An exploration into the semiotic rationale for gender shifts in English-Arabic literary translation

AN EXPLORATION INTO THE SEMIOTIC RATIONALE FOR GENDER SHIFTS IN ENGLISH-ARABIC LITERARY TRANSLATION

THE CASE OF TONI MORRISON'S *THE BLUEST EYE*

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ABSTRACT

The present doctoral thesis is an investigation into the underlying semiotic and socio-cultural connotations of gender shifts in literary translation from English into Arabic, thereby simultaneously addressing the research question of whether these shifts are norm-governed, optional, or obligatory, that is, dictated by the rules of Arabic. Drawing on research into translational shifts, descriptive approaches to translation, as well as semiotics and sociology, the research employs a comparative and analytical methodology, which is based mainly on van Leuven-Zwart's shift model, for the analysis of the primary corpus which incorporates Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* and its two Arabic translations. It also utilizes a confirmatory corpus-based approach for the understanding of how norms and rules of gender are manifested in the Arabic literary tradition(s). Different patterns of shift are identified as regards the gender preferences or obligations on the part of the translator which contribute to his gender choices, which both demonstrate the problematic nature of gender relations in Arabic as well as highlight the translator's active role in the act of translation. This project aims to make a useful contribution to existing research in the areas of descriptive translation studies and shifts analysis, as well as corpus-based approaches to translational shifts in general and gender shifts in particular. The analysis reveals the challenges facing translators when gender issues are concerned and suggests that gender shifts are more affected by norms and idiosyncrasies than grammatical rules.

I DEDICATE this

to the mourning woman, crying by the red river,

Under the scarred olive tree,

Where her children were buried.

My words won't end your sorrows,

Or heal your wounds,

Nor will they redeem the tears.

But they are all I have got, mother,

When there's nothing else to say,

And nothing more desolate to live with.

Syria, my mother, my open wound, my dream:

I know you'll rise;

I know you'll rise!

Lina

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BT	Back translation
DTS	Descriptive Translation Studies
F	Feminine gender
f. pl.	Feminine plural
f. sing	Feminine singular
GM	Generic male
M	Masculine gender
m. pl.	Masculine plural
m. sing.	Masculine singular
m/c	Minor change in meaning
M/C	Major change in meaning
N	Neutral gender
N/C	No change in meaning despite shift
Ob/S	Obligatory shift
Op/S	Optional shift
P	Preserved ST form
R/C	Radical change in meaning
SL	Source language
ST	Source text
TBE	*The Bluest Eye*
TL	Target language
TT	Target text
TT95	Target text (published 1995)
TT97	Target text (published 1997)
X	No Shift detected

ARABIC TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

Material in Arabic has been used to a minimum; English glosses have been provided. However, when it is felt that a particular item needs to be quoted in the original, Arabic transliteration is used. Thus, the following system, also found in Hatim (1997), has been employed.

Arabic	Transliteration	Arabic	Transliteration
أ	a	ط	T
ب	b	ظ	Z
ت	T	ع	،
ث	Th	غ	GH
ج	J	ف	f
ح	H	ق	q
خ	Kh	ك	K
د	D	ل	L
ذ	Dh	م	M
ر	R	ن	N
ز	Z	ه	H
س	S	و	W
ش	Sh	ي	Y
ص	S	ء	,
ض	D		

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

1.1 General outline

The present thesis is an investigation into the underlying socio-cultural connotations of and rationale for gender shifts in literary translation from English into Arabic. This investigation is cross-disciplinary in that it addresses a translational problem, but it does so by drawing on research into gender studies, as well as semiotic approaches to translated texts. This study employs an empirical, product-oriented, corpus-based approach which helps establish links between the primary texts analysed in this study and literary, non-translated texts in Arabic. This is believed to be key to understanding the nature of the gender shifts recorded by this research and situate them in their socio-cultural and literary milieu.

The aim of the present study is to conduct a semiotic analysis of gender shifts which occur in literary translation between English and Arabic, which captures many of the insights of previous work, particularly van Leuven-Zwart's model (1989, 1990), and may yet hold an explanatory potential for the occurrence of the shifts in question. The study hypothesizes a link between the various kinds of shifts found when comparing Toni Morrison's (1970) *The Bluest Eye* (referred to as *TBE* in this thesis) and its two Arabic translations, which constitute my primary corpus, and the Arabic translators' decision, informed by their gender ideologies, to detach themselves from the signification channels with which they are familiar on the socio-semiotic level. It is suggested that this link can be better elucidated by applying a control corpus-based approach to the translations in question. This confirmatory analysis is believed to reveal aspects about gender use and relations in Arabic writing which may provide some insight into the translators' decisions which culminated in the shifts recorded by the primary analysis.

This study will first of all endeavour to pinpoint the techniques which were opted for by the translators of *TBE* in their Arabic translations and the translational shifts that these techniques create in the target texts; and secondly to arrive at some possible realization of the underlying ideological and socio-semiotic structures that, in general, characterize gender shifts in translated texts. It will also address the problems that are

usually encountered in the process of translating gender forms into Arabic, and the available ways for understanding them and the changes they create in the target text in terms of its gender relations.

The data in question are relevant to this study because the novel is written by an acclaimed feminist and is generally considered to be a feminist text. Further, they provide examples of gender forms necessary for carrying out the semiotic analysis of shifts proposed in the present study. This semiotic analysis will examinethe following hypothesis:

> Gender shifts are fundamentally semiotic[1]. The translator is first and foremost a social player in the process of translating. This role is manifest in his/her decision (whether conscious or not)to detach him-/herself from the socially entrenched signification channels available in their own culture which govern the act of translation via the power of social and linguistic norms, not rules.

In other words, the problem is seen primarily as a semiotic issue, brought on at times by a translator's preference for playing a 'social role' rather than a linguistic role, which is characterised by a socio-semiotic need to 'fulfil a function allotted by a community' (Toury, 1995: 53). Translators associate certain signifiers, i.e. gendered expressions, with fixed signifieds[2] (in terms of, for example, femaleness or maleness or both), thereby, mostly without realising it, going against a general post-structuralist consensus which sees signs and signifieds as never static, never fixed.

For the sake of examining the above hypothesis, it should be noted that gender use will be treated as a 'sign' which has a meaning and a semiotic function in the texts under examination.

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[1]Drawing on various semiotic notions, the chapters below (2 and 4, in particular) will demonstrate the connections between shifts as a descriptive category (section 3.3) and semiotics as a descriptive and analytical approach. What is more is the role of semiotics in revealing the semiotic role which a translator plays in injecting into the target text a gender-fuelled ideology. These links will be made clear in the following chapters. Because semiotics is believed to provide an explanation to the translators' gender behaviour, I maintain that gender shifts are fundamentally semiotic, in that they can best be explained in a semiotic light.

[2] See Derrida (1978).

Keeping the above in mind, the study seeks to address the following research questions:

1. Are shifts of translation governed by socio-linguistic norms or are they determined by social and linguistic rules?
2. Can semiotics provide a sound theoretical explanation for the occurrence of these shifts and their underlying socio-linguistic gender implications?
3. In what ways do the techniques adopted by the Arabic translators inform our understanding of social and grammatical gender relations in Arabic?
4. Do the strategies of the Arabic translators of *TBE* reflect the literary techniques adopted by the Arabic writers in the ArabiCorpus?

In order to answer these questions, the study has the following objectives:
- ❖ to develop a multidisciplinary theoretical framework capable of investigating gender use and forms and bringing work on gender from levels of abstraction to detailed practical and empirical analyses;
- ❖ to design a taxonomy of shifts in the translation of gender which would build on previous work but offer a more explanatory semiotic-oriented analysis;
- ❖ to develop the notion of 'gender' in translation and show its actual manifestation in the translation techniques adopted, while endeavouring to go beyond immediate denotations on the microstrcutural level of texts and into the connotations on the macrostructural level[3];
- ❖ to explore gender shifts as descriptive categories, and not as ideological threats to the target text and context, and thus determine whether the translation strategies adopted by the translators of *TBE* in dealing with gender forms are the manifestation of a specific ideological orientation, whether their own, the ideology of translation or the ideology of the target culture;
- ❖ to identify the common text strategies that are used by Arab writers in relation to gender forms and relations by employing an ArabiCorpus-based approach which would help us find out whether the strategies of the Arabic translators of *TBE* intersect with the literary techniques of the Arabic writers.

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[3] These are the two levels on which van Leuven-Zwart conducted her shift analysis (see section 3.3.1).

The following section states the problem that this research addresses and presents the techniques adopted in addressing it. It also clarifies one preliminary question: why did I decide to study these data in particular (the original and translated novel by Toni Morrison)?

1.2 Introducing the data and rationale for selection

The Bluest Eye (1970) was Toni Morrison's first novel. However, it is 'anything but a novice work' (Bloom, 2010: 7). The novel examines issues of black women's struggle to either find their identities or start seeing them in a new light. The search for self-identity and self-knowledge becomes even more difficult for black women who, in terms of slavery, were considered an animal or a piece of property. In most of Morrison's works, women, particularly black, are seen as struggling with the patriarchal worlds in order to achieve a sense of self and identity (ibid.: 7-9). Rape, patriarchal dominance, and colonial notions of white supremacy become instruments for silencing, marginalizing, and destroying black women's sense of belonging. Morrison aims to explore these patriarchal plots that seem to label women as agents of silence, absence, and madness (ibid.).

My decision to study gender shifts in the Arabic translations of *TBE* was, above all, prompted by a personal observation. It was this very personal observation which stimulated my initial curiosity and later led to my eventual research question. The choice of *TBE* was motivated by a number of reasons. The novel displays daring themes (racial identity, social norms and stereotypes, female empowerment, gender ideologies, to name a few) and gender use and forms which, I thought, would pose great challenges to translators if the novel was to be translated into Arabic, for reasons of racial, cultural, ideological, and linguistic nature, particularly since Arabic is still inching its way toward less gender segregation and bias in linguistic use. I found two translations of *TBE*. One was published in 1995, followed by another translation in 1997 by another male translator. To my surprise, the two Arabic translationsdid not shy away from exposing and communicating the sexual content of the novel. The translations seemed to adhere, almost in their entirety, to the ST in this respect. However, they seemed, albeit to varying degrees, to fall short when it came to rendering other, perhaps and at a first glance less significant, forms. These forms

were gender-related, of both grammatical and socio-cultural significance[4]. Analysing these forms and their translations into Arabic, I believed, would be helpful in the context of translation in the fields of gender studies and translation shifts and their ideological manifestations in the case of Arabic. This realisation was the foundation for the rationale behind this research, which I move on to discussing in the following section.

1.3 Rationale for the research

'Shifts' that occur in texts during the course of translation have long been a central issue in Translation Studies. However, this issue seems to be understudied in Arabic, even though grammatical, socio-cultural and ideological differences continue to shape the linguistic transfer from and into English, particularly where gender relations are concerned and, even more, when the approach is corpus-based. Many linguistic and translation studies on gender use and forms in literary discourse and how to address the tricky issue of gender have been published to date (Lee, 1992; Burn, 1996; Simon, 1996; von Flotow, 1997; Litosseliti and Sunderland, 2002; Cornwall *et al.*, 2008; Talbot, 2010; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2013; and many others). However, not much has been said about gender use in Arabic literary discourse, its semiotic significance and the challenges it poses for Arabic translators. Apart from some feminist attempts on the part of Arabic thinkers such as Qassem Amin, Mayy Ziadeh, Amina Wadud, Reem Bassiouny and Nawal El-Saadawi, who mainly dealt with gender relationships and the effects they have on the socio-political aspects of Middle-Eastern lives, the works of the two Arab thinkers and critics Muqaddam (2010) and Adonis (1973/ 2011) were probably the only account[5] of gender in language that exposed the bias that Arabic exhibits against the 'female' through marginalising the 'feminine'.

While I realise that differences between English and Arabic on the level of gender and the ideological manifestations that these differences bring about have a major effect on translator's decisions and, therefore, the translation product, this research suggests

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[4] The data analysis focuses on grammatical as well as social aspects of gender in Arabic.
[5] Very few studies have been published on the gender/language interface when it comes to Arabic and its grammar. Even attempts such as Sadiqi (2003) and Sadiqi and Ennagi (2011) were focused on Morocco where Arabic is only one of four languages being spoken in the region. These attempts fell short of exposing gender issues critical to Arabic language, and failed to address these issues on linguistic and grammatical levels.

that these intrinsic differences are not what determines the form and content of the target text in terms of its gender relations. In other words, I propose that gender shifts are not mainly the result of these linguistic and grammatical differences, but rather brought about by a certain socio-semiotic orientation on the part of the translator to play a social role – a role that is ideologically motivated – an inability to detach him/herself from a general social gender tradition, even if this means violating the grammatical rules of the language which could result in marked gender forms, which can either be grammatical or non-grammatical[6] – this distinction will be addressed in Chapter 3. I suggest that this gender activity in English-Arabic translation is, therefore, norm-governed, despite the effects which the rules of the Arabic language may also have on such a transfer.

This study will therefore endeavour to tackle these issues by means of a semiotic approach to the translation of gender use and relations in English literary discourse into Arabic.

1.4 Theoretical framework: the main strands

It is proposed that the problematic nature of the gender shifts found in these translations can be investigated by drawing on relevant accounts proposed in Social Semiotics, particularly in the work of Roland Barthes, with the help of notions borrowed from the field of sociology, particularly Bourdieu's work.

The main areas for investigation are semiotics, Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) and norms theory, gender studies and feminist approaches to translation, shifts of translation and corpus-based translation studies. The descriptive approach adopted in this study deems it necessary to draw upon DTS and particularly the notions that are most relevant to this study such as norms of translation and Toury's (1995) three-phase methodology for a systematic descriptive study of the translation product and its wider socio-cultural system. The literature review will be covered in chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 will be divided into three main parts. Section 2.1 comprises a general review of the main tenets of social semiotics and also a more specific account of the arguments relevant to the present study of gender shifts. The focus in section 2.2 will be on sociological studies. Section 2.3 focuses on gender studies and the concept of

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[6] The distinction between grammatical and non-grammatical gender will be addressed in Chapter 3.

gender in both its social and grammatical forms, and draws on the discursive significance of gender use in literary texts, both translated and non-translated, and its underlying semiotic connotations. Such accounts of gender necessitate a discussion of ideology and discursive practices in language (Fairclough 1992, 1995 and 2001), so that interrelationships can be established where possible.

The first part of the Literature Review, Chapter 2, will focus on semiotics and the analytical notions that semiotics provides for the understanding of gender shifts and their occurrence in literary translation. After a brief yet comprehensive review of the main premises in semiotic theory with definitions of focal concepts such as 'sign', 'signification', 'sign systems' among other related notions. The main focus of this part will be on presenting key concepts borrowed from Barthes (1977, 1982 and 1986), mainly denotation and connotation and myth. Other Barthesian notions will be drawn upon which are adopted from his reading theory: the reading and writing of signs, to which Barthes attaches special significance.

In order to put the above notions to best use, they will be discussed in relation to other concepts which I borrow from sociology, namely the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1984). The concepts of 'power', 'habitus' and 'symbolic violence' which are pertinent to my analysis will be examined. Foucault's (1977) notion of 'power' will also be discussed so as to highlight any differences and similarities that distinguish Foucault's approach to power from that of Bourdieu. Foucault's (1969) notion of 'discursive meaning' and its relation to grammatical forms is also of paramount significance to the discussion of power relations, particularly when it comes to gender use in language. These notions will also be further developed in the following section when the ideologies underlying particular gender uses in the Arabic translations are discussed. Other concepts which have particular relevance and significance in the Arabic context are those proposed by Adonis, a Syrian philosopher and poet, in his work on *Athabet wal Mutahawwel* (1973/ 2011) (The Static and the Changeable) which addresses issues related to the influence of religion, among other factors, on the Arabic language and its development. A discussion of Hatim and Mason's (1990) 'semiotic-conscious translation', also one of the three methodological pillars in this study, Gorlée's (1994) and (2004) notions of 'text signs' and 'real meaning', and Hatim's (1997) distinction between socio-cultural objects and socio-textual practices will follow.

In discussing all of the above notions, the aim is to set the scene for one central theme which will be focused on throughout: gender shifts as a translational practice which may pinpoint underlying socio-cultural and ideological orientations.

The focus in Chapter 3 will be on more concrete translation issues, including shifts of translation, while giving particular attention to van Leuven-Zwart's (1989, 1990) model of shift analysis. The chapter will also present an overview of Descriptive Translation Studies and particularly Toury's norms and his proposed three-phase analysis of translated texts and their wider socio-cultural system.Chesterman's (1997) account of normative behaviour in translation will also be presented. A discussion of the social and cultural (Toury 1995; Chesterman 1997; Pym 2010, among others) in translation will also be put forward. Chapter 3 will also tackle shifts of translation which are a descriptive category (Baker, 1998). Definitions will be given, followed by an overview of translational shifts along the lines of obligatory vs. optional shifts. A number of shift models will be discussed; however, van Leuven-Zwart's model of shift analysis will be the focus of this section as it is the one adopted for the analysis of the primary corpus. The shift-change distinction will also be addressed in this chapter and the parameters for making such a distinction will also be presented. The account of shifts presented here will highlight how some researchers (e.g. Toury 1995) abandoned the methodological use of shifts in favour of the 'coupled pair of replacing and replaced segments' (ibid.: 77), which highlights the controversial nature of the concept, at least as far as Toury (1995) is concerned. Another problematic aspect to shifts, it will be suggested, lies in the absence of any clear definition of the term which provides a distinction between shift and change, a distinction that can be essential in understanding the occurrence and effect of gender shifts in the data.

1.5 Methodological approach

Given its empirical, product-oriented, nature, this research adopts as its methodological approach a paradigm which I have elaborated by combining three main methodologies: van Leuven-Zwart's (1989, 1990) comparative and descriptive analysis of shifts (see section 3.3.1 and 3.3.2), Hatim and Mason's (1990) four-step methodology for semiotic-conscious translation (see section 3.1.1) and Toury's (1995) three-phase methodology for a systematic descriptive study of the translation

product and its wider socio-cultural system (see section 3.1.2.1.1). However, these three methodologies will be adapted for the purposes of this research, which means that only the notions that bear relevance to the analysis will be employed. This also means that changes have been made, where necessary, in order to enhance the models' suitability and applicability to this research case. Adapting these models also means that they will eventually be evaluated in order to assess their applicability to further analyses of a similar nature. A fourth methodology, corpus-based tools, will also be employed for the proposed confirmatory analysis and in order to support the results of my manual analysis of the primary corpus. The chapter will present a relevant account of corpus-based methods and approaches to translation (Baker, 1995 and 1999; Olohan, 2004), mainly their basic premises, advantages and drawbacks. Definitions of the different types of corpora with a particular focus on monolingual reference corpora, as well as their applications and limitations will also be systematically provided.

The choice has been for the primary corpus to be analysed manually, particularly 'since computerized corpus studies are still unable to tackle many translational phenomena' (Calzada-Pérez, 2002: 210) and because the focus is solely on shifts occurring on the level of gender use and forms in the texts under examination. It should be noted here that the decision to combine the manual analysis of the primary corpus and the computerised analysis of the results of the primary analysis is in agreement with Kennedy's (1998: 2-3) view: 'some of the most revealing insights on language and language use have come from a blend of manual and computer analysis'. Further, the aim is to bridge any gaps that arise from a manual analysis alone or a computer analysis alone.

The combination of these models is useful for several reasons. Not only do they provide useful tools for a multi-tiered analysis such as we have proposed, but also offer the right tools for every step of the analysis and according to the requirements of each stage. Thus, van Leuven-Zwart's (1989, 1990) model is utilised in the comparative and descriptive stages of the primary analysis; Toury's (1995) three-step methodology has been particularly useful in deciding on the parameters for extracting the units for a comparative approach and the actual comparison of these. It also offers invaluable insights into making informed decisions about the evaluation, employment

and redefinition of certain translational concepts and ways of carrying out descriptive analyses. The most crucial advantage this model incorporates is a description of the translation product and its wider socio-cultural system, a prerequisite for achieving the aims of this project.

