed on to the Editor-in-Chief; the Editor-in-Chief skims through the material, makes the necessary changes and then authorises the printing process. On Tuesday morning, the Arabic edition is ready for distribution.

3. Data and Methodology

The corpora investigated comprise two hundred articles and their translated equivalents drawn from *Newsweek International* and *Newsweek in Arabic* between

the period June 12, 2000 and March 11, 2002. It has to be mentioned at the outset that not all the issues during the aforementioned period are analysed. This approach is adopted for three main reasons. First, the researcher selected the articles that concurrently appeared in the International and Arabic editions of *Newsweek*; hence, a number of articles are sometimes chosen from the same issue. Second, some issues do not include articles about the Arabs, Muslims and Islam.⁸ Third, the researcher tried to analyse a variety of articles that cover diverse topics.

One hundred articles are examined to analyse how the explicit cohesive devices have been translated from English into Arabic; these cover the different sections of the magazine, namely World Affairs, National Affairs, Business, Science and Technology, Society and the Arts and the Departments. The articles vary in lengths ranging from a minimum of 106 running words to a maximum of 2468. The reason for this selection is to perceive the various patterns of cohesion used in the different sections of *Newsweek International*, and to investigate whether differences in text type result in variations in these patterns of cohesion. These results will be taken into account in the analysis of the target language texts.

The method of analysis proceeds in two stages. Initially, a close analysis of the source texts is conducted. The data analysis includes all the examples of the cohesive items attested in the different sections of *Newsweek International*. However, only the anaphoric and cataphoric functions of these formal markers are considered; all exophoric occurrences are disregarded.

⁸ See, for example, the following issues: April 16, 2001; June 25, 2001; July 16, 2001; and September 16, 2001.

Each occurrence of the cohesive devices is identified and a frequency list of all these devices is prepared. This list aims at helping the researcher perceive the types, density and distribution of each cohesive device used in the source language texts; the semantic relations these patterns of cohesion express in the texts will be considered when the target texts are examined.

The cohesive devices in the target language texts are then studied and measured against those employed in the source language texts bearing in mind that English and Arabic are linguistically very distant. This method of operation helps in the identification of the similarities and differences between the source texts and the target texts. However, this approach should not be seen as 'a product to product comparison which overlooks the communication process' (Hatim and Mason, 1990: 3); rather, it is to be taken as the point of departure for investigating the reasons behind the translators' choices, and the impact these transfers have on the translated texts.

The remaining one hundred articles⁹ that are analysed cover issues pertaining to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam; these articles are used in the analysis of the ideological images that represent the aforementioned regions and religion as well as the ideological instances of passivization that depict the parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These three topics (the Arabs, Muslims and Islam as well as the parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict) have been chosen specifically because the Americans and the Arabs and Muslims belong to distinct cultural poles

⁹ Eight of the articles analysed for the cohesive devices are considered in the analysis of the ideological images pertaining to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam.

and express their ideological values and world-views towards the issues under examination differently. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has also been selected since this dispute is covered extensively in *Newsweek International* (Chapter Five).

In analysing the ideological images pertaining to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam, and the ideologically significant instances of passivization, the same method of analysis conducted in examining the overt cohesive devices is adopted. Initially, a close analysis of the source texts is carried out to identify the following aspects: (1) how the Arabs, Muslims and Islam are portrayed to the source language readers; and (2) how passivization has been used in *Newsweek International*, paying special attention to the way this tool has been employed to express ideological messages pertaining to the two parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The analysis then proceeds to study the target language texts to see how the beliefs and values that the writers of *Newsweek International* present to the source text readers concerning the Arabs, Muslims and Islam are rendered into Arabic. The target texts are also analysed to examine how the ideological instances of passivization employed in the source texts are conveyed to the target readership.

In the chapters that deal with the analysis of the empirical data, back-translations and suggested translations will be provided. The purpose of these translations is to highlight the translation strategies adopted by the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* as well as the changes the researcher considers necessary for the production of target language texts that are more acceptable from a syntactic, stylistic and ideological perspective compared with the translations in *Newsweek in Arabic*.

4. The Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into five chapters in addition to this Introduction and a Conclusion.

The Introduction highlights the aim and scope of the study; briefly introduces the reader to *Newsweek in Arabic*; presents the data and methodology used in the analysis of *Newsweek in Arabic*; and finally, presents the thesis structure which provides the general framework of the present research.

Chapter One provides an overview of the models of cohesion proposed by researchers for English and Arabic. It focuses on the models that discuss the explicit cohesive devices that bind texts together, and accordingly lead to the creation of texts that are easily comprehensible. The chapter also considers how translation theorists have tackled the concept of cohesion in relation to translation. The information provided in this chapter will be referred to in the analysis of the cohesive devices employed in the source and target language texts.

Chapter Two gives a brief account of the most comprehensive and detailed model of cohesion proposed by Halliday and Hasan in *Cohesion in English* (1976). This account is provided for two main reasons: (1) in the analysis of the cohesive devices used in *Newsweek International*, Halliday and Hasan's categorisation is adopted; and (2) cross-reference to this comprehensive work will be made whenever necessary to clarify or explain certain aspects pertaining to the cohesive devices used in the source language texts.

Chapter Three examines how the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* have rendered the cohesive devices used in *Newsweek International* from English into Arabic. The chapter commences by analysing the cohesive devices used in the source texts to identify the types, density and distribution of these devices in these texts; the chapter then proceeds to investigate how these cohesive devices have been rendered into Arabic. In doing so, the translation strategies adopted, the reasons underlying these strategies, and the impact these strategies have on the target texts are considered. In analysing the translated cohesive devices, the linguistic discrepancies between English and Arabic are considered. Chapter Three is relatively large compared to the rest of the thesis for two main reasons: (1) cohesion is emphasised in this thesis; and (2) this chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of all the cohesive devices discussed in *Cohesion in English* (1976).

Chapter Four examines to what extent the cultural studies approach to translation which considers that translation expresses political agendas and is not merely an act of transferring information between languages and cultures applies to *Newsweek in Arabic*. The chapter commences by briefly introducing the cultural studies approach to translation. It then proceeds to present the key ideological images that the writers of *Newsweek International* portray to their readers in relation to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam. This presentation is followed by an analysis of the translation strategies adopted in rendering the ideological images that express the American perspective of the aforementioned regions and religion to the Arab readers to investigate how the cultural studies approach to translation can contribute to our understanding of the translation strategies adopted by the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic*.

Chapter Five draws upon the critical linguistics approach to language to investigate how the linguistic choices that the writers of *Newsweek International* make in the production of their articles can encode ideological messages. The chapter provides an overview of the critical linguistics approach to language and discusses how one linguistic tool, namely passivization, is employed in the source texts to convey certain ideological messages in the portrayal of the two parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These ideologically significant instances of passivization are then studied in *Newsweek in Arabic* to investigate how they have been transferred into Arabic. In the analysis, special attention will be given to the discrepancies between the syntactic, stylistic and functional roles of passivization in English and Arabic as well as the different beliefs and values that dictate the way the Israelis and the Palestinians are presented in the Arab and the Western press.

The Conclusion highlights the issues and findings reached by the present research with regards the translation of the cohesive devices, the ideological images pertaining to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam and the ideologically significant instances of passivization originally employed in *Newsweek International*.

CHAPTER ONE

A Review of the Concept of Cohesion in Linguistics and Translation Studies

1.0 Introduction

This chapter aims at describing the most prominent models of cohesion proposed by researchers for English and Arabic. The chapter, however, does not provide a detailed account of all that has been written on this notion. It rather aims at giving an overview of the models that are concerned with the overt linguistic devices that bind a written text together, and hence lead to text interpretation. This chapter also examines the implications of the concept of cohesion for translation. The chapter is divided into three sections. Following the introduction, sections one and two give a brief outline of the aforementioned studies on cohesion. Section three looks at how translation theorists have addressed the concept of cohesion in relation to translation.

In its initial stages of development, modern linguistics studied sentences in isolation and ignored how sentences are used in connected stretches of language. However, the shortcomings of such studies became apparent to linguists, and this resulted in the development of the discipline of text linguistics. In the past few years, research in text linguistics has devoted great attention to the notion of text; consequently, a number of approaches have investigated the fundamental properties of a text to distinguish between a text and a sequence of unrelated sentences. Among the features that contribute to textuality cohesion has been considered an important one.

Cohesion is considered a language strategy that is used to organise and create texts. It involves the usage of grammatical and lexical devices to provide links between the different parts of a text. These links are surface, non-structural intersentential¹ relations that enable the reader to interpret elements in a text by referring to other words that have been used in the surrounding sentences. In the following sentences, for example, *Nadia went to the supermarket. She bought some apples*, to be able to understand what the pronoun '*she*' in the second sentence refers to, the reader has to go to the preceding sentence; in this text, the pronoun '*she*' is the presupposing item, and '*Nadia*' in the first sentence is the presupposed item. It is cohesive devices like '*she*' that bind sentences of a text together.

1.1 Overview of Cohesion in English

The objective of this overview is twofold:

- 1) to outline the various perspectives on cohesion, focusing primarily on explicit cohesive devices and their significance in the interpretation of written texts. This information will be referred to in section three to examine how translation theorists have adopted these principles of text connectivity in translation.

- 2) To assist the researcher in deciding which model(s) to adopt in the analysis of the selected corpora.

¹ Although cohesion does exist within sentences, this study focuses on cohesion across sentence boundaries as presented by Halliday and Hasan in *Cohesion in English* (1976).

1.1.1 Halliday and Hasan (1976)

A number of studies have been proposed by various linguists on the concept of cohesion in English. The most renowned and detailed is the model outlined by Halliday and Hasan in *Cohesion in English* (1976). In this comprehensive work on cohesion, Halliday and Hasan provide a significant contribution to the understanding of discourse structure. Therefore, since its publication, *Cohesion in English* has formed the basis for many other studies dealing with the notion of cohesion. In addition, the effect of this seminal work has been influential not only in the field of text linguistics but on other disciplines as well. In translation studies, as this study will show, it has had a great impact on the direction taken by translation theorists regarding the analysis of texts. In text linguistics, it has systematised the approaches taken by researchers in their treatment of the notion of cohesion in the organisation of texts. In Teaching English As a Foreign Language (TEFL) and Learning Arabic As a Foreign Language (AFL), more reference is being made to cohesion theory in order to find solutions to reading and writing problems encountered by students beyond the sentence level.

In their book, Halliday and Hasan consider that cohesion is a semantic relation across sentence boundaries using lexicogrammatical devices. They examine the cohesive devices used in English to connect sentences of a text, and hence give it unity and texture. Therefore, the two elements that are linked by the cohesive devices form a 'tie' (cf. Hoey, 1991); to the authors, discourse is cohesive if it employs these 'ties'. Halliday and Hasan classify cohesive ties into five types: reference, substitution,

ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion.²

Although Halliday and Hasan's work is widely recognised and recommended by text linguists, it has been criticised by a number of discourse practitioners due to the authors' failure to make a clear distinction between cohesion and coherence; a shortcoming that has implications for translation.

Although coherence is considered a text-forming device, unlike cohesion, it deals with covert relations to create relationships between the text constituents; indeed, the interpretation of coherence depends on extra linguistic factors. To de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 4), coherence 'concerns the ways in which the components of the TEXTUAL WORLD, i.e. the configuration of CONCEPTS and RELATIONS which underlie the surface text, are mutually accessible and relevant'. This definition, which sums up other definitions of the notion of coherence, explains the stance taken by some discourse practitioners with regards to the distinction between cohesion and coherence. de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), Carrell (1982), Brown and Yule (1983), McCarthy (1991), Stoddard (1991), Hoey (1991) and Enkvist (1978; quoted in Brown and Yule, 1983) argue that a distinction has to be drawn between cohesion and coherence; they also emphasise that cohesive ties are not the only means of creating a coherent text. Enkvist (1978; quoted in Brown and Yule, 1983: 197) points out that the mere presence of cohesive devices does not create cohesion. He provides the following example to prove his argument:

² Since this study draws heavily on Halliday and Hasan's categorisation of cohesive devices, a detailed account of each category will be discussed in Chapter Two.

I bought a Ford. A car in which President Wilson rode down the Champs Elysées was black. Black English has been widely discussed. The discussions between the presidents ended last week. A week has seven days. Every day I feed my cat. Cats have four legs. The cat is on the mat. Mat has three letters.

According to Enkvist, although this text employs cohesive devices, it is not considered coherent. It, thus, becomes clear that cohesive markers alone cannot create texture; it is realising the underlying semantic relations between sentences that enables readers to understand texts.

Having said this, it has to be pointed out that this criticism does not weaken Halliday and Hasan's model of cohesion nor does it affect its validity in the identification of text. What it does is to remind us of the importance of distinguishing between cohesion and coherence; in fact, *Cohesion in English* is still considered the standard text in this area. The researcher believes that Halliday and Hasan's taxonomy of cohesive devices is useful to translators because, as text analysers, they have to identify the explicit cohesive markers employed in a text and the semantic bonds created between the members of a particular tie in order to translate them on the basis of the discursal norms of the target language.

To compensate for some of the shortcomings in *Cohesion in English*, Halliday and Hasan provide a more developed discussion of their model of cohesion in later publications. This discussion is presented in three publications: 'Coherence and Cohesive Harmony' (Hasan, 1984), *Language, context, and text: Aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective* (Halliday and Hasan, 1985) and *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (Halliday, 1985).

1.1.2 Hasan (1984)

Hasan in 'Coherence and Cohesive Harmony' (1984), examines the relation between coherence and cohesive harmony by developing the notion of chain first introduced briefly in *Cohesion in English*. In this paper, children's writings are studied, and the data is used to measure whether the presence or absence of cohesive markers affects the coherence of texts. Hasan acknowledges that the results of the research indicate that there is no connection between the number of cohesive devices and the coherence awarded to texts by different readers. Consequently, she concludes that cohesion contributes to coherence when cohesive devices form chains that interact with each other; Hasan uses the term cohesive harmony to refer to this relation. She divides chains into two classes: identity chains (IC) and similarity chains (SC). In identity chains, on the one hand, members of the chain refer to the same person, thing or event; in similarity chains, on the other hand, the members are not identical. Hasan points out that both types of chains are necessary for the creation of unified texts. Thus, this concept of chains 'has the effect of integrating the lexical and grammatical cohesive patterns of the text, so that they are seen neither as just lexical nor as just grammatical, but have a status by reference to their potential function in the text' (ibid.: 211). In the notion of chains, the number and the type of chains employed do not create coherence; rather, coherence is achieved when these chains interact with one another. In a text, chains interact 'when two or more members of a chain stand in an identical functional relation to two or more members of another chain' (ibid.). Hasan adds '.... now through the examination of the interaction of individual chains with each other a further source of unity is laid bare' (ibid.: 212). The following extract from a child's story taken from Hasan's data explains how

chains interact (ibid.: 187)³ :

1 *there was once a girl and a boy*
2 *and there was a dog and a sailor*
3 *and the dog was a furry dog*
4 *and the girl and the boy were sitting down*
5 *and the sailor was standing up*

There are nine identity chains in this passage:

1 girl	4 girl	
1 boy	4 boy	
2 dog	3 dog	3 dog
2 sailor	5 sailor	

There are also five similarity chains:

1 was	2 was	3 was
4 sitting	5 standing	

The same grammatical cohesive devices outlined in *Cohesion in English* are examined when these chain relations are exhibited by the selected texts. However, Hasan revises the categorisation of lexical cohesion used in *Cohesion in English* because it fails to explain some of the semantic relations present in the analysed texts. Hence, collocation is disregarded, and two categories of lexical cohesion are realised: general and instantial. The sub-categories introduced in this classification of lexical cohesion are discussed under collocation in Hasan's previous work. Hasan's revised categories of lexical cohesion are listed below (ibid.: 202):

A: General	i. repetition	leave, leaving, left
	ii. synonymy	leave, depart
	iii. antonymy	leave, arrive
	iv. hyponymy	travel, leave (including co-hyponyms, leave, arrive)
	v. meronymy	hand, finger (including co-meronyms, finger, thumb)

³ The story has been abbreviated.

B: Instantial	i.equivalence	the <i>sailor</i> was their <i>daddy</i> ; <i>you</i> be the <i>patient</i> , I'll be the <i>doctor</i>
	ii.naming	the dog was called <i>Toto</i> ; they named the dog <i>Fluffy</i>
	iii.semblance	the <i>deck</i> was like a <i>pool</i> ; all my <i>pleasures</i> are like <i>yesterdays</i>

This brief account of Hasan's modification of her approach to cohesion demonstrates that the creation of cohesive texts does not depend entirely on the identification of cohesive devices employed in the text(s), rather it can be achieved by looking at cohesive ties in combination; it is the interaction between ties rather than their mere occurrence in texts that is significant. This contribution appears to be significant to translators because it indicates that an integrated approach to texts should be borne in mind when translating. Identifying individual instances of cohesive devices available in the source text and rendering them into the target text without examining the role these markers play can impair the target text.

1.1.3 Halliday and Hasan (1985)

In *Language, context and text: Aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective*, Halliday and Hasan (1985) differentiate between the two sources of textual unity, namely structure and texture and demonstrate how they are related to the concept of context. Halliday and Hasan begin by discussing the unity of text structure and introduce the notion of contextual configuration (CC) which is described as 'a specific set of values that realizes field, tenor and mode' (ibid.: 56). The authors maintain that the features of the contextual configurations have a central role in enabling the reader to make statements and predictions about the text structure as well as making choices concerning the elements chosen in the organisation of texts. That is to say, (CC) helps in predicting the obligatory and optional elements of a

text's structure as well as the order and the number of instances in which these elements occur in a text.

When discussing texture, Halliday and Hasan reiterate the notions of ties, chain interaction and cohesive harmony introduced in 'Coherence and Cohesive Harmony' (Hasan, 1984). They begin by emphasising that texture deals with semantic relations that exist between the messages of a text, and add that these relations are realised using certain lexicogrammatical⁴ devices that create ties between the different parts of a text. The authors regard these meaning relations important to texture because they '... form the basis for cohesion between the messages of a text' (ibid.: 73). They differentiate between three types of semantic relations: co-reference, co-classification and co-extension, and state that 'these semantic relations are not independent of the lexico-grammatical patterns' (ibid.: 74). That is to say, they cannot be employed haphazardly between any two members of a text; each semantic relation is realised by a specific set of lexicogrammatical items. Halliday and Hasan then give a detailed account of each semantic relation.⁵ Co-reference is established by using reference devices, like the pronouns '*he*', '*she*', '*it*', the definite article '*the*' and the demonstratives '*this*' and '*that*'. Co-classification, however, is not a referential relation; hence, it is realised using substitution or ellipsis. In this type of semantic relation, although the elements in the relation are members of the same class, they are different members of the class. As for co-extension, it is realised by lexical items. To understand the ties expressed by co-reference and co-classification,

⁴ Halliday and Hasan use the modified classification of cohesive devices introduced in 'Coherence and Cohesive Harmony' (1984).

⁵ These relations are mentioned briefly in their earlier works.

the reader has to refer to the preceding context to interpret the terms; by contrast, it is not necessary to refer to the co-text to understand the ties of co-extension. These semantic relations of co-reference, co-classification and co-extension are responsible for tying together the two members of a tie; it is these ties that create a cohesive text. The following sentences illustrate how these semantic relations work.

- (1) Sami is a student at Edinburgh University. *He* is studying Law. (co-reference)
- (2) A: Can I use your mobile phone?
B: Where is *yours*? (co-classification)
- (3) Nadia likes fruits. She sometimes has an *apple and an orange* for breakfast. (co-extension)

In sentences (1) and (2), '*he*' and '*yours*' are implicit devices; their interpretation is possible by referring to an item that has been used in the text. However, in sentence (3), '*apple*' and '*orange*' are lexical items; thus, if the reader knows English, the meanings of these words can be easily interpreted without recourse to the co-text.

Halliday and Hasan, in relation to texture, point out that in long texts there exists 'threads of semantic relations' and their interpretation is made possible due to the reciprocal relation between grammatical and lexical devices employed in the text. They state that 'grammatical and lexical cohesion move hand in hand, the one supporting the other' (ibid.: 83). They go on to say that 'threads of semantic relations' form chains that interact and result in cohesive harmony.

Although this study reiterates much of the work presented in 'Coherence and Cohesive Harmony', it is considered significant as far as understanding and

interpreting text structure and text texture. The study also demonstrates the pivotal role that the notion of chain interaction and cohesive harmony plays in the creation of coherent texts.

1.1.4 Halliday (1985)

In *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985), Halliday summarises much of the information presented in *Cohesion in English* (1976) in one chapter entitled 'Around the clause: cohesion and discourse'. However, Halliday revises the categorisation of cohesive devices adopted in *Cohesion in English*.

Halliday in this work identifies only four types of cohesive devices instead of the five adopted in *Cohesion in English*. These include: reference, ellipsis, conjunctions and lexical organisation; under this categorisation, ellipsis and substitution are discussed under one heading: ellipsis. By combining these two grammatical structures under one heading, Halliday acknowledges the fuzzy boundary lines among these two categories as presented in *Cohesion in English* (ibid.) and accounts for this revised categorisation stating that 'ellipsis and substitution are variants of the same type of cohesive relation' (1985: 297); by this he means that in some contexts, ellipsis and substitution can both be used interchangeably to bind sentences of a text, as illustrated in the following two examples:

- (1) My friend likes the Chinese restaurant on Clerk Street. I prefer the **other** on Princes Street.
- (2) My friend likes the Chinese restaurant on Clerk Street. I prefer the **one** on Princes Street.

In example (1), the word 'restaurant' is deleted; cohesion is created using ellipsis. In example (2), the substitute 'one' stands in for the word 'restaurant'; in this case, substitution is used to bind the sentences together.

Also, Halliday classifies the conjunctions available in English under three main headings: (1) elaboration; (2) extension; and (3) enhancement. He emphasises that the conjunctions grouped under each category convey specific semantic relations, and he further sub-divides these main categories into a number of sub-types.⁶

In discussing lexical organisation, Halliday identifies three main types of lexical classes that create intersentential cohesion, namely repetition, synonymy and collocation. Under synonymy, Halliday discusses the following variants: antonyms, hyponyms and meronyms and states that the differences between hyponymy and meronymy are not always clear in texts. Halliday's categorisation of the lexical cohesive devices overcomes some of the shortcomings prevalent in the discussion of this category in *Cohesion in English* (1976).

Halliday in *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (ibid.) succinctly discusses the concept of cohesion and the formal cohesive devices that are employed in English discourse to create cohesive texts. The researcher believes that this concise discussion of cohesion is useful to researchers and learners who do not need to know all the details pertaining to the cohesive devices available in English. As far as translation theorists are concerned, some of them have drawn upon Halliday's

⁶ See *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985: 303-308) for the full list of conjunctions.

categorisation of cohesive devices in the analysis of these markers in the act of reworking texts from English into Arabic.

1.1.5 de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981)

In *Introduction to Text Linguistics* (1981), de Beaugrande and Dressler add a new dimension to the notion of cohesion by emphasising the importance of the study of texts in communication. They identify seven standards of textuality: cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality and intertextuality.⁷ To the authors, these standards of textuality interact; hence, efficient communication is achieved when all these standards are satisfied in texts. These text characteristics are subject to three 'regulative principles', namely efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness. Efficiency facilitates the processing of texts. Effectiveness refers to the use of resources that enable the readers understand the underlying goals of text production. As for appropriateness, it determines how a text is organised and the relationships that hold among its components and the standards of textuality. To de Beaugrande and Dressler, cohesion is achieved using a group of cohesive devices that create certain organisational patterns upon the surface structure and help text processors understand the relationships between the different parts of a text. Hence, the cohesive texts allow text users to communicate with a 'minimum expenditure' of effort. de Beaugrande and Dressler identify a number of devices that can be employed in 'long-range' stretches of text to show how already used textual components can be 're-used', 'modified' or 'compacted'(ibid.: 49). These devices include:

⁷ For a detailed account of these standards of textuality see de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981).

1) Recurrence: the repetition of the same word(s) already used in the text. Text producers use this device for a number of purposes: ‘to assert and affirm a point of view, to convey surprise, to repudiate and to overcome irrelevant interpretations’ (ibid.: 54-56).

2) Partial recurrence: this involves using the same word but with a shift in word class, e.g. verb-noun: separate-separation.

To the researchers, recurrence and partial recurrence maintain text stability and continuity. However, it must be noted that these two cohesive devices must not be used excessively in discourse because this will result in reducing text informativity; a sentence like ‘*John ran home and John ran home.*’ (Green 1968; quoted in de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981: 55) is unacceptable since the repetition of *John* does not provide the text receiver with new information.⁸

3) Paraphrase: this involves the repetition of the content, but the writer chooses different materials to do so.

4) Parallelism: this entails using the same structure but with different expressions.

Text producers use paraphrase and parallelism to avoid the excessive usage of recurrence and partial recurrence in discourse, and in contexts ‘where stability and exactness of content are important to the text receiver’ (ibid.: 59).

⁸ The researcher thinks that this sentence not only has low information value, but also fails to adhere to the stylistic conventions of English.

5) Pro-forms: these devices are employed because they fulfil the efficiency criterion by saving effort since they 'shorten and simplify' the surface text without mentioning again what has already been stated. Pro-forms have no content, so they are used to replace content words. The most common pro-forms are pronouns; the other pro-forms include: *do*, *so* and *such*.

6) Ellipsis: deals with the omission of expressions that can be retrieved by referring to words mentioned earlier in the text. Like pro-forms, this device saves processing effort. However, the use of ellipsis must not be exaggerated because this will jeopardise efficiency and compactness.

7) Tense and aspect: these devices signal relative times, unity, order and modality of events.

8) Junction: these are explicit markers that signal relationships between the text constituents. These junctives help in the production and reception of texts and express relations of additivity, alternativity, incompatibility and subordination.

9) Functional sentence perspective: this aspect deals with the ordering of expressions in texts. Placing expressions 'in the earlier or later stretches of clause and sentences suggests the relative priorities and degrees of informativity of underlying content' (ibid.: 75).

This brief outline shows that de Beaugrande and Dressler's contribution to the notion

of cohesion results from the way they associate the regulative principles with the notion of cohesion. It is our belief that the significance of this approach to translation is summed up in the following statement by the authors: 'If we view text as a document of decision, selection, and combination, then many occurrences are significant by virtue of the other alternatives which might have occurred instead' (ibid.: 35).

1.1.6 Brown and Yule (1983)

Brown and Yule in *Discourse Analysis* (1983) discuss three points related to cohesion: (1) a taxonomy of cohesive formal devices available in the language; (2) the differentiation between cohesion and coherence; and, (3) the interpretation of referring expressions in discourse paying particular attention to pronoun reference.

When discussing cohesive devices, Brown and Yule acknowledge that languages have specific formal markers that text producers use to connect sentences of a text. They draw on the explicit devices advocated by Halliday and Hasan in *Cohesion in English* and suggest others such as consistency of tense, syntactic repetitions, stylistic choices and punctuation. They provide the following example to illustrate how these markers are used in texts (ibid.: 194):⁹

1) Lord Melbourne, who was Prime Minister when Victoria became Queen in 1837, did not like birdsong and could not distinguish a woodlark from a nightingale. He preferred the singing of blackbirds anyway; best of all he liked the cawing of rooks and could watch them for hours as they circled at sunset. Victoria was surprised by this: she disliked their grating and insistent calling.

⁹ The underlined words display different types of cohesive relations between sentences in the text.

Having provided this example, the authors argue that although most texts employ explicit cohesive devices, they are not always required to create cohesive texts. Accordingly, they emphasise that a distinction needs to be drawn ‘between the ‘meaning relations’ which hold between items in a text and the explicit expression of those texts’ (ibid.: 195) because a text that is cohesive need not be coherent.¹⁰ They also claim that ‘it is easy to find texts, in the sense of contiguous sentences which we readily co-interpret, which display few, if any, explicit markers of cohesive relations’ (ibid.: 196). The following are some of the examples provided by the authors to explain their argument:

- 2) A: There’s the doorbell.
B: I’m in the bath.
- 3) Thank you for your comments about voicing. I will eventually get back to that lesson. (beginning of letter)

In examples (2) and (3) explicit markers have not been used to link the sentences; nevertheless, Brown and Yule claim that readers will consider that these sentences form a text. We agree with the authors that a distinction between cohesion and coherence must be drawn for the successful analysis of texts and that explicit markers are not always necessary for text interpretation. However, it is our contention that formal markers facilitate the processing of texts; we believe that this is especially true if we consider that the significance of utilising these markers lies in their underlying semantic meaning. To test this claim, the researcher asked a number of native and non-native postgraduate students at the University of Edinburgh to interpret some of the examples quoted by Brown and Yule. Students whose mother

¹⁰ They quote Enkvist’s example (referred to earlier in this chapter) to illustrate this point.

tongue is English had no problems processing the texts, but they did point out that explicit formal markers between the sentences would have made text interpretation easier. They also suggested some explicit markers that could have been used for example (3). These markers include: *and, but, so, as a result* and *accordingly*. This indicates that there is inconsistency in the analysis of the text since the markers suggested express different meaning relations. The non-native speakers of English, however, found the texts difficult to decipher. Thus, it may be inferred that the usage of explicit cohesive markers in texts may facilitate text processing and prevent text misinterpretation. The researcher's conclusion is by no means conclusive; further studies have to be conducted on a number of texts that do not use explicit markers, and more subjects have to be asked to interpret these texts.¹¹

The authors then go on to discuss discourse reference stating that pronouns must be given special attention in the interpretation of sentence relationships. This is so because pronouns lack 'content' and have no meaning in isolation; to interpret a pronoun, the reader has to look back in the text to identify the nominal expression it refers to. Brown and Yule claim that most of the models that tackle the notion of cohesion look at pronoun reference as simply a matter of substitution that involves using a pronoun to replace an expression that has been previously used in the text. They argue that this straightforward view of the function of pronouns in discourse should be reconsidered. To clarify their stance, one of the examples provided by Halliday and Hasan to show pronoun reference is discussed (1976: 2):

¹¹ Twenty subjects were asked to interpret the texts: ten native speakers and ten non-native speakers of English. The non-native speakers of English come from the Arab World and the Far East.

4) Wash and core six cooking apples. Put them into a fireproof dish.

According to Halliday and Hasan, the pronoun *'them'* in the second sentence refers to the *'six cooking apples'* in sentence one. To Brown and Yule, this referential relation is not so straightforward; the pronoun *'them'* in sentence two does not refer to the same *'six cooking apples'* in sentence one. These apples have undergone 'a change of state'; they are no longer fresh, for they have been 'washed' and 'cored' (cf. Morgan and Sellner, 1980; quoted in Carrell, 1982). Hence, the authors argue that readers should bear this kind of interpretation in mind when they 'process' pronoun reference.

Brown and Yule's argument sheds light on a new dimension of pronoun reference. It would be interesting to see whether the authors' approach to pronoun reference is useful and applicable to translation.

1.1.7 Hoey (1991)

Another significant study on cohesion is Hoey's contribution in *Patterns of Lexis in Text* (1991). This study, unlike other studies on cohesion, focuses on the role lexical cohesion plays in the creation of texts. Hoey argues that lexical cohesion 'is the single most important form of cohesive tie' (ibid.: 9) and that 'the study of cohesion in text is to a considerable degree the study of patterns of lexis in text' (ibid.: 10). He contends that lexical cohesion plays a pivotal role in text organisation since the lexical relationships that exist between the different sentences of a text create certain patterns in that text. Hoey in this work focuses on the lexical relations that permit

repetition in texts, and accordingly identifies four types of repetition that help in the organisation of texts: simple repetition, complex repetition, simple paraphrase and complex paraphrase. Simple repetition is the repetition of the same word(s) used previously in the text. Complex repetition is like partial recurrence introduced in de Beaugrande and Dressler's model (1981). Simple paraphrase in Hoey's model is another name for synonymy, and complex paraphrase is used to describe a number of relations. First, it refers to items that are opposites; second, it involves two items that are linked because they can be associated with a third item that is common to both (e.g. record and discotheque have a link with disc); third, it occurs if one lexical item can be substituted for another item used in the text (e.g. disc for record). These lexical relations create links, bonds and nets between the different parts of a text, and therefore help in measuring the cohesiveness of the text. According to Hoey, a link exists when a lexical item used in one sentence is repeated in another, and bonds are formed when sentences are connected by three or more links; the set of bonds that create interconnectivity among the sentences of a text form nets. By analysing the following text, Hoey illustrates how lexical cohesion creates these relations between sentences and contributes to the organisation of texts.

Drug Crazed Grizzlies

*A drug known to produce violent reactions in humans has been used for sedating grizzly bears *Ursus arctos* in Montana, USA, according to a report in *The New York Times*. After one bear, known to be a peaceable animal, killed and ate a camper in an unprovoked attack, scientists discovered it had been tranquillized 11 times with phencyclidine or 'angel dust', which causes hallucinations and sometimes gives the user an irrational feeling of destructive power. Many wild bears have become 'garbage junkies', feeding from dumps around human developments. To avoid potentially dangerous clashes between them and humans, scientists are trying to rehabilitate the animals by drugging them and releasing them in uninhabited areas. Although some biologists deny that the mind-altering drug was responsible for uncharacteristic behaviour of this particular bear,*

no research has been done into the effects of giving grizzly bears or other mammals repeated doses of phencyclidine.
(from 'Green Piece', BBC *Wildlife*, March 1984, Vol. 2, No. 3:160
quoted in Hoey, 1991: 35)

Hoey starts his analysis by counting the repetition links between the different sentences in the text; he points out that sentences are connected 'if they share at least three points of reference ...if less than three repetitions are treated as establishing a significant connection, then virtually every other sentence will be connected to virtually every other sentence, and that is not going to tell us anything interesting about the function of cohesion except that it is pervasive' (ibid.: 36).

Hence, sentence 1 in the above text has four links with sentence 2, four links with sentence 5, three links with sentence 4 and two with sentence 3. These lexical links between sentence 1 and sentences 2, 3, 4 and 5 are listed below:

1) drug	produce	humans	used	sedating grizzly bears
2) bear	tranquillized	causes	user	
3) bears	humans			
4) them	humans	animals	drugging	
5) drug	responsible for	grizzly	bears	

According to the three-link connection, there is an established connection (bond) between sentence 1 and sentences 2, 4 and 5 but not with sentence 3. These lexical repetitions that create links, bonds and nets are important in text organisation because they indicate the central and the marginal sentences in texts. As the names suggest, central sentences play a role in the development of the theme of the text, while marginal sentences do not contribute to this aspect of text, for they have low information value. The author believes that identifying the central and the marginal sentences in texts is important because these sentences can play a role in text

abridgements and in revealing how topics are dealt with within a text; this is a point that Hoey considers vital in the understanding of text organisation. Hence, sentence 3 in the *Drug Crazy Grizzlies* text, which is considered a marginal sentence, can be omitted without affecting text comprehensibility.

When compared with other studies on cohesion, it is clear that Hoey's *Patterns of Lexis in Text* looks at cohesion from a different angle and provides useful insights into the text-organising function of lexical cohesion. For translators, this model may prove useful if it can be applied to different text-types; if this approach proves applicable to different genres, failure to recognize the lexical relations in texts may result in text miscomprehension and inaccurate translations.

1.1.8 Gutwinski (1976)

Gutwinski's study of cohesion in *Cohesion in Literary Texts: A Study of some Grammatical and Lexical Features of English Discourse* is unlike the other studies examined in this section in that it focuses only on the cohesive devices used in literary texts. Gutwinski states that 'the immediate aim of the study is to open some new possibilities for research in the field of linguistic study of literary texts. In particular it is hoped that a technique can be developed and applied to the study of cohesion in such text' (ibid.: 33). The discussion of cohesion in this study is placed within the framework of the stratificational model of language which considers that language consists of stratal systems; each stratum consists of primary strata and sub-strata. The three primary strata are semology, morphology and phonology. According to the stratificational theory, the language strata must interact with one

another, and the relation that exists between the different strata is one of realisation.¹²

The author explains at the outset the reason behind the application of the stratificational theory in his study saying: 'We are using the stratificational model of language mainly to place our discussion of cohesion in a suitable framework of linguistic description. This framework allows us to keep apart the different kinds of linguistic features of discourse as well to see their relationship' (ibid.: 41). When discussing cohesion, Gutwinski limits his study to the morphological features of discourse and most of the grammatical and lexical devices used in the analysis of his data appear in *Cohesion in English*.¹³ He studies cohesion between clauses, in adjacent sentences and beyond pairs of adjacent sentences. The grammatical or lexical items that have a cohesive role form 'ties' between the different parts of the text.¹⁴

The results of the study show that literary texts display cohesion. The important observation, however, concerns the variation in the type of cohesive devices used by different writers to achieve cohesion. For example, whereas Henry James relies on grammatical cohesion, Hemingway depends on lexical cohesion. Hence, the results of the study reveal that each text has a certain pattern of cohesive choices. These patterns may be attributed to the different literary styles of James and Hemingway. As a result, Gutwinski claims that 'The application of the technique developed here to other literary texts may establish a relationship between a definite patterning of

¹² For a detailed account of the stratificational theory see Lockwood, D. (1972).

¹³ Gutwinski also considers subordination in the analysis of his data.

¹⁴ The data analysed comprises the fourth chapter XLII of Henry James' novel *The Portrait of an Artist*, and Ernest Hemingway's short story *Big Two Hearted River: Part 1*.

cohesive choices and a given literary style' (ibid.: 159).

Gutwinski's study of cohesion has demonstrated how the notion can be applied to the study of literary texts, and it can be rightly said that it has contributed to the research in the domain of stylistics. This study may be useful to translators who translate literary texts. If translators are aware that different authors use different cohesive devices in their works, it may prove necessary to convey these variations in style in the target texts.

This brief outline of the approaches taken by text linguists to the notion of cohesion in English has been undertaken to help the researcher identify the models that will be used in the analysis of the cohesive devices employed in *Newsweek International* (Chapter Three). The outline has revealed that most of the models presented will be illuminating in the analysis of the cohesive devices employed in *Newsweek International*; however, since Halliday and Hasan's model proposed in *Cohesion in English* (1976) is the most comprehensive model, and will help explain many of the findings attested in the corpora, this model will be emphasised in this study.

Having discussed the models of cohesion that tackle the cohesive devices available in English, the next section will examine how Arab linguists have addressed the notion of cohesion and explicit markers in the Arabic Language.

1.2 Overview of Cohesion in Arabic

Arab grammarians and linguists, traditional and modern alike, have failed to accord an adequate degree of attention to the concept of cohesion in general and intersentential cohesion in particular. In the past, Arab grammarians considered the markers that create connectivity grammatical structures and studied them within the domain of syntax. Cohesion was studied separately under the discipline of بلاغه (rhetoric) which was concerned primarily with literary criticism. Today, those modern linguists who have studied cohesion fall into three groups. The first group of linguists has confined their study of cohesion and the significance of cohesive devices in text continuity to literary texts and has ignored other genres (Khaṭabī, 1991). The second group comprises linguists who have considered individual cohesive elements, such as repetition and conjunctions and studied the role they play in text connection (Koch, 1983a, 1983b; Al-Jubouri, 1984; Johnstone, 1987; Al-Batal, 1990; Al-Mahmoud, 1989; and Wolweel, 2000). The third group has studied the notion of cohesion in relation to other disciplines, such as Translation, Teaching English As a Foreign Language (TEFL) and Learning Arabic As a Second Language (AFL) (Aziz, 1998, 1997; Hatim and Mason, 1990; Baker, 1992; Mohamed, 1993, Shakir and Obeidat, 1991, 1992; and Al-Jabr, 1999). These linguists adapted the cohesive devices proposed by Halliday and Hasan in *Cohesion in English* (1976) and studied how these devices are used in Arabic discourse.¹⁵ Consequently, one finds that the literature does not include models on intersentential cohesion that approach this notion from different perspectives (cf. models of cohesion in English). In fact, it

¹⁵ Aziz (1998) adopts Halliday's categorisation (see Section 1.1.4)

appears that these studies apply the same methodology in their approach to this notion.

Because of the nature of the studies available on intersentential cohesion in Arabic, the section which follows will look at the studies conducted on this notion by early Arab rhetoricians¹⁶ and modern linguists. This will show the similarities and/or the differences between the explicit markers that create connectivity in Arabic and English. Section three of this chapter will illustrate the significance of this information to translation studies concerned with the notion of cohesion.

1.2.1 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's Theory of Construction (نظم)

In his book, *دلائل الإعجاز* (The Proofs of Inimitability), which appeared in the Fifth Century of Hijra (Eleventh Century A.D.), al-Jurjānī argues that discourse constituents *أجزاء الكلام* are held together by the process of 'interrelationship' *تعلق* which he names *naẓm*. According to al-Jurjānī, *naẓm* deals with connectivity between the different text constituents; a point that he makes clear at the outset of *دلائل الإعجاز* (1994: 15):

معلوم أن ليس النظم سوى تعليق الكلم بعضها ببعض وجعل بعضها بسبب من بعض.
(It is known that *naẓm* is nothing other than the binding together of discourse constituents so that one constituent presupposes the other).

This quotation shows that *naẓm* to al-Jurjānī has to be looked at as an integrated whole and not as parts; it (*naẓm*) 'is not an arbitrary grouping *ضم* of elements, but an activity similar to weaving or building in which there is a reason for putting a certain

¹⁶ The researcher has chosen 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's theory of construction *نظم* because it is the best study that tackles intersentential cohesion.

(unit) in a definite place, so much so that if the unit was placed in a different position, it would not fit' (Abu Deeb, 1979: 40). To create this relationship between different constituents of a text, al-Jurjānī identifies four major cohesive devices: التقديم (fronting and backing), الحذف (definiteness and indefiniteness), والتأخير (ellipsis) and الوصل والفصل (explicit and implicit conjunctions).

1.2.1.1 Fronting and backing: this involves the movement of sentence constituents which is possible in Arabic because the language has a relatively free word order. Hence, one finds that sentences can sometimes begin with a verb followed by a subject, whereas in other contexts they can begin with a subject followed by a verb. al-Jurjānī asserts that this variation in word order is not done haphazardly, and results in different sentence meanings. The following examples illustrate fronting and backing in Arabic:

(1) كتب أحمد الرسالة.
wrote Ahmad the letter

(2) أحمد كتب الرسالة.
Ahmad wrote the letter

(3) الرسالة كتبها أحمد.
The letter Ahmad wrote

(4) كتب الرسالة أحمد.
wrote the letter Ahmad

According to al-Jurjānī, fronting is used in Arabic when the writer wants to give prominence to an element in the discourse; by moving an element forward from its natural place, it stands out against other elements in the discourse. Fronting is

considered one of the most important devices that create cohesion in Arabic because this device changes the intended meaning of the message.¹⁷

1.2.1.2 Definiteness and indefiniteness: this cohesive device is discussed under the heading الفروق في الخبر (different types of information). This device is used to express referential relations in texts and plays a pivotal role in discourse structure. Al-Jurjānī identifies a number of referential elements that signal definiteness and indefiniteness; these include: proper nouns, personal pronouns, the definite article, demonstrative pronouns, relative pronouns, the genitive construct and vocatives. The following sentences taken from دلائل الإعجاز (ibid.: 126) illustrate how this cohesive device carries different informational messages when used in Arabic discourse.

- (1) زيد منطلق
Zayd is rushing
(2) زيد المنطلق
Zayd the rushing
(3) المنطلق زيد
The rushing Zayd

In (1) the speaker of the utterance is aware that the hearer does not know that the action of rushing has taken place nor does he know the doer of the action; therefore, the indefinite is used. In (2) the hearer knows that the action of rushing has taken place, but does not know who performed the action. Hence, the definite article is added to المنطلق , and زيد is foregrounded and emphasised because the speaker wants to assert that it is *Zayd* and not 'Amr that performed the rushing. In (3) by adding the definite article to منطلق, we know that the hearer is aware of the action of rushing but he/she is not fully aware of the doer of the action.

¹⁷ Fronting and backing seem similar to the notion of theme and rheme as it is used by linguists today.

1.2.1.3 Ellipsis: this involves the omission of elements used previously in the discourse; these elements can be recovered by referring to the preceding text. Al-Jurjānī considers that ellipsis does not impair text comprehension; rather, in certain contexts, text producers use this device to avoid repetition and secure communicative efficiency. He focuses on nominal ellipsis paying particular attention to topic and direct object ellipsis, and gives verbal ellipsis little attention. The following examples illustrate topic and direct object ellipsis:

(1) سامي: كيف حالك؟
نادر: بخير

Sami: How are you?
Nader: Fine

In example (1), the topic *حالي* has been omitted in the answer; the full structure of the construction should be *حالي بخير* (I am fine).

(2) ولما ورد ماء مدين وجد عليه أمة من الناس يسقون ووجد من دونهم امرأتين تذودان قال ما خطبكما
قالتا لا نسقي حتى يصدر الرعاء وأبونا شيخ كبير.

(When he came to the well of Mediam he found around it a multitude of men watering [their flocks], and beside them two women who were keeping back [their sheep]. ‘What is it that troubles you?’ he asked. They replied: “We cannot water [them]until the shepards have driven away their flocks. Our father is an aged man.)

(Sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ: 23;quoted in al-Jurjānī, 1994: 116)

In this verse, there are three instances of direct object ellipsis. The first ellided object is their cattle *أغنامهم* after *يسقون*; the second is sheep *غنمهما* after women; and the third is our sheep *غنمنا* after *نسقي*.

1.2.1.4 Explicit and Implicit Conjunctions: explicit conjunction involves using formal linguistic markers to link sentences in the discourse, whereas implicit

conjunctions entails joining sentences together without explicit markers.¹⁸ al-Jurjānī, unlike his predecessors, was not only interested in the syntactic properties of these conjunctions and their mere presence in discourse, but was concerned with the underlying semantic meaning(s) that these markers express. Nevertheless, the list of conjunctions that al-Jurjānī discusses is inexhaustive, for he focuses on و (and), ف (so), ثم (then), أو (or) and لن (that). These devices express additive, causal, temporal adversative and emphatic relations between sentences in discourse. The following sentences taken from *دلائل الإعجاز* (ibid.: 153) show how some of these conjunctions are used in discourse:

- (1) أعطاني فشكرته.
He was generous to me, so I thanked him.
(2) خرجت ثم خرج زيد.
I left. Then, Zayd left.
(3) زيد قائم وعمر قاعد.
Zayd is standing, and Amr is sitting.

In example (1), the conjunction ف designates that the action of thanking took place immediately after and as a direct consequence of the event of giving. In example (2), the use of ثم indicates that there was an interval between the two events. In example (3), the conjunction و represents an additive relationship.

This brief outline of al-Jurjānī's theory of *naẓm* shows that al-Jurjānī provides a new dimension to Arabic grammar. He does not look at it mainly from a syntactic perspective; rather, he considers the semantic and the pragmatic features expressed by grammatical relations and studies them in discourse. In fact, many scholars have

¹⁸ This distinction corresponds to what is referred to as asyndetic and syndetic co-ordination (Quirk et al., 1972).

hailed al-Jurjānī's theory of *naẓm*, and Muḥammad Manduur describes it as a 'precious treasure ... that is identical with the most recent developments of linguistics' (Manduur 1930; quoted in Abu Deeb, 1979: 25).

1.2.2 Modern Linguists' Approach to Cohesion

As stated in the introduction, when discussing cohesion, most Arab and Western linguists rely primarily on Halliday and Hasan's taxonomy of cohesive devices proposed in *Cohesion in English* (1976). Consequently, one finds that the categories of reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunctions and lexical cohesion are tackled as text-binding devices with reference to Arabic. However, in their treatment of these cohesive devices, linguists acknowledge that there are differences between Arabic and English in the sub-types and fine details grouped under each category.

1.2.2.1 Reference

Reference is a semantic relation between two linguistic forms; the interpretation of one linguistic form depends on the recoverability of another linguistic sign mentioned in the preceding text. Reference can be exophoric or endophoric. For processing exophoric reference, the reader has to look outside the text to interpret the linguistic form, whereas endophoric reference requires the reader to look within the text to understand the linguistic form. If the linguistic element precedes the reference item, reference is anaphoric; if it follows the reference, it is cataphoric. In Arabic, anaphoric reference is a very common form of reference. Cataphoric reference, however, is not preferred in discourse, and Arab grammarians, stylisticians and rhetoricians discourage its use; the only exception is the Pronoun of Prominence

ضمير الشأن . In the following example the pronoun هو explains and refers to the noun that comes after it:

قل هو الله أحد
Say: He, Allah, is one
(*Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ: 1*)

Arabic employs four sub-types of reference devices. These are: the definite article, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and comparatives.

1. The Definite Article

The definite article ال in Arabic is a prefix that is attached to the noun, (e.g. الولد: the boy) to make it defined or determined. Arab grammarians mention three types of ال: the generic ال الجنسية *al*, the relative noun ال الموصولة *al* and *al* that indicates previous knowledge ال العهدية (Al-Anṣārī, 1996: 71-73). The definite article that concerns us here is ال العهدية since it is textually cohesive and participates in binding the sentences of a text. This *al* enables the reader to be able to identify the entity alluded to by the writer. This identification of the referent can be achieved by looking at the co-text or the context of situation. The following examples show how this article binds sentences of a text:

(1) سنذهب الى الحديقة عندما تعود الى البيت.

We will go to the park when you come back home.

(2) حضر المحاضرة أستاذ معروف. الأستاذ متخصص في الترجمة.

A well-known professor attended the meeting. The professor is a specialist in translation.

In example (1), a father and a son are discussing how to spend the evening together; the son knows which park the father is referring to; it is most probably the one nearest their residence. In example (2), the word أستاذ (professor) is used twice; the

first mention is indefinite أستاذ , whereas the second mention is definite الأستاذ (the professor). The definite الأستاذ refers to أستاذ in the first sentence and holds the two sentences together. According to Beeston (1970: 37), 'the Arabic contrast between the article and zero marking is one of unambiguousness versus ambiguousness'.

2. Personal Pronouns

Pronouns refer to overt linguistic entities used previously in the text. There are two types of pronominal forms in Arabic: separate الضمائر المنفصلة and connected الضمائر المتصلة. The former are free morphemes, while the latter are bound pronominal clitics that can be suffixed to nouns, verbs, prepositions and particles. Arabic discourse deploys connected pronouns to trace participants; separate pronouns are used to signal emphasis or contrast and to disambiguate reference. This frequent use of connected pronouns in Arabic is possible because there is agreement between the pronoun and the referent in terms of speech roles, gender and number. The following sentences illustrate how personal pronouns create connectivity between sentences:

(3) دخل المدرس إلى الفصل فسأله الطلاب عن نتائج الإمتحان.
The teacher went into the classroom. Then, the students asked him about the exam results.

In example (3), the connected pronoun 'hu' in sentence two refers back to the teacher in sentence one; identifying the noun which the pronoun refers to in this text is guaranteed because there is agreement between the noun and the referent in terms of number and gender. The basic forms of personal pronouns are given in Tables (1.1) and (1.2):

Table 1.1

Separate pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
I	'anā		naḥnu
2nd person (masc.)	'anta	{ 'antumā	'antum
2nd person (fem.)	'anti	{	'antunna
3rd person (masc.)	huwa	{ humā	hum
3rd person (fem.)	hiya	{	hunna

Table 1.2

Connected Pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
I	- nī		- nā
2nd person (masc.)	- ka	{ kumā	- kum
2nd person (fem.)	- ki	{	- kunna
3rd person (masc.)	- hu	{ humā	- hum
3rd person (fem.)	- hā	{	- humma

It has to be noted that in the third person singular form of the verb, the subjective pronoun is implicit; it is not expressed using separate or connected pronouns (e.g. *kataba* – he wrote and *katabat* – she wrote). The following example illustrates how this instance of implied third person masculine pronoun creates connectivity between sentences:

ذهب سليم إلى البنك وطلب أن يقابل المدير .
Salīm went to the bank. He asked to see the manager.

In this example, the subject of the first sentence Salīm relates to the implied third person masculine pronoun expressed by the verb طلب in the second sentence.

3. The Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns, like personal pronouns, refer to previously mentioned linguistic entities. They are used in discourse to indicate the level of proximity

between the referents of two linguistic items. According to traditional Arab grammarians there are three levels of proximity: near, intermediate and far; however, writers of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) distinguish only near and far. Table (1.3) taken from Holes (1995: 151) shows the full set of demonstrative pronouns:

Table 1.3
Demonstrative pronouns

		Near	Far
Singular	Masc.	hādhā	dhalika
	Fem.	hādhihi	tilka
Dual (masc.)	Nom.	hādhāni	dhānika
	Acc./gen.	hādhayni	dhaynika
Dual (fem.)	Nom.	hātni	tānika
	Acc./gen.	hātayni	taynika
Plural	Com.	hā'ulā'i	'ulā'ika

Demonstrative pronouns that are used for near reference can be anaphoric or cataphoric, but those used to express far reference are usually used anaphorically. In MSA, demonstratives are used in initial position in a paragraph to refer anaphorically to a preceding entity or argument. The following examples illustrate how demonstrative reference binds sentences in discourse:

(4) اسمع هذا الخبر. قررت الجامعة رفع الأقساط الدراسية.

Listen to this. The university has decided to increase the tuition fees.

(5) ستعلن النتائج غدا. من أين سمعت هذا؟

The results will be announced tomorrow. Where did you hear this?

In example (4), هذا is cataphoric; it refers to the university's decision to increase the tuition fees stated in the second sentences. In example (5), هذا is anaphoric; it refers back to the announcement of the results.

4. Comparatives

Comparison is used to show that two or more things may share a certain quality. There are two types of comparison in Arabic: general and particular. Expressions which may express general comparison include: شبيهه (similar), مطابق , مماثل (identical), مخالف (different) عكس (opposite). Particular comparison , which is sometimes termed the elative اسم التفضيل, has the form أفعل (masculine) and فعلى (feminine) e.g. أكبر (masculine) and كبرى (feminine); these forms are usually followed by the prepositional phrase introduced by من to give the structure its comparative significance. However, some adjectives cannot take the above forms; in such cases, comparative forms like أكثر (more) أقل (less) or أشد (stronger) are combined with a verbal noun in the indefinite accusative case, like أقل معرفة (less knowledgeable). Generally speaking, comparisons express anaphoric relations in discourse.

(6) كان هيثم يدرس الهندسة الميكانيكية لكنه قرر أن يغير تخصصه ويدرس المحاسبة لأنها أسهل.
Haytham was studying Mechanical Engineering. However, he decided to change his major and study Accounting because it is easier.

In example (6), the elative أسهل indicates a comparison between the two majors: Mechanical Engineering and Accountancy. Although the prepositional phrase is omitted after the elative أسهل , the reader can interpret the meaning of this elative by referring to the preceding sentence.

1.2.2.2 Substitution

When the term substitution is referred to by Arab grammarians and linguists, this structure is associated with 'the permutative construction' البديل. Four types of structures grouped under the permutative construction are differentiated: (1) بدل الكل (1)

بدل الكل (2) ; جاءت هند صديقتك (the substitution of the whole for the whole), like من الكل (the part is substituted for the whole), like قرا الكتاب نصفه (3) ; بدل الاشتمال (the permutative of inclusion), like أعجبنى أحمد أخلاقه ; and (4) بدل الغلط (the permutative of error), like مرت بقصر بيت .

In fact, Khaṭābī (1991: 210) states that the literature which discusses the cohesive devices available in Arabic refers to reference, demonstratives, conjunctions and repetition. Hence, substitution, as it is used in English, and translated as استبدال, is included as a cohesive device only by those linguists who combine the Arabic and English approaches to cohesion. Indeed, when Khaṭābī analyses the cohesive devices employed by Adonīs in one of his poems¹⁹, not one instance of substitution is noted. Also, Williams (1989) indicates that substitution is a marginal cohesive device in Arabic, and all the instances of substitution noted in the corpora he analyses²⁰ are expressed using the structure كذا and are 'clausal in scope' (ibid.: 135). This probably indicates that the concept of substitution, as it is employed in English, is not a common structure in Arabic and has been integrated into the language as a result of translation. According to Aziz (1998), who discusses substitution in relation to translation, verbal substitution is not possible in Arabic due to the verb system structure (see Chapter Three); with regard to clausal and nominal substitution he refers to the following structures:

¹⁹ The poem analysed is فارس الكلمات الغريبة .

²⁰ Williams (1989) analyses articles drawn from the anthology *Major Themes in Modern Arabic Thought: An Anthology* edited by Le Gassick, T.J (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979). He also analyses MA Theses in History from Al-Azhar University.

In some contexts, clausal substitution is achieved using the verb form *فعل* (do); in others, *هكذا* and *كذلك* can be used.

(7) سليم: هل زرت الجار المريض؟

علي: نعم فعلت.

Saleem: Did you visit the sick neighbour?

Ali :Yes, I did.

In the above example, *فعلت* (I did) is used as a substitute for the clause *زرت الجار المريض*.

Noun phrase substitution is sometimes expressed using the forms *واحد* (one) to refer to masculine nouns and *واحدة* to refer to feminine nouns. In example (8), the form *واحد* (one) replaces the noun phrase *قلم واحد*.

(8) الأب: اشتريت قلما.

الإبن: هل اشتريت لى واحدا؟

The father: I bought a pen.

The son: Did you buy me one?

1.2.2.3 Ellipsis²¹

Ellipsis الحذف involves the deletion of a linguistic form from the text and is employed in discourse to avoid repetition; this cohesive device depends on the condition of recoverability for its interpretation. Grammarians discuss a number of elliptical structures that are available in the language, such as topic ellipsis, object ellipsis, verb ellipsis, genitive and conditional construction ellipsis. However, El-Shiyab (1998: 39) acknowledges that 'ellipsis in Arabic has not been systematically

²¹ Arab grammarians and linguists distinguish between الحذف (ellipsis) and الإضمار (concealment). The former involves the deletion of a word or a sentence from the context, whereas the latter involves the reduction of the structure of a sentence by 'concealing' a letter, a particle, or a word from the sentence.

examined by linguists and/or discourse analysts; one can find very few discourse studies that have been done on this subject'. Since this study focuses on the creation of intersentential cohesion, the three types of ellipsis that exhibit this relationship at the textual level will be considered, namely clause ellipsis, verb phrase ellipsis and noun phrase ellipsis.

1. Clause Ellipsis

Ellipsis that involves nominal sentences is common in Arabic especially in answer to questions as illustrated in Example (9).

(9) أشرهة أنت أيتها الفتاة؟
قالت نعم يا سيدي إلى الموت.
“Are you greedy, my girl?” She answered, “Yes, sir, until I die”.

(Cantarino, 1974, I: 33)

Example (9) is an instance of nominal sentence ellipsis; the ellipited items in this context are: أنا شرهة (I am greedy). By deleting the nominal sentence, the speaker avoids repeating information that can be easily recoverable from the context.

2. Verb Phrase Ellipsis

This kind of ellipsis is rare in MSA; in most texts the verb phrase is repeated and cohesion is achieved through lexical cohesion. When this structure is used in discourse, the verb phrase may be omitted in polar questions as exemplified in the following example:

(10) الناظر: هل انتهوا من التحضير للإمتحان؟
المدرس: نعم.

The headmaster: Have they finished preparing for the exam?
The teacher : Yes.

The verb phrase *انتهوا* is deleted; to be able to understand what the positive answer *نعم*

refers to, the reader depends on the question asked by the first interlocutor.

3. Noun Phrase Ellipsis

In MSA, nunation, demonstrative pronouns, adjectives and numeratives often indicate the omission of the noun phrase head. The following examples illustrate how this type of ellipsis is employed in texts:

(11) لا أريد تلك الساعة. أريد هذه.

I don't want that watch. I want this one.

(12) جاءت الطالبات إلى المدرسة وكانت الطويلة تحمل باقة ورد.

The students approached the teacher. The tall (one) was carrying a bouquet of flowers.

(13) دقق المدرس نتائج الطلاب فأعطى كلا علامته.

The teacher checked the students' results and gave each student his mark.

In example (11) the noun *الساعة* is deleted and the demonstrative *هذه* is used instead of repeating the noun phrase *هذه الساعة* ; in (12) the noun *الطالبة* is omitted to avoid repetition and the adjective *الطويلة* can be understood to refer to the student used in the preceding sentence; in (13) *كلا* is used to replace the deleted item *طالب* ; in this context, 'through the compensation of nunation, a word is ellipated' (El-Shiyab, 1998: 42).

1.2.2.4 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are linguistic elements that connect sentences together. However, unlike other cohesive devices (e.g. personal pronouns and demonstratives), the reader does not have to refer to the preceding text for their interpretation. Conjunctions in Arabic may be free-standing, like *ثم* (then) or inseparable and prefixed to the first word of the co-ordinated sentence, like *و* (and). Although Arabic makes frequent use

of conjunctions to create cohesive texts, the study of the semantic features and functions of conjunctions as text-building units is fairly recent.²² Some of these studies have adopted a comprehensive approach and looked at all the conjunctions that bind together the sentences of a text (Al-Batal, 1990; Al-Warraki & Hassanein, 1994; Mohamed, 1993; Cantarino, 1975; Wright, 1964; and Bayshak, 1993). Others have restricted their investigation to a limited number of conjunctive devices (Beeston, 1970; Holes, 1995; Hamdan and Fareh, 1999; and Wolweel, 2000).

The conjunctive *و* (and) is the most frequently used linking device in Arabic discourse, and the meaning relations it expresses are diversified. *و* can show additive, sequential, simultaneous and adversative relationships between the clauses it conjoins.²³ The following sentences show how it is used to express these relations:

- (1) أنا غريب في هذه المدينة وأنا غريب في كل المدن الأخرى.
I am a stranger in this city. And I am a stranger in all the other cities.
- (2) قال هذه الكلمات وقام من مكانه.
He said these words and rose from his seat.
- (3) لماذا تهتم بالوحدة العربية وتهمل الوحدة الإسلامية؟
Why are you concerned with Arab unity and neglect Muslim unity?
- (4) قد طرقت بابك ألف مرة ولم يفتح لي.
I have knocked at your door a thousand times, but nobody opened it for me.
- (Cantarino, 1975, III: 12-19)

In example (1), the *و* joins two sentences that are equally important; the speaker is not only a stranger in this city, but in all cities as well. In (2), the action of rising takes place immediately after the action of saying; example (3) shows that the action

²² Not all sentences in Arabic discourse are conjoined using conjunctions. Some sentences are asyndetical. See Cantarino (1975) for a detailed account of the conditions under which sentences in discourse are asyndetical.

²³ For a detailed account of all the uses of "و" see Wright (1964) and Cantarino (1975).

of concern and that of neglect are simultaneous in nature; in example (4), the second action, that of not opening the door, is unexpected. The 'wa' indicates that something opposite to what the addressee expects has taken place; there is an adversative relation between the sentences joined by this conjunction.

The other conjunctions available in Arabic can be classified into five main categories: adversative, temporal, causal, additive and alternative.

1. Adversative Conjunctions

In an adversative relation, the conjunctions link two sentences that are inconsistent. The following are some of the main adversative conjunctions in Arabic: بل (however, but), لكن ، لكن (however, but), إنما (on the contrary, however), رغم أن (although), بالرغم من (in spite of, despite), and مع ذلك (although, even though). In the following examples, the sentences introduced by the adversative conjunction indicate an unexpected action in relation to the first proposition.

(14) سلوى ذكية ولكنها كسولة.
Salwa is intelligent, but she is lazy.

(15) كان سمير مريضا مع ذلك قرر أن يذهب إلى الجامعة.
Although Sameer was sick, he decided to go to the university.

2. Temporal Conjunctions

Temporal conjunctions are used to show the sequence of events in a text. The conjunctions listed under this category are ف (so), and ثم (then). ف is used in Arabic to express order and immediate succession التعقيب, whereas ثم expresses order and non-succession التراخي. Therefore, the use of ف in example (16) indicates that the

action of laughing took place immediately after the action of speaking; in example (17), however, the use of ثم indicates that the action of returning home did not immediately succeed the event of going to the university.

(16) تكلم الممثل فضحك الناس.
The actor spoke, so the people laughed.

(17) ذهبت إلى الجامعة ثم عدت إلى البيت.
I went to the university. Then I went back to the hotel.

3. Causal Conjunctions

Causal conjunctions express a cause and effect relationship between sentences of a text. The following causal conjunctions are the most frequently used in MSA: بسبب (because of), لأن (because), نتيجة لذلك (as a result, consequently), ومن ثم (hence), لهذا (because of this) and لهذا السبب (for this reason).

(18) ان الأتراك يشجعون مذهب أهل السنة. ونتيجة لذلك لم يكونوا يحبون الفلسفة والجدل في أمور الدين.
The Turks encouraged the Sunni rite; consequently, they did not like philosophy or controversy in religious matters.

(Al-Warraki & Hassanein, 1994: 106)

In the above example, the action that comes after the conjunction نتيجة لذلك is a result of the proposition that precedes it.

4. Additive Conjunctions

Additive conjunctions indicate the addition of information. This relationship between referents is expressed using أيضا (also), بالإضافة إلى ذلك (in addition to that), كذلك (also, likewise), and إلى جانب هذا (moreover, besides).

(19) الأستاذ رينولد نيكيسون عالم مشهور ومستشرق بارز. لقد كان رئيس قسم الدراسات الشرقية في جامعة كمبردج. وبالإضافة إلى هذا كانت له دراسات قيمة في التصوف.

Professor Reynold Nicholson is a well known scholar and outstanding Orientalist. He was the Chairman of the Department of Oriental Studies at the University of Cambridge. In addition, he wrote valuable studies on Islamic Sufism.

(Al-Warraki & Hassanein, 1994: 30).

In this text, the additive conjunction conjoins the two sentences by presenting the reader with additional information about Professor Nicholson; information the reader is not given in the first proposition.

5. Alternative Conjunctions²⁴

Alternative conjunctions express opposition between the meanings of the connected propositions. The most frequently used conjunctions to show this relationship are أو (or) and أم (whether). The interpretation of أو depends on whether the sentence is affirmative, imperative, interrogative or expresses a prohibition. أو is used to express an exclusive التخيير or an inclusive disjunction الإباحه. In exclusive disjunction, the disjunct must be false; in inclusive disjunction, the disjunct can be true or false.

(20) إذا أردت أن تحسن لغتك الإنجليزية اقرأ كثيرا أو يمكنك أن تخالط الناطقين بهذه اللغة.
If you want to improve your English, you can read a lot, or you can mix with native speakers

(21) لا تستطيع أن تذهب إلى السينما مشيا على الأقدام. يجب أن تأخذ الباص أو أن تأخذ السيارة.
You cannot go to the cinema on foot. You have to take the bus or you have to take the car.

In example (20), the disjunct is not false since the addressee can choose one or both of the actions; in example (21), however, the disjunct is false; the addressee cannot take the bus and the car at the same time. He/she has to choose one.

²⁴ Some researchers refer to this group of conjunctions as disjunctive conjunctions (Cantarino, 1975 and Holes, 1995).

As for أم, it introduces the second alternative in an interrogative or indirect question and only one of the alternatives may be chosen.

(22) هل ستسافر إلى كندا أم ستسافر إلى أمريكا ؟
Will you go to Canada or will you go to America?

Example (22) is an interrogative and the speaker expects the addressee to choose either Canada or America.

1.2.2.5 Lexical Cohesion

Arabic discourse is characterised by its frequent use of lexical cohesion which is realised primarily using repetition. Koch (1983a: 47) rightly states that 'repetition is shown to provide far more than ornamental intensification in Arabic prose: rather, it is the key to the linguistic cohesion of the texts and their effectiveness'. Researchers identify five types of lexical cohesive devices that are responsible for repetition in Arabic discourse. These devices include: lexical couplets²⁵ (e.g. الوهم والخيال – illusion and imagination), morphological patterns (التخريب والتدمير – razing and demolition), cognate accusatives (ضرب ضربا – he hit a hitting) paraphrase (زار السائح مدنا مختلفة في) (كان المدرس يشرح الدرس وكان) (كان الطالب يسمع باهتمام) (The teacher was explaining the lesson; the student was listening attentively.).

Koch (1983a, 1983b), Al-Jubouri (1984) and Johnstone (1987) have examined these lexical devices in argumentative Arabic discourse. According to these linguists, the

²⁵ Lexical couplets have been given various labels by researchers. These labels include: paronomasia, hendiadis, paraphrastic doubling and word strings.

results of their research show that this genre is highly repetitive and almost entirely paratactic. Koch (1983b: 57) states that 'an arguer presents his truths by making them present in discourse: by repeating them, paraphrasing them, doubling them, calling attention to them with external particles'.²⁶ In another study carried out by Al-Mahmoud (1989) on repetition in political texts, the researcher points out that this genre is highly repetitive and states that repetition is a feature of this text-type. Based on the results of the aforementioned studies, it is our impression that repetition may not be confined to a limited number of text-types. However, to explore the degree of validity of this contention, more studies have to be conducted on all Arabic genres to clearly understand the nature of repetition in Arabic discourse.

Other linguists, like Aziz (1998), Baker (1992), and Al-Jabr (1999), among others have added collocation as well as synonymy and its derivatives of antonymy, hyponymy and meronymy to the above mentioned categorisation of lexically cohesive devices. These devices are significant when studying cohesion across sentence boundaries because they create interdependency between adjacent sentences and beyond pairs of adjacent sentences in discourse. The following sentences taken from an article entitled قصة غلاف (A Cover-Page Story) by Samīr 'Aṭṭāllāh (*Al-Sharq Al-Awsat Newspaper*, 2001: 24) illustrate how lexical cohesion is used in Arabic texts. The sentences have been numbered for ease of reference.²⁷

²⁶ Holes (1995: 272) states that repetition and parallelism are not always employed in argumentative texts. He claims '... there have been periods in Arabic literary history when genres of writing involving 'argumentation' have come to the fore, but in which repetition and paraphrastic parallelism were hardly used at all'.

²⁷ Examples 23 and 24 are drawn from the same article.

(23) كان الإنسان الأول يولد ويعيش ويموت في البرية وحيدا (1). وكان يسعى من كهف إلى كهف لا يميزه عن بقية المخلوقات سوى أنه منتصب العمود الفقري (2).

Cavemen were born, lived and died in [their birthplace]: the wilderness. They wandered from one cave to another like other creatures except that they walked upright.

In example (23), cohesion is achieved using parallelism. The same syntactic structure used in sentences (1) and (2) (the past of *kāna* + noun + the present tense of the verb) relate the actions the writer wants to express.

(24) وفي طريق العودة من دبي أمضيت الوقت في قراءة الصحف والمجلات (1). وقبل الهبوط بقليل سألت المضيفة إن كانت هناك مجلات أخرى (2). فأعطتني "التايم" وعلى غلافها صورة للإنسان القديم والإنسان الحالي (3). ولم أقرأ الموضوع بعد ولكن الصورة وحدها كانت أشبه بدراسة مليئة بالمفارقات والفروقات والمقارنات (4).

On the way back from Dubai, I spent the time reading newspapers and magazines. Shortly before landing, I asked the hostess if there were magazines other than the ones I had read; she gave me the *Time* Magazine. On the cover page, there was a picture of a caveman and a modern man. I have not read the article yet, but the picture was like a study comparing and contrasting cavemen and modern man.

These sentences deploy a number of cohesive lexical devices: the word *مجلات* (magazines) in sentence (2) is a synonym for *المجلات* in sentence (1); the word *التايم* (*Time*) in sentence (3) is a hyponym for *المجلات* in sentence (2); the word *الصورة* (picture) in sentence (4) is a synonym for *صورة* in sentence (3); *للإنسان القديم* in sentence (3) is a paraphrase of *الإنسان الأول* (cavemen)²⁸ in sentence (1) example (14); *الإنسان الحالي* in sentence (3) is an antonym of *الإنسان الأول* in sentence (1) example (14); and in sentence (4) *الموضوع* (article) is a meronym for *التايم* in sentence (3).

Examples (23) and (24) demonstrate how Arabic discourse tolerates and depends highly on lexical cohesion as a text-binding device. The usage of this device in discourse does not reduce informativity; on the contrary, it makes a text more cohesive and coherent.

²⁸ Some linguists claim that it is difficult to draw a line between paraphrase and synonymy. Therefore, the relationship between the two linguistic elements considered could be near-synonymy.

This brief outline of cohesion in Arabic reveals that the majority of cohesive devices used in English are employed in Arabic. However, it is clear that there is a difference between English and Arabic with regards the frequency of usage of the cohesive devices and the fine details grouped under each category. The researcher believes that there is a need for more research to be conducted in Arabic on intersentential cohesion across a wide range of genres; indeed, further investigation may result in models of cohesion that look at this concept from different perspectives.

Having discussed how the concept of cohesion is addressed in English and Arabic and the cohesive devices used in these two languages to create cohesive texts, the next section will examine how this concept has been tackled in translation studies.

1.3 Overview of Cohesion in Translation Studies

‘From the perspective of text analysis, work on cohesion has been *the single most important area* to attract the attention not only of linguists from a variety of persuasions but also of *theorists and practitioners in the field of translation.*’
(italics added)

(Hatim, 1998: 264-265)

The above statement summarises succinctly the importance attributed to the notion of cohesion by translation theorists. When translation theorists first tackled cohesion, they focused on the surface manifestations of the explicit cohesive markers; however, translation theorists have recently changed their approach. They are not only interested in stating that a particular device has been employed in discourse, rather they consider why the text producer has chosen this device in that text; that is to say, translation theorists are concerned with the motivations behind the use of the

cohesive device. To translation theorists, 'Cohesion has to be examined in terms of underlying coherence if it is to yield any insights' (ibid.: 265).

The following section attempts to outline briefly how various translation theorists have approached the concept of cohesion. Their approaches will be referred to in subsequent chapters to examine how they can be applied in the analysis of the selected corpora.

1.3.1 Blum-Kulka (1986)

Blum-Kulka in 'Shifts of Cohesion and Coherence in Translation' (1986) discusses the shifts of cohesion and coherence that take place in the translation of written texts. When discussing cohesion, Blum-Kulka identifies two types of shifts: shifts in the level of explicitness and shifts in text meaning(s). Blum-Kulka states that the shifts in the level of explicitness may take place because of the different grammatical systems and stylistic preferences of the source language and the target language. These differences entail a change, during the process of translation, in the type of devices used to maintain cohesive ties in the target text(s). Hence, transformations may result in target language texts that are more explicit than the source language texts. The writer adds that cohesive explicitness in the target language text can be attributed to factors other than the linguistic and textual differences between the languages involved in the translation process; a notion that Blum-Kulka calls '*the explicitation hypothesis*'. According to Blum-Kulka, 'explicitation is a universal strategy inherent in the process of language mediation, as practised by language learners, non-professional translators and professional translators alike' (ibid.: 302).

When Blum-Kulka addresses the shifts in text meaning(s), she attributes these shifts to the different functions that cohesive markers express in texts. Therefore, she contends that shifts in the explicit markers may modify the texture, the style and the meaning of the target language text(s).

Blum-Kulka concludes by acknowledging that further research should be conducted on large-scale corpora ‘ to investigate shifts in cohesive levels that occur through translation’ (ibid.: 312).

The researcher agrees with the writer that shifts in cohesion take place in the process of translation especially if the languages involved belong to two different families and two different cultures. The researcher also supports the need for further investigation on ‘large-scale corpora’ that cover all genres to understand the nature of shifts in cohesion that result in the act of reworking a text.

1.3.2 Aziz (1993)

In ‘Explicit and Implicit Reference in Arabic-English Translation’ (1993), Aziz examines the levels of explicitness and implicitness that occur in the translation of referring expressions from Arabic into English. He considers the following referring expressions in the analysis of his data: proper nouns, noun phrases and pronouns. To Aziz, a referring expression is explicit ‘if it satisfies two principles: (1) it should be detailed and definite, and (2) it should refer directly’ (ibid.: 129). Using these principles, Aziz ranks the explicitness of referring expressions from the most explicit to the least explicit (or implicit). Table (1.4), taken from Aziz (ibid.: 133), illustrates

the referring expressions and the scale of explicitness attributed to each type and sub-type.²⁹

Aziz adopts the translation equivalence model in the analysis of his data and explains that this model was chosen because it covers the ideational, interpersonal and the textual levels of meaning.³⁰ The study focuses on the rhetorical rather than the grammatical differences of references that the translator chooses in the process of translation. When the writer analyses the data, he indicates how each expression is rendered into English and shows whether this transformation has resulted in explicit or implicit reference in the target language text.³¹ Aziz concludes that the analysis of the data shows that there is ‘overall greater explicitness of reference in the English text’ (ibid.: 149).

Table 1.4

Explicitness of referring expressions

I. Proper Nouns (i) Names (ii) Titles
II. Noun Phrases (i) Definite Noun Phrases (a) Possessive (b) Demonstrative (c) Definite Article (ii) Indefinite noun Phrases
III. Pronouns

²⁹ According to Aziz, proper nouns are the most explicit referring expressions, while pronouns are the most implicit.

³⁰ The data analysed is Najīb Maḥfūz’s Novel ‘*ʿAwlād Ḥārītā*’ (Beirut 5th Edition, 1986) and its English translation by Philip Stewart (London, Heinemann, 1981).

³¹ For a detailed analysis of the corpus see pp. 134–149.

It is clear that the results of this study agree with Blum-Kulka's 'hypothesis of explicitation' (1986). However, since Aziz's study is confined to the analysis of referring expressions in a literary text, we reiterate the need for a comprehensive study that should consider all cohesive devices as they are employed in different text-types to test the applicability of these results on other genres.

1.3.3 Newmark (1987)

In 'The Use of Systemic Linguistics in Translation Analysis and Criticism' (1987), Newmark expresses at the outset the importance of the notion of cohesion to translation saying: 'The topic of cohesion ... has always appeared to me the most useful constituent of discourse analysis or text linguistics applicable to translation' (ibid.: 295).

The author focuses on cohesion and connectives in translation because he states that these devices have a wide range of meanings 'often shading between 'additive' and 'adversative' in a way that may make a considerable difference in the semantic relation between the sentences' (ibid.: 296). Newmark thus emphasises the underlying semantic meanings of these cohesive devices and their contribution to the coherence of texts. He believes that by identifying the meaning of such devices in the source text the translator can better convey the same meaning in the target text. Newmark also mentions that text-type identification can help the translator decide 'how far to intervene' when rendering a text from the source language to the target language.

We believe that Newmark does not provide enough examples to illustrate his argument. It is our contention that discussing a number of cohesive markers in relation to translation would have clearly demonstrated the importance, usefulness and applicability of the notion of cohesion to translation.³²

1.3.4 Aziz (1998)

In *Topics in Translation* (1998), Aziz discusses the cohesive devices used in English and Arabic discourse to create intersentential cohesion. He then demonstrates how these devices are rendered in translation. Aziz uses Halliday's categorisation of explicit markers to explore how these devices are employed in English texts.³³ When discussing cohesion in Arabic, Aziz groups the formal markers used in Arabic under the categories identified by Halliday; an approach that indicates that the main types of cohesive devices, namely reference, ellipsis, substitution, conjunctions and lexical cohesion are deployed in English and Arabic.³⁴

The author, however, indicates that there are two distinct differences in the way the two languages use these cohesive devices in discourse. First, the two languages differ in the frequency of the usage of the main types of explicit devices. Arabic favours lexical devices to bind the sentences of a text, while English uses reference, ellipsis and substitution. This entails that Arabic depends on repetition to create cohesive texts, while English tends to avoid repetition.

³² This may be attributed to the discursive nature of the paper. In this paper, Newmark discusses other issues pertaining to translation.

³³ Refer to Section 1.1.4 for Halliday's categorisation of cohesive devices.

³⁴ In fact, Aziz (ibid.: 114) acknowledges that 'Cohesion in Arabic needs further exploration if a more comprehensive and adequate account is to be made.'

Second, the two languages differ in the way they deploy the sub-types grouped under the main types of cohesive devices. For example, both Arabic and English use the demonstrative ‘*hādha*’ and ‘*this*’ to express near reference. In some texts, however, Arabic may use ‘*hādha*’, while English may opt for ‘*that*’ (See Chapter Three, Section 3.3.1.2). Aziz states that translators must take these differences into consideration when translating because ‘it is often too easy to transfer the cohesive pattern of the source language to the target language. This temptation must be resisted by the translator and a proper equivalent should be used in the target text’ (ibid.: 114). It is this inappropriate rendering of cohesive devices into the target language text that create interference in cohesion.

Although this study provides a comprehensive account of cohesion in English and Arabic and examines how this notion is tackled in translation, the researcher thinks that the author’s approach ‘is characterised by a surface bias’ (Hatim, 1998: 265). The author illustrates how different cohesive devices are rendered in the process of translation, but fails to explain the impact this has on the target language text(s). In fact, the author seems to ignore the underlying semantic meanings these explicit markers express in discourse (cf. Newmark, 1987; Hatim and Mason, 1990; Baker, 1992; Neubert and Shreve, 1992; Hatim and Mason, 1997; and Hatim, 1997); a point we believe should be given careful attention in the process of translation.

1.3.5 Baker (1992)

Baker in *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation* (1992), examines the explicit cohesive devices that English employs to bind the sentences of a text and

then explores how these devices are translated between languages; hence, by adopting this approach, Baker demonstrates how other languages deploy these formal markers.³⁵ Although she uses Halliday and Hasan's categorisation of cohesive devices presented in *Cohesion in English* (1976), she notes that other devices, such as 'continuity of tense, consistency of style and punctuation' (ibid.: 211) play an important role in relating the different parts of a text. Baker in her investigation of cohesion and its relevance to translation tackles intrasentential and intersentential cohesion stating that 'it makes more sense to take a broader view of cohesion and to consider any element cohesive as long as it signals a conjunctive-type relation between parts of a text, whether these parts are sentences, clauses (dependent and independent), or paragraphs' (ibid.: 192).

At the outset, Baker asserts that every language has its own devices for creating cohesive texts and that within a given language different genres employ different explicit markers. According to Baker, translators should consider these differences in the process of translation.

Baker also addresses the underlying semantic meanings that these explicit markers express in discourse. To her, structural and semantic relations bind the different parts of a text; therefore, when translating a text, translators should analyse the source language writer's motivations for choosing a particular cohesive device, not simply identify the device. If translators disregard the relationship between cohesion and coherence in discourse, this may lead to unnecessary shifts in cohesion.

³⁵ Some of the languages that Baker refers to include: Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, German, Chinese and Japanese.

Baker examines original texts written in English and Arabic and analyses their translated equivalents. The translations reveal marked differences in the cohesive patterns preferred by the two languages. One difference between English and Arabic concerns the use of lexical devices. Arabic discourse prefers lexical devices and tolerates a high level of repetition, whereas English favours reference, ellipsis and substitution. Another clear difference between the two languages is their use of conjunctions. English uses a large number of conjunctions to signal in ‘unambiguous ways’ the semantic relations between parts of a text. Arabic, however, uses a relatively small number of conjunctions that have many meanings ‘which depend for their interpretation on the context, thus relying heavily on the reader’s ability to infer relationships which are only vaguely alluded to by the writer’ (ibid.: 193).

Baker asserts that the relevance of these differences to translation is significant because ‘Transferring the devices used in the source text into the target text will not do ... what is required is a reworking of the methods of establishing links to suit the textual norms of the target language’ (ibid.: 188). She further explains the significance of these differences by saying that ‘ the grammatical system of each language will itself encourage the use of certain devices in preference to others. The textual norms of each genre will further suggest certain options and rule out others that are grammatically acceptable and may in other genres, be textually acceptable as well’ (ibid.).

Baker’s study of the notion of cohesion in relation to translation provides many insights regarding the issues translators should bear in mind when translating. It is a

valuable reference on the translation of cohesive devices because Baker does not only focus on the surface meanings of cohesive devices but emphasises their underlying semantic meanings as well.

1.3.6 Hatim and Mason (1990)

In *Discourse and the Translator* (1990), Hatim and Mason focus on two points pertaining to the notion of cohesion: (1) cohesion is language and text-specific; and (2) text producers do not use cohesive devices randomly; rather, they employ these formal markers to convey a particular message to the text receiver.

When discussing the first point, the authors indicate that all languages have their own battery of cohesive devices for establishing cohesive texts. They state, for example, that some languages have number and gender distinctions in their noun systems, while others do not exhibit this distinction. Thus, the former languages use anaphoric reference more frequently than languages whose grammatical system does not have this facility. Hatim and Mason believe that these differences do not cause serious problems to translators; they argue that 'Potentially, such discrepancies between systems can lead to inevitable loss or gain of information in translation. In practice, however, translators experience relatively few actual problems ascribable to such cases. Most of the problems lie elsewhere.'(ibid.: 196). The researcher agrees with the authors that translation problems are not restricted to the rendering of linguistic preferences that languages exhibit, but thinks that the argument Hatim and Mason pursue is too general, for translators are of varying competence. Our belief,

however, can be confirmed or refuted by analysing the works of a wide range of translators.

After indicating that every language has its own cohesive devices that make texts hang together, the authors note that within the same language different text-types use different explicit markers to create cohesive texts; an aspect they refer to as the 'text-type focus'.³⁶ Hatim and Mason assert that identifying the text-type focus to which the source text is affiliated is essential in the process of translation for two related reasons. First, by identifying the text-type, the translator, as an analyser of the source text, will understand the motives that led the text producer to choose a particular pattern of cohesive devices. Second, this process of text-type identification will help the translator determine which cohesive devices to use in the act of reworking the text. Therefore, if the translator misjudges or ignores the text-type, this may lead to a breakdown in communication.

When discussing the second point related to cohesion and translation, Hatim and Mason emphasise that text producers do not choose explicit markers haphazardly; these choices are motivated by the rhetorical purpose of the text and the communicative intention of the text producer. Hence, the translator should try to infer the text producer's motivation for choosing a particular cohesive marker in order to understand the semantic meaning the device is intended to express in the source language.³⁷ Once the translator determines the semantic relations that the explicit markers express, he/she should convey the same effect in the target language

³⁶ The authors identify three text-types: the argumentative, the expository and the instructional.

³⁷ We believe that it is sometimes difficult to determine the text-producer's actual motivation(s) regarding the choice of explicit markers in discourse.

text. However, while doing so, the authors believe that the translator must bear in mind the textual constraints imposed by language conventions in relation to the different text-types.

In *Discourse and the Translator*, Hatim and Mason present a different approach to the notion of cohesion in relation to translation. They claim that translators should identify the text-type in order to effectively relay cohesive devices from the source language text to the target language text. The authors argue that this process of identification helps translators understand the underlying semantic meanings that the cohesive devices express; this enables translators to present these formal markers successfully in the target text.

We believe that translators should consider text-types when translating, but it seems that text-type identification is not always as clear-cut as suggested by Hatim and Mason.

1.3.7 Hatim (1997)

In *Communication Across Cultures: Translation Theory and Contrastive Text Linguistics* (1997), Hatim emphasises the importance of text-type identification for translators especially when the languages involved in the process of translation are culturally and structurally distant. In doing so, he reiterates the line of argument presented in *Discourse and the Translator* (1990), but, in *Communication Across Cultures*, he limits his investigation to translation problems encountered by translators working from English into Arabic.

When discussing cohesion, Hatim pays particular attention to the role of cataphora in creating cohesive argumentative and expository English texts, and considers the functions this explicit marker expresses in such texts. He then examines how this cohesive device is translated into Arabic noting that Arabic is a language that discourages the use of cataphora to bind the sentences of a text.³⁸ Hatim concludes that the procedures adopted for transferring the cataphoric expression 'vary from neutral ones in which the form of the cataphora is modified but its function retained to those which necessitate that rules of cohesion (usage) be slightly relaxed to accommodate cataphorizing in the interest of text coherence or language in use' (ibid.: 98).³⁹

The researcher believes that this study provides useful insights into the ways translators working from English into Arabic may handle cataphora. It would be interesting to see whether translators adopt the same procedures in translating this cohesive device into Arabic when used in text types other than the ones examined by Hatim in this book.

1.3.8 Hatim and Mason (1997)

In *The Translator as Communicator* (1997), Hatim and Mason present a similar line of argument with regards to cohesion to the one provided in *Discourse and the Translator* and *Communication Across Cultures*. They confirm that, as one of the standards of textuality, cohesion cannot be tackled independently in translation; it should be considered in relation to other contextual factors. They argue that text

³⁸ Refer to section 1.2.2.1 to see how this device is used in Arabic discourse.

³⁹ For a detailed account of the procedures used in translating the data see pp. 95-97.

producers do not choose cohesive devices randomly, and that translators as communicators, should infer the communicative values these devices establish in the source text so that they can convey them successfully in the target text. Therefore, any departure from the intended meanings in the source language text may produce a target language text that carries new underlying semantic meanings; meaning relations that were not originally intended by the producer of the source language text.

Hatim and Mason emphasise that translators, in transferring the intended meanings of the cohesive devices, should consider the cohesive patterns and the text-type norms favoured by the target language.

The approach adopted by Hatim and Mason in this study as well as in their previously cited studies shows the importance they attribute to text-type identification and to the underlying semantic meanings of the cohesive devices used in discourse.

1.3.9 Neubert and Shreve (1992)

In *Translation as Text* (1992), Neubert and Shreve emphasise two points relating to the notion of cohesion and translation: (1) each language has its own cohesive devices that participate in creating cohesive texts; and (2) it is the underlying semantic relations that these markers convey in texts that are of particular interest to the translator.

The authors argue that translators should be aware of the cohesion mechanisms used in the L₁ and L₂ languages to avoid ‘cohesion interference’ which results from the intrusion of L₁ cohesion patterns into L₂ texts’ (ibid.: 104); it is this intrusion that makes texts sound ‘foreign’ to the reader.⁴⁰

Neubert and Shreve also state that ‘cohesion intrusion’ may result when translators fail to understand the meaning relations that the cohesive devices express in the L₁ text. When these meaning relations are misinterpreted, the semantic relations in the L₂ text may be jeopardised; this is a fault that should be avoided in the act of translating.

The authors’ discussion of cohesion and translation shows that they agree with other translation theorists regarding the significance of identifying the cohesive patterns used by different languages to establish cohesion, and also the importance of understanding the semantic meanings of the cohesive devices.

This brief outline of the way translation theorists have tackled the concept of cohesion shows that there is unanimous agreement among these theorists regarding the issues discussed with regards to cohesion and translation. The assumptions put forward by the translation theorists concerning the translation of the cohesive markers will be investigated in the analysis of the empirical data to see to what extent they apply to the translation of these devices from *Newsweek International* to *Newsweek in Arabic*.

⁴⁰ The authors use L₁ and L₂ to refer to the source language and the target language respectively.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated how the notion of cohesion is addressed in English and Arabic. The models of cohesion presented for both languages have revealed that English and Arabic employ the same overt cohesive devices to create intersentential cohesion. However, there seems to be noticeable differences in the frequency and manner of application that govern the usage of these devices in texts.

The chapter has also revealed that there is unanimous agreement among translation theorists regarding the following issues associated with cohesion and translation:

First, translation theorists acknowledge that each language has its own cohesive devices for establishing and maintaining text continuity. These devices are not used in the same manner and frequency in all languages; hence, translators should not advocate a literal translation in the act of reworking these devices between languages.

Second, within the same language different genres use particular explicit markers; the cohesive markers favoured in one genre may not be the same in a different genre. This entails that translators have to identify the genre they are translating before they actually start the act of translating; by doing so, they will take into consideration the different cohesive devices used in that particular genre in the target language and translate accordingly.

Third, text producers do not choose cohesive markers randomly; the explicit markers employed have underlying semantic meanings that translators should identify during the analysis of the source language text before starting the process of translation.

Finally, translation theorists discuss the shifts of cohesion that take place in the process of translation. They state that some of these shifts may occur because the translators are unable to handle the different cohesive mechanisms of the source and target languages. Others may result because translators misinterpret the underlying semantic meanings of the cohesive devices, while a third group of shifts results due to the differences between the linguistic systems used in the source and target languages. Translation theorists also indicate that these shifts may result in translated texts that are more explicit than the original texts.

CHAPTER TWO

An Overview of Cohesion in English

2.0 Introduction

This chapter examines Halliday and Hasan's categorisation of the overt cohesive devices that create cohesive texts as presented in *Cohesion in English* (1976). This examination is carried out for three main reasons: (1) *Cohesion in English* is the most comprehensive and detailed model of cohesion that tackles, in one volume, the explicit cohesive markers available in English; (2) when linguists and translation theorists consider the notion of cohesion, they draw heavily on Halliday and Hasan's categorisation proposed in this volume; and (3) the researcher believes that analysing the translated cohesive devices in the target language texts cannot be conducted before identifying and examining the semantic relations these devices express in the source language texts. This, however, does not imply that this study will disregard, in the analysis of the selected corpora, the other models of cohesion outlined in Chapter One; rather, Halliday and Hasan's categorisation will be taken as the point of departure to the other models.

This chapter consists of two sections. Section one introduces Halliday and Hasan's view regarding the concept of cohesion as outlined in *Cohesion in English*. Section two discusses the cohesive devices Halliday and Hasan present in their book.

2.1 The Concept of Cohesion as Presented in *Cohesion in English*

In *Cohesion in English* (1976), Halliday and Hasan consider that what distinguishes between a text and a group of unrelated sentences is the cohesive relationships that

exist between the sentences in discourse. These relationships give texture to the sentences, and this results in cohesive texts. Halliday and Hasan state that 'A text has texture and this is what distinguishes it from something that is not a text... The texture is provided by the cohesive RELATION' (ibid.2). These cohesive relationships within a text occur 'where the INTERPRETATION of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one PRESUPPOSES the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it. When this happens, a relation of cohesion is set up, and the two elements, the presupposing and the presupposed, are thereby at least potentially integrated into a text' (ibid.: 4).

It therefore follows that there are certain linguistic features available in the language for binding together the sentences of a text; these linguistic features participate in creating texts that have unity and texture. To Halliday and Hasan, cohesion 'is the set of possibilities that exist in the language for making a text hang together: the potential that the speaker or writer has at his disposal' (ibid.: 18-19). The authors group the cohesive devices that create cohesive texts under five main groups: reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunctions and lexical cohesion. These devices are further sub-divided into a number of sub-types. This approach to cohesion shows that Halliday and Hasan place cohesion under the textual component of the semantic system in English since this component deals with the resources available in the language for creating texts.¹ The following example illustrates how cohesive relationships are set up across sentence boundaries as outlined in *Cohesion in English*:

¹ The other two functional-semantic components are the ideational and the interpersonal.

1) *Jennifer Capriati will be playing in the Grand Slam Final. She defeated Martina Hingis in the semi-finals.*

In example (1), to understand what the pronoun 'she' in the second sentence refers to, the reader has to look elsewhere for its interpretation; the reader's successful interpretation of the pronoun 'she' is fulfilled by recourse to the noun 'Jennifer Capriati' in the preceding sentence. The pronoun 'she' in the above example is a cohesive device that holds together the first and the second sentences, and hence creates a 'tie' between the cohesively related items 'Jennifer Capriati' and 'she'. Halliday and Hasan differentiate between three types of ties: immediate, mediated and remote. In immediate ties, the presupposing item can be interpreted by referring to the immediately preceding sentence. Mediated ties involve using a cohesive device between the sentence(s) that include the presupposing and presupposed items. When remote ties are used in texts, one finds that a number of sentences separate between the presupposing and presupposed items.

Halliday and Hasan also assert that when discussing cohesion, the notion of register should be borne in mind. To the authors, 'a text is a passage of discourse which is coherent in these two regards: it is coherent with respect to the context of situation, and therefore consistent in register; and it is coherent with respect to itself, and therefore cohesive' (ibid.: 23). This indicates that the text-register plays a pivotal role in the choice of cohesive devices to create cohesive texts. Thus, one finds that the texture of a scientific book, for example, is unlike that of a narrative; this is a point text-producers, text receivers and translators have to consider in the process of production and analysis of texts.

This brief outline of Halliday and Hasan's view of cohesion shows that the authors emphasise the following aspects pertaining to cohesion: (1) cohesion deals with the non-structural textual component of the linguistic system, and is therefore concerned with the overt cohesive devices that make texts 'hang together'; (2) cohesion is a semantic concept that depends on the establishment of meaning relations between the cohesively related items in discourse; (3) cohesion proper is best expressed across sentence boundaries; and (4) the identification of the register is important in the choice of the cohesive devices in discourse.

2.2 Halliday and Hasan's Categorisation of Cohesive Devices

This section discusses Halliday and Hasan's taxonomy of cohesive devices. As stated in section one, Halliday and Hasan in *Cohesion in English* classify cohesive devices into five types: reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunctions and lexical cohesion; each group is further sub-divided into a number of sub-groups. Halliday and Hasan state that this classification differentiates between grammatical and lexical cohesion; reference, substitution and ellipsis belong to the former group, while lexical cohesion belongs to the latter group. Conjunction is on the 'borderline of the two; mainly grammatical, but with a lexical component in it' (ibid.: 6).

2.2.1 Reference

Reference is a semantic relationship that holds between two linguistic forms. Textual reference involves identifying a linguistic element by referring elsewhere in the text for its interpretation. When the reader successfully understands what the

linguistic element refers to, the resulting cohesion 'lies in the continuity of reference, whereby the same thing enters into the discourse a second time' (ibid.: 31).

Halliday and Hasan identify two types of reference relations: exophoric and endophoric. Exophoric reference deals with the context of situation; the reader has to refer to knowledge of the outside world to interpret the entity being referred to. Endophoric reference may be anaphoric (refers backward) or cataphoric (refers forward); only anaphoric reference is textually cohesive. English uses the following reference items for creating cohesive texts: personal pronouns, demonstratives and comparatives.

2.2.1.1 Personal Reference

In English, personal pronouns, possessive determiners and possessive pronouns are grouped under personal reference; these classes represent the category of person. Only third person pronouns are considered cohesive, and 'in many texts the third person forms constitute the most frequent single class of cohesive items' (ibid.: 49); first and second person pronouns (*I, we, you*) are not cohesive devices because the referent can be interpreted by reference to the context of situation.

Halliday and Hasan emphasise that the pronoun '*it*' is unlike the other personals. It does not only refer to a person or thing mentioned in the preceding text, but it may also refer to a portion of text or a fact previously mentioned in discourse; this Halliday and Hasan refer to as extended reference and text reference respectively. With regard to the possessive determiners (e.g. *her, his, their*) and the possessive

pronouns (e.g. his, its, theirs), Halliday and Hasan state that what applies to the personal pronouns can be said about these two sub-classes of personal reference. The following text illustrates how personal reference is employed to create cohesive texts. The sentences have been numbered for ease of reference.

*Elizabeth Bee was trapped under an upturned boat. (2) **She** and eight other children had been thrown into the water when the boat capsized in poor weather on a school trip to Portsmouth. (3) Paul Dove, the teacher accompanying the students, failed to do a head count after the accident, and was unaware that Elizabeth had been missing. (4) **He** only realized this when **her** sister called out **her** name and received no reply. (5) After the inquest, at which the jury returned a verdict of 'accidental death contributed to by neglect', the girl's mother said: "I can now draw a line underneath **it** all. Elizabeth has not lost her life in vain."*

(*The Independent*, 2001: 14)²

In this text, the personal pronouns are all anaphoric; to be able to interpret what they refer to, the reader has to go to the previous stretch of discourse. Therefore, the pronoun 'she' in sentence (2) refers to 'Elizabeth Bee' in sentence (1); 'he' in sentence (4) refers to 'Paul Dove' in sentence (3); 'her' in sentence (4) creates 'continuity of reference' between 'she' and 'Elizabeth Bee' mentioned in sentences (2) and (1) respectively; and 'it' in sentence (5) represents a case of text reference.

2.2.1.2 Demonstratives

The second reference item is the demonstratives; English uses the four demonstratives 'this', 'that', 'these' and 'those' to denote distance and number. 'This' and 'these' are used to point to things near the speaker, while 'that' and 'those' refer to things that are distant from the speaker. These demonstratives can be used as modifiers (followed by a noun, e.g. this house) or as heads (e.g. this is a car).

² The article has been modified and abbreviated.

According to Halliday and Hasan, these demonstratives ‘occur extensively with anaphoric function’ (ibid.: 59). The choice of the demonstrative depends on the preceding text and the meaning the text producer wants to convey. Therefore, one finds that ‘*this*’ is used in dialogue to refer back to something the speaker has said, whereas ‘*that*’ is used to refer to something uttered by the interlocutor; the following examples taken from *Cohesion in English* (ibid.: 60) show this difference in usage:

2) *There seems to have been a great deal of sheer carelessness.*

***This** is what I can't understand.*

3) *There seems to have been a great deal of sheer carelessness.*

*Yes, **that's** what I can't understand.*

In example (2), ‘*this*’ is used because the speaker is referring to something he/she has said in the preceding text; in example (3), however, the use of ‘*that*’ indicates that the interlocutor is commenting on something he/she has mentioned previously.

Also, ‘*this*’ and ‘*that*’ can be employed to denote proximity of time; in this context, ‘*this*’ is used with present or future time, whereas ‘*that*’ is used with a past time referent. Examples (4) and (5) illustrate how proximity of time is expressed using the above mentioned demonstratives to create cohesive texts.

4) *They visited Egypt last year. **That** was the best holiday they had in years.*

5) *They will visit Egypt next year. **This** will be the first holiday for them together in years.*

'This' and 'that', like 'it' can be used anaphorically to refer to extended text,³ and Halliday and Hasan state that 'Extended reference probably accounts for the majority of all instances of demonstratives in all except a few specialized varieties of English' (ibid.: 66). When these two demonstratives function as cohesive devices to refer to an entire text, 'that' is always anaphoric, and 'this' can express anaphoric or cataphoric reference. To Halliday and Hasan, this is the only instance when cataphoric reference is textually cohesive.⁴

Another item that Halliday and Hasan group under demonstratives is the definite article 'the'.⁵ The article 'the' can fulfil the following functions when used in discourse: it can be (1) exophoric; (2) homophoric; or, (3) endophoric. The following examples demonstrate how 'the' is used to express the above relations in discourse:

6) A: *When is **the** aeroplane arriving?*

B: *At 9.00 p.m.*

7) *We hardly see **the sun** in Edinburgh in December.*

8) *Julia is currently reading a new novel by Irvine Welsh. **The** novel is entitled 'Glue'.*

In example (6), the participants in the discourse know which aeroplane they are talking about because the hearer gives an immediate reply. It is clear that the participants are familiar with the context of situation. In (7), there is only one sun, so

³ This applies when 'this' and 'that' are not followed by a noun. 'These' and 'those', however, cannot be used to refer to an extended text.

⁴ Halliday and Hasan say that the sentences which are cataphorically related 'are often joined by a colon; but there is no structural relation between the two - this is a purely orthographic convention serving precisely to signal the presence of cataphoric cohesion' (p.69).

⁵ They explain this classification saying that "'the' originally is a reduced form of 'that' and like the demonstratives it is a specifying agent' (p.70).

interpreting what the article refers to will not constitute a problem to the hearer/reader. In (8), to understand what the article '*the*' represents, one has to refer to the preceding text; '*the*' in this text is anaphoric, and is the only one of the three examples that is cohesive.

Halliday and Hasan also examine the cohesive role of the demonstrative adverbs '*here*', '*there*', '*now*' and '*then*' when discussing the demonstratives. '*Here*' and '*there*' refer to location; the temporal demonstratives '*now*' and '*then*' that are used to signal time sequence are not considered referential since their cohesive role in discourse is restricted. '*Here*' and '*there*' refer to extended text, and can be used anaphorically or cataphorically. The authors state 'that the demonstratives '*this*', '*these*' and '*here*' provide almost the only sources of cataphoric cohesion: they are the only items in English which regularly refer forward TEXTUALLY, to something to which they are not linked by a structural relationship' (ibid.: 75).

2.2.1.3 Comparatives

The third type of reference item that contributes to textual cohesion is comparatives. There are two types of comparative reference: general and particular. Words like '*same*', '*equal*', '*similar*' and '*different*' express general comparison which is used to signal that two compared items are the same or different in some way; particular comparison is expressed using words like '*many*', '*better*', '*so*', '*equally*', and '*more*'; this type of comparison indicates that two things can be compared in terms of quality and quantity. Both general and particular comparison are referential since one can only interpret the similarities or differences between the items compared by

referring to the preceding text. With general and particular comparison the referent can be anaphoric, cataphoric or extended.⁶ The following examples illustrate the role of comparative reference in the creation of cohesive texts.

9) *Apparently Brown resigned, when his proposal was rejected.*
- *I wish he could have acted **less precipitately**.*

10) *The **other** squirrels hunted up and down the nut bushes; but Nutkin gathered robin's pincushions off a briar bush, and stuck them full of pine-needle pins.*

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 78-83)

In (9), '*less precipitately*' is an example of particular comparison that is anaphoric; it refers back to '*resigned*'. The '*other*' in (10) is a general comparison item that refers cataphorically to '*Nutkin*'.

Having outlined the reference items in English and Arabic,⁷ the similarities and differences that the two languages exhibit in this area become apparent. This will assist the researcher identify and examine how these formal markers have been translated from the source-language texts to the target-language texts in the selected corpora (see Chapter Three, Sections 3.2.1 and 3.3.1- 3.3.1.3).

2.2.2 Substitution

Substitution involves replacing an item that has been mentioned previously in discourse by another item in order to avoid repetition; it creates lexicogrammatical relationships across sentence boundaries. Substitution can only be fulfilled if the

⁶ According to Halliday and Hasan, in comparison with the other reference items, comparatives 'are the most typically anaphoric rather than exophoric' (p.83). They also add that although cohesive cataphora with comparatives does occur in discourse, it is rare.

⁷ See Chapter One for the cohesive devices used in Arabic discourse.

structural function of the substitute item is the same as that which it substitutes. Halliday and Hasan point out that most cases of substitution are endophoric, and these textual relations are mostly anaphoric in nature. Therefore, when a substitute item occurs in discourse, cohesion is created with what has been mentioned previously.⁸ There are three types of substitution: nominal, verbal and clausal.

2.2.2.1 Nominal Substitution

Nominal substitution is achieved using the pro-form ‘one’ and its plural ‘ones’, and ‘the same’; when used in texts, ‘one/ones’ replace a noun that functions as Head in the nominal group. The following example illustrates how the substitute ‘one’ is used in discourse to link sentences.

- 11) A: *I like the blue skirt.*
B: *I like the red one.*

In example (11), the substitute ‘one’ replaces ‘skirt’, and thus ‘carries over’ only the Head without mentioning the modifying element in the previous sentence; also, instead of repeating the original modifying element (blue), the substitute uses another defining Modifier, in this case ‘red’. Hence, ‘skirt’ is ‘carried over’ anaphorically, but ‘blue’ is repudiated using the Modifier ‘red’. This feature indicates that when substitution is employed in discourse ‘the meaning of the nominal group containing

⁸ This does not imply that there are no instances of cataphoric substitution in English, but this type of substitution is not used frequently.

the substitute is never exactly identical with that of the nominal group that is presupposed' (ibid.: 95).⁹

The nominal substitute '*the same*', is unlike '*one*' since it does not only replace the noun but also the nominal group in addition to any modifying elements. The following example taken from Halliday and Hasan (ibid.: 105) illustrates how the nominal substitute '*the same*' can relate sentences of a text.

- 12) A: *I'll have two poached eggs on toast, please.*
B: *I'll have **the same**.*

In example (12), the hearer/reader can identify what the substitute '*the same*' refers to by filling in the entire nominal group uttered by speaker A: '*two poached eggs on toast*'. In such occurrences, the presupposed item is 'almost always non-human, and it cannot be a proper name' (ibid.: 105). In other contexts, '*the same*' can be used to replace a presupposed item that acts as an adjective used as Head of a nominal group in a clause as exemplified in (14) taken from Halliday and Hasan (ibid.: 107):

- 13) A: *John sounded rather regretful.*
B: *Yes, Mary sounded **the same**.*

In the above example, '*the same*' stands for '*rather regretful*' which represents the nominal group in the text, and therefore an instance of nominal substitution is created.

⁹ Not all occurrences of '*one*' represent instances of substitution. Other forms of '*one*', such as the personal pronoun '*one*', the cardinal '*one*', the determiner '*one*' and the pro-noun '*one*' are non-cohesive.

2.2.2.2 Verbal Substitution

Verbal substitution in English is realised using the pro-form ‘do’ and ‘do so’. ‘Do’ and ‘do so’ in some environments replace a verb; in other environments, they replace a verb and other elements in the clause as illustrated in examples (15) and (16) respectively.

14) A: *Did you watch ‘Chocolat’?*

B: *No, but I think Sandra **did**.*

15) *He never really succeeded in setting up a business in Canada. He might have **done** had he known more about the Canadian system.*

In (14), ‘*did*’ substitutes for ‘*watch*’, whereas in (15) ‘*done*’ substitutes for ‘*succeeded in setting up a business in Canada*’; these pro-forms make the second utterance related to the first. Therefore, ‘*did*’ and ‘*done*’ link anaphorically the sentences that make up the texts.

2.2.2.3 Clausal Substitution

The words used as substitutes in clausal substitution are ‘*so*’ and ‘*not*’. In this type of substitution, the presupposed item is an entire clause. Clausal substitution is used following reported clauses (*she said so, she said not*), condition (*if - if so, if not*) and modality (*perhaps so, perhaps not*); the positive form is expressed using ‘*so*’, whereas the negative form is expressed using ‘*not*’. The following examples illustrate clausal substitution as it is used in discourse to create cohesive texts.

16) A: *The teacher said, “The exam will be difficult”.*

B: *Did you hear her say **so**?*

17) A: *Will the manager attend the meeting?*

B: *If **so**, the meeting will be worth attending.*

- 18) A: *Don't make fun of me. Would you have jumped from such a height?*
B: *Well, perhaps not.*

In (16) and (17), 'so' substitutes for 'the exam will be difficult', and 'the manager attend the meeting' respectively; 'not' in (18), substitutes for 'perhaps I would not have jumped from such a height'. These examples illustrate that 'so' and 'not' link sentences anaphorically.

Halliday and Hasan give a detailed account of this cohesive device as it is frequently used in English discourse. This device, however, is not favoured in Arabic discourse. Consequently, this difference in preferences between the two languages needs to be examined to determine how translators have tackled this cohesive device in their translations (see Chapter Three, Sections 3.2.2 and 3.3.2).

2.2.3 Ellipsis

Ellipsis involves the omission of an element (or elements) that can be retrieved from the preceding text. This device is used to avoid repetition, and is basically a textual relation that is anaphoric in nature.¹⁰ In fact, Halliday and Hasan say that ellipsis 'is simply substitution by zero' (ibid.: 142), and they acknowledge that ellipsis and substitution are very similar. They claim that they are treated as two distinct groups in *Cohesion in English* since 'they are two different kinds of structural mechanism, and hence show rather different patterns' (ibid.: 142). Ellipsis can be nominal, verbal or clausal.

¹⁰ Ellipsis can occasionally express cataphoric and exophoric relations.

2.2.3.1 Nominal Ellipsis

Nominal ellipsis involves ellipsis within the nominal group. The nominal group is made up of a Head with optional modification; the modifying elements can precede the Head (premodifiers) or follow the Head (postmodifiers). In an elliptical nominal group, the Head is omitted, and one of the modifying elements functions as Head. Therefore, this type of ellipsis ‘upgrades’ a Modifier to function as Head. In example (19), the noun ‘*skirts*’ in the first sentence is omitted, and the word ‘*five*’, which is a Numerative and normally acts as Modifier, is upgraded and thus functions as Head. To be able to interpret what the word ‘*five*’ refers to, the reader has to look at the preceding sentence; this will enable the reader to replace the ellipted nominal group.

19) *Sandy bought five skirts. The five are relatively cheap.*

Halliday and Hasan point out that the most frequent instances of ellipsis are those with Deictic and Numeratives as Head. They differentiate between three types of deictics: specific, non-specific and post-deictics. Specific deictics comprise possessives, demonstratives and ‘*the*’; non-specific deictics include ‘*each*’, ‘*every*’, ‘*all*’, ‘*both*’, ‘*any*’, ‘*either*’, ‘*no*’, ‘*neither*’, ‘*some*’, and ‘*a*’.¹¹ The words that function as post-deictics are not determiners but adjectives; the adjectives used frequently to express elliptical relations are ‘*other*’, ‘*same*’, ‘*different*’, ‘*identical*’, ‘*usual*’, ‘*regular*’, ‘*certain*’, ‘*odd*’, ‘*famous*’, ‘*well-known*’, ‘*typical*’ and ‘*obvious*’. The following examples taken from Halliday and Hasan (ibid.: 155-160) illustrate

¹¹ ‘*a*’ and ‘*no*’ are presented as ‘*one*’ and ‘*none*’ respectively in discourse.

how these groups are elliptical in discourse; the ellipted items relate the sentences and thus create texts that 'hang together' (the ellipted item(s) is/are given in brackets).

20) *The parents could not be traced. Apparently, **both** were abroad. (the parents)*

21) *Take these pills three times daily. And you'd better have some of **those** too. (pills)*

22) *Just ask Janet how to polish the brassware. **Hers** sparkles. (brassware)*

23) *I've used up these yellow folders you gave me. Can I use the **other**? (folder)*

As for the Numeratives, they are expressed by numerals or quantifying words. These elements can be ordinals ('*first*', '*second*', '*third*', '*next*', '*last*'), cardinals ('*the four*', '*these four*', '*all four*'), and indefinite quantifiers ('*much*', '*many*', '*more*', '*most*', '*few*', '*several*', '*a little*'). The following sentences show how Numeratives are used in discourse to link the sentences of a text.

24) *I do not want more biscuits. That was my **fifth**. (fifth biscuit)*

25) *Nadia was the first to come to the party. Dina was **the second**. (the second to come to the party)*

26) *You have to buy water-proof jackets if you want to live in Edinburgh. - I have **several**. (water-proof jackets)*

Halliday and Hasan state that it is not very common to find Epithets that function as Head in ellipsis. According to them, colour adjectives are the most frequently used in this way; the other two groups of adjectives that have this function are the comparatives and the superlatives. These two groups do not always signal ellipsis in

discourse. In example (27), *'the most expensive'* is an elliptical group presupposing the item *'cars'*.

27) *Not all people can buy BMW's. In fact, BMW's are **the most expensive** in Jordan.*

2.2.3.2 Verbal Ellipsis

This type of ellipsis involves the verbal group. Halliday and Hasan differentiate between two types of verbal ellipsis: lexical ellipsis and operator ellipsis. In lexical ellipsis, on the one hand, the lexical verb and any modifiers are omitted; this is referred to as ellipsis 'from the right'. In operator ellipsis, on the other hand, the operators and the subject are omitted and the lexical verb is left intact; this is referred to as ellipsis 'from the left'. The following examples show the differences between lexical and operator ellipsis and demonstrate how these cohesive devices help hearers/readers understand the relations between the sentences.

28) *Have you returned the books to the library? Yes, **I have**.* (This is an instance of lexical ellipsis. The non-ellipted form is: **I have returned the books**).

29) *What are you doing? **Studying**.* (This is an instance of operator ellipsis. The non-ellipted form is: **I am studying**).

Halliday and Hasan also discuss verbal ellipsis with yes/no questions (polarity), Wh-questions (non-polarity), finiteness and modality, voice and tense. Examples (30-32) demonstrate how these instances of verbal ellipsis are used in discourse to link sentences together.¹²

¹² For examples on yes/no questions and Wh-questions see examples (29) and (30) respectively.

30) *Can you speak French fluently? Yes, I can.* (I can **speak French fluently**)

31) *John hates being told what to do by his wife. If she does, he loses his temper.* (In this example, the first sentence is passive; the second sentence, which is elliptical, is active: **if she does tell him what to do ...**)

32) *She always comes on time. She **didn't** yesterday.* (In this example, the tense in the presupposed group is present; in the elliptical group it is past: she **didn't come on time yesterday**)¹³

2.2.3.3 Clausal Ellipsis

Halliday and Hasan point out that verbal ellipsis and clausal ellipsis are interrelated. This is the case because 'verbal ellipsis is always accompanied by the omission of the related clause elements, those that are in the same part of the clause as the relevant portion of the verbal group' (ibid.: 194). Therefore, in instances of lexical verbal ellipsis, which involves the deletion of the non-finite part of the verbal group, one finds that the Complements and Adjuncts are also left out. In operator verbal ellipsis, the finite part of the verbal group is omitted, so it automatically follows that the subject is also left out (see verbal ellipsis for examples). The following kinds of clausal ellipsis are discussed: yes/no questions, Wh-questions, rejoinders and clause complex ellipsis.¹⁴ A rejoinder is a reply uttered by a speaker as a response to an utterance previously mentioned in the discourse. There are two kinds of rejoinders: rejoinders that come after questions and those that do not follow questions. When clausal ellipsis involves clause complexes, the rule is that 'an elliptical clause of whatever type may presuppose any clause in a complex, and will then automatically presuppose in addition all clauses that are contingent on it: that is, all that come after it (if paratactic) and all that are dependent on it (if hypotactic)' (ibid.: 222).

¹³ Halliday and Hasan give a detailed account of the possible tense changes that take place between the presupposed and the elliptical items in verbal ellipsis (ibid.: 186-192)

¹⁴ The first two kinds of clausal ellipsis will not be discussed here since they have been dealt with under verbal ellipsis.

Examples (33-35), taken from Halliday and Hasan (ibid.: 209-222), demonstrate how rejoinders and clause complexes are used in discourse to relate the sentences of a text.

33) *Did you see anyone? – Yes, Shirley.* (In this example the ellipited items are **Yes, I saw Shirley**. Here, the rejoinder follows a question, and the response is indirect; the speaker gives additional information by mentioning the name of the person that was seen).

34) *John's coming to dinner. John who?* (In this example, the ellipited items mean: **Which John is coming to dinner?** Here, the rejoinder does not follow a question and is used to ask for more information).

35) *Smith was going to take part, but somebody telephoned and asked to see him urgently so he had to withdraw. – Who?* (The clause complex in this example is paratactic; 'who' is related to 'somebody', and the meaning of the ellipited clause complex is **'who telephoned and asked to see him urgently so he had to withdraw'**).

Like substitution, ellipsis is discussed in detail in *Cohesion in English*. Although ellipsis is used in Arabic to create cohesive texts, there are differences in the fine details between the way English and Arabic express cohesion using this device. Therefore, it would be useful to consider how translators have tackled this formal marker in the analysed corpora. This examination may demonstrate the shifts of cohesion that occur in the act of reworking texts between two languages that are linguistically distant (see Chapter Three, Sections 3.1.3 and 3.3.3).

2.2.4 Conjunctions

Conjunction involves the use of formal markers to signal relationships between various segments of a text. When a conjunction is used in discourse, the reader does not have to refer backward or forward to interpret this formal marker. Halliday and Hasan state that 'Conjunctive elements are not cohesive in themselves but indirectly, by virtue of their specific meaning' (ibid.: 266). Therefore, it is the semantic function of the conjunctions that enables the reader to relate what is about to be said

with something that has already been mentioned in the immediate context. The authors mention, at the outset, three things that should be borne in mind when discussing conjunctions: (1) the same conjunction can be used to show different semantic relations depending on the context; (2) the semantic relations that are expressed by conjunctions can be represented in a number of ways; and (3) sometimes the reader can interpret the semantic relations between the sentences of the text without the presence of an explicit conjunction; in such instances the conjunction is implicit. The following examples illustrate how these points pertaining to conjunctions are expressed in discourse.

36) *He failed his Biology Exam. Then, he decided to change his major.*

37) *She opened the can. Then, she poured the soup into the bowl.*

In examples (36) and (37) the conjunction ‘*then*’ is used to link sentences together; however, ‘*then*’ expresses a causal relation in example (36), and a temporal one in (37).