However, this project proposes to take the explanation of shifts a step further. Although grasping the socio-cultural factors surrounding the occurrence of gender shifts is of essence, I believe that combining this understanding with that of the semiotic and sociological aspects underlying this occurrence would only make the picture clearer and more complete. For this reason, a third model, namely the one developed by Hatim and Mason (1990), in which they account for the methodological tools which a translator needs in order to achieve what they dubbed 'semiotic-conscious translation' (1990: 104). Despite having come under attack by Gorlée (1994), herself a renowned semiotician, for being 'loosely argued [and failing] to be convincing' (ibid.: 17), and while I agree with the 'loosely argued' part of Gorlée's argument, I believe that this model has enormous potential (see section 3.1.1 for a detailed discussion). Its application, though, will be restricted to the macro-structural part of the primary analysis which will incorporate the semiotic analysis of the gender shifts recorded in the preceding micro-structural analysis. Although Hatim and Mason's model could be applied to the microstructural part of my analysis, the reason for not doing so here is primarily related to the fact that this model does not offer much flexibility, as it is particularly designed to help students of translation evaluate a translation in terms of its semiotic credibility. Due to the explanatory potential which this model has, its use in this project will, thus, be primarily to explain the gender shifts recorded, which may provide a possible rationale for their occurrence.

It remains to highlight the efficacy of the model I employ in this project as I believe it provides explicit procedures and techniques for the close investigation of a repertoire of gender features in source texts and their translations. Furthermore, it is suggested that this paradigm can be employed for a 'replicable' (a term I borrow from Toury, 1995)[7] study of gender shifts, not only because of the descriptive tools it offers but also because of the analytical theoretical notions along which it operates which are

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[7] Munday (2002: 81) also borrows the term from Toury (1995).

primarily borrowed from Descriptive Translation Studies, general semiotics, and sociology. Emphasis on the socio-cultural context of texts is also believed to be an added advantage in unearthing certain linguistic habits and patterns which could, in turn, reveal something about the translator's ideological positioning and situate it in the wider cultural context. Conversely, attempting to understand the socio-cultural context of my target texts and the shifts discerned is believed to have a similar effect. However, a study of the textual and socio-cultural significance of shifts has been carried out before (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989, 1990; Munday, 1998, 2002), albeit differently from the approach in this study in that the shifts studied in this context are gender shifts. By employing a semiotic and sociological approach to the study of gender shifts, it is believed that a sound understanding of the socio-cultural context of these shifts could be attainable.

Chapter 4 of this thesis, therefore, begins by taking a general look at descriptive methodology as a viable approach to the study of shifts of translation. The chapter continues with an in-depth description of the qualitative and quantitative analyses employed in this study, in both the primary and confirmatory stages. A description of my primary data, *TBE* and its two Arabic translations, will follow, accompanied by an account of the preliminary pilot and the modifications it prompted in the data sampling procedure and following analysis.

1.6 Data analysis, discussion and conclusions

The data analysis in Chapter 5is concerned with the identification of patterns of gender shifts, as well as outliers which fall outside the patterns discerned by the analysis and their interpretation in the light of the main theoretical concepts reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3.

The method of data analysis employed in this thesis consists of a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses. Equal importance is given to the two analyses, given the even contribution that they both make to achieving the results and understanding their rationale. The significance of these two analyses also lies in their role in the two stages of the overall data analysis: analysis of my primary texts and confirmatory, corpus-based, analysis which is believed to provide great insight in to the Arabic gender tradition in literary writing and, therefore, inform my analysis by

helping us understand the patterns and individual instances discerned in the analysis of primary data.

The quantitative analysis is manual, identifying the examples from the translations which demonstrate an example of gender shift. Non-shifts will also be addressed in the analysis. The qualitative analysis examines the shifts and non-shifts recorded by drawing on van Leuven-Zwart's three main shift categories: modulation, modification and mutation, in an attempt to locate patterns of gender shifts in the translations and examine whether these patterns correspond to Leuven-Zwart's categories and how they inform us about the translator's tendencies and their rationale. The analysis is structured around the above three main categories of shift, but the main purpose is to make clear links which relate gender shifts to their underlying changes in the target texts.

Chapter 6 concludes the thesis with a discussion of the findings, including possible implications and suggestions for further research in the field.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW: MAIN TENETS

This and the following chapters outline the theoretical notions that are relevant to the forthcoming data analysis.The main areas for investigation in this chapter are semiotics and sociology, gender studies and feminist approaches to translation, respectively. The different theoretical notions relevant to my analysis will be presented in a way which establishes the interrelationship that exists between these notions and how they can be employed in a research study such as this.

2.1 Semiotics: central notions

This section will present a comprehensive account of the analytical semiotic notions which are most relevant to the understanding of gender shifts and the rationale for their occurrence in literary translation. Definitions of central concepts and main arguments from semiotics will be given below and further related to the notions of 'context' and 'situation'. Focal notions from sociology will also be presented and contextualised for the purposes of this project.

2.1.1 Signs and texts

Semiotics, to give it the shortest definition, is 'the study of signs' (Chandler, 2004: 1). Simple as it may sound, the definition has its own complexities for a 'sign' is far from being a finite term. In a semiotic sense, signs refer to 'anything which ''stands for'' something else' (ibid.: 2). This idea was put forward by Umberto Eco in a broader definition: 'semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign' (Eco, 1976: 7). This nature of the sign dictates that signs are not studied in isolation as 'they are regarded to be part of semiotic sign systems (such as a medium or genre)' (Chandler, 2004: 2). Hence, a study of the context in which the sign occurs is deemed necessary. In fact, the significance of accounting for the context in a study of signs and sign systems has not only been stressed in semiotics. Various approaches (e.g. Systemic Linguistics) have also put great emphasis on the study of context. Linguists such as Halliday (1978), Halliday and Hasan (1989) and Steiner (1991) have all focused on the vital role contexts play in any study of language and language use. Halliday was the one who dedicated a considerable amount of his research to the study of context. Halliday (1978) sees contexts and situations as being relevant to the

explanation of language use and language change. His two concepts of 'context of situation' and 'context of culture' (originally suggested by Malinowski (1923) and subsequently elaborated by Firth (1951), as Hatim and Mason (1990) highlight) were regarded as central organizing concepts of Systemic Linguistics (Steiner, 1991: 8). For Halliday (1978: 32), language change is generally determined by the type of situation and context in which we find ourselves. This, he demonstrates, helps us uncover how language is manoeuvred to make meaning and to begin to understand 'what situational factors determine what linguistic features' (ibid.). The situation also enables, or at least guides, one to establish what language is to be used that fits in the situation. Thus, selection in the linguistic system becomes dependant to a great extent on the situational conditions and also on the context of language use in which language is, or is to be, used. According to Halliday (ibid.: 28), language cannot be studied in isolation; words and sentences, and sometimes whole texts, can have meaning and be well conceived of only when one relates them to the context (personal, social, cultural, etc.) in which they occur. This is what the context of situation indicates and is, as defined by Halliday, 'the immediate environment in which a text is actually functioning' (ibid.: 46). According to Fawcett, most words have a 'one-to-many equivalence relation' to what they stand for: they have multiple meanings in the dictionary (Fawcett, 1997: 72). Thus, only by looking at the company a word keeps can we find out which meaning is to be activated in a particular instance.

The context is thus necessary in order for one to understand the meaning of a specific utterance. Context would also be decidedly significant in translation and thus help translators take notice of the generic features of a particular translational situation. However, this does not exclude the possible weaknesses of this concept, taking into consideration other factors which may be at work at the time of rendering a particular language use. In other words, people (and, similarly, translators) can be totally unaware of the linguistic requirements of a given situation. Halliday and Hasan (1989) refer to the fact that one can always anticipate the meanings of texts with the help of the context of situation, and that one can also make inferences from the text to the situation: what is said gives one clues about the situation. In other words, one can make guesses about the situation by means of the information available in the text.

This, however, may be questionable in a translational context where translators are acting under certain conventions (censorship, ideological orientation, etc.).

The above notions are relevant in this study of gender shifts. Although the analysis focuses on isolated instances of gender use in the translations, it is carried out with the context in mind. I am of the view that accounting for the contexts of both situation and culture will enable us reach a possible realization of the translator's choices and the ideological rationale for them. A translator who chooses to translate into Arabic a generic gender-conscious form 'she' from English as هو 'he' is only conforming to the grammatical rule which subsumes genders under the category 'man' or 'he' in Arabic, and therefore to the context of situation and culture of this language. The following section is devoted to a discussion of the usefulness of 'context' in a semiotic approach to gender shifts in translation research.

2.1.2 Text-signs and the context of translation

The concept of 'context of situation' could be usable in the field of translation and can certainly be utilised in a semiotic approach to translation. Semiotics suggests that people are surrounded by sign systems, which implies that consciousness and experience are all dependent on language and other sign systems circulating in society (Saussure, 1971: 99). Furthermore, the capacity of signs to be meaningful depends on their existence in a social context, and on their conventionally accepted use in that social context. To contextualize signs, however, a researcher should appreciate the semiotic dimension of texts for this is believed to 'regulate the interaction of the various discoursal elements as 'signs' ' (Hatim and Mason, 1990: 101). In written texts, this interaction is seen as an exchange of signs between the writer and some implied readers (ibid.: 104). However, when the text is being translated, this interaction starts taking a different form; interaction changes as a result of the change that signs undergo in the course of translating the text into a different language. This change in the language is believed to have significant socio-cultural implications for translation, for 'a change of language also results in a change of culture, and vice versa' (Koshinen, 2004: 144). This cultural change could manifest itself in the main changes the interaction undergoes: participants in the interaction - whether translators or target readers – change: their mentalities differ, and their perceptions of reality

differ as well (Hatim and Mason, 1990: 104). Lotman *et al*. (1975: 57, in Hatim and Mason, 1990: 105) see culture as a sign system which places its own constraints on the translation act. Therefore, one could say that 'culture' is germane to any semiotic approach to translation. All this makes it necessary for translators to appreciate the semiotic differences between different languages and cultures, and also to consider culture a decisive factor in the final product of any translation process.

The above issue is certainly relevant in a study of gender shifts, particularly if one takes heed of the fact that gender use should be perceived as relevant to the context in which it occurs, and the meanings it gives rise to should also be extracted in relation to this context. This will also inform our understanding of translators' decisions in terms of their approach to a gender element. It is interesting that a sign such as womanhood might signify certain concepts according to the context in which it occurs; womanhood might be a sign for weakness, dependence, submissiveness in a Middle-Eastern context, and changes to connote something else in a different context, situation and culture. An Arab feminist would inject 'womanhood' with different, more positive, connotations; these connotations might also be stronger in certain contexts and sub-cultures.It goes without saying, then, that the context is again needed in order to link a givensign to the socio-cultural network of related signs so as to make this sign meaningful.

The importance of context in the study of semiotics has also been discussed by other semioticians. Gorlée (2004) contends that the 'context' in which a text-sign – Gorlée's term for 'sign' - is used is particularly relevant to the study of signs and signification. However, 'context' for her has a new dimension which she links to concepts of 'real world' and 'real meaning' of the sign. Gorlée suggests that 'Context' is an ever-changing social element which controls our interpretations of text-signs and thus explains the open-endedness of sign interpretation (Gorlée, 2004: 100). The meaning given to the text-sign is considered by Gorlée to be the 'real meaning' of the sign, as in it resides its 'truth value' (ibid.: 100). According to her, 'a text-sign creates a material entity to a user […] which echoes to him or her a 'real world', in which the referent or the textual object is dealt with by our limited, natural and, hence, restricted capacities' (ibid.: 99). What this implies is that sign users and/or interpreters differ in their social orientation, world knowledge and signifying abilities which make them

understand signs in different ways, all of which nonetheless render their sign interpretations valid, but still not without imperfection. Only within the limits of their knowledge and depending on what the sign stands for in their socio-cultural environment that they are able to understand what signs signify. The implications of this argument are relevant to translation. The source text-sign and the target text-sign are placed within two - sometimes more, due to the existence of different sub-cultures within ST and/or TT cultures – different social contexts. Thus, they are always differently interpreted by the different ST and TT receivers, and could be said to create two different 'real worlds' for their interpreters. However, the significance of this argument stems from the fact that it could be said to question Saussure's notion of the 'arbitrariness' of the sign in terms of its contextual validity, for it implies that the relation between the signifier and the signified is, in certain contexts, predetermined by their interpreter's social and semiotic knowledge, norms, and channels of signification. In fact, this is what makes Gorlée's argument relevant to the forthcoming data analysis which endeavours to examine the relevance of her argument to the occurrence of shifts in the translation of gender use between English and Arabic, where cultural and semiotic differences continue to influence and shape the act of translation.

Due to the different linguistic treatments of gender in English and Arabic, gender use could be considered a problematic discoursal entity, the translation of which is not without difficulties. One of these, as has been already suggested, is the socio-cultural dimension of this use, which places its own semiotic hurdles in the way of translators. Thus, and because gender textual use has its own socio-cultural significance, it is necessary at this point to draw on Hatim's (1997) notion of socio-cultural objects and socio-textual practices as vehicles of semiotic reference.

2.1.3 Socio-cultural objects and socio-textual practices

'Within semiotics, special attention should be paid to socio-cultural and socio-textual components or elements' (Calzada-Pérez, 2002: 208). Hatim (1997) makes a distinction between socio-cultural objects and socio-textual practices as vehicles of semiotic reference. The first of these (socio-cultural objects) operate at a micro-level and may be conveyed in a single word or phrase that has particular significance for a

given culture at a given time. An example provided by Hatim and Mason (1997) is the biblical reference to Job in the phrase 'the patience of Job' (ibid.: 18). Another similar example that is more relevant to our context would be the reference to أخت رجال (sister of men) in Arabic to describe a woman as someone who is 'capable and reliable'. In studying the socio-cultural domain of a given text, one should examine features that are discoursal in nature, that is, motivated and systematic in their use. If there is a systematic and motivated use of gender in, say, a novel, this use can be considered as a 'device which […] could be crucial to the construction of a text world specific to a given text' (Hatim, 2001: 122).

Socio-textual practices, on the other hand, are the macro-constraints and conventions governing register, genre, discourse and text type, which make it possible to recognize a given text as a member of a wider universe of texts (Hatim, 1997). In socio-textual terms, Hatim argues, 'rhetorical conventions are considered overriding' (Hatim, 2001: 122). In other words, it is important for translators to pay close attention to the purpose of an utterance rather than 'reacting mechanically to surface format' (ibid.: 123). Hatim moves on to suggest that the recurrence or systematic use of a certain discursive feature in a given text is seen 'from the vantage-point of discourse' to 'reinforce a point of view and display commitment or attitude' (ibid.: 123). In view of this discussion, gender use in a text could be thought of as a socio-textual practice which has a socio-cultural and thus semiotic significance, which can be 'rather static, culture-specific and difficult to convey in translation' unless seen to be making a substantial contribution to a discourse theme (ibid.: 122) (which again brings the concepts of 'context' and 'situation' to the fore; see sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 above).

A realization of these elements would make a translation which no longer seeks to reconstruct the linguistically marked forms of the original – such as gender forms – but endeavours to 'establish what precisely is intended by the source' and only then 'to ascertain how the target reader is to be made aware of the implications' (ibid.: 33). However, a realization such as this requires a semiotic reading of texts, a concept which will be discussed in the following section.

2.1.4 The translator: a semiotic reader

As pointed out earlier, utterances are signs in constant interaction with each other in the text. However, understanding this interaction requires an intertextual knowledge of the environment surrounding such an interaction. After all, 'every text is from the outset under the influence and the jurisdiction of other discourses which impose a universe to it' (Kristeva, 1980, in Culler, 1981: 105). This relation between texts is referred to as intertextuality which is 'central to any semiotic description of literary signification' (Culler, 1981: 104) as well as any reading of texts. Awareness of 'intertextual chains' (Hatim and Mason, 1990: 121) while translating makes a semiotic reading of texts feasible, or at least not altogether impossible, because it enables translators to 'relate textual occurrences to each other and recognize them as signs which evoke whole areas of our previous textual experience' (ibid.: 120).

Fairclough (1995) endorses the point when he proposes an intertextual analysis which seeks to analyse not only 'what is in texts', but also 'what is absent or omitted from texts' (ibid.: 210). In his opinion, which echoes that of Saussure's (1971), form (signifier) and content (signified) are perceived as forming an 'inseparable unity in the sign' (ibid.). Thus, paying attention to only one of them would definitely avert our eyes from the significance of the other (ibid.: 212). A semiotic translation would then account for 'absences' in the text as well as 'presences' (ibid.: 210). This is reminiscent of the significance attached to 'the role of the reader' in any semiotic approach to texts by Eco (1979), and Barthes (1977) before him who pioneered this postulation. Being readers, translators play a major semiotic role in source text interpretation and meaning processing. However, it is necessary to admit that readings are subjective; hence, translators, like all readers, interpret subjectively, and sometimes their subjectivity is active, not passive. What I mean by an active subjectivity is a translational attitude adopted by the translator, due not only to reasons beyond the translator's control (such as socio-linguistic repertoire; i.e. familiar structures in the translator's mind) but which can also be informed directly by his/her ideological orientation. In other words, a translator's approach to a certain text can be a mere reflection of their internalized socio-cultural beliefs. For example, in adapting a translation to the receiving culture, a translator, talented as they may be, is 'obliged to work at a loss' (Eco, 2003: 34). However, in some cases, the rationale for

a translational loss may not be 'obligation', but rather a translational choice or a mere oversight. For although, as Eco (2003: 38) would argue, 'there are situations in which a loss is unavoidable' in translation; it would, however, be naïve to accept that as a given. Eco's statement is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, he fails to define what he means by 'loss'. What is the nature of this loss? Is loss here semantic, ideological, syntactic, etc.?

Eco's argument makes it also difficult for us to grasp the connotations of 'unavoidable' as well. If loss is only unavoidable in certain cases, what are the occasions in which translators can avoid such a loss in translation then? Perhaps, the most interesting point Eco makes is his emphasis on the degree of loss, which is apparent in his reference to 'a loss which is unavoidable' and 'a loss which is 'so' unavoidable' (ibid.: 43), which implies that there are instances that make loss in translation less avoidable than others, and, in turn, makes a translator's choice less or more decisive. In other words, translators can still actively determine the degree of such a loss. In doing so, translators admit their roles as semiotic readers of the texts they translate, in that they realize, according to Eco's opinion, that 'the aim of a translation, more than producing any literal ''equivalence'', is to create the same effect in the mind of the reader (obviously according to the translator's interpretation) as the original text wanted to create' (ibid.: 56). This is problematic in itself, and Eco does, in fact, problematize it too. If the production of equivalence is reliant upon the translator's interpretation, then it is achieved according to how the translator approaches the text as a reader as well. And, therefore, any loss in translation would be the result of the translator's reading of the text. After all, not all readers read similarly, just as not all translators translate similarly.

Certainly, thus, there is an interrelationship between translation and reading. Barthes (1977), who first highlighted the role of the reader, took his original contribution a step further when he also suggested that translators are readers of texts and further added that writing is to be joined by both reading and translating in a triangular relationship (see 2.1.5.1 and 2.1.5.2 for a detailed account). For Barthes (1977), there is an unconscious role that translators play in their translations. However, like writers and readers, translators still have a conscious choice to make, in which case a translation is labelled 'semiotic-conscious', a term first proposed by Hatim and Mason

(1990). Hatim and Mason (1990) also prioritize the translator's semiotic role when they make a case for semiotic-conscious translation which 'involves the translator in a number of important procedures' and minimizes semiotic loss in translations (ibid.: 105). These procedures include: 1) identification of a source sign for translating, 2) information, which means that translators identify a target equivalent for the sign which would convey its meaning with the minimum loss, 3) explication of the sign if the target equivalent does not suffice, and 4) transformation of the sign by seeking to retrieve other aspects of sign meaning, such as intentionality and status of the sign (ibid.: 106). Semiotic translation which follows these four steps enables translators to appreciate the socio-semiotic differences between languages and, thus, become semiotic readers.