Examples (38) and (39) adapted from *Cohesion in English* (ibid.: 228) express the same semantic relation: succession in time; example (38) uses the subordinator ‘*after*’ which represents a structural non-cohesive relationship, while example (39) uses the conjunction ‘*afterwards*’ which creates a cohesive link between the two sentences.

38) *After* they had fought a battle, it started to snow.

39) *They fought a battle. Afterwards, it started to snow.*

In example (40), the writer does not use an explicit formal marker to express the semantic relations the sentences. The reader, nevertheless, can understand the meaning the writer wants to convey.

40) *He fell and hurt his knee. His parents took him to hospital.*

Halliday and Hasan discuss two kinds of conjunctions: cohesive conjunctions and continuatives. They give the first group more prominence and distinguish between four categories of cohesive conjunctions depending on the relations these conjunctions convey in discourse: additive, adversative, causal and temporal; these four categories are further divided into a number of sub-categories.

2.2.4.1 Additive Conjunctions¹⁵

Additive conjunctions, like ‘*and*’, ‘*and also*’, ‘*furthermore*’, ‘*besides*’ indicate the presentation of additional new information in discourse. Halliday and Hasan mention four types of additive relations that can be expressed in discourse: simple additive, emphatic complex additive, apposition and comparison; all of which are further divided into a number of subclasses.¹⁶

2.2.4.2 Adversative Conjunctions

Words like ‘*yet*’, ‘*nevertheless*’, ‘*rather*’, ‘*but*’ are considered adversative conjunctions. These conjunctions indicate that what follows contrasts with, what has

¹⁵ For a complete list of the conjunctive relations discussed in *Cohesion in English* refer to (pp. 242-243).

¹⁶ A text will be provided, after briefly defining each group of conjunction, to show the semantic relations conjunctions express in discourse.

been mentioned previously in the text. According to Halliday and Hasan, 'The basic meaning of the ADVERSATIVE relation is 'contrary to expectation'' (ibid.: .250).

2.2.4.3 Causal Conjunctions

Causal conjunctions, such as '*hence*', '*consequently*', '*because*', '*in this respect*', express a cause, result or purpose. Four types of causal relations are distinguished: general causal, reversed causal, conditional and respective; all of which are expressed using different conjunctions.

2.2.4.4 Temporal Conjunctions

Temporal conjunctions express a sequence in time. They are unlike the other conjunctions in that they 'occur in a correlative form, with a cataphoric time expression in one sentence anticipating the anaphoric one that is to follow' (ibid.: 263). The most obvious cataphoric temporal conjunctions are: '*first*', '*first of all*', and '*to begin with*'. When these conjunctions are used in discourse, one can automatically infer that a conjunction, like '*second*', '*then*' or '*next*' will be employed in the following stretch of discourse. Temporal conjunctions can express simple temporal relations, complex temporal relations, internal temporal relations and temporal relations that signal the meaning 'here' and 'now'; different conjunctions are used in English to signal these relations.

By examining the following text, the role of conjunctions in connected discourse becomes apparent.

*Map information is conveyed by means of symbols, words, colour or shading. Information on maps is also conveyed by the patterns of lines, shading and symbols and this is the point at which recognition and relationships can become confused. **Therefore**, a town will be recognised by the name lettering, the combination of housing and road symbols. **Nevertheless**, the primary activity will be the recognition and identification of the main features of the town. **Similarly**, other geographical features may be recognised by simple relative patterns. **For example**, contour lines and water lines may give information about drainage patterns, river basins and watersheds.*

(Salkie, 1995: 80)

'*Therefore*' in line (4) expresses a causal relation with what has been mentioned earlier in the text; '*nevertheless*' in line (5) signals an adversative relation; '*similarly*' indicates that what follows is comparable with something else in the previous stretch of discourse; and '*for example*' in line (8) is an instance of exemplification. It is clear that the conjunctive devices employed in the above two examples bind together the sentences of the texts.

2.2.4.5 Continuatives

Halliday and Hasan indicate that a number of items in the language that make sentences hang together, and thus create cohesive texts, do not belong to the aforementioned conjunctive relations. These items they name continuatives; under this class they discuss six items: '*now*', '*of course*', '*well*', '*anyway*', '*surely*', '*after all*'.

Halliday and Hasan provide a detailed analysis of the conjunctions used in English. In fact, Halliday and Hasan's approach to conjunctions is best described by Brown and Yule (1983: 191) who acknowledge that 'Halliday and Hasan provide an extended, often illuminating, discussion of the relationships indicated by such markers, together with an extended taxonomy'.

Baker (1992) states that English and Arabic exhibit marked differences in their use of conjunctions to create cohesive texts. By examining the corpora, the researcher will investigate the ‘strategies’ the translators have used to render the semantic relations the conjunctions express in the source language texts into the target language texts (see Chapter Three, Sections 3.2.4 and 3.3.4).

2.2.5 Lexical Cohesion

Lexical cohesion involves selecting certain vocabulary items to organise and create cohesive relations within a text. Halliday and Hasan divide the relations that exist between vocabulary items in texts into two basic groups: reiteration and collocation. Reiteration as defined in *Cohesion in English* ‘is a form of lexical cohesion which involves the repetition of a lexical item, at one end of the scale; the use of a general word to refer back to lexical item, at the other end of the scale; and a number of things in between - the use of a synonym, near-synonym, or superordinate’ (ibid.: 278). The following example adapted from *Cohesion in English* (ibid.: 279-280) illustrates Halliday and Hasan’s sub-categorisation of reiteration:

(41) *There’s a boy climbing that tree.*

- (a) *The boy’s* going to fall if he doesn’t take care. (**repetition**)
- (b) *The lad’s* going to fall if he doesn’t take care. (**synonym**)
- (c) *The child’s* going to fall if he doesn’t take care. (**superordinate**)
- (d) *The idiot’s* going to fall if he doesn’t take care. (**general word**)

The following text taken from *Newsweek* (2000: 10) demonstrates the cohesive role of reiteration in discourse:

*It never occurred to **Queen** Rania not to visit **Saudi Arabia** with her husband, King Abdullah. The fresh-faced Jordanian **royal**, at 29 the youngest **queen** in the world, knew the **Kingdom** to the south did not appreciate **women** mingling in the affairs of the state.*

In the above text, 'queen' in sentence two is a repetition of the word 'queen' used in sentence one; 'Kingdom' and 'state' in sentence two are synonyms for 'Saudi Arabia' in sentence one; 'royal' in sentence two is a synonym for 'queen' in sentence one; and 'women' in sentence two is a superordinate for 'queen' in sentence one.

Halliday and Hasan say that reiteration is unlike reference because 'a lexical item coheres with a preceding occurrence of the same item whether or not the two have the same referent, or indeed whether or not there is any referential relationship between them' (ibid.: 283). Therefore, they believe that if the sentence 'Most boys love climbing trees' (ibid.) is added to the main sentence in example (41), the two items 'boy' and 'boys' would represent an instance of reiteration although they do not refer to the same person.

The second sub-class of lexical cohesion is collocation. To Halliday and Hasan, collocation covers items that co-occur in the language. The authors acknowledge that collocation is the 'most problematical part of lexical cohesion' (ibid.: 284) and offer the following types of collocational relations that exist between pairs of lexical items (ibid.: 285-286):

- a) Oppositeness of meaning: e.g. *boy/girl; wet/dry; crowded/deserted; like/hate.*
- b) Words that belong to the same ordered series: e.g. *Tuesday/Thursday; north/south; dollar/cent*
- c) Words that belong to unordered lexical sets: i) part-whole relations: e.g. *car/brake; box/lid;* ii) part-part relations: e.g. *mouth/chin; verse/chorus;* iii) co-hyponyms of the same superordinate term: e.g. *chair/table (furniture); walk/drive (hyponyms of go).*

Halliday and Hasan admit that there are other instances of collocation that exist in the language, but cannot be given a name. They suggest that the type of relation that

exists between pairs of words does not really matter as long as one realises that it represents a cohesive device in discourse.

In their discussion of lexical cohesion, Halliday and Hasan also introduce the notion of ‘instantial meaning’ or text meaning. They state that ‘Without our being aware of it, each occurrence of a lexical item carries with it its own textual history, a particular collocational environment that has been built up in the course of the creation of the text and that will provide the context within which the item will be incarnated on this particular occasion’ (ibid.: 289). This ‘instantial meaning’ implies that lexical devices can express a wide range of meanings depending on the text.

Halliday and Hasan’s categorisation of lexical items has been criticised by a number of linguists;¹⁷ in fact, Halliday and Hasan have realised the shortcomings of this categorisation and have modified it in later publications. Since Arabic favours lexical cohesion in the creation of texts, it would be interesting to see how the lexical devices used in the source texts are rendered into the target texts (see Chapter Three, Sections 3.2.5 and 3.3.5).

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a summary of Halliday and Hasan’s view regarding the concept of cohesion, and the categorisation they adopt in classifying the cohesive devices. This was undertaken for three reasons: (1) Halliday and Hasan’s views concerning the notion of cohesion will be considered in subsequent chapters; (2)

¹⁷ See, for example, Hoey (1991).

their detailed taxonomy of cohesive devices will assist the researcher in identifying the various cohesive devices employed in the source language texts; and (3) the comprehensive coverage of the cohesive devices in *Cohesion in English* will assist the researcher in understanding and analysing the reasons underlying the use of these overt markers in *Newsweek International* before investigating the translation procedures used in rendering them into the target language texts.

Chapter Three

The Translation of the Cohesive Devices into *Newsweek in Arabic*

3.0 Introduction

This chapter examines how the intersentential cohesive devices used in *Newsweek International* have been rendered into *Newsweek in Arabic*. To conduct this examination, the approach of investigation proceeds in two stages: (1) source-text analysis; and (2) the comparative analysis of the source texts and their translations to identify and analyse the similarities and differences between the original texts and their translations. The analysis of the cohesive devices employed in the source texts will be based on Halliday and Hasan's taxonomy presented in *Cohesion in English* (1976). In the analysis of the target texts, the translation theories pertaining to cohesion will be taken into consideration (see Chapter One, Sections 1.3.1-1.3.9).

The chapter is divided into two sections. Section one studies the cohesive devices used in the source language texts. Section two examines the target language texts. This section is divided into two sub-sections; the first sub-section investigates the similarities attested in the act of translating the cohesive devices from *Newsweek International* into *Newsweek in Arabic*, while the second sub-section focuses on the differences.

3.1 Analysis of the Source Texts

Hatim and Mason (1990: 4) state that,

Texts can be seen as the result of motivated choice: producers of texts have their own communicative aims and select lexical and grammatical arrangement to serve those aims.

This observation implies that the thorough analysis of the source texts can help translators produce target texts that express the same meaning as the original. The researcher believes that in order to assess objectively the choices translators make when rendering cohesive devices from English into Arabic, one has to examine how and why the writers of the source texts use these markers in discourse.

With this in mind, the following section analyses the cohesive devices used in the source texts. The results of the analysis will be presented and the patterns attested in terms of types, density and distribution will be discussed. These results will be referred to in the analysis of the translated texts.

3.1.1 Reference

As stated in Chapter Two, Halliday and Hasan in *Cohesion in English* (1976) consider reference a semantic relation that creates intersentential cohesion in English texts. They divide this category into a number of sub-types: personals, demonstratives and comparatives (see Chapter Two, Sections 2.2.1 – 2.2.1.3).

3.1.1.1 Personal Reference

After conducting a close analysis of all the personals employed in the different sections of *Newsweek International*, the corpora analysed show the following patterns of personal reference:

1) The texts make extensive use of personal reference. Out of a total of 2913 referential devices used in the analysed articles, 1692 are personals (Table 3.1).

This result is not surprising; Halliday and Hasan note that 'the use of personal forms as reference items with a cohesive function is so all-pervading in English' (1976: 48). Also, linguists (de Beaugrande, 1980; Halliday and Hasan, 1976;1985; Brown and Yule, 1983; and Martin 1992) discuss personal pronouns elaborately when dealing with aspects pertaining to textual cohesion.

2) Within the category of personal reference, the writers depend heavily on third person pronouns to create cohesion between the sentences. Out of a total of 1692 personal items attested in the corpora, 77% are third person pronouns and 23% are personal possessives.¹

These findings indicate that the writers of *Newsweek International* depend primarily on third person pronouns to create a continuous line of intersentential anaphoric reference; a choice that must have pragmatic connotations. According to Bolinger (1979: 308) 'the main error of formal treatments of "pronominalization" has been to regard the presence of a pronoun rather than a noun as due to a sort of mechanical process CAUSED by the presence of a noun at this or that location rather than as a pragmatic choice between a nominal with a richer semantic content and a nominal with a leaner one'. The results also reveal that the use of this formal marker to link

¹ Instances of first and second person pronouns used anaphorically in quoted speech are attested. However, the occurrences of these personals with a cohesive function is limited in the selected corpora.

sentences of a text is not limited to a specific genre.² In fact, Halliday and Hasan remark that 'in many texts the third person forms constitute the most frequent single class of cohesive items' (ibid.: 49).

3) 387 instances of possessives are attested in the corpora; 381 instances are possessive determiners and 6 instances are possessive pronouns.

The low distribution of the possessive pronouns might be attributed to the 'doubly anaphoric' function (ibid.: 55) these possessive pronouns exhibit in texts. To Halliday and Hasan, possessive pronouns are 'doubly anaphoric because they are both referential and elliptical: they are anaphoric (i) by reference to the possessor, and (ii) by ellipsis, to the thing possessed' (ibid.). This dual function of possessive pronouns makes antecedent identification more demanding for the readers. The researcher believes that using this referential device more frequently in texts may breach the efficiency criterion presented by de Beaugrande and Dressler in *Introduction to Text Linguistics* (1981). To the authors, pro-forms are used in texts 'to simplify and shorten' the surface text in an attempt to save reader effort and facilitate referent identification.

4) In terms of phoric reference, the analysis shows that the majority of devices grouped under the sub-category of personals express anaphoric relations across sentence boundaries. This is attributable to the fact that 'personals are normally cataphoric only within a structural framework, and therefore do not contribute to the

² Gutwinski in *Cohesion in Literary Texts* (1976) shows that third person pronouns are used frequently in literary texts.

cohesion of the text' (ibid.: 56). These anaphoric relations are distributed evenly throughout the texts.

5) The distance between the presupposing and presupposed items is mainly expressed through immediate ties; mediated and remote ties are used less frequently.

Since immediate ties are 'the simplest form of presupposition' (ibid.: 330), the links of reference created between the presupposing and presupposed items result in identity chains that are easily resolved. Indeed, if the distance between the pronoun and its antecedent is too large, ambiguity results; hence, the reader has to 'backtrack' to understand what the pronoun refers to (Hodges et al, 1994).

6) It was found that the aforementioned patterns apply to all the articles analysed, regardless of the news section membership and text length. In fact, 79 texts out of 100 depend extensively on personal reference to create intersentential cohesion.

Table 3.1

Personal reference

Personal Reference	No. of instances attested	Percentage (%)
1) Personals	1305	77%
2) Possessives	387	23%
Total (1& 2)	1692	100%
3) Possessive determiners	381	98%
4) Possessive pronouns	6	2%
Total (3 & 4)	387	100%

3.1.1.2 Demonstratives

The analysis of all the demonstrative occurrences in the corpora displays the following patterns of demonstrative intersentential cohesion:

1) Out of a total of 2913 referential devices attested in the corpora, 1043 are demonstratives. Within this category, 407 instances are nominal demonstratives and 49 are adverbial demonstratives. The definite article '*the*' accounts for 587 instances³ (Table 3.2).

2) All text types use the singular demonstratives '*this*' and '*that*' more frequently than the plural demonstratives '*these*' and '*those*' (cf. Botley, 1996). Within the singular demonstratives, '*this*' accounts for 173 instances and '*that*' for 148 (Table 3.3). This pattern may have prevailed because '*this*' is considered more specific than '*that*'.

3) Syntactically, demonstratives can function as Head of a noun phrase (demonstrative pronouns) or as Modifier (demonstrative adjectives). The findings reveal that the nominal demonstratives are used more frequently as Modifiers; the only demonstrative that is not frequently used as a Modifier is '*those*' (Table 3.3). While demonstrative adjectives account for 207 instances, demonstrative pronouns constitute 105 instances. This pattern is most probably adhered to because the mention of the noun enables the writer 'to refer unambiguously to the presupposed item' (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 65); this is an aspect that makes referent identification easier for the reader.

³ Only endophoric reference is taken into consideration in the analysis of the definite article '*the*' (see Section 2.2.1.2).

4) The analysis indicates that extended reference is exclusively carried out by the demonstratives '*this*' and '*that*'.

5) The corpora displays a low distribution of adverbial demonstratives, and '*there*' is used in the corpora to refer to a place and does not express the meaning of 'respect' (ibid.: 74). Also, '*then*' and '*now*' are used more frequently to express conjunctive relations across sentences.

6) With regard to the distribution of demonstratives and the distance between the demonstrative and its antecedent, the analysis shows that the nominal demonstratives are distributed evenly throughout the texts. The analysis also reveals that immediate ties are used for the recoverability of the antecedents.

The researcher believes that this 'technique' is used to avoid complex presupposition which may hamper antecedent identification. It is our contention that 'cooperation' between writer and reader can only be achieved when the efficiency criterion is met.

7) The definite article '*the*' has an anaphoric function when the item it precedes has been previously mentioned in the text. In such contexts, '*the*' can be referred to as the 'second mention article'.

8) The news sections the articles belong to and the text length do not have a marked effect on the demonstrative patterns attested in the corpora; these patterns are employed in the same way in all news sections. This finding is in agreement with the results observed for personal reference.

Table 3.2**Demonstratives**

Demonstrative	No. of instances attested	Percentage (%)
1) Nominal demonstratives	407	39%
2) Adverbial demonstratives	49	5%
3) Definite article ' <i>the</i> '	587	56%
Total (1, 2 & 3)	1043	100%

Table 3.3**Nominal demonstratives**

Nominal Demonstratives			
	Modifier	Head	Extended
'this'	91	46	36
'that'	46	43	59
'these'	41	6	---
'those'	29	10	---
Total	207	105	95

3.1.1.3 Comparatives

Since comparatives are not so common in the analysed data, the patterns attested are limited in comparison with the other referential devices.

1) The findings reveal that the number of sentences that employ comparatives to create intersentential cohesion is small. Out of a total of 2913 referential devices attested in the corpora, only 178 are comparatives. This low distribution of

comparatives results because this formal marker is used in the data more frequently to express intrasentential cohesion (Table 3.4). James (1980: 108) states that this frequent use of comparatives to create intrasentential cohesion in discourse is ‘the most economical and most explicit way of stating comparison’.

2) Out of 178 instances, general comparison accounts for 71 instances and particular comparison accounts for 107. This result may be attributed to the fact that general comparisons are used more frequently to express intrasentential cohesion.

3) To create intersentential links between the comparative and its referent immediate ties are used.

Table 3.4
Comparatives

Comparatives	No. of instances attested	Percentage (%)
General	71	40%
Particular	107	60%
Total	178	100%

3.1.2 Substitution

Halliday and Hasan in *Cohesion in English* (1976) consider that substitution, unlike reference, creates lexicogrammatical relationships across sentence boundaries. They differentiate between three types of substitution: nominal, verbal and clausal (see Chapter Two, Sections 2.2.2 - 2.2.2.3).

Although substitution ‘greatly facilitates sentence connection’ (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973: 23), and is used in discourse to avoid repetition, the analysis of the corpora reveals that this cohesive device does not play a prominent role in creating intersentential cohesion. This may be attributed to the fact that substitution is ‘rare outside conversation’ (Hoey, 1991: 6). Since the occurrences of this formal marker are not so common in the analysed data, the patterns observed for this device are limited:

1) Only 22 instances of substitution are attested in the corpora (cf. instances of reference, conjunctions and lexical cohesion). Out of the 22 occurrences, 4 represent nominal substitution, 8 verbal substitution and 10 clausal substitution (Table 3.5). These findings confirm that substitution does not constitute a distinctive stylistic cohesive device in the corpora under examination. This result, however, does not surprise the researcher. Studies conducted on the use of the different cohesive devices in discourse indicate that substitution is the least employed in the creation of cohesion across sentences (Halliday, 1985; Hoey, 1991; and Al-Jabr, 1999).

2) In terms of phoric reference, the analysis reveals that all the instances attested express anaphoric reference. This result is in line with Halliday and Hasan’s observation that states ‘The vast majority of all instances of substitution are endophoric; and of these again, the vast majority are anaphoric’ (ibid.: 90).

3) The distance between the presupposing and presupposed items are expressed using immediate ties. This approach is most probably adhered to in order to facilitate

antecedent recoverability and fulfil the efficiency criterion.

4) Substitution is used more frequently within sentences, and the instances of substitution attested are prevalent in the long texts; only three instances of substitution are noted in the short texts. This may be attributed to two reasons: (1) the low distribution of this device in the articles studied; and (2) the fact that the short texts employ other cohesive devices, such as reference and lexical cohesion to link sentences.

Table 3.5

Substitution

Substitution	No. of instances attested	Percentage (%)
1) Nominal Substitution	4	18%
2) Verbal Substitution	8	36%
3) Clausal Substitution	10	46%
Total (1, 2 & 3)	22	100%

3.1.3 Ellipsis

Like substitution, Halliday and Hasan (ibid.) consider ellipsis a lexicogrammatical device and classify this cohesive marker into three sub-categories: nominal, verbal and clausal (see Chapter Two, Sections 2.2.3 – 2.2.3.3).

Eckersley and Eckersley (1977: 318) acknowledge that ‘ellipsis is a common feature in English;’ however, this explicit marker does not constitute a dominant mode for creating intersentential cohesion in the corpora examined. This finding, like the one pertaining to substitution, is not surprising for it coincides with other analyses that

reveal that the journalistic text-type does not exhibit a high proportion of ellipses to create cohesion across sentence boundaries (Al-Jabr, 1999). The following patterns of ellipses observed in the English edition of *Newsweek International* support the aforementioned claim:

1) 203 instances of ellipses are observed in the analysed corpora (cf. reference, conjunctions and lexical cohesion).

2) These instances are distributed as follows between the three sub-categories of ellipsis: 127 occurrences are nominal,⁴ 35 are verbal and 41 are clausal (Table 3.6).

3) Out of the 127 instances of nominal ellipsis, deictic elements exhibit the highest number of occurrences followed by numerative ellipsis (Table 3.7). This corresponds with Halliday and Hasan's (ibid.: 159) comment that states 'the elliptical use of deictic elements is a major source of cohesion in English texts'.

4) Within verbal ellipsis, there are 20 instances of operator verbal ellipsis and 15 instances of lexical verbal ellipsis. The operator verbal ellipsis occurrences are all elliptical indicative. It is also evident that verbal ellipsis is more commonly used in the articles to express intrasentential rather than intersentential cohesion. Intrasentential verbal ellipsis is most probably preferred since the distance between the elliptical verbal group and the eliminated segment of text is kept to a minimal;

⁴ The demonstratives 'this' and 'that' are only considered elliptical when 'the ellipited nominal group could be 'filled out' with a noun head' (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 157). Hence, they are not considered elliptical when they express extended reference and are grouped under demonstratives.

this approach makes it easier for the reader to ‘fill in’ the missing information that has been mentioned in the preceding discourse.

5) When discussing ellipsis, Halliday and Hasan (ibid.: 144) state at the outset that ‘ellipsis is normally an anaphoric relation’; indeed, the findings show that this is the only kind of phoric reference prevailing in the articles analysed. The results also show that immediate, mediated and remote ties are used for the recoverability of the ellipted elements; however, immediate ties far outnumber the mediated and the remote ties. We think that the former ties are used to ensure that the reader does not lose the thread of the discourse.

Table 3.6

Ellipsis

Ellipsis	No. of instances attested	Percentage
Nominal Ellipsis	127	63%
Verbal Ellipsis	35	17%
Clausal Ellipsis	41	20%
Total	203	100%

Table 3.7
Nominal Ellipsis

Nominal Ellipsis	No. of instances attested	Percentage
Deictic	68	54%
Numerative	50	39%
Epithet	9	7%
Total	127	100%

3.1.4 Conjunctions

Halliday and Hasan (ibid.) acknowledge that conjunctions do not create intersentential cohesion using the process of recoverability; rather, they express meaning relations by linking what has been mentioned in foregoing sentences with what is about to be said. They distinguish between five types of conjunctive relations: additive, adversative, causal, temporal and continuatives (see Chapter Two, Sections 2.2.4 – 2.2.4.5).

Although conjunctions are needed in texts to signal the relationships holding between the different text components, the analysis indicates that these text-building devices play a minor role in creating intersentential cohesion as the following findings reveal:

1) 789 instances of conjunctions are used in the corpora. In comparison with the occurrences that involve personal reference (Section 3.1.1.1), one can state that this figure is relatively low. Two main reasons contribute to the low proportion of

conjunctions: (1) these explicit markers are not used frequently in journalistic writing (Smith and Frawley, 1983); and (2) the exaggerated use of conjunctions can produce texts that distract the readers and affect their perception of the underlying coherence of the text (de Beaugrande, 1980; Al-Batal, 1990; and McCarthy, 1991).

2) The 789 occurrences of conjunctions are distributed as follows between the five categories proposed by Halliday and Hasan (ibid.): 377 are adversative, 193 are additive, 105 are temporal, 60 are causal and 54 are continuatives (Table 3.8). It is also noted that these conjunctions are not confined to a particular news sections; in fact, they are used in varying frequencies in all the articles examined. In reviewing the types of conjunctions employed a number of points are noted. First, a single conjunction may be used to signal a variety of relations between sentences. For example, the conjunction 'and' is used to denote an additive function in some texts and an adversative function in others.⁵ Second, a number of conjunctions are used to signal the same semantic relations. Therefore, we find that the conjunctions 'but' and 'yet', for instance, are utilised to signal adversative relations. Third, some texts do not use explicit markers to create links between sentences; in such cases, the relation is implicit and can be inferred from the context; these findings are all in line with the various studies conducted on these formal markers (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Halliday, 1985; Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973; and McCarthy, 1991). Finally, some conjunctive categories are used more frequently than others (Table 3.8), and within the same category there are preferences for certain conjunctions. Out of 377 adversatives, 'but' is used 288 times, whereas out of 193 instances of additives 'and'

⁵ This multiplicity of functions is not confined to the conjunction 'and', but covers other conjunctions.

occurs 123 times. This observation suggests that the choice of conjunctions in discourse depends on the message(s) the text producer wants to convey and the line of argument adopted (Smith and Frawley, 1983; Crystal and Davy, 1983; and Al-Jabr, 1999).

Table 3.8
Conjunctions

Conjunctions	No. of instances attested	Percentage (%)
Additive	193	24%
Adversative	377	48%
Causal	60	8%
Temporal	105	13%
Continuatives	54	7%
Total	789	100%

3.1.5 Lexical Cohesion

In *Cohesion in English* (1976), Halliday and Hasan state that lexical cohesion ‘is the cohesive effect achieved by the selection of vocabulary’ (ibid.: 275). They discuss two broad categories under lexical cohesion, namely reiteration and collocation (see Chapter Two, Section 2.2.5). However, in the analysis of the data, Halliday’s categorisation (1985) is considered because the researcher believes that the categories discussed are more clear-cut in comparison with the classification adopted in *Cohesion in English*. Halliday retains repetition and collocation as separate categories, and groups antonymy, hyponymy, and meronymy under the general heading of synonymy (see Chapter One, Section 1.1.4).

The analysis of the lexical devices employed in the different sections of *Newsweek International*, indicates that text producers rely on this explicit marker in creating intersentential cohesion in this journalistic discourse. The following patterns pertaining to lexical cohesion are observed:

1) 5048 lexical devices are used in the analysed texts; a figure that confirms that this cohesive explicit marker can be considered to constitute a salient feature of the analysed articles (cf. reference, substitution, ellipsis and conjunctions). Al-Jabr (1999: 241) points out that this stylistic preference which journalistic discourse exhibits is maintained since 'this discourse type deals with specific factual or probable events executed or to be executed by real/probable characters, reference to those events and characters is more adequately realised by lexical items, so that the reader can identify who did (is doing/is going to do) what, and how/ when and where'.

2) Within the subcategories of lexical cohesion, the writers depend heavily on repetition to create intersentential cohesion. Out of 5048 instances of lexical cohesion, 3315 represent repetition (Table 3.9); these instances involve reference to people, places and specific incidents discussed in the articles. This extensive use of repetition cannot be ad hoc. According to linguists and translation theorists, writers deploy this formal marker for purposes of assertion, emphasis, focus, surprise and to avoid ambiguity of reference (Quirk et al., 1972; de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981; Hatim and Mason, 1990; among others). If one takes this into consideration, one can claim that the instances of repetition observed in the analysed articles fulfil one

or more of the aforementioned purposes depending on their textual environment. This enables the readers to follow the thread of discourse with minimal processing effort.

3) The remaining 1733 instances of lexical cohesion are distributed as follows: 974 are synonyms, 144 are antonyms, 176 are hyponyms, 241 are meronyms and 198 are collocations (Table 3.9). This distribution indicates that synonymy is the second most important lexical cohesive device in this discourse type. It is also clear that a high proportion of synonyms involve identity of reference.⁶ This sub-category of lexical cohesion is used in the articles examined for stylistic variation, especially in contexts that do not necessitate repeating a lexical item mentioned in the preceding text; it is a stylistic strategy that successfully overcomes the production of monotonous texts that might distract the reader and entail extra processing effort. Indeed, when discussing lexical cohesion Callow acknowledges (1974: 31) that the ‘selection of vocabulary items from a common semantic area contributes greatly to discourse cohesion’.

4) The textual environment dictates the nature of the meaning relations the lexical devices express in the articles. This finding reiterates the importance attributed to context in the study of lexical cohesion. According to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 289), ‘Without our being aware of it, each occurrence of a lexical item carries with it its own textual history, a particular collocational environment that has been built up

⁶ The term ‘co-reference’ is sometimes used to refer to instances of synonymy that involve identity of reference (see for example, Baker, 1992; and Hatim and Mason, 1990)

in the course of the creation of the text and that will provide the context with which the item will be incarnated on this particular occasion. This environment determines the 'instantial meaning', or text meaning, of the item, a meaning which is unique to each specific instance' (see Example 5, page 143).

5) In terms of phoric reference, all the devices grouped under this category express anaphoric intersentential relations. Indeed, Baker's (1992: 203) statement 'lexical cohesion covers any instance in which the use of a lexical item recalls the sense of an earlier one' explains this tendency towards anaphoric reference.

6) The distance between the lexical device and the item it refers back to is expressed through immediate, mediated and remote ties. These ties result in lexical networks that gradually take the reader through the text in a manner that successfully imparts the message intended by the text producer.

7) It was found that the aforementioned patterns apply to all the articles analysed, regardless of the news section membership.

Table 3.9
Lexical Cohesion

Lexical Cohesion	No. of instances attested	Percentage (%)
Repetition	3315	66%
Synonyms	974	19%
Antonyms	144	3%
Hyponyms	176	3%
Meronyms	241	5%
Collocation	198	4%
Total	5048	100%

3.1.6 Sample Analysis

To illustrate how the aforementioned cohesive devices are used in the selected corpora, an excerpt drawn from the Worlds Affairs section will be analysed. The sentences are numbered for ease of reference.

Halfway up the slope, just to the west of a landslide that entombed hundreds of people, a white mansion stands unscathed (1). It is the home of Emelia Shields Guirola, a 78-year old American-born widow who married into one of El Salvador's richest families six decades ago (2). When her walls began to shake on January 13, Guirola was in the upstairs sitting room (3). She stood up, and leaning on her cane, carefully descended the spiral staircase (4). People were dying around her, in one of the worst earthquakes to hit Central America in years, but Guirola knew nothing of its terrible toll (5). She went to the dining room to check on her china (6).

The tale of Guirola's survival while more than 700 others died-many of them middle class and a few newly affluent, caught in the landslide below her- is also a story of El Salvador's tragic modern history (7). Until 1979, when leftist guerillas began fighting a civil war against the U.S.- backed government, 14 families owned most of EL Salvador's land (8). They ran the country as their private fiefdom (9). Amelia Guirola, like her mansion on the hill, is a symbol of those days (10). Everything destroyed in the landslide just outside the

capital of San Salvador was once a coffee plantation owned by Guirola's aristocratic Salvadoran husband (11).

As a young woman from a well-to-do American family, Amelia found herself on vacation in Central America in the mid – 1940s (12). In Guatemala, she met Eduardo Guirola, manager of his father's real estate there (13). Amelia and Eduardo fell in love, got married and eventually returned to his native El Salvador (14). Resentful of the Guirola wealth, many poor Salvadorans came to believe that the family's ancestors had sold the souls of future generations to the Devil (15). In fact, the ancestors were rich colonialists from Spain (16). They raised cattle and grew cotton, indigo and coffee (17).

(*Newsweek*, January 29, 2001: 50)

This stretch of discourse is taken from an article entitled '*A Survivor's Story*'. The entire article is seven paragraphs long, and the selected text represents the first three paragraphs of the article. Analysing this text reveals that it depends heavily on lexical cohesion and to a lesser extent on reference to create anaphoric relations across sentences. As for the other cohesive devices, the text uses one instance of ellipsis and one conjunction. The findings pertaining to lexical cohesion indicate that 30 instances of lexical items are noted in this excerpt; 15 of these are repetition, 6 are meronyms, 3 are synonyms, 4 are collocation and there is one instance of hyponymy and one instance of antonymy (Table 3.10).⁷

As far as referential items are concerned, the text deploys 15 instances of referential cohesive markers; 11 of these devices are personals. These include: '*it*' in sentence (2) which refers back to the '*mansion*' mentioned in sentence (1); '*she*' in sentences (4, 6 and 13) and '*her*' in sentences (3), (4), (5) and (6) refer to '*Amelia Guirola*'; '*they*' and '*their*' in sentence (9) refer to the '*14 families*' mentioned in sentence (8); and '*they*' in sentence (17) refers to '*the ancestors*' in sentence (16). The other two

⁷ Since the excerpt displays a high proportion of lexical items, the semantic meaning relations these elements express are presented in table format.

referential devices are the definite article '*the*' (sentences 7, 9, 10, 11 and 16) and the demonstrative '*those*' (sentence 10). The definite article '*the*' creates a tie between the nouns '*landslide/landslide*', '*slope/hill*', and '*family ancestors/ancestors*'. The demonstrative '*those*' refers back to the days before 1979 when 14 families owned most of El Salvador's land (sentence 8).

The other peripheral cohesive markers in this text are the elliptical structure '*others*' (sentence 7) and the adversative conjunction '*in fact*' (sentence 16). The elliptical structure '*others*' links sentences (7) and (5). The reader can 'fill in' the elided structure '*people*' by referring back to sentence (5). The adversative conjunction '*in fact*' acts as a bridge between sentences (15) and (16).

The analysis shows that the ties used to resolve the anaphoric relations between the text constituents are immediate, mediated and remote. It is also clear that the similarity and identity chains that refer to Amelia Guirola are rather long and cover the whole text. The similarity chain that refers to Amelia Guirola accounts for 6 instances, and the identity chain that refers to the individual Amelia Guirola, in these three paragraphs only, accounts for 7 instances (Figure 3.1). This result coincides with Martin and Peters findings (1985) which state that the chains that refer to individuals in exposition tend to be long and cover entire texts. It would be interesting to see whether this observation can be extended to include other text-types.

Table 3.10

Lexical relations in 'A Survivor's Story'

Sentence Number	Cohesive tie	Type	Presupposed item/ Sentence Number
2	the home	Coll	mansion (1)
3	(her) walls	Mer	mansion (1)
	Guirola	Rept	Emelia Guirola (2)
	Sitting room	Mer	mansion (1)
4	staircase	Mer	mansion (1)
5	people	Rept	people (1)
	dying	Coll	entombed (1)
	Guirola	Rept	Guirola (3)
6	dining room	Mer	mansion (1)
7	Guirola	Rept	Guirola (5)
	died	Rept	dying (5)
	died	Coll	entombed (1)
	(the) landslide	Rept	a landslide (1)
8	El Salvador	Syn/id	the country (9)
10	Amelia Guirola	Rept	Guirola (7)
	mansion	Rept	mansion (1)
10	(the) hill	Syn	(the) slope (1)
11	(the) landslide	Rept	(the) landslide (7)
	San Salvador	Mer	the country (9)
12	Guirola	Rept	Guirola (10)
	Central America	Rept	Central America (5)
13	Guatemala	Hyp	Central America (12)
	Eduardo Guirola	Syn/id	Salvadoran husband (11)
14	Amelia	Rept	Amelia (12)
	Eduardo	Rept	Eduardo Guirola (13)
	El Salvador	Rept	El Salvador (7)
15	Guirola wealth	Coll	aristocratic Salvadoran husband (11)
	Salvadorans	Mer	El Salvador (14)
16	(the) ancestors	Rept	family's ancestors (15)
	rich	Ant	poor (15)

Key:

Rept: Repetition

Syn: Synonymy

Syn/id: Synonymy/identity of reference

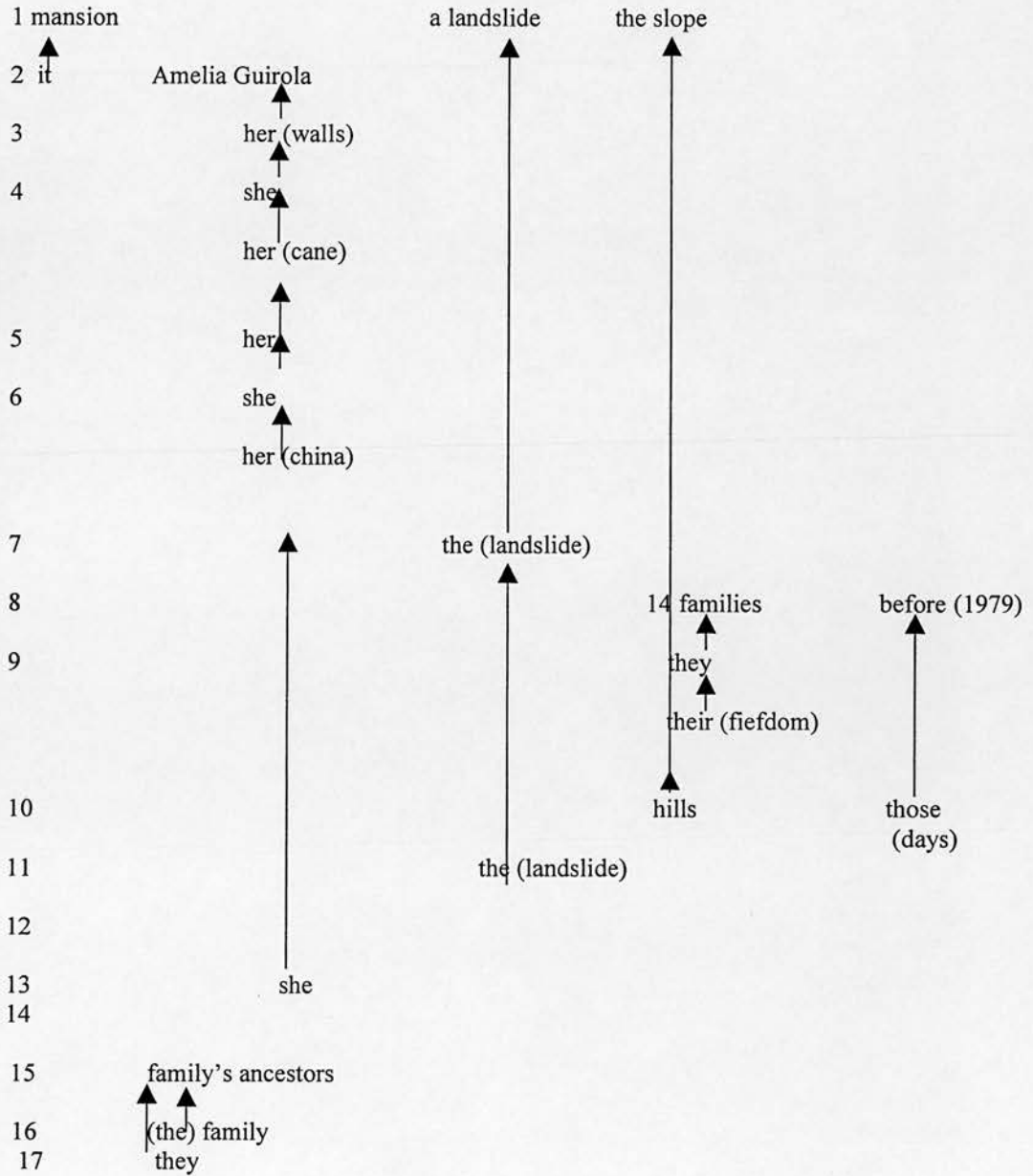
Hyp: Hyponymy

Mer: Meronymy

Ant: Antonymy

Coll: Collocation

Figure 3.1
Identity chains in 'A Survivor's Story'



After a close analysis of all the explicit cohesive markers used in the corpora under investigation, it becomes evident that lexical cohesion can be considered the most prominent overt cohesive marker employed in the creation of intersentential

cohesion. This finding asserts that Hoey's (1991: 10) claim that 'the study of the greater part of cohesion is the study of lexis, and the study of cohesion in text is to a considerable degree the study of patterns of lexis in text', is particularly applicable to the discourse type examined in this study. Since most of the lexical items in the articles interact with one another and create lexical networks that express specific pragmatic meaning relations intended by the source language text producers, translators should give this cohesive marker the attention it deserves; otherwise, the meaning relations perceived in the original might be lost or diluted in the translated texts.

The second most important cohesive marker deployed in the articles is reference. Within this category, personal reference constitutes the backbone for creating referential cohesion between adjacent and non-adjacent sentences. Hence, one can claim that there is a motive underlying this choice. de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), Bolinger (1979); and Brown and Yule (1983) mention a number of motives that govern pronoun selection in discourse. It is generally agreed that pronouns are used to avoid repetition, especially in contexts where 'referent reidentification is not essential', to 'shorten and simplify' surface structures and 'to save reader effort.' It is our contention that these three motives explain the frequent choice of personals in the selected corpora; this is a point that has to be borne in mind when examining this cohesive marker in the target language texts.

Unlike the other cohesive markers, substitution and ellipsis play a peripheral role as intersentential text-binding devices. The low proportion of substitution and ellipsis

can be attributed to three reasons. First, the high frequency of lexical cohesion and referential items do not leave much room for the occurrence of these two lexicogrammatical devices. Second, substitution is frequently used in speech but is rare in the written discourse (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Halliday, 1985; and Hoey, 1991). Third, using many instances of substitution and ellipsis in a text-type like the one studied might jeopardize efficiency and require additional processing effort on the reader's part; three aspects that should be taken into consideration in the process of translating these two formal markers.

The instances of conjunctions observed indicate that this device plays a secondary role in creating cohesion across sentence boundaries. As stated earlier, this result is expected since the research conducted on journalistic writing (Smith and Frawley, 1983; Crystal and Davy, 1983; and Al-Jabr, 1999) suggests that this cohesive device is not frequently used in the creation of intersentential cohesion. The researcher believes that the excessive use of conjunctions might result in overstated meaning relations that distract the reader. Since conjunctions fulfil a specific function in discourse, it is the translators' job to investigate the meanings the source text producers want to convey to pass on to the end-receivers of the translated texts a line of argument similar to the one perceived by the source text receptors.

The analysis also reveals that the articles analysed display the same patterns of cohesive devices although they are grouped under different news sections. This may be attributed to the fact that the writers follow the 'house style' chosen by the Publishers of *Newsweek*. According to Mossop (2001: 23), a house style 'creates

consistency among all the texts produced by a given publisher. This is especially important in journals, **magazines** and collections of articles where **several different authors are contributing to a single issue or book**' (emphasis added).

It is also evident that the writers adhere to the efficiency and effectiveness criteria necessary in the production of texts. The interaction between the presupposing and presupposed items is a straightforward one which results in identity and similarity chains that easily present to the readers the message in each text.

Having presented and discussed the findings pertaining to the cohesive devices in the source texts, the next section will examine how these overt markers have been reproduced in the target texts.

3.2 Analysis of The Target Texts

3.2.1 Similarities Between The Source And Target Texts

This sub-section studies the cohesive devices that have been retained in the target texts. In the analysis, special attention will be given to the instances of similarities⁸ that express formal rather than functional equivalence and do not conform to the conventions of the Arabic language. It is our contention that these renderings fail to convey the intended message of the source texts and make processing effort more demanding for the text recipient. Hence, effective communication between the producers and receivers of texts is impaired (Newmark, 1988; Baker, 1992; Hatim and Mason, 1990; 1997; and others).

⁸ An instance of similarity is attested when the same cohesive device used in the source text is retained in the target text.

3.2.1.1 Reference

A careful examination of the English and Arabic texts reveals that there exists marked similarities between the referential devices used in the source and target texts.

The following findings are observed concerning the referential devices used in the Arabic edition of *Newsweek*.

- 1) Out of 2913 referential devices attested in the source texts, 2319 are retained in the target texts (Table 3.11).
- 2) Within the sub-category of personal pronouns, 1439 instances of personals (out of 1692) are retained in Arabic. Out of 1439 personals, 1099 instances of similarities account for third person pronouns, and 340 instances account for possessives.
- 3) 1043 instances of demonstratives are employed in the source texts. 737 of these instances are retained in the target texts; these renderings are distributed as follows: 277 instances represent nominal and adverbial demonstratives, and 460 instances account for the definite article '*the*'.
- 4) Out of a total of 178 comparatives, 143 instances are retained in the source texts.
- 5) Although 80% of the referential devices in the source texts are retained in the target texts, these formal markers do not always express intersentential cohesion; rather, they are sometimes used to exhibit intrasentential links. This may be

attributed to the differences between the punctuation systems of English and Arabic (Abuhamdia, 1996; and Holes, 1984, 1995; and Williams, 1984).

Table 3.11

Instances of reference items retained in the target text

Referential Items	Retained Referential Items	Percentage (%)
A. Personals		
i) Third Person Pronouns	1099	47%
ii) Possessives	340	15%
Total (i & ii)	1439	62%
B. Demonstratives		
i) Nominal & Adverbial Demonstratives	277	20%
ii) The Definite Article 'the'	460	19%
Total (i & ii)	737	32%
C. Comparatives	143	6%
Total (A, B & C)	2319	100%

3.2.1.2 Substitution

The analysis of the Arabic and English texts shows that eight instances of substitution are retained in the Arabic texts (Table 3.12). These similarities are distributed as follows between the three sub-types of substitution: 1 nominal and 7 clausal. No instances of verbal substitution are reproduced in the target language

texts; this may be attributed to the discrepancies between the verb **فعل** in Arabic and the operator 'do' in English (Aziz, 1998).⁹

Having examined the instances of substitution that have been retained in the act of translation, the following observations are noted:

1) The instance of nominal substitution fails to conform to the conventions of the Arabic language (see Example 9, page 152).

2) Out of 7 instances of clausal substitution, 6 succeed in establishing the same effect as that produced on the source text readers (see Example 2, page 140).

Table 3.12

Instances of substitution retained in the target texts

Substitution	Retained instances of substitution	Percentage
Nominal	1	12.5%
Verbal	-	-
Clausal	7	87.5%
Total	8	100%

3.2.1.3 Ellipsis

The patterns of similarities that have resulted in the process of translating the elliptical items in the Arabic edition of *Newsweek* coincide with those observed for

⁹ See Examples 23 and 24 (pages 187 and 188 respectively) for an explanation of the discrepancies between the verb **فعل** in Arabic and the operator 'do' in English.

reference and substitution. Some of the similarities attested manage to convey the underlying coherence expressed in the original, while others fail to do so. The latter occurrences result when the translators adopt a source-text oriented approach, and disregard the different structures employed in the two languages to express elliptical relations across sentence boundaries.

The following results can be deduced after comparing the instances of ellipsis in the English and Arabic articles of *Newsweek*:

1) 51% of the instances of ellipsis observed in the source language texts are retained in the target language texts. These instances include: 57 nominal ellipsis, 20 operator verbal ellipsis and 26 clausal ellipsis (Table 3.13). The percentage of elliptical structures reproduced in the target language texts seems to be relatively high especially that the patterns and structures employed in English and Arabic to express this cohesive relation across sentences is not identical.

2) Some of the elliptical elements that are used to express intersentential cohesion in the source texts denote intrasentential cohesion in the translated texts. This takes place when the translators want to avoid ambiguity, and facilitate the recoverability of the ellipted item.

Table 3.13

Instances of ellipsis retained in the target texts

Ellipsis	Retained instances of ellipsis	Percentage
Nominal	57	55.34%
Operator verbal ellipsis	20	19.41%
Clausal	26	25.24%
Total	103	100%

3.2.1.4 Conjunctions

A high proportion of conjunctions are retained in the translated texts. This result is unexpected if one bears in mind the literature that discusses the differences in the types and frequency of the conjunctions used in English and Arabic discourse (Holes, 1984; Baker, 1992; Hatim and Mason, 1990, 1997; Aziz, 1997, 1998; and Hamdan and Fareh, 1999). Based on the analysis conducted, the following points are noted concerning the retained conjunctions in the target texts:

1) Out of a total of 789 conjunctions used in the source language texts, 720 are reproduced in the target language texts. If we take into consideration Hamdan and Fareh's (1999: 590) statement that acknowledges 'although connectives are common linking devices, their function in the discourse of a language does not usually coincide with those signalled by their lexical equivalents in another', one can assume that by reproducing such a high proportion of conjunctions from the source texts into the target texts translators have disregarded the discrepancies that English and Arabic discourse exhibit in the use of these cohesive markers.

2) The 720 conjunctions reproduced in the target language texts are distributed as follows: 167 are additive, 357 are adversative, 51 are causal, 97 are temporal and 48 are continuatives (Table 3.14). Since *و* (and) and *ف* (therefore) are the most frequently used conjunctions in Arabic discourse (Cantarino, 1975; Holes, 1984; 1995; Williams, 1984; Hamddan and Fareh, 1999; and others), this distribution of conjunctions once again ascertains that the translators have neglected the stylistic conventions prevalent in Arabic. This will undoubtedly have a negative impact on the translated texts in that they may read like a translation.

3) The translators use synonymous conjunctions for the same English conjuncts. Thus, the conjunction '*but*', for example, is rendered as *ولكن، إلا أن، بيد أن، على أن*.¹⁰ The translators adopt this strategy to achieve stylistic variation especially in texts that frequently employ the same conjunction.

If we bear in mind that conjunctions are used in discourse to present a line of argument (Smith and Frawley, 1983; Al-Zannād, 1993; Al-Batal, 1990; among others), and since English and Arabic employ different means to achieve this aim, one can argue that the slavish adherence to the source text conventions can impede the target text readers' understanding of the text development; a facility that is readily accessible to the reader of the original, but not available to the reader of the translated text (see Examples 12 and 13, pages 156 and 158).

¹⁰ This applies to other conjunctions.

Table 3.14

Instances of conjunctions retained in the target texts

Conjunctions	Retained instances of conjunctions	Percentage
Additive	167	23%
Adversative	357	50%
Causal	51	7%
Temporal	97	13%
Continuatives	48	7%
Total	720	100%

3.2.1.5 Lexical Cohesion

As noted with the other cohesive devices employed in the target language texts, a high proportion of lexical items are retained in the Arabic edition of *Newsweek*. The following patterns are noted concerning the retained lexical markers in the translated texts:

1) 4592 lexical devices are reproduced in the target text. This figure indicates that 91% of the lexical items used in the source texts have been reproduced in the target texts.

2) The retained lexical items are grouped as follows: repetition accounts for 3119 instances, synonymy for 745, antonymy for 143, hyponymy for 170, meronymy for 229 and collocation for 186 (Table 3.15). The high frequency of repetition does not surprise the researcher since Arabic discourse frequently uses repetition to bind sentences of a text (see Chapter One, Section 1.2.2.5). Many of the instances that

involve lexical repetition succeed in imparting on the target language texts the same communicative effect presented in the source language texts.

3) In reproducing the lexical devices used in the source language into the target language, the meaning relations conveyed do not always express intersentential cohesion. Translators sometimes adopt intrasentential cohesion to relate the meaning relations of certain lexical items; this is especially true when immediate ties are used.

4) As evident with all the other cohesive devices analysed, the retention of the same lexical items in the target texts does not always present texts that flow smoothly; reproducing the same lexical items sometimes makes the translated texts read like a translation.

Table 3.15

Instances of lexical items retained in the target texts

Lexical cohesion	Retained lexical items	Percentage (%)
Repetition	3119	68%
Synonyms	745	16%
Antonyms	143	3%
Hyponyms	170	4%
Meronyms	229	5%
Collocation	186	4%
Total	4592	100%

The aforementioned results indicate that a significantly high proportion of explicit cohesive devices are retained in the translated texts. This seems to be surprising

since Arabic and English are linguistically very distant. It is therefore important that these renderings are studied and evaluated in an attempt at understanding the reasons underlying the translators' choices and the impact these choices have on the target texts. To be able to conduct this assessment, illustrative examples drawn from the different news sections will be presented and discussed. The examples will examine all the cohesive markers analysed, namely reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunctions and lexical cohesion respectively.

3.2.1.6 Illustrative Examples

Example 1¹¹

MA JUNREN'S ATHLETES did whatever it took to win. In the early 1990s they rewrote the women's track and field record book- and raised suspicion that their successes were fueled by illegal performance-boosting drugs. Not at all, said the flamboyant Ma. His runners won thanks to his coaching methods: a grueling high-altitude training regimen and a bizarre diet that included caterpillar fungus and a daily bowl of turtle's blood and herbs. Once he even lopped off a turtle's head, poured its blood into porcelain cups and had his track stars quaff down the liquid in front of German TV cameras.

(Newsweek, September 18, 2000: 68)

رياضيات المدرب الصيني ما جونرين فعلن كل ما هو ممكن لتحقيق الفوز. ففي بداية التسعينات أعدن كتابة تاريخ النساء في الأرقام القياسية للالعاب القوى والمضمار مما أثار الشكوك بأن نجاحهن عززه تناول عقاقير غير مشروعة لتحسين الأداء. ولكن المدرب، المحب للاستعراض المثير، ينفي ذلك، ويقول: لا مطلقا. وبصر على أن عداها ته فزن نتيجة لأسالييه في التدريب: نظام تدريب شاق عال ونظام غذائي غريب يشتمل على فطر اليرقات وتناول قذح يومي من دم السلاحف والأعشاب. حتى أنه قطع ذات مرة رأس سلحفاة، وصب دمها في كؤوس من الخزف وجعل رياضياته¹² يشربن السائل أمام كاميرات محطة تلفزيون ألمانية.

(Newsweek, September 19, 2000: 54)

Analysing the above two texts reveals that in order to establish and maintain text continuity, the translator has retained all the referential devices in the act of

¹¹ In the analysis of the examples, only the cohesive markers are considered. Other translation problems are disregarded because they are beyond the scope of this study.

¹² The wrong choice of the lexical item رياضياته and not the possessive pronoun makes the proposition sound awkward.

reworking the text into Arabic. By rendering the third person pronouns and possessives used in the source language texts into their equivalents in the target language texts, the translator manages to convey the same pragmatic meaning intended by the text producer. The Arabic text, like its English counterpart, avoids repetition and saves reader effort while conforming to the conventions of the Arabic language. According to Al-Ghalāyīnī (1999: 120; my translation), ‘connected pronouns are used in Arabic to avoid repetition, and cannot be replaced by separate pronouns in contexts where the former can be readily used’. In this example, formal equivalence succeeds in producing the same effect on the target text reader as that produced on the source text reader.

Example 2

Later this week, the LRC¹³ is expected to take on the Abu Sayyaf and expectations are high. “They are the best I’ve seen in the region,” says the U.S. Army captain who led the training. If so, Abu Sayyaf had better get ready for a hotter war.

(*Newsweek*, July 9, 2001: 5)

ويتوقع أن تهاجم كتيبة الرد الخفيفة هذه جماعة أبو سياف في وقت لاحق هذا الشهر، والتوقعات مرتفعة. وقال كابتن الجيش الأمريكي الذي قاد التدريبات: “إنهم الأفضل مما رأيت في هذه المنطقة”. وإذا كان الأمر كذلك، فإن على أبو سياف أن يستعد لحرب أسخن.

(*Newsweek*, July 10, 2001: 6-7)

In this example, the clausal substitute ‘*if so*’ is used to abbreviate and avoid repeating the structure ‘*if they are the best*’ used in the preceding sentence. This option does not distract the reader since he/she can easily understand what the clausal substitute stands for. The translator chooses to reproduce this cohesive marker by using the structure إذا كان الأمر كذلك (*if so*), and avoids repeating information previously stated

¹³ The ‘LRC’ stands for the ‘*Light Reaction Company*’ which is the first Philippine counter terrorist unit mentioned in the foregoing sentences.

in the text. Since the presupposing and presupposed items appear in adjacent sentences, the target language reader has no problems inferring what this structure refers to. Here, retaining the cohesive marker used in the source text in the target text does not hinder text comprehensibility and observes the functional meaning expressed in the original.

Example 3

Bilham and his colleagues are now working on those very data.¹⁴ Digging through ancient Tibetan, Urdu and Arabic texts, the scientists have already discovered at least three previously unknown quakes. One hit Kashmir in 1555, another took place in the central Himalayas 50 years earlier and a third, of which they so far have only one unconfirmed account, may have shaken Nepal in 1255.

(*Newsweek*, September, 3, 2001: 59)

ويقوم بيلهام وزملائه الآن بالعمل على دراسة هذه المعلومات. وعن طريق تنقيبهم في نصوص قديمة باللغات التبتية، والأرودية والعربية، اكتشف العلماء ثلاثة زلازل غير معروفة على الأقل، واحدا أصاب كشمير عام 1555 وآخر حدث في وسط الهيمالايا قبل ذلك ب 50 سنة. أما الثالث فهو غير مؤكد الحدوث ولا يوجد حوله غير تقرير واحد غير موثوق به، وقد يكون قد أصاب نيبال عام 1255.

(*Newsweek*, September 4, 2001: 51)

The writer of the English text uses three instances of nominal ellipsis to create a link between the two sentences under examination: 'one', 'another' and 'third'. By adopting this stylistic approach, the source text producer avoids repetition and produces a text that flows smoothly and requires minimal processing. To achieve the same underlying coherence conveyed to the reader of the English edition of *Newsweek*, the translator reproduces the same cohesive devices used in the source text but in accordance with the structures employed in Arabic discourse. In the Arabic version, we have three instances of ellipsis that involve omitting the predicate

¹⁴'Those data' refers to data available on previous earthquakes mentioned earlier in the text.

of the nominal sentence: (وزلزال) آخر حدث¹⁵ (one quake hit) (زلزال) واحد أصاب (and another quake took place) أما (الزلزال) الثالث (but the third quake). This kind of ellipsis is common in Arabic discourse and is used to avoid repeating old information (Al-Anṣārī, 1996; and Al-Ghalāyīnī, 1999). In this context, the Arab reader can easily 'fill in' the ellipsed items especially that immediate ties are used to relate the omitted items to the presupposed clause. Since the conventions of Arabic allow this structure, its retention succeeds in producing an end - product that fulfils the same pragmatic meaning expressed in the original.

Example 4

*Ever since Oslo, Arafat has had a choice; he could shift from an unattainable demand (the right of return) to an attainable one (Israel out of the occupied territories). The switch would give his people a state, national independence and the beginnings of normalcy. **But** he couldn't do it.*

(Newsweek, April 9, 2001:2)

ومنذ أوصلو أصبح لعرفات خيار . لقد كان بوسعه التحول من مطلب غير قابل للتحقيق (حق العودة) الى مطلب قابل للتحقيق (خروج إسرائيل من الأراضي المحتلة). وكان هذا التحول سيعطي شعبه دولة واستقلالاً وطنياً وبدايات حالة طبيعية. لكنه لم يستطع أن يفعل ذلك.