Evidently, the interrelationship in translation studies between translation and reading has already been established. However, translators have not only been seen as readers of the original, whose reading of the text determines their translation. They have also been described as writers of the texts they translate in the language these texts are translated into. Their reading governs their output and, therefore, determines their writing techniques as well. Developments (both old and recent) in translation research have heightened the need for establishing an interrelationship between translation and writing, with the focus being mainly on describing translators as rewriters of original texts (Lefevere, 1992). Others (Bassnett, 1980; Bassnett and Bush, 2007; Toury, 1995) have gone a step further to suggest that this interrelationship needs not be established but, rather, acknowledged, and so posited that translations should be considered texts in their own right. Toury (1995) propagates the functional (i.e. target-oriented) view, which sees translations as products of the target culture and focuses on their textual features, the process(es) which lead to their formation, with a paramount interest in the functions that these translations serve in the target system. By so doing, Toury prioritises the descriptive approach to translation rather than the prescriptive one, which foregrounds the translation quality by always referring to the source text as the standard or norm according to which the translation is to be judged and evaluated.

Translation scholars in general and those who pioneer a functional (i.e. target-oriented) theory of translation in particular, have found in language their most

powerful tool. Not only may the language in a given translation be the sole provider of some insight into understanding the translator's choices, it is also an indicator to the way in which the language speakers view and relate to the world around them. And it goes without saying that a language always comes with the values and ideologies of the culture which this language serves to represent. This language reality explains why translations 'nearly always contain attempts to naturalize the different culture to make it conform more to what the reader of the translation is used to' (Lefevere, 2000: 236-7). It also justifies any ideological reading of texts on the part of the translator and further highlights the significance of understanding the relevance which reading bears to translating in terms of how a particular reading that is infused with translators' cultural, and thus ideological, stances could affect the translational choices and the final product, accordingly. This is not to say, however, that translators are always ideologically driven. A translator might equally choose to floutcertain ideological and/or cultural norms, opting thereby for a more neutral rendering of the original text.

For a clearer understanding of the above notions, this research will additionally draw upon certain semio-structural notions which are relevant to strengthening the interrelationship which exists between reading, writing and translating. These notions include Barthes' reading theory and particularly the notion of *mad reading*, which will be employed here as a sound explanation of what happens before and during the translation process, and *Desire* as an analytical linguistic category which aids in the understanding of the choice-making process in translation. Further, the nature of meaning will be discussed, with special reference to Barthes' notion of *connoted* meaning[8], and how an understanding of this nature helps in understanding the problem of translation. The discussion will then move on to focus on the interrelationship between reading and writing – manifested in the opposition readable vs. writable which Barthes (1986) is fond of making. This will become even more relevant in the case of translation in general and to the particular translational case which I discuss in this study, which will be made clearer in due course.

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[8] In his earlier research, Barthes proposed a distinction between denoted and connoted meaning. He later abandoned this distinction and propounded that all meaning is connoted.

2.1.5 Roland Barthes: central notions

The present section sheds light on Barthes' (1986: 33) approach to reading and how he related reading to writing and translating.

2.1.5.1 Reading, Writing and Translating: a Barthesian Perspective

'Reading' is a central organizing concept of Barthes' (1986) structural approach to language and literature. Barthes' fascination with reading as a personal, cultural and ideological activity forms an indispensable part of his even greater fascination with literature, literary theory and criticism and sociology. In search of a doctrine of reading, Barthes (1986: 33) finds himself in 'a great doctrinal confusion'. Reading, for him, is a far more hard-to-grasp process than writing is. He states, 'as for a doctrine of reading, I have none; on the other hand, a doctrine of writing is gradually taking shape' (ibid.). Barthes' bewilderment becomes even more patent when he asks the questions: 'What is reading?', 'How does one read?', 'Why does one read?' (ibid.). In asking these questions, Barthes is once again a sceptic who is always critical of his own notions and concepts, incessantly evaluating his notions and indulging in further valuable enterprises (Culler, 1983: 16).

The enormous attention Barthes paid to reading is relevant to that which he associated with language. For him, language is a system so fundamentally distinct that it requires most, if not all, of the literary critic's attention Barthes (1977: 165-169). For Barthes (1986: 34), language always constituted 'an ensemble' that demanded constant questioning and consideration, particularly when we read. Language, for him, was best regarded from the point of view of meaning and that was a necessity upon which Barthes measured Saussure's success in establishing a new linguistics (Culler, 1983: 78). Interested in language and linguistic forms, Barthes could fathom the relationship between linguistic form and function and how this relation made it at last feasible to understand discourse and its underlying structures, in doing so reinforcing the strong structuralist link which exists between literature and linguistics (Culler, 1983: 80).

Barthes' theory of reading came as the logical outcome of this union between literature and linguistics. As a post-structuralist, however, Barthes opposes the stereotypical approach to and reading of texts which confines the literary message by endorsing certain discursive conventions. In other words, post-structuralism promotes

the reader's role in the production of meaning and hence liberates texts from a traditional reading[9]. This emancipation takes shape in the importance that post-structuralism in general and Barthes in particular give to the reader and his/her role in the production of texts (Barthes, 1986: 49-55). But the union between literature and linguistics did not only give birth to a theory of reading but did also culminate in a stronger union between language and the writing of literature. For Barthes, it is language and language alone which 'signifies' the relation of literature and literary forms with the world (ibid.: 50).

2.1.5.2 Reading as a translational practice

Barthes's (1986) promotion of the reader's role in literary production and the survival of meaning proves applicable to translation. Being mediators, the translators' active role is undeniable, for their involvement has been repeatedly highlighted in the literature and in more ways than one. In addition to labelling a translator's mediation (which should involve both reading and writing as part of translation) as ideologically motivated (see previous section, and Fairclough, 1992, 1995 and 2001; Simpson, 1993; Hatim and Mason, 1990), a translator's subjective involvement in the translation process has also been described as addiction (Robinson, 1996). Being 'ideologically normative' (ibid.: 27), translation is an act of addiction. This is simply because 'addiction', according to Robinson, 'is simply the physiological form that conformity to ideological norms always takes' (ibid.). In saying so, Robinson basically suggests that a translator suffers addiction to the act of translation, as well as to 'a certain phobic [...] conception or practice' of that act (ibid.).

One could suggest that a translator's subjective reading of texts is an addictive act. Having said that, questions such as 'How do translators read? And why do they read the way they do?' remain central and relevant, and in need of more attention. However, as Toni Morrison once put it, 'since why is difficult to handle, one must take refuge in how' (1970: 6). To follow in Morrison's footsteps, I will be looking at the 'how' of translators' reading in this section, given that figuring out this 'how' is central to a study such as this. There is a need to understand how translators read the texts they translate and the relevance of that to the reading they undertake of texts in

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[9] Barthes proposes that a revolutionary approach to reading texts is by assuming the death of its author, giving thereby the reader power over the text and its meanings.

their own language. This, I believe, would help us further understand the relevance of how gender is translated into Arabic to how gender is written in Arabic.

According to Barthes (1986), reading is an active process which requires considerable reflection because its study provides useful insights into understanding the readers' role and their approach to the text. A theory of reading, however, was far from straightforward, and Barthes's proposition of different types of reading testifies to this. Barthes (1986: 42) attaches particular significance to the notion of 'Mad Reading' which he defines as:

> A true reading […] which would assume its affirmation […] not because it would invent improbable meanings (misconstructions), not because it would be 'delirious' but because it would perceive the simultaneous multiplicity of meanings, of points of view, of structures, a space extended outside the laws which proscribe contradiction ('Text' is the very postulation of such a space).

In this study, where translation is not defined or regarded as a mere 'transfer', a translation can be regarded as a form of mad reading. Like writing, mad reading, too, is an intentional act in which the reader plays the greatest role. One may ask, though: where does translation fit in all of this? The question to this answer lies, first of all, in that translators are readers, something that cannot be stressed enough. Secondly, being readers, translators also have an intention to read. This intention, however, is of a multi-dimensional nature in that it culminates in a further intention to translate. The intention to translate is also characterised and accompanied by all the other different intentions that manifest themselves in an act of translation. These sub-intentions include the intention to subvert (e.g. feminist translation), to domesticate (e.g. translation of sensitive texts from language A into a less tolerant language B (e.g. Arabic (see Muqaddam, 2010; Adonis 1973/2011)) or to foreignise, to name but three. These intentions, however, may not be only the translator's. Other involved parties can be the publisher(s), the media, an organisation, etc. These intentions are shaped by what Barthes (1986: 40) coined as 'Desire' which he regards as a regulatory element in any reading act. In addition to being that, desire is also the bridge which brings reading and translating together. According to Barthes (ibid.), reading creates inside all readers a desire for writing. Translators, then, are no exception, because reading a

source – with the intention to translate – generates for translators a desire for writing or, to use a term that is more recognisable in Translation Studies, rewriting. It can also create a desire for overwriting for the sake of celebrating other meanings that are applicable in the translator's culture.

What makes translation a special kind of reading, a mad reading, so to speak, is that it is a reading that is 'steeped in desire' (ibid.: 35), a desire which could make translators abandon rules and embrace norms instead. It was postulated above (ibid.: 40) that desire has a considerable influence during the reading process. Further, in the context of translation, desire may shape translators' decisions to rewrite, i.e. translate, the way they do. Barthes, however, stresses the fact that a theory of Reading remains deficient if the issue of the unreadability of texts is overlooked. He suggests that 'in the depths of every text, however readable its conception, there is, there remains a certain measure of the unreadable' (ibid.: 35). The notion of 'the unreadable' is relevant here in that, combined with that of 'desire', it also supports the proposition that translation is a mad reading, which makes it all the more relevant to a study such as this which focuses on the creation, reading, writing and translating of gender forms.

Barthes' reference to 'the unreadable' foregrounds the difficulty of reading texts, and this is relevant to translation. While the notions of the 'unreadable' and 'untranslatable' are not new within translation studies – in fact, they are as old as Derrida's philosophical theory of translation (1977) which he builds on Benjamin's work before him– they have only been meant to accommodate the traditional meanings of the terms. While 'unreadable' refers to what is not very easy to read or decipher, 'untranslatable' is mainly used to describe a text that is hard to translate or whose meanings are difficult to grasp and uncover. The two notions have, thus, overlooked significant meanings which highlight the translator's role, whether conscious or not, in the creation of the target texts and whether these texts are readable or not. A relevant example here is the one provided by Baker (1992) which discusses translator's attempts to make texts gender-inclusive in Arabic, which could, in all likelihood, affect the texts' readability. Another practice which could render texts unreadable is, for example, the omitting of certain references to the two genders in texts.

The relevance of the above discussion to the thesis as a whole is two-fold. First of all, the relationship between reading, writing and translating is significant in that it is key to uncovering the connection that my research is positing to exist between reading and writing practices in Arabic and translation into Arabic. In other words, it is necessary to make the interrelationship between writing and translating clear, drawing on the role of reading and how it can shape our writing and therefore translating practices. Secondly, the discussion above is pertinent to the present discussion of the concept of 'shift' (shifts can be the result of our reading and writing practices that we are most familiar with within our socio-cultural environments) and also that of translational norms. It will therefore be relevant to the part of theory which focuses on gender norms in Arabic.

'Myth' and 'connotation' are also Barthesian notions that are relevant to the understanding of gender shifts. The following section will, therefore, present an overview of Barthes' approach to myth and draw on the relevance this notion bears to my proposed shift analysis.

2.1.5.3 Barthes' myth: connotations

Drawing on Saussure's functional and dyadic approach to the sign, Barthes (1977 1982 and 1986) takes the relationship between the signifier and the signified beyond the conventional structure laid out by Saussure - and the 'triadic' model of the sign put forward by Peirce[10], to give it a socio-ideological dimension. Both Saussure and Peirce, albeit to varying degrees, attached to the 'sign' a rather definitive attribute; the sign for them had boundaries and limits, and was confined to what it signified, through a traditional signification process. Further, the fact that signs are either dyadic or triadic is a restrictive quality which Barthes dismisses. For him (1977: 166), signs

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[10]For Peirce (1955/ 1991), everything is a sign, and for a sign to act as a sign, it must enter into a relationship with its 'object', be interpreted, and so produce a new sign, its 'interpretant'. This process is called, in semiotic terms, *semiosis* (Gorlée, 1994: 50). Peirce's well-known definition of sign (in Gorlée, 1994: 51) is the following:

> A sign, or *representamen*, is something which stands for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign. The sign which it creates I call the *interpretant* of the first sign. The sign stands for something, its object. It stands for that object, not in all respects, but in reference to a sort of idea, which I have sometimes called the *ground* of the *representamen*.

This constitutes his triadic model of sign (ibid.).

have no limits; they are the infinite universe itself, thus capable of connoting with larger sign systems and retrieving meanings that are not easily recovered when signs are viewed along the lines of signifier vs. signified, or along the lines of a sign, its object and an interpretant, as Peirce (1955/ 1991) proposed. This gives signs a dimension that goes beyond their mere constituents of signifier and signified or object and interpretant which, Barthes (ibid.) argues, limit the scope of sign interpretation and, thus, meaning potential. More tellingly, Barthes proposes a new semiology which, he argues, 'can no longer, will no longer be able to, separate so easily, the signifier from the signified, the ideological from the phraseological' (ibid.). In this context, he introduces the concept 'myth' which he refers to as something that is 'socially determined' (ibid.: 165). Myth isa second-order semiotic system in which an already-constituted sign is turned into a signifier. Barthes gives the example of a black soldier saluting the French flag on a magazine cover. A first-order interpretation shows that this image is a signifierwhich denotes an event, but at a second-order mythological level, one should consider the connotations which turn an event (a soldier saluting a flag) into a visualisation of the idea of France as a multi-ethnic power (ibid.). Myth is also the force which turns culture (or history, for that matter) into nature; in Barthes' words, 'under the effect of mythical inversion, the quite contingent foundations of the utterance become Common Sense, Right Reason, the Norm, General Opinion, in short the doxa (which is the secular figure of the Origin)' (ibid.).

Therefore, myth is the actualization and internalization of particular meaning systems into our daily experience (as Barthes, 1972 argues, in Sontag, 2000: 99); as the present research aims to demonstrate in relation to gender relations in the translations, literary translation plays a vital role in normalising certain meaning systems. Theoretically, myth is a 'tri-dimensional' system (ibid.), in that it incorporates the signifier, the signified and the sign. Furthermore, it is the outcome of the semiological relations that existed before it; in other words, it is 'a second-order semiological system' (ibid.), the product of orders of signification:

1. denotation: this is the first order of signification and refers to the combination of a signifier and a signified.
2. connotation: the second order of signification combines the above order, now a signifier, with a new signified.

3. sign is the third order and incorporates the signifier and the signified, and Barthes' myth is perceived in this chain of connotations, in the totality of signs. Contrary to Saussure's limited version of the sign, a signified has the capacity to become a signifier when taken to another level, giving the sign its chain of meanings (ibid.).

A significant aspect of myth is that it is different from other forms of signifier in that it is never arbitrary, hence the earlier reference to myths being 'socially determined'. It alienates the history of the sign by focusing on exposing it and making its meanings more natural and absolute. This is what makes myths motivated signifiers that are removed from their own history. This makes myths unreadable, uninterpretable. They are meant to be received and consumed, not to be questioned (ibid.). While this might be true in general and is a view that I adopt in this study, yet one should not forget that readers differ and so do their experiences. In other words, to say that all myth escapes the reading and rereading filters is to overlook thepower reading has on producing and reproducing texts and signifiers.

Barthes' notion of 'myth' is relevant to the upcoming data analysiswhich highlights, among other things, the influence of a second-order semiotic system on deciphering the meaning of signifiers in a social setting, making it therefore possible to understand the rationale for some translational choices. The concept of 'myth'resonates with yet another notion which was proposed by Pierre Bourdieu, namely 'habitus'. The relatedness will be made clear when Bourdieu's notions are discussed (see section 2.1.7). It is suggested that a comprehensive understanding of the Barthesiannotions discussed above becomes more feasible when an understanding of other relevant notions that are borrowed from the field of sociology is achieved. The following sections will present an overview of notions proposed by Foucault and Bourdieu, which are believed to bear relevance to the notions I have already discussed and to the forthcoming data analysis as well.

2.1.6 Michel Foucault: power relations

Known for his complex style and extensive oeuvre, Foucault is not the easiest post-structuralist to study or interpret, particularly since 'his thought comes clothed in a

rhetoric apparently designed to frustrate summary, paraphrase, economical quotation for illustrative purposes' (Sturrock, 1979: 81). The complexity of Foucault's style can be attributed to a general tendency that his generation had for rebelling against the traditional pillars of their heritage. What characterises Foucault's thought, above all, is his pessimistic philosophical thought which he formulated by drawing on scholars such as Benjamin (1978), as well as his nihilistic, Nietzschian approach, which perceives wisdom as 'mad' and knowledge as 'folly' (ibid.). The genius of Foucault's tradition is that 'it denies the concreteness of the referent and rejects the notion that there is a 'reality' which precedes discourse and reveals its face to a pre-discursive 'perception' (ibid.: 85).

Regarding translation as an ideologically-motivated act necessitates a look at the power relations that govern such an act. For this purpose, Foucault's notion of 'power' is of particular relevance here. The relevance of Foucault's work to this thesis is two-fold. Firstly, his notion of power is relevant in this context, particularly because of the relation it has to the normative, regulative, ideas that are notionally associated with the entire array of forms of human knowledge. These are as listed by Foucault in *The Order of Things*: system, structure, rule, order, and exchange. Power, as seen by Foucault, governs 'the concrete forms and conduct of human beings' (Foucault, 1980: 253-4). Having said that, power, in Foucault's thought, is never stagnant or means one thing; rather, power is extended, multi-dimensional and is 'constantly being turned around' (ibid.: 256). This is why, in his view, 'no one good or bad ideology of oppression or subversion is possible' (ibid.). In other words, the power relations, norms and ideologies which govern human behaviour are relentlessly changing. There is never one form, never one strategy, and nothing comes in one proper order. Foucault even refuses any form of 'theory which undertakes to provide proof that its ideological identity papers are in proper order' (ibid.: 256).

Foucault was not alone in this. Postmodernists, such as Lyotard (1984), argue that there is no 'ultimate reality' (ibid.: 81). For Lyotard, reality is a social construction subject to diversities and fashions. There is no 'one' truth that applies to a whole society. Reality, realism, and truth are linguistic constructions that are conceived separately, according to orientations and social beliefs. He believes that a human being is a culture-based organism and according to whom 'Truths' are defined (ibid.).

He, moreover, sees judgements on reality as rooted within a historical context; and therefore, they leave no place to diversity and creativity (ibid.). With Lyotard, it is rather impossible to decide whether the mental image is identical to outer reality. Even if we try to define what is real and what is not, this will lead only to split and virtual realities. Keeping in mind different scientific, theoretical, and aesthetic rhetorics, Lyotard denies the existence of one inclusive theory or process applicable to a whole society (ibid.). Clearly, Lyotard's notions intersect with those put forward by Foucault. After all, there is no one truth which applies to everything.

The above is useful in a translational context. After all, translation theorists have pointed out the workings of power, ideology and norms in the context of translation, and stressed the multi-dimensionality of the influence of norms on a translator's behaviour. Another dimension of power which Foucault discusses and is pertinent in this context is that any 'normal-normative-normalisable form [of power] is weighed towards the focus of the individual or that of the population' (Foucault, 1980: 254). However, he stresses that any of these forms should necessarily be evaluated on both levels: the individual and the social, which would make the unavoidable interrelationship between the two levels clearer. This is also relevant in the context of this research, simply because of the interrelationship I propose between the individual translational choices of the translators and the social norms that govern their cultural and ideological repertoire.

Secondly, Foucault's notion of power comes with an equally interesting concept which is that of 'resistance'. The fecundity of such a notion in our study and analysis of normative behaviour is undoubted, for it is directly related to forms of social dominance to which special attention should be paid in any context which focuses on power relations and ideologically normative behaviour in a translational context. Resistance, for Foucault, is of particular significance for it has this authority which questions the 'grounds for the establishment of a regime of acceptability and the programmatic logic whereby the 'unacceptable' is regularly restored to the 'acceptability' of a norm (ibid.: 258). Therefore, resistance has this power to interrogate and reshape an entire genus of logic based on social institutions of rationality, which gives way to both the elucidation and rethinking and, perhaps,

reshaping of a whole regime of social truth (or truths) and the eventual emergence of 'a logic of revolt' (ibid.). This, too, is of a pertinent implication here, particularly if one thinks of the social forms and normative milieu which, I propose, govern the two translators' approach to the gender forms in translating into Arabic.

Foucault's view of power becomes even more significant when related to how he perceived the 'sign'. Signs, for Foucault, 'were no longer bound as they had been during the Renaissance by a relation of resemblance between words and things, the connotation between the sign and that which it signified was internal to knowledge' (Foucault, 1973: 57, in Smart, 2002: 25). In other words, signs had changed from being simple, one-dimensional entities, to 'tools of analysis, marks of identity and difference, principles whereby things can be reduced to order, keys for a taxonomy' (ibid.: 24). Signs, therefore, were now more complex and this complexity was the key to understanding the idea of what the sign signified.

Foucault's notion of power also resonates with notions which were put forward by Pierre Bourdieu (1984), a renowned sociologist. Hence, Bourdieu's concepts of 'symbolic power' and 'habitus' which are equally applicable to the forthcoming data analysis will be examined in the following section.

2.1.7 Pierre Bourdieu: 'habitus' and power

Pierre Bourdieu's work on culture as a set of values and linguistic traditions which connects individuals and whole societies to institutionalised hierarchies which embody power relations is considered to be the most far-reaching, complex and innovative (Swarts, 1997: 3). Considerable attention has been given to Bourdieu's sociological oeuvre with special focus being on major concepts such as habitus, culture and cultural capital, symbolic power, and the relationship between individual action and social structure. These concepts are of particular relevance to this study, as they further expound the link I have so far been trying to establish between power relations and gender and linguistic forms.

Culture, for Bourdieu, is a major, perhaps the most powerful, source of domination. This is due to the fact that all cultural forms, whether religious, social, linguistic,

artistic or even scientific, are symbolic systems which have a major role in shaping our understanding of reality and establishing and sustaining social hierarchies (Bourdieu, 1991 and 1993). Perhaps the uniqueness of Bourdieu's take on culture is the stress he puts on the way culture functions in order to maintain unequal social relations. Not only that, but also his analysis of how culture provides the most needed tools for the distinction between social classes is considered one of the key contributions to the field of cultural sociology.

Bourdieu is also known for his theory of practice, in which he explores areas of action regulation, the relationship between human action and the obedience to rules, norms and/or conscious intentions. He establishes links between individual action and social structure, which emphasize the role of social behavioural systems in human action and interaction. Bourdieu frames two concepts which enable him to explore this area, namely: habitus and field. Only the notion of habitus is relevant to this analysis and is, therefore, the notion I will focus on here.

2.1.7.1 Habitus and the context of translation

The relevance of Bourdieu's theory of practice to this study is the probing reflection it provides on the interesting relationship between individuals and their societies, and even more on the sociological premise which maintains that social reality does not only exist inside the individual, but also outside of them (Bourdieu, 1977). The main purpose of Bourdieu's key notion of habitus is to advocate that 'the socialized body (i.e. the individual) does not stand in opposition to society; it is one of its forms of existence' (Bourdieu, 1980: 29, in Swarts, 1997: 96). Moreover, the relationship Bourdieu suggests exists between the individual and the society is governed by certain behavioural forms which are not normative nor demonstrate any compliance to rules or norms, but rather strategic (1977: 9). This makes 'habitus', which is one of the core notions of Bourdieu's sociological theory, key to investigating the *habitus* of translations and translators. The employment of this notion in translation research has not been lacking (Gouvanvic, 1997; Hanna, 2005;Inghilleri, 2005, among others). Researchers such as Gouvanvic (1997: 126), for example, have come to realise that studying translation from a sociological point of view can account for what is missing from polysystem theory and DTS. The reason mainly lies in the fact that sociology provides 'a social explanation of the role of institutions and practices in the

emergence and reproduction of symbolic goods'. The fact that Bourdieu was seen to 'account for complexities of cultural products [and for] the remarkable absence of the social in Toury's work', as Gouvanvic (ibid.) suggests, makes his sociological theory an essential tool for translation scholars interested in the social nature of acts of translation. For example, Simeoni (1998) studies the issue of the translator's 'specialised habitus' and the primary role it plays in translation studies. Hermans (1999) employs the notion of habitus in his approach to identifying translator's social positioning as crucial to both the process and products of translation activity.

What makes 'habitus' even more applicable in translational contexts is the stress the notion puts on the role of time, and how a translator's strategic behaviour is not possible without the assistance of temporal structures (Bourdieu, 1977: 8). Bourdieu maintains that 'to substitute *strategy* for the *rule* is to reintroduce time, with its rhythm, its orientation, its irreversibility' (ibid.: 9). However, this does not mean that action is always certain from a temporal perspective. Bourdieu stresses that although strategies are performed according to conduct in normative settings (ibid. 8), this does not mean that individual action is always certain. On the contrary, he maintains that action is governed by uncertainty; normative settings are no exception to this, for even those individuals who conform to norms in their actions may violate those norms over time or in particular normative situations (1977: 9, 15). The rationale behind this which Bourdieu provides is simple: all action is dependent on interest; thus, 'interest' decides whether an individual chooses to comply with norms or follow prescribed rituals. Bourdieu's notion intersects with the one on 'resistance' put forth by Foucault (1980), whereby an individual chooses to violate deeply-rooted and strongly-established norms and acceptable regimes of truth. However, Foucault's notion lacks the temporal dimension which characterises Bourdieu's, despite the fact that the 'tempo' (Bourdieu, 1977: 8) stressed in Bourdieu's argument seems only to have a tentative nature, for Bourdieu fails to explain, in definitive terms, how 'actors can always play on time' (ibid.: 9, 15, 106). Perhaps this is related to Bourdieu's misleading terminology which is seen by his critics as 'an indicator of the very kind of utilitarian orientation that [he] opposes' (Swartz, 1997: 100).

Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' stresses action in its habitual form(s). The result is a concept which has given rise to a theory of action that is 'practical rather than

discursive, prereflective rather than conscious, embodied as well as cognitive, durable though adaptive, reproductive though generative and inventive' (ibid.: 101). In other words, the need is for a theory that provides us with explanatory concepts and tools for the understanding of certain translational phenomena, such as the concept of 'habitus'. Perhaps one of the most relevant implications of habitus to this research is the fact that it allows external structures to be internalized, and that what is seen by individuals as 'reasonable' or 'unreasonable' in the social world is derived from habitus (ibid.: 77). In other words, habitus is 'necessity made into virtue' (ibid.: 95).

This calls to mind Barthes' notion of 'myth' which we saw was the actualization and internalization of particular meaning systems into our daily experience (See 2.1.5.3 above). Not only are the two concepts of 'habitus' and myth similar in the light of the above explanations, but they enjoy a similarly collective basis. In other words, individuals who internalise similar perceptions of their societies share the same 'habitus', and the same myth. In the same way that this applies to individuals, this applies to translators. After all, translators are individuals who internalize, as part of their social as well as professional situations, certain perceptions. These perceptions may be the reasons which lead translators to translate in a certain way.

But individual internalisation of certain perceptions is governed by symbolic power, i.e. the capacity to legitimate existing social arrangements (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 12). It should be noted that the notion of 'power' is considered to be Bourdieu's principal concept in his approach to and analysis of a society. The same applies to the habitual relationships by which this given society operates.The practical significance of the above semiotic and sociological notions will be further seen in the following chapterwhich will make the link between these notions and gender use in language, and Arabic in particular, of relevance to this study.

The focus in Chapter 3will be on practical notions from Descriptive Translation Studies and particularly draw on Toury's (1995) norms theory. Chesterman's account of normative behaviour in translation will also be presented. A discussion of the social and cultural (Toury, 1995; Chesterman, 1997; Pym, 2006, among others) in translation will also be put forward. The chapter will also draw on the concept of 'shift' with a particular focus on van Leuven-Zwart's shift analysis.

CHAPTER 3 – LITERATURE REVIEW: MORE CONCRETE TRANSLATION ISSUES

3.1 Norms, society and language

The present section offers an account of norms in general as shapers of social life and identity, and translation norms in particular as relevant to the study and analysis of the act of translation. This account will be based on both norm theory and other scholarly work on norms of translation. I must hasten to say that the aim is certainly not to offer explanations of how norms have become regulators or determinants of social behaviour, and certainly not to explore the historical or socio-political dynamics that made norms the social power they are today. The aim is simply to present a discussion on the workings of norms in society, in discourse and most importantly in language and translation. The following section offers an explanation of norms and how they manifest on both social and linguistic levels.

3.1.1 Norms of language

Societies are founded on a number of norms according to which these societies operate. Also, individuals within these societies live according to certain norms which seem to shape their lives and control their social behaviour. In other words, 'norms function in a community as standards or models of correct or appropriate behaviour and of correct or appropriate behavioural products' (Shäffner, 1999: 5). A transgression would usually mean risking acceptability within a social group as it indicates an indifference to the norm which contours the life of this group and defines their being. What is meant here by 'define their being' is that norms play a big role in people's lives in the sense that they might say a lot about a group of people and offer an explanation for their social behaviour. In addition to being shapers of social lives, norms are also seen as being constraints to development and change in societies, particularly since they could be mere manifestations of customary and long-established social traditions, stereotypes and beliefs. In fact, when certain traditions become an integral, even sometimes unquestionable part of social, ideological or political life, they turn into what Chesterman calls '*de facto* norms' (1997: 51). When this is the case, norms are hard to break and this is simply because they become prevalent and entrenched in the social system. These norms which become the essence

of our existence also develop into 'dominant (by gradual emergence or via antagonistic struggle, or both) and influential on thought and behaviour' (ibid.).

Barthes (1986: 98) presents a relevant view when he stresses the role that normative stereotypes play in the society and also in what proves relevant to this study: the formation of literary forms. However, for him, identifying these stereotypes continues to be a hard task which requires, particularly in the case of language, a deep scrutiny of literary forms. This is because language is both 'invented and generated' from stereotypes (ibid.). Thus, it seems, norms do not only shape our societies but also give the language we speak some of its foremost features. Owing to the power norms exert upon individuals and societies, norms have been studied extensively in different contexts and situations. Also, because of how norms manifest in language and its forms, their study has become a pressing issue in studies such as those related to translation, to which the language constraint is 'the only constraint that seems exclusive', particularly when the differences between the source and target languages are concerned (Chesterman, 1997: 78). Before a detailed discussion of translation norms which presents Toury and Chesterman's translational norms, it will be helpful to look into language-related norms. For this purpose, Barthes' theory of language (1986) will be drawn upon in the following section.

3.1.1.1 Barthes' language-related norms

Rules are fixed regulations that should be (sometimes, must be) adhered to or followed, e.g. syntactical structures, grammatical forms, etc. Norms, on the contrary, are the unquestionable, taken-for-granted notions of *correctness* and applicability that a group of people understand and embrace. Indeed, understanding is a vital part of the process of norm reception, establishment and activation because it ensures the acceptance of these norms by the society. In this respect, norms assume a role similar to that of rules in certain contexts particularly when people take them for granted. As a result, norms become an integral part of their social traditions and practices, and hence Chesterman's reference to '*de facto* norms' that are very hard to break (see 2.2.1 above).

The mythical power which norms exert upon us as individuals can be best realized in their ability to turn the unnatural into the natural. In Barthes' (1986: 65) words,

> myth consists in turning culture into nature, or at least turning the social, the cultural, the ideological, the historical into the ''natural'' […] the quite contingent grounds of the statement become, under the effect of mythic inversion, Common Sense, Right Reason, the Norm, Public Opinion, in a word, the *Endoxa* (the secular figure of the Origin).

The above quotation stresses the influence myth has in creating socio-cultural 'Truths' that are deemed acceptable and therefore unquestionable (see 2.1.5.3 above). These taken-for-granted 'Truths' are so because we believe in them, never question their validity, and because they guarantee an unperturbed existence for us. Barthes refers to this as the victory of norms which results in a 'triumph of signifieds' (ibid.: 74). What this implies is that signifieds, which Barthes sees as always infinite and never static, can 'triumph' by becoming 'truths' (i.e. not as ever changing as other post-structuralists argue) in texts, where reading and interpretation processes are involved, and when the text as a result 'ceases to be text' (1986: 74). When norms and stereotypes become established truths, social meanings cease to have multiple interpretations and start to be static and predictable which consequently deprives social forms from changing. Language is also an activity governed by normative behaviour and deeply affected by certain normative laws and regulations. To revisit the notion of 'correctness' mentioned earlier, which norms stand for in our minds, it should be noted that correct simply means what is deemed acceptable by a group of people, even if it is not a 'rule'. After all, our language use is both permeated by the norms as well as the rules we are familiar with. Similar views are presented by Toury (1995) in his norm theory. These will be discussed in the following section and followed by the account of norms given by Chesterman (1997).

3.1.2 Norms of translation

As pointed out earlier, the study of norms is not only relevant or needed in a sociological or perhaps anthropological study; a study of norms can also prove crucial where language is the main subject of investigation. Because the linguistic forms which are used by a group of people during a specific period of time can hold the key to reaching a general understanding of this group's social attitudes and behaviours and can also be indices pointing to general cultural practices and traditions which might be the result of conforming to a set of norms, a study of these norms become

necessary. In translation studies, there has been much theoretical reflection on the nature of norms.

Toury (1995), Chesterman (1997), Hermans (1999), Hatim (2001) and others see translation as a norm-governed activity, and also find translators' choices as indices pointing to the workings of norms and as attributable to a variety of influences of which a crucial one is ideological consideration. Cheung (in Hermans *et al.* (eds.), 2002: 144) also refers to it thus: 'ideology acts on us all the time – as norms, constraints, regulations, prohibition, dogmas or orthodoxies'. In this sense, translation norms become ideological norms and constraints, and translators become 'ideological channels' and people who are 'possessed' by what 'ideological norms' tell them to do (Calzada-Pérez, 2003: 7). Among the scholars who investigated the role of norms in translation, Toury has firmly installed the concept of norms in translation studies, not only because the concept of norms was first introduced by him but also because he made it possible for researchers to recognise norms as being 'central to the act and the event of translating' (Schäffner, 1999: 5) and perhaps most importantly 'a category for descriptive analysis of translation phenomena' (Toury, 1980: 57). Thus, the following section gives an account of his study of norms.

3.1.2.1 Toury's methodological approach to norms

3.1.2.1.1 A three-phase methodology within DTS
Toury's (1995) work focuses on developing a general theory of translation, in which special attention is paid to theoretical and, more importantly, methodological issues in the field. His main aim was the development of 'systematic descriptive branch', as Munday (2001: 110) highlights, which would make it possible for theorists to replace 'isolated free-standing' (ibid.) studies in the field. In Toury's (1995: 3) words:

> What is missing is not isolated attempts reflecting excellent intuitions [...] but a systematic branch proceeding from clear assumptions and armed with a methodology and research techniques made explicit as possible and justified within translation studies itself.

And Toury (ibid.) does what he proposes, by developing his three-phase methodology for DTS. This methodology incorporates a description of the translation product and its surrounding socio-cultural system:

1) Situate the target text within the target culture system and evaluate its adequacy and significance;

2) Compare the ST and TT(s) for shifts, while attempting to recognize relationships between 'coupled pairs' or ST and TT segments;

3) See if attempts to generalise are possible.

Despite the originality of Toury's methodological approach, issues still remain unresolved regarding the second step in his methodology. In other words, the decisions as to what segments should be compared and what relationship exists between these are controversial areas which Toury did not properly address. Toury (1995: 53) only suggests that decisions are made according to an 'apparatus' with which translation theory supplies the researcher. Not even translation theorists have been able to reach an agreement as to what the rules governing this process should be.

Toury (1995: 77) revised the above model, and what remains today is a 'mapping of the TT onto the ST which yields a series of (*ad hoc*) coupled pairs'. Toury (ibid.: 80) admits that his model was 'partial' and 'indirect' and requires 'continuous revision' during the analysis itself. His method is certainly flexible and non-prescriptive', as Munday (2001: 111) puts it, which makes it possible to apply to various types of text and text analysis. One of the main aims of Toury's proposal of the above methodological tools was the identification of trends of translational behaviour. This, in turn, will help in making generalisations regarding translator's decisions and the 'norms' that govern these decisions. Accordingly, the following section focuses on norms as discussed by Toury (1995).

3.1.2.1.2 Translators' normative behaviour
The uniqueness of Toury's (1995) contribution to DTS lies in his adoption of a sociological vision of norms, and in his interest in analysing translator's subjective behaviour. His understanding of norms as regularities of behaviour, which implies a major focus on a translator's action and not only linguistic and textual structures, encouraged researchers to start viewing translations and translators in a new light. Toury's approach emphasized translators' active social and cultural roles, and the focus was now on socio-cultural relations, not only texts. Pym (2006: 2) stresses the

significance of applying similar approaches to translations as this would enable researchers to establish a 'sociology of translators' not just translations. Furthermore, such a method will certainly help us understand how a text functions in its context. For him, a focus on the social and the cultural in approaching and analysing translations (and translators) is heavily reliant on giving equal attention to textual structures (e.g. shifts) as well as translators' behaviour manifest in the norms that govern their behaviour and affect their production.

According to Toury, norms are 'performance instructions' that always imply 'sanctions' and affect the entire process of translation (1995: 55). He distinguishes three kinds of translation norms: the initial norm, preliminary norms and operational norms. To start with, the initial norm governs the translator's choice to subject him-/herself to either the norms of the source text or to those active in the target culture. If the translator opts for the norms of the ST and the retention of the ST features and textual relations in a translation (ibid.: 1995), a notion similar to what Venuti (1995) calls 'foreignising translation', this translation would then be described as 'adequate'. On the other hand, when the translator's choice is based on a decision of subscribing to usage in the receptor culture, the translation's overall orientation would be that of 'acceptability'. This brings to mind the notion of 'domestication', which displays a tendency to familiarise all linguistic and cultural peculiarities of the ST *consciously* so that it becomes 'transparent', 'invisible', and unchallenging to the target language readership (Venuti, 1995:19-20).

Preliminary norms are the norms that concern the choice of texts to be translated, the nature of translation techniques to follow, the nature of the source language(s), etc. In other words, preliminary norms are the ones that regulate or govern choices made prior to the act of translation (Toury, 1995: 55). In contrast, operational norms, which constitute another category in Toury's theory, guide decision-making during the translation process, and they include (a) textual-linguistic norms which affect the translator's choice of words in the target text, sentence-structures and the like in the target text (TT) (ibid.) and (b) matricial norms which relate to changes made to the ST in translation regarding how much of the text is translated.

It is essential at this stage to draw on the norms discussed by Chesterman (1997), as he draws on Toury's (1995) account of norms.