(Newsweek, April, 10, 2001: 2)

The English text producer ties the portion of text cited using the adversative conjunction 'but'. This choice is undoubtedly motivated since the writer wants to surprise the reader. The writer mentions the gains Arafat will get once he changes his stance: a state, national independence and the beginnings of normalcy, giving the readers the impression that these gains will appeal to Arafat. However, by using

¹⁵ The use of "الثاني" (the second) is also possible in this context.

'but' in the subsequent sentence, the readers are presented with information that contradicts their expectations. The translator observes this pragmatic meaning by retaining the conjunction employed in the original using its equivalent in Arabic لكن (but); a choice that is acceptable in Arabic discourse for لكن (but) presents a statement in adversative coordination to one which is precedent' (Cantarino, 1975, III: 40).¹⁶ Since this rendition conforms to the conventions of Arabic, the translator succeeds in producing a translated text that is both textually appropriate and acceptable to the audience of the target language text.

Example 5

With his goatee, sandals and dreams of retiring to his house in the rebel land of Chiapas, Brent Berlin evokes the image of an aging hippie. One of the few outsiders who speaks Tzeltal, a local language, the 64-year-old anthropologist and herbalist now finds himself vilified as a "biopirate" working with drug companies to rip off the medicinal secrets of the Mayans. Indians backed by international activists are trying to chase Berlin out of Chiapas, which has Mexico's largest concentration of indigenous people, most of them desperately poor.

(Newsweek, April 9, 2001: 29)

بلحيته الصغيرة، ونعله، وأحلامه في التقاعد في بيت يملكه في مقاطعة تشياباس الثائرة، يعيد برنت برلين إلى الأذهان صورة هيببي تقدمت به السن. إنه أحد الأجانب القلائل الذين يتحدثون التزلتال، وهي لغة محلية هناك، ويجد هذا الأنثروبولوجي (المختص بعلوم أصل الجنس البشري وتطوره وأعرافه) وجامع الأعشاب البالغ من العمر ٦٤ عاماً، يجد نفسه حالياً موضع احتقار "كقرصان في علم الأحياء" يعمل لمصلحة شركات الأدوية الكبرى لسرقة أسرار المايا الطبية. ويحاول الهنود هناك (وهم السكان الأصليون) وبمساعدة ناشطين دوليين طرد برلين من تشياباس التي تضم أكبر تجمع للسكان الأصليين في المكسيك، والذين يعانون أغلبهم الفقر المدقع.

(Newsweek, April, 10, 2001: 32)

This short text asserts that lexical cohesion can be considered a distinctive feature in the corpora investigated. This assertion is based on the fact that the writer uses five instances of lexical cohesion to bind the first two sentences of the above text. These instances include repetition of proper names such as 'Chiapas' and 'Berlin', a

¹⁶ See also Al-Anṣārī (1996); Al-Zajjājī (1986); and Al-Ghalāyīnī (1999).

relation of synonymy between '*Brent Berlin*' and '*anthropologist and herbalist*' (the former does not involve identity of reference, whereas the second does), a relation of hyponymy between '*Mayans*' and '*Indians*' and a relation of antonymy between the two sets '*retire to*' and '*chase out*' and '*outsiders*' and '*indigenous people*'. This frequency of lexical items is not used randomly, and one can argue that each meaning relation has its pragmatic connotations. The writer most probably repeats the proper nouns '*Chiapas*' and '*Brent Berlin*' because he/she wants to give them prominence; the entire text focuses on these two entities. Synonyms are used to avoid the excessive use of repetition which can reduce text informativity and result in monotonous texts, and because synonymy that involves identity of reference is 'a recognised text convention governing the field of discourse of news reporting/investigative journalism' (Hatim and Mason, 1990: 97). The hyponyms *Mayans/Indians* specify the kind of Indians living in Chiapas; the writer here distinguishes between the Mayans, the Incas and the Cherokees; all co-hyponyms of the term '*Indians*'. The antonyms *outsiders/indigenous people* express the never-ending struggle between the 'native inhabitants' and the 'foreigners'. The other set of antonyms *retire to/chase out* represent a case of 'instantial meaning'; it is the textual environment in which these two verbs occur that gives them the meaning of oppositeness. The verb '*retire to*' in the first sentence implies peace, tranquillity and relaxation, whereas the verb '*chase out*' expresses a sense of struggle. These two connotations show the conflicting attitudes of '*Brent Berlin*' and the '*Mayan Indians*'.

To maintain the discursual value intended by the source text producer, the translator chooses to reproduce the lexical relations used in the original. By adopting this approach, he/she manages to pass on to the target text reader the underlying coherence experienced by the reader of the original. Like its English counterpart, the Arabic text uses repetition برنت برلين/برلين (Brent Berlin/Berlin) and تشياباس/تشياباس (Chiapas/Chiapas) to denote emphasis; synonymy برنت برلين/جامع الأعشاب (Brent Berlin/anthropologist and herbalist) to avoid repetition; hyponymy المايا/الهنود (Mayans/Indians) to show specific-general relations and antonymy تقاعد/طرد (retire to/chase out) and الأجنبي/السكان الأصليين (outsiders/indigenous population) to relay the differences and the conflict between these two groups. Having understood the pragmatic meaning intended by the text producer of the source text and by adhering to the conventions of Arabic, the translator produces a translated text that enables the target text recipient to experience the same functional meaning presented to the reader of the original.

The aforementioned examples show that formal equivalence can preserve the functional meaning relations expressed in the source language texts. However, we have to emphasise that formal equivalence can only produce cohesive and coherent texts when two conditions are met: (1) adherence to the linguistic and textual conventions of the target texts; and (2) relaying the underlying pragmatic meanings in the source texts into the target texts.

Having presented the above examples, it has to be pointed out that not all the instances of similarities attested in the corpora adhere to the conventions of Arabic

and successfully convey the underlying coherence of the original texts. In fact, in retaining many of the formal markers used in the source texts, the translations do not achieve effective communication in the other language; rather, one realises that the message is distorted. The following examples illustrate the impact of reproducing the same cohesive markers used in the source texts in the target texts.

Example 6

Hanaei has no regrets. "Why should I feel remorse?" he says. "After killing them¹⁷ I removed all trace of them. They had no value to me." (According to one reformist newspaper, he latter admitted that he had sex with them.) Hanaei also boasted that murdering the women was no harder than 'breaking open a melon.'

In another country, such remarks might be dismissed as the musings of a psychopath. But there are justifications for such heedless killing in Iran's Islamic criminal code, which declares some people unworthy of the blood that runs in their veins. Therefore their lives can be taken with impunity. "If the killer can prove that the victim was a "waste of blood", says one legal scholar who was asked not to be named, "then there will be no charges against the killer." Such laws, and such lawlessness, are the web that most Iranians long to escape.

(Newsweek, August 20, 2001: 29)

ولا يشعر هنائي بالندم. ويقول: "لماذا أشعر بالندم؟ بعد أن قمت بقتلهن أزلت كل أثر لهن. ليس لهن أي قيمة عندي". (طبقاً لما جاء في إحدى الصحف الإصلاحية، اعترف فيما بعد بأنه مارس الجنس معهن). وتبجح هنائي أيضاً بأن قتل النساء لم يكن أصعب من "كسر بطيخة".

مثل هذه التعليقات، لو أطلقت في بلد آخر، يمكن تجاهلها كتأملات شخص مضطرب عقلياً. ولكن هناك تبريرات لمثل هذا القتل الطائش في قانون الجرائم الإسلامي في إيران، الذي ينص على أن بعض الناس لا يستحقون الدم الذي يجري في عروقهم. ولذلك يمكن إنهاء حياتهم من دون التعرض للعقاب. ويقول عالم في الشريعة طلب عدم ذكر اسمه: "إذا تمكن القاتل من إثبات أن الضحية كانت "دماً مهدوراً"، عندها لا يمكن توجيه أي تهمة إلى القاتل". مثل هذه القوانين، ومثل هذا الخروج على القانون، هو الشبكة التي يتمنى معظم الإيرانيين الإفلات منها.

(Newsweek, August 21, 2001: 13)

All the explicit formal markers employed in the source texts are retained in the translated texts. To fulfil the efficiency criterion, the English text producer, on the one hand, uses personal pronouns to increase text compactness and to avoid repetition; the recurrent use of the comparative 'such' as an intensifier, on the other

¹⁷ The pronoun 'them' coheres with the linguistic entity 'prostitutes' used previously in the text.

hand, ascertains the outrage regarding the killer's comments in the preceding paragraph. By retaining these referential devices in Arabic, the translator subscribes to the norms of the source text. This close monitoring of texture produces a text that sounds 'foreign' to the reader. Indeed, the recurrent usage of the connected pronoun *هن* (them), and the repetition of the comparative *مثل* (such) to create intersentential links results in a text that reads as 'the original' and not as 'an original' (Tourey, 1980: 75). This failure to conform to the norms of Arabic distracts the reader and impairs text comprehensibility. Consequently, the efficiency criterion is not maintained in the target text, and the text receiver fails to realise the underlying meaning these referential devices are meant to express. This result could have been avoided had the translator opted for another translation strategy, such as the following:

Suggested translation

لا يشعر هنائي بالندم. ويقول: "ماذا أشعر بالندم؟ بعد أن قمت بقتلهم أزلت كل أثر لهن. ليس لتلك النساء أي قيمة عندي". (طبقاً لما جاء في إحدى الصحف الإصلاحية، اعترف هنائي فيما بعد بأنه مارس الجنس مع الضحايا). وتبجح هنائي أيضاً بأن قتل النساء لم يكن أصعب من "كسر بطيخة".

لو أطلقت مثل هذه التعليقات في بلد آخر ، لأمكن تجاهلها واعتبارها تأملات شخص مضطرب عقلياً. ولكن لهذا النوع من القتل الطائش تبريرات في قانون الجرائم الإسلامي في إيران ،الذي ينص على أن بعض الناس لا يستحقون الدم الذي يجري في عروقهم. ولذلك يمكن إنهاء حياتهم من دون التعرض للعقاب. ويقول عالم في الشريعة طلب عدم ذكر اسمه: "إذا تمكن القاتل من إثبات أن الضحية كانت "دماً مهدوراً" ،عندها لا يمكن توجيه أي تهمة إلى القاتل". مثل هذه القوانين، والخروج عليها ،هو الشبكة التي يتمنى معظم الإيرانيين الإفلات منها.

Back-translation

Hanaei has no regrets. "Why should I feel remorse?" he says. "After killing them I removed all trace of them. These women had no value to me." (According to one reformist newspaper, Hanaei later admitted that he had sex with the victims.) Hanaei also boasted that murdering the women was no harder than "breaking open a melon."

If such remarks were uttered in another country, they would have been dismissed as the musings of a psychopath. But there are justifications for this kind of heedless killing in Iran's Islamic criminal code, which declares some people unworthy of the blood that runs in their veins. Therefore their lives can be taken with impunity. "If the killer can prove that the victim was a "waste of blood", says one legal scholar who was asked not to be named, "then there will be no charges against the killer." Such laws, and their infringement , are the web that most Iranians long to escape.

In this translation, a target-text oriented approach is adopted. Instances of anaphoric reference are altered in an attempt to improve the target text texture and produce a text that is more acceptable to the end-receiver. Hatim and Mason (1990: 203) state to this effect 'Occasionally, there will be instances where the translator elects to actually alter anaphoric reference for the sake of improved effectiveness and efficiency'. Although such alterations may involve deviations from the pragmatic meaning conveyed in the source text, the researcher believes that such shifts are unavoidable if translators wish to produce end-products that flow naturally and hence do not read like a translation.

Example 7¹⁸

AS AL GORE WADED THROUGH THE cheering crowd on his way to the stage, Ken Kinter -software engineer and wrestling fan -had to smile. The Democratic convention was on the big-screen TV in Kinter's living room in Novi, Mich., an exurb of Detroit. President Bill Clinton, he noted, had made a show-staling entrance three days earlier in Los Angeles. "It was totally WWF," Kinter 25, said. "And it's hard to out do that."

(Newsweek, August 28, 2000: 46)

في الوقت الذي شق فيه آل غور طريقه على المنصة عبر صفوف الجماهير المهللة، ارتسمت ابتسامة على شفطي كن كينتر، مهندس مبرمجات الكمبيوتر وأحد هواة المصارعة. وكان جهاز التلفزيون ذو الشاشة الكبيرة في غرفة المعيشة الخاصة بكينتر في نوفي بولاية ميشغان، وهي ضاحية بعيدة عن مدينة ديترويت، ينقل وقائع مؤتمر الحزب الديمقراطي. وقد أشار كينتر إلى أن دخول الرئيس بيل كلينتون إلى قاعة المؤتمر في مدينة لوس أنجلوس قبلها بثلاثة أيام كان دخولا يخطف الأضواء. وقال كينتر البالغ من العمر 25 عاما: "لقد كان دخوله يشبه تماما دخول مصارعي اتحاد المصارعة العالمي إلى الحلبة. ومن الصعب أن تتفوق على ذلك".

(Newsweek, August 29, 2000: 36)

This excerpt uses the demonstrative pronoun 'that' to create cohesion between the sentences cited. In this context, 'that' expresses extended reference and the presupposed text element refers to 'the show-staling entrance Bill Clinton had made'.

¹⁸ Examples 7 and 8 are drawn from the same article.

As noted with the preceding examples, the translator opts to reproduce this formal marker in Arabic. Although Arabic uses 'ذلك'¹⁹ (that/masc.) to express extended reference (Khaṭābī, 1991), in this context 'ذلك' does not contribute to text understanding. The reader encounters problems in his/her attempt to relate the incoming information to the previous discourse, and this makes access to the presupposed element problematic; consequently, antecedent identification may be jeopardised. Therefore, the translator has to strike a balance between accuracy and naturalness. To achieve this, the demonstrative in Arabic has to be supplemented with a noun.

Suggested translation

في الوقت الذي شق فيه آل غور طريقه على المنصة عبر صفوف الجماهير المهللة ارتسمت ابتسامة على شفطي كن كينتر، مهندس مبرمجات الكمبيوتر وأحد هواة المصارعة. وكان جهاز التلفزيون ذو الشاشة الكبيرة في غرفة المعيشة الخاصة بكينتر في نوفي بولاية ميشغان، وهي ضاحية بعيدة عن مدينة ديترويت، ينقل وقائع مؤتمر الحزب الديمقراطي. وقد أشار كينتر إلى أن دخول الرئيس بيل كلينتون إلى قاعة المؤتمر في مدينة لوس أنجلوس قبلها بثلاثة أيام كان دخولاً يخطف الأضواء. وقال كينتر البالغ من العمر 25 عاماً: "لقد كان دخوله يشبه تماماً دخول مصارعي اتحاد المصارعة العالمي إلى الحلبة. ومن الصعب أن تتفوق على ذلك المشهد."

Back-translation

*AS AL GORE WADED THROUGH THE cheering crowd on his way to the stage, Ken Kinter-software engineer and wrestling fan-had to smile. The Democratic convention was on the big-screen TV in Kinter's living room in Novi, Mich., an exurb of Detroit. President Bill Clinton, he noted, had made a show-staling entrance three days earlier in Los Angeles. "It was totally WWF," Kinter 25, said. "And it's hard to out do **that scene**."*

¹⁹ The other demonstratives that express extended reference in Arabic are *أولئك* and *تلك* .

Example 8

This presumably final release of the new Al Gore was also notable for what he didn't say. He didn't try to reach for lofty visions or overarching themes. He didn't try to share his pain by revealing his own family emotions. (Instead, he'll be airing new "bio" spots this week.) He outsourced the tears- highlighting the stories of "working families" in a tradition started by Ronald Reagan 20 years ago. He did not pay much homage to the centrist New Democrat cast, of which running mate Joe Lieberman is a leading member.

ويلاحظ في الإصدار المفترض أن يكون نهائيا لآل غور الجديد، ما لم يقله²⁰. فهو لم يحاول الوصول إلى الرؤى الشامخة ولا إلى العناوين الرئيسية الرنانة. كما أنه لم يحاول إظهار ألمه عن طريق الكشف عن مشاعر وأحاسيس عائلته. (سيقوم بدلا من ذلك بعرض "سيرته الذاتية" الجديدة في إعلانات تلفزيونية هذا الأسبوع). كما أنه احتكر تأجيح العواطف، مبرزاً قصص "العائلات العاملة" في تقليد بدأه رولاند ريغان قبل 20 سنة. كما أنه لم يعر اهتماما كبيرا لمجموعة الديمقراطيين الوسطيين الجدد، التي يعتبر مرشحها لمنصب نائب الرئيس، جو ليبيرمان.

In this example, the translator observes the identity chain that dominates the source text by choosing to duplicate all the referential devices used in the source text. This approach, however, produces an end-product that flaunts the stylistic characteristics of the target language and expresses pragmatic connotations not intended by the text producers. The source text employs seven personals to link the propositions that make up the paragraph; five of these are third person pronouns and two are possessives. It is our contention that the motivation behind this repetitive usage of the third person pronoun may be explained in terms of 'theme continuation' (Vonk et al., 1992). Indeed, the six sentences that make up this text talk about the same person and revolve around the same theme: Al Gore's final release. Retaining the same surface manifestations in the Arabic text results in 'cohesion interference' between the L1 and the L2 (Neubert and Shreve, 1992).

This interference results because Arabic, unlike English, makes heavy use of implied pronouns ضمائر مستترة and connected pronouns ضمائر متصلة to trace participants;

²⁰ This is a word for word translation. The sentence is meaningless in Arabic.

separate pronouns are used in discourse to denote emphasis, contrast and to disambiguate reference (Al-Ghalāyīnī 1999; Al-Anṣārī, 1996; Baker, 1992; Aziz, 1998; and Farghal and Shunnaq, 1999). The translator, however, disregards this discourse preference in Arabic and uses the separate pronoun هو (he) concurrently with the implied pronoun يحاول (try) as well as the pronominal suffix 'hu' with the implied pronouns يعر، احتكر، يحاول (try, outsourced, pay homage). The outcome of this source-text oriented approach is twofold: (1) a textually odd target text that violates the readers' expectations; and (2) a target text that conveys meaning relations not expressed in the original. To avoid 'cohesion interference', the following translation illustrates how bringing the text nearer to the target language linguistic and textual mores can produce texts that are more accessible to the target audience.

Suggested translation

وما لم يصرح به آل غور في هذا البيان الانتخابي الذي قدمه بصورة جديدة للشعب الأمريكي كان له وقعا أكبر على الناخبين. قال غور لم يحاول الوصول إلى الرؤى الشامخة ولا إلى العناوين الرئيسية الرنانة. ولم يحاول أيضا إظهار ألمه عن طريق الكشف عن مشاعر وأحاسيس عائلته. (وسيقوم بدلا من ذلك بعرض "سيرته الذاتية" الجديدة في إعلانات تلفزيونية هذا الأسبوع). واستطاع آل غور تأجيج العواطف، ميرزا قصص "العائلات العاملة" في تقليد بدأه رولاند ريغان قبل 20 سنة. كما ولم يعر اهتماما كبيرا لمجموعة الديمقراطيين الوسطيين الجدد الذي يعتبر جو ليبرمان أحد أعضائها البارزين.

Back-translation

This presumably final release of the new Al Gore had a greater impact on the American people. Al Gore didn't try to reach for lofty visions or overreaching themes. He didn't try to share his pain by revealing his own family emotion. (Instead, he'll be airing his autobiography in television advertisements this week). Al Gore succeeded in kindling the peoples' emotions by highlighting the stories of 'working families' in a tradition started by Roland Reagan 20 years ago. Also, he did not pay much homage to the Centrist New Democrat cast, of which Joe Lieberman is a leading member.

Our proposed revision does not display a respect for formal equivalence; rather, the focus is on rendering the communicative content of the source text into the target text by adhering to the grammatical and stylistic norms of Arabic.

Example 9

In Hong Kong, one half of the population is considered overweight, according to World Health Organization (WHO) standards. Fully one third of the population is obese. (WHO defines 'overweight' and 'obese' Asians as those with body-fat percentage of 23 and 28 percent). But they are not the only ones.

(*Newsweek*, December 11, 2000: 40)

نصف سكان هونغ كونغ وزنهم زائد، حسب مقاييس منظمة الصحة العالمية. في حين أن ثلث السكان بدينون. (تحدد منظمة الصحة العالمية "الوزن الزائد" و"البدانة" عند الآسيويين بنسبة الدهن الذي تحويه أجسادهم وهو 23 و 28 بالمائة على التوالي). لكنهم ليسوا الوحيدين.

(*Newsweek*, December 12, 2000: 22)

Analysing the English text indicates that the source text producer uses the nominal substitute 'ones' to link the propositions. This motivated choice achieves two goals: (1) it avoids repetition; and (2) it produces a compact text that requires minimal processing effort. Here 'ones' 'serves as a place-holding device, showing where something has been omitted' (Halliday, 1985: 297). This cohesive device enables the source text reader to easily retrieve the presupposed item this nominal substitute stands for: obese Asians. This straightforward retrieval, however, is flaunted in the Arabic text. By using the word الوحيدين (the only ones) to create intersentential cohesion, the translator subscribes to the norms of the English language and presents a mutilated translation that sounds 'foreign' to the Arab reader. In Arabic, الوحيدين (the only ones) cannot be used in isolation as a place-holding device; to have meaning, this word has to be supplemented. To overcome the outcome of this negative interference (Sa'adeddin, 1989; and Neubert and Shreve, 1992) between the norms of the source and the target languages, the following translation is suggested:

Suggested translation

نصف سكان هونغ كونغ وزنهم زائد، حسب مقاييس منظمة الصحة العالمية. في حين أن ثلث السكان بدنيون. (تحدد منظمة الصحة العالمية "الوزن الزائد" و"البدانة" عند الآسيويين بنسبة الدهن الذي تحويه أجسادهم وهو 23 و28 بالمائة على التوالي). لكنهم ليسوا وحدهم بدنيين.

Back-translation

In Hong Kong, one half of the population is considered overweight, according to World Health Organization (WHO) standards. Fully one third of the population is obese. (WHO defines 'overweight' and 'obese' Asians as those with body-fat percentage of 23 and 28 percent). But they are not the only ones when it comes to obesity.

This proposed translation produces a text that flows smoothly because it ignores the lexicogrammatical cohesive device employed in the source text and adopts a stylistic strategy that adheres to the norms of Arabic. Neubert and Shreve (1992: 104) state to this effect that 'Some L1 specific cohesive ties must be 'translated away', or they may emerge inappropriately in the L2 text.'

Example 10

Ignoring the cacophony of his many speechwriters, Gore tapped a 12,000-word address (cut in the end to 7,500) into his lap-top. It was a State of the Union preview of a Gore presidency. "I stand here before you tonight as my own man," he said, "and I want you to know me for who I truly am." If that's so, then this is who Gore really is: a back-to-the-future liberal with a tinge of Southern populism, a Gladiator of Government and the political heir to his own dad, the late Sen. Albert Gore Sr. of Possum Hollow, Ten.

(Newsweek, August 28, 2000: 47)

وقد تجاهل غور النغمات المتنافرة لكتابة خطباته الكثيرة وقام بكتابة خطاب مكون من 12000 كلمة مستعملاً كمبيوتره المحمول (تم تخفيض عدد الكلمات في النهاية إلى 7500 كلمة). وكان الخطاب عبارة عن نظرة تمهيدية لخطاب الأمة في ظل رئاسة غور. وقال غور: "إنني أقف أمامكم الليلة وأنا أمثل نفسي. وأريد منكم أن تعرفوني على حقيقتي". وإذا كان الأمر كذلك، فهذا هو آل غور على حقيقته؛ ليبرالي ينادي بالعودة إلى المستقبل مع مسحة من الشعبية الجنوبية، مصارع للحكومة ووريث سياسي لوالده، السناتور الراحل ألبرت غور، الأب من بلدة بوسم هولو بولاية تينيسي.

(Newsweek, August 29, 2000: 37)

As noted with the preceding example, the translator reproduces the surface cohesive marker used in the source language text in the target language text. Although the

structure إذا كان الأمر كذلك (if so) can be used in Arabic discourse to substitute for a clause previously mentioned in the text (see Example 2), in this context, this rendition hampers the recoverability of the presupposed item and imposes the cohesive system of the source language on the target language. As a result, the compactness that has been established by using the clausal substitute 'if that's so' is missing in the translated text; in fact, failure to appreciate the linguistic and stylistic mores of the target language results in an awkward text that reads like a translation. To eliminate this 'awkwardness', we suggest omitting the cohesive structure employed in the English text and replacing it with a cohesive device that does not violate the conventions of Arabic. With this in mind, we propose a revised translation that replaces clausal substitution with a conditional clause. Therefore, the structure إذا كان الأمر كذلك (if that's so) is replaced by وإن حقا أراد غور أن نعرفه على حقيقته (if Al-Gore really wants us to know him for who he is).

Suggested translation

وقد تجاهل غور النعمات المتناثرة لكتابة خطباته الكثيرة وقام بكتابة خطاب مكون من 12000 كلمة مستعملا كمبيوتره المحمول (تم تخفيض عدد الكلمات في النهاية إلى 7500 كلمة). وكان الخطاب عبارة عن نظرة تمهيدية لخطاب الأمة في ظل رئاسة غور. وقال غور: "إنني أقف أمامكم الليلة وأنا أمثل نفسي. وأريد منكم أن تعرفوني على حقيقتي." وإن حقا أراد غور أن نعرفه على حقيقته فهو ليبرالي ينادي بالعودة إلى المستقبل مع مسحة من الشعبية الجنوبية، مصارع للحكومة ووريث سياسي لوالده، السناتور الراحل ألبرت غور، الأب من بلدة بوسم هولو بولاية تينيسي.

Back-translation

Ignoring the cacophony of his many speechwriters, Gore tapped a 12,000-word address (cut in the end to 7,500) into his lap-top. It was a State of the Union preview of a Gore presidency. "I stand here before you tonight as my own man," he said, "and I want you to know me for who I truly am." If Gore really wants us to know him for who he is: he is a back-to-the-future liberal with a tinge of Southern populism, a Gladiator of Government and the political heir to his own dad, the late Sen. Albert Gore Sr. of Possum Hollow, Ten.

The researcher acknowledges that this translation fails to produce a target language

text that is as compact as the original. Indeed, whereas the English text uses clausal substitution to save processing effort by being shorter than the expression it replaces (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981), the Arabic text saves processing effort and maintains text comprehensibility by stating explicitly the meaning relations that exist between the sentences cited. Although the Arabic text is not as compact as the original, it is our contention that the efficiency criterion can only be fulfilled in this context by altering the explicit marker used in the source text.

Example 11

Now, as the expansion slows to a crawl, many Americans carry a dubious legacy: too much debt. Together consumers owe \$ 7.3 trillion, according to the Federal Reserve – double the amount they carried into the last recession. And as layoffs increase (as they did last week at Ford, which will eliminate 5,000 jobs) and stock winnings dwindle, many are piling on even more.

(Newsweek, August 27, 2001:30)

والآن، حيث تتباطأ حركة التوسع الاقتصادي إلى ما يشبه الدبيب، فإن الكثير من الأمريكيين يحملون إرثاً مريباً: ديون أكثر مما يجب. ويدين المستهلكون معاً بـ 7,3 تريليون دولار، استناداً إلى الاحتياطي الفدرالي، وهي ضعف الكمية التي ناؤوا بثقلها في آخر ركود، وفي حين أن التسريجات تتزايد (كما حصل الأسبوع الماضي في "فورد"، التي سوف تتخلى عن 5000 عامل) وأن أرباح الأسهم تتضاءل، فإن الكثير يراكم حتى المزيد من الديون.

(Newsweek, August 28, 2001: 38)

Two instances of numerative ellipsis: 'many' and 'more'²¹ are used to create intersentential cohesion. Here, ellipsis demonstrates once more the 'TRADE-OFF between compactness and rapid access' (de Beaugrande, 1980: 158); compactness is achieved because the writer avoids repeating information presented to the reader in the foregoing sentences, while rapid access is maintained since the text receiver can easily understand that the information left out refers to the 'consumers' stated in the previous sentence. In an attempt at maintaining this 'trade-off' between compactness

²¹ Only the numerative 'many' will be discussed here since it has been reproduced in the Arabic text; the numerative 'more' is not retained in the process of translation.

and rapid access, the translator duplicates the formal marker used in the source text; a choice that fails to preserve this functional meaning passed on to the reader of the original. By using the adjective الكثير (many) in isolation to reproduce the source text coherence, the recipient is presented with a translation that is ambiguous and 'unnatural' (Newmark, 1988); as a result, the native reader finds it difficult to replace the deleted item. This outcome defies the most distinctive characteristic of contextual ellipsis, namely easy and clear access to the presupposed item (Gunter, 1963). Therefore, to make the translation read naturally, the structure the translator has opted for has to be expanded. Instead of using الكثير (many) on its own, we suggest repeating the ellipsed noun so that we have الكثير من المستهلكين (many consumers). This version ensures clarity and avoids misleading reference although it produces a target text that is more explicit and not as compact as the original. Nevertheless, it manages to express meaning relations that are acceptable and easily understood by the target language receivers.

Example 12

The temple also boasts an elevated atrium that archeologists suspect was a semiprimitive space, reserved for ceremonies of maybe 20 people. "The bulk of the structures are ceremonial," says Aramburu. "If they built something, they did so for religious purposes. We haven't found warehouses for storing food, for example.

(Newsweek, May 7, 2001: 59)

ويزدهي المعبد أيضا بردهة مرتفعة يشتبه علماء الآثار بأنها كانت مكانا شبه خاص، مفردا لشعائر يؤديها 20 شخصا تقريبا. ويقول أرامبورو: "معظم الأبنية طقوسية. وإذا ما بنوا شيئا، فإنهم قاموا بذلك لأغراض دينية. فنحن لم نجد مخازن لتخزين الطعام، على سبيل المثال".

(Newsweek, May 8, 2001: 53)

In the source text, cohesion is achieved by employing one of the most frequently used conjunctive cohesive devices for producing examples and illustrations, namely

'for example'. The additive exemplification 'for example' acts as a bridge between the information already mentioned in sentence two ("The bulk of the structures are ceremonial") and the illustration that asserts this finding in sentence three ("We haven't found warehouses for storing food"). For the English reader, this conjunction successfully signals the meaning relationships between the propositions, and hence contributes to the efficiency of text processing. However, on examining the target text, one can claim that although text processing is not fully disrupted, one feels that the text reads like a translation. This takes place not because the translator chooses to retain the exemplification conjunction in the translated text, for Arabic discourse uses على سبيل المثال (for example) to signal examples and illustrations and to link sentences (Aziz, 1998; and Ghazala, 2001); rather, the problem lies in using the conjunction على سبيل المثال (for example) at the end of the sentence. In English, this explicit marker 'occurs most often at the beginning of a sentence, but can be placed in the middle of the sentence (after the introductory phrase, after the verb phrase, or after the subject) and at the end' (Smalley and Ruetten, 1990: 140). This flexibility in sentence position is not common in Arabic discourse as far as the exemplification conjunction على سبيل المثال (for example) is concerned; to create cohesive texts this conjunction is used in initial position, and once this stylistic convention is defied textual inappropriateness results. To correct this cohesion interference, and produce a target language text that achieves accuracy and naturalness, the conjunction should be placed at the beginning of sentence three:

Suggested translation

ويزدهي المعبد أيضا بردهمة مرتفعة يشتبه علماء الآثار بأنها كانت مكانا شبه خاص، مفردا لشعائر يؤديها 20 شخصا تقريبا. ويقول أرامبورو: "معظم الأبنية طقوسية. وإذا ما بنوا شيئا، فإنهم قاموا بذلك لأغراض دينية. فعلى سبيل المثال، لم نجد مخازن لتخزين الطعام".

Back-translation

The temple also boasts an elevated atrium that archeologists suspect was a semiprimitive space, reserved for ceremonies of maybe 20 people. "The bulk of the structures are ceremonial," says Aramburu. "If they built something, they did so for religious purposes. For example, we haven't found warehouses for storing food."

Example 13

The more people use Internet messaging, the more likely others will adopt it. The largest ISPs²² can benefit from both supply-side and demand-side economies of scale, but only if they develop the right services.

One strategy is to get big quickly by giving away free Internet access and develop services later. This is what Tiscali is trying to do in Europe. However, it will be difficult to pull this off since the company's share of revenue from local telephone calls caps the cost of services Tiscali can provide. Furthermore, as telecommunications deregulation spreads in Europe, local-calling rates are likely to plummet. For-free ISPs like AOL²³ are lobbying hard for flat-rate local calling, which would be great for their business. (If you sold only razors, wouldn't you want to cap the prices of blades?)

So Tiscali has its work cut out. Flat-rate local calls are the norm in the United States and no one has been able to make the free-ISP model work there.

(Newsweek, February 19, 2001: 45)

وكلما ازداد عدد مستخدمي المراسلة الفورية، زاد احتمال أن يختارها الآخرون. ويمكن لأضخم شركة تزويد خدمة إنترنت أن تستفيد من اقتصاد العرض والطلب، ولكن فقط في حال تطويرها للخدمات الصحيحة.

من استراتيجيات البروز السريع والتوسع تقديم وصول مجاني إلى الإنترنت وتطوير الخدمات في مرحلة لاحقة. وهو الأمر الذي تحاول تسكالي فعله في أوروبا. ولكن سيكون من الصعب إنجاز هذا الأمر ما دامت حصة الشركة من إيرادات كلفة الاتصالات الداخلية تتجاوز كلفة الخدمات التي في استطاعة تيسكالي توفيرها. يضاف إلى ذلك، أن من المحتمل لرسوم الاتصالات الداخلية أن تهبط بشدة بسبب نزع التنظيم عن قطاع الاتصالات في أوروبا. لذلك، فإن شركة تزويد خدمة إنترنت مقابل رسم معين، مثل أميركا أون لاين، تعمل بجهد من أجل رسم منخفض وثابت للاتصالات الداخلية، وهو أمر من شأنه أن ينعكس على أعمالهم بشكل رائع. (إذا كنت تبيع ماكينات حلاقة فقط، أفلا ترغب بتثبيت سعر الشفرات؟).

إنن، فإن تسكالي قد تم تحديد عملها. فالرسم المحدد للاتصالات الداخلية هو السائد في الولايات المتحدة ولم يكن في

²² 'ISP' stands for 'Internet Service Providers' mentioned in the foregoing sentences.

²³ 'AOL' stands for 'America On-line' mentioned earlier in the text.

The conjunctions 'however', 'furthermore', 'for', and 'so' are used in the English version to connect the different parts of the discourse. The adversative, additive and causal meaning relations these conjunctions express help the reader in understanding the text development and the line of argument presented. By producing a target text that is a replica of the original, this communicative function is disturbed in the translated text. It is our contention that two aspects contribute to this end-result. The first aspect is associated with the incorrect usage of the particle إذن (so) in the target text. By using the particle إذن (so) in this context to denote causal relationships, the translator fails to present the end-receiver with the same meaning intended by the writer of the original. This is so because the particle إذن (so) is utilised in Arabic discourse between propositions to express response جواب and compensation جزاء and is followed by a verb in the accusative (Al-Anṣārī, 1996; and Al-Munjid, 1986); conditions that are not met in the translated text. Hence, this rendition produces a text that does not express the underlying coherence of the original and at the same time is unacceptable to the recipient. The second aspect that disturbs communication concerns the wide range of conjunctions used to create intersentential cohesion. Examining the target language text reveals that the translator employs four different intersentential conjunctions لكن (however), يضاف إلى ذلك (furthermore), لذلك (for), إذن (so), in addition to the instances of و (and) and ف (so) frequently used in the Arabic text, to establish a cohesive text. When discussing differences between English and Arabic conjunctions, linguists and translation theorists alike, state that English,

unlike Arabic, uses in 'unambiguous ways' a wide variety of conjunctions to signal meaning relations between elements of a text. Since this wide array of conjunctions is a stylistic convention that is not preferred in Arabic to signal relations between chunks of information, the reader is presented with a text that is packed with conjunctive relations that disturb the flow of information. Therefore, when incompatibilities, such as the aforementioned, exist between the two languages involved in the act of translation, the translator has to decide whether to conform to the conventions of the target text in order to produce a natural translation, or reproduce the same conjunctions in the source text to maintain accuracy. When discussing this issue, Hatim and Mason (1990: 208) state that since the use of conjunctions is motivated 'it is motivation that will be the deciding factor in the conflict', while Baker (1992: 196) acknowledges that most translators try 'to strike a balance between naturalness and accuracy'. With this in mind, we suggest the following revised version of the translation appearing in *Newsweek in Arabic* :

Suggested translation

وكلما ازداد عدد مستخدمي المراسلة الفورية، زاد احتمال أن يختارها الآخرون. ويمكن لأضخم شركة تزويد خدمة إنترنت أن تستفيد من اقتصاد العرض والطلب، ولكن فقط في حال تطويرها للخدمات الصحيحة.

من استراتيجيات البروز السريع والتوسع تقديم وصول مجاني إلى الإنترنت وتطوير الخدمات في مرحلة لاحقة. وهو الأمر الذي تحاول تسكالي فعله في أوروبا. وسيكون من الصعب إنجاز هذا الأمر ما دامت حصة الشركة من إيرادات كلفة الاتصالات الداخلية تتجاوز كلفة الخدمات التي تستطيع تسكالي توفيرها. إضافة إلى ذلك، لن تستطع تسكالي تحقيق ما تسعى إليه نتيجة إلغاء الأنظمة الخاصة بقطاع الاتصالات في أوروبا الذي سيؤدي إلى انخفاض أسعار المكالمات المحلية. فالشركات التي توفر خدمة الإنترنت مقابل رسم بسيط كشركة أميركا أون لاين تعمل بجد على وضع سعر ثابت للمكالمات المحلية في أوروبا مما سيعود بفوائد جمة على أعمالها. (إذا كنت تباع ماكينات حلاقة فقط، أفلا ترغب بتثبيت سعر الشفرات؟).

ونتيجة لذلك، فقد تم تحديد عمل شركة تسكالي. فالرسم المحدد للاتصالات الداخلية هو السائد في الولايات المتحدة ولم يكن في قدرة أحد إنجاز نموذج عمل تزويد خدمة الإنترنت المجانية هناك.

Back-translation

The more people use Internet messaging, the more likely others will adopt it. The largest ISPs can benefit from both supply-side and demand-side economies of scale, but only if they develop the right services.

*One strategy is to get big quickly by giving away free Internet access and develop services later. This is what Tiscaali is trying to do in Europe. **And** it will be difficult to pull this off since the company's share of revenue from local telephone calls caps the cost of services Tiscali can provide. **Furthermore**, as telecommunications deregulation spreads in Europe, local-calling rates are likely to plummet. **For**-free ISPs like AOL are lobbying hard for flat-rate local calling, which would be great for their business. (If you sold only razors, wouldn't you want to cap the prices of blades?)*

***As a result**, Tiscali has its work cut out. Flat-rate local calls are the norm in the United States and no one has been able to make the free –ISP model work there.*

This revised version tries to strike a balance between motivation, naturalness and accuracy by adhering more closely to the target text conventions and signalling text development using the textual norms typical in Arabic discourse. To convey the additive and causal meaning relations intended by the source text producer, the suggested translation uses the linking words إضافة إلى ذلك (furthermore), ف (for), and نتيجة لذلك (as a result). This rendition manages to present the end-recipient with a text that makes explicit the underlying meanings experienced by the source text reader while at the same time maintaining naturalness and accuracy. As far as motivation is concerned, it is achieved since the conjunctions opted for are used frequently in Arabic discourse to indicate additive and causal relations; naturalness and accuracy are maintained because these conjunctions are used in accordance with the linguistic and stylistic conventions of Arabic (cf. إذن (so)). Furthermore, the suggested translation preserves naturalness by omitting the explicit conjunction 'however' and adding the conjunction و (and) at the beginning of sentence five. The adversative tie 'however' overtly established in the English text need not be reproduced in Arabic, and yet can be easily inferred by the Arab reader; a resolution that opts for

naturalness and sacrifices accuracy, but one which can be justified. In fact, de Beaugrande (1980: 162) acknowledges that text ‘effectiveness can be increased by not employing junction.’

Example 14

*Last week, calling Jenin “a city of bombs,” Israeli Military Chief of Staff Shaul Mofaz dispatched tanks and bulldozers to raze the town’s police station—the first **invasion** of a Palestinian town since the uprising began. But the five-hour **incursion** seems only to have stiffened the resistance of Jenin’s radicals, who say dozens more bombers are ready to die.*

(*Newsweek*, August 27, 2001: 21)

وفي الأسبوع الماضي، قام رئيس الأركان الإسرائيلي شاول موفاز بإرسال الدبابات والجرافات لتدمير محطة الشرطة في مدينة جنين التي دعاها "مدينة القنابل" وهي الغزوة الأولى للأراضي الفلسطينية منذ قيام الانتفاضة. لكن يظهر أن الاقتحام الذي استمر خمس ساعات أدى إلى تصليب مقاومة الراديكاليين في جنين الذين يقولون إن عشرات آخرين من المفجرين على استعداد للموت.

(*Newsweek*, August 28, 2001: 14)

To avoid repetition, the writer uses the lexical items ‘*invasion*’ and ‘*incursion*’ to link the two sentences cited. According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (1994: 632), *incursion* is ‘a sudden attack on or invasion of a place;’ a definition that entails a synonymous relation between the two words. Since the text producer could have chosen repetition instead of synonymy to relate the two sentences, this choice is most probably motivated. It is our contention that synonymy in this context avoids repetition and achieves stylistic variation especially that the lexical items occur in adjacent sentences. This choice does not impair text comprehensibility and successfully maintains the efficiency criterion. In an attempt at reproducing this stylistic variation, the translator opts to retain the synonymous meaning relations using the lexical items *الغزوة* and *الاقتحام*. This strategy produces a semantic relation that is linguistically ‘foreign’ to the Arab readers because the word

غزوة is not usually employed in the Arab press to refer to the Israeli military attacks conducted against the Palestinians. In fact, the words *اقتحام* (incursion) and/or *اجتياح* (penetration) are used to describe Israeli actions similar to the one cited in this text.²⁴

To overcome this linguistic 'foreignization', we suggest repeating the word *الاقتحام* (incursion) which means 'a sudden attack on a place' (Al-Wasīt, 1960: 770). Although this rendition emphasises the noun *الاقتحام* (incursion), it manages to produce meaning relations that are more acceptable to the Arab reader. This example indicates that translators should take the textual environment into consideration in the act of translating lexical items between languages and cultures that express meaning relations differently.

Suggested translation

وفي الأسبوع الماضي، قام رئيس الأركان الإسرائيلي شاول موفاز بإرسال الدبابات والجرافات لتدمير محطة الشرطة في مدينة جنين التي دعاها "مدينة القنابل" وهو **الاقتحام** الأول للأراضي الفلسطينية منذ قيام الانتفاضة. لكن يظهر أن **الاقتحام** الذي استمر خمس ساعات أدى إلى تصليب مقاومة الراديكاليين في جنين الذين يقولون إن عشرات آخرين من المفجرين على استعداد للموت.

Back-translation

*Last week, calling Jenin "a city of bombs," Israeli Military Chief of Staff Shaul Mofaz dispatched tanks and bulldozers to raze the town's police station-the first **incursion** of a Palestinian town since the uprising began. But the five-hour **incursion** seems only to have stiffened the resistance of Jenin's radicals, who say dozens more bombers are ready to die.*

The above examples illustrate that translators should be well aware that the creation of cohesive texts is not merely confined to 'reflecting' the style and the textual conventions of the source text. They have to realise that translation is an activity that is much more complex than this and entails a thorough understanding of the

²⁴ See, for example, *Addustour* and *Al-Ra'i Daily Newspapers*.

meanings conveyed in the original as well as a good command of the linguistic and textual conventions of the languages involved in the act of translation. Having said this, one has to bear in mind that many of these mistranslations may result due to the deadlines the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* have to meet.

3.2.2 Differences Between the Source and Target Texts

This sub-section examines the mismatches between the source and target texts in terms of the overt devices used to create intersentential cohesion. We will refer to these mismatches as shifts (Blum-Kulka, 1986) and will consider that a shift has resulted when a cohesive device in the source text is either omitted or replaced by a different cohesive marker in the target text. Some of these mismatches may involve shifts between members of the same cohesive category, while others may entail the usage of a different category altogether. Two types of shifts are examined: the obligatory and the optional (cf. Blum-Kulka, 1986; and Shlesinger, 1995); however, more emphasis will be given to the optional shifts.²⁵

Since different languages have their own array of cohesive devices for creating intersentential cohesion (See Chapter One), one can argue that these surface manifestations have to be expressed by shifts in the type of ties employed to mark cohesion in the target language texts. Translation theorists (Popovič, 1970; Blum-Kulka, 1986; Toury, 1980; 1995; and others) acknowledge that translation shifts are a 'true universal of translation'. With this in mind, one expects that these shifts are motivated and are adopted to produce texts that meet the readers' expectations and

²⁵ Obligatory shifts result because of the linguistic incompatibilities between the two languages involved in the process of translation. Optional shifts are motivated by the translators' stylistic preferences.

hence succeed in portraying the communicative content in the source texts. It is hoped that the investigation conducted in this sub-section will shed light on the type of shifts that take place when rendering cohesive devices from English into Arabic and the impact these shifts have on the target texts.

3.2.2.1 Reference

A low proportion of shifts result in the process of translating the referential cohesive devices from English into Arabic (cf. the high frequency of similarities). One can argue that this result is contrary to expectations especially that English and Arabic exhibit linguistic differences and variations in their textual traditions (Baker, 1992; Aziz, 1998; and Hatim, 1997).

The following shifts are noted with regards to the referential devices employed in the translated texts of the Arabic edition of *Newsweek*:

- 1) Only 594 referential shifts are accounted for in the target language texts (cf. 2319 instances of similarities).
- 2) Out of a total of 594 shifts, 253 are personals, 306 are demonstratives and 35 are comparatives (Table 3.16).
- 3) Different shift patterns are observed for the three subcategories of reference items (Tables 3.17, 3.18 and 3.19).

Table 3.16**Reference item shifts**

Reference Items	Number of shifts
Personal pronouns	207
Possessive pronouns	46
Demonstratives	179
The definite article 'the'	127
Comparatives	35
Total	594

3.2.2.1.1 Personals

Although personal pronouns and possessives are grouped under the same cohesive category, they differ in their level of explicitness. According to Aziz (1993), while pronouns express the most implicit relations between the presupposing and presupposed items in discourse, possessives denote a more explicit relationship (see Chapter One, Section 1.3.2). If one assumes that languages differ in their use of explicit-implicit reference, one expects to encounter shifts in the process of translating referring expressions between languages.

The analysed target texts show that eight shift patterns are attested for personal pronouns and nine for possessives (Tables 3.17). The shift patterns indicate greater explicitness in the Arabic texts. Out of five major shift patterns observed for both pronouns and possessives (Pronouns/1, 2, 3, 4, and Possessives/9), three reveal a tendency towards explicitness in the target texts (Pronouns/1, 2 and 3). Some of these patterns are dictated by the linguistic incompatibilities between English and Arabic; others are optional and motivated by the translators' stylistic preferences.

These obligatory and optional shifts limit ambiguity of reference, especially when the distance between the referring expression and its referent is great, and accordingly enable the target text recipient to trace participants with minimal processing effort. The remaining two major patterns (Pronouns/4 and Possessives/9) make the Arabic texts more implicit than the original. These shift patterns are mostly optional in nature and are not attributable to the different linguistic and stylistic conventions of English and Arabic.

Table 3.17

Pronoun and possessive shift patterns

Type of Shift	Number of shifts attested
A. Pronouns	
1) Pronoun : Demonstrative	77
2) Pronoun : Common Noun	46
3) Pronoun : Proper Noun	35
4) Pronoun : Omission	21
5) Pronoun : Possessive	14
6) Pronoun : Article	11
7) Pronoun : Sentence	2
8) Pronoun : Comparative	1
Total	207
B. Possessives	
9) Possessive : Article	17
10) Possessive : Omission	7
11) Possessive : Pronoun	6
12) Possessive : Proper Noun	3
13) Possessive : Demonstrative	3
14) Possessive : Different Possessive	3
15) Possessive : <i>Iḍāfa</i> Construction	3
16) Possessive : Common Noun	2
17) Possessive : Sentence	2
Total	46
Total A & B	253

3.2.2.1.2 Demonstratives

The shift patterns attested for this referential category are grouped under the two headings: demonstratives and the definite article '*the*'. Eight patterns are noted for the former, and seven for the latter (Table 3.18).

The prominent demonstrative shift patterns do not indicate a tendency towards explicitness in the Arabic texts. The most frequent shift pattern (Demonstratives/1) takes place within the same cohesive category, while the second most frequent shift (Demonstratives/2) results in target texts that are more implicit than the source texts. Pattern (1) constitutes the highest proportion of shifts attested in this category (see Example 19, page 185); this may be attributed to the different ways languages reflect deictic relations to express intersentential cohesion (Hatim and Mason, 1990; 1997; Fawcett, 1997; Aziz, 1998; among others). Having analysed this major shift pattern the following findings are observed:

- 1) The Arabic grammatical system which reflects gender distinctions regarding deictic relations dictates such a shift pattern.
- 2) English uses '*this*' and '*that*' to refer to extended reference. Arabic, on the other hand, uses *أولئك* ، *تلك* ، *ذلك* (that, that/fem., those, respectively) to express the same meaning relations.
- 3) English uses the near forms '*this*' and '*these*' in some text-types when 'a sense of immediacy and shared interest between the text producer and receiver' is perceived (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 61). When this relation is non-existent, the far forms

'that' and 'those' are employed in discourse. The translators do not make this distinction in the Arabic texts; only the near form 'هذا' (this/masc.) is used.

The second major shift pattern (Demonstrative: Article) is optional. This pattern, like the other patterns that produce less explicit target texts, fails to express the same functional meaning conveyed in the original (see Example 20, page 185). This result can be avoided if the translators choose to reproduce the same cohesive marker used in the source language texts into the target language texts.

As for the shift patterns concerning the definite article 'the,' two major patterns are noted. These shift patterns involve the *iḍāfa* construction المعرف بالإضافة and the demonstratives which point to more explicitness in the target texts. The *iḍāfa* construction expresses a semantic relationship between two nouns and provides the reader with more information about the noun that is defined. The instances analysed show that this is an obligatory shift dictated by the Arabic grammatical system. Therefore, this shift pattern succeeds in 'striking a compromise between source text rhetorical meaning and target text rhetorical conventions' (Hatim and Mason, 1997: 34). As for the shift patterns that involve the demonstratives, it is noted that some of these shifts are obligatory while others are optional.

Table 3.18

Demonstrative and definite article ‘the’ shift patterns

Type of Shift	Number of shifts attested
A. Demonstratives	
1) Demonstrative: Different Demonstrative	119
2) Demonstrative: Article	23
3) Demonstrative: Omission	15
4) Demonstrative: Personal Pronoun	12
5) Demonstrative: <i>Iḍāfa</i> Construction	4
6) Demonstrative: Common Noun	3
7) Demonstrative: Sentence	2
8) Demonstrative: Comparatives	1
Total	179
B. Definite article ‘the’	
1) Article: <i>Iḍāfa</i> Construction	49
2) Article: Demonstrative	47
3) Article: Indefinite	17
4) Article: Personal Pronoun	3
5) Article: Proper Noun	4
6) Article: Common Noun	3
7) Article: Omission	4
Total	127

3.2.2.1.3 Comparatives

The number of shift patterns concerning the last sub-category of reference items is limited. Only three patterns are noted, two of which can be considered to constitute tendencies (Table 3.19).

Analysing the instances that constitute the two major comparative shift patterns indicates that some of these shifts are obligatory while others are optional. The translators are obliged to omit the comparative markers in some contexts because the meaning is implied in the Arabic text; by omitting the covert comparative cohesive device, the translators avoid repetition and produce texts that adhere to the norms of Arabic.²⁶ The optional shifts, however, create meaning relations that are general in nature, making the coherence relations between the propositions more implicit.

The second pattern (Comparative: Demonstrative) prevails with the cohesive marker ‘*such*’. When this shift is optional, the intended meaning is altered in the translated text, and a different effect is passed on to the end-receiver.

Table 3.19
Comparative shift patterns

Type of Shift	Number of shifts attested
1) Comparative: Omission	16
2) Comparative: Demonstrative	14
3) Comparative: Article	5
Total	35

3.2.2.2 Substitution

Fourteen instances of substitution are not retained in the target language texts. Out of the fourteen shifts, 3 are nominal, 8 are verbal and 3 are clausal (Table 3.20).

²⁶ The effect this pattern has on the target texts is unlike the other shift patterns that involve omission (See pronoun and possessive shift patterns).

Examining these shift patterns reveals the following findings: 1) all the shifts are dictated by the linguistic and stylistic conventions of Arabic, and are therefore obligatory in nature; (2) the shift patterns indicate greater explicitness in the Arabic texts; and (3) the majority of shifts involve verbal substitution.

Table 3.20

Substitution shift patterns

Type of Shift	Number of shifts
A. Nominal Substitution	
1) ones: demonstratives	2
2) ones: repetition	1
Total	3
B. Verbal Substitution	
1) operator do: repetition	2
2) operator do: lexical cohesion (general word)	4
3) operator do: clausal substitution structure "إذا كان الأمر كذلك" (if so)	2
Total	8
C. Clausal Substitution	
1) so: demonstrative (extended reference using "ذلك" (that/masc.))	2
2) not: repetition	1
Total	3
Total A, B & C	14

3.2.2.3 Ellipsis

100 instances of ellipsis are not reproduced in the translated texts; 71 are nominal, 15 are verbal and 14 are clausal (Tables 3.21, 3.22 and 3.23). The shifts that involve verbal ellipsis are all obligatory; those that involve nominal and clausal ellipsis are almost all obligatory with few optional cases.

Table 3.21

Nominal ellipsis shift patterns

Type of Shift	Number of shifts
Nominal Ellipsis	
A. Deictic ellipsis	
1) Deictic: repetition	18
2) Deictic: pronoun	3
3) Deictic: demonstrative	2
4) Deictic: <i>iḍāfa</i> construction	1
5) Deictic: comparison	1
B. Numerative Ellipsis	
1) Numerative: lexical repetition	24
2) Numerative: permutative (بدل)	11
3) Numerative: demonstrative	3
4) Numerative: nunation	1
5) Numerative: pronoun	1
C. Epithet Ellipsis	
1) Epithet: lexical cohesion	5
2) Epithet: pronoun	1
Total (A, B & C)	71

Table 3.22

Verbal ellipsis shift patterns

Type of Shift	Number of shifts
Verbal ellipsis	
1) lexical verbal ellipsis: lexical cohesion	15
Total	15

Table 3.23

Clausal ellipsis shift patterns

Type of shift	Number of shifts
Clausal ellipsis	
A. Modal ellipsis	
1) modal ellipsis: verbal clause	3
2) modal ellipsis: nominal clause	1
3) modal ellipsis: yes/no question (using (ألف الاستفهام)	2
4) modal ellipsis: extended reference	1
5) modal ellipsis: Wh-question (كيف)	1
B. Propositional ellipsis	
1) propositional ellipsis: verbal clause	2
2) propositional ellipsis: repetition	1
C. Clause complex ellipsis	
1) clause complex: extended reference	1
2) clause complex: quasi-sentence (شبه جملة)	1
3) clause complex: omission	1
Total (A, B & C)	14

After examining the above shift patterns observed for the three sub-types of ellipses

the following conclusions can be drawn: (1) all the patterns, except those that involve omission, result in target texts that are more explicit than the original; (2) of all the shift patterns attested, only four are prominent (Deictic ellipsis/1), (Numerative ellipsis/1) and (Verbal ellipsis/1); all the other shifts are peripheral; and (3) all the shifts noted are obligatory, especially the ones that involve lexical verbal ellipsis; also, some shift patterns that involve nominal and clausal ellipsis need to be modified so that the target texts flow more smoothly.

3.2.2.4 Conjunctions

Having examined the number of similarities attested in the process of translating the conjunctions from English into Arabic (Section 3.2.4), it becomes evident that the translated corpora exhibit a low proportion of shifts. The following points summarise the nature of the shifts noted:

1) Out of 789 occurrences of conjunctions, only 69 shifts are accounted for in the target language texts. This percentage (9%) asserts that translators have opted for a source-text oriented approach; this, in turn, entails that the mismatches that exist between the way English and Arabic use conjunctions have been disregarded. Consequently, one can claim that the proportion and type of shifts attested do not represent a clear picture of the discrepancies that should result in the act of translating conjunctions from English into Arabic.

2) Out of the 69 shifts attested 26 are additive, 20 are adversative, 9 are causal, 8 are temporal and 6 are continuatives (Table 3.24). The relatively high instances of shifts

attested under the two conjunctive categories additive and adversative may be attributed to the prominent discrepancies between the way these two groups are used in English and Arabic discourse to create intersentential cohesion.

3) Some of the meaning relations expressed implicitly in the source texts are expressed using an overt conjunction in the target texts. This finding further asserts the claim that explicitation is part and parcel of any act of translation.

4) Initiating particles أدوات استهلال , like و ، إذ ، ف and other conjunctions are sometimes added at the beginning of sentences even though the context does not necessitate such an addition; a finding shared by Ghazala (2001) and 'Illayyan (1990; quoted in Hamdan and Fareh, 1999).

5) Different shift patterns are realised for the five categories of conjunctions (Table 3.25).

6) Some explicit conjunctions that express intersentential cohesion in the original texts exhibit intrasentential cohesion in the translated texts. This takes place because English and Arabic present and relate chunks of information rather differently. While English sentences tend to be short, an Arabic sentence can be as long as a paragraph (Kharma and Hajjaj, 1989; Williams, 1984; Holes, 1984; Baker, 1992; and others); in addition, the punctuation system advocated in the two languages is anything but identical.

Table 3.24

Conjunction shifts

Conjunctions	Number of shifts
Additive	26
Adversative	20
Causal	9
Temporal	8
Continuatives	6
Total	69

After a close analysis of the shift patterns noted (Table 3.25), a number of findings can be identified: (1) shifts take place across and within the conjunctive categories; (2) a high percentage of shifts (35%) involve omissions of the conjunctions used in the source text; this is especially evident with adversative, additive and causal conjunctions. This shift, therefore, can be considered a prominent one that seems to be inherent in the translation of conjunctions from English into Arabic since it has been observed by other researchers (Illayyan, 1990; quoted in Hamdan and Fareh, 1999). However, it has to be pointed out that the instances that involve this shift are nearly all optional and are not dictated by the incompatibilities between the way these markers function in English and Arabic; (3) the majority of shifts studied, with a few exceptions, are optional and may have resulted because the translators failed to understand the communicative function the text producers wanted to convey; and (4) all the shifts lead to changes in the intended meaning relations originally established in the source language texts.

Table 3.25

Conjunction shift patterns

Type of shift	Number of shifts
A) Additive	
1) Additive: omission	6
2) Additive: adversative	3
3) Additive: temporal	1
4) Additive: emphatic particle	2
5) Additive: initiating particle	2
6) Emphatic additive: simple additive	6
7) Emphatic additive: comparison additive	6
B) Adversative	
1) Adversative: omission	10
2) Adversative: additive	6
3) Adversative: particularization	3
4) Adversative: temporal	1
C) Causal	
1) Causal: omission	5
2) Causal: temporal	3
3) Causal: additive	1
D) Temporal	
1) Temporal: omission	1
2) Temporal: particularization	3
3) Temporal: additive	2
4) Temporal: continuative	1
5) Interrupted: sequential	1
E) Continuatives	
1) Continuative: omission	2
2) Continuative: particularization	4
Total (A, B, C, D & E)	69

3.2.2.5 Lexical Cohesion

A low proportion of shifts have resulted in the act of reworking the lexical devices from English into Arabic. The following findings are observed with regards to the lexical cohesive devices employed in the Arabic version of *Newsweek*:

1) Only 456 differences are accounted for in the target language texts. This is undoubtedly a low proportion in comparison with the number of lexical items retained in the translated texts.

2) Out of a total of 456 shifts, 196 shifts involve repetition, synonymy accounts for 229 shifts, meronymy for 12, collocation for 12, hyponymy for 6 and 1 shift involves antonymy (Table 3.26).