3.1.2.2 Chesterman's norms

Norms, Chesterman (1997: 58) argues, 'set […] boundaries to [any] permissible deviance' from the accepted norm. They are described as conventions which establish the arbitrariness of linguistic forms and structures (ibid.). A different notion of norms (see Barthes, 1986: 110) defines them as being agents that enjoy a prescriptive influence over language, which means that they are not merely arbitrary conventions. I would like to argue in favour of Chesterman's distinction (which he borrows from Toury (1995)) between norms and conventions. However, unlike Chesterman, I would like to maintain that norms are not utterly prescriptive, but 'have fuzzy boundaries, and some seem stronger than others' (Snell-Hornby, 1988, in Chesterman, 1997: 58). This explains the fact that norms range from obligatory, which are well-established in a culture, a society or a language as rules, and to the extent that they become hard to contravene, to preferred, which are closer to idiosyncrasies.

Toury's norms intersect with Chesterman's expectancy norms, which are 'established by the expectations of readers of a translation (of a given type) concerning what a translation (of this type) should be like' (Chesterman, 1997: 64). Likewise, Toury's norms might also be established by readers' expectations (whether the translation should be 'adequate', or 'acceptable'). These expectations, suggests Chesterman, can be influenced by the existence of 'parallel texts' in the target culture and also by the ideological frames of that culture (ibid: 64). However, expectancy norms are never absolute since readers' expectations are never the same in all cultures or even within the same culture. While, according to Venuti (1995: 6), translations are always expected to be domesticised in Anglo-American societies, leaving the impression that the text was originally written in the language into which it has been translated, readers from other cultures might expect it to be foreignised.

A second category of norms which has been suggested by Chesterman is professional norms. These norms govern the translation process in terms of accepted strategies that translators can use in the act of translating. These can be subdivided into three kinds: accountability, communication and relation norms. Accountability norms hold the translators accountable for fulfilling certain 'professional standards of integrity and

thoroughness' (Chesterman, 1997: 68). The communication norm, on the other hand, dictates that a 'translator should act in such a way as to optimize communication, as required by the situation, between all parties involved' in the act of translation (ibid.: 69). Finally, the relation norm means that translators should seek to establish and maintain 'an appropriate relation or relevant similarity […] between the source text and the target text' (ibid.).

3.1.2.3 Norms and their ideological power

If one calls to mind expectancy norms, one would find out that these norms are not necessarily adhered to. Translators might seek to establish their *own* norms in conformity with their *own* priorities and their *own* goals. As a result, translators become preoccupied by what their norms tell them to do, not by 'what ought to happen, how things should be' (Hermans, 1999: 84). Chesterman (1997) mentions that there are translations that seem to go deliberately against expectancy norms and that some translators claim that their intention is precisely to flout the expectancy norms of the target culture. In these cases, some translators usually have higher priorities which necessitate breaking these norms and translating in some different way. These priorities include the translator's ideological conviction of how to have the source culture best (re)presented, and their loyalty to some or perhaps all aspects of the ST because of some ideological belief (1997: 66). This might as well apply to Toury's norms; a translator, for example, might flout textual-linguistic norms by making a marked word choice in the TT for the sake of stressing certain ideological features which, s/he might think, are more important to promote.

Lefevere (1992: 39) backs up the point when he argues that, for translators, preserving ideological aspects in the TT is more significant than linguistic considerations: 'If linguistic considerations enter into conflict with considerations of an ideological nature, the latter tend to win out'. All this makes the translator a decision-maker, not 'a faceless and absent individual involved in an automatic activity' (Hewson, in Simms (ed.), 1997: 56). Chesterman (1997: 30) also presents a similar notion of what the translator is capable of, when he states that 'translating is transcoding' and that when translators are at work, they perform an act of decoding followed by one of recoding. Translation consequently becomes a rewriting of the original text and the translator, inevitably, a manipulator and 'reproducer of norms' (Hewson, in Simms

(ed.), 1997: 54). On his part, Chesterman has introduced the term 'emancipatory translation' to refer to the translation strategy which enables the translator to become 'a responsible agent exercising freedom of choice' and ability to decide when they wish to break translational norms and perhaps establish their own (1997: 191).

As suggested earlier, translators might have ideological preferences that lead them to overlook the ST linguistic features that are expected to be injected in to the TT. This can be noticeable in a translator's choice to carry out a certain translation which seems to display an adherence to target norms and linguistic preferences. It remains to say that the notion of norms 'ultimately gives priority to the target text, rather than the source text' (Baker, 1998: 165). This was also a reason why norm theory has been effectively established in translation studies as an operative term which has been able to overshadow other concepts such as 'equivalence' (Hermans, 1995: 217).

Norms are pertinent because the major focus of the research question is examining the relevance of the general cultural approach in Arabic to the translation decisions made in rendering the English source text into Arabic. Thus, it is essential to look into decisions made according to rules or language versus others made as a result of being influenced by norms of language. Norms are also necessary because they seem to assist in finding a sound explanation for some of the practices found in translations.

Furthermore, norms are suitable to the purpose of this study because they enjoy a close relationship with ideology, in the sense that they can be regarded as dominant ideologies which have become ingrained in everyday discourse. Like ideologies, norms can be said to have become 'rationalized as ''common-sense'' assumptions about the way things are and the ways things should be' (Simpson, 1993: 5). This kind of naturalisation, also referred to above (see section 2.1 above, particularly Barthes' reference to myth), makes language users, including translators, no longer aware of the hierarchies and different systems which shape their linguistic repertoire and interaction. This is relevant to the question of gender in this study, for it is argued that gender use and relations are dominated by linguistic norms and are therefore not natural but rather naturalised and, therefore, often go unquestioned.

The following section will, first of all, provide a general account of the term 'gender' and situate it in a social context. Then I move on to discussing gender in more specific terms, in relation to the Arabic language and culture. Grammatical as well as social forms of gender will be discussed

3.2 The gendered face of language: an overview

Gender issues have made sizeable inroads into the academic and political domains. As a result, numerous studies have been conducted on the topic of gender (Todd and Fisher (eds.), 1988; Lee, 1992; Simon, 1996; Burn, 1996; von Flotow, 1997; Joseph, 2000; Booth, 2001, 2010 (ed.), 2013 (ed.); Litosseliti and Sunderland, 2002; Wadud, 2006; Harrington *et al.*, 2008; Levine, 2009; Thompson and Armato, 2012; and many others). Gender issues first came to researchers' attention in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Gender was first understood by many to be an equivalent of 'sex', explaining biological sexual differences between the sexes. This notion later changed and the term gender started to be used in order to refer to 'the socio-cultural construction of *both* sexes' (von Flotow, 1997: 5). This construction does not have to do with whether one is born a male or a female. It is to feminists that the development of the connotations of the term gender is attributed. And feminists did so in order to examine and understand social differences between women and men (ibid.: 5). More importantly, gender was necessary for feminist thinking because feminists, who understood gender to be 'the basis of women's subordination in public and private life' (ibid.: 6), needed to use this social weapon - which was used to eradicate women (linguistically speaking) - to fight back. Gender was viewed as a social and ideological phenomenon affecting women, and that was partly because of all the normative social behaviours that it fostered (Todd and Fisher (eds.), 1988: 2). Others, i.e. anti-feminists, however, did not agree; rather, they found in norms a necessary agent which regulates gender roles in society (ibid.: 2). Those believed that adherence to traditional gender roles where men were 'instrumental' and active and women 'expressive' and passive insured a 'functional society' (ibid.: 3). Thus, the debate has persisted.

By introducing gender as a social construct, it has become feasible to transfer relations between the sexes from biology to society. Simon (1996) presents a similar notion when she states that 'gender is never a primary identity emerging out of the

depths of the self, but a discursive construction enunciated at multiple sites' (ibid.: 7). In other words, gender reflects experience, which helps in constructing and shaping women's and men's social identities; 'gender takes form through social consciousness' (ibid.: 5). By the same token, Burn (1996: xiv) states that 'the topic of gender is enormously relevant to both the individual and society'. This does not however confine the significance of gender to the individual and society only. Rather, it applies them to another, even more significant, realm, which is language. The term 'gender' has affected both the production and reception of language in society. Attention has been strongly directed to the fact that language contributes a great deal to the reflection of social realities and inequalities, and sometimes to the creation of these (Simon, 1996: 9), for 'language does not simply ''mirror'' reality, but contributes to it [and] language intervenes actively in the creation of meaning' (ibid.). After all, in order for feminists to challenge, even reverse, existing male-oriented social realities, they need to make language gender-inclusive. Further, they should strive to master the existing gender discourse which is 'manifested in particular ways of using language and other symbolic [and semiotic] forms' (Fairclough, 1992: 3).

Feminists have postulated that language was man-identified. Language, for them, has also always been a tool for the oppression of women. Thus, they started experimenting with language, finding ways of making language more feminine and thus less oppressive. What they did was that 'they proved a powerful source of new ideas, new language and new uses of ''old'' language' (von Flotow, 1997: 11). This has been done through a wave of creative writing, reading and rereading, publishing, teaching, translating, etc. (ibid.: 11). A pioneer in this was Nicole Brossard, who proved to be an exceptional author whose experimental writing paved the way for new and unique feminist concepts and 'new language and new literary forms' (ibid.). Most significantly, her work was purported to dismantle the power hierarchies that are invested in patriarchal language, and invent new ways of speaking about women's experiences and lives. Only a new language, feminists maintained, would enable feminists, and possibly women in general, to free themselves from the prison into which patriarchal forms of language put them. Feminist thinking thus advocates that 'issues of sexism or women's silencing [in all its forms, e.g. language] need not only be pointed out [but] solved with deliberate feminist intervention that redresses the imbalance and places women directly into the language' (ibid.: 28).

This and other similar views of language have made it necessary for feminists to reflect on language and language use in the study of gender. After all, in order for feminists to challenge, even reverse, existing male-oriented social realities, they need to master language and work hard on making it gender-inclusive, that is, woman-friendly. Further, they should strive to master the existing gender discourse which is 'manifested in particular ways of using language and other symbolic [and semiotic] forms' (Fairclough, 1992: 3). In other words, what feminists should do is 'understand how it [gender] is constructed so it can be deconstructed in discourse' (Todd and Fisher, 1988: 11). Thus, a discussion on gender as discourse will be presented next.

3.2.1 Gender and discourse: gender as discourse

'There is a pervasive ideology which tends to downgrade, marginalize and exclude women' (Lee, 1992: 110). This 'pervasive ideology' is referred to as sexist discourse which operates through language. We normally inject the language we use with the ideas that we believe in and the points of view that we express, i.e. ideologies (Simpson, 1993: 5). These linguistic practices build up discourses which might have detrimental effects on individuals in their societies. As Lee (1992: 110) argues, 'the linguistic practices in question play a crucial role in the creation and perpetuation of perspective'. What is even more significant is that these have become part and parcel of the social processes that 'shape and mould our orientation to social reality' (ibid.: 111).

The view has been that 'certain ideologies become naturalized or common' to the extent that they start to act as social (or linguistic) norms that govern our language use and linguistic understanding (ibid.: 5). Thus, when sexist messages are 'transmitted continuously […] they penetrate the unconscious, being stored there in the form of images' (Hodge and Kress, 1979/1993: 82). These messages might become engrained social stereotypes as a result of assigning normative roles to both men and women and conveying these in discourse.

Sexist discourse and the practices it brings about in language have received considerable attention in the literature on language and gender. One particular practice

has been the use of male pronouns and other male-oriented terms (he, man, chairman, etc.) to refer to people in general. While these terms had long been traditionally considered as male-oriented, there were researchers (e.g. Lee, 1992: 114) who argued that these terms have a truly generic sense, supporting their argument by saying that, for instance, 'man ''has'' or ''possesses'' two distinct senses' (Lee, 1992: 114). Another major, but less strong, argument is sometimes based on the concept of author intention: if an author uses the generic male (he, his, etc.) with the intention of including women, then the author's intended meaning is 'the authority for resolving any possible ambiguities' (ibid.: 115). However, this claim is very dangerous because one cannot always be sure as to what the author really intends to mean by using a word like this, unless he/she says so him-/herself.

Similar gender issues have also been the centre of attention in languages other than English. Arabic has a different grammatical system from that of English in terms of gender rules. Arabic dictates that nouns, pronouns, verbs and adjectives need to be gender-identified. These must be either masculine or feminine. 'All other parts of speech are not marked by gender' (Alhawary, 2011: 36). Generally, the feminine is even formed out of the masculine. This is usually done by adding either suffixes or prefixes to the masculine word. Another crucial gender fact in Arabic is that the verb is always assumed masculine and said to be inclusive of the feminine (ibid.: 37- 44). Arabic is still far behind English in avoiding the 'generic male' in both writing and speaking. In this, Arabic attributes extra content to the form which is always masculine. In Arabic there is a large gap between the form and the content: form is masculine and it incorporates the feminine. This makes it clear that the feminine is mostly referred to be means of the masculine and as being part of the masculine, never as an independent entity. Like so many other languages, Arabic still 'subsumes women under the category of ''Man''' (von Flotow, 1997: 9) which hampers a strong representation of women in language. This has led to the creation of rather static gender stereotypes in Arabic language and society: (for a detailed discussion on this, see Adonis, 1973/2011; Muqaddam, 2010; El Sadda, 2012). An example of this is in the fact that in Arabic, the agreement in subject and verb always favours the masculine over the feminine; even when the subject is '*nine* women and *one* man', the verb will still be masculine (Khalil, 1999, 2000; Abdel-Hafiz, 2005). Any change to the rule, i.e. using a feminine verb in the above example, will constitute a major

comprehension problem, in that going against the rule and using a feminine verb would mean only one thing: the subject is a female. This shows that effecting certain gender changes that would go against this rule in Arabic would, most likely, mean a change on at least two levels: linguistic and socio-semiotic.

Thus, the impact of gender in the production of the differing relationships of men and women to language and social practices cannot be ignored and should not be underestimated. This impact, as Joseph (2000: 4) states, has made women and men 'disempowered and empowered differently'. Thus, gender roles in language cannot simply be considered as harmless linguistic realities, particularly since language, as a means of communication, continues to shape our daily experiences and perceptions of the world. The roots for this are said to be, first and foremost, religious. In the sections that follow, I will present an argument which was put forward in 2010 by a female theorist, namely the Lebanese Yusra Muqaddam, who exposed the negative influence of religious bias towards women on the Arabic language. This had made it impossible to effect any promising changes in the Arabic grammar[11]. Despite the fact that Joseph fails to provide an in-depth account of this problem of bias in the Arabic grammar (such as Muqaddam (2010) does), her discussion still succeeds in drawing strong links between female oppression and its roots in the Arab society (the writer approaches the Arab society as being one in the Arab region, with similarities outweighing differences between the various individual societies) and the critical approach it presents to Islamic, and particularly Quranic Law.

3.2.2 Gender, language and the Islamic law

Hoodfar (Chap. 14, in Joseph, 2000: 14) argues that 'Islamic Shari'a has been a masculine discipline'. Male-centered readings of Qur'anic texts, in particular, and Islamic texts, in general, have contributed a great deal to strengthening women's submission to men in their societies. 'Men are the protectors of women', the Qur'an reads, not their masters.

A substantial number of women in the Arab women have been secluded in their homes and from the religious and social lives (Fernea, 1998: 215). Women's

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[11] Joseph's discussion falls short of providing a systematic and detailed account of the bias in language. For such an account, see Muqaddam (2010).

liberation from gender confinement - the restrictions that being a woman brings about
- necessitates, as Fernea (ibid.) states, 'a revival of Islamic thought and a renewal
within the whole field of Islamic jurisprudence'. Women have never played a part in
interpreting or implementing Islamic law. Even when women had the opportunity to
be educated in the theological schools of the great mosques, this never granted them
the ability to issue fatwas (i.e. Islamic decrees) or serve as judges in the religious
courts (ibid.: 215). A new - a female - interpretation of the Quran and Sunna [the
sacred laws] is urgently needed, Fernea (ibid.) maintains. This need has also been
voiced by Arab and Islamic feminists since the sixties of the last century. Scholars
such as Amin, Tahtawi, Abdo, among others, presented attempts which were then
seen as ahead of their time, but which nonetheless were unable to address very
sensitive issues that relate to women's wellbeing and freedom, and most importantly,
they fell short of exposing problems within religious thought and Shari'a Law which
made any progress in the situation of women through language then totally out of the
question. The issues they focused on were only related to how women should be
allowed to go outside their homes (but not be part of the social life) and be able to
have an education. Ground-breaking essays and books were written by daring scholars
such as Nawal El-Saadawi, an Egyptian physician and radical feminist who is
considered one of the pioneers in the women's liberation movement in the Arab
world. El-Saadawi's attempts (1988, 1989, 1999, 2007, 2011) focused on women's
social, rather than linguistic, liberation, in exactly the same way as most attempts by
other researchers have done (Malti-Douglas, 1995; Gardner, 1995; Fernea, 1998; Al-
Mughni, 2001; Khalaf and Gagnon, 2006). Perhaps the only book which addressed
issues related to the linguistic as well as social unfairness against women was a
revolutionary book, *The Linguistic Harem*, by Yusra Muqaddam who felt the urgent
need for such a book in the Arab region. Muqaddam's discussion will therefore be
presented in the following section.

3.2.2.1 *The Language Harem*: a book or a reality?
The Language Harem was witten originally in Arabic and published in 2010 under the
title '*Al-Harem Al-Lughawi*' and addressed the very sensitive nature of feminine life
and freedom. The need for this book, in Muqaddam's own words, was to address
certain questions which have long tortured her mind and soul (2010: 9-10). These
questions expose women's realities everywhere in the Arab world as well as the

Arabic language and its unfair rules. The title of the book introduces the writer's main concern and core problem. Harem is a key concept in the book, being the word which testifies to a dark history and present of female life in the Arab world. Harem refers to women who are dependent on and who are considered to be somebody's (normally a man's) belonging. Also, a man can marry as many as four women at a time; these women are considered the man's harem and, therefore, property. The writer employs the term to project the situation on language, drawing the attention to how femininity in the Arabic language is considered a part of a whole. The feminine in language is therefore seen as dependent on the masculine, and prevented from enjoying the masculine status in language.

The book is not only ground-breaking because it exposes a problem but also because it addresses this problem and shows why and how it has become so. The problem has, in the writer's view, a multi-dimensional nature. It is socio-religious, historical and linguistic. Understanding these factors makes an overview of Muqaddam's most relevant discussions a must at this stage. Therefore, the following section deals with Muqaddam's ground-breaking attempt by presenting a detailed account, which is necessary if we are to understand Muqaddam's complex arguments. In the book, Muqaddam focuses on the social norms, concepts and views which have been turned into beliefs in the Arab societies. These norms have become very popular due to the belief which renders them the origin and basis for all morals. The role of language is not a matter to be taken lightly here. Muqaddam sees in language the power which assists in making these norms socially entrenched and deeply rooted as they are in our Arab societies. These practices also strengthen an unfair division between the masculine and the feminine on biological, mental, social and political levels (2010: 9-11). This is normally done supported by a view which extols the masculine and demeans the feminine, widening thereby the rift between the first and the second, the original and the unoriginal, and the central and the peripheral (ibid.).

This writer is haunted by a persisting need to address and, most importantly, shake the stagnant and taken-for-granted social beliefs. These beliefs have become inseparable from the Arabic language which reflects them in the different grammatical and linguistic forms. Muqaddam's main objective is to address the several forms of violation which belittle the concept of 'the female' and paralyze it in the language

mind, structure, vocabulary and expressions (ibid.: 11-12). What irritates the writer most is this 'female's' accumulated historical degradation which has long deprived women from enjoying an acknowledged existence in language, in exactly the same fashion as men. This male is, in Muqaddam's view, the power which stripped the female of her legal linguistic rights. Muqaddam's discussion raises a very relevant question: is the language, which seems to have surrendered to its destiny, (i.e. the male has stupendous superiority) to blame here? Or do the different historical factors (patriarchy, male hegemony, religious support of female humiliation) contribute to the current status of language which has long been controlled by fierce and unforgiving male laws? Undoubtedly, as Muqaddam confirms, there has been acute distortion which affected the language and disfigured its soul, particularly in relation to the concept of 'female' in the Arabic heritage (ibid.: 16). Her effort is to uncover these distorting factors and their social, political, cultural and religious dimensions. This is not to forget the linguistic dimension which is the most significant of all in this context and the cumulative result of the other factors mentioned earlier. Relevant to this discussion is also the interrelationship between the language and the human being, for it is the human who produces the language (ibid.: 21).

In Muqaddam's view, the masculine becomes the one and only and is what forms the feminine, in line with the views of scholars such as Ibn Jinni, Al-Sigistani and Al-Inbari (ibid.: 23). Even Arabic dictionaries have always made the relationship between the masculine and the feminine what it is (ibid.: 36), as a way of reinforcing the differences between the two, the differences which ensure the superior status of the masculine according to old myths such as the one which states that Eve was created from Adam's rib (ibid.: 35). Muqaddam refutes the myth, saying that the Quran itself does not support it with any evidence. On the contrary, the Quran equates the masculine and the feminine. Muqaddam supports her argument with the following Quranic verse: 'God has created you (plural) from <u>one soul</u> (feminine) and has created its (feminine) partner (masculine)' (ibid., my translation).

Muqaddam's obsession with the question of the feminine in language is evident everywhere in her book. She begins her quest by paying full attention to the issue of 'the stagnant ideas which have contributed to the creation and fortification of some taken-for-granted, never questioned norms in the Arabic societies' (2010: 9, my

translation). These norms and beliefs have even been made difficult, even impossible, to criticise. In fact, critics could face the fate of social exclusion should they dare to question (ibid.). In her quest for the truth about why the feminine is so trivialised, so dehumanised in the language, the writer sees one ideology which could be the perpetrator. This ideology, as she describes it, is of the 'totalitarian kind which presents itself as the best and sole truth about the world (with the exception of some periods, of course) and which arms itself with the authority of the one and disregards the other' (ibid.: 11, my translation). Such an ideology has one objective, that is, 'to silence the mind and falsify the consciousness' (ibid., my translation). But this ideology cannot do all of this on its own; 'in order to keep the dividing line between the sexes deeply rooted in knowledge production in Arabic culture, this ideology must be highly dependent on the authority of explanatory texts' (ibid., my translation).

The reference to 'explanatory texts' here is relevant to the question for which Muqaddam seeks answers. Explanatory texts refer to those which explain original texts such the Quran, for example, and which have become the texts we refer to in order to form our understanding about the world. The point which Muqaddam seems to be making here is that the exegesis of sacred texts is a rather intricate matter and that interpretations of these texts which are mostly male-centred, have deprived the female from a well-deserved social and linguistic presence. The current status of the 'female' in language can therefore be safely attributed to the male-centered interpretations of texts, particularly sacred texts which play a central role in validating certain beliefs and norms in societies. In other words, the 'female' in language has beenaffected by the status given to the 'feminine', especially in sacred texts, and this indicated that any negative attributes given to the feminine in language might have influenced the social representations ofthe female and vice versa.

Significant as it is, biased interpretation of sacred texts is not the most important factor to take into consideration in the quest for the feminine presence in the Arabic language. Rather, the history of the relationship between the femaleand the malein society and the effect this history has had on the formation of the identity of the feminine in language seems to occupy most of Muqaddam's attention in her book. Muqaddam (2010: 13, my translation) makes sure that the introduction does not only

introduce the aims and objectives of her book, but also lays bare her personal motives behind it and admits her subjective stance:

> I will not, and cannot, be neutral in my quest to answer questions about the masculine and the feminine. Being neutral is an allegation which I cannot afford. Further, being neutral is something which only those who have justice can do. I cannot because I am a female and females are not treated with justice.

Muqaddam also makes the point of how language in general, Arabic in particular, is far from innocent or neutral. In Muqaddam's words: 'In the Arabic history, both past and present, the question of the masculine and feminine cannot be about the language or the grammar only, unless we see language as a non-biased structure and forget all about the history of why language has become what it is now' (2010: 15, my translation). Muqaddam stresses the danger of treating language as a neutral entity which does not have anything to do with our historical and social make-up (ibid.). Muqaddam accuses the Arabic language of being sexist, debasing the female through language use, not only because it tends to forefront the masculine and marginalize the feminine, but also because male grammarians and linguists make it so with the bias and masculine interpretations they inject into it. She, therefore, stresses the risk we take when we regard language (words, grammar, structure, etc.) as haphazard signs whose signifiers and signifieds have arbitrary relations (ibid.: 21).

Muqaddam hastens to stress the role which the Arabic language plays in alienating the feminine by simply mirroring a social desire which seeks to suppress the feminine and marginalize it (ibid.: 31). Written law is a matter which cannot be taken lightly here. Muqaddam blames the strict laws (sometimes religious-norms-turned-social-laws)[12] which control the Arabic language and grammar for the destiny of the feminine in language today (ibid.). These laws have made language very rigid and unable to enjoy any newness and creativity, similar to the master's harem who always abides by his orders. In Muqaddam's words, 'the creative language, the ''just'' by nature, becomes an easy victim of rules. These rules are what strips the language of its creativity by

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[12]Muqaddam draws on the story of the religious story of Eve being created from Adam's lower rib and how it has become a pretext for subsuming woman under the category of 'man' in the grammar. Muqaddam argues that the Arabic grammar is but a reflection of interpretations of religious texts (2010: 31-2).

silencing its 'seductive feminine' whose voice has always been considered, up until the present day, to be one of the taboos' (ibid.: 33, my translation).

She further makes the point that some of our ideas about the feminine are mere reflections of 'patriarchal myths' which make the female an 'emblem of corruption, evil, deception, and contriving' (Muqaddam, 2010: 46, my translation). Therefore, in Muqaddam's view, there is a close association between the feminine in the grammar and the female in the society. This interrelationship, the author continues, is biased. For her, 'assigning a gender to a given word has nothing to do with reason' (2010: 45-6, my translation). She (ibid.) argues:

> Assigning a gender to a given word has nothing to do with reason. Our rich imagination forms our thinking of inanimate objects and stirs it into relating these objects to either masculinity or femininity, according to what we think of them […] We see a woman as a mysterious human being and this makes us call feminine everything which has this quality or bears resemblance to a woman.

The bias in Arabic grammar and its association with socio-political and religious 'myths' about the sexes, which the author seems to stress throughout her book and which would seem a mere authorial speculation for the lack of evidence in the previous chapters, is finally substantiated in chapter IV. The author provides a vivid example from Arabic grammar about the use of a masculine adjective with 'woman' or 'she' (this goes against the general rule which dictates that the noun should match its adjective in gender, number, etc.) when the action involved and done by the woman is normally considered a man's role or job as recognized by the society. For example, in Arabic, it is not strange to hear 'HaDhH (feminine) WaKYLY' (this woman is my 'agent'), with agent here used in its masculine form. Muqaddam (2010: 46-7, my translation) finds it difficult to understand the excuse given in the grammatical rule which justifies such a use. The rule reads: 'if the suffix which denotes femininity is dropped when the reference is made to a feminine noun, this is done for the sake of making pronunciation easier'. Muqaddam finds fault with this rule, supporting her view with another rule which reads 'she is a divorced (divorced is masculine) woman because the man cannot be divorced' (ibid.: 47, my translation). The Arabic equivalent of divorced in this sentence is masculine and clearly not used for pronunciation reasons; the rule makes it clear that the Arabic word for 'divorced'

here is used with 'woman' only because it cannot be used with 'man' for a man is the doer, the one who divorces and never the one who gets divorced. But once again, Muqaddam is able to uncover a wrongful practice in this rule; in Arabic legislation, a woman is able to divorce her husband (who will become eventually divorced) if she asks for this and is given the right to do so before the marriage is consummated. So the grammatical rule only draws on a general legal issue and does not recognize the exception, something which calls for scrutiny (ibid.).

Muqaddam also questions other exceptions to the general rule of masculinity and femininity. The exception she focuses on is 'making the feminine masculine and vice versa'. She draws on Ibn Jinni's explanation of this exception and, again, reveals its biased grammatical nature. In *Al-Khasa'is* (meaning Qualities), the grammarian Ibn Jinni (Part 2, page 413, in Muqaddam 2010: 48, my translation) states that 'making a feminine masculine is recognized and widespread because it is allowing the feminine which is created out of the masculine to return to its masculine origin; however, making the masculine feminine is strange and unacceptable'. This, Muqaddam protests, does not only degrade the feminine even more by making it 'original' only by virtue of a masculine guardian, but also protects the masculine from being blemished with a feminine reference, simply because such a practice is merely 'strange'. If Ibn Jinni above finds feminizing the masculine 'unacceptable', others such as Bin Al-Anbari (1970: 46, in Muqaddam 2010: 49, my translation) justify feminizing the masculine by suggesting that this only happens when the aim is to 'exaggerate, punish, or indicate maternal relations'. So, Muqaddam wonders, are these exceptions to the rule not contradictory? How can the masculine be 'punished' at times and glorified at others? And is there no other way of punishing the masculine except by making it 'feminine'?

Muqaddam emphasizes the danger of the patriarchal cultural message which sees women as 'evil, cunning, manipulative, conspiratorial, seductive, weak, emotional, docile, lacking in brains and religion, unable to be trusted with their own selves unless they are punished and threatened' (Muqaddam, 2010: 54, my translation). The cure to this epidemic, Muqaddam concludes, is to recognize the dangerous role played by men in regulating society and language, and not fall easy victims to such regulations.

Perhaps one of the most interesting arguments that Muqaddam puts forward in her book is the discussion in Chapter V, 'Contradiction: Punishing the Feminine is Obligatory in Grammar and Prohibited in Modern Jurisprudence', Muqaddam continues to look into these regulations which have a major effect on the language we speak. First of all, she starts by questioning the language itself which, she thinks, is 'the space where reality reveals itself' (ibid.: 59, my translation). But it is this reality which the author is mostly concerned with, mainly because it seems it is best revealed in 'novel' writing. After all, this literary genre 'is the best artistic medium for the revelation of reality, not because it can change reality but because it has the power to uncover its ugly face and unforgiving bias' (ibid.: 59, my translation). Muqaddam discusses this point to draw the attention to the increasing significance of female novelists who can create some change in the reality of the female in the society and 'feminine' in grammar by producing and introducing new literary forms (ibid.: 59-60). However, she realizes that this cannot be achieved without difficulties (it may even be hardly achievable) in the current situation in language, as a result of the contradiction between what grammar and modern jurisprudence allow in terms of women rights (ibid.: 60). This contradiction becomes clearer when one looks at

> the punishing rules which are, up to this moment, embraced in grammar books and glorify female degradation. This grammatical dilemma can be said to differ, in some of its aspects, from the facts of our social reality now. The reality of the 'feminine' today and how it was in the past are worlds apart, but, unfortunately, the grammatical laws prove immune to change, despite the various attempts which try to alleviate their cruelty against the female.
>
> (ibid., my translation)

Muqaddam's point is that it is shocking, albeit promising, to find that modern jurisprudence has made sizeable inroads in attempting to change the female reality in Arab societies, while grammar is still far behind. These attempts have even addressed some issues in the Quran which relate to women and inheritance, for example, allowing Quranic laws to change if life conditions change (ibid.: 61). One of these attempts shows that women can be presidents and judges, 'for these jobs are not the man's alone' (Al-Mantiq Al-Jadid Magazine, Dr. Zeinab Shorba, 2004: 107, in Muqaddam, 2010: 61, my translation). If Quranic laws can change according to a

change in life conditions, Muqaddam complains, then why cannot grammar give in to change? Muqaddam's answer to this is simply this: norms, for norms seem to have the upper hand when it comes to how Arabic grammar behaves in regulating the relationship between the masculine and the feminine. While grammarians would argue against Muqaddam's view and suggest that rules not norms govern the masculine-feminine relations in the Arabic grammar, such an account certainly remains one that assists in the questioning of the status quo of gender relations in Arabic.

Although Muqaddam's account can be regarded an originally ground-breaking attempt to expose the association between the grammatical forms in Arabic and religious bias towards the female, it would still be useful to provide another, equally momentous account by another noteworthy Arab theorist, namely Adonis, a Syrian poet, critic and philosopher, whose work *AThabit Wal MutaHawwel* (The Static and the Changing)(1973/ 2011), has provided an extensive report on the rigid stereotypes in Arabic which can only be interpreted along religious and socio-political lines.

3.2.3 Creation of linguistic stereotypes in Arabic: socio-political and religious considerations

Having presented the relevant discussions on the gender manifestations, with a particular focus on the stereotypical forms in Arabic, this section discusses the religious and socio-political factors behind the creation of these gender stereotypes in the Arabic language. The concepts of 'power', and 'habitus' presented above (see sections 2.1.6 and 2.1.7.1) have helped pave the way for the discussion which will follow. This is because they are thought to have provided essential tools for the understanding of other relevant terms which will be forthcoming, and of particular significance to the argument on the creation of stereotypical gender forms in Arabic.

The relevance of Adonis's (1973/ 2011) research to this project is the stress he puts on understanding the effects of religion on the Arabic language and culture, which also formed a major part of Muqaddam's (2010) argument . Adonis stresses the general unitary approach to life in the Arabic language and culture (1973/2011: 15-16). He also draws our attention to the monotony which is manifest in the 'oneness'of the Arabic knowledge, culture and truth. This state of dull 'oneness' in Arabic has Islamic

roots according to Adonis (ibid.: 16). It is because, in Arabic, knowledge is known to have a prophetical transferred structure which means that Arabic is extremely reliant on prophetic texts and language. It is not based on research and questioning to the extent that, sometimes, no logical 'mental processes' and relations are even involved (ibid.: 16). Another problem is also related to the fact that in Arabic 'no knowledge falls outside the scope of prophetical traditions to the scope of interpretation; otherwise, it would be considered a blasphemous creation' (ibid.).

Texts in Arabic enjoy an authoritative presence, making them static in nature. These values do not seem to change easily, not even as time passes. There, in fact, seems to be an intrinsic tendency in Arabic to keep moving backwards (ibid.). The reason behind this is that Arabic language and culture follow strict laws which make change difficult to bring about.

Adonis (ibid.: 14) lists major criteria which hamper progress when it comes to Arab thought. These are the following:

a. religious beliefs govern Arab thought;
b. the dominant culture is the one pioneered by authorities (which is the case elsewhere too, not only in Arabic), which can be described as 'the culture of fixed or well-established thought' (ibid.);
c. individual religious knowledge has come to be recognised as the general standardised knowledge which governs all aspects of social life;
d. the structure of knowledge in Islam, which governs all aspects of social life in the Arab world, is prophetical and transferred, whereas it should be based on research, questioning and mental processes;
e. texts in Arabic are mere manifestations of 'authority' which controls literary production and results in a single 'culture' (despite the illusion that there are various and different Arab cultures), a single knowledge and a single 'Truth' despite the existing 'truths';
f. Newness in any domain is 'blasphemous', which is still the case when it comes to defying religious texts or their language (ibid.: 17);
g. Truth is one and only; no variety is allowed in essence, despite the seemingly various 'truths' (ibid.: 20).

Realising the presence and dominance of this one 'Truth' was also achieved by other Arab thinkers. Nawal El-Saadawi (2007: 47) explains the dominance of the one 'Truth' in Arabic knowledge when she says:

> We have got accustomed to the blind consumption of false information and history, which prevents us from knowing right from wrong and significant from trivial issues. We have developed a severe addiction to this kind of false knowledge or, rather, this false consciousness that is similar to any addiction to heroin.

Arabic does not encourage change which makes it hardly an example of the general laws of sociological thought proposed by Foucault, Bourdieu and Lyotard. Having this one truth, the male truth, creates a power monopoly in Arabic, and explains its rigid, unchanging forms which Muqaddam emphasized (see section 3.2.2.1). While English has started using the formula 's/he' or 'they' which make the language more inclusive, Arabic has not been as innovative (Baker, 1992; Hatim and Mason, 1990).Only modest attempts have been witnessed, but are not actually widely recorded. Even in the ArabiCorpus confirmatory analysis (see Chapter 5), only a few attempts have been recorded. This shows, yet again, how slow progress still is, and that most attempts are still fixated on social gender realities, rather than linguistic, which are believed to have broadly contributed to the creating and preserving of these realities. This means that, for now, the Arabic language still continues to be governed by masculine forms and rules, on both linguistic and social levels.This, however, by no means indicates that these neutralising gender practices were, or are, the main indicator of a feminist change that was brought about in language.Far more radical approaches to the issue of gender in languagehave been recorded in the literature on gender; however, these have been more social-oriented than linguistic, as suggested earlier.

Grasping the significance of the above discussion and the relevance it has to the data analysis is not attainable without an understanding of how gender operates in Arabic. What follows, therefore, presents explanatory accounts of grammatical and social representations of gender in Arabic.

3.2.4 Gender in Arabic

Gender in Arabic can be either natural 'referring to humans and animals with biological gender traits as males and females' (Alhawary, 2011: 36) or grammatical 'when referring to inanimate objects that exhibit no biological gender traits and which are marked in Arabic as masculine or feminine' (ibid.). In Arabic, humans, animals or things are treated as either he or she. Arabic 'does not exhibit neutral gender, such as the English 'it'' (ibid.: 37). Understanding how gender forms are constructed into the Arabic grammar is vital for the purposes of the forthcoming data analysis. Such an understanding also enables us to make sense of gender as a social construct in Arabic.

3.2.4.1 Grammatical gender

'Gender is built into the grammars, as are other social relations that in turn are related to gender' (Eckert and McConnel-Ginet, 2013: 81). The way gender is constructed in the grammar of certain languages contributes to making the systems of these very languages 'foster gender-asymmetric ways of talking about people, often tending to overlook women and girls or treat them as somewhat deviant kinds of people' (ibid.). Languages, such as English and Arabic, exhibit great differences in their grammatical genders. English dictates that we attribute a gender to humans when a third person singular pronoun is used to refer to them. Eckert and McConnel-Ginet (2013: 81) give the examples: he/she went to town, I saw him/her. In English, they is also used for single individuals who are specific and known to us (ibid.). The same cannot be applied to gender in the Arabic grammar. Arabic has singular, dual and plural verbs. In both the singular and plural verbs, third person pronouns are marked for gender. This can be demonstrated by the following examples:

Talaba (he asked)

Talabat (she asked)

Talabu: (they (M. pl.) asked)

Talabna (they (F. pl.) asked)

The plural in Arabic 'leaves no room for the kind of strategy currently being used in English, of using the plural to avoid sentences like each person should pay his/her own bill' (ibid. 82). This also applies to translating such gender use from English into Arabic. Baker (1992: 91) discusses grammatical gender in Arabic in which 'the

masculine is traditionally the unmarked form' (ibid.) and highlights the difficulties posed for translators by the gender forms they encounter when translating. She explains how languages such as English and Arabic are greatly different when it comes to the gender forms used. English, for example, replaced the masculine form he with forms such as s/he, he or she, or feminine pronouns only (ibid.). Baker (1992: 92) suggests that while these non-sexist forms are stimulating, attempting to render them into a language such as Arabic may not be possible:

> This ideological stance is somewhat difficult to transfer into languages in which gender distinctions pervade the grammatical system. It is fairly easy to make the switch from he to something like s/he or him/her in English because the change affects these items only. But in a language such as Arabic, where gender distinctions are reflected not only in nouns and pronouns but also in the concord between these and their accompanying verbs and adjectives, the resulting structures would clearly be much more cumbersome that in English. With all the good will in the world, an Arab writer or translator cannot side with this admittedly more enlightened approach to gender without sacrificing the readability of the target text.