3) Different shift patterns are observed for the six categories of lexical cohesion (Table 3.27). Some of these shifts are obligatory, while others are optional.

Table 3.26

Lexical cohesion shifts

Lexical Cohesion	Number of shifts
Repetition	196
Synonymy	229
Antonymy	1
Hyponymy	6
Meronymy	12
Collocation	12
Total	456

Table 3.27

Lexical cohesion shift patterns

Type of shift	Number of shifts
A. Repetition	
1) Repetition: Synonymy	118
2) Repetition: Omission	27
3) Repetition: Meronymy	19
4) Repetition: Hyponymy	12
5) Repetition: Pronouns	10
6) Repetition: Collocation	9
Total	196
B. Synonymy	
1) Synonymy: Repetition	197
2) Synonymy: Omission	16
3) Synonymy: Hyponymy	8
4) Synonymy: Meronymy	5
5) Synonymy: Pronouns	3
Total	229
C. Antonymy	
1) Antonymy: Omission	1
Total	1
D. Hyponymy	
1) Hyponymy: Repetition	4
2) Hyponymy: Synonymy	1
3) Hyponymy: Collocation	1
Total	6
E. Meronymy	
1) Meronymy: Repetition	7
2) Meronymy: Omission	4
3) Meronymy: Synonymy	1
Total	12
F. Collocation	
1) Collocation: Repetition	10
2) Collocation: Synonymy	1
3) Collocation: Omission	1
Total	12
Total (A, B, C, D, E & F)	456

The above shift patterns indicate that for each category of lexical cohesion, there is one major shift pattern: (Repetition/1), (Synonymy/1), (Meronymy/1), and (Collocation/1). Therefore, one can claim that the rest of the patterns do not constitute trends. The patterns also reveal that many of the obligatory shifts are

grouped under the pattern (Synonymy: Repetition). Two reasons dictate these compulsory shifts: the level of formality that the pair of synonyms expresses (Example 18) and the lack of a ready equivalent in Arabic for the pair of synonyms (Example 19). The optional shifts, however, depend on the translator's stylistic preferences. The shifts attested also alter the nature of the lexical networks originally deployed in the source language texts (see Figures 3.2 and 3.3).

Having presented the shift patterns observed for the five categories of cohesive devices in *Newsweek in Arabic*, in what follows examples will be provided and discussed to illustrate the impact these shifts have on the target language texts.

3.2.2.6 Illustrative Examples

Example 15

Pronoun: Demonstrative

But one day in early 1999, Fraga made his boldest play of all. He walked away. Leaving Soros and ditching what has been described as one of the most radiant careers on Wall Street, the 41-year-old Princeton-trained economist went home to take the top job at Brazil's Central Bank, a graveyard of many financial reputations. Maybe it was a spasm of saudades, the storied Brazilian homesickness.

(*Newsweek*, September 3, 2001: 30)

ولكن في يوم من أوائل أيام عام 1999، لعب فراغا لعبته الأكثر جرأة. لقد ترك عمله هذا. ترك سوروس وتخلي عما كان يوصف بأنه أكثر المهن بريقاً في وول ستريت، وعاد ذلك الاقتصادي خريج جامعة برينستون، 41 عاماً، إلى بلاده ليرأس البنك المركزي في البرازيل، وهو مقبرة للكثير من أصحاب السمعة من الاقتصاديين. وربما كان ذلك، نوبة من نوبات الحنين البرازيلي الأسطوري إلى الوطن.

(*Newsweek*, September 4, 2001: 24)

In the source text, the pronoun 'it' denotes extended reference; it refers to Fraga leaving work for Soros and taking the top job at Brazil's Central Bank. As noted earlier, this meaning in Arabic is expressed using a demonstrative ذلك (that), and hence this is an inevitable rendition that is justifiable. This shift, which creates a

more explicit Arabic text, makes referent identification straightforward for the target text reader and entails less processing effort.

Example 16

Pronoun: Common Noun

Brazil's health minister, Jose Serra, replied last week by threatening to usurp patients of two important AIDS drugs unless the prices come down fast. He named no names, but the costliest cocktail ingredients imported into Brazil are nelfinavir, made by Roche, and Merck's efavirenz.

(*Newsweek*, February 19, 2001: 53)

ورد وزير الصحة البرازيلي خوزيه سيررا الأسبوع الماضي بتوجيهه تهديد إمكانية انتزاع حق براءة الاختراع من اثنين من عقاقير افيديز المهمة، ما لم تنخفض أسعارهما بسرعة. ولم يذكر الوزير العقارين بالإسم، ولكن أعلى اثنين من عقاقير تركيبات معالجة مرض الأيدز التي تستورد في البرازيل هما نيلفينافير من إنتاج شركة "روش" وإيفافيرينيز الذي تنتجه شركة "ميرك".

(*Newsweek*, February 20, 2001: 53)

The use of the common noun الوزير (the minister) in the translated text is optional. The Arabic text could have existed without this explicit anaphoric link since the implied third person pronoun ذكر (name) could have been chosen to create a link with the preceding sentence. However, Arabic tolerates such a rendition because this stylistic choice makes the cohesive ties clearer and easier to perceive.

Example 17

Pronoun: Omission

In Taiwan and Hong Kong, there is a higher density of McDonald's than in most parts of the United States. Children are especially at risk. Most developed Asian cities have little space for them to exercise – and tradition mandates study above all else.

(*Newsweek*, December 11, 2000: 40)

يوجد في تايوان وهونج كونج كثافة عديدة لمحلات ماكدونالدز تزيد على معظم المناطق في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. إن الأطفال على وجه الخصوص هم الأكثر عرضة للخطر. ومعظم المدن الآسيوية النامية لديها مساحات خلاء قليلة لممارسة التمارين الرياضية فيها، ناهيك عن التقليد الإلزامي بالاهتمام بالدراسة فوق أي اعتبار آخر.

(*Newsweek*, December 11, 2000: 22)

The translator of this text has opted to delete the pronoun ‘*them*’ used in the original. It is evident that this kind of shift fails to capture the text producer’s intent, and establishes a misleading cohesive tie between the propositions. The English text producer explains why the Asian children are at risk: there is little space for **them** to exercise. The Arabic version, however, is general; the target text reader gets the impression that there is little space to exercise for all the citizens. To successfully convey the meaning intended in the original, the translator could have reproduced the pronoun, or repeated the noun الأطفال (the children).

Example 18
Possessive: Article

THE PROSTITUTES’ BODIES ARE thrown on Iran’s roadsides, or more often in open sewers. They are wrapped in **their** long, black chadors, the cloth knotted top and bottom to form a makeshift body bag.

(*Newsweek*, August 20, 2001: 29)

جثث المومسات ملقاة على جوانب الطرق في إيران، أو غالباً في المجاري المفتوحة. إنها ملفوفة بالشادور الأسود الطويل، وهو قطعة قماش تم عقدها من الأعلى والأسفل لتقوم مقام البديل لكيس الجثث.

(*Newsweek*, August 21, 2001: 13)

This is an optional shift; the possessive could have been reproduced in Arabic without producing negative effects on the translated text. One can claim that the use of the possessive ‘*their*’ in the source text is motivated; it aims at showing the killer’s brutality, for he wraps the victims’ bodies with their chadors and not any other chador. By omitting the possessive pronoun in Arabic, the rhetorical function which this formal marker is meant to serve in the source text, is missing in the target text. The message conveyed in the Arabic text is not as forceful compared to that expressed in the English version.

The above examples indicate, on the one hand, that the explicit shift patterns create intersentential relations that are easily resolved since referent identification is straightforward. The implicit shift patterns, on the other hand, result in texts that do not convey the same functional meaning passed on to the source text audience; therefore, one notices that the intended messages in the original texts are missing in the translated versions.

Example 19 **Demonstrative: Different Demonstrative**

Tom Coates, a Des Moines, Iowa, credit counselor, warns: "As this economy slows, a lot of people are going to lose their homes."

*Even if **that** prediction proves false, watching so many households reshuffle their I.O.U.s is a sobering reminder of how complex financial life has become.*

(*Newsweek*, August 27, 2001: 30)

ويحذر توم كوتسن وهو مستشار ائتمان في مدينة دي موينز، بولاية أيوا: "في الوقت الذي يتباطأ فيه هذا الاقتصاد، فإن الكثير من الناس سيفقدون منازلهم".

وحتى إذا ما أثبت هذا التنبؤ خطأ، فإن مراقبة مثل هذا العدد الكبير من الأسر يعكف على إعادة خلط المنافع التي يملكها المستثمر العائدة لها لهما تذكرة منبهة لما أصبحت عليه الحياة المالية من التعقيد.

(*Newsweek*, August 28, 2001: 38)

The English text producer uses 'that' to signal that there is no sense of immediacy between him and the credit counselor. In Arabic, since the distance between the presupposing and presupposed items is expressed through immediate ties, the demonstrative 'هذا' (this/masc.) has to be employed. This is an obligatory shift; retaining the same demonstrative, would make the target text read like a translation.

Example 20 **Demonstrative: Article**

Like the victims of the schoolbus bombing, which apparently was a deliberate attack, many of the casualties have been kids who just strayed into the crossfires, like Muhammed al

Dura, the 12-year-old whose horrifying death was caught on videotape at the start of the violence. The Israeli military issued a report on that incident last week, citing evidence that the boy was probably killed by Palestinian gunfire – a finding vehemently rejected by most Palestinians.

(Newsweek, December 11, 2000: 12)

وعلى خلاف ضحايا انفجار الحافلة، والذي كان هجوما متعمدا بشكل واضح، كانت تخص أطفالا تزامن مرورهم مع تبادل إطلاق نار، مثل محمد الدرة البالغ 12 عاما الذي تم تصوير مقتله المروع على كاميرا فيديو في بداية أعمال العنف. وقد أصدر الجيش الإسرائيلي تقريرا عن الحادث الأسبوع الماضي، مدلا على أن الطفل قد قتل في الغالب برصاص الفلسطينيين، وهي نتيجة رفضها أغلب الفلسطينيين.

(Newsweek, December 12, 2000: 12)

The English text, unlike its translated counterpart, uses a more explicit referential expression. The use of the article in the translated text produces a neutral message in Arabic that does not emphasise the atrocities associated with al-Dura's death. Since this shift is optional, this neutrality could have been avoided by using the demonstrative هذا (this); indeed, Aziz (1998: 139) notes that the use of the demonstrative element in Arabic 'often gives an emotive colouring to the Arabic expression'. Hence, one can argue that the shift towards a more implicit covert cohesive marker fails to convey the shade of meaning expressed to the source text audience.

Example 21

Article: Demonstrative

The Malaysian version of Thai kickboxing was once so dangerous that competitors were sometimes killed in the ring. For that reason, the "sport" was banned in northern Malaysia decades ago.

(Newsweek, December 11, 2000: 45)

الشكل الماليزي لملاكمة الركل التايلندية كان في ما مضى شديد الخطورة لدرجة أن بعض المتبارين كانوا يموتون في الحلبة. لهذا السبب تم تحريم هذه "الرياضة" في شمالي ماليزيا من عقود عدة.

(Newsweek, December 12, 2000: 23)

In the English text, the definite article ‘*the*’ is employed to create a cohesive anaphoric link between the two entities: ‘*the Malaysian version of Thai kickboxing*’ and ‘*sport*’. This anaphoric relation that is signalled using the definite article ‘*the*’ is not retained in Arabic; rather the translator chooses the demonstrative هذه (this/fem.) plus the noun الرياضة to convey to the target text readership the same meaning relations presented in the original version. The researcher believes that this shift, which produces a more explicit Arabic text, is obligatory because using the word الرياضة in isolation would have indicated that all sports were banned in northern Malaysia because Thai kickboxing is dangerous. Hence, by adopting this shift, the translator produces a target text that is acceptable stylistically and syntactically while at the same time maintaining the semantic relations expressed in *Newsweek International*.

Example 22 **Comparative: Demonstrative**

Yokohama officials, who are building a 70-hectare park around the stadium, claim that their tests show the levels of dioxins and PCBs at the site to be low and well within Japanese safety limits. But citizens’ groups argue that such tests are flawed on two levels: they are not as rigorous as those required in Europe and the United States, and the acceptable levels of toxins set out by the Environment Ministry are relatively high.

(*Newsweek*, August 6, 2001: 22)

ويدعي مسؤولو يوكوهاما، الذين يبنون حديقة مساحتها 70 هكتارا حول الاستاد، أن اختباراتهما تظهر مستويات منخفضة للتلوث بمادة بيه سي بي والنفايات السامة في المواقع وأن هذه المستويات تقع ضمن حدود السلامة اليابانية. ولكن جمعيات المواطنين تقول إن هذه الاختبارات خاطئة على مستويين: فهي لا تتسم بالصرامة التي تتطلبها المعايير الأوروبية والأمريكية، كما أن مستويات النفايات السامة التي تحددها وزارة البيئة مرتفعة جدا.

(*Newsweek*, August 7, 2001: 18)

Example 22 illustrates the impact the optional shifts have on the translated texts. We believe that the choice of the formal marker ‘*such*’ is motivated in this context since

the text producer could have used the demonstrative ‘those’ to refer to the tests. By using ‘such’, the tests mentioned in the preceding proposition are explicitly emphasised. In Arabic, rendering this cohesive marker into a demonstrative weakens the intersentential ties in the original and the audience fails to realise the negative outcome such ‘flawed’ tests may have on the football fans who will be spending long hours in and around the stadium. In this case, using the comparative *ومثل هذه الاختبارات* (such tests) in the target text would have conveyed a similar meaning to that expressed in the source text.

Example 23

Verbal Substitution/Operator ‘do’: Lexical cohesion (general word)

In summer visitors come to enjoy the unusual scenery: a cable car takes them past hardened lava flows that encase tree trunks, old poles from collapsed funicular lines and even the odd truck chassis. The visitors’ center at 7,875 feet stands next to charred skeletons of previous structures – a caution to anybody preparing to make the journey up the summit. Plenty do, and occasionally some get killed.

(*Newsweek*, May, 14, 2001: 52)

وفي الصيف يأتي الزوار ليستمتعوا بمشاهدة الطبيعة النادرة؛ حيث تقلهم عربة معلقة في الهواء عبر سيل الصخور البركانية المتصلبة التي تغلف جنوع الأشجار والأعمدة القديمة من السكك الحديدية المنهارة وهيكل الشاحنات المهجورة. ويقع مركز الزوار على ارتفاع 7,875 قدما بجوار هياكل متفحمة لمبانٍ قديمة، وكأنها تحذير لأي شخص بعد العدة كي يقطع الرحلة إلى قمة الجبل. وكثير منهم يفعلون ذلك، وبعضهم يقتل من حين إلى آخر.

(*Newsweek*, May 15, 2001: 48)

In this example, the verbal substitute ‘do’ is replaced by a lexical relationship يفعلون (they do). The verb يفعلون in this context does not represent a case of verbal substitution as the word for word translation may suggest; it is a lexical device that creates intersentential cohesion by replacing a specific lexical item, namely the verb يقطع (make) by a more general one. This shift results because in Arabic ‘the verb فعل (do) is basically a lexical device rather than a grammatical one’ (Aziz, 1998: 97).

This obligatory shift alters the surface manifestation employed in the original, but manages to create links that are not erroneous and require minimal processing effort. According to Hatim and Mason (1990), Baker (1992), and Shlesinger (1995), successful translations create meaningful texts that do not subject the audience to unnecessary processing effort.

Example 24

Lexical verbal ellipsis: Lexical cohesion

"I-mode is going to be a huge hit," predicts Thomas Fellger, a wireless consultant at MetaDesign of Berlin.²⁷ "People are going to be crazy just for the handsets, with their big color displays. The Europeans haven't seen anything like it." No one outside Japan has. If it is a hit, DoCoMo could be not only the Next Big Thing, but the first big thing to come out of Japan in decades.

(*Newsweek*, August 6, 2001: 33)

ويتنبأ توماس فيلجر، وهو مستشار في شؤون اللاسلكي في شركة "ميثا ديزاين" ببرلين: "ستكون أي مود ضريبة نجاح كبيرة. فالناس سوف يصابون بالجنون فقط على الأجهزة اليدوية، بعروضها الملونة الكبيرة. الأوروبيون لم يروا شيئاً مثلها." ولم ير أحد خارج اليابان مثلها أيضاً. وإذا ما كانت ناجحة، فإن دوكمو يمكن لها أن تكون ليست الموضة الساحقة القادمة فحسب، بل أول موضة كبيرة تأتي من اليابان منذ عقود.

(*Newsweek*, August 7, 2001: 37)

In the English version, lexical verbal ellipsis is used to avoid repetition, especially that the elliptical verb form 'seen' can be recovered from the immediately preceding sentence. Hence, one can say that the audience of the source text has no problems understanding this implicit construction that produces a grammatically acceptable intersentential link in English. Although verb ellipsis is employed in Arabic discourse (Al-Ghalāyīnī, 1999, Al-Anṣārī 1996; Aziz, 1998, El-Shiyab, 1998; and others), the structure used in the original cannot be reproduced in the translated text. This is the case because of the linguistic discrepancies between the English and Arabic verb systems. Unlike the English verb phrase, the Arabic verb phrase is

²⁷'I-mode' refers to an internet phone service mentioned in the preceding sentence.

simple and has no auxiliary (Al-Khuli, 1999; Aziz, 1998; among others); as a result, when faced with lexical verbal ellipsis, translators have to keep in mind this grammatical difference, and reproduce the verb used in the preceding sentence(s) using repetition or synonymy. In Example 24, since lexical verbal ellipsis, which has no equivalent in Arabic, is used to create cohesion between adjacent sentences, the translator has no choice other than reproducing the full verb يرى (see) to establish a cohesive text. This strategy is justifiable and produces a meaningful text in the receptor language. However, one has to note that the resultant chain relations are not identical; whereas the source text uses grammatical chain relations to link the sentences, Arabic uses lexical relations. This is an inevitable end-result that emerges when the two languages involved in the act of translation are linguistically very distant.

Example 25

Clausal ellipsis: Nominal clause

Although space trash probably slams Eros all the time, the asteroid has surprisingly few small craters. And some of the larger craters have been filled in. That suggests that something is shifting dust around on Eros's surface. But what?

(*Newsweek*, February 26, 2001: 56)

فرغم أن نفايات الفضاء تصطدم على الأرجح بالكويكب إيروس طوال الوقت، فإن فيه عددا قليلا من الفوهات الصغيرة، مما يثير الدهشة. كما أن بعض الفوهات الأكبر امتلأت مجددا. ويلمح هذا إلى أن شيئا ما ينقل الغبار من مكان إلى آخر على سطح إيروس. ولكن ما هذا الشيء؟

(*Newsweek*, February 27, 2001: 52)

In Example 25, clausal ellipsis is used to create intersentential cohesion. In this context, the WH question word 'what' coheres with the presupposing clause 'the thing that is shifting dust around on Eros's surface.' By adopting this stylistic

device, the text producer does not mention old information and avoids presenting the reader with a monotonous text while at the same time maintaining text comprehensibility. This textual intersentential cohesive structure cannot be reproduced in Arabic because the text would sound awkward. Therefore, the translator chooses to use the nominal clause *ولكن ما هذا الشيء ؟* (But what is this thing?) to create cohesion. Nevertheless, one can claim that this type of shift is not complete because the translator omits the relative clause *صلة الموصول* that should have accompanied the nominal structure; adding the relative clause in Arabic makes the sentences cohere more smoothly and facilitates text comprehensibility as the following revised version indicates:

Suggested translation

فرغم أن نفايات الفضاء تصطدم على الأرجح بالكويكب إيروس طوال الوقت، فإن فيه عددا قليلا من الفوهات الصغيرة، مما يثير الدهشة. كما أن بعض الفوهات الأكبر امتلأت مجددا. ويلمح هذا إلى أن شيئا ما ينقل الغبار من مكان إلى آخر على سطح إيروس. ولكن ما هذا الشيء الذي ينقل الغبار من مكان إلى آخر على سطح إيروس؟

Back-translation

Although space trash probably slams Eros all the time, the asteroid has surprisingly few small craters. And some of the larger craters have been filled in. That suggests that something is shifting dust around on Eros's surface. But what is that thing that shifts dust around on Eros's surface?

Our suggested translation is much more specific,²⁸ and therefore more explicit than the original; nevertheless, it adheres more closely to the norms of Arabic discourse.

Example 25 illustrates that translators should take into consideration the type of shift they adopt in the process of translation; realizing that an obligatory shift is vital in a

²⁸ According to Al-Ghalāyīnī (1999: 129) 'the relative pronoun makes the reference more specific by means of the relative clause that accompanies it'.

particular context is not enough to ensure presenting an acceptable and intelligible translated text. Adopting the wrong shift pattern can distract the reader and have negative repercussions on the texture of the target language text; in such cases, language interference can easily be detected. This outcome is as serious as the one encountered when translators choose to reproduce the cohesive markers used in the source text in the target text without bearing in mind the incompatibilities between the languages involved.

Example 26

Adversative Conjunction: Omission

In 1999, a year after the stadium opened to the public, PCBs and dioxins were discovered in the ground 500 meters from the building. But after a cursory environmental assessment, the Japanese Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport declared the area safe by Japanese standards.

(*Newsweek*, August 6, 2001: 22)

وفي عام 1999، أي بعد مرور سنة على فتح أبواب الاستاد للجمهور، اكتشفت مادة بيه سي بي ونفايات سامة في الأرض الواقعة على بعد 500 متر من المبنى. وبعد تقييم بيئي سطحي أعلنت وزارة الأرض والبنى التحتية والنقل اليابانية أن المنطقة آمنة حسب المقاييس اليابانية.

(*Newsweek*, August 7, 2001: 18)

The translator of this text has chosen to delete the adversative conjunction ‘*but*’ used in the original. It is obvious that this shift produces a target text that does not convey to the audience the same pragmatic meaning experienced by the readers of the source text. The English text writer by using ‘*but*’ prepares the reader for the contrast that exists between the foregoing and the subsequent sentences. The Arabic version, however, fails to ‘set the scene’ for its readers and also passes on a message that is not as forceful as the one conveyed in the English text. This outcome could have easily been avoided by adding the conjunction لكن (but) to join the above cited sentences as shown in the following suggested translation:

Suggested translation

وفي عام 1999، أي بعد مرور سنة على فتح أبواب الاستاد للجمهور، اكتشفت مادة بيه سي بي ونفايات سامة في الأرض الواقعة على بعد 500 متر من المبنى. ولكن بعد تقييم بيئي سطحي أعلنت وزارة الأرض والبنى التحتية والنقل اليابانية أن المنطقة آمنة حسب المقاييس اليابانية.

Example 27

Causal Conjunction: Temporal Conjunction

Koizumi apparently has a plan. As of September, businesses that can't repay their loans within three years will be forced to fold, say analysts- a clear sign to the market that Koizumi is playing hardball. Then his administration will be able to subtly slip another cash infusion- between \$1.6 billion and \$3.2 billion- to the ailing bank sector (but only to those banks whose capital is below the required minimum).

(Newsweek, August, 13, 2001: 2)

ويبدو أن كويزومي لديه خطة. فبدءاً من سبتمبر القادم، يتوجب على الشركات غير القادرة على سداد ديونها خلال ثلاثة أعوام أن تحل نفسها، ويقول المحللون إن ذلك مؤشر واضح للأسواق على أن كويزومي يلعب لعبة متشددة. وبعدها يمكن لإدارته أن تقوم بهدوء بضخ قدر آخر من الأموال النقدية- بين 1.6 بليون و3.2 بليون دولار- للبنوك الأيلة إلى الانهيار (ولكن فقط إلى تلك البنوك التي لا يصل رأسمالها إلى الحد الأدنى المطلوب).

(Newsweek, August 14, 2001: 4)

This shift from a causal to a temporal conjunction is optional. The researcher believes that it took place because the translator did not sufficiently investigate the underlying functional significance of the explicit marker 'then' in this context. As stated earlier (see Chapter Two, Section 2.4), a number of conjunctions in English have a multiplicity of functions; an aspect that creates problems to translators (Hamdan and Fareh, 1999; Baker, 1992; Aziz, 1998; and Hatim, 1997). In some contexts, 'then' can express a causal meaning relationship between propositions, while in others it is used to denote temporal links. In the above context, 'then' creates a causal link between the sentences examined and not a temporal one; a pragmatic meaning that the translator fails to grasp and relay to the target language

receptors. This rendition not only expresses meaning relations not stated in the original but also leads to a shift in the line of argument presented to the target language reader. This shift can be amended by using the conjunction *نتيجة لذلك* (as a result)²⁹ which expresses a causal relationship in Arabic. By choosing this causal conjunction, the target language text conveys a similar meaning to the one expressed in the English text.

Example 28 Synonymy: Repetition

*How can children make sense of such a nightmare?*³⁰ *Gazaleh Garadat, 14, wasn't looking for trouble when she got shot. A rubber-coated bullet struck the unsuspecting Palestinian girl in the head, fracturing her skull, as she was walking home with a group of schoolmates near Hebron on Nov. 4. Kids*³¹ *tend to have tremendous natural resilience. Anas Zatari, 12, was walking hand in hand with his father in downtown Hebron when he felt a sudden pain in his left thigh.*

(*Newsweek*, December 11, 2000: 22)

كيف يمكن للأطفال فهم مثل هذا الكابوس؟ لم تكن غزالة جرادات تبحث عن المتاعب عندما أطلق عليها الرصاص. لقد أصابت هذه الطفلة الفلسطينية رصاصة مطاطية في رأسها من دون أن تتوقع ذلك محدثة شخا في جمجمتها عندما كانت عائدة إلى البيت مع زمرة من زميلاتها قرب الخليل في 4 نوفمبر. يتمتع الأطفال بقدرة طبيعية هائلة على التكيف. فقد كان أنس زعتري البالغ 12 عاماً، يمشي يدا بيد مع والده في وسط مدينة الخليل عندما شعر بألم مفاجئ في فخذه الأيسر.

(*Newsweek*, December 12, 2000: 12)

Since the word 'children' is used a number of times in the preceding sentences, the writer uses the lexical item 'kids' to create lexical links in the text. This option entails 'style-shifting' (Hatim and Mason, 1997: 151) which we believe is motivated. By using the word 'kids', the writer takes the reader from a formal tenor that uses the lexical item 'children' to a less formal one; a shift that might indicate a more

²⁹ وهكذا وعليه.

³⁰ 'Such a nightmare' refers to the violence that erupted between the Israelis and the Palestinians early September 2000.

³¹ Twelve sentences separate between the word 'children' and the word 'kids'.

compassionate attitude on the writer's part towards the Palestinian children. This variation in tenor is not tolerated in Arabic discourse, for Arabic stylistic conventions disallow the usage of colloquial vocabulary items outside speech. As a result, the translator has to resort to repetition and the word الأطفال (children) is used to achieve a 'continuity of meaning' (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 230) throughout the text. Although this obligatory shift fails to impart the same message expressed in the original, it does not impair text comprehensibility.

Example 29 Synonymy: Repetition

During the 1940s and 1950s the disease struck the island³² three times; 70,000 livestock were slaughtered in 40 countries in 1960. Then came the 1967 crisis: 447,000 animals were butchered.

(*Newsweek*, April 9, 2001: 3)

فخلال الأربعينات والخمسينات، ضرب المرض الجزر البريطانية ثلاث مرات، وقد أدى انتشار المرض إلى قتل 70,000 حيوان في 40 دولة في العام 1960. ثم جاءت أزمة عام 1967 التي أدت إلى قتل 447,000 حيوان.

(*Newsweek*, April 10, 2001: 4)

In this text, semantic relations are established between the sentences by employing the lexical items 'slaughter' and 'butcher'. Although 'slaughter' and 'butcher' are treated as synonyms in English, the word 'slaughter' expresses an additional shade of meaning not associated with the word 'butcher'. According to the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (1995: 1350), slaughter entails 'the killing of many people or **animals, often cruelly and unfairly**' (emphasis added). Unlike the source text, the target text establishes a link between the sentences through repetition and uses the word قتل (kill) twice. In this context, stylistic variation cannot be

³² The 'disease' refers to foot – and – mouth and the 'island' to Britain; both mentioned in the foregoing sentences.

adhered to; in Arabic, the verb ذبح (butcher) entails cutting an animal by the throat; this is a procedure that is not used in the killing of livestock infected with foot-and-mouth disease. Consequently, the translator repeats the word قتل (kill) and produces a translated text that is more 'neutral' than the original.

Examples 28 and 29 illustrate that the obligatory shifts that involve the pattern (Synonymy: Repetition) fall into two groups. The first group, on the one hand, results in translated texts that do not impair text comprehensibility and slightly deviate away from the message expressed in the source text (Example 28); the second group, on the other hand, alters the communicative message passed on to the receivers of the English text (Example 29).

Example 30 **Synonymy: Repetition**

*Negotiations with the Muslim extremist group Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines have gone on long enough, with little result. Twenty **hostages** - including three Americans- have been abducted since May 27, though some have been released. Abu Sayyaf even claims to have decapitated one American **captive**.*

(Newsweek, July 9, 2001: 4)

سارت المفاوضات مع الجماعة الإسلامية المتطرفة بقيادة أبو سياف لفترة طويلة بصورة كافية من دون تحقيق أي نتائج تذكر. فقد تم اختطاف 20 رهينة - منهم ثلاثة أمريكيين - منذ 27 مايو، مع أن بعضهم تم إطلاق سراحهم. بل إن أبو سياف يدعي أنه قطع رأس أحد رهائنه الأمريكيين.

(Newsweek, July 10, 2001: 6)

Since repetition is not necessary in this text, the near-synonyms 'hostage' and 'captive' are employed to create a continuity of meaning. The translator chooses to repeat the noun رهائن (hostages) and alters the lexical patterns in the source text. This is an optional shift, for the translator could have translated captive as أسير (captive) without changing the meaning relations perceived in the English text.

However, this shift is tolerated in this context because Arabic discourse frequently uses repetition.

Example 31

Repetition: Synonymy

*For all the hand - wringing about the disarmament and the fate of their elected Assembly, which was temporarily **suspended** last weekend, the people of Northern Ireland have mostly moved beyond the Troubles that consumed them for nearly three decades.³³ The Northern Ireland assembly has been rickety since day one. In 1999, on what might have been its very first day of official business, it fell apart in less than three hours. The biggest political party, the Ulster Unionists, led by David Trimble, simply failed to show up. (The issue: disarmament.) Once up and running, the Assembly was then **suspended** for four months.*

(Newsweek, August 20, 2001: 13)

رغم النقاش حول عملية نزع السلاح ومصير البرلمان المنتخب والذي تم تعليقه مؤخرا أواخر الأسبوع الماضي، فإن سكان أيرلندا الشمالية تجاوزوا ذلك الماضي المضطرب الذي خيم عليهم قرابة ثلاثة عقود. ٠٠٠ إن برلمان أيرلندا الشمالية ولد كسيحا في يومه الأول. ففي عام 1999 وفي يومه الأول، والذي يعد أول يوم لبدء العمل الرسمي، انهار بعد أقل من ثلاث ساعات. إن أكبر حزب في البرلمان وهو حزب أستر الاتحادي بقيادة ديفيد ترمبل فشل في مجرد الحضور. (السبب هو: موضوع نزع سلاح الجيش الجمهوري الأيرلندي). وبمجرد بدء العمل واستمرار البرلمان، تم تجميده في فبراير عام 2000 لمدة أربعة أشهر.

(Newsweek, August 21, 2001: 29)

Hatim and Mason (1990: 199) acknowledge that repetition 'is usually a symptom of intentionality (whether conscious or not) and as such is significant.' With this in mind, one can say that repeating the word '*suspended*' has a rhetorical purpose: to emphasise that the Assembly was inoperative for a short time. The translator disregards this communicative meaning and uses the synonym تجميده (it was frozen) instead of repeating the word تعليقه (suspending it) to establish lexical networks between the text constituents. The verb جمد (freeze), unlike the verb علق (suspend), denotes that an action was put on hold; the above rendition, therefore, violates the meaning intended by the text producer because the word تجميده (it was frozen) does

³³ Four sentences separate between the first occurrence of '*suspended*' and the second occurrence.

not collocate with the four month period mentioned at the end of the sentence; this time span indicates that the Assembly was inoperative for a short period of time. To overcome this violation, we suggest repeating the word تعليقه (it was suspended) to assert that the Assembly was temporarily inoperative. This example asserts Fawcett's (1997: 92) claim that 'deliberate repetition in a text may be a **translation problem if it cannot be replicated**' (emphasis added).

Example 32

Repetition: Meronymy

Guns and bombs once towered over dialogue in Northern Ireland. As the peace process rattles through yet another crisis, it is tempting to sort through the machinations looking for an obstructionist Arafat or an intransigent Sharon to pin the blame on. But Northern Ireland is sui generis, and that uniqueness gives rise to hope.

(Newsweek, August 20, 2001: 13)

كانت البنادق والقنابل تطغى دائما على الحوار والسياسة في أيرلندا الشمالية وحيث تواجه عملية السلام أزمة أخرى ، فإنه من المغري البحث في مكائد عرفات المعيق ، أو شارون المتشدد لإلقاء اللائمة عليه . لكن أيرلندا من نسيج خاص ، ولعل تلك الخصوصية تدعو للأمل .

(Newsweek, August 21, 2001: 29)

The English text purposefully creates lexical cohesion by repeating the proper noun 'Northern Ireland'. The reason underlying this choice may be attributed to the prominence given to Northern Ireland in this text. The reader who is familiar with the political issues associated with Ireland knows that the partition of Ireland in 1920 has resulted in the division of Ireland into North and South. The translator disregards this political dimension and replaces the second mention of 'Northern Ireland' with the word 'Ireland' which presents the reader with a case of meronymy since Northern Ireland is part of Ireland. In the translated text, the target language text recipient gets the impression that Ireland and not Northern Ireland is 'sui generis'.

Consequently, the translator violates Grice's maxim of quality³⁴ because the Arabic text receivers are presented with incorrect information; a pitfall that must be avoided in any act of translation.

Example 33 **Hyponymy: Repetition**

During the 1940s and 1950s the disease struck the island three times; 70,000 livestock were slaughtered in 40 countries in 1960. Then came the 1967 crisis: 447,000 animals were butchered.

(*Newsweek*, April 9, 2001: 3)

فخلال الأربعينيات والخمسينيات، ضرب المرض الجزر البريطانية ثلاث مرات، وقد أدى انتشار المرض إلى قتل 70,000 حيوان في 40 دولة في العام 1960. ثم جاءت أزمة عام 1967 التي أدت إلى قتل 447,000 حيوان.

(*Newsweek*, April 10, 2001: 4)

The repetition of the word حيوان (animal) in this context is optional. The translator could have easily relayed the relation of hyponymy between 'animals' and 'livestock' using the lexical items حيوان (animals) and المواشي (livestock). In English, the word 'livestock' refers to a particular group of animals: those kept on a farm for use or profit; the general word 'animals', on the other hand, entails all living creatures other than human beings. The writer starts with the specific noun 'livestock' and once the kind of animal involved in the act of slaughtering is established, a more general word is used. This relationship is missing in the Arabic translation; the prominence that the word 'livestock' assumes in the source text is not passed on to the readers of the target text. To convey the message intended in the original, we suggest the following rendition:

³⁴ When discussing the Co-Operative Principle, Grice differentiates between four maxims: quantity, quality, relevance and manner (see Lyons, 1981).

Suggested translation

فخلال الأربعينات والخمسينات، ضرب المرض الجزر البريطانية ثلاث مرات، وقد أدى انتشار المرض إلى قتل 70,000 من المواشي في 40 دولة في العام 1960. ثم جاءت أزمة عام 1967 التي أدت إلى قتل 447,000 حيوان.

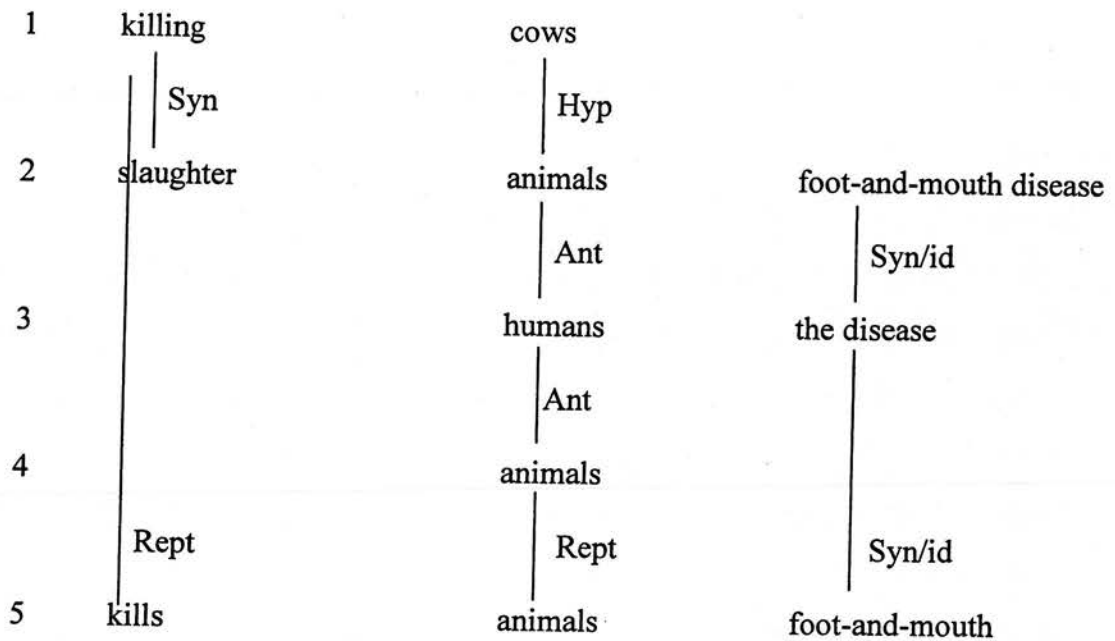
Back-translation

*During the 1940s and 1950s the disease struck the island three times; 70,000 **livestock** were slaughtered in 40 countries in 1960. Then came the 1967 crisis: 447,000 **animals** were butchered.*

All the examples cited indicate that the shifts noted alter the underlying coherence and the networks of lexical cohesion presented in the source language (see Figures 3.2 and 3.3). Nevertheless, this does not mean that the translated texts are not coherent; it only shows that a different network of lexical cohesion is deployed in the target language. In some contexts, this change is governed by the translator's stylistic preferences, whereas in other contexts the linguistic and textual conventions dictate this alteration.

Figure 3.2

Lexical relations in the English text



Key:

Rept: Repetition

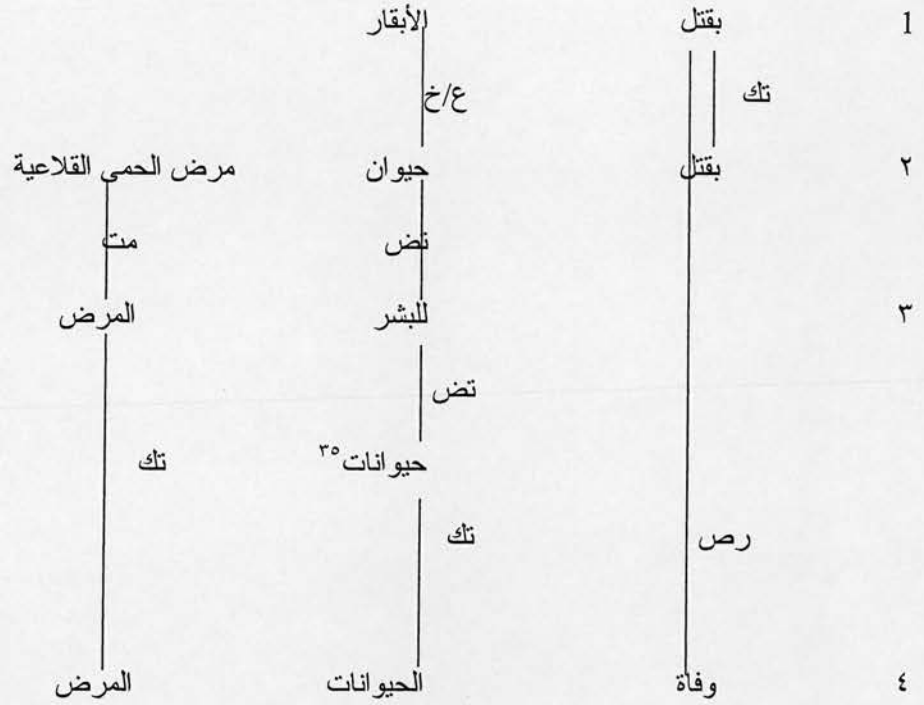
Ant: Antonymy

Syn/id: Synonymy/identity of reference

Hyp: Hyponymy

Figure 3.3

Lexical relations in the Arabic text



مت: مترادفات (synonyms)
ع/خ: عام/خاص (hyponymy)

Key:
تك: تكرر (repetition)
تض: تضاد (antonymy)
رص: رصف (collocation)

A close comparison of Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3 indicates that the shifts that have resulted in the process of translating the lexical items have altered the lexical networks originally perceived in the source language text.³⁶ The original text uses two instances of repetition, 3 synonyms, 2 antonyms and 1 hyponym. The translated

³⁵ In the Arabic text, the link between حيوانات (animals) and بشر (humans) represents intrasentential and not intersentential cohesion.

³⁶ Figures 3.2 and 3.3 represent the first five sentences of the articles entitled 'Foot-and-Mouth – Kill or Cure' and 'الحمى القلاعية – إما القتل أو المعالجة' drawn from the issues (April, 9, 2001:3) and (April 10, 2001: 4) respectively.

text, however, employs 3 instances of repetition, 1 synonym, 2 antonyms, 1 hyponym and an instance of collocation. It has to be reiterated at this point that this difference in the lexical networks does not produce a target language text that is incohesive and incoherent; rather, the intersentential cohesion is created using a different set of lexical networks.

Although the above examples show that ‘translation by its very nature entails certain shifts’ (Popovič, 1970: 78), translators have to realise that unnecessary shifts that change the message(s) presented in the source text, and disrupt communication should be avoided; otherwise, translation fails to fulfil its role: successfully transmitting correct information between the peoples of two cultures.

3.3 Conclusion

As can be seen from the analysis of the target language texts, a high proportion of cohesive devices are reproduced in the Arabic edition of *Newsweek*. Many of the similarities attested in the corpora indicate that the translators have opted for a source-text oriented approach (Toury, 1980; 1995) and have adhered slavishly to the norms of the source texts. By doing so, they have produced ‘adequate’ instead of ‘acceptable’ target texts (ibid.) that do not meet the end-receivers’ expectations; in fact, the majority of texts have a ‘foreign’ flavour and fail to take the reader smoothly from one juncture of the text to the next. This finding entails that translators must take into consideration the conventions of the target language and the underlying meaning of the cohesive devices when they decide to retain these explicit markers in the translated texts. Once these two aspects are born in mind,

cohesion interference can be avoided and the message expressed in the source text can be preserved in the target text.

The analysis also shows that shifts occur in the process of translating all the cohesive devices from English into Arabic; this supports the claim that shifts constitute 'a true universal of translation'. The shift patterns attested are obligatory and optional in nature, and some seem to be more prominent than others. In addition, many of these shifts indicate a change in the functional meaning intended in the source texts.

The findings also reveal that the 'explicitation hypothesis' (Blum-Kulka, 1986) is inherent in the process of translation. The shift patterns noted for all the cohesive devices examined indicate that there is a tendency to translate implicit reference items more explicitly in the target texts.

The shifts that take place in the act of reworking the texts from English into Arabic result in chain relations that do not match those created in the original; this, however, as Baker (1992) rightly states does not mean that cohesion is missing in the translated texts. It only affirms that languages and different discourse types favour certain cohesive devices in the creation of intersentential cohesion.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Translation of the Ideological Images Pertaining to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam into *Newsweek in Arabic*

4.0 Introduction

This chapter examines how the social and ideological messages representing the Arabs, Muslims and Islam in *Newsweek International* are rendered in *Newsweek in Arabic*. In doing so, the researcher investigates how the cultural approach to translation that sees 'the translated text as a carrier of social and ideological messages and the translation process as a tool for shaping these messages' (Neubert and Shreve, 1994: xi) applies to *Newsweek bi al-lugha al-'Arabiyya*.

In the 1990s, a new paradigm called cultural studies started driving research in the field of translation. This paradigm focuses on the relation between culture and translation and emphasises that in the act of reworking texts between languages translators should give culture and its impact on translation the attention it deserves. However, it has to be noted at the outset that culture in this paradigm is not associated with the translation problems that result due to discrepancies between the material, religious or social categories of culture prevalent in the source and target language texts. Rather, this paradigm 'is concerned with how values, ideologies and institutions shape practices differently in different historical periods' (Venuti, 1998a: 315). It is, therefore, an approach that is associated with political agendas and does not consider translation as an 'innocent' process that merely involves transforming a source text into a target text; indeed, to the proponents of this approach, translation is considered as 'a shaping power of one culture upon another' (Bassnett and Levefere,

1990: ix) and as an ‘activity which destabilizes cultural identities and becomes the basis for new modes of cultural creation’ (Simon, 1996: 135).

The proponents of this approach have criticised the linguistically oriented approaches to translation that fail to deal with the cultural aspect(s) of the text(s), and hence look at translation from a purely linguistic perspective; in fact, the advocates of the cultural studies approach to translation consider that linguistics and linguists ‘have moved from word to text as a unit, but not beyond ... The overall position of the linguist in translation studies would be rather analogous to that of an intrepid explorer who refuses to take any notice of the trees in the new region he has discovered until he has made sure he has painstakingly arrived at a description of all the plants that grow there’ (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990: 4).

The cultural studies approach tackles a number of diverse issues associated with the process of translation, namely gender and translation, post-colonialism, cultural hegemony, patronage and censorship and publishing strategies.¹ Needless to say, this diversity in interests has widened the scope of translation studies and has truly made this field of study ‘a house of many rooms’ as suggested by Neubert and Shreve (1994: vii).

This chapter is divided into two sections. Following this introduction, Section one provides an overview of the way the Arabs, Muslims and Islam are portrayed in the

¹ Discussing all the issues tackled by the cultural studies approach to translation is beyond the scope of this study. Cross-reference to the issues discussed under the cultural studies approach to translation, and are applicable to the analysed data, will be referred to in Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2.

source language texts. Section two investigates how the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* have rendered the social and ideological images presented in the source texts into the target texts. This investigation aims at examining the translation strategies adopted, which in turn, will reveal to what extent the cultural studies approach to translation applies to *Newsweek in Arabic*.

4.1 Representation of the Arabs, Muslims and Islam in *Newsweek International*

In this study, ideology is seen 'as a set of beliefs and values which inform an individual's or institution's view of the world and assist their interpretation of events, and facts' (Mason, 1994: 25). With this in mind, this section provides an overview of the ideological images of the Arabs, Muslims and Islam as portrayed to the readers of the International edition of *Newsweek*.

The section commences by outlining the general findings related to the presentation of the aforementioned topics. The section then proceeds to discuss the recurrent ideological images concerning the regions and the religion under investigation. The researcher believes that examining these images will set the scene for the evaluation of the translated texts in *Newsweek bi al-lugha al-'Arabiyya*.

4.1.1 General findings

A close examination of the selected articles reveals three general trends concerning the ideological images that the newsmagazine *Newsweek International* and its writers promote in their portrayal of the Arabs, Muslims and Islam to the readers of the source texts.

First, the analysis indicates that *Newsweek's* coverage of the Arabs, Muslims and Islam is mainly unfavourable, and generally promotes the stereotypical images the American media presents in relation to the regions and the religion under examination.

These negative stereotypical images present the Arab and Muslim worlds as 'troubled' regions associated with 'wars', 'conflicts', 'killings' and 'blood shedding'. Hence, the Arabs and Muslims are 'terrorists', 'guerillas', 'suicide bombers', 'radicals' and 'fundamentalists'. Also, the Arab and Muslim populace live under repressive regimes that resist political freedom and modernisation.

With regard to Islam, it is represented as an antiquated religion that opposes change and modernization and promotes negative ideologies, like violence and terrorism. It is mainly linked with 'fundamentalism', and its 'fundamentalist' followers are 'extremists', 'radicals', and 'fanatics' that pose a threat to the West.²

Second, the corpora investigated show that *Newsweek International* reports the events that most concern the American interests.³ Prior to the September 11, 2001 attacks, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict received the major part of the coverage.⁴ This may be attributed to a number of factors: (1) the American support for Israel; (2) the negative repercussions the Israeli-Palestinian conflict might have on the US interests

² This portrayal is prevalent in the articles written after the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center.

³ Gans (1980) mentions this point in relation to the choice of foreign news in the American press.

⁴ Out of the 53 articles analysed until September 3, 2001, 28 tackle the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The 25 remaining articles cover issues pertaining to the Arab world (12 articles) and the Muslim nations and Islam (13 articles).

in the Middle East; and (3) the prominent US role in the Israeli-Palestinian peace talks.

After the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center, one notices an obvious shift in the topics covered in *Newsweek International*. It becomes clear that the articles focus predominantly on Afghanistan and its association with terrorism, paying special attention to the Taliban movement, Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda terrorist network.⁵ This shift is not surprising especially that these parties are all considered responsible for ‘the deadliest attack on American soil in history’ (*Newsweek*, September 24, 2001: 1).

The analysis also indicates that the articles that covered the Arab and Muslim nations after the September 11 attacks revolve around these countries’ involvement with terrorism. These countries are mainly discussed from two perspectives: (1) their role in harbouring and/or financing terrorist groups that pose a threat to US national security; and (2) their role in America’s war against terror.

As far as Islam is concerned, one can safely state that it becomes newsworthy of reporting when this religion, its teachings and proponents cause trouble or problems to the United States. Indeed, none of the articles analysed before the September 11 attacks tackle Islam; before this period, Islam is marginalised and is mentioned in relation to radical Islamic groups that have gained ground in the various Arab and

⁵ Out of a total of 27 articles analysed between September 24, 2001 to December 31, 2001 to January 7, 2002, 16 articles cover issues relating to Afghanistan, the Taliban movement and Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda, with just three articles on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Muslim nations, and are responsible for acts of terrorism in these countries.⁶

Finally, the analysis of the articles shows that the majority of articles on the Arab and Muslim worlds are grouped under the four sections: Periscope, World affairs, Asia and War on Terror⁷. Hence, issues that depict the cultural, artistic and historical aspects pertaining to the Arab and Muslim worlds are not given the attention they deserve.⁸ This finding further supports the observation that *Newsweek* focuses on covering issues that concern the US interests in the Arab and Muslim worlds.

4.1.2 Recurrent Ideological Images Representing the Arabs, Muslims and Islam

Having presented the general findings pertaining to the analysed articles, in what follows, the researcher will examine how the recurrent negative ideological images that depict the Arabs, Muslims and Islam are conveyed in the analysed source text articles. The researcher believes that the favourable depictions of the Arabs, Muslims and Islam do not constitute problems to the translators because they are consistent with the beliefs and world-views of the Arab readers. As a result, this subsection focuses on the negative dimension of the presentation of the Arabs, Muslims and Islam in *Newsweek International*.

The recurrent negative images, that reveal how the writers of *Newsweek International* view the Arabs, Muslims and Islam, revolve around the following key

⁶ The article 'Trouble for Bin Laden?' (*Newsweek*, August 7, 2000: 29) is an exception, for it briefly refers to the role played by the Islamic terrorist group Al-Qaeda in the terrorist attacks on the US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya.

⁷ This section was introduced after the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center.

⁸ Although two of the analysed articles tackle the economic situation in the Arab and Muslim countries under the Business Section, this issue is discussed in the articles grouped under the World Affairs and Asia Sections.

issues: (1) lack of democracy and the Arab and Muslim rulers; (2) the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; (3) Islam and fundamentalism; and (4) the economic decline in the Arab and Muslim nations. In the discussion of these depictions, illustrative examples drawn from the source language articles will be provided.

4.1.2.1 Lack of Democracy and The Arab and Muslim Rulers

When presenting the Arab and Muslim worlds, they are portrayed as regions with little or no experience in democracy. According to *Newsweek International*, democracy in the Arab world is non-existent. Unlike the rest of the developing nations that have pressed for political freedom and reform, these two notions continue to be ignored in the Arab region. Consequently, this region ‘... stands in stark contrast to the rest of the world, where freedom and democracy have been gaining ground over the last two decades,’ and contrary to expectations ‘In an almost unthinkable reversal of global pattern almost every Arab country today is less free than it was 30 years ago. There are few countries in the world of which one can say that’ (*Newsweek*, December 24, 2001: 26; and *Newsweek*, October 15, 2001: 29; respectively).

In comparison with the Arab nations, the non-Arab Muslim countries fare better as far as democracy is concerned. Nevertheless, ‘prospects for democracy in the Islamic world are dim’ (*Newsweek*, December 24, 2001: 26), for these nations experience a diluted form of democracy.⁹

⁹ This does not apply to Turkey because ‘Turkey shatters the conventional image of Islam. It is 99 percent Muslim and yet resolutely secular, democratic and pro-Western’ (*Newsweek*, January 28, 2002: 17).

This lack of political voice in the Arab and Muslim worlds is largely attributed to the rulers presiding over these regions. Since the majority of the rulers, especially in the Arab world, do not reach office through genuine elections, one does not expect them to advocate political pluralism. In an article entitled ‘A Dictator’s Dilemma’ (*Newsweek*, October 1, 2001: 33), the writer describes this state of affairs in Pakistan saying ‘... elections often are not the way governments are made in Pakistan. Frequently, they result from mass unrest and military coups’. This lack of political pluralism, according to the writers of *Newsweek*, prevails in the majority of the Arab and Muslim nations and is not solely confined to Pakistan.¹⁰ Since most of these rulers do not come to power through popular consent, they ‘are not democratic politicians with finely tuned senses of what their public want’ (ibid.: 29). In fact, these rulers are repeatedly referred to as ‘autocrats’, ‘dictators’, ‘traditionalists’ and ‘presidents-for-life’, whose regimes are ‘harsh’ and ‘brutal’.¹¹ Not only do these ‘ruthless’ regimes suppress any form of dissent under the pretext that radical groups ‘flourish’ in democratic milieux, but they are also ‘corrupt’ and resist modernisation as the following extracts indicate:

‘The autocrats of the Middle East have a very long tradition of imposing ignorance on their subjects. Five centuries ago Ottoman sultans rejected the Gutenberg revolution that swept across Europe and banned the printing press for 235 years. Arabs have been struggling to close the gap ever since. But many of today’s emirs, kings and presidents-for-life are just as suspicious of the Internet as the sultans were of movable type. They’re stalling. And with

¹⁰ See also the articles entitled ‘The Legacy of An Arab Survivor’ (*Newsweek*, June 19, 2000: 18-22) and ‘Does Bashar Have What it Takes to Rule?’ (*Newsweek*, June 19, 2000: 22); ‘Nibbling at the Net’ (*Newsweek*, April 9, 2001: 24-28); and ‘How to Save the Arab World’ (*Newsweek*, December 24, 2001: 24-29).

¹¹ See, for example, the articles ‘The Legacy of An Arab Survivor’ (*Newsweek*, June 19, 2000: 18-22); ‘From Olive Oil to Sniper Fire’ (*Newsweek*, November 27, 2000: 58); ‘The Middle East After Arafat’ (*Newsweek*, April 9, 2001: 2); ‘Ring in the Old’ (*Newsweek*, August 6, 2001: 20-21); ‘Boots on the Ground’ (*Newsweek*, October 1, 2001: 38-39); ‘How to Save the Arab World’ (*Newsweek*, December 24, 2001: 24-29); ‘A Striving Son’s Toughest Test’ (*Newsweek*, January 28, 2002: 18-24); and ‘Gay Egypt in the Dock’ (*Newsweek*, February 11, 2002: 26-27).

the West moving at Internet speed, Arab leaders could easily condemn the Arab world to the dark side of the digital divide.’

(*Newsweek*, April 2, 2001: 25)

‘... Megawati has also shown little enthusiasm for purging the more unsavory holdovers from the Suharto years. Most of the major crony capitalists who fed off the New Order continue to operate businesses today.... And suspicion continues to hover over Megawati’s husband, Taufiq Kiemas, who is alleged to have business ties to Suharto-era cronies.’

(*Newsweek*, August 6, 2001: 21)

‘The money that the gulf sheikhs have frittered is on a scale that is almost impossible to believe.... Far from producing political progress, wealth has actually had some negative effects. It has enriched and empowered the gulf governments so that, like their Arab brethren, they too, have become more repressive over time.’

(*Newsweek*, October 15, 2001: 30)

‘The [Egyptian] government is efficient only in one area: squashing dissent and strangling civil society.’

(*Newsweek*, October 15, 2001: 28)

‘Assad’s reign was often brutal: in 1982 his Army slaughtered some 10,000 people in Hama, a stronghold of Sunni Muslim fundamentalism.’

(*Newsweek*, June 19, 2000: 20)

‘In Pakistan these days, free speech is a dangerous thing.’

(*Newsweek*, September 3, 2001: 66)

These ‘autocratic’ and ‘corrupt’ rulers of the Arab and Muslim worlds are further classified into two groups depending on their relationship with the United States as ‘moderates’ and ‘radicals’. Since these moderate rulers support the policies of the United States, unlike the radicals who oppose them, ‘The United States must recognize that its core interest in the Middle East now - outside of Israel – is to stabilize the moderate Arab states that are its longtime allies’ (*Newsweek*, April 2, 2001: 2).¹²

¹² Examples of articles that deal with this issue include: ‘The Fears of America’s Steadfast Muslim Ally’ (*Newsweek*, January 28, 2001: 17) and ‘We’ve Hit The Targets’ (*Newsweek*, September 24, 2001: 36-39).

This categorisation of Arab and Muslim rulers undergoes a shift after the September 11 attacks and America's declaration of war on terror. One notices that rulers who were once considered 'foes' become 'allies' and 'valued friends' to the United States and the West after they join America and the 'freedom-loving nations' in their war against terror. Therefore, Pakistan's president Pervez Musharaf '...formerly spurned as a military dictator, quickly became a valued friend to the West' (*Newsweek*, January 28, 2002: 24) following his announcement to abandon his governments' alliance with the Taliban and banning extremist and terrorist groups in Pakistan.

This negative portrayal of both the political situation in the Arab and Muslim worlds and the rulers' role in this state of affairs is not common in the Arab press; in fact, the readers in the Arab world do not read articles that expose their heads of state. Although some Arab readers might share some of the beliefs presented in *Newsweek* regarding the Arab rulers, others might find these depictions offensive and impertinent.

4.1.2.2 The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

On examining the analysed articles that tackle the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, one notices that the majority of articles in *Newsweek International* reflect the Israeli position concerning this dispute.¹³ This stance is not surprising if one bears in mind the special political relationship that exists between the American and Israeli governments; a relationship that is made clear in Zakaria's article 'The Roots of Rage' (*Newsweek*, October 15, 2001: 44) when he states: 'We [the Americans]

¹³ Although articles like 'Road Rage and the Intifada' (*Newsweek*, July 30, 2001: 20-22) sympathise with the Palestinians, they are few in number.

cannot in any way weaken our commitment to the existence and health of Israel’.

When portraying this conflict, the writers of *Newsweek* refer to it as ‘a long, bitter struggle’ and associate it with ‘violence’, ‘carnage’, ‘blood shedding’, ‘vengeance’, and ‘suicide-bombings’.¹⁴ These features that characterise this conflict are mainly linked with the Palestinian side and the Palestinian uprising (Intifada). Therefore, the Palestinians are not presented as ‘freedom fighters’, but as ‘terrorists’ ‘militants’, ‘warlords’, ‘guerillas’, and ‘suicide-bombers’ that kill and injure not only Israeli soldiers, but innocent civilians as well.¹⁵ The Israelis, however, do not initiate violence and their attacks on the Palestinians are referred to as ‘counter terror attacks’ and ‘counter strikes’ that are carried out in ‘retaliation’ for the Palestinian acts of terrorism.