Despite Baker's doubts and reservations, she believes, and I agree, that Arabic translators can still find possible substitutes when encountering a gender-marked form. Baker (ibid.: 92) gives the example of rendering imperative verb forms into the passive voice which is known in Arabic to be gender-unmarked, hence contributing to the creation of gender-inclusive forms and the reduction of sexual bias in the language. Her view resonates with that put forward by Newmark (1991: 169) who resents sexism in language and sees the translator responsible for making 'a contribution towards its reduction (by translating into non-sexist language within the limits of natural use)'. Newmark (ibid.), however, realises that translators are not required to devise new expressions and forms, a view which, I think, is debatable given how languages continue to evolve and the abundance of linguistic and grammatical changes they allow for. Thus, even in the case of translation, translators may still be able to 'devise new expressions and forms', against what Newmark argues.This, in a sense, also suggests that Baker's argument has more validity than Newmark's as far as what translators can and cannot do is concerned. Newmarkalso explains that in English, for example, there are 'well-established procedures for [...] ''desexing'' man by using plurals, impersonal forms (one), generic terms (people, person, subject, individual, etc.)' (ibid.: 169). While this is accepted in English, it may

not be feasible in Arabic for Arabic does not have these 'well-established procedures' yet.

Kremer (1997: 149) accepts the gender situation in Arabic which does not allow for such manoeuvres when it comes to Newmark's (1991: 169) 'desexing' of man. However, like Baker (1992: 92), Kremer (1997: 149-150) suggests that difficulties facing writers and translators in this respect should not be a hurdle which prevents change, even if the scope for such change is only minimal. She also proposes that using 'gender-inclusive forms of reference' in similar languages 'does not have to be an all-or-none issue' (ibid.: 149). She further adds that 'the choices can vary in interaction with many factors, such as number of person references in a sentence, passage, or text, syntactic complexity, and type of text' (ibid.). Another crucial factor which Kremer (ibid.) focuses on and urges researchers of translation to consider is whether any of the non-sexist gender changes made in the process of translating into TL 'have already taken place in the TL culture'. This, she suggests, would help distinguish the solutions which might be appropriate for one language but not the other, particularly with languages such as Arabic, French and German which all have grammatical gender. Kremer's argument also highlights the effect of the translator's gender ideology on the choices they make and, eventually, on the translations they produce. An example of this is a piece of translation research which was carried out by Iranian researchers and examined the effect of the translator's gender ideology on two Persian translations of Emily Bronte's *Wuthering Heights*. The study found that although linguistic differences continued to shape the translations in a certain way, it was in fact the translators' genders as well as gender ideologies which seemed to have the biggerinfluence on the way they approach the source text. Among the conclusions made by the researchers is the one which established differences between how the translators, one being male the other a female, of *Wuthering Heights* tackled the gender ideology of the source differently. The study concluded that 'a female translator may have a closer gender ideology than a male translator to a woman writer' (Rabeie and Shafiee, 2011: 157). This research further validates the point that gender does not only pose challenges of grammatical nature to translators but also ones of socio-cultural and ideological implications. In other words,

The problematic aspect of gender posed for Arabic translators is not only of a grammatical nature. Other controversial aspects of gender are social. The masculine is not only favoured compared to the feminine through the employment of certain gender forms. The same can be said of gender relations in Arabic where male and female gender identities and realities have been constructed in the Arab societies according to beliefs and values which are deeply rooted into socio-religious life. The following section will draw on this aspect of gender in more detail.

3.2.4.2 Social gender in Arabic

'God created Eve from Adam's bent lower rib. That is why women are always twisted. They never talk straight', Abu Lughod (1987: 124, in Bassiouney, 2009: 137) quoted an Egyptian Bedouin narrating the story of Adam and Eve's fall. This is far from uncommon in the Arab region, for it is only an indication of the tradition in a society which 'is conservative by nature, whose values are *static* and which does not respect women in the first place' (Bakr, 1998: 39, in Cohen-Mor, 2005: 6).

Despite the fact that the Arab world has been undergoing deep transformations in gender relations, particularly in areas that have to do with 'the centrality and coherence of the family, primordial and religious loyalties' (Khalaf and Gagnon, 2006: 7), this change has only touched the surface of the deeply-rooted gender problems that face the region. Privileging the masculine over the feminine in Arabic is not performed only through the use of unchanging grammatical forms which are biased towards the masculine; it is also carried out by other linguistic practices which reveal the 'static values' of the Arab society. These values are believed to have an immense impact on language use in Arabic in general and the Arabic literary tradition in particular, which leads 'Arab women writers to assert themselves in a male-dominated arena' (ibid.: 6). A number of these entrenched social values which constitute the 'forces of custom and tradition' (Malti-Douglas, 1995; Cohen-Mor, 2005; Khalaf and Gagnon, 2006; Sultan, 2009) in the Arab society are listed below:

1. In Arab societies, men – who are *the* society – still assert that 'the home, not external society, is woman's domain' (Al-Sharuni (in Cohen-Mor, 2005: 5).
2. There are strict practices surrounding female sexuality. These are 'veiling, seclusion, social segregation, circumcision, and crimes of honour' (ibid.: 9).

3. A great significance is attached to virginity in Arab society. Virginity stands for a girl's chastity, purity, and honour and therefore the loss of virginity, outside marriage, culminates in a loss of the girl's purity and her family's honour.

4. Another social practice that emphasizes the inequality between the sexes is polygamy: a man can take many partners (in Islam, a man is entitled to marry four women) but 'a woman is allowed only one husband at a time' (ibid.: 12).

5. In a marriage, men are always in an advantageous position (ibid.: 13).

6. Childbirth is traditionally regarded as 'the primary task of women in society' (ibid.: 13).

7. Arabs *always* express an overwhelming preference for boys. A woman who cannot bear sons is 'not much better off than a childless wife' (ibid.: 13).

8. The Arabic culture is 'shame-oriented' (Khalaf and Gagnon, 2006: 21) which means that a female's sexual modesty is a cherished expectation; thus, when ruined, a female's reputation could have bearings impact on her future marriage prospects, let alone the honour of her entire family.

9. Girls and women are not allowed the following privileges:
   a. Having a mind of their own;
   b. Imitating European ways;
   c. Defying paternal authority;
   d. Jeopardizing the family's reputation;
   e. Challenging a man's masculinity;
   f. Failing to honour a man's gentleman agreement (as in agreeing to marry her off to someone, without her consent) (ibid.: 70)

An internalization of these conventions or a rejection of them could manifest itself in the use of either male-oriented, or feminist, subversive linguistic forms, respectively. However, one question still persists here: how far can one go against the norm or rule in Arabic, or in adopting subversive forms? This question is particularly significant if one keeps in mind how a specific use of gender in writing or speaking can be said to represent a subtle aspect of discoursal meaning and operate as an active sign in the semiotic web of the text. Thus, with the aim of understanding the role of gender as both a socio-cultural object and a socio-textual practice, we should remind ourselves of the earlier discussion of gender use as a sign, as well as the semiotic role of the

translator. This semiotic dimension of gender and gender use in language will be made clearer when applied in the analysis of data.

The following section will endeavour to show that dealing with the norms and rules of language that govern gender use in translation is a delicate issue which can manifest itself in the inconsistent choices that translators opt for when dealing with similar instances in translation. Thus, a discussion of shifts is necessary at this point.

3.3 Translation shifts

'The term **shifts** is generally used in the literature to refer to changes which occur or may occur in the process of translating' (Bakker *et al.*, in Baker, 1998: 226, original emphasis). Because translation is said to be a kind of language use, shifts are usually referred to as belonging to the domain of linguistic performance, not to that of competence (ibid.: 226). Thus, shifts occur in translation as a result of the translator's personal approach to and practice of translation which affect his/her production of linguistic forms, not because of his/her language knowledge. It is believed that translation is the 'transfer of certain values of expression or content across a semiotic border' with which shifts are definitely affiliated (ibid.: 226).

Catford (1965: 73-83) was the first to use and discuss the term 'translation shift'. He defines translation shift as 'departures from formal correspondences in the process of going from source language to target language (ibid.: 73). Although Catford (ibid.: 82) later questioned his approach by stating that 'translation equivalence does not entirely match formal correspondence', his view was still seen by some translation theorists as a negative approach to shift, for reasons that were directly related to his model lacking the descriptive potential which was attached to shifts by later theorists (e.g. Levý, 1967, 1969; Popovič, 1970; Al-Zoubi and Al-Hassnawi, 2001). Catford's definition was also problematic for others (e.g. Venuti, 2012) due to its focus on 'approximation to the form and meaning of the source text instead [of] aim[ing] for an equivalence of effect' (Venuti, 2012: 136), which is what Catford meant by 'formal equivalence'. The debate on translation shifts continued and theorists later seemed to agree that shifts belong to 'a descriptive category' (Baker, 1998: 228; also see Reiss, 1981, 1983; Toury, 1995; Munday, 2001). Because of this, they are 'established during the description of actual, existing translations' (Baker, 1998). This descriptive

approach can be to the translation process itself, or to its 'product, while taking into account its relation with the source. If the focus is on the process, this means that shifts help to account for things such as 'the nature of translation operations' in addition to any 'considerations' that characterize the decisions taken during the course of translation (ibid.). In contrast, product-oriented description of shifts stands for 'all that appears as new with respect to the original, or fails to appear where it might have been expected' (ibid).

A meaning transfer from one language to another is 'not performed directly and is not without difficulties' (Popovič, 1970: 79, in Al-Zoubi and Al-Hassnawi, 2001), which makes an act of translation host a range of possibilities. These possibilities are normally believed to 'bring about a number of shifts in the linguistic, aesthetic and intellectual values of the source text' (Al-Zoubi and Al-Hassnawi, 2001). Shifts could thus be described as changes in the value system of the source text, for even though they are first realized on the linguistic level, they are soon able to have realized effects on other levels as well. Yet despite their influence on the product of translation, shifts have been referred to as being positive changes, for they are 'the consequence of the translator's effort to establish translation equivalence (TE) between two different language systems' (ibid.). In supporting the view that perceives translators as agents who have the power to make conscious changes in the texts they translate (ibid.), this claim, however, ignores the fact that translators act under the influence of certain ideologies and that they do not always have the freedom of choice. Some translation theorists (i.e. Calzada-Pérez, 2002) also object to the view that sees shifts as conscious changes that translators create during the act of translation. For them, shifts that occur during the course of translation might not have any affiliation with the ideological and semiotic environment of the translator or the target text audience. In Calzada-Pérez's words, shifts in this sense become 'unwarranted changes that translators may cause, in all probability unconsciously' (ibid.: 235). As a result, it is possible to refer to shifts as being both conscious and unconscious translation changes that take place during translation depending on several factors that decide what shifts indicate and what they tell us about the translational act.

A distinction is often made between obligatory and optional shifts. Obligatory shifts normally derive from differences between linguistic systems (ibid.). An example

could be existing lexical and grammatical differences between the source and target languages. These differences work as rules and constraints on translators during the course of translation. Optional shifts, on the other hand, are what translators opt for due to 'stylistic, ideological or cultural reasons' (ibid.). These can be labelled as norms and preferences. Obligatory and optional shifts are usually the focus of shift analysis models, for they are good demonstrations of differences between STs and TTs in terms of translator's 'agency and determinism' (Calzada-Pérez, 2002: 207) and the linguistic characteristics that differentiate between SL and TL. However, the categories 'optional' and 'obligatory' arefar from straightforward and they do not lack in controversy. Although the occurrence of an obligatory shift is dictated by the grammar, it is still important to differentiate between the various obligatoryshifts in termsof the change they create in the target text. Moreover, occasionally, there is a thin line between what can be considered obligatory and optional. It is also important to establish how optional and how obligatory a shift is. In other words, the translator might have various options available when translating a particular item.

The most detailed attempt to produce and apply a shift analysis model was carried out by van Leuven-Zwart in 1989 and 1990, which will be discussed below (see section 3.3.1) and applied in the forthcoming data analysis. Taking as its point of departure some of the categories proposed by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/ 1995), Catford (1965) and Levý (1969) and applying them to the descriptive analysis of translation, van Leuven-Zwart's model, in both its comparative and descriptive paradigms, attempts both to 'systemize comparison and to build in a discourse framework above the sentence level' (Munday, 2001: 63). While the preceding models focused on individual aspects of shift – Catford (1965) studied shifts within a linguistic framework, Popovič (1970) focuses on shifts as a stylistic category (Baker, 1998: 229) – van Leuven-Zwart's model, with its comparative and descriptive components, represents an attempt to combine linguistic with textual analysis (Munday, 2001, 63).

In this respect, her model can also be considered different from other succeeding models, e.g. Toury's approach to shifts of translation in which he abandoned the methodological use of shifts in favour of the 'coupled pair of replacing and replaced segments' (1995: 77; also refer to section 2.2.2.1.1 for a detailed discussion of Toury's approach). In his methodological approach, Toury's (1995: 84) objection to

the use of shifts is twofold. On the one hand, it relates to the 'totally negative kind of reasoning required by any search for shifts, which [...] would encompass all that a translation could have had in common with its source but does not', and on the other to the idea that the status of the invariant should always be that of a maximal, or optimal rendering (ibid.). Although Toury was critical of the notion of 'shift', I believe that his approach still holds great potential in my approach to shifts, for reasons which were discussed in section 2.2.2.1.1 above).

For the remainder of this section, the focus will be on van Leuven-Zwart's shift model which will be presented and critiqued.

3.3.1 Van Leuven-Zwart's Model of Shift Analysis

As mentioned above, van Leuven-Zwart's model of shift analysis is considered the most exhaustive as it represents a study in which linguistic and textual analyses are combined (Munday, 2001, 63) and 'map[s] semantic shifts loggedat the micro-level of original and translated texts onto the macro-level ofnarrative structure' (Hermans, in Kuhiwczak and Littau, 2007: 86-87).

In this model, a distinction is made between microstructural shifts (i.e. shifts at the textual level) and macrostructural shifts (i.e. the effects of these shifts at the discourse level of texts) (ibid.: 63-64). The first category of shifts in this model constitutes the comparative model and the second constitutes the descriptive one[13]. The comparative model 'involves a detailed comparison of ST and TT and a classification of all miscrostructural shifts' (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989: 155-70). These shifts can be found in sentences, clauses and phrases and are realized by comparing the main and comprehensible textual units in ST and TT which are called 'transemes' (ibid.: 155). Transemes in this model are divided into two different kinds: the state of affairs transeme and the satellite transeme (ibid.: 156), a distinction based on the notions of 'state of affairs' and 'satellite' proposed by Dik (1978). In van Leuven-Zwart's argument, the state of affairs transeme 'consists of a predicate − a lexical verb or a copula − and its arguments' (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989: 156), whereas the satellite

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[13] The distinction here between a comparative model and a descriptive one can be seen as confusing, given that comparative studies can be, and often are, descriptive; van Leuven-Zwart makes it clear as to what the two models incorporate. Thus, I adhere to van Leuven-Zwart's terminology.

transeme 'lacks a predicate and might be described as an adverbial specification or amplification of the state of affairs transeme' (ibid.: 156). She also introduces the concept 'Architranseme' (ATR) which she defines as 'the common denominator' which establishes the similarities and/or dissimilarities between the ST and TT transemes (ibid.: 157).The occurrence of shifts depends on the existence of a synonymic relationship between the ST and TT transemes and the Architranseme; 'if both transemes have a synonymic relationship with the Architranseme, no shift is deemed to have occurred' (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989: 158). The different kinds of shifts occurring as a result of the different ST-TT relationships are as follows:

1. Modulation: A hyponymic relationship between ST and TT transemes when compared to the Architranseme;
2. Modification: A relationship of contrast between ST and TT segments or transemes;
3. Mutation: No relationship between ST and TT transemes

Van Leuven-Zwart's model is 'intended for the description of integral translations of fictional texts' (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989: 154). She focuses in her analysis on literary texts as a genre and seeks to establish a significant link between the linguistic changes occurring in a translated text and the effects that these changes bring about in the text's discourse. The comparative model carries out a detailed comparison between the ST and TT by classifying microstructural shifts manually. These shifts can be semantic, stylistic and pragmatic, and fall under the three main categories: modulation, modification and mutation. The descriptive model involves an estimation of the effects of the microstructural shifts on the macrostructural level. This is done by employing the three functions of language from systemiclinguistics, i.e. Halliday's three metafunctions (see Halliday, 1973 for a more detailed account): the **interpersonal** which refers to and establishes the relation between writer and reader or speaker and hearer of the text, the **ideational** which refers to the way textual information is presented to the reader and the **textual** function which means the text's information is 'organized in language' (ibid.: 172).

Some researchers (e.g. Munday, 2001) point out that 'there are drawbacks to this [van Leuven-Zwart's] model, and these drawbacks relate to taxonomies in general' (ibid.:

65). Munday goes on to state that van Leuven-Zwart's comparative model is 'extremely complex' (ibid.: 65) (something which van Leuven-Zwart (1989: 153-4) herself is inclined to admit), and that it is very hard to keep track of all the shifts when analysing a long text for there are eight different categories and thirty-seven subcategories (ibid.: 65). His detailed rationale goes:

> Van Leuven-Zwart's […] model, while initially promising, suffers from typical problems attached to taxonomies: it is overly complex […] for accurate and replicable classification, and carries out an automatic relation of linguistic shifts to shifts at higher levels of story and discourse without the real recourse to close critical analysis.
>
> (Munday, 2002: 77)

This study however will endeavour to minimise the complexity of tracking all the shifts found in the data by focusing only on shifts occurring at the level of gender use in the texts and trying to see if these shifts fall into the three major categories referred to above: modulation, modification and mutation, while at the same time making sure not to disregard textual instances that fall outside the chosen model. A more detailed discussion of the application of this model of shift analysis and the limitations which this model poses follows.

3.3.2 Van Leuven-Zwart's shift model: application and limitations

Van Leuven-Zwart's model of shift analysis has been chosen for application in this project, despite the criticisms which surround it. The model combines both linguistic and textual analyses and thus is believed to provide a better understanding of the occurring shifts. Furthermore, it was originally designed for 'the comparison and description of integral translations of fictional narrative texts' (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989: 152). Integral translations are those which do not contain any addition or deletion beyond the sentence level (ibid.: 154). This again makes this model quite suitable for the proposed analysis of the two translations, of *TBE*, which were found to be integral in van Leuven-Zwart's sense of the term.

Whereas van Leuven-Zwart's model of shift analysis 'presents a method for the establishment and description of shifts [in general] in integral translations of narrative

texts' (1989: 151), this study focuses only on gender shifts, i.e. shifts that exhibit some form of semantic gender change, whether minor, major or radical. This study, therefore, endeavours to establish whether the gender shifts found fall into the three major shift categories suggested by van Leuven-Zwart: modulation, modification and mutation, while at the same time ensuring that the non-shifts are accounted for, as well as the textual occurrences that fall outside the chosen model.

The shortcomings of this model have made it necessary to make changes to some of its basic components before applying it in to the analysis. After all, it was found that some of the theoretical notions adopted by van Leuven-Zwart cannot be utilised in their current form, or cannot be utilised at all. The two notions of the transeme and architranseme were amongst these. There is a problematic aspect of van-Leuven Zwart's definitions of transeme and architranseme, namely their length (Toury, 1995; Munday, 1998; Cyrus, 2009). Sometimes, this causes a problem in deciding the type of shift recorded. Furthermore, it is argued that the notions of transeme and architranseme do not seem very relevant to determining the boundaries of the segments or units to be compared (Cyrus, 2009: 97). Even similar, albeit more advanced, concepts or operations that followed, such as Malmkjǣr's (1998) product-oriented approach to determining and analysing units of translation, Toury's (1995) 'coupled pairs' and Zabalbeascoa's (2000) 'single translation unit', seem to share one common shortcoming: the boundaries are difficult to establish. (A detailed discussion of how the model is applied in the analysis and how shifts have been classified under the main categories will be presented in section 4.2.1.3.)

Another problematic aspect of this shift analysis model is related to its focus on 'decontextualized word-chuncks in extracts from novels' (Munday, 1998: 544). Munday (ibid.) suggests that overlooking the context is a 'crucial flaw in the model' which could result in misinterpreting the categories of shift. For this reason, the decision was to contextualise the gender shifts and ensure a good interpretation of the occurring shift categories. The context in this project was found to be of particular significance. In fact, it was difficult on some occasions to determine the type of shift without resorting to the contextual factors accompanying a given gender instance. Contextualising the shifts made it possible to provide a feasible rationale for their occurrence as well.