In their presentation of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, the writers of *Newsweek* state that this process triggers ‘the old gulf of mistrust between the Palestinians and Israelis’ (*Newsweek*, July 24, 2000: 22) and for this reason the negotiations between the two parties reach an ‘impasse’.¹⁶ Hence, the peace process is referred to as the ‘stop-and-start peace talks’, and the ‘lost peace plan’ (*Newsweek*, July, 17, 2001: 17; and *Newsweek*, September 25, 2000: 50; respectively).

¹⁴ Some of the articles that portray such depictions include: ‘A Battle of Wills’ (*Newsweek*, July 17, 2000: 16-21); ‘A Campaign of Terror’ (*Newsweek*, December 4, 2000: 34-35); ‘The Young Casualties’ (*Newsweek*, December 11, 2000: 22); ‘We’ll See How Short Sharon’s Fuse Really Is’ (*Newsweek*, February 19, 2001: 24-25); ‘Ofir’s Fatal Liason’ (*Newsweek*, April 2, 2001: 26-27); ‘Dove in the Hot Seat’ (*Newsweek*, August 13, 2001: 26-27); and ‘Another Lebanon’ (*Newsweek*, March 4, 2002: 34).

¹⁵ See, for example, the articles ‘The Power Brokers’ (*Newsweek*, December 11, 2000: 18-20); ‘Arafat at The Brink’ (*Newsweek*, December 17, 2001: 40-43); and ‘And For His Next Act’ (*Newsweek*, January 28, 2002: 30-34).

¹⁶ See, for example, the article ‘Walking off a Cliff’ (*Newsweek*, November 27, 2000: 56-58).

This 'impasse', according to *Newsweek*, results because the Palestinian leadership, unlike its Israeli counterpart, is reluctant to make concessions. In an article entitled 'Arafat at The Brink' (*Newsweek*, December 17, 2001: 41), Hammer presents the Palestinian standpoint stating: 'The Palestinian leader, after all, turned down successive peace deals and permitted, or incited, the intifada as a means of winning through terror what he failed to get at the bargaining table'. Also, Zakaria (*Newsweek*, August 13, 2001: 7), in an article entitled 'Israel's Best Plan: Build More Walls', expresses Arafat's negative role in the Camp David peace summit saying: 'In rejecting Ehud Barak's proposals at Camp David, Yasir Arafat did more than shatter the hopes for peace between Israel and the Palestinians. He also shattered the Israeli left'.¹⁷

This portrayal of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is inconsistent with the Arab views and beliefs concerning this dispute. To the Arabs, and many Muslims, the Palestinians are 'freedom fighters'; hence, they are not 'terrorists' 'militants' 'warlords' or 'suicide bombers'. To the Arabs, the Israelis cause the 'carnage' and the 'blood letting' and the Palestinian civilians are the victims. With regards the Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, the Arabs believe that the Israelis are responsible for this protracted peace process.

4.1.2.3 Islam and Fundamentalism

When portraying Islam and fundamentalism, the most potent image associated with this theme is that of the spread of fundamentalism in the Arab and Muslim worlds.

¹⁷ See also 'Defeat of Reason' (*Newsweek*, August 7, 2000: 26-28) and 'Declaration Delay?' (*Newsweek*, September 18, 2000: 26).

According to *Newsweek International*, three main reasons have contributed to this situation in the abovementioned regions: (1) lack of political freedom; (2) the deteriorating economic conditions; and (3) social tensions. In fact, the two articles ‘The Roots of Rage’ and ‘Boots on The Ground’ succinctly summarise why fundamentalism has gained ground in the Arab and Muslim worlds: ‘As the regimes of the Middle East grew more distant and oppressive and hollow in the decades following Nasser, fundamentalism’s appeal grew. It flourished because the Muslim Brotherhood and organizations like it at least tried to give people a sense of meaning and purpose in a changing world, something no leader in the Middle East tried to do’ (*Newsweek*, October 15, 2001: 36); and ‘Yet today social tensions and faltering economies throughout the region [Southeast Asia] have bred legions of politicized (and often jobless) youth, the traditional tinder for radical movements from Cairo to Kabul’ (*Newsweek*, October 1, 2001: 38).¹⁸

This presentation of the spread of fundamentalism is tackled from two different perspectives in *Newsweek International* depending on whether the reporting takes place before or after the September 11 attacks. The articles analysed prior to the September 11 assaults have linked Islamic fundamentalism to ‘kidnappings’, ‘killings’, ‘suicide-bombings’, ‘anti-Christian violence’ and ‘threats to multiethnic societies’.¹⁹ In these articles, the Islamic fundamentalists are referred to as ‘radicals’, ‘extremists’, ‘rebels’, ‘militants’ and ‘fanatics’ that basically carry out acts

¹⁸ See also ‘A Spreading Islamic Fire’ (*Newsweek*, February 19, 2001: 22-23).

¹⁹ See, for example, the articles entitled ‘Foiling the Brotherhood’ (*Newsweek*, July 17, 2000: 32); ‘No Future-And No Past’ (*Newsweek*, April 2, 2001: 45); and ‘Soldiers Of Christ’ (*Newsweek*, April 9, 2001: 34-37).

of terrorism in the countries where they flourish.²⁰

After the September 11 attacks, the way Islamic fundamentalism is presented takes on a new dimension. Islamic fundamentalism is no longer associated with 'regional' conflicts; rather, the scope of Islamic fundamentalism widens, and it becomes a threat both to the United States and the West in general. Since this threat is orchestrated by Osama bin Laden, the 'Saudi-born Islamic extremist' who runs a 'global terror network' (*Newsweek*, September 24, 2001: 36 and *Newsweek*, December 17, 2001: 17, respectively) and aims at waging 'an epochal war against the infidel West' (*Newsweek*, December 17, 2001: 18), one finds that the majority of articles that portray Islamic fundamentalism revolve around the Taliban movement, and Osama bin Laden and his global terror network Al-Qaeda.

When discussing the Taliban movement, its leaders are presented as 'backward,' 'extremists', and 'radicals' that have 'imposed their ultrarigid beliefs on areas they controlled, forbidding women to go to school, requiring men to grow beards, outlawing neckties' (*Newsweek*, October 1, 2001: 30). As a result, this form of 'rigid Islam' has created a 'repressive' regime that has exposed the people of Afghanistan, and women in particular, to 'years of unspeakable oppression and brutality' (*Newsweek*, December 17, 2001: 30).

Osama bin Laden is portrayed as a 'terrorist', a 'fugitive', a 'gaunt bearded exile', a 'full-time holy warrior', an 'outcast in his family' and 'an outlaw in the wider world'

²⁰ The article 'Danger: Terror Ahead' (*Newsweek*, February 19, 2001: 18-21) discusses Osama bin Laden's global terrorist network and its infiltration of Arab and Muslim nations.

who is the 'chief impresario and financier' of Al-Qaeda network.²¹ He is a threat to the United States because he 'declared all Americans to be legitimate targets of jihad, or holy war' (*Newsweek*, September 24, 2001: 36). His supporters, who are members of Al-Qaeda terrorist network and responsible for the September attacks, are 'mass murderers', 'terrorists', 'militants', 'guerillas', 'fanatics', 'suicide bombers', 'suicide hijackers', 'culprits', 'zealots' and 'thugs'.²²

With regard to the Qur'an, one finds that some articles briefly refer to this holy book in order to clarify or justify information provided about the Muslims; indeed, only one of the analysed articles refers to this holy book in some detail.²³

On examining the articles that refer to the Qur'an, one encounters sporadic negative comments concerning this holy book and its teachings. Zakaria (*Newsweek*, October 15, 2001: 26), depicting the association between Islam and violence acknowledges, that quoting the Qur'an will not help explain this relation, for 'The Qur'an is a vast, vague book, filled with poetry and contradictions (much like the Bible). You can find in it condemnations of war and incitements to struggle, beautiful expressions of tolerance and stern strictures against unbelievers'. Also, Woodward (*Newsweek*, February 11, 2002: 56) comparing between the Bible and the Qur'an in relation to violence states: 'The Qur'an does contain sporadic calls to violence, sprinkled

²¹ Some of the articles that include these depictions are: 'The Road to September 11' (*Newsweek*, October 1, 2001: 46-55); 'We've Hit The Targets' (*Newsweek*, September 24, 2001: 36-39); and 'Meet the bin Laden's' (*Newsweek*, October 15, 2001: 63-64).

²² Some of the articles that provide these representations are: 'We've Hit The Targets' (*Newsweek*, September 24, 2001: 36-39); 'Al-Qaeda Runs for The Hills' (*Newsweek*, December 17, 2001: 16-22); and 'Evil in the Cross Hairs' (*Newsweek*, December 24, 2001: 14-23).

²³ This article is entitled 'In the Beginning There Were the Holy Books' (*Newsweek*, February 11, 2002: 54-61).

throughout the text. Islam implies “peace,” as Muslims repeatedly insist. Yet the peace promised by Allah to individuals and societies is possible only to those who follow the “straight path” as outlined in the Qur’an. When Muslims run into opposition, especially of the armed variety, the Qur’an counsels bellicose response. “Fight them [nonbelievers] so that Allah may punish them at your hands, and put them to shame,” [Sūrat Al-Tawbah: 14] one Qur’anic verse admonishes. Though few in number, these aggressive verses have fired Muslim zealots in every age’. Woodward later explains the different attitudes toward war and violence in the Qur’an and the New Testament by saying: ‘Muhammad was not only a prophet but a military commander who led Muslim armies into battle. Jesus, on the other hand, refused even to defend himself against the Roman soldiers who arrested him in the Garden of Gethsemane after he was betrayed with a kiss by Judas, one of his own disciples’ (ibid.: 60).

Although this negative presentation of Islamic fundamentalism might not offend the ‘moderate’ Muslims, it might prove provocative to some of the conservative and religious Muslims. As for the depictions associated with the Qur’an, the researcher believes that they are liable to upset even the moderate Muslims.

4.1.2.4 The Economic Decline

The image the writers of *Newsweek* present concerning the economic situation in the Arab and Muslim worlds is rather dim. Once again the economic decline in these two regions is attributed to the Arab and Muslim rulers who are ‘corrupt’, ‘greedy’ and ‘resist economic reform’.

Salhi (*Newsweek*, April 2, 2001: 28) acknowledges that the Arab leaders play a role in the prevalent economic decline in the Arab world by stating ‘...Arab leaders are not prepared to take other steps in social, political or *economic development*: none wants to disturb the existing social order, to share political power with the population or to give up the economic advantages that come with leadership’ (italics added).

This corruption and mismanagement, has resulted in an incurable ‘Arab economic sclerosis’ (*Newsweek*, March 11, 2002: 29) that has emerged because of the high levels of unemployment, national debts and budget deficits.²⁴

With regard to the economic decline in the Muslim countries, the writers acknowledge that the economy suffers since corruption prevails in this region.²⁵ In the Muslim countries, this state of affairs has led to the following economic problems: a ‘growing budget deficit’ that ‘has fueled a marked rise in poverty’ (*Newsweek*, July 17, 2000: 33); a ‘ballooning budget deficit’; a ‘basket-case economy’; ‘corrupt and debt-ridden companies and banks’ (*Newsweek*, August 6, 2001: 20); and ‘declining foreign investment’ (*Newsweek*, October 29, 2001: 56; and *Newsweek*, March 11, 2002: 33).²⁶

²⁴ Refer to the articles entitled ‘Queen of Hearts’ (*Newsweek*, June 12, 2000: 10-14); ‘A Place on The Map’ (*Newsweek*, April 9, 2001: 37); ‘The Roots of Rage’ (*Newsweek*, October 15, 2001: 24-45); ‘How to Save The Arab World’ (*Newsweek*, December 24, 2001: 24-29); and ‘Saddam the Builder’ (*Newsweek*, March 11, 2002: 28-29).

²⁵ Refer to the articles entitled ‘A Nation of Tax Resisters’ (*Newsweek*, July 17, 2000: 33); ‘Ring in the Old’ (*Newsweek*, August 6, 2001: 20-21); and ‘Terror Hot Spots’ (*Newsweek*, February 4, 2002: 14-17).

²⁶ Turkey is not considered among the Muslim countries that are suffering economically because ‘The government – despite its being a weak multiparty coalition – has been steadily pursuing significant economic and political reforms for a year’ (*Newsweek*, January 28, 2002: 17).

The Arab populace is most probably aware of this economic decline in the Arab world. However, the association between the Arab rulers and the deteriorating economic conditions, on the one hand, and the stark exposure of the economic problems in the Arab world, on the other hand, is anything but familiar in the Arab press.

This overview of the most prominent social and ideological images presented about the Arabs, Muslims and Islam in *Newsweek International* reveals that the beliefs and values that inform the writers of *Newsweek* about the regions and the religion under examination are incongruent with the Arab and Muslim perception of the same issues. Hence, it would be interesting to see in the next section how the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* tackle these inconsistencies in the act of reworking the texts from English into Arabic.

4.2 Analysis of The Target Texts

This section examines how the social and ideological images pertaining to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam, and presented to the readers of *Newsweek International* (see Sections 4.1.2 – 4.1.2.4), are rendered in *Newsweek in Arabic*. This examination aims at investigating to what extent the cultural approach to translation that sees ‘the translated text as a carrier of social and ideological messages and the translation process as a tool for shaping these messages’ (Neubert and Shreve, 1994: xi), applies to *Newsweek in Arabic*.

The section is divided into two sub-sections. The first sub-section examines the

social and ideological images that have been retained in *Newsweek in Arabic*, while the second sub-section considers the shifts that have taken place in the act of reproducing these images in the target texts. The objective of this examination is threefold: (1) to identify the translation strategies adopted in the process of transferring the source text images from English into Arabic; (2) to consider the motives that may have dictated the translators' choices; and (3) to discuss the likely effects the translated images may have on the Arab readers.

4.2.1 Similarities Between The Source and Target Texts

This sub-section examines the social and ideological images that have been retained in the process of translating *Newsweek International* from English into Arabic. To conduct this examination, selected illustrative examples that show how these images have been reproduced in Arabic will be provided and discussed.

A careful examination of the source and target texts reveals that the translators of *Newsweek bi al-lugha al-'Arabiyya* have retained a significantly high proportion of the social and ideological images in the act of reworking the texts from English into Arabic (cf. differences Section 4.2.2). This source-text oriented approach has resulted in target texts that are 'faithful' to the source texts, and hence are 'foreign' to the end-recipients (Venuti, 1995; 1998a; 1998b; and 1998c) The researcher finds this close adherence to the original texts rather surprising for three main reasons: (1) the Arabs and Americans do not share the same cultural heritage; thus, one does not expect these two groups to express their beliefs, views and attitudes toward the regions and the religion studied in the same manner; (2) the Arab and the American

traditions of news reporting are very different; and (3) some of the negative representations in *Newsweek in Arabic* may prove provocative to the Arab readers since these representations are not self-critical in nature; rather, they reflect the American perception of the Arabs, Muslims and Islam.

In what follows, illustrative examples that depict the recurrent negative social and ideological images pertaining to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam, and grouped under the main key issues discussed in Sections 4.1.2.1– 4.1.2.4, will be provided and discussed. This approach will help the researcher identify the translation strategies opted for and the effects these strategies may have on the target text recipients.

4.2.1.1 Lack of Democracy and the Arab and Muslim Rulers

Example 1

The Middle East today stands in stark contrast to the rest of the world, where freedom and democracy have been gaining ground over the last two decades. In its latest annual survey, released last week, New York's Freedom House finds that 75 percent of the world's countries are currently "free" or "partly free." Only 28 percent of Middle Eastern countries could be so described, a percentage that has fallen during the last 20 years.

(*Newsweek*, December 24, 2001: 29)

فالشرق الأوسط يقف اليوم في تناقض صارخ مع بقية العالم حيث ما زالت الحرية والديمقراطية تتوسعان لتشمل مزيدا من المناطق خلال العامين الأخيرين. وفي استطلاع السنوي الأخير، الذي نشر الأسبوع الماضي، وجد فريدم هاوس في نيويورك أن 75 بالمائة من بلدان العالم حاليا "حرة" أو "حرة جزئيا". وأنه يمكن إطلاق هذا الوصف على 28 بالمائة فقط من بلدان الشرق الأوسط، وهي نسبة تراجعت خلال الـ 20 عاما الأخيرة.

(*Newsweek*, December 25, 2001: 34)

Example 2

In an almost unthinkable reversal of a global pattern, almost every Arab country today is less free than it was 30 years ago. There are few countries in the world of which one can say that.

(*Newsweek*, October 15, 2001: 29)

وفي ظاهرة تراجع عالمية لا يمكن تصديقها تقريبا، فإن كل الدول العربية تقريبا أقل حرية اليوم عما كانت عليه قبل

(Newsweek, October 16, 2001: 29)

Example 3

We [the United States] do not seek democracy in the Middle East – at least not yet. We seek first what might be called the preconditions of democracy, or what I have called “constitutional liberalism” – the rule of law, individual rights, private property, independent courts, the separation of church and state.

(Newsweek, December 24, 2001: 27)

نحن لا نسعى للديمقراطية في الشرق الأوسط، ليس الآن على الأقل. نحن نسعى لما يمكن تسميته بالشروط المسبقة للديمقراطية، أو ما دعوته أنا بـ"الليبرالية الدستورية"، سيادة القانون، الحقوق الفردية، الملكية الخاصة، المحاكم المستقلة، والفصل بين الكنيسة والدولة.

(Newsweek, December 25, 2001: 36)

Example 4

Freedom Barely rings [in the Arab and Muslim worlds]... In the United Arab Emirates, political participation is nil; ...in Lebanon, freedoms are few, courtesy of its de facto occupier, Syria; ...in Iran, freedoms are few though youth is agitating for reform; ... in Sudan, there is no freedom. Past attempts at democracy have failed; ... in Libya, there is no freedom. Kaddafi has ruled absolute for over two decades; and in Syria, there is no freedom. Assad is ruling much like his father.

(Newsweek, December 24, 2001: 29-30)

أجراس الحرية لا تكاد تفرع. الحريات في الإمارات العربية قليلة. المشاركة السياسية معدومة ... في لبنان الحريات قليلة بفضل المحتل الفعلي، سوريا ... في إيران الحريات قليلة إلا أن الشباب يتحركون للإصلاحات ... الحريات معدومة في السودان. لقد فشلت محاولات ديمقراطية سابقة ... في ليبيا الحريات معدومة. حكم القذافي حكما مطلقا على مدى عقدين ... في سوريا الحريات معدومة. يحكم الأسد إلى حد كبير كوالده.

(Newsweek, December 25, 2001: 34-35)

On examining Examples 1- 4, it becomes evident that the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* closely embrace the ideological images presented in *Newsweek International*.

Like the recipients of the source texts, the Arab readers are blatantly informed that democracy, freedom and political pluralism are almost non-existent in the Arab and Muslim worlds. This adherence to the source texts strips the translated texts of the traditions of news reporting in Arabic and produces target texts that read like a translation (Toury, 1980, 1995; Baker, 1992; Hatim and Mason, 1990; 1997; among others). Indeed, if one considers Hugo's view of translation (1992: 18), one can

claim that the translation strategy adopted in rendering the images in the aforementioned examples represents 'an act of violence' against the target language culture. Although the Arab readers do encounter articles that criticise government services, this criticism is filtered and 'is gentle by Western standards' (Rugh, 1979: 74). Since criticism of the national leadership and the regimes is carefully guided in the Arab press, one does not usually read articles that describe Syria as an 'occupier' المحتل concerning its presence in Lebanon, nor does one find articles that overtly expose the lack of democracy and political pluralism in neighbouring Arab and Muslim countries as depicted in Example 4.

Example 5

America's allies in the Middle East are autocratic, corrupt and heavy-handed.

(*Newsweek*, December 24, 2001: 26)

إن حلفاء أمريكا في المنطقة استبداد يون، وفاسدون، وقمعيون.

(*Newsweek*, December 25, 2001: 34)

Example 6

The autocrats of the Middle East have a very long tradition of imposing ignorance on their subjects.

(*Newsweek*, April 2, 2001: 25)

فالحكام الأوتوقراطيون في الشرق الأوسط لديهم تاريخ حافل وطويل في فرض الجهل على مواطنيهم.

(*Newsweek*, April 3, 2001: 16)

Example 7

Coming from a military dictator [Pervez Musharraf], it was the kind of request that might be taken as a sign of weakness.

(*Newsweek*, October 1, 2001: 33)

لأنه صدر عن دكتاتور عسكري، كان المطلب من النوع الذي يمكن اعتباره بمنزلة ضعف.

(*Newsweek*, October 2, 2001: 15)

Example 8

The PLO should declare independence and go about business of turning its corrupt kleptocracy into a functioning state.

(Newsweek, April 9, 2001: 2)

وينبغي على منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية أن تعلن الاستقلال، وتبدأ العمل من أجل تحويل نهجها الفاسد إلى دولة قادرة على أداء وظائفها.

(Newsweek, April 10, 2001: 2)

Example 9

Assad's reign was often brutal: in 1982 his Army slaughtered some 10,000 people in Hama, a stronghold of Sunni Muslim fundamentalism.

(Newsweek, June 19, 2000: 20)

وكثيراً ما كان عهده (الأسد) وحشياً. فقد قام جيشه عام 1982 بقتل نحو 10,000 شخص في حماة، وهي أحد معاقل الإسلام السني الأصولي.

(Newsweek, June 20, 2000: 10-12)

Example 10

The Syrian Constitution clearly stated that Syria's president had to be at least 40 years old. But Hafez Assad's son Bashar, his anointed heir, is said to be only 34. Never mind. During Assad's long reign, the rule of law was always whatever he wished it to be. So it was in death.

(Newsweek, June 19, 2000: 22)

وكان الدستور السوري قد أوضح بجلاء أنه يتعين ألا يقل عمر رئيس سوريا عن 40 سنة. ولكن قيل إن عمر نجل حافظ الأسد ووريثه المهيأ بشار، لا يتجاوز 34 سنة. لا يهم. فقد كان حكم القانون على الدوام خلال عهد الأسد الطويل، هو ما كان يرغب فيه. وكذلك كان الأمر لدى وفاته.

(Newsweek, June 20, 2000: 14)

Example 11

When she [queen Rania] was made to wait in the plane on the Saudi tarmac while Abdullah was treated to a pomp-filled welcoming ceremony, the queen didn't complain.

(Newsweek, June 12, 2001: 10)

وعندما أرغمت (الملكة رانيا) على الانتظار في الطائرة الرابضة على أرض المطار ريثما أجريت للملك عبد الله مراسم استقبال رسمية في جو من الأبهة، لم تجرأ بالشكوى.

(Newsweek, June 13, 2001: 14)

As noted with the preceding examples, excerpts 5-9 reflect the images portrayed in

Newsweek International to the readers of *Newsweek bi al-lugha al-'Arabiyya*. Accordingly, one finds that the lexicon used to criticise the Arab and Muslim rulers in the source texts is not toned down in *Newsweek in Arabic*; rather, terms like دكتاتور (dictator) استبداديون (autocratic), فاسدون (corrupt) and وحشي (brutal) are reproduced in the target texts. This unfavourable representation of these leaders is alien to the Arab written press. In fact, Mansour (2000: 20; my translation) commenting on the articles that appeared in the second issue of *Newsweek in Arabic* states: 'in the second issue of *Newsweek* (in Arabic), the reader comes across two or three articles that refer to Arab rulers and the state of affairs in the Arab world; however, the articles are written in a style unfamiliar to the Arab reader who has become so accustomed to censorship to the extent that he has taken on the role of the censor.' Based on Mansour's comment, one can argue that this respect for the source language texts 'seeks to escort the TL reader abroad, to immerse the TL reader in the textual feel of the SL culture, producing something like literal translations' (Robinson, 1998: 126).

Also, Examples 10 and 11 reveal that adherence to the source texts is not confined to the lexical component but extends to include the sarcastic discourse deployed to portray Hafiz Assad's reign (Example 10) and the Saudi treatment of Queen Rania (Example 11). In Arabic, the sarcastic comments 'Never mind' translated as لا يهم and 'During Assad's reign, the rule of law was always whatever he wished it to be. So it was in death.' translated as فقد كان حكم القانون على الدوام خلال عهد الأسد الطويل، هو ما وكذلك كان الأمر لدى وفاته are incongruent with Arabic discursal and stylistic news reporting traditions that refrain from making such remarks about the internal

affairs of a neighbouring Arab country and a deceased head of state.²⁷ This is so, because censorship and media gatekeeping screen the articles about the Arab rulers and the state of affairs in this region; consequently, the negative flow of depictions is somewhat restricted in the Arab press.

In Example 11, the verb ‘was made to wait’, employed in the English text to criticise the way the Saudis treat women, is translated with its equivalent in Arabic as أرغمت. In Arabic, the verb أرغم is too strong to be used in discourse to depict how a queen is treated by a brethren regime; one can also say that the verb implies that she wanted to join her husband, and may have made a move to do so, but was forced to abort her intentions. Since such a usage may result in political tensions between the regimes involved, a more ‘neutral’ translation that conforms more closely to the norms of Arabic rhetoric would render the text more acceptable to an Arab audience: وعندما طلبت من الملكة الانتظار على الطائرة الرابضة على أرض المطار (when the queen was asked to stay in the plane).²⁸ Although the suggested translation does not provide the same shade of meaning expressed in the original, it produces a text that is more palatable to the target language readers.

This close adherence to the social and ideological images presented in the source language texts may shock the Arab readers, for as Newmark (1991: 163) acknowledges ‘many close transfers of meaning from one language to another will potentially or in fact cause some kind of jolt or clash or shock: most obviously culture shock.’ The researcher believes that this ‘shock’ is inevitable because the

²⁷ According to Al-Jassem, this issue was censored in Syria and Lebanon.

²⁸ The use of the verb تجرأ (dare) in the Arabic version, which is not originally employed in the source text, belittles Queen Rania beyond the limits intended by the English text.

translated texts do not meet the readers' expectations who are unaccustomed to this presentation that explicitly punctures the image of the Arab rulers and gives a bleak portrayal of the state of affairs in the Arab world.

4.2.1.2 The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Example 12

If they [Palestinians] have a strategy in the latest round of violence, it is to wear down the settlers and the soldiers who guard them, forcing Israelis to abandon the West Bank and Gaza.

(*Newsweek*, December 4, 2000: 34)

وإذا كان لديهم استراتيجية في جولة العنف الأخيرة، فهي إنهالك المستوطنين والجنود الذين يحرسونهم، لإجبار الإسرائيليين على التخلي عن الضفة الغربية وغزة.

(*Newsweek*, December 5, 2000: 14)

Example 13

Sharon insists he will negotiate with the Palestinians only on his terms – demanding first an end to the violence that has raged for the past four and a half months. Many Israelis believe the strategy will curb Palestinian violence. Others fear it will give it new momentum.

(*Newsweek*, February 19, 2001: 24-25)

يصر شارون على القول انه سيتفاوض مع الفلسطينيين حسب شروطه فقط، مطالبا بادئ ذي بدء بوضع حد لأعمال العنف التي ظلت تستمر منذ أربعة أشهر ونصف. ويعتقد كثير من الإسرائيليين أن تلك الاستراتيجية سوف تكبح العنف الفلسطيني، فيما يخشى آخرون من أنها ستمده بقوة دفع جديدة.

(*Newsweek*, February 20, 2001: 18-19)

Example 14

They came to him [Barghouti] for answers and advice because he runs a group of Fatah militias, guerillas the Israelis call Tanzim – the shock troops of the Palestinian uprising in the West Bank.

(*Newsweek*, December 11, 2000: 19)

جاؤوا إليه (البرغوثي) طلبا لإجابات عن أسئلتهم وسعيا إلى مشورته لأنه يقود قوة من ميليشيا حركة فتح، رجال حرب العصابات يسميها الإسرائيليون "التنظيم" وهم محاربو الانتفاضة الفلسطينية في الضفة الغربية.

(*Newsweek*, December 12, 2000: 9)

Example 15

These desperate warrens have become breeding grounds for young, frustrated radicals eager to martyr themselves in revenge. They include men like Abdel Moti Assar 22, and Ismail Ashur, 21, Hamas suicide bombers from Khan Yunis who blew themselves up last Tuesday morning at a military checkpoint guarding the Gush Katif settlement in Gaza, injuring two soldiers... Just as in Lebanon, the guerrilla attacks have created hellish consequences for the civilian population.

(Newsweek, June 11, 2001: 57)

فهذه المطارد البائسة أصبحت مرتعا لراديكاليين محبطين من الشباب المتشوقين للتضحية بأنفسهم في سبيل الانتقام. ويضمون رجالا مثل عبد المعطي عصار، 22 عاما، وإسماعيل عاشور، 21 عاما، وهما انتحاريان كانا تابعين لحماس فجرنا نفسيهما صباح الثلاثاء الماضي عند نقطة تفتيش عسكرية تحرس مستوطنة غوش كاتيف في غزة، مما أدى إلى إصابة جنديين بجراح... إن هجمات رجال العصابات أحدثت، مثلما حدث في لبنان، عواقب مهلكة بالنسبة إلى السكان المدنيين.

(Newsweek, June 12, 2001: 12)

Example 16

Last week Jaffarey finished digging plots for two more victims: a 54-year old housewife and a member of Yasir Arafat's elite presidential guard. Both had died in a missile attack on Palestinian Authority installations by Israeli helicopter gunships in retaliation for a string of suicide bombings. The strikes, which devastated living quarters, offices, arsenals and a storage depot used by Arafat's bodyguards, were meant as a clear message to the Palestinian leader from Prime Minister Ariel Sharon: curb the violence or risk further destruction.

(Newsweek, April 9, 2001: 26)

ففي الأسبوع الماضي انتهى الجعفري من حفر قبرين جديدين لضحيتين جديدتين: ربة منزل في الـ 54 من عمرها وأحد أفراد حرس الرئاسة النخبوي التابع لياسر عرفات. وقد قتل في هجوم صاروخي شنته طائرات الهليكوبتر الإسرائيلية الحربية على منشآت فلسطينية انتقاما لسلسلة من عمليات التفجير الانتحارية. وقد وجهت الهجمات، التي دمرت مراكز إقامة ومكاتب ومخازن أسلحة حراس عرفات الشخصيين، كرسالة واضحة إلى الزعيم الفلسطيني من رئيس الوزراء الإسرائيلي أرييل شارون: أوقف العنف وإلا واجهت دمارا أكثر.

(Newsweek, April 10, 2001: 11)

Example 17

The Palestinian leader, after all, turned down successive peace deals and permitted, or incited, the intifada as a means of winning through terror what he failed to get at the bargaining table.

(Newsweek, December 17, 2001: 41)

فقد قام الزعيم الفلسطيني برفض صفقات سلام متعاقبة وسمح، أو حرض، على الانتفاضة كوسيلة ليكسب عبر الإرهاب ما أخفق في الحصول عليه على طاولة المفاوضات.

(Newsweek, December 18, 2001: 27)

Example 18

But Arafat has already turned down one Israeli peace offer at Camp David – in July 2000, while Ehud Barak was prime minister.

(*Newsweek*, January 28, 2002: 31)

ولكن عرفات رفض سابقا عرضا اسرائيليا سلميا في كامب ديفيد، يوليو 2000 ، بينما كان ايهود باراك رئيسا للوزراء.

(*Newsweek*, January 29, 2002: 35)

The analysis of Examples 12–18 indicates that the Arab readers are presented with texts that ‘mimic’ (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990; Sengupta, 1990; Venuti, 1995; 1998a; 1998b; and 1998c; and Robinson, 1998) the western perception concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This is particularly evident in the lexicon used to describe the Palestinian uprising (intifada), and the Palestinian people (Examples 12–16) as well as the discourse deployed to represent Arafat’s role in the faltering peace process (Examples 17 and 18).

The Palestinian uprising in the target texts is associated with ‘violence’ العنف and ‘suicide bombings’ عمليات التفجير الانتحارية, and the Palestinians are portrayed as ‘guerrillas’ رجال العصابات, ‘suicide bombers’ انتحاريين, ‘radicals’ راديكاليين and ‘militias’ ميليشيا in spite of the fact that such ‘labelling’ is not employed in the Arab press to describe the Palestinian uprising and the Palestinians. Articles that are originally written in Arabic consider the Israelis responsible for the violence prevalent in the West Bank and Gaza; consequently, the Arab reader is more familiar with articles that describe the Israeli atrocities and the role the Israelis play in inciting the violence as the following excerpt makes clear:²⁹ ردت المقاومة الفلسطينية على الجرائم الإسرائيلية ضد

²⁹ *Al-Ra’i Daily Newspaper* (November 5, 2002: 1).

الفلسطينيين (the Palestinian resistance responded in retaliation for the Israeli atrocities against the Palestinians). This perception entails that the killings of the Israeli civilians and soldiers carried out by the Palestinians are not referred to as 'suicide bombings'; indeed, terms like هجمات إستشهادية (acts of martyrdom), عمليات مناهضة ضد الاحتلال (acts against the occupation), and عمليات فدائية (acts of self-sacrifice) are used to denote the Palestinian acts. Also, the Palestinians that conduct these acts are described as فدائيين (freedom fighters), رجال المقاومة الفلسطينية (Palestinian resistance fighters) and مقاتلين (fighters),³⁰ which are terms that have positive connotations, unlike the ones the readers encounter on reading the translated texts.

As for Arafat's role in the peace process, the Arabs do not generally share the same beliefs expressed in the West concerning his role in the protracted peace process. In many parts of the Arab world, Arafat is seen to have made many concessions, unlike the Israelis who have created obstacles that hamper all efforts aimed at negotiating a final peace process with the Palestinians.

This retention of the ideological images presented in *Newsweek International* in *Newsweek in Arabic* 'foreignizes' the target texts (Schleiermacher, 1992; and Venuti, 1995; 1998b and 1998c). According to Venuti (1998b: 240), by retaining the 'alterity' of the source texts through literal translation, 'the linguistic and cultural differences are preserved by deviating from prevailing domestic values'.³¹ It is the researcher's contention that, by challenging the ideological values in the target

³⁰ These terms were used in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat Newspaper* (August, 2002) and *Al-Rai al-'Aam Newspaper* (November, 2002), respectively. The former is published in London and the latter in Kuwait.

³¹ Refer to Chapter Three for examples on linguistic 'foreignization'.

culture, this strategy might seem so ‘foreign’ to the Arab tastes and result in ‘an uncomfortably alien reading experience’ (ibid.: 91) to the receptors of the target texts.

It is also worth mentioning at this stage that with regards to the ethics of translation, this adherence to the source texts fulfils what Chesterman (2001: 140) refers to as the ‘ethics of representation’. This model of translation ethics dictates that translators show faithfulness to the source texts and the source authors’ intentions.

4.2.1.3 Islam and Fundamentalism

Example 19

As the regimes of the Middle East grew more distant and oppressive and hollow in the decades following Nasser, fundamentalism’s appeal grew. It flourished because the Muslim Brotherhood and organizations like it at least tried to give people a sense of meaning and purpose in a changing world, something no leader in the Middle East tried to do.

(Newsweek, October 15, 2001: 26)

وفي الوقت الذي تعاضم فيه تنائي الأنظمة في الشرق الأوسط عن الدين وصارت ظالمة وخاوية في العقود التي تلت عبد الناصر، فإن جاذبية الأصولية تعاضمت. فهي قد ازدهرت لأن جماعة الإخوان المسلمين والمنظمات التي على شاكلتها حاولت على الأقل أن تقدم للناس إحساسا بمعنى وهدف في عالم متغير، وهو شيء لم يحاول أي زعيم عربي في الشرق الأوسط أن يفعله.

(Newsweek, October 16, 2001: 28)

Example 20

The U.S. made Apaches hovered miles from the Nablus office of the Islamic militant group Hamas, firing laser-guided missiles that flew through its window and showered shrapnel inside.

(Newsweek, August 13, 2001: 27)

فطائرات الأباتشي أمريكية الصنع كانت تحلق على بعد أميال من مكتب حركة حماس المتشددة في نابلس، مطلقة صواريخ توجه بالليزر عبر نافذة ذلك المكتب ممطرة الشظايا بداخله.

(Newsweek, August 14, 2001: 11)

Example 21

The country [Afghanistan], mostly ruled by the fundamentalist Taliban militia, is diplomatically isolated, and the United Nations recently imposed tough new sanctions.

(Newsweek, April 2, 2001: 45)

والبلد، الذي تحكمه معظمه ميليشيا طالبان الأصولية، يعيش في عزلة دبلوماسية، وقد فرضت عليه الأمم المتحدة أخيرا عقوبات جديدة قاسية.

(Newsweek, April 3, 2001: 27)

Example 22³²

The Qur'an does contain sporadic calls to violence, sprinkled throughout the text. Islam implies "peace," as Muslims repeatedly insist. Yet the peace promised by Allah to individuals and societies is possible only to those who follow the "straight path" as outlined in the Qur'an. When Muslims run into opposition, especially of the armed variety, the Qur'an counsels bellicose response. "Fight them [nonbelievers] so that Allah may punish them at your hands, and put them to shame," one Qur'anic verse admonishes. Though few in number, these aggressive verses have fired Muslim zealots in every age.

(Newsweek, February, 11, 2002: 56)

القرآن يحتوي على بعض الآيات التي يفهم منها الدعوة للعنف، وهي موزعة في سورته المختلفة. الإسلام يعني "السلام" كما يشدد المسلمون تكرارا. غير أن السلام الذي يعد به الناس والمجتمعات ممكن فقط لأولئك الذين يتبعون "الصراط المستقيم" كما جاء ذكره في القرآن. وحينما يواجه المسلمون المعارضة، خصوصا المسلحة منها، فإن القرآن ينصح برد ميال للقتال. ويحض القرآن في إحدى آياته بقوله: "قاتلوهم يعذبهم الله بأيديكم ويخزهم". ورغم أن هذه الآيات المنطوية على الروح القتالية العدائية قليلة في عددها، فإنها ألهمت مشاعر المتعصبين المسلمين في كل عهد وعصر.

(Newsweek, February 12, 2002: 52)

Example 23

Because Mohammad's revelations were heard, recited and memorized by his converts, the Qur'an is full of repetitions. None of its 114 suras, or chapters, focuses on a single theme... Thus there is no chronological organization – this is God speaking, after all, and his words are timeless.

ولأن السور التي أنزلت على محمد كانت تأتي مسموعة، وتقرأ وتحفظ من قبل أتباعه، فإن القرآن حافل بالتكرار. ليس هناك أي من سورته الـ 114 تركز على فكرة معينة واحدة... وعليه، فليس هناك تسلسل تاريخي لنزول السور: فهذه أقوال الله على أية حال، وكلماته خالدة.

On comparing the English and Arabic excerpts grouped under Examples 19–23, it becomes clear that the social and ideological images presented in the source texts are

³² Examples 22 and 23 are taken from the same article.

not excised in the translated texts; rather, the excerpts in *Newsweek in Arabic* appear to be a duplicate of those drawn from *Newsweek International*. This equivalent effect can arouse ‘a feeling of unusualness in the reader, which tends to be interpreted as a sign of ‘translationese’ (Toury, 1985: 25). This ‘feeling of unusualness’ results because the translated texts do not conform to the journalistic jargon and style deployed in Arabic to depict the images expressed in Examples 19-23.

The translator of Example 19, for instance, disregards the Arab press traditions that do not favour overt criticism of the Arab rulers (see Examples 5–10) and ‘faithfully’ reproduces the association between the rulers’ inefficiency and the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism; it is safe to say that retaining this stark association violates the ideological proprieties of the target language culture. This translation strategy gives more prominence to the source culture and produces translated versions that are ‘colonized’ (Macura, 1990) by the source language culture.

Another ‘feeling of unusualness’ may result on reading the translations provided for the terms ‘Islamic militant group Hamas’ حركة حماس المتشددة and ‘fundamental Taliban militia’ ميليشيا طالبان . In texts originally written in Arabic, these two groups are referred to as حركة المقاومة الإسلامية حماس (the Islamic resistance movement Hamas)³³ and حركة طالبان (Taliban movement). By subscribing to the source language lexicon, the American values are imposed on the Arab readers and the American cultural hegemony is exercised on the end recipients of *Newsweek in*

³³ The Islamic group Hamas is sometimes referred to as حركة حماس (Hamas Movement).

Arabic (Venuti, 1995; 1998c; Jacquemond, 1992; and Fawcett, 1995). With this in mind, one can argue that the act of translating *Newsweek International* is an example of power play where the values and beliefs of the dominating party are imposed on the dominated party (Robinson, 1997; Bassnett and Trivedi; 1999; and others).

As far as the translations of Examples 22 and 23 are concerned, the researcher believes that they are the most ‘foreign’ of all the excerpts cited, and therefore can be the most ‘shocking’ and ‘alienating’ for the Arab readers. This ‘foreignness’ can be attributed to three main factors: (1) the vocabulary chosen; (2) the inaccurate information provided; and (3) the style adopted to refer to the Qu’ran, and the Prophet Mohammad.

In Example 22, the images representing the Qur’an, and presented to the recipients of the source text, are transferred literally to the receptors of the target text. This literal translation ignores the different beliefs and attitudes that inform the readers of the original and the translated text. Indeed, translating the adjective ‘aggressive’ to refer to the verses of the Qur’an that mention combat as *العدائية* produces a text that reads like a translation. This maximal ‘fidelity’ to the source text makes the translation and the translators ‘visible’ to the readers of the target texts (Newmark, 1991; Berman, 1985; Schleiermacher, 1992; Venuti, 1995; and 1998c). In this context, it is clear that translation fails ‘to act like a gatekeeper’ (Delabastita, 1990: 98) because the values of the source culture are not excluded and are transmitted to the target culture.

In Example 23, the source text recipient is informed that with regard to the Qur'an 'None of its 114 suras, or chapters, focuses on a single theme;' this image, which is inaccurate, is retained in the Arabic text as ليس هناك أي من سورته الـ ١١٤ تركز على فكرة واحدة معينة واحدة . This source-culture oriented approach that embraces the source text ideology is offensive to a Muslim reader who is well aware that there are suras in the Qur'an that focus on a single theme,³⁴ and that the contents of the different suras focus on themes that offer guidance on religious, social and legal matters concerning the Muslims' lives.

Also, the manner of address used to present the Qur'an and the Prophet Mohammad in the translated text deviates from the established norms in Arabic discourse. In texts originally written in Arabic, and referring to the Qur'an and the Prophet Mohammad, the following manner of address would be used: the Qur'an would be referred to as القرآن الكريم (the Holy Qur'an), and the Prophet's name is usually preceded by the word الرسول (the Prophet) and/or followed by صلى الله عليه وسلم (Peace be Upon Him). This convention of address is ignored in the translation, and the translator reproduces reference to the Qur'an without mentioning the adjective الكريم (القرآن يحتوي على بعض الآيات التي يفهم منها الدعوة للعنف) and the name Mohammad is presented in isolation (ولأن السور التي أنزلت على محمد); this translation, that disregards the use of honorifics, especially with the Prophet Mohammad, produces a target text

³⁴ See, for example, The Unity (Sura 112), The Elephant (Sura 105) and Power (Sura 97) and many others.

that neglects the boundaries of formality and respect usually prevalent in Arabic rhetoric.

This translation strategy that opts for maximal imitation of the original texts in the rendering of excerpts 19-23 produces target texts that are not fluent and estranging for the end-receivers.

4.2.1.4 The Economic Decline

Example 24

Arab regimes routinely ignore pledges to sell banks, airlines and utilities. Capital markets remain primitive. The largest employer in most Arab countries is the government. Services such as banking and telecommunications remain inefficient. The Arab middle class is abandoning the region to a corrupt elite.

(*Newsweek*, March 11, 2002: 29)

وعادة ما تتجاهل الأنظمة العربية خصخصة المصارف وشركات الطيران والمؤسسات ذات المنافع العامة. كما ظلت أسواق المال بدائية. وتعتبر الحكومة المستخدم الأكبر للقوى العاملة في معظم العالم العربي. وظل قطاع الخدمات مثل العمليات المصرفية والاتصالات غير كفاء. وتخلت الطبقة الوسطى نتيجة ذلك تاركة المنطقة للنخب الفاسدة.

(*Newsweek*, March 12, 2002: 37)

Example 25

We think of Africa's dictators as rapacious, but those in the Middle East can be just as greedy.

(*Newsweek*, October 15, 2001: 28-29)

نحن ننظر إلى دكتاتوري أفريقيا على أنهم سلابون. ولكن أولئك في الشرق الأوسط يمكن أن يكونوا بذات القدر من الطمع.

(*Newsweek*, October 6, 2001: 25)

Example 26

The Arab world is in decay, with its population growing twice as fast as its economies.

(*Newsweek*, March 11, 2002: 28)

يتدهور العالم العربي بسبب زيادة عدد سكانه بسرعة أكبر مرتين من زيادة اقتصادياته.

(*Newsweek*, March 12, 2002: 36)

Example 27

More than 80 percent of national revenue [in Pakistan] is now spent on defense and debt servicing. A growing budget deficit has fueled a marked rise in poverty.

(Newsweek, July 17, 2000: 33)

وقد فرضت حكومة نواز شريف ضريبة على 80 بالمائة من الدخل القومي يتم إنفاقه على الدفاع وتسديد خدمات الديون. وقد أدى تزايد العجز في الميزانية إلى ارتفاع ملحوظ في أعداد الفقراء.

(Newsweek, July 18, 2000: 21)

Example 28

Megawati confronts the same mountain of challenges that defied the erratic Wahid – a basket-case economy, corrupt and debt-ridden companies and banks, a ballooning budget deficit, ethnic tensions and general lawlessness.

(Newsweek, August 6, 2001: 20)

ولا تواجه ميغاواتي جبل التحديات نفسه الذي واجه وحيد فحسب، اقتصاد منهار وشركات ومصارف فاسدة تنهكها الديون، وعجز متصاعد في الميزانية، وتوترات عرقية، وعنف انفصالي، وفقدان للأمن والنظام.

(Newsweek, August 7, 2001: 16)

As noted with all the examples cited so far, the translations of Examples 24 –28 indicate that the images portrayed in the source texts are assimilated into the target texts. This respect for the source language texts produces once again translated texts that are ‘foreign’, ‘strange’ and ‘unusual’, which in turn, surprise the Arab readers. Although articles that tackle the deteriorating economic conditions in the Arab and Muslim worlds are published in the written Arab press, the tone of the presentations usually seem to be ‘milder’ and more ‘neutral’ in comparison with the images transferred to the readers of *Newsweek in Arabic*. If, following the cultural studies approach to translation, one considers translation ‘as a rewriting of an original text’ and ‘all rewritings whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology’ (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990: ix), then one can claim that this ‘faithful’ adherence to the source texts is not haphazard; on the contrary, it acts as a ‘shaping power of one culture

upon another' (ibid.).

The comparison of the excerpts drawn from *Newsweek International* and *Newsweek in Arabic* reveals that the translators opt for a 'foreignizing' rather than a 'domesticating' approach in the act of reworking the texts from English into Arabic. This method of translation produces texts that are 'visible' and 'seek to recognize the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign texts' (Venuti, 1995: 40). Although this 'foreignizing' strategy may 'capture' the attention of the new readership, the researcher agrees with Bassnett and Lefevere (1990: 3) who rightly claim that 'equivalence does not "guarantee" that the translation will have an effect on readers belonging to the target culture which is in any way comparable to the effect the original may have had on readers belonging to the source culture'.

Having discussed the social and ideological images retained in the target texts, and the outcome these renderings have on the messages portrayed in *Newsweek in Arabic*, the following sub-section will consider the differences attested in the analysed corpora.

4.2.2 Differences Between the Source and Target Texts

This sub-section examines the shifts that have resulted in the process of translating the social and ideological images from *Newsweek International* into *Newsweek in Arabic*. As stated in Chapter Three (Section 3.3), this study considers that a shift takes place when a social or ideological image in the source text is omitted or replaced by a different image in the target text.

Since underlying the source texts and the target texts are two distinct ideologies, one would expect to see these incongruent ideologies manifested in shifts in the images presented to the recipients of the target texts. With this in mind, the examination conducted in this sub-section aims at investigating the type of shifts attested in the corpora analysed, the reasons underlying these shifts and the impact these deviations have on the target texts.

The content analysis of the source and target articles reveals that a low proportion of shifts result in the process of translating the social and ideological images from English into Arabic; in fact, on comparing the source and target texts, only 101 shifts are noted. These shifts can be grouped under three major patterns, namely replacement, omission and addition; the 101 mismatches observed are distributed as follows: 53 instances of replacement, 34 instances of omission and 14 instances of addition.

The shifts that involve replacement and omission are ideologically oriented. The former entails the revision of an ideology presented in *Newsweek International* by substituting the image in the source texts with a different one in the target texts using an alternative word, phrase or sentence. The latter omits an image in the original texts; two types of omission are attested: (1) partial omission; and (2) complete omission. In partial omission, a word or phrase presented in the source texts is deleted; in complete omission a whole excerpt is left out. Following Hatim and Mason (1997), one can say that partial omission implies 'partial mediation' on the translator's part, whereas complete omission indicates 'maximal mediation'.

The shifts that involve adding information to the target texts serve two main functions: (1) to elaborate or comment on ideological images presented in the source texts; and (2) to provide the target text readers with additional information that is of interest to them. These shifts, most probably, aim at promoting the political agenda of *Newsweek in Arabic*, avoiding political tensions between Kuwait and other Arab countries, and meeting the target text readers' expectations. The researcher believes that all these diversions manifest how differences in beliefs and political agendas affect the way events are presented and evaluated in cultures that are very distant.

To demonstrate the nature of the shifts observed, illustrative examples will be provided and discussed. The examples will be grouped under the following four recurrent images: (1) lack of democracy and the Arab and Muslim rulers; (2) the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; (3) Islam and Islamic fundamentalism; and (4) economic decline. When citing the examples, the social and ideological shifts are highlighted in bold.

4.2.2.1 Lack of Democracy and Arab and Muslim Rulers

The analysed target texts show that 35 shifts are attested for lack of democracy and the Arab and Muslim rulers. These shifts are distributed as follows: 8 instances of replacement, 15 instances of omission and 12 instances of addition. The omissions affect the Arab rulers and issues pertaining to the Arab world; the majority of the negative ideological images that depict the Muslim rulers and the conditions in the Muslim countries are retained in the target texts. It is also worth noting that most of the omissions revolve around images that refer to Saudi Arabia and its royal family;

the omissions that involve the other Arab rulers and countries are few in number.

Example 29 (Omission)

*Freedoms [in Saudi Arabia]: none. Basic rights denied by **corrupt** royal family.*

(Newsweek, December 24, 2001: 27)

الحريات (في المملكة العربية السعودية): معدومة. الحقوق الأساسية منكورة بواسطة العائلة الحاكمة.

(Newsweek, December 25, 2001: 35)

Back-translation

*Freedoms [in Saudi Arabia]: none. Basic rights denied by **royal family**.*

Example 30 (Omission)

*By the late 1980s, while the rest of the world was watching old regimes from Moscow to Prague to Seoul to Johannesburg crack, the Arabs were stuck with their **aging dictators and corrupt kings**. Regimes that might have seemed promising in the 1960s were now exposed as **tired, corrupt kleptocracies, deeply unpopular and thoroughly illegitimate**.*

(Newsweek, October 15, 2001: 33)

بحلول آخر الثمانينات، وفيما كان العالم يشاهد تصدع الأنظمة القديمة من موسكو الى براغ وسئول وجوهانسبرغ، حوصر العرب تحت ظل الدكتاتوريين. وكشف الستار عن الأنظمة التي ربما كانت ستبدو واعدة في الستينات، على أنها أنظمة حكم مرهقة وتحظى براهية عميقة على المستوى الشعبي وغير شرعية كلية.

(Newsweek, October 16, 2001: 25)

Back-translation

*By the late 1980s, while the rest of the world was watching old regimes from Moscow to Prague to Seoul to Johannesburg crack, the Arabs were stuck with their **dictators**. Regimes that might have seemed promising in the 1960s were now exposed as **tired, deeply unpopular and thoroughly illegitimate**.*

Example 31 (Omission)

*Look at Egypt today. The promise of Nasserism has turned into a quiet nightmare. **The government is efficient in only one area: squashing dissent and strangling civil society.***

(Newsweek, October 15, 2001: 28)

(*Newsweek*, October 16, 2001: 25)

Back-translation

Look at Egypt today. The promise of Nasserism has turned into a silent nightmare.

Example 32 (Omission)

The money that the gulf sheiks have frittered away is on a scale that is almost impossible to believe. Just one example: a favored prince of Saudi Arabia, at the age of 25, built a palace in Riyadh for \$300 million and, as an additional bounty, was given a \$1 billion commission on the kingdom's telephone contract with AT&T.

(*Newsweek*, October 15, 2001: 30)

This excerpt is omitted in *Newsweek in Arabic*.

After examining Examples 29–32, one can argue that the translation strategies adopted to transform these excerpts from English into Arabic are politically oriented; indeed, one can claim that the choices made reveal the political agenda promoted by *Newsweek in Arabic*, namely the adherence to the traditions and conventions of the Arab press when ‘aggressive’ images are used to portray Saudi Arabia and its royal family, the Gulf sheiks and Kuwait’s close Arab allies.³⁵ Therefore, the words or phrases that explicitly or implicitly refer to the Saudi royal family, such as ‘corrupt’ (Example 29), ‘aging’, ‘corrupt kings’ and ‘corrupt kleptocracies’³⁶ (Example 30) are deleted, while images that pertain to the other rulers are retained. When the negative images are extended, and partial omission renders the target texts incomprehensible, the translators opt for complete omission (Examples 31 and 32). As a result, the translators ‘domesticate’ (Venuti, 1995; 1998a; 1998b; and 1998c) the target texts when the aforementioned rulers and regions are depicted negatively,

³⁵ This is especially applicable to Egypt.

³⁶ When the expression ‘corrupt kleptocracy’ is used to refer to the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation), it is retained in *Newsweek in Arabic* (see Example 8).

and 'foreignize' (ibid.) the texts that portray the other rulers and/or the Arab and Muslim nations. The researcher agrees with Fawcett (1995: 185) when he states that 'Such a policy of censorship applied to translation is an ideologically significant move.' In this case, the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* advocate ideological protectionism, for they portray the 'reality' that the Publisher promotes.³⁷

Example 33 (Replacement)

*A Saudi bid to end the Mideast conflict is partly a PR ploy, but it's taking on a life of its own.*³⁸

(*Newsweek*, March 11, 2002: 22)

عرض سعودي لوضع حد للصراع العربي الإسرائيلي كان جزئياً خطوة في العلاقات العامة، ولكن الفكرة الآن تتخذ مساراً خاصاً.

(*Newsweek*, March 12, 2002: 18)

Back-translation

A Saudi bid to end the Mideast conflict is partly a step in PR, but it's taking on a life of its own.

Example 34 (Replacement)

During his 30 years at the top, as his Soviet allies collapsed, Sadat was assassinated and Israeli prime ministers came and went, Assad cunningly managed to consolidate control in Damascus while he waited to get the Golan back.

(*Newsweek*, June 19, 2000: 18)

وخلال 30 عاماً على قمة السلطة، حيث انهار حلفاؤه السوفييت واغتيل السادات وتعاقب على الحكم رؤساء وزارات في إسرائيل، استطاع الأسد دوماً أن يعزز سيطرته في دمشق بحنكة بينما كان ينتظر أن يستعيد الجولان.

(*Newsweek*, June 20, 2000: 10)

³⁷ Although there is a tendency in *Newsweek in Arabic* to omit negative reference to Saudi Arabia and the Saudi Monarchy, the Saudi authorities have censored many of the issues that refer to the Arab world, Saudi Arabia and Islam. In fact, a total of 24 issues of *Newsweek in Arabic* have been censored by the Saudi authorities.

³⁸ This is a minor heading in an article entitled 'And Finally, A Glint of Hope?' (*Newsweek*, March 11, 2002: 22-23).

Back-translation

During his 30 years at the top, as his Soviet allies collapsed, Sadat was assassinated and Israeli prime ministers came and went, Assad's wisdom managed to consolidate control in Damascus while he waited to get the Golan back.

Examples 33 and 34 indicate that replacement, rather than omission, is opted for when the ideological images presented to the source text audience can be transferred in a 'milder' tone to the target text recipients. In Example 33, the source text writer uses the word 'ploy' to describe the Saudi bid. The word 'ploy' in English is associated with 'deceit'; thus, reproducing it in Arabic using its equivalent خدعة would be provocative to the Saudis and some of the Arabs. To overcome this end-result, and produce a text that is 'transparent' (Newmark, 1991; and Venuti, 1995;1998c; among others), a less hostile word like خطوة (step) is used.

Example 34 uses the adverb 'cunningly' to denote how President Hafez Assad of Syria remained in power. Like the noun 'ploy' used in Example 33, this adverb has negative connotations in English since it implies 'deceit' and 'dishonesty'. According to the Arab press conventions, the word مكر, which is the closest Arabic equivalent for 'cunning', is too 'harsh' to be employed to describe an Arab head of state. Therefore, the translator chooses the word بحنكة (wisely), which according to *Al-Munjid* (1986: 158), is used to denote 'wisdom that men acquire from the misfortunes and experiences they encounter over time.' This option changes the negative image presented in the source text to a positive one in the target text.

These departures from the source texts seem to be calculated since they exclude the 'foreign' values the Arab readers are not accustomed to, and hence represent once

again (see Examples 29-32) the ‘reality’ that the publishers of *Newsweek in Arabic* want to convey to the target text readers. One can also claim that these choices demonstrate how censorship can be exercised in translation and how ‘translation can tell us a lot about the ways in which authority manipulates images’ (Lefevere, 1992a: 27).

Example 35 (Addition)

For years he [Arafat] had been growing further from his constituents, living in his beachside compound or jetting to Western capitals to lobby for statehood.

(*Newsweek*, December 18, 2000: 37)

فلعدة سنوات والزعيم الفلسطيني يتعد عن مؤيديه إما قابعا في مقر قيادته على الشاطئ (في غزة) أو متنقلا بطائرته الخاصة بين العواصم الغربية حاشدا التأييد لدولة فلسطينية.

(*Newsweek*, December 19, 2000: 9)

Back-translation

For years he [Arafat] had been growing further from his constituents, living in his beachside compound (in Gaza) or jetting in his private plane to Western capitals to lobby for statehood.

The translator of Example 35 deviates from the source text by adding information not conveyed to the readers of the original text. In Arabic, the reader is informed that Arafat was staying in his beachside compound ‘in Gaza’ and jetting in ‘his private plane’ to Western capitals. Although these additions may pass unnoticed, the researcher thinks that they are not ‘innocent’ (Hatim and Mason, 1997; Fawcett, 1995; Mason, 1994; Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990; and others); rather, they aim at distancing Arafat from his people and enhancing his negative image in the Arab world. Specifying that he lives in his beachside compound ‘in Gaza’ and jets in ‘his private plane’ reveals two aspects about Arafat. First, as a leader of a virtual state, he

lives lavishly, while the majority of the Palestinians live below the poverty line. Second, jetting in his private plane to Western capitals implies that his absence from the West Bank and Gaza makes him unaware of the atrocities taking place at home. Like the shifts that involve replacement and omission, this shift also seems to be ideologically oriented, for it reflects the image *Newsweek in Arabic* wants to pass on to its readers about Arafat.³⁹ Following the cultural studies approach to translation, one can say that the above manipulative translation strategy advances the political agendas of *Newsweek in Arabic*, and in doing so, the magazine acts as a ‘tool’ in reshaping the way the readers view the Palestinian leader.

4.2.2.2 The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

31 shifts are noted for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Out of the 31 shifts, there are 24 instances of replacement, 6 instances of omission and one instance of addition. The instances of replacement and omission tackle ideological images that depict the Palestinians in general and the Palestinian ‘fighters’ in particular. One can say that these shifts result under two conditions: (1) when the source texts sympathise with the Palestinians; and (2) when the translation and co-editing takes place during the escalation of the Palestinian uprising in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (cf. the images retained).

Example 36 (Replacement)

An ambulance rushed toward the scene, where Israeli soldiers at a checkpoint outside the Palestinian city of Ramallah were using live ammo to force back a rock-throwing mob.

(Newsweek, December 11, 2000: 19)

³⁹ The Kuwaiti relations with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) deteriorated after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 when Yassir Arafat did not explicitly denounce the Iraqi invasion.

انطلقت سيارة إسعاف نحو المشهد، حيث كان الجنود الإسرائيليون في إحدى نقاط التفتيش خارج مدينة رام الله الفلسطينية يستخدمون الذخيرة الحية لصد حشد من رماة الحجارة.

(Newsweek, December 12, 2000: 9)

Back-translation

An ambulance rushed toward the scene, where Israeli soldiers at a checkpoint outside the Palestinian city of Ramallah were using live ammo to force back a rock-throwing crowd.

Example 37 (Replacement)

A dozen settlers have died in roadside ambushes since the “truce” began; suicide bombers are back in business and Israel has ratcheted up its policy of assassinating Islamic militants.

(Newsweek, July 30, 2001: 21)

فمنذ بدء "الهدنة" قتل 12 مستوطنًا في كمائن نصبت على الطرقات وعادت العمليات الفدائية إلى الساحة وعززت إسرائيل سياسة اغتيال الناشطين الإسلاميين.

(Newsweek, July 31, 2001: 11)

Back-translation

A dozen settlers have died in roadside ambushes since the “truce” began; self-sacrificial operations are back in business and Israel has ratcheted up its policy of assassinating Islamic activists.

Example 38 (Replacement)

At an Israeli military checkpoint known as Ein Ariq – a concrete hut surrounded by terraced orchards of olive trees – a three man squad of Fatah guerillas launched one of the deadliest attacks against the Israeli Army since the height of the guerrilla war in southern Lebanon.

(Newsweek, March 4, 2002: 34)

فعلى حاجز عسكري إسرائيلي يعرف باسم عين عريق – وهو كوخ من الإسمنت ولكنه محاط ببساتين أشجار الزيتون المدرجة على شكل مساطب – شنت مجموعة مؤلفة من ثلاثة رجال من مقاتلي فتح إحدى الهجمات الأقدم من ناحية الخسائر البشرية ضد الجيش الإسرائيلي منذ أوج حرب العصابات في جنوبي لبنان.

(Newsweek, March 5, 2002: 14)

Back-translation

At an Israeli military checkpoint known as Ein Ariq – a concrete hut surrounded by terraced orchards of olive trees – a three man squad of Fatah fighters launched one of the deadliest attacks against the Israeli Army since the height of the guerrilla war in southern Lebanon.

Example 39 (Replacement)

On Thursday a member of his[Yasser Arafat] own Fatah group shot up a dance hall where

Israelis were celebrating a 12-year old girl's bat mitzvah, killing six people. (A leaflet said the murders were in retaliation for Israel's assassination of a Fatah leader in the West Bank of Tulkarm.) Arafat condemned the attack vigorously, but a day later, an Israeli cabinet member suggested isolating him further by preventing diplomats and journalists from reaching his headquarters.

(Newsweek, January 28, 2002: 31)

فقد قام عضو من فتح، منظمته هو (ياسر عرفات)، يوم الخميس بإطلاق النار داخل قاعة رقص كان إسرائيليون يحتفلون فيها ببلوغ بنت، تبلغ 12 عاماً، سن المراهقة، صارعا ستة أشخاص. (قال بيان إن عملية القتل جاءت رداً على اغتيال الإسرائيليين لقائد من فتح في طولكرم في الضفة الغربية). وأدان عرفات العملية بشدة، ولكن بعد يوم واحد اقترح وزير إسرائيلي زيادة عزله بمنع الدبلوماسيين والصحافيين من الوصول إلى مقره.

(Newsweek, January 29, 2002: 35)

Back-translation

On Thursday a member of his own Fatah group shot up a dance hall where Israelis were celebrating a 12-year old girl's bat mitzvah, killing six people. (A leaflet said the murders were in retaliation for Israel's assassination of a Fatah leader in the West Bank of Tulkarm.) Arafat condemned the operation vigorously, but a day later, an Israeli cabinet member suggested isolating him further by preventing diplomats and journalists from reaching his headquarters.

The translators of Examples 36-39 have chosen to replace the negative ideological images that depict the Palestinians in the source texts with images that are more acceptable to the target text readers. Hence, positive 'labels' like حشد (crowd), عمليات (self-sacrificial operations), مقاتلي فتح (Fatah fighters), الناشطين الإسلاميين (Islamic activists) and العملية (the operation), which are all terms used in the Arab media, substitute the negative images deployed in *Newsweek International*. This results in a 'naturalizing' (Schleiermacher, 1992) translation that 'leaves the reader in peace'. When such translation strategies are adopted, 'the translator leaves the reader alone as much as possible and moves the writer toward the reader' (Schleiermacher, 1992: 42).

Example 40 (Omission)

Just two days after his [Ariel Sharon] landslide victory in the Israeli election, Palestinian

bombers packed 30 pounds of explosives into the trunk of a stolen Ford Fiesta and parked the car in the heart of Beit Yisrael, a densely populated religious neighborhood in Jerusalem.

(*Newsweek*, February 19, 2001: 24)

فبعد يومين فقط من انتصاره الساحق في عملية الانتخاب الإسرائيلية، عبأ فلسطينيون 30 باوندا من المتفجرات في صندوق سيارة مسروقة من طراز فورد فييستا وأوقفوها في قلب بيت يسرائيل، وهو حي ديني مكتظ بالسكان في القدس.

(*Newsweek*, February 20, 2001: 18)

Back-translation

Just two days after his [Ariel Sharon] landslide victory in the Israeli election, Palestinians packed 30 pounds of explosives into the trunk of a stolen Ford Fiesta and parked the car in the heart of Beit Yisrael, a densely populated religious neighborhood in Jerusalem.

Example 41 (Omission)

*Arafat's power came from his potential to make peace or make trouble. The former we know he will not do; the latter Hamas and other **terror groups** do better than he can.*

(*Newsweek*, April 9, 2001: 2)

لقد أنت قوة عرفات من قدرته على تحقيق السلام أو إثارة المشاكل. ونحن نعرف الآن أنه لن يحقق السلام. أما فيما يخص الجانب الآخر فإن حماس والجماعات الأخرى تفعل ذلك على نحو أفضل منه.

(*Newsweek*, April 10, 2001: 2)

Back-translation

*Arafat's power came from his potential to make peace or make trouble. The former we know he will not do; the latter Hamas and other **groups** do better than he can.*

In Examples 40 and 41, one realises that omission is employed to strike a compromise between the images presented in the source texts and those portrayed to the target language readers. Instead of retaining the negative images in *Newsweek International* or replacing them with more positive correlations in *Newsweek in Arabic*, these images are deleted. Hence, the translated texts carry a 'neutral' tone since the target texts transpose the Arab readers to the target culture's ideological perception of the Palestinians. This 'remedy' makes the translators 'invisible' and the translated texts read like an original.

4.2.2.3 Islam and Fundamentalism

33 shifts are attested for Islam and Islamic fundamentalism. These digressions in the target texts are distributed as follows: 21 instances of replacement, 11 instances of omission and one instance of addition. The majority of these shifts involve images that negatively portray the Islamic groups spread all over the Arab and Muslim worlds and the images that refer to Islam, the Qur'an and Prophet Mohammad.

Example 42 (Replacement)

*Just as scary, the new attacks also suggested that the terrorists had an extensive domestic support network – confederates on the ground who helped them gather intelligence on the targets and possibly provided shelter and logistical support. Could the **bombers** have been stopped?*

(Newsweek, September 24, 2001: 38)

ورغم الخوف الذي قد بيده مثل هذا الخبر في النفوس، فإن الاعتداءات الأخيرة تشير إلى أن للإرهابيين شبكة دعم داخلية كثيفة؛ وشركاء لهم على الأرض ساعدوهم ليجمعوا المعلومات حول الأهداف وربما أيضا ليقدموا لهم الملجأ والدعم اللوجستي. فهل كان بالإمكان إيقاف الفاعلين؟

(Newsweek, September 25, 2001: 34)

Back-translation

*Just as scary, the new attacks also suggested that the terrorists had an extensive domestic support network – confederates on the ground who helped them gather intelligence on the targets and possibly provided shelter and logistical support. Could the **doers** have been stopped?*

Example 43 (Replacement)

*The British have not been above tolerating some **terrorists** of their own. For years British authorities have permitted a rabid imam named Abu Qatada to preach at a social club in London. But when 18 videos of Abu Qatada's rants turned up in the Hamburg apartment of a fugitive member of Mohamed Atta's terrorist cell, the fiery imam became an instant candidate for new British laws designed to detain potential terrorists without trial.*

(Newsweek, October 29, 2001: 53-54)

كما أن البريطانيين تساهلوا مع بعض المتطرفين الذين سكنوا بلادهم. فطوال سنوات، سمحت السلطات البريطانية لإمام متطرف يدعى أبو قتادة بالبقاء بالخطب في ناد اجتماعي في لندن. لكن حين وجد 18 فيلما لخطب أبي قتادة في شقة في هامبورغ يسكنها عضو فار من خلية محمد عطا، خضع الامام على الفور للقوانين البريطانية الجديدة التي

(Newsweek, October 30, 2001: 38)

Back-translation

The British have not been above tolerating some extremists of their own. For years British authorities have permitted a rabid imam named Abu Qatada to preach at a social club in London. But when 18 videos of Abu Qatada's rants turned up in the Hamburg apartment of a fugitive member of Mohamed Atta's terrorist cell, the fiery imam became an instant candidate for new British laws designed to detain potential terrorists without trial.

Example 44 (Replacement)

In the end there is Jerusalem. At the heart of the city - through a maze of alleys, past falafel shops and a run-down Turkish palace, at the outlet of a dark and musty corridor covered by a stone archway - is the home of Issa Muhammad al-Sharawneh and his wife, Sabha. Their home faces the House of God. As they come and go, they pass by His wall. The stones have been smoothed by centuries of reverent touching, and tufts of grass grow out of its jagged crevices, seeking sunlight. It should be a splendid place to live. Yet the Sharawnehs are Muslim, and God, in this case, is Jewish.

(Newsweek, July 24, 2000:20)

وفي النهاية هنالك القدس. في قلب المدينة، عبر شبكة من الأزقة والحارات، مروراً بمطاعم الفلافل وقصر تركي متداع، وعند مخرج زقاق معتم تفوح منه رائحة العفونة وتغطيه قنطرة بنيت من الحجر، يوجد منزل عيسى محمد الشراونة وزوجته صبحة. هذا المنزل يقع مباشرة قبالة بيت الله. وفي غدوهما ومجيبهما، يمر عيسى وصبحة بجانب الله، الذي باتت حجارته ملساء نتيجة قرون من اللمس الخاشع بالأيدي، فيما برزت من بين شقوقها المثلمة خصل من العشب تلمس ضوء الشمس. من المفترض أن يكون موقع كهذا مكاناً رائعاً للعيش. لكن أسرة الشراونة مسلمة، في جوار يهودي.

(Newsweek, July 25, 2000: 12)

Back- translation

In the end there is Jerusalem. At the heart of the city - through a maze of alleys, past falafel shops and a run-down Turkish palace, at the outlet of a dark and musty corridor covered by a stone archway - is the home of Issa Muhammad al-Sharawneh and his wife, Sabha. Their home faces the House of God. As they come and go, they pass by His wall. The stones have been smoothed by centuries of reverent touching, and tufts of grass grow out of its jagged crevices, seeking sunlight. It should be a splendid place to live. Yet the Sharawnehs are Muslims living in a Jewish neighbourhood.

In Examples 42 and 43, the translators choose to replace the words 'bombers' and 'terrorists', which are packed with negative connotations with general terms. The words 'bombers' and 'terrorists' are translated as المتطرفين (the doers) and الفاعلين (extremists), respectively. This replacement strips the Arabic texts of the tone of

‘condemnation’ that characterises the English texts. Unlike the term ‘bombers’, the word الفاعلين (doers) is a ‘neutral’ word that does not denote violence; also, المتطرفين (extremists), unlike ‘terrorists’, have extreme political opinions but do not necessarily use violence to achieve their aims. Consequently, these translations fail to transmit the American perception of the two groups referred to in the above examples.

With regard to Example 44, the shift observed can be attributed to the conventions of religious Islamic discourse. In the English text, God is given a human characteristic: ‘God, in this case, is Jewish.’ In Islam, God cannot be referred to as a human entity; retaining this ideological image would shock the Muslim readers and render the translated text unacceptable to the Muslim recipients of the target text. Since ‘cultures make various demands on translation’ (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990: 7), the translator reverts to the stylistic conventions of Arabic and domesticates the text in *Newsweek in Arabic*. This translation strategy tailors the source text message to meet the Muslim readers’ expectations and by doing so maintains ‘naturalness of expression.’ This example fits the norm-based ethics (Chesterman, 2001: 141) because the conventions of Islamic discourse determine the translator’s choice of the translation strategy adopted.

Example 45 (Omission)

In Gaza, the head of the militant Islamic Jihad group pledged to continue the bombing campaign as part of a wider jihad. “The choice of holy war will never stop,” said Islamic Jihad leader Abdullah al-Shami.

(*Newsweek*, February 19, 2001: 24)

وفي غزة تعهد عبد الله الشامي، زعيم حركة الجهاد الإسلامي، بمواصلة عمليات التفجير كجزء من جهاد موسع قائلاً

"أن خيار الحرب المقدسة لن يتوقف أبداً".

(Newsweek, February 20, 2001: 18)

Back-translation

In Gaza, the head of the Islamic Jihad group pledged to continue the bombing campaign as part of a wider jihad. "The choice of holy war will never stop," said Islamic Jihad leader Abdullah al-Shami.

Example 46 (Omission)

Moreover, Palestinian militants have increasingly adopted the tactics employed by Hizbullah guerillas during the 18-year Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon: suicide bombings, roadside booby traps, ambushes and mortar attacks.

(Newsweek, June 11, 2001: 57)

أضف إلى ذلك، أن المسلحين الفلسطينيين يتبنون بشكل متزايد الأساليب التكتيكية التي انتهجها حزب الله خلال 18 عاما من الاحتلال الإسرائيلي لجنوب لبنان: تفجيرات انتحارية ونصب شراك على جوانب الطرقات وعمليات نصب كمين وهجمات بمدافع الهاون.

(Newsweek, June 12, 2001: 12)

Back-translation

Moreover, Palestinian militants have increasingly adopted the tactics employed by Hizbullah during the 18-year Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon: suicide bombings, roadside booby traps, ambushes and mortar attacks.

Example 47 (Omission)

Last December, Malaysian investigators discovered that Sufaat had ordered four tons of ammonium nitrate, a powerful explosive used in truck bombs. He was arrested as he returned home from a mission to the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. Authorities believe Sufaat and his fellow Jemaah Islamiah radicals planned to blow up the U.S. and Israeli embassies in Singapore, and authorities there have detained dozens of the group's members.

(Newsweek, February 4, 2002: 17)

في ديسمبر الماضي اكتشف محققون ماليزيون أن شفعت اشترى أربعة أطنان من نيترات الأمونيا، وهي مادة شديدة الانفجار تستخدم في تفجير الشاحنات. وقد اعتقل وهو يعود إلى بيته من مهمة تابعة لنظام طالبان في أفغانستان. وتعتقد السلطات أن شفعت وأصحابه من الجماعة الإسلامية خططوا لتفجير سفارتي الولايات المتحدة وإسرائيل في سنغافورة، وألقت السلطات هناك القبض على عشرات من أعضاء المجموعة.

(Newsweek, February 5, 2002: 9)

Back-translation

*Last December, Malaysian investigators discovered that Sufaat had ordered four tons of ammonium nitrate, a powerful explosive used in truck bombs. He was arrested as he returned home from a mission to the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. Authorities believe Sufaat and his fellow **Jemaah Islamiah** planned to blow up the U.S. and Israeli embassies in Singapore, and authorities there have detained dozens of the group's members.*

The translators of Examples 45-47 are 'faithful' to the target language culture. In the Arab press, the 'Islamic Jihad group', 'Hizbullah' and 'Jemaah Islamiah' are not generally associated with 'terrorism' and 'radicalism', and terms like 'militants', 'guerrillas', and 'radicals' are not employed to portray these groups. Consequently, the translators choose to delete the negative ideological images presented to the source text audience. This shift produces target texts that are at variance with the source texts, but are fluent and more acceptable to the Arab readers.

Example 48 (Omission)

The Qur'an is a vast, vague book, filled with poetry and contradictions (much like the Bible). You can find in it condemnations of war and incitements to struggle, beautiful expressions of tolerance and stern strictures against unbelievers.

(Newsweek, October 15, 2001: 26)

This excerpt is omitted in *Newsweek in Arabic*.

Example 48 represents an instance of 'maximal mediation' (Hatim and Mason, 1997) on the translator's part. Maximal involvement is most probably adopted because the English text is rather provocative to the Muslim readers who do not consider the Qur'an as 'a vague book, filled with poetry and contradictions.' Reproducing this presentation would have been alienating as well as offending to the receptors of the translated text. To avoid this end-result, complete omission seems to be the safest remedy.

Example 49 (Addition)

He [Prophet Mohammad] had his followers bow to Jerusalem when praying until the Jews rejected him as prophet.

(Newsweek, February 11, 2002: 60)

بل انه أمر أتباعه بالتوجه شطر بيت المقدس في الصلاة إلى أن رفضه اليهود كنبى (في القرآن تغيرت القبلة امثالاً لأمر الله بقوله (.. فاول وجهك شطر المسجد الحرام).

(Newsweek, February 12, 2002: 55)

Back-translation

He [Prophet Mohammad] had his followers bow to Jerusalem when praying until the Jews rejected him as prophet. [In the Qur'an the direction to which Muslims turn in praying changed in compliance with God's instructions (... turn thy face towards the Sacred Mosque).

In Example 49, the translators add information not deployed in the source texts. This modification aims at minimizing the 'strangeness' that emanates from the incorrect information presented to the readers of the target text. As the additional information indicates, the direction to which the Muslims turn for prayers was changed in compliance with God's instructions and not because the Jews rejected Mohammad as their prophet. Consequently, the excerpt in *Newsweek in Arabic* becomes 'partially' domesticated, and probably not as provocative as it would have read without this 'modification'; this addition indicates to the target text recipients that the translator is well aware of the 'real' reason behind this change, and accordingly adds the necessary facts to clarify a misguided piece of information. It is our contention that the translator in this example 'resists' complete assimilation of the values presented in the source text.

4.2.2.4 The Economic Decline

Only two instances of omission are observed under the heading economic decline. This may be attributed to the fact that only two of the analysed articles that discuss

this aspect are grouped under the Business Section; all the other economic depictions are included in articles that tackle a number of issues relating to the Arab and Muslim worlds (see Section 4.2.1).

Example 50 (Omission)

In the past 30 years Egypt's economy has sputtered along while its population has doubled. Unemployment is at 25 percent, and 90 percent of those searching for jobs hold college diplomas.

(Newsweek, October 15, 2001: 28)

This excerpt is omitted in *Newsweek in Arabic*.

It is interesting to note that the only two deleted excerpts attested under economic decline involve Egypt. This shift is most probably politically oriented (see Examples 29-33) for two main reasons: (1) Egypt has always been held in high esteem by the Arab countries; and (2) after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Egypt has become one of Kuwait's closest allies in the Arab World. Therefore, deleting the negative economic connotations that refer to Egypt, while retaining the images that represent the economic situation in the other Arab and Muslim countries, makes Egypt stand out as different. Although this strategy seems to 'adapt' to the political agenda adopted by *Newsweek in Arabic*, it is highly possible that the target text may appear 'marked' to the Arab nationals whose countries' economies are overtly exposed in the translated texts. Accordingly, it would be interesting to see whether this shift is offensive to this set of audiences especially that a different approach is applied when their countries are involved.

Although the shifts attested result in texts that do not 'alienate' the end-receivers, it is clear that these diversions from the source texts do not constitute a trend. One can

also claim that many of these shifts are not haphazard; rather, they are politically oriented and promote the political agenda adopted by *Newsweek in Arabic*.

4.3 Conclusion

Having examined the selected corpora, it becomes clear that the cultural studies approach to translation applies to *Newsweek in Arabic*. It is evident that the translated texts transmit the social and ideological images of the Arabs, Muslims and Islam as perceived by *Newsweek International*, and the translation strategies adopted act as a 'tool' in shaping and conveying these images to the target text recipients. This finding is in line with Fawcett's (1995: 177) presentation of translation which states that 'it is easy for translation to masquerade as an 'innocent' activity in which an honest translator communes with the original author and passes on undistorted the message of the source text. In reality, translation in all its forms is frequently the site of a variety of power plays between the actors involved.'

Since underlying the source and target texts are two distinct ideologies, by retaining the images employed in the source texts, the translators choose to 'foreignize', rather than 'domesticate', the translated texts (Venuti, 1995; 1998a; 1998b; and 1998c). According to Venuti (1995: 306), 'A translated text should be the site where a different culture emerges, where a reader gets a glimpse of a cultural other, and resistancy, a translation strategy based on an aesthetic of discontinuity, can best preserve that difference, that otherness, by reminding the reader of the gains and losses in the translation process and the unbridgeable gaps between cultures.'

The researcher believes that this 'foreignization' of the target texts is not haphazard.

Rather, this strategy seems to fulfil the 'skopos' (Vermeer, 1989) negotiated between *Newsweek in Arabic* and its translators. Al-Jassem (2000: 10) states that '*Newsweek in Arabic* will function as a medium of communication between the American culture and the Arab reader. By assuming this role, it will act as an eye-opener to the world'. This aim or purpose, therefore, makes translators produce a 'translatum' (Vermeer, 1989: 221) that is 'faithful', in the majority of instances, to the social and ideological values of the source texts. Although this 'faithfulness' can alienate the readers of the 'translatum', and produce texts that mimic the discourse of the colonizer (Sengupta, 1990), proponents of the skopos theory acknowledge that 'fidelity to the source text is one possible and legitimate skopos or commission' (Vermeer, 1989: 230). It is our contention that 'fidelity to the source text' in the corpora examined implies that 'translations can be enlisted in the service of political agendas that hinder or promote cultural and social change' (Venuti, 1995: 65).

The researcher also believes that this 'foreignization' of the target texts, which helps in transmitting the American ideological beliefs, values and world-views about the Arabs, Muslims and Islam, would not have been possible before the era of 'globalization'. It is this concept, that encourages the 'reception' and 'understanding' of cultures other than our own, that has enabled Dār Al-Waṭān Publishing Group in Kuwait to pursue this project of translating *Newsweek International* into Arabic and adopting the 'skopos' overtly expressed by Al-Jassem.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Translation of Passivization into *Newsweek in Arabic*

5.0 Introduction

This chapter examines to what extent the linguistic choices that the writers of *Newsweek International* opt for in their representations of the Arabs, Muslims and Islam are ideologically significant. The chapter also investigates how these ideologically oriented linguistic choices are rendered in *Newsweek in Arabic*. To conduct this examination, the analytic tools used will draw upon the critical linguistics approach to the analysis of language. The objective underlying this choice is threefold: (1) media discourse is one of the main concerns of critical linguistics (Trew, 1979a; Trew, 1979b; Fowler, 1991; and Fairclough, 1995); (2) critical linguistics sees discourse as ‘ a field of both ideological processes and linguistic processes, and ... there is a determinate relationship between these two kinds of process’ (Trew, 1997b: 154); and (3) translation theorists have studied the ideological consequences of the linguistic choices that translators make on the target language texts (Mason, 1994; and Hatim and Mason, 1997).

The chapter is divided into four sections. Section one provides an overview of the critical linguistics approach to language. Section two sheds light on one linguistic tool, namely the passive construction, and considers how this structure has been used to express the writers’ ideological viewpoints regarding the Arabs, Muslims and Islam, paying special attention in the analysis to the way this tool has been employed to represent the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Section three briefly presents how passivization is used in Arabic. Section four studies how passivization has been

rendered from English into Arabic; in doing so, the researcher aims at examining how the ideological messages expressed in the source texts are conveyed to the target readership.

5.1 Overview of the Critical Linguistics Approach to Language

This section provides an overview of the critical linguistics approach to the analysis of language with the aim of setting the scene for the subsequent sections. The section briefly introduces the key issues pertaining to the critical linguistics approach to language analysis, and discusses the most important linguistic tools that critical linguistics deploys in discourse analysis.

The term ‘critical linguistics’ was first introduced in the book entitled *Language and Control* (Fowler et al., 1979). It is a socially oriented model of linguistic analysis that proposes three basic claims: (1) linguistic meaning and ideology are indivisible and are both influenced by the society’s social structure; (2) the linguistic choices writers make to represent their beliefs about the world encode different ideologies depending on the circumstances of text production; and (3) the ideological patterns prevalent in different texts, which normally pass unnoticed, can be ‘unravelling’ and ‘inspected’ using a set of linguistic tools.

The aforementioned claims reveal a number of points about the critical approach to linguistic analysis. First, the term ‘critical’ does not denote negative connotations; rather, the term is used to refer to a model of linguistic analysis that aims at explaining the association between ideas and their social contexts. Second, the

emphasis critical linguistics puts on the relationships between linguistic meaning, ideology and social structure indicates that this theory of linguistic analysis is at odds with the models of linguistic analysis that do not give this triad the attention it deserves. Third, in order to understand the ideological meanings the different linguistic structures convey in discourse, the analyst must consider the historical and the social contexts associated with text production. Finally, critical linguistics takes into consideration the social and political processes that are involved in text production.

To examine the relation between linguistic structure and social values, critical linguistics draws heavily on the ‘systemic-functional’ approach to language analysis introduced and developed by M.A.K. Halliday.¹ This approach to linguistic analysis considers that language performs specific functions depending on the communicative role that it is intended to fulfil; this in turn, explains the ‘systemic-functional’ differentiation between the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual functions of language.²

This ‘systemic-functional’ approach to language, as Fairclough (1995: 17) rightly acknowledges, has been illuminating to the exponents of critical linguistics because ‘the value of such a view of texts is that it makes it easier to connect the analysis of language with fundamental concerns of social analysis: questions of knowledge,

¹ See Halliday (1985).

² The ideational function is concerned with the way speakers and writers use language to express their experiences of the world; the interpersonal function involves the way speakers and writers use language to express their attitudes towards their interlocutors and subject-matter; and the textual function is associated with the creation of texts that are textually and contextually coherent to enable the listeners and readers to comprehend the text context.

belief and ideology (representations – the ideational function), questions of social relationships and power, and questions of identity (relations and identities – the interpersonal function)'. Based on this relationship between language and social analysis, the proponents of critical linguistics have identified the ideational, and to a lesser extent, the interpersonal functions³, as the most revealing to their purposes of discourse analysis since 'critical linguistics is particularly concerned with the ordering of experience and with the mediation of social relationships and values' (Fowler, 1991: 70).

In what follows, the linguistic constructions discussed under the ideational and the interpersonal functions, and which the practitioners of critical linguistics find valuable in the analysis of media discourse, will be presented.⁴ This presentation, however, is not meant to provide a detailed account of these linguistic constructions; rather, it aims at highlighting the main features that make these constructions illuminating to discourse analysis. To illustrate how the writers use these linguistic tools in discourse to carry ideological messages, examples drawn from the analysed articles in *Newsweek International* will be provided and discussed.⁵

5.1.1 Ideational Elements

5.1.1.1 Transitivity

Practitioners of critical linguistics regard transitivity as one of the most important tools in the analysis of representation. Following Halliday, transitivity in critical

³ See Fowler (1991); and Fairclough (1995).

⁴ Since the most important constituents of the textual function, namely coherence, order and unity, are discussed in Chapters One and Two, they are not referred to in this overview.

⁵ When the researcher sees that the linguistic tools discussed are not ideologically significant in the analysed corpora, examples are not provided.

linguistics is not used merely to distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs, but is examined from a wider perspective to refer to the different meanings verbs designate in clauses; hence, transitivity is looked upon as ‘the representation in language of PROCESSES, the PARTICIPANTS therein, and the CIRCUMSTANTIAL features associated with them’ (Kress, 1976: 158). The ‘process’ in this approach to transitivity refers to the event presented in the clause, and this can be material, mental or relational as illustrated in examples (1), (2) and (3), respectively. The participants are nouns or noun phrases that can either perform the process (action) or be affected by it (Example 4); and the circumstances associated with the process can be represented by adverbial or prepositional phrases (Example 5).

- 1) Jane **ate** the apple.
- 2) Sam **listened**.
- 3) They **are** poor.
- 4) **The boy** broke **the window**.
- 5) There are many students **in the classroom**.

These distinctions between the different types of processes and the participants that accompany them, enable text producers to present events in different ways; accordingly, one can claim that the choices writers make regarding the way events are represented in discourse are not random and can convey ideological connotations as illustrated in the following example.

Example 6

*Egyptian dissidents and intellectuals are under fire from two very different forces: the government and militant Islamists. In the 1990, Parliament **passed a series of laws** cracking down on political activists. At the same time, fundamentalists **launched a war** on secular*

*culture, agitating for censorship and prosecution of writers who criticize the Islamic status quo. Over the past decade, writers have been imprisoned for their political beliefs, and injured or killed for angering Islamic militants.*⁶

(*Newsweek*, June 4, 2001: 29)

In this article that portrays how the Egyptian government and the Islamic fundamentalists ‘treat’ the intellectuals in Egypt, the writer uses action processes to foreground the nature of the ‘events’ these two parties have exercised against the aforementioned group. It is the researcher’s contention that by using processes like ‘pass a series of laws’, ‘launch’ ‘imprison’, ‘injure’ and ‘kill’, the writer conveys two ideological messages to the readers: (1) the Egyptian government does not encourage freedom of expression, and acts accordingly not only by ‘passing a series of laws to crack down on political activists’, but also by ‘imprisoning writers’; and (2) the measures the Islamic fundamentalists use to ‘punish’ the intellectuals (‘injure’ and ‘kill’) reveal how inhumane these groups are. By using these action processes, the writer is potentially expressing her negative viewpoint towards the Egyptian government and the Islamic fundamentalists.

5.1.1.2 Transformations

Critical linguistics uses the notion of transformation to refer to syntactic shifts that a clause undergoes; these shifts result in syntactic variation that can reveal the different values and world-views writers have about a certain subject - matter. The two syntactic transformations that are considered significant in ‘unravelling’ the ‘hidden’ ideologies writers present in discourse are nominalization and passivization.

⁶ Although the verbs ‘imprison’, ‘injure’ and ‘kill’ are in the passive, the agents (the Egyptian government and the Islamic fundamentalists), are understood from the context.

Nominalization is a syntactic structure that is frequently used in English and entails changing processes into nouns. When writers choose this form of transformation, derived nominals, like ‘movement’ ‘argument’ and ‘allegation’ are used in discourse instead of the verbs ‘move’ ‘argue’ and ‘allege’. According to critical linguistics, this syntactic transformation ‘makes for impersonality of style’ (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 207) and is potentially ‘mystificatory’ in nature since much information is left unexpressed in the clause (Fowler and Kress, 1979; Kress and Hodge, 1979; Fowler, 1991). Hence, proponents of critical linguistics argue that this structure can express certain ideological messages when used persistently in discourse, for it permits ‘habits of concealment, particularly in the areas of power-relations and writers’ attitudes’ (Fowler, 1991: 80). One can also argue that nominalization makes the discourse more static than it would be under the dynamism of ‘verb’ constructions.

The derived nominal ‘discussions’ used in the following excerpt reveals how this linguistic structure can be ideologically significant in discourse:

Example 7

*An advisor to Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah says that **discussions** about targeting Saddam have already begun: “Suppose we agree with you Americans? How do you plan to do it? That is the dialogue right now.”*

(*Newsweek*, December 31, 2001/January 7, 2002: 16)

Using the derived nominal ‘discussions’ in this context has a ‘mystificatory’ effect since the participants taking part in the discussions that will lead to Saddam’s overturn are concealed. Although the readers can infer from the context which countries are engaged in the discussions, this inference can only be verified if the writer clearly mentions these nations. The researcher believes that this deletion

fulfils two purposes: (1) by omitting the participants, the writer's attitude towards these nations is left unspecified; and (2) this deletion obscures the nature of the power relations between the nations taking part in the 'discussions'.

The second kind of syntactic transformation that critical linguistics considers illuminating in discourse analysis is passivization. This linguistic structure involves a shift from the active to the passive voice, and is considered noteworthy of analysis because it reveals how text producers represent their beliefs and ideas regarding the subject-matter they are addressing. Grammarians consider that the active-passive transformation involves changes that concern the verb phrase and the clause (see Examples 8 and 9). In the former, a form of the auxiliary BE and the past participle (-ed form) is added to the main verb. In the latter, three changes take place: (1) the active subject becomes the passive agent; (2) the active object becomes the passive subject; and (3) the 'by phrase' is added before the agent; an addition which is considered optional in the passive structure (Quirk et al., 1972: 801)

(8) The thief shot the shop owner (active sentence).

(9) The shop owner was shot (by the thief) (passive sentence).

Although the syntactic structure of the active and the passive is different, grammarians usually claim that the meaning of these propositions is the same as can be seen from Examples (8) and (9);⁷ indeed, the performer of the action in both sentences is 'the thief'. However, to critical linguistics, which advocates a functional approach to language analysis, a number of motivations underlie the choice of this

⁷ See Quirk et al. (1972).

linguistic tool in discourse. This entails that the usage of this syntactic structure in discourse is not 'neutral' and is not confined to the 'common sense' habitualized meanings prevalent in texts; rather, it can carry ideological connotations which can only be understood by considering the historical and social contexts of the text(s).

Unlike the active construction which focuses on the performer of the action ('the thief' in sentence 8), the passive construction shifts the theme of the sentence from the performer of the action to the affected ('the shop owner' in sentence 9); this shift, therefore, 'allows a writer or speaker to emphasize his thematic priorities, to emphasize what a text is 'about' even when the entities of theme are, strictly speaking, semantically subordinate (affected rather than agentive)' (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 209).

Also, when the agentless passive is used in discourse, the writer 'leaves responsibility unspecified' (Fowler, 1991: 78),⁸ which results in 'obfuscation of agency and causality' (Fairclough, 1989: 125). This motivated choice, which makes it difficult for the reader to recover the performer of the action, can create a 'mystificatory' effect, and if persistent in discourse, can help in identifying the writers' viewpoints and ideological orientations.⁹

5.1.1.3 Lexical Structure

To the exponents of critical linguistics lexis plays an important role in determining the ideational structure of discourse because they consider that the vocabulary items

⁸ See also Fairclough (1989; and 1995); and Kress and Hodge (1979).

⁹ Examples that illustrate how the passive construction can be ideologically significant in discourse are provided in Section 5.2.1.

of a language are not merely a list of words in a dictionary; these items encode ideas and experiences that express social and ideological meanings that vary depending on the world views adopted by the text producers and the circumstances of text production. Two lexical processes are considered revealing in critical linguistics, namely relexicalization and overlexicalization.

Relexicalization sometimes involves 'relabelling' which entails introducing new terms to the language. These 'neologisms' are usually 'coined' and introduced to denote new processes that need to be incorporated into the language, such as the term 'axis of evil'¹⁰, which was used after the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center, to refer to states that harbour and support terrorist groups. These terms are usually unfamiliar to language users when they are first introduced, but become comprehensible with the passage of time. In other cases, relexicalization involves 'reorientations of the meanings of existing words; pointed, ostentatious inversions of meaning' (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 211).

Overlexicalization, as the name suggests, involves the usage of a large number of synonyms or near-synonyms to express a particular experience that the writers want to convey to their readers. This lexical process is considered significant in critical linguistics because analysing the synonyms that text producers choose reveals how they categorise the entities that they are representing, and accordingly the values and beliefs that they wish to present to their readers.

The ideological significance of overlexicalization becomes clear on examining the

¹⁰ See, for example, 'He Has Saddam In His Sights' (*Newsweek*, March 4, 2002: 26-31).

synonyms the writers of *Newsweek International* use to portray the Palestinian fighters. In the article entitled 'We are Kidnapped' (*Newsweek*, June 11, 2001: 56-58), the writer refers to the Palestinian fighters as 'insurgents', 'militants', 'suicide bombers', 'radicals', and 'guerillas' which express, with varying degrees, negative connotations. This categorisation, which is prevalent in other texts¹¹, associates these fighters with 'violence'; hence, this association reveals how the writers of *Newsweek International* perceive this group and represent it to the source text readership.

5.1.2 Interpersonal Elements: Modality

One of the linguistic processes used to express the relationships between producers and receivers of discourse, and hence the interpersonal function of language, is modality. Modality is a linguistic construction that is associated with features of texts which 'express speakers' and writers' attitudes towards themselves, towards their interlocutors, and towards their subject-matter' (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 200). The main linguistic structures included under modality are: modal auxiliaries, personal pronouns and speech acts.

5.1.2.1 Modal Auxiliaries

Modal auxiliaries are used in discourse to denote the type of relation prevalent between the participants involved in an activity; this relation can be expressive or relational. Expressive modality, on the one hand, is associated with the way writers present reality; relational modality, on the other hand, reveals the type of authority

¹¹ See, for example, the articles entitled 'Another Lebanon' (*Newsweek*, March 4, 2002: 34), 'Arafat at The Brink' (*Newsweek*, December 17, 2001: 40-43), and 'The Power Brokers' (*Newsweek*, December 11, 2000: 18-20).

that exists between the participants in an activity. Modality is expressed using modal auxiliaries, like ‘will’, ‘may’, ‘can’, ‘could’, ‘should’, ‘ought’, and ‘must’ which can sometimes express a variety of meanings depending on the context; hence, these auxiliaries ‘contain a systemic ambiguity about the nature of authority – whether it is based primarily on knowledge or on power’ (Kress and Hodge, 1979: 122).

Modal adverbs, such as ‘possibly’, ‘likely’, and ‘certainly’, are also used to express modality, and they often occur with modal auxiliaries in discourse. In other contexts, verbs like, ‘seem’, ‘look’ and ‘think’ can be used to convey the writer’s viewpoint towards his addressee(s).

The following excerpt taken from an article entitled ‘How to Save The Arab World’ (*Newsweek*, December 24, 2001: 28) illustrates how relational modality can be ideologically significant in discourse:

Example 10

*The Saudi monarchy **must order** a comprehensive overview of its funding (both private and public) of extremist Islam, which is now the kingdom’s second largest export to the rest of the world. It **must rein** in its religious and educational leaders and force them to stop flirting with fanaticism. In Egypt, we **must ask** President Mubarak to insist that the state-owned press drop its anti-American and anti-Semitic rants, end the glorification of suicide bombers and begin opening itself up to other voices in the country.*

In this text, the writer uses the modal auxiliary ‘must’ to signal obligation. The writer stipulates that the Saudi monarchy and the Egyptian President ‘ought to’ perform the actions specified. One can, therefore, say that these ‘coercive measures’ that the text producer wants to be exercised on the participants of the propositions (Saudi Arabia and the Egyptian President) signal the authoritative relationship between the parties involved in this interaction: the United States (represented by the

corporate 'we'), and *Newsweek International*, on the one hand, and Saudi Arabia and the Egyptian President, on the other hand. It is power relations, such as the ones presented in this text, that make 'relational modality a matter of ideological interest' (Fairclough, 1989: 127).

5.1.2.2 Personal Pronouns

The proponents of critical linguistics consider that personal pronouns 'always deserve notice' in discourse analysis (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 201). The personal pronoun that is discussed extensively in critical linguistics is 'we', which can be 'exclusive' or 'inclusive'. When the exclusive 'we' is used in discourse, the writer refers to himself but does not include his addressees in the message presented; this use of 'we' alienates the addressees and creates some form of distance between the interlocutors since 'it can be transformed to the institutional 'they'' (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 202). Under the exclusive 'we', the corporate 'we' is discussed; this pronoun is employed in discourse when the writer is representing an organization. The inclusive 'we', on the other hand, includes the writer and the reader; this makes the relationship between the participants more intimate because the addressee feels that the text producer has 'allowed' him/her to be involved in the message.

In the following text (Example 11), drawn from 'The Roots of Rage' (*Newsweek*, October 15, 2001: 42), the corporate 'we' is ideologically significant; it is used to show that the writer, who represents *Newsweek International*, identifies with the state, and accordingly the pronoun 'serves corporate ideologies which stress the unity

of a people at the expense of recognition of divisions of interest' (Fairclough, 1989: 128).

Example 11

Like any country, America has its interests. In my view, America's greatest sins towards the Arab world are sins of omission. We have neglected to press any regime there to open up its society.

Another pronoun that is considered revealing in critical analysis is the pronoun 'you'. When this pronoun is used, the addressee is not made explicit; rather, the addressee is difficult to identify. Proponents of the critical approach to linguistic analysis consider that 'its occurrence, and its frequency of occurrence, are measures of the speaker's consciousness of, care for, or, most often, desire to manipulate, the addressee' (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 203).¹²

5.1.2.3 Speech Acts

The proponents of critical linguistics consider the theory of speech acts significant for discourse analysis because it emphasises the social aspects of language. In fact, the speech act theory does not merely look at language as a medium for conveying information, but considers that language reveals the nature of role-relations between the producers and receivers of utterances. Thus, the producers of utterances can act as commanders or questioners, for example, and the receivers as commanded or questioned as can be seen from the following example: 'I order you to leave the classroom'. If a teacher utters this proposition addressing a student in the class, then the latter understands that this is a command and has to behave accordingly. This

¹² It is worth mentioning that the pronoun 'you' is mainly used in quoted speech in the analysed articles and does not seem to have any ideological significance.

utterance, therefore, reveals the nature of the power relations between the participants and the degree of distance between them.

This overview of the critical linguistics analysis to language has highlighted the major issues pertaining to this linguistic theory. It has also indicated, through the examples cited, that the linguistic choices text producers make can be motivated, and therefore are ideologically revealing. In the following section, the passive construction employed in the source texts will be examined to investigate to what extent this linguistic structure has been employed in discourse to express the ideological standpoint the writers of *Newsweek International* advocate in relation to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam in general and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in particular.

5.2 Analysis of the Source Texts

This section examines how the writers of *Newsweek International* use the passive construction to depict the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The objective of this examination is twofold: (1) to investigate to what extent differences in expression (i.e. using the passive as opposed to using the active) can be ideologically significant when addressing a controversial issue such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; and (2) to shed light on how these ideologically motivated instances of the passive contribute to shaping the end-receivers' perceptions concerning the parties involved in the conflict under examination.

The section is divided into two sub-sections. For purposes of cross-reference, the first sub-section highlights the findings pertaining to the usage of the passive

construction in all the analysed articles that represent the Arabs, Muslims and Islam. The second sub-section focuses on how this linguistic tool has been used to present the writers' perceptions of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

5.2.1 Analysis of Passivization in the Articles that Depict the Arabs, Muslims and Islam

This sub-section briefly presents how the passive construction is employed in the articles that depict the Arabs, Muslims and Islam with the aim of pinpointing the most salient patterns of passivization noted in the abovementioned articles. This presentation will be referred to when discussing passivization in the articles that represent the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

On examining the articles that portray the Arabs, Muslims and Islam, it becomes evident that the writers of *Newsweek International* use the active construction extensively to present the topics they address. However, it has to be mentioned at the outset that this preponderance of the active construction does not imply that the passive construction has not been employed in the analysed articles. In fact, on analysing the instances of the passive structure used in the corpora, the following findings are observed:

1) 1000 instances of the passive construction are observed in the analysed articles.¹³ Out of these instances, 649 are agentless passives, while 351 use the 'by phrase'.

The fact that the agentless passives outnumber the 'by phrase' passives is not

¹³ This figure covers the instances of passivization attested in all the analysed articles, including the articles that portray the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

surprising. According to Quirk et al. (1972: 807) ‘approximately four out of five English passive sentences have no expressed (surface) agent. This is the case when it is irrelevant or unknown’.

2) The analysis reveals that the agentless passive employed in the articles that portray the Arabs, Muslims and Islam fulfil three main goals other than the two mentioned in Quirk et al’s statement.

First, this structure is frequently used to achieve stylistic variation, especially when the text producers mention the performers of the action in the text(s). By using the agentless passive, the writers avoid lexical repetition and produce texts that adhere to the stylistic conventions of English (see Chapter One).

Second, the agentless passive is used when the agent(s) can be understood from the context. In such cases, the readers can successfully recover the agent(s) by referring to the information made available to them throughout the articles.

Third, the researcher believes that when the writers adopt this construction at the beginning of texts, it has a ‘mystificatory’ effect that can arouse the readers’ interest in the topic(s) being presented. One can, therefore, claim that leaving the agent unspecified in such contexts can act as an attention catching strategy that aims at ‘hiding’ an ideological stance adopted by the text producer(s) (see Example 15, page 280).

3) As for the propositions that employ the ‘by phrase’, these sentences tend to focus

on the affected agent and not the agent. Although the agent is known, the writers choose to background the participant; this results in a ‘shift’ in the theme of the proposition (see Example 14, page 280).

4) With regard to the ideological significance of the passive, it is noted that this motivated use of the passive is limited in the articles that represent the Arabs, Muslims and Islam in comparison with the ‘neutral’ usage of this structure. This observation is expected for two main reasons: (1) the ideological workings of linguistic choices are noted in some texts and not in others; and (2) the predominance of a linguistic tool in discourse does not necessarily mean that this tool is ideologically revealing (Fowler, 1991; and Hatim, 2001).

It is the researcher’s contention that the limited number of ideologically significant passives in the corpora under examination may be attributed to the diversified topics analysed. This variety in the articles examined has therefore made it difficult to detect accumulative patterns of occurrences that are ideologically loaded.¹⁴

In what follows, excerpts that illustrate how passivization has been used to fulfil a number of purposes in the analysed corpora will be presented and discussed.

Example 12

Nobody likes paying taxes – especially Pakistanis. Tax collectors in that country need Army protection because merchants, angry about a new 15 percent sales tax, are attacking them. Last week in the cities of Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Multan, thousands of angry shopkeepers and businessmen took to the streets to protest the new tax, setting fire to cars and shouting: “Down with General Musharaf!,” Pakistan’s military leader. In all three cities, police fired tear gas into the crowds and fights broke out; more than a dozen

¹⁴ This observation does not apply to the articles that depict the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (see Section 5.2.2).

policemen and one magistrate were injured. More than 100 protesters were arrested in Multan, in Punjab province, the center of the unrest.

(*Newsweek*, July 17, 2000: 33)

This extract is taken from an article entitled ‘A Nation of Tax Resisters’ which revolves around the new tax laws imposed by the Pakistani government, the reasons underlying this decision and the businessmen’s negative reaction against these laws. In this paragraph, the readers can easily infer that the ‘angry shopkeepers and businessmen injured the policemen and the magistrate’ and that ‘the policemen arrested the protesters’. One can therefore claim that the writer of this article has employed the passive construction to avoid lexical repetition, especially that the performers of the action can be recovered from the preceding sentences.

Example 13

*All the term “nation-building” really means is fixing what can be fixed with international money and expertise and the hard work of local populations, and hoping that what results is whole cloth. In Afghanistan the task is daunting but clear. An inclusive central government that does not try to subjugate the provinces **must be established**. A neutral, at least partly international, peacekeeping force must impose order on the cities and roads. Relief aid **must be rushed** to starving peasants. Then the rebuilding itself begins: Afghans **must be employed** to repair everything from airports to ancient canals; seeds and fertilizers **must be distributed** to those who would rather farm; refugees **must be resettled** and exiles – among the most highly educated and entrepreneurial Afghans – **must be encouraged** to return and help re-establish a professional class.*

(*Newsweek*, December 17, 2001: 29)

This text is drawn from an article entitled ‘Rising from the Rubble’ that discusses the rebuilding of Afghanistan after the overthrow of the Taliban government. The writer begins the paragraph by stating that ‘international money’, ‘expertise’ and ‘the hard work of local populations’ is needed to rebuild Afghanistan. The writer then lists what needs to be done to achieve this goal without clearly identifying the parties

expected to carry out the task of resurrecting Afghanistan: ‘a central government must be established’, ‘relief aid must be rushed’, ‘Afghans must be employed’, ‘seeds and fertilizers must be distributed’ ‘refugees must be resettled’, and ‘Afghans must be encouraged to return’. In this context, the text producer chooses the passive structure because the focus is not on the performers of the actions; rather, the writer is interested in what needs to be done to rebuild Afghanistan.

Example 14

*Then come screams and the sound of smashed glass. “Evil man!” one leader yells at the nightclub’s owner, who **is dragged out** of his bar and **slapped** around by the mob.*

(*Newsweek*, June 11, 2001: 55)

The above extract from an article entitled ‘The Next Threat to Peace’ portrays how one fundamentalist Islamic group in Indonesia attacks the nightclubs in the country under the pretext of Islam. Although the text recipients know that the ‘mob’ was responsible for ‘dragging’ and ‘slapping’ the nightclub owner, this group is made known to the readers using the ‘by phrase’ passive. By doing so, the writers do not give much weight to the ‘mob’ but prefer to focus on the ‘nightclub owner’ and what happened to him; hence, the ‘nightclub owner’ is foregrounded, while the ‘mob’ is backgrounded.

Example 15

*Harassment of homosexuals is hardly a new problem in Egypt. But in recent months an unprecedented vilification campaign against gay men has drawn international opprobrium – and cast new light on the often violent collision between traditional and Western values that is convulsing the developing world. The crackdown began last spring, when 52 allegedly gay men **were arrested** at a Cairo discotheque and in nearby apartments and **hauled** before Cairo’s State Security Court, normally reserved for trying terrorist suspects. They **were accused** of crimes ranging from contempt of religion to false interpretation of the Qur’an. After a highly publicized trial, 23 **were sentenced** in November to prison terms up to five years; the rest **were acquitted**. Then, two weeks ago, security forces arrested eight men in*

This extract represents the first paragraph of the article entitled 'Gay Egypt in The Dock'. As the title entails, the article portrays how the Egyptian authorities have treated the gay community in Egypt. On reading the extract, it becomes clear that the writer uses the agentless passive extensively in the first few sentences to avoid mentioning the role played by the Egyptian security forces and the Egyptian government in 'arresting', 'hauling', 'accusing', 'sentencing' and 'acquitting' the gays. The use of the agentless passive construction six times in four consecutive sentences makes the researcher believe that this choice is not random; indeed, this usage seems to be motivated for two main reasons: (1) by using the agentless passive, the writer is temporarily 'concealing' the agents responsible for the actions undertaken against the gay community in Egypt; this creates a 'mystificatory' effect, and hence captures the readers' attention until the agent is made known to the source text receivers; and (2) by leaving the agent unspecified, the writer focuses on the acts 'arrested', 'hauled', 'accused', 'sentenced' and 'acquitted' which expose the atrocities committed by the Egyptian government against its gay citizens. This emphasis reveals once again (see Example 6) that the Egyptian government does not favour freedom of expression, and hence verifies the image of 'dictatorship' that the writers of *Newsweek International* employ in their representation of the Egyptian regime (see Chapter Four). It is the researcher's contention that this Example shows the 'hidden' relations of power enacted in media discourse (Fairclough, 1989). In this context, the writers of *Newsweek International* expose the Egyptian actions to the source text recipients and marginalize the social and religious aspects that may

have dictated the Egyptian government's standpoint towards this group. This one-sided representation can carry to the end-receivers the stance advocated by the 'powerful participants' (*Newsweek* and its writers) against the 'non-powerful participants' (the Egyptian government), and hence confirms Fowler's (1991: 10) view concerning representation that states 'Anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position: language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium'.

Having briefly presented the findings noted concerning the usage of the passive in the source language articles that depict the Arabs, Muslims and Islam, the forthcoming sub-section will focus on the usage of passivization in the articles that depict the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The sub-section will also examine the nature of the ideological messages that this structure expresses in the analysed articles.

5.2.2 Analysis of Passivization in the Articles that Depict the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

This sub-section investigates how passivization has been used in the articles that portray the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, paying special attention to the ideological messages that this linguistic tool carries to the source text recipients. These ideologically significant messages will be referred to in Sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2 to examine how they have been rendered in *Newsweek in Arabic*.

The analysis conducted in Chapter Four (Section 4.1.1) has revealed that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is represented extensively in *Newsweek International*. In fact, the researcher has noted that some issues include two or more articles that address

questions pertaining to this conflict.¹⁵ This substantial coverage has enabled the researcher to analyse a number of articles that tackle a wide range of issues relating to this dispute. Consequently, this has not only made it possible to detect the ‘neutral’ occurrences of passivization in the analysed articles, but it has also helped in identifying ideologically motivated patterns of occurrences that represent the two parties involved in this conflict, namely the Israelis and the Palestinians.

After conducting a close analysis of the instances of passivization employed in the articles that address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the following findings are noted:

1) Out of the 1000 instances of passives attested in the source texts, 239 instances of the passive construction are observed in the articles that depict the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This figure is revealing for two main reasons. First, the limited number of passive constructions attested in these articles indicates that the writers rely on the active construction in their representation of this conflict. Second, by comparing the number of passives in the articles that depict the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with the passives noted in the remaining analysed articles, one can claim that this number of instances (24%) seems to be relatively high if one bears in mind that only 34 articles out of the 100 analysed articles discuss this dispute.

2) Of the 239 instances, 143 are agentless passives and 96 use the ‘by phrase’. This finding coincides with the observation noted in Section 5.2.1. One can therefore argue that this tendency to use the agentless passive is in line with the stylistic and

¹⁵ See, for example, the following issues December 11, 2000; November 27, 2000; April 9, 2001; August 13, 2001; and others.

grammatical conventions of the English language.

3) The agentless and 'by phrase' passives employed in the articles that depict the Israeli-Palestinian conflict fulfil the same goals as those deployed in the articles that address issues pertaining to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam (see Section 5.2.1).

4) Although not all the instances of passivization attested are ideologically motivated, one can claim that the ideologically significant instances of passivization observed are associated with the way the writers represent the Israeli and Palestinian roles in the round of violence prevalent in the Israeli and Palestinian territories.

Indeed, the analysis has revealed that there is a tendency to obscure agency when the Israeli actions against the Palestinians are portrayed to the source text readers. By using the agentless passive construction, the writers of *Newsweek International* avoid explicit reference to the Israelis, and hence the Israeli role in the 'acts of violence' is 'concealed' (see Examples 16-22, pages 286-287).

Although this structure is used 36 times to 'hide' the Israeli actions, it is used only four times with the Palestinians; in fact, in three of the texts that employ this structure with the Palestinians, the agent can be easily recovered by referring to the preceding sentence(s).

It is also noted that there is a tendency to use the 'by phrase' passive structure in representing the actions the Israelis conduct against the Palestinians. When the writers employ this construction, the agent (the Israelis) is identified; however, it is

placed in an 'informationally de-emphasised position' (Fairclough, 1995: 26). This position shifts the readers' focus away from the agent (the Israelis) towards the affected agent (see Examples 23-26, pages 288-289).

Seven instances of the 'by phrase' structure are used with the Palestinians. However, the majority of these instances do not concern acts that the Palestinians perform against the Israelis; rather, the Palestinians are identified as agents performing acts of terror against their own people.

The researcher believes that the aforementioned patterns become particularly revealing when one realises that the writers of *Newsweek International* use the active construction to portray the Palestinian actions against the Israelis. By using the active construction, the Palestinians are overtly presented as the initiators of the 'acts of terror' against the Israeli civilians and soldiers; consequently, this group is foregrounded, and its actions are overemphasized (see Examples 27-34, pages 289-291).

It is worth mentioning that the active construction is used less frequently to represent the Israeli actions against the Palestinians. However, when this construction is employed to present the Israeli role in the violence committed against the Palestinians, these actions are excused; the Israeli actions are 'counter terror attacks' that are carried out 'in retaliation' for the Palestinian acts of terror (see Examples 35 and 36, page 292). The researcher believes that this excused 'representation' reiterates the ideological significance of the patterns of agency and causality chosen

by the writers of *Newsweek International* in their portrayal of the two parties involved in the conflict under examination.

To demonstrate the ideological significance of the main patterns attested in relation to the choice of agency and causality, excerpts drawn from the articles that depict the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will be provided and discussed.

Example 16

*Leaving Jerusalem's outskirts, Saleh follows a circuitous route, via the Dead Sea, that is least likely to bring him near settlements and other potential clash points. Hot air and dust blast through the open windows; the temperature soars above 110 degrees. Soldiers stop him twice at roadblocks and check his load; a road he normally takes **has been bulldozed, closed** because of a morning shooting; a long line of Palestinian cars wait at one checkpoint for an hour as soldiers frisk a busload of civilians.*

(*Newsweek*, July 30, 2001: 22)

Example 17

*In the coming weeks, the Orr Commission intends to shine a light on the tactics employed by Israeli police in squelching protests by Arab citizens across northern Israel after Ariel Sharon's incendiary visit to the Temple Mount on Sept. 29. In addition to the 13 people **killed**, more than 800 **were injured**, placing the clashes among the worst episodes of government-sponsored violence committed against Arab Israelis since independence.*

(*Newsweek*, March 5, 2001: 34)

Example 18

*The hard truth is, their return [Palestinian refugees] is far from likely. In what may be the endgame of Israeli-Palestinian peacemaking, Sami Bin Said's future and that of 4 million other Palestinian refugees scattered across the Arab world stand as an enormous obstacle, a problem that could prove even more intractable than, the division of Jerusalem. The refugees' homes **were seized or destroyed** long ago; many of their villages **have been razed**. Even the most dovish Israelis reject a return of Palestinian refugees as demographic suicide for the Jewish state.*

(*Newsweek*, January 8, 2001: 10)

Example 19

*The corridor leading to his office vibrates with activity. Politicians and militants, activists and peace negotiators come and go, waiting for face time with Yasir Arafat. And the Palestinian leader has lots to spare these days. For more than a month **he's been stuck** in a*

compound that once served the British and later the Israelis as a military base and jail.

(Newsweek, January 28, 2002: 30)

Example 20

*In rejecting Ehud Barak's proposals at Camp David, Yasir Arafat did more than shatter the hopes for peace between Israel and the Palestinians. He also shattered the Israeli left. For a decade the Labor Party had a solution to Israel's biggest problem: land for peace. It would give much of the land **conquered** in the 1967 war and get a peace agreement in return.*

(Newsweek, August 13, 2001: 7)

Example 21

*Since the uprising began in September according to the Switzerland-based activist group Defense for Children International, 95 Palestinians **have been killed** and more than 2500 **have been injured***

(Newsweek, December 11, 2000: 12)

Example 22

*At 8 a.m. Abu Ulbah plowed his bus into a crowd of Israeli soldiers at Azur Junction near Tel Aviv, killing eight and injuring 38; he **was later wounded and captured** after a high-speed chase.*

(Newsweek, February 26, 2001: 36)

On examining Examples 16-22, it becomes evident that the writers of *Newsweek International* avoid explicit mention of the Israelis when they 'act violently' against the Palestinians; in fact, the agentless passive is employed to 'conceal' Israel's responsibility concerning its actions against the Palestinians. This elision of the agent responsible for 'buldozing', 'closing', 'killing', 'injuring', 'conquering', 'seizing', 'destroying', 'razing' 'wounding', and 'capturing' backgrounds and de-emphasises the Israeli role in these acts.

The ideological significance of this motivated choice becomes especially revealing when one examines Example 22. In this extract, the Palestinian driver (Abu Ulbah)

is overtly presented as the initiator of the action that involves the killing of eight Israelis and the injury of 38 others; in contrast, the agent responsible for ‘wounding’ and ‘capturing’ the driver is left unspecified. Although the readers in this text can identify the ‘Israelis’ as responsible for the two acts committed against the Palestinian driver, the writer chooses to omit the agent and leaves the readers to infer the actor.¹⁶

By leaving causality unspecified, the above examples demonstrate how power relations are exercised in the media. Here, the writers of *Newsweek International* use their ‘power’ as text producers ‘to disguise power’ (Fairclough, 1989: 52); in these texts, the writers choose to ‘hide’ what the Israelis (the dominant party) commit against the Palestinians (the subordinate party).

Example 23

*What Arafat could not do at Camp David and still cannot do is abandon the founding claim of the PLO – that Palestinians **displaced by Israel** in 1948 be allowed to return home.*

(*Newsweek*, April 9, 2001: 2)

Example 24

*The busiest place in Ramallah these days is a parched slope on the city’s outskirts, just beneath the Jewish settlement of Psigot. Here, in a new extension of the Al Bira Cemetery, Palestinian families gather through the day around 150 marble tombstones that mark the graves of victims of the intifada. Leading a visitor past a polished slab inscribed in Arabic, Hassan Jaffarey, the gravedigger who has buried every one of the dead, points out some of the new arrivals: the 9-year-old **shot by the Israeli snipers** in his parents’ home, the housewife caught in crossfire between soldiers in Psigot and militants in Ramallah... Under a fierce sun, the gravedigger continues his tour of the cemetery, pointing out the grave of a 3-year-old who **died** in his mother’s arms, two friends who **were blown** into pieces by a tank shell in February.*

(*Newsweek*, April 9, 2001: 26-27)

¹⁶ The same meaning relation applies to Example 19.

Example 25

*In the streets of Khan Younis, Rafah and other towns, Hamas and Islamic Jihad are gaining increasing support—much as Hizbullah did in the poor Shiite suburbs of West Beirut. Here whole neighborhoods **have been “shaved” by Israeli tanks and bulldozers** seeking to create open fields of fire.*

(*Newsweek*, June 11, 2001: 57)

Example 26

*Last week the violence took an ominous new turn, when three Palestinians, including an infant, **were killed in a drive-by shooting allegedly carried out by a settler vigilante group** calling itself “The Committee for Road Safety.”*

(*Newsweek*, July 30, 2001: 21)

In Examples 23-26, the writers choose the ‘by phrase’ passive construction to refer to the Israeli acts against the Palestinians. Although the reader of these excerpts is well aware that the Israelis are responsible for the acts of ‘displacing’, ‘shooting’, ‘blowing’ and ‘killing’ that are conducted against the Palestinians, this passive construction de-emphasises and backgrounds the Israeli role in these acts of violence. This shift in theme foregrounds the affected agents, namely ‘the Palestinians’, ‘the 9 year-old’, ‘the 3 year-old’, ‘the neighborhoods’, and ‘the friends’, and hence reorients the story towards these participants; by doing so, one feels that this linguistic choice mitigates the Israeli actions, and consequently this representation seems rather restrained in blaming the Israelis for the acts they commit against the Palestinians.

Example 27

*A Newsweek Investigation uncovered chilling details of the Karmi hit. He was a key target: a veteran of the intifada who had risen to the top of the Fatah movement’s military wing. In revenge for the assassination of a prominent local Fatah leader, **Karmi and three other militants abducted and murdered** two young Tel Aviv restaurateurs who had driven to Tulkarm to go shopping on Jan. 23, 2001.*

(*Newsweek*, February 4, 2002: 2)

Example 28

*For Ariel Sharon, it was a clear sign that his enemies would be intimidated. Just two days after his landslide victory in Israeli election, **Palestinian bombers packed 30 pounds of explosives** into the trunk of a stolen Ford Fiesta and parked the car in the heart of Beit Yisrael, a densely populated religious neighborhood in Jerusalem. Their apparent aim: to catch hundreds of Haisidic yeshiva students as they streamed out of the buildings from their late-afternoon prayers. But **the terrorists** mis-set the bomb's timing device by 15 minutes. When it exploded at 4:45 p.m., most Yisrael residents were indoors, and the blast only slightly injured five people.*

*In the West Bank, the Jewish settlement Psigot came under withering gunfire Thursday night for the first time in six weeks; in Ramallah, **hundreds of youths** clashed with Israeli soldiers on Friday; the street battles included tank fire and left several injured. In Gaza, **the head of the militant Islamic Jihad group** pledged to continue the bombing campaign as part of a wider jihad.*

(Newsweek, February 19, 2001: 24)

Example 29

*Refugees have been at the front line of Israeli-Palestinian confrontations, both in politics and on the killing fields. Bin Said's brother Baha is one of them. An officer in the Palestinian Preventive Security Service, **Baha Bin-Said stole into a Jewish settlement** not far from Maghazi in late November and killed two Israelis before being shot dead.*

(Newsweek, January 8, 2001: 12)

Example 30

*Largely dormant during the first few months of this intifada, **the Islamic militants have claimed responsibility for a recent string of suicide bombings**, including last week's explosion at a bus stop near Netanya that killed two teenage yeshiva students.*

(Newsweek, April 9, 2001: 26-27)

Example 31

*A flow of weapons smuggled in through tunnels burrowed beneath the Egyptian border is fueling the conflict, which is being brought with alarming frequency to the heart of Israel: on Friday night **a suicide bomber blew himself up** at the entrance to a popular nightclub on Tel Aviv's beachfront killing at least 18 people and injuring about 90.*

*Across the fence, the Jewish settlers face their own risks. Corralled inside isolated communities patrolled by Israeli tanks, the 5,000 Jews in Gaza are effectively prisoners. Travelling outside their settlements means moving in convoys across miles of hostile territory, much as 19th-century wagon trains traversed the American frontier. The sandy wasteland is filled with buried roadside bombs; **Palestinian snipers lay ambushes** from half-finished buildings that offer a perfect vantage point over the highway. Some nights,*

guerrillas crawl through the sand to within a few meters of the Israeli base protecting the Gush Katif settlement before opening fire—a tactic borrowed from Hizbullah.

(*Newsweek*, June 11, 2001: 57-58)

Example 32

*The newest phase of the Palestinian uprising began last week on a lonely mountain road near the West Bank city of Ramallah. At an Israeli military checkpoint known as Ein Ariq—a concrete hut surrounded by terraced orchards of olive trees – a **three man squad of Fatah guerillas launched one of the deadliest attacks against the Israeli Army** since the height of the guerrilla war in southern Lebanon. Shooting dead four sentries, **the trio of gunmen killed two more soldiers relaxing inside their hut, then slipped away in the dark...** During one seen-day period, **Palestinian guerillas killed 12 Israeli soldiers** in four attacks inside the West Bank and Gaza.*

(*Newsweek*, March 4, 2002: 34)

Example 33

On Thursday a member of his own [Yasir Arafat's]Fatah group shot up a dance hall where Israelis were celebrating a 12-year-old girl's bat mitzvah, killing six people.

(*Newsweek*, January 28, 2002: 31)

Example 34

*The previous weekend **three Hamas suicide bombers** had carried out attacks on Jerusalem and Haifa, killing 27 Israelis in the span of 12 hours.*

(*Newsweek*, December 17, 2001: 40)

Unlike Examples 16-26, Examples 27-34 use the active construction to portray the actions that the Palestinians carry out against the Israelis. By using this structure, causality is clearly specified; in these excerpts, the agents (the Palestinians) are emphasised, and are overtly presented as responsible for performing the actions mentioned in the propositions, leaving no room for reader inference and speculation. Indeed, not only do the 'Palestinian snipers', the 'Palestinian guerillas', 'the Palestinian militants' and 'Hamas suicide bombers' initiate the acts of 'abducting', 'murdering', 'clashing', 'killing', 'laying ambushes', and 'shooting' conducted against the Israelis, but the nature and the number of the casualties these agents

inflict on the Israelis is also highlighted. Therefore, on comparing Examples 16-26 and 27-34, one can claim that the linguistic tools that the writers of *Newsweek* choose in portraying the two parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict reflect the Magazine's partiality towards the Israeli side; this systematic representation of the Palestinians as the initiators of the 'acts of terror' conducted against the Israeli civilians and soldiers makes the source text readers associate this group with 'violence', 'brutality' and 'inhumane' actions. This image, however, is not conveyed to the text receivers when portraying the Israeli acts against the Palestinians as can be illustrated in Examples 35 and 36.

Example 35

*In Psagot, a religious community near Ramallah, nearly every night Palestinians fire automatic rifles and larger machine guns at a row of stone houses that face the Arab town. Settler families have sandbagged windows and no longer leave their homes at night. **The shooting got so bad one night last week that Israeli tanks stationed at the settlement fired shells into Ramallah.***

(*Newsweek*, December 4, 2000: 35)

Example 36

*For weeks Palestinian snipers have used Beit Jala as a base to shoot at the nearby Jewish neighborhood of Gilo, and **the Israeli army has responded with rocket, missile and machine-gun fire.***

(*Newsweek*, November 27, 2000: 58)

In Examples 35 and 36 the Israeli army and its tanks are depicted as the agents responsible for the acts of 'shelling' conducted against the Palestinians. Although the active structure in these texts acknowledges the agents taking part in the propositions, these agents and their acts are not condemned; rather, they are excused since they take place in retaliation for the Palestinian premeditated acts of terror committed against the Jewish settlements and settlers. This discrepancy between the way the Israeli and Palestinian actions are portrayed reveals the contrasting views

and beliefs that the writers of *Newsweek International* embrace in relation to the two parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Since the effects of the media are cumulative, one can argue that the manner in which the writers handle causality in relation to the two parties involved in the conflict can negatively affect the way the source text readers perceive the Palestinians.

It is the researcher's contention that the examples cited illustrate the nature of the power relations prevalent in media discourse. On examining the extracts, one can argue that the text producers exercise power over the text recipients since they can determine how events and participants are represented based on the beliefs and values that they adopt. Consequently, one finds oneself in agreement with Fairclough's (1995: 104) view concerning media discourse which states that 'media texts do not merely 'mirror realities' as is sometimes naively assumed; they constitute versions of reality in ways which depend on the social positions and interests and objectives of those who produce them. They do so through choices which are made at various levels in the process of producing texts'.

Having illustrated how passivization is employed in English and how this linguistic tool can carry ideological messages, the next section provides a brief account of passivization in Arabic. This overview will be referred to in the analysis of the translated instances of the passive construction.

5.3 Passivization in Arabic

This section gives a brief account of how the passive construction is used in Arabic discourse. The account is intended to shed light on the syntactic, stylistic and

functional features of this structure with the aim of identifying the similarities and differences in the way passivization is employed in English and Arabic. The researcher believes that identifying these similarities and differences, while bearing in mind the differences in the writers' and translators' world-views, beliefs and values concerning the Israelis and the Palestinians, will help explain the reasons underlying the translation strategies adopted in the act of transmitting the ideologically significant patterns of passivization from English into Arabic.

In comparison with English, the passive construction tends to be used less frequently in Arabic discourse. This relatively limited usage of the passive structure may be attributed to two main reasons: (1) Arabic uses the active construction when the agent is identified (cf. the 'by phrase' structure in English); and (2) the passive meaning is expressed in Arabic using a number of active constructions (see Examples 39, 42 and 44).

Although the passive is not frequently used in Arabic, there are a number of diversified reasons underlying the choice of this structure in discourse. These reasons can be summed up as follows: (1) the performer of the action is known, so there is no need to express it; (2) the agent is unknown, and hence is left unspecified; (3) the agent is known, but the speaker(s) or text producer(s) want to conceal the performer(s) of the action; (4) the agent is known, but is left unspecified for fear of its well being; (5) the agent is known, but is not expressed because the speaker(s) or text producers are afraid of the agent; (6) the agent is known, but is not expressed to protect its honour/face; and (7) the agent is known, but is not mentioned because

expressing it in discourse is pointless.¹⁷ The aforementioned usages of the passive indicate that this structure is not employed haphazardly in Arabic discourse; also, on examining the reasons underlying the use of the passive in Arabic, one can argue that reason (3) may have ideological significance in certain texts, while reasons (4) and (6) are cultural specific.

Like passivization in English, when the passive construction is used in Arabic, the clause undergoes a ‘transformation’ from one syntactic structure to another. This transformation involves three constituents of the active clause: the active verb, and the subject and the object of the active clause; thus, in the process of ‘transforming’ an active structure into a passive structure, the following steps are taken: (1) the internal vowel of the active verb is changed; (2) the subject of the active clause is deleted; and (3) the object of the active clause is made the subject of the passive sentence (see Examples 37 and 38). This change obfuscates the agency, and emphasises the action as well as the subject of the passive verb, which is referred to in Arabic as نائب الفاعل and literally means ‘the deputy of the doer’.

(37) كتب الولد الدرس. (The boy wrote the lesson).

(38) كتب الدرس. (The lesson was written).

As stated earlier, and illustrated in Example 38, the deletion of the subject in the passive clause is obligatory in Arabic; Arabic, unlike English, does not allow mentioning the agent in the passive clause because ‘there is a purpose underlying the deletion of the subject; thus, any reference to it (the subject) disregards this purpose’

¹⁷ These reasons are presented in Al-Ghalāyīnī (1999: 247; my translation).

(Al-Ghalāyīnī, 1999: 252; my translation). Accordingly, there is no construction in the language that parallels the 'by phrase' passive, and a sentence like 'Ahmad was reprimanded by the officer' is rendered in Arabic as 'The officer reprimanded Ahmad' ويخ الضابط أحمد with the 'officer' as the agent of the active clause. However, as Holes (1995: 260) rightly states 'this 'rule' is now largely ignored in journalistic Arabic' which uses the prepositional phrase *min qibal* من قبل to introduce the agent. This structure reveals the impact translation interference (Neubert and Shreve, 1992; and Sa'adeddin, 1989) has had on the syntax of Arabic journalism.

Having said that Arabic does not have an equivalent structure for the 'by phrase' structure, it has to be pointed out that 'Arabic has found a way to express the agent in passive constructions; and that is by using a **prepositional phrase** (original emphasis) with instrumental meaning' (Cantarino, 1974, I: 53). However, the prepositions ل، ب، من used with this structure, introduce the instrument and not the actual performer(s) of the action. Hence, in the sentence, قتل بالسيف (he was killed by the sword) the preposition ب introduces the instrument used to perform the action, but the person who is involved in the action of 'killing' is left unspecified. In fact, the prepositional phrase in Arabic is not usually used to introduce a human agent, and when this rule is disregarded in journalese discourse 'this is often due to literal translation of European phraseology' (Haywood and Nahmad, 1965: 144).

In addition to the abovementioned syntactic structures employed to express passivization, Arabic uses the passive participle اسم المفعول to achieve this goal. As the Arabic grammatical term suggests, this structure is formed using the pattern

maf'ul مفعول and acts as a qualitative adjective in passive constructions to refer to the person or thing that is experiencing or have experienced the action denoted by the verb; in such contexts, the meaning of the passive participle is equivalent to that of an adjective clause with a passive verb (Examples 39 and 40).

(39) الكتاب المنشور (The published book).

(40) الكتاب الذي نشر (The book that was published).

Also, Arabic, unlike English, uses a number of structures, which are syntactically recognised by grammarians as active constructions, to denote passive meanings. One of the common structures employed to achieve this goal are the verbs grouped under forms V, and VII, which are usually used to replace the passive of forms I, and II verbs, respectively (Examples 41 and 42).

(41) عقد الاجتماع (The meeting was convened).

(42) انعقد الاجتماع (The meeting was convened).

In Examples 41 and 42, two different syntactic structures are employed to express the same message to the reader(s): the obfuscation of the agent. In Example 41, passivization is deployed to achieve this goal, whereas the active construction is deployed in Example 42. By using this active structure, which denotes a passive meaning, passivization proper is avoided.

Another structure that uses the active construction to express a passive meaning is the form that consists of the auxiliary verb *tamma* تم (to be completed) and the verbal

noun صيغة المصدر . This structure is common in Media discourse, and ‘is used to report the completion of durative or iterative processes (rather than for description of punctual events, cognitive activities, emotional states) where the focus is on the result of the process than the process itself, or on the (usually multiple rather than individual) agents who performed it’ (Holes, 1995: 258).¹⁸ Thus, while Example 43 uses the passive construction to conceal the performer of the action, Example 44 uses the auxiliary verb *tamma* تم and the verbal noun إعدام (executing) to produce a synonymous meaning to that expressed in Example 43.

(43) اعدام القاتل (The killer was executed) .

(44) تم إعدام القاتل (The killer was executed) .

This brief account of how passivization is used in Arabic indicates that there are a number of substantial differences in the way this structure is used in English and Arabic. With this in mind, the next section will examine how the translators have tackled these discrepancies in the act of translating the passive construction from *Newsweek International* to *Newsweek in Arabic*.

5.4 Analysis of the Target Texts

In sub-section 5.2.2, the ideologically significant patterns of passivization observed in relation to the two parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were presented and discussed. In this section, the researcher studies how the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* have rendered these patterns to the target text readership. This examination aims at identifying how the choice of the linguistic structure that the

¹⁸ It is observed that the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* use this structure with all types of events.

translators make (the active construction as opposed to the passive construction and vice versa) affects the ideological patterns originally presented to the source text readers. In conducting this examination, the researcher will take into consideration the following two factors: (1) the discrepancies between passivization in English and Arabic; and (2) the different world-views that the writers of *Newsweek International* and the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* have regarding the two parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The section is divided into two sub-sections. The first sub-section will consider the ideological patterns that have been retained in the target texts, while the second sub-section will consider the patterns that have undergone changes in the process of translation.

5.4.1 Similarities Between the Source and Target Texts

This sub-section sheds light on the ideological patterns of passivization that have been reproduced in *Newsweek in Arabic*. This examination aims at identifying the syntactic structures that have been adopted in the act of translating these ideologically significant patterns from English into Arabic, and the implications these syntactic choices have on the ideological messages expressed in the target language texts.

A close analysis of the source and target texts reveals that 36 out of the 66¹⁹ (cf. number of differences) ideologically significant instances of passivization that depict the two parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in *Newsweek International*

¹⁹ This figure includes the ideologically motivated instances of passivization used to represent the Israeli and Palestinian roles in the violence. However, it has to be pointed out that out of the 66 ideologically loaded instances attested, only four similarities are associated with the Palestinians.

have been retained in *Newsweek in Arabic*. This adherence to the source texts reproduces the main ideological patterns pertaining to the Israelis and the Palestinians and presented in *Newsweek International* (see Section 5.2.2). Hence, one finds that the active construction is employed to represent the Palestinians as the initiators of the acts of violence against the Israelis, while passivization is used to ‘conceal’ the Israeli acts conducted against the Palestinians.

To ‘conceal’ the Israeli acts, 24 instances of the agentless passive structures that are ideologically loaded in the English texts are reproduced in *Newsweek in Arabic* with the equivalent passive structure employed in Arabic. Although this syntactic choice produces translated texts that are linguistically acceptable, the Arab audience is presented with an ideological pattern that is ‘foreign’ to them. This ‘foreignization’ (Venuti, 1995; 1998a; 1998b; 1998c; and Berman, 1985) results because texts originally written in Arabic do not ‘hide’ the Israeli role in the violence carried out against the Palestinians; rather, many of these texts expose the Israeli actions while providing excuses for the Palestinian acts of violence conducted against the Israelis. One can therefore claim that by retaining the ideological pattern in the source texts, the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* promote an ideology that is at variance with the one the target text receptors are familiar with. This end-result makes the translators ‘visible’ and the target texts read like a translation.

When the Israeli role in the violence is not completely concealed but is backgrounded and de-emphasised in the source texts, it is observed that twelve out of the 30 ideologically motivated instances of this structure are retained in Arabic. In

reproducing the ‘by phrase’ passives the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* use the following structures: (1) the passive with a prepositional phrase (7 instances); (2) the passive participle (1 instance); and (3) *tamma* and the verbal noun and *min qibal* (4 instances). On examining the aforementioned structures, it becomes clear that, with the exception of structure 3, the syntactic structures adopted to retain the ideologically motivated instances of the ‘by phrase’ passives abide by the conventions of passivization in Arabic. This relatively limited number of the ‘by phrase’ passives that are reproduced in the target texts, however, is not indicative of an ideological shift adopted by the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic*; rather, the analysis reveals that this outcome is a purely linguistic choice that is dictated by the syntactic rules of the Arabic language. This belief is confirmed when one realises that the same syntactic structures are adopted when the ‘by phrase’ structure is used to background the Palestinian actions against the Israelis and fellow Palestinians.

To illustrate how the translators ‘conceal’ and ‘background’ the Israeli acts against the Palestinians, examples from the source and target texts will be provided and discussed.

Example 45

*Barghouti saw Barak's election gambit as one more proof of the uprising success. By his own count, more than 280 Palestinians **have been killed** and as many as 12,000 **injured**.*

(*Newsweek*, December 11, 2000: 19)

يعتبر البرغوثي المناورة الانتخابية التي قام بها باراك الأسبوع الماضي دليلاً آخر على نجاح الانتفاضة. ووفقاً لحساباته فقد قتل أكثر من 280 فلسطينياً وأصيب ما يصل إلى 12,000 غيرهم.

(*Newsweek*, December 12, 2000: 9)

Example 46

*Since the uprising began in September according to the Switzerland-based activist group Defense for Children International, 95 Palestinians **have been killed** and more than 2500 **have been injured**.*

(Newsweek, December 11, 2000: 22)

فمنذ أن بدأت الانتفاضة في سبتمبر الماضي حسب أقوال الجماعة الناشطة للدفاع عن الأطفال حول العالم ومقرها سويسرا قُتل 95 فلسطينياً وأصيب أكثر من 2,500 .

(Newsweek, December 12, 2000: 12)

Example 47

*Once a voting bloc that the Labor leader could count on, Israeli Arabs are threatening to abstain rather than support him. Thirteen of the more than 300 Palestinians **killed** in the recent fighting are Israeli citizens – members of a community that has long complained of second-class treatment in Israel.*

(Newsweek, December 18, 2000: 37)

والعرب الإسرائيليون، الذين كانوا كتلة انتخابية يمكن للزعيم العمالي أن يعتمد على تأييدهم، يحذرون من أنهم سيتمتعون عن التصويت بدلا من تأييده. ثلاثة عشر من الفلسطينيين الـ 300 أو أكثر الذين قُتلوا في الاشتباكات الأخيرة هم من مواطني إسرائيل، وهم أقلية يشكون منذ زمن بعيد من أنهم يعاملون معاملة الدرجة الثانية في إسرائيل.

(Newsweek, December 19, 2000: 8-9)

Example 48

*Bin-Said makes the opposite point: if there is no return to pre-1948 Palestine, there should be no peace. His grandfather fled Beersheba in 1948 after hearing rumors that Jews were massacring Palestinians in adjacent towns. The family packed its possessions overnight and made the trip to Gaza on horses and donkeys. About 700,000 other Palestinians left or **were forced** out of their homeland that year, in what Palestinians call the naqba-Arabic for catastrophe.*

(Newsweek, January 8, 2001: 11)

بن سعيد من جهته يطرح نقطة معاكسة تماما، إذا لم تكن هناك عودة لفلسطين 1948، فينبغي أن لا يكون هناك سلام. فقد كان جده قد هرب من بئر السبع عام 1948 بعد سماعه شائعات أن اليهود يقومون بارتكاب مجازر ضد الفلسطينيين في المدن المجاورة. وقامت العائلة بجمع ممتلكاتها خلال الليل واتجهت إلى غزة على ظهور الخيل والحمير. وقد هرب أو طرد 700,000 فلسطيني آخر من وطنهم في ذلك العام فيما يصفها الفلسطينيون بالناكبة.

(Newsweek, January 9, 2001: 11)

Example 49

*For a decade the Labor Party had a solution to Israel's biggest problem: land for peace. It would give back much of the land **occupied** in the 1967 war and get a peace agreement in return.*

(Newsweek, August 13, 2001: 7)

فلعقد من الزمان كان لدى حزب العمال حل لأكبر مشاكل إسرائيل: الأرض مقابل السلام. وكان ذلك الحل يقوم على إعادة غالبية الأراضي التي احتلت عام 1967 والحصول على اتفاقية سلام في المقابل.

(*Newsweek*, August 14, 2001: 2)

On examining Examples 45-49, it becomes evident that in translating the agentless passive constructions from English into Arabic, the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* 'mimic' the ideological patterns of passivization presented in the source texts. By adopting this translation strategy that shows maximal fidelity to the original texts, the Israeli role in the acts of 'killing', 'injuring', forcing' and 'occupying', is not highlighted, and accordingly this role becomes an issue of no great import. This representation produces translated texts that advocate an ideological pattern that is 'alien' to the target text receptors who are accustomed to modes of representation that expose the Israeli 'atrocities' against the Palestinians and explicitly state the nature and outcome of these 'atrocities' on the other party involved in the conflict. Based on this representational discrepancy between the way the Israelis and Palestinians are usually depicted in the American and the Arab press, one can say that the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* exercise minimal mediation (Hatim and Mason, 1997) in the act of translating the ideological patterns of passivization presented in the source texts. This approach demonstrates how power relations (Fairclough, 1989; 1995; and Fowler, 1991; and Fawcett, 1995) can be exercised in translation. Here, the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* (the subordinate party) exercise power on the readers of the translated texts by determining how to represent the two parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This representation, which shows loyalty to *Newsweek International* (the commissioning agent), ignores the values and beliefs of the text receptors who are presented with the world-views of

the dominant party (*Newsweek International*). Cumulatively, the researcher believes that this preponderance of the passive construction in the translated texts may 'domesticate' a 'foreign' ideology, and hence affect the way the readers of *Newsweek in Arabic* perceive the two parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Example 50

Last week the violence took an ominous new turn, when three Palestinians, including an infant, were killed in a drive-by shooting allegedly carried out by a settler vigilante group calling itself "The Committee for Road Safety."

(*Newsweek*, July 30, 2001:20)

في الأسبوع الماضي، أخذت دورة العنف منحى جديدا مشؤوما حين قتل ثلاثة فلسطينيين من بينهم رضيع في عملية إطلاق نار من سيارة مارة كما يزعم، على يد مستوطن مسلح ينتمي إلى مجموعة للدفاع الذاتي تطلق على نفسها اسم "لجنة السلامة على الطرقات".

(*Newsweek*, July 31, 2001:11)

Example 51

Family members of the victims say the hearings haven't assuaged their grief and anger. For the parents of Ahmad Siam-shot in the head by a sniper's bullet in Umm el-Fahm four days after his 18th birthday-the likelihood that the cops will get off scot-free is just one frustration.

(*Newsweek*, March 5, 2001: 34)

وبالنسبة إلى والدي أحمد صيام، الذي قتل بعد إصابته في رأسه برصاصة قناصة في بلدة أم الفحم بعد أربعة أيام من عيد ميلاده الـ 18 فإن احتمال خروج أفراد الشرطة من هذه المحاكمة من دون أدنى يزيد من إحباطهم .

(*Newsweek*, March 5, 2001: 34)

Example 52

The plan to kill him [Karmi] by remote-controlled bomb was likely conceived by a small group of high officials from military intelligence and Shin Bet.

(*Newsweek*, February 4, 2002: 2)

وعلى الأرجح فإن خطة قتله [الكرمي] عن طريق زرع قنبلة يتم تفجيرها عن بعد قد تم إعدادها من قبل مجموعة صغيرة من كبار المسؤولين في الاستخبارات العسكرية.

(*Newsweek*, February 4, 2002: 3)

In Examples 50 and 51, the writers of *Newsweek International* identify the Israeli role in the actions performed against the Palestinians. However, by using the ‘by phrase’ constructions, these acts are not given much weight. This linguistic choice, therefore, ‘allows a writer or speaker to emphasise his thematic priorities, to emphasise what a text is ‘about’ even when the entities of theme, are strictly speaking semantically subordinate (affected rather than agentive)’ (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 209). To retain this ideologically motivated usage of the ‘by phrase’ construction, the passive form of the verbs and the prepositional phrases introduced by the prepositions *ب، على، في* are used in *Newsweek in Arabic*. This structure produces an end-result that carries the same ideological message conveyed to the source text receivers since there is no explicit reference to the Israeli role in the actions mentioned; instead, the readers are told that the Palestinians are killed by ‘shooting’ *في عملية إطلاق نار* performed by the sniper’s ‘hand’²⁰ *على يد* and it is ‘the sniper’s bullet’ *برصاصة قناصة*, not the sniper, that kills Ahmad Siam.

In Example 52 (cf. Examples 50 and 51), the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* exercise minimal intervention in conveying the ideological significance of the ‘by phrase’ structure by using the ‘coined’ structure *tamma* and the verbal noun and *min qibal* *تم وصيغة المصدر ومن قبل*. This translation strategy, that is a duplicate of the source text linguistic structure, results in a mutilated translation that embraces the source text ideology, but disregards the conventions of Arabic syntax. This disregard for the syntactic conventions of Arabic is evident for the following two reasons: (1) Arabic uses the active construction when the agent is known; and (2) *tamma* and the

²⁰ This is a literal translation of the lexical item used in the Arabic text.

verbal noun structure is used to ‘conceal’ the performer of the action; by adding the phrase *min qibal* من قبل, which has been introduced to Arabic journalistic discourse through translation, the reason underlying the use of *tamma* and the verbal noun is ignored. This translation is thus an example of how fidelity to the source text can produce target texts that are ‘alien’ and ‘unusual’ to the end-receivers. Indeed, it is translations like Example 52 that make some scholars view foreign language interference in the newspapers²¹ as a ‘plague that contaminates the language of today’ (Al-Samarrai, 1979; quoted in Abdelfattah, 1996: 131).

To overcome this negative interference that has resulted due to the ‘fidelity’ to the source text ideology, the following translation is suggested:

Suggested translation

وعلى الأرجح فقد أعدت مجموعة صغيرة من كبار المسؤولين في الاستخبارات العسكرية خطة قتله [الكرمي] عن طريق زرع قنبلة يتم تفجيرها عن بعد.

Back-translation

It is most likely that a small group of high officials from military intelligence and Shin Bet conceived the plan to kill him [Karmi] by a remote-controlled bomb.

Although the suggested translation produces a text that flows smoothly because it ignores the syntactic structure employed in English, the ideological message *Newsweek International* conveys to its readers is reversed. In this translation, the ‘small group of high officials from military intelligence and Shin Bet’ is made the theme of the clause; hence, an agent that is backgrounded and de-emphasised in the

²¹ This view can be extended to include other forms of the Media.

source text becomes foregrounded and emphasised in the target text. The researcher believes that this suggested translation is not considered by the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* because it fails to fulfil the ‘ethics of service’ (Chesterman, 2001: 140) which determines the translation strategies opted for by the translators in accordance with the instructions set by the commissioning agent. Although Chesterman (ibid.) states that this model of translation ethics makes translators ‘loyal above all to the client, but also to the target readers and the original writer’, it is our contention that the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* are loyal to the client and the original writer but not to the readers.

The analysis of the similarities attested in the analysed corpora shows that translation is not always an ‘innocent’ endeavour that is confined to transmitting information between two languages; rather, this act can reflect aspects of power relations between the parties involved in this activity.

Having presented how the ideological patterns of passivization are retained in the target texts, and the implications these renditions have on the translated texts, the next sub-section will look at the differences that have been attested in the process of translating the passive constructions from English into Arabic.

5.4.2 Differences Between the Source and Target Texts

This sub-section examines the shifts that have taken place in translating the ideological patterns of passivization from *Newsweek International* into *Newsweek in Arabic*. This investigation aims at identifying the reasons underlying these shifts and

the impact these deviations have on the ideological messages conveyed to the target text readers.

The overview of passivization in English and Arabic (see Sections 5.1.1.2 and 5.3 respectively) has revealed that there are syntactic, stylistic and functional discrepancies between the way these two languages form and use the passive construction in discourse. With this in mind, one would expect these discrepancies to be manifested in shifts in the translated texts.

A careful examination of the source and target texts indicates that 30 shifts out of the 66 ideologically significant instances of passivization attested in the source language texts undergo a shift in the act of translation. Out of these 30 shifts, 12 are agentless passives and 18 involve the 'by phrase' construction. The fact that more shifts are observed under the 'by phrase' passives is not surprising especially when one bears in mind that a parallel structure is not available in Arabic syntax.

The content analysis of the target texts reveals that the agentless passive shifts attested are grouped under the following syntactic structures: (1) the active construction المبنى للمعلوم (4 instances); (2) *tamma* and the verbal noun تم وصيغة المصدر (6 instances); (3) the verbal adjective with the pattern *fa'ʔl* فعيل (1 instance); and (4) *nomina actionis* اسم الفعل (1 instance).

A close examination of these syntactic structures is revealing for two main reasons. First, the limited number of shifts that are grouped under the active construction

indicates that the ideological pattern prevalent in the English texts (concealing the Israeli role in the acts against the Palestinians) is maintained in the target texts. In fact, only two out of the four observed active instances are ideologically oriented; the other two are purely stylistic in nature. Second, although all the aforementioned syntactic structures are considered active constructions in form, the last three structures express a passive meaning; indeed, when these constructions are used in Arabic discourse, the agent performing the action is left unspecified (see Section 5.3). Although by choosing these structures, the agentless passive is not retained in the target texts, the ideological messages intended by the writers of *Newsweek International* are reproduced using other forms that convey the same meaning expressed in the original.

With regards the shifts attested under the 'by phrase' construction, it is observed that 17 out of the 18 shifts noted involve replacing the 'by phrase' structure with the active construction; the remaining shift involves the syntactic structure *tamma* and the verbal noun *تم وصيغة المصدر*. It is also worth noting that when the active construction is used to replace the 'by phrase' passives, the agents in the English passive clauses (the Israelis and agents associated with this party) become the subject of an independent clause (10 instances) or the subject of a relative clause (7 instances); consequently, these selected structures result in the production of an ideological pattern that is inconsistent with the one originally presented to the readers of *Newsweek International*. However, the researcher believes that this shift is not ideologically intentional on the part of the translators, but is dictated by the syntactic structures and stylistic conventions of Arabic.

In what follows, excerpts drawn from *Newsweek International* and *Newsweek in Arabic* will be presented to illustrate the effects the predominant shifts have on the translated texts and the target text readership.

Example 53

Israel has expropriated much of Beit Jala's land since it captured the West Bank in 1967, and the town continues to be squeezed; Gilo, the target of recent sniper fire, sits largely on land expropriated from Beit Jalan owners.

(*Newsweek*, November 27, 2001: 58)

صادرت إسرائيل كثيرا من أراضي بيت جالا منذ استيلائها على الضفة الغربية عام 1967، وما زالت البلدة تتعرض لمزيد من فقدان الأرض. وتقع غيلو، التي تستهدفها نيران القناصة في الأونة الأخيرة، على أراضي صادرت إسرائيل معظمها من أصحابها العرب في بيت جالا.

(*Newsweek*, November 28, 2001: 16)

Back-translation

Israel has expropriated much of Beit Jala's land since it captured the West Bank in 1967, and the town continues to be squeezed; Gilo, the target of recent sniper fire, sits largely on land Israel expropriated from Beit Jalan owners.

Example 54

In return, Beilin agreed to relinquish nearly all of the West Bank occupied in the 1967 war, including the strategic Jordan Valley.

(*Newsweek*, September 25, 2000: 51)

وفي المقابل ، وافق بيلين على التخلي عن كامل أراضي الضفة الغربية، تقريبا التي كانت قد احتلتها إسرائيل خلال حرب 1967 بما في ذلك منطقة وادي الأردن الاستراتيجية.

(*Newsweek*, September 26, 2000: 13-14)

Back-translation

In return, Beilin agreed to relinquish nearly all of the West Bank that Israel occupied in the 1967 war, including the strategic Jordan Valley.

Examining the English excerpts of Examples 53 and 54 indicates that the writers of

Newsweek International leave causality unspecified, and hence obfuscate the Israeli actions. This representation, however, is altered and ‘domesticated’ (Venuti, 1995; 1998a; 1998b; and 1998c) in the Arabic texts by using the active construction which enables the translators to explicitly express the Israeli role in the acts of ‘expropriation’ and ‘conquering’ of Palestinian land. These translated texts make the translators ‘invisible’ to the target text readership since they abide by the modes of representation prevalent in the Arab press. This shift, which entails maximal mediation (Hatim and Mason, 1997) on the part of the translators reveals that this team’s beliefs and values pertaining to the Israelis and Palestinians will sometimes feed into the translated texts despite their loyalty to the source texts. In such cases, translation succeeds in acting ‘as a gatekeeper’ (Delabastita, 1990: 98) because the values of the source culture are monitored and are not transmitted to the target culture.

Example 55

*Hot air and dust blast through the open windows; the temperature soars above 110 degrees. Soldiers stop him²² twice at roadblocks and check his load; a road he normally takes has **been bulldozed**, closed because of a morning shooting; a long line of Palestinian cars wait at one checkpoint for an hour as soldiers frisk a busload of civilians.*

(*Newsweek*, July 30, 2001: 22)

ينفج الهواء الساخن وتتطاير حبيبات الغبار إلى داخل السيارة عبر النوافذ المفتوحة وترتفع الحرارة لتتجاوز 110 فهرنهايت. ولمرتين، يوقفه الجنود عند الحواجز ويتحققون من حمولته. فالطريق التي كان يسلكها عادة خربتها الجرافات وأغلقت بسبب تبادل إطلاق النار في الصباح.

(*Newsweek*, July 31, 2001: 12)

Unlike Examples 53 and 54, the active construction used in translating Example 55 is used for stylistic purposes and is not ideologically oriented. In Arabic, the concept

²² The pronoun ‘him’ refers to a Palestinian trucker.

of bulldozing cannot be presented in the language without mentioning the instrument responsible for the act of destruction; for this reason, the translator has supplemented the verb *خرّب* (to destroy) with the noun *الجرافات* (bulldozers), thus changing the passive construction into the active construction in the translated text. However, this partial mediation (Hatim and Mason, 1997) does not make explicit the agent who used the bulldozers to destroy ‘the road normally taken by Saleh’. By leaving causality unspecified, the translators do not acknowledge the Israeli participation in the event of bulldozing, and thus present a target text that is milder in tone than a text originally written in Arabic. Indeed, texts originally written for the Arab press would most probably read *فالتريق التي كان يسلكها عادة خربتها الجرافات الإسرائيلية* (the road he normally takes was bulldozed by Israeli bulldozers); unlike the message conveyed to the readers of *Newsweek in Arabic*, this presentation is more direct, for it explicitly specifies the Israeli bulldozers’ role in the acts of destruction that make life difficult for the Palestinians.

Example 56²³

The hard truth is, their return [Palestinian refugees] is far from likely. In what may be the endgame of Israeli-Palestinian peacemaking, Sami Bin Said's future and that of 4 million other Palestinian refugees scattered across the Arab world stand as an enormous obstacle, a problem that could prove even more intractable than, the division of Jerusalem. The refugees' homes were seized or destroyed long ago; many of their villages have been razed. Even the most dovish Israelis reject a return of Palestinian refugees as demographic suicide for the Jewish state.

(*Newsweek*, January 8, 2001: 10)

ولكن الحقيقة القاسية هي أن عودتهم أبعد ما يكون عن أن تكون مرجحة. ففيما قد تكون نهاية المطاف في عملية صنع السلام الإسرائيلي الفلسطيني، فإن مستقبل سامي بن سعيد ومستقبل 4 ملايين لاجئ فلسطيني غيره مشتتتين في طول العالم العربي وعرضه، يمثل عقبة هائلة، مشكلة يمكن أن تثبت أنها تستعصي على الحل أكثر حتى من تقسيم

²³ Back-translations are not provided for these examples because the structure *tamma* and the verbal noun is translated as a passive structure in English.

القدس. فمنازل اللاجئين تم الاستيلاء عليها أو تدميرها منذ زمن بعيد، وتمت إزالة العديد من قراهم.

(*Newsweek*, January 9, 2001: 10)

Example 57

At 8 a.m. Abu Ulbah plowed his bus into a crowd of Israeli soldiers at Azur Junction near Tel Aviv, killing eight and injuring 38; he was later wounded²⁴ and captured after a high-speed chase.

(*Newsweek*, February 26, 2001: 36)

وفي الثامنة صباحا، حرت بحافلته [أبو علبه] حشدا من الجنود الإسرائيليين عند تقاطع أزور قرب تل أبيب قاتلا ثمانية و مصيبا 38 : ثم أصيب بجراح وتم اعتقاله بعد مطاردة حافلته التي كانت منطلقة بأقصى سرعتها.

(*Newsweek*, February 27, 2001: 14)

Examples 56 and 57, illustrate once again how the writers of *Newsweek International* use the agentless passive construction to conceal the Israeli acts of 'seizing', 'destroying', 'razing' and 'capturing' that are conducted against the Palestinians. In the act of translating Examples 56 and 57, the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* choose to transmit the ideological significance of the agentless passive using the active construction *tamma* and the verbal noun تم وصيغة المصدر which is frequently used in Media Arabic (Ashtiany, 1993; and Holes, 1995). By choosing this structure, the translators achieve two goals: (1) they produce target texts that meet the end-receivers expectations from a syntactic and stylistic perspective; and (2) they convey to the Arab audience the values adopted by the writers of *Newsweek International*. One can therefore claim that this close adherence to the values presented in the source texts illustrates how cultural globalization of the American values (Ḥawās, 2002) can be realised through translation. This outcome reveals once again the

²⁴ This instance of agentless passive is not considered in this context since it has been retained in the target text.

'hidden' relations of power that govern some of the commissioned translation activities.

Example 58

In the streets of Khan Younis, Rafah and other towns, Hamas and Islamic Jihad are gaining increasing support-much as Hizbullah did in the poor Shiite suburbs of West Beirut. Here whole neighborhoods have been "shaved" by Israeli tanks and bulldozers seeking to create open fields of fire.

(Newsweek, June 11, 2001: 57)

هناك الكثير الذي لا يستطيع دحلان أن يوقفه، إن حماس والجهاد الإسلامي، يكسبان تأييدا متزايدا في شوارع خان يونس ورفح ومدن أخرى مثلما حظي به حزب الله في الضواحي الشيعية الفقيرة في بيروت الغربية. وهنا "أزلت" الدبابات الإسرائيلية أحياء بأكملها سعيا لإقامة ميادين مفتوحة للنيران.

(Newsweek, June 11, 2001: 12)

Back-translation

In the streets of Khan Younis, Rafah and other towns, Hamas and Islamic Jihad are gaining increasing support-much as Hizbullah did in the poor Shiite suburbs of West Beirut. Here Israeli tanks and bulldozers have shaved whole neighborhoods seeking to create open fields of fire.

Example 59

A Hasidic Jew, Rogin is consumed with preparations to rebuild the Jewish temple. He's not terribly concerned that two of Islam's holiest mosques occupy the spot now; they will somehow disappear. (Over the years, several plots have been launched by Jewish extremists-and foiled by Israeli authorities-to destroy the mosques).

(Newsweek, July 24, 2000: 23)

تستحوذ على ذهن روغين، الذي ينتمي إلى طائفة يهودية متدينة جدا، فكرة التحضير لإعادة بناء الهيكل اليهودي. ولا يهيمه أن اثنين من أقدس مقدسات الإسلام يحتلان الموقع نفسه الآن، فهما سيختفيان بشكل ما في نظره. (قام المتطرفون اليهود على مدى السنين الماضية بعدة مؤتمرات لتدمير مسجد الصخرة والمسجد الأقصى، لكن السلطات الإسرائيلية أحبطتها).

(Newsweek, July 24, 2000: 15)

Back-translation

A Hasidic Jew, Rogin is consumed with preparations to rebuild the Jewish temple. He's not terribly concerned that two of Islam's holiest mosques occupy the spot now; they will somehow disappear. (Over the years, Jewish extremists have launched several plots-and foiled by Israeli authorities-to destroy the mosques).

Example 60

Arafat, who was penned up by Israeli tanks in his own headquarters on the West Bank, needed help from Sheikh Ahmad Yasin, spiritual leader of the radical Hamas movement.

(Newsweek, December 31, 2001-January 7, 2002: 18)

فقد كان الرئيس عرفات، الذي احتجزته الدبابات الإسرائيلية في مقره في الضفة الغربية، يحتاج إلى مساعدة من الشيخ أحمد ياسين الزعيم الروحي لحركة حماس الراديكالية.

(Newsweek, December 31, 2001-January 7, 2002: 18)

Back-translation

Arafat, who the Israeli tanks have pinned down in his own headquarters on the West Bank, needed help from Sheikh Ahmad Yasin, spiritual leader of the radical Hamas movement.

Example 61

Leading a visitor past polished slabs inscribed in Arabic, Hassan Jaffarey, 55, the gravedigger who has buried every one of the dead, points out some of the newer arrivals: the 9-year-old shot by Israeli snipers in his parents' home.

(Newsweek, April 9 2001: 26)

ويشير حفار القبور حسن الجعفري-55 عاما- الذي دفن كل هؤلاء الموتى وهو يقود أحد الزوار مارا بالشرائح الرخامية اللامعة التي نقشت الأسماء عليها باللغة العربية إلى بعض الواصلين الجدد: ابن الأعوام التسعة الذي قتلته القناصة الإسرائيليون في منزل والديه.

(Newsweek, April 10, 2001: 18)

Back-translation

Leading a visitor past polished slabs inscribed in Arabic, Hassan Jaffarey, 55, the gravedigger who has buried every one of the dead, points out some of the newer arrivals: the 9-year-old that the Israeli snipers had shot in his parents' home.

Example 62

What Arafat could not do at Camp David and still cannot do is abandon the founding claim of the PLO-that Palestinians displaced by Israel in 1948 be allowed to return home.

(Newsweek, April 9, 2001: 2)

فالذي لم يستطع عرفات أن يفعله في كامب ديفيد، ولا يزال غير قادر على أن يقدم عليه، هو التخلي عن المطلب التأسيسي لمنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية (ببها آل أو)، السماح للفلسطينيين الذين طردتهم إسرائيل عام 1948 بالعودة إلى ديارهم.

(Newsweek, April 10, 2001: 2)

Back-translation

*What Arafat could not do at Camp David and still cannot do is abandon the founding claim of the PLO-that Palestinians **that Israel displaced** in 1948 be allowed to return home.*

Example 63

*Under a fierce sun, the gravedigger continues his tour of the cemetery, pointing out the grave of a 3-year-old who died in his mother's arms, **two friends who were blown into pieces by a tank shell** in February.*

(*Newsweek*, April 9, 2001: 26)

فتحت أشعة الشمس الحارقة يواصل حفار القبور جولته على المقبرة مشيراً إلى قبر طفل في الثالثة من عمره قتل وهو بين ذراعي أمه وقبري صديقين مزقت جسديهما قذيفة دبابة إسرائيلية.

(*Newsweek*, April 10, 2001: 19)

Back-translation

*Under a fierce sun, the gravedigger continues his tour of the cemetery, pointing out the grave of a 3-year-old who died in his mother's arms, two friends, whose bodies, **an Israeli tank shell had blown** into pieces in February.*

In Examples 58-62, the 'Israeli tanks and bulldozers', the 'Jewish extremists', the 'Israeli tanks' and 'Israel', respectively are placed in 'an informationally de-emphasised position' (Fairclough, 1995: 26). Hence, the writers put more emphasis on the persons and things affected by the action ('whole neighborhoods', 'plots', 'Arafat', '9-year-old' and 'Palestinians'), while the actors performing the actions are backgrounded. In the process of translating the 'by phrase' structures, the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* choose to ignore the structure used in the source texts and adhere to the syntactic conventions of Arabic by using the active construction. In doing so, the theme in Arabic is changed since the backgrounded agents in the English texts are emphasised and foregrounded in the translated texts. Although these shifts produce texts that express two distinct ideological messages, it is the researcher's contention that this end-result is not motivated especially when one

compares these excerpts with Example 63.

In Example 63, one can claim that an ideologically motivated shift is observed in the act of translating the values and beliefs of the writers of the source text. In this excerpt, the word 'Israelis' is added to specify which 'tank shell blew into pieces the bodies of the two friends'. Therefore, the Israeli 'atrocities' are emphasised and the readers are confronted with a text that is not as 'mystifying' as the original. However, it has to be pointed out that even when the ideology presented in the source text is not respected in the process of translation, the message carried to the target text receptors is nonetheless toned down by placing the agent قذيفة دبابة إسرائيلية (Israeli tank shell) at the end of the sentence and not immediately after the predicate. This shift in word order is corroborative evidence that even when the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* try to 'domesticate' the ideology presented to the target readers, the 'skopos' set by the 'powerful participant' (*Newsweek International*) controls the nature of the message carried to the readers of the translated texts.

Having discussed the shifts attested in the process of translating the ideologically significant patterns of passivization from English into Arabic, one can say that the majority of these shifts adhere to the syntactic conventions of Arabic; however, one cannot claim that these diversions are ideologically motivated, and hence are undertaken by the translators to challenge the ideology originally presented to the source text readers. In fact, it is observed that the syntactic and stylistic conventions of Arabic dictate many of these shifts.

5.5 Conclusion

This Chapter has illustrated how the linguistic choices writers make in the production of media texts are not haphazard, but can encode different ideological messages. The ideological significance associated with the linguistic choices text producers make has, in turn, revealed that the language of the media is not 'neutral' and 'unbiased' (Fowler, 1991 and Fairclough, 1989; 1995); rather, it becomes evident that the language used in this genre plays a pivotal role in challenging and shaping the way readers, listeners or viewers perceive the world.

This, however, does not entail that the linguistic choices opted for are always ideologically motivated and that the ideological representations in the media are explicit in discourse. In fact, the analysis of the selected corpora shows that a preponderance of a linguistic tool in texts is not always indicative of a particular ideology and that the same linguistic tool may have a variety of ideological connotations in different texts (Fowler, 1991). The analysis has also confirmed Fairclough's (1995: 44-45) claim that 'ideological representations are generally implicit rather than explicit in texts and are embedded in ways of using language which are naturalized and commonsensical for reporters, audiences and various categories of third parties.'

As regards the analysis of the translated texts, it is observed yet again (see Chapters Three and Four) that the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* choose a source-text oriented approach in the process of translating the ideological instances of passivization from English into Arabic. By doing so, many ideologically significant

messages conveyed to the source text readers are carried over to the target text recipients to fulfil the 'skopos' (Vermeer, 1989) set by the commissioning agent. As a result, the Arab readers are sometimes confronted with texts that are linguistically 'domesticated' but ideologically 'foreignized' since these translated texts do not adhere to the traditions of representation common in the written Arab press, or to the 'reality' to which they adhere.

This close adherence to the source texts also demonstrates how power relations can be exercised in the act of translating between languages. If this claim is applied to the analysed corpora, one can say that the 'powerful participant' (*Newsweek International*) dictates how *Newsweek in Arabic* (the non-powerful participant) transmits the information originally presented to the source text readership to the Arab audiences. This power play indicates that translation is not merely a 'neutral' act that entails transferring information between languages (Fawcett, 1995). In fact, the analysis conducted in this Chapter has demonstrated that translation can play a crucial role in assimilating linguistic constructions as well as beliefs and values that are 'alien' to the translated text receptors; an end-result that the researcher thinks may, in the long term, challenge and reshape how the readers of *Newsweek in Arabic* perceive the world.

Indeed, this belief concerning the effect of translation on the regular readers of *Newsweek in Arabic* can be supported by Al-Jassem's comment in which he states that 'he, unlike the readers unfamiliar with *Newsweek in Arabic*, finds the translated texts easy to comprehend and has become accustomed to the style the magazine

employs'. Also, the researcher has noted that she has subconsciously assimilated the terminology used to present the Palestinian fighters and has used on a number of occasions the term الانتحاريين (suicide bombers) in discussions that revolve around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Needless to say, not only was the researcher's usage of the term met with disapproval, but it also angered some of the participants taking part in the discussions.

Conclusion

The final part of the thesis provides a summary of the findings that have been discussed throughout the study in relation to the translated texts in *Newsweek in Arabic*.

The present study has tried to investigate how the overt cohesive devices, the ideological images pertaining to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam, and the ideologically motivated instances of passivization as presented in *Newsweek International*, have been rendered in Arabic. In doing so, the aim has been to examine the following three interrelated issues: (1) the strategies of translation adopted in the act of reworking the texts from English into Arabic; (2) the reasons underlying the adoption of these translation strategies; and (3) the impact these strategies have on the translated texts and the receptors of these texts. The analysis of the empirical data has revealed a number of points in this regard:

1. General Findings

1) In analysing the target language texts, insights provided by the models of translation derived from the disciplines of linguistics and cultural studies have contributed to our understanding of the translation decisions undertaken by the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic*. This has indicated that the aforementioned models of translation are complementary and are not in opposition, as suggested by some of the proponents of the cultural studies approach to translation (Baker, 1996).

2) The analyses of the target texts have revealed that there is a tendency to retain the

cohesive devices, the ideological images pertaining to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam and the ideological instances of passivization used in *Newsweek International* in *Newsweek in Arabic*. As a result, the Arab readers are presented with texts that employ intersentential cohesive devices that fail to adhere to the syntactic and the stylistic conventions of Arabic discourse and represent beliefs and values about the aforementioned regions and religion that are 'alien' to them.

3) The findings have reiterated Jacquemond's (1992: 155) proposition which states that 'in translation from a hegemonic language-culture into a dominated one, the translator appears as the servile mediator through whom foreign-made linguistic-cultural objects are integrated without question into his own dominated language-culture' (Chapters Three, Four and Five).

4) The analyses of the target texts have indicated that translator knowledge of the 'skopos' does not necessarily result in successful translations; rather, it has been observed that close adherence to the 'skopos' may produce mutilated translated texts that are difficult to comprehend.

5) It has appeared that translation is not a 'neutral', 'innocent' activity that merely entails the rendition of texts between two languages and cultures. Indeed, the findings have shown that translation is an endeavour that involves the exercise of 'hidden' political agendas and power relations between the parties involved in the act of translation (Chapters Four and Five).

2. Findings Pertaining to the Target Language Texts

1) Maximal adherence to the linguistic conventions of English and the modes of representation in the written American press, has indicated that the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* have adopted a source-text oriented approach (Toury, 1980; 1995) in the act of translating *Newsweek International*.

Linguistically, this has produced texts that exhibit cohesion interference, and hence are 'adequate' but not 'acceptable' to the receptors of the Arabic version of *Newsweek*. By reproducing the cohesive devices used in the source texts in the target texts, the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* ignore the discursual conventions of Arabic and fail to convey the functional meaning of the cohesive devices originally presented to the readers of *Newsweek International*.

Ideologically, 'faithful' adherence to the source texts has 'foreignized' the translated texts instead of 'domesticating' them (Venuti, 1995; 1998a; 1998b; 1998c; Schleiermacher, 1992; Berman, 1985; among others). Consequently, one finds that many of the target texts read like a translation and fail, in a number of cases, to meet the readers' expectations.

Since English and Arabic belong to two languages and cultures that employ linguistic features and express ideological beliefs and values very differently, it is initially surprising to find that a source-text oriented approach to translation is adopted in the act of translating *Newsweek International*. However, this adherence to the source texts can be explained once the 'skopos' set by *Newsweek International*

is identified. This 'skopos' specifies that the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* show 'maximal' fidelity to the original texts; in fact, *Newsweek International* emphasises that this strategy should be adopted even if this means achieving 'accuracy' at the expense of 'acceptability' (Al-Jassem, 2003).

The aforementioned 'skopos', which aims at conveying to the target text recipients the linguistic conventions of English and the beliefs and values of the writers of *Newsweek International*, has confirmed the argument put forward by the proponents of the target-text approach to translation and the proponents of the cultural studies approach to translation. The former approach emphasises that in order to produce translated texts that are easily comprehensible by the end-recipients, translators should take into consideration the norms and conventions of the target language. Therefore, in translating the reference items, for example, the translators have to subscribe to the syntactic and stylistic mores of reference in Arabic to avoid the production of texts that do not flow smoothly and require additional processing effort. The latter approach emphasises the 'hidden' political agendas and relations of power exercised in many acts of translation. Hence, in the analysed corpora, the 'powerful party' (*Newsweek International*) exercises power over the 'less powerful party' (*Newsweek in Arabic*) by dictating the translation strategies adopted by the team working for the Arabic edition; also, by adhering blindly to the source language texts, the linguistic features as well as the beliefs and values of the 'dominant party' (America) are imposed on the 'dominated party' (the Arab world).

2) Although a source-text oriented approach is adopted in translating the cohesive

devices, the ideological images pertaining to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam and the ideological instances of passivization a limited number of shifts have been observed in the act of translating *Newsweek International* from English into Arabic.

On analysing these shifts, it has been noted that they can be divided into two categories: (1) general shifts; and (2) specific shifts. Whereas the former are common ground shifts that apply to the linguistic features and the ideological images analysed in this study, the latter are associated with one of the aforementioned analysed components.

With regard to the general shifts, three findings have been observed. First, the mismatches attested between the source and target texts have confirmed that shifts are inevitable in translation processes, and hence constitute 'a true universal of translation'. Second, it has been found that the shifts observed alter the messages the writers of *Newsweek International* originally intended to convey to the source text readers; this means that the target text readers are presented with new messages that may not carry the same functional and ideological connotations experienced by the recipients of the English texts. Third, although these shifts alter the messages conveyed to the receptors of the translated texts, many of them result in texts that adhere to the syntactic and stylistic conventions of Arabic discourse and provide modes of representation and ideological images that are familiar to the Arab audience.

On examining the specific shifts, the following findings have been made:

a) A number of points are noted regarding the shifts that involve the cohesive devices. First, some of the shifts attested are obligatory, while others are optional. Whereas the former are dictated by the syntactic and stylistic conventions of Arabic and cannot be avoided, the latter reveal the translators' stylistic preferences.

Second, different shift patterns are attested for the analysed cohesive devices. Some of these shifts are more prominent than others, and hence form tendencies in the analysed corpora.

Third, some of the shift patterns observed, especially in the case of rendering the reference items, produce target texts that are more explicit than the source texts. This results because the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* replace the cohesive device(s) used in *Newsweek International* with ones that are considered more explicit in Arabic. This finding confirms the 'explicitation hypothesis' (Blum-Kulka, 1986) which states that in the act of reworking texts between languages, the translated texts tend to be more explicit than the source texts.

Fourth, some of the shifts alter the functional meanings of the cohesive devices that the text producers intended to convey to the readers of *Newsweek International*. As a result, the readers of *Newsweek in Arabic* are presented with pragmatic meanings that are unlike the ones presented in the originals.

Finally, some of the shifts result in chain relations that are different from the ones used in the source texts. These discrepancies between the chain relations employed

in the source and target texts do not necessarily disrupt text comprehension; indeed, they confirm that different languages and discourse types prefer using certain cohesive devices in the creation of cohesive texts.

b) The shifts that involve the ideological images pertaining to the Arabs, Muslims and Islam are divided into three main categories: replacement, omission and addition. The first two shifts are ideologically oriented and involve the revision or deletion of an ideological image originally presented to the source text readers. The last type of shift is not always ideologically motivated and is conducted for two main reasons: (1) to correct information presented in the original texts; and (2) to provide the Arab readers with additional information concerning the subject-matter presented. These ideologically oriented shifts have revealed that censorship is inherent in the process of translating texts between two cultures that express world-views, beliefs and values differently.

c) The shifts that have been noted with the ideologically motivated instances of passivization are mainly obligatory in nature, and this explains why the majority of these shifts involve the 'by phrase' passives. Indeed, the shifts attested are not ideologically oriented since they are not conducted to convey to the target text readers a different ideology than the one presented to the source text readers. The analysis has also revealed that in rendering some of the agentless passive constructions, the translators of *Newsweek in Arabic* have chosen active constructions, like *tamma* and the verbal noun *تم وصيغة المصدر*, that express a passive meaning. In such cases, although a syntactic shift is attested, the intended

ideological messages expressed in the source texts are carried over to the target text receivers.

The present research has tried to show that the models of translation derived from the disciplines of linguistics and cultural studies both contribute to our understanding of the translation choices undertaken in the act of reworking journalistic texts, like *Newsweek International*, from English into Arabic. It has also tried to reveal that in translating from a dominant language-culture into a dominated one, the linguistic features and ideological representations of the former are transferred as closely as possible to the target text recipients. However, my study is merely an attempt at examining the abovementioned aspects; studies that cover a wide range of genres are needed to provide a better understanding of the main issues that this thesis has tried to investigate.

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