Failure to account for any clear distinction between the two categories 'shift' and 'change' is also a problematic feature of this model. Shifts have been mostly defined as changes that occur during the translation process. One can only see a small number of deviations from the definition which have long equated shift with change (e.g. Catford (1965: 73, 76) used 'departures'; 'deviations' was the term which Venuti (2012) adopted). Levý (1967: 1176, in Venuti, 2012: 136) argues that translation involves a 'gradual semantic shifting' which is brought about by the unavoidable requirement of having to choose from a number of potential solutions. Reference to 'gradual semantic shifting' is of high significance here for it seems to indicate that change is gradual (hence resulting in various types of shift), a view which I adopt here in substantiating the proposed shift-change distinction.

3.3.3 The shift-change distinction: observations

A shift means that some kind of change, whatever its intensity or degree, has occurred in the translation whereas a change, particularly when minor, does not always or necessarily result in a shift. This makes the inclination seen in the literature to refer to shifts as changes worth revisiting, as the forthcoming data analysis will highlight. Because shifts do not always result in a change as the analysis in Chapter 5 will show (also see Table 17), I suggest that defining shifts as changes is misleading (not to mention the extensive host of interpretations this calls to mind) and, thus, propose to define shifts as alterations in textual forms which may or may not result in a change on the semantic level of texts. In other words, a shift is always associated with a morphological or syntactic change but this change is not always simultaneously semantic in nature and, thus, resulting in a change in meaning. In adopting this stance, I argue in favour of Chesterman's (2000: 26) view which highlights the 'corresponding levels of effect' which he, in turn, associates with shift. I suggest that these levels of effect are representative of the changes (or 'non-changes') which shifts bring about in translation. Therefore, the notion of shift cannot be oversimplified. It is essential to understand that equating shifts with changes without highlighting the very *corresponding levels of effect* associated with the different types of shift is similar to suggesting that all translation is domestication.

Distinguishing between the two, intrinsically different, notions of shift and change was done according to a change scale along which the different kinds of semantic change were established in the process of data analysis.In other words, the decision was to establish a change scale which measures or indicates the degree of semantic change that accompanies a certain type of shift. This scale helps us, to a certain degree, to establish the different effects which these different shifts make in the target text. Understanding these changes also helps us to realise major differences between gender changes in the translation which result in shifts and others which do not but still affect the overall gender orientation of the translation(s). The notion of change is also crucial in understanding differences between optional and obligatory shifts, particularly since the forthcoming analysis will show that semantic change is always minimal when shifts are the result of linguistic and socio-cultural differences between languages. It should be noted that the focus on semantic change stems from the fact that the majority of shifts recorded in the primary analysis have been found to have a semantic effect in the TT. However, it is necessary to draw a clear dividing line between 'semantic shift' and 'semantic change', which is of particular relevance to the shift-change distinction established earlier on. For example, a semantic shift can be a shift in ideology, and thus does not result in 'semantic change' in translation. Change ranged from minor to major to radical. Occasionally, even, there was no change despite a shift, which serves as a further substantiation of my results: alterations in translation may always result in a shift, but not in a change.It is therefore pertinent at this point in the discussion to present the different types of semantic change which we have observed in the analysis:

a. A no change despite shift means that a shift has occurred but has not resulted in any change to the meanings of the source in the translation. Such, for example, can be a change in the order of the original elements in the translation, which can have stylistic and ideological significance but keeps the meanings of the ST intact. Obligatory shifts are included in this category for some of the obligatory shifts recorded have resulted in no change in meaning. A few of the modulation and modification shifts found also resulted in no semantic change either;

b. A minor change indicates an inconsequential change in meaning which is almost hardly noticeable. As 'inconsequential' indicates, the change is not

crucial, in that the meanings of the ST remain unchanged; what is changed is the form not the content. Such a change is mainly the result of modulation shifts. It can, however, be brought about by modification shifts and, in this case, it would mainly mean an alteration of a minor ST element in the translation which results in a minor change in meaning. This occurs, for example, when a single source text unit becomes more explicit or implicit in the target text. An example would be to change the pronoun 'they' which refers to women in the ST to 'women' in the TT;

c. A major change indicates a change in the meaning which adds something new to the meaning of the source text or takes something out of it, resulting in a noticeable difference between the translation and the core information that the source provides, while maintaining certain elements from the source in the target text. A major change is mainly the result of modification shifts and is utilized here to make a sharp distinction between these shifts and mutation shifts which result in radical change only;

d. A radical change means a total conversion of the source text meanings in the translation and a drastic alteration in the core information which the source provides. This often results from deleting vital source information in the translation, adding new information, not communicated by the source, in the translation, or reversing the meaning of the source altogether. Radical changes are the result of mutation shifts where vital source information is deleted, added or totally reversed in the translation.

The forthcoming qualitative analysis will highlight the significance of these change parameters in recognising the gender shifts in the translations. For now, however, it suffices to say that these change categories are vital for understanding the semiotic differences among the examples which will be analysed, even when they belong to one broad category of shift. In other words, the notion of a change scale, as was suggested above, will be a crucial denominator in the distinction between different subcategories of, say, modulation shifts or modification shifts. The following chart illustrates the degree of semantic change and its corresponding shift(s).
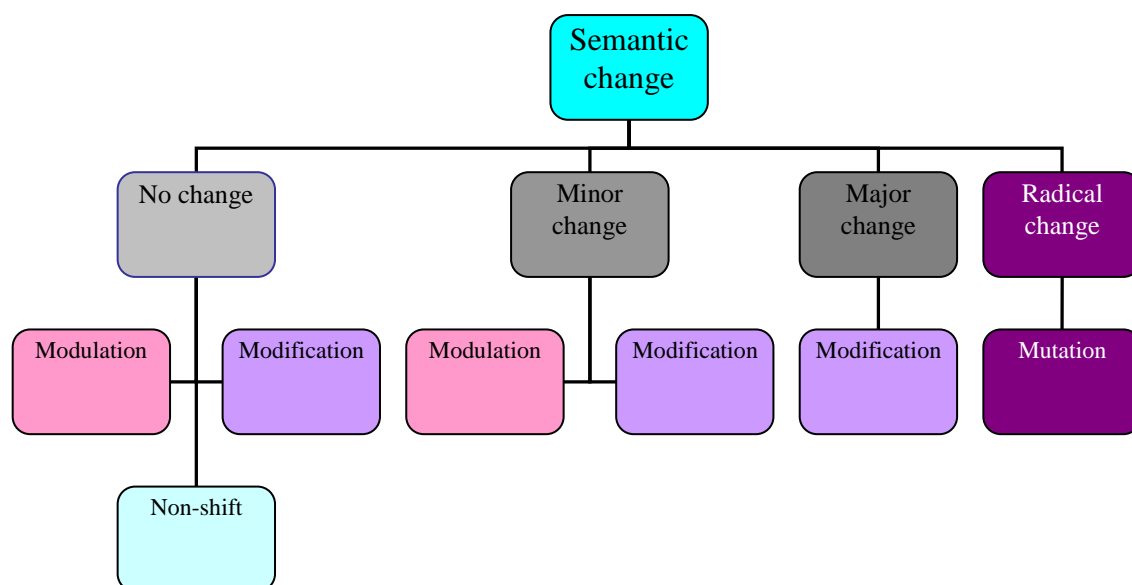
Graph 1. Change-shift relations

Graph 1 illustrates the four degrees of change seen in the translations as a result of shifts and non-shifts. As can be seen, the three shades of grey, ranging from weak to very strong, stand for the intensity of the change occurring. Radical change has been coloured similarly to the mutation shift, in an indication that radical change only results in a mutation shift, whereas the other types of change may result in non-shifts, modulation or modification shifts.

These different changes will be referred to in Table 17 (see Appendix) and also in the qualitative analysis of data. Table 17, as was mentioned earlier, illustrates how shifts belonging to the same category (this is only relevant in modulation and modification shifts) can vary in terms of the degree of change they exhibit.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to present an overview of the main theoretical concepts which will inform the data analysis reported in Chapter 4. The following chapter will introduce the method of data sampling and analysis employed in this study, in the context of the wider areas of research referred to as corpus-based linguistics and corpus-based translation studies.

CHAPTER 4 – STATEMENT OF PROCEDURE AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The present chapter presents the descriptive methodological framework employed in this project. However, before moving on to a detailed description of the methods adopted and their rationale, I will outline the foundations to my methodological approach.

4.1 Introductory remarks

Literature on methodological advances in translation research has not been lacking (see Toury, 1995; Baker, 1998, 2000; Chesterman, 2000; Olohan, 2000; Chesterman and Williams, 2002; Hermans *et al.* (eds.), 2002; Munday, 1998 and 2002; Calzada-Pérez, 2002; Pym, 1998, 2010; Pym *et al.*, 2008; Saldanha, 2011; among others). These publications present vigorous attempts to outline methodological frameworks for investigating translation phenomena. Some of the issues are recurrent and more persistent than others. Some are new and call for critical attention to momentous issues and areas within the field. In either case, the aim has always been to search for the methodological tool(s) and approaches that would best address (or redress) the translational issues, both theoretical and data-related, facing the researcher, and sometimes, the translator. In some cases, the need is to i) evaluate existing methodologies and make them workable in a new translational situation (Bosseaux, 2007) or ii) in a situation that needs to be revisited and evaluated even further (Munday, 2002). In others, however, it is deemed crucial to re-evaluate outdated methods by proposing a new methodological approach to iii) a problem that has proved durable or resilient in the face of old methodologies (Toury, 1995), or iv) a phenomenon that is new to the field and to which little or no attention has been paid (Baker, 2000).

The methodological approach proposed in the present study is a combination of cases (ii) and (iii) above. In other words, the methodological approach that I propose borrows from well-established methods but also presents a fresh way of tackling our research matters and concerns. Not that these long-standing methodologies proved futile; it is the problematic nature of the shifts under examination which calls for evaluating old methods of investigation and analysis. The nature of the language pair

studied in this project and the socio-cultural and semiotic differences involved necessitates tackling the translational issues in any way deemed fit for this research objectives- whether 'fresh' or 'traditional', and without having to 'go round and round in circles and to reinvent the wheel forever' (Chesterman, 2000: 21). Although the study of shifts has received considerable attention in the context of translation, studies that focussed on shifts of a gender nature were either interested in establishing differences between how men and women translate, working with languages other than Arabic (e.g. Italian and English, Leonardi, 2007), or only focusing on characteristics of gender language in translated texts (Saldanha, 2003). As far as I am aware, no translation project to date has attempted to study gender shifts as a semiotic category while simultaneously exposing the possible underlying sociological rationale for their occurrence, to which this project is wholly devoted.

The rationale for my choice of approach was further motivated by Pym's (2010: 1) advocacy of an open-minded paradigm in the unremitting search for solutions to our research problems. Pym's view resonates that which was suggested by Calzada-Pérez (2002: 205), who argues that when it comes to translation research, we should always be aware of 'the centripetal forces that draw together various perspectives'. She argues that it is necessary, and inescapable, to venture into new realms and 'keep our eyes open to the developments that emerge in 'different' camps' (ibid.). She goes on to state that 'it is when we look around and cross boundaries that we manage to solve some of our research problems' (ibid.). For this, we can borrow theoretical concepts from any field, other than translation, which is what I have done in this project. It is paramount, however, as Milroy (1987: 18) notes, 'to be aware of the theoretical implications of adopting any method and ultimately of the kind of claims which a given method entitles an investigator to make about results'. A similar stance is advocated by Toury (1995) who argues that even when it comes to adopting a method for choosing the units to work with in a translation project, it is of a great importance for the researcher to choose units that are 'relevant to the operation which would then be performed on them' (ibid.: 88).

The fact that translation studies and analyses have long been influenced by a variety of disciplines is relevant here, for this not only increases flexibility in the translation field, but also facilitates the adoption of new methods or the combining of old and

new ones, thereby keeping its reputation as an 'inter-discipline' ((Snell-Hornby, Pöchhacker and Kaindl (eds.), 1994; Pym, 1998; Wolf and Fukari, 2007; Munday, 2001 and 2008). Being an interdisciplinary field, translation studies can therefore 'challenge the current conventional way of thinking by promoting and responding to new links between different types of knowledge' (Munday, 2008: 14). This, however, does not mean that the relationship between translation and other fields is fixed in any way; rather, it has been constantly changing over the years, the transformation being evident in the strong link which translation studies had to contrastive linguistics in the 1960s compared with the present links it has with cultural and sociological studies perspectives and even the most recent interest in corpus-based tools and technologies. By the same token, one can argue that methodological tools and approaches can also be borrowed from various sources and display links to various domains. Nonetheless, they can still abide by the popular deductive reasoning which has been persistently dominant in the field. This approach is most commonly associated with empirical research 'whereby theoretical propositions or hypotheses are generated in advance of the research process, and then modified – usually through a process of falsification' (Mason, 2002: 180). This is what the following section will show by introducing the method which I adopt in this project.

4.2 Introducing the method

My methodological approach to the study of gender shifts is threefold: comparative, descriptive and explanatory. First of all, the texts under examination are compared in their entirety to construct a quantitative account that is representative of patterns of shift. This is followed by a detailed, qualitative, description of these shifts, while simultaneously contextualising them. These steps will characterise the micro-structural analysis of shifts. The third step will be attempting to situate these shifts in their socio-cultural setting, which involves an analysis of shifts on the macrostructure of the text. My methodology also incorporates a confirmatory corpus approach which employs a control sub-corpus in the hope of further understanding the shift patterns discerned from the primary analysis.

Thus, the method adopted in this study involves two key stages:

1) The manual analysis, both quantitative and qualitative, of *TBE* and its two translations and the identification of gender patterns and general trends;

2) The confirmatory, control corpus-based interpretation of the results of the analysis of the primary data by employing the ArabiCorpus tools freely available on the internet.

The following section will present a detailed discussion of the manual primary analysis, followed by a description of the primary corpus and the pilot study. The method for data sampling and presentation will also be described.

4.2.1 Primary analysis of data

Identifying gender shifts in the translations was carried out according to specific features (see section 4.2.1.3). The comparative analysis is both quantitative and qualitative. The focus of the quantitative analysis is to establish the frequency of the occurrence of gender shifts in the texts. The qualitative analysis will endeavour to establish causal relations[14] between source and target texts and, at a later stage, between translation and writing in the Arabic literary tradition. The comparative model will endeavour to unearth and examine socio-cultural (normative) causes for the occurrence of shifts and their 'corresponding levels of effect' (Chesterman, 2000: 26).

The analysis opens with the quantitative analysis and its results, evident in the shifts and non-shifts occurring in both TT95 and TT97. Gender patterns are discerned and also infrequent occurrences are accounted for. The qualitative method will endeavour to examine the shifts found and the category they fall into in relation to van Leuven-Zwart's (1989, 1990) model of shift analysis. Also, shifts which do not fit into the chosen model will be examined and reported. It should be noted that only the three main categories of shifts: modulation, modification and mutation, proposed by van Leuven-Zwart will be used in this analysis. The 37 sub-categories will be discarded.

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[14]Chesterman (2000: 19) argues in favour of adopting a causal model of translation which is based on establishing causal relations, i.e. logical links, between source and translation. He (2000: 21) perceives this model to be 'the most fruitful model for future development in translation studies'. Chesterman's rationale is particularly methodological, simply because it allows us and, most importantly, 'encourages us to make explanatory and predictive hypotheses' about both translation products and processes (ibid.).

My decision is based on Munday's (2001 and 2002) rationale for abandoning van Leuven-Zwart's 'too many categories of translation shift' (2002: 77) (see section 3.3.1 for a detailed account of Munday's critique of van Leuven-Zwart's shift model). The shortcomings of the above model will be compensated by applying another two models, namely Toury (1995) and Hatim and Mason's (1990), which were suggested earlier on (see Chapter 3 for a detailed account). This will establish the patterns emerging from the analysis and help us reach a possible realisation of the possible causes for the translators' behavioural styles and ideological orientation and the effects of these in the TTs. Identifying these could also pave the way for understanding gender use in the TTs and its underlying socio-cultural contexts.

The decision to incorporate qualitative and quantitative tools in this approach to the data is the result of the long-contemplated decision to develop a methodological approach that was deemed best suited to addressing my research questions, and exhaustive enough to deliver reliable results. It is also my belief that 'a sound knowledge of research methodology is essential for undertaking a valid study' (Kumar, 2011: preface xx). The importance given to each of the two approaches varies, given the relevance each bears to answering the research question(s). Nonetheless, while I highlight the significance of the qualitative analysis in addressing my research questions, I also adopt Kumar's (2011) view which sees statistical tools as particularly useful in 'confirming or contradicting conclusions drawn from analysed data, in providing an indication of the magnitude of the relationship between two or more variables under study, in helping to establish *causality*, and in ascertaining the level of confidence that can be placed in [our] findings' (ibid.: xviii, my emphasis)). This is all true when it comes to the confirmatory analysis, which, as the term suggests, is adopted for the confirmation, or 'contradiction', of the conclusions drawn from the primary analysis, i.e. of the primary corpus.

The quantitative part of the primary analysis of data will focus on the number of translational shifts found in each of the translations examined. This however does not mean that the study will provide just an overall figure: shifts will be categorised, which will be discussed. Therefore, to carry out the manual analysis of the primary data requires identifying the shifts occurring, which, in turn, begs a close examination

of the source text and its two translations, a comparison between the ST with its two translations and another between the two translations to establish similarities and dissimilarities.

These steps will be clearly demonstrated in the forthcoming data analysis. A description of the primary texts is required at this stage.

4.2.1.1 A note on data description

The Bluest Eye was published in 1970 by Vintage. The novel tells the story of Pecola Breedlove, a little black girl who lives, along with her family, a life characterised by poverty, deprivation and humiliation. Being a girl, Pecola is also confronted with the disadvantageous fact of her 'ugliness' which she internalizes and that is the product of a society that is controlled and victimized by white standards of beauty. Moreover, Pecola's misery is amplified when her father, Cholly Breedlove, a man who is constantly described as a 'useless', 'unreliable', and a 'filthy' drunkard, rapes her. Pregnant with her father's baby and devastated, Pecola is taken by social workers to live with the MacTeer family who have two daughters, Claudia and Frieda, the age of Pecola. Claudia MacTeer is a strong black girl who is, unlike Pecola, surrounded by a loving, albeit poor, family and who rejects the social standards and is representative of the female image which Morrison tries to present to her readers (Kubitschek, 1998: 27-28). Claudia narrates most of the novel, along with another omniscient narrator, and is Morrison's feminist spokesperson (ibid.).

Morrison does not consider herself a feminist, but sees herself […] as 'a writer with a racial/cultural identity, a gender identity, and a national/regional identity' (ibid.: 13). Despite Morrison's rejection of being perceived as a feminist, her novels, in general, are believed to present a feminist attempt to change the existing social realities (ibid.). Morrison portrays all sorts of women in her novels and assigns to each of them a language of her own which is characterised by new ways of saying things and talking about experiences (Smith, in Hull *et al.*, 1982: 167). Morrison's language becomes a radical, yet vivid, subversion of the conventional everyday male language maintained and guarded by patriarchal institutions; language no longer seems to fail her, in her endeavour to speak of new experiences (ibid.: 168).

TBE has been translated into several languages including Arabic. The two Arabic translations under examination were published by Arab publishing houses and the translators were native users of Arabic translating into their mother tongue (Arabic). Kamel Yousef Hussein, the producer of TT95, holds Egyptian nationality. His translation was published by a Lebanese publishing house called Darul Adab (House of Literature). TT95 comes with an introduction which was written by the translator in which he expresses his views on how a text as vivid as *TBE* should be approached. Moreover, he makes it clear in his introduction that his aim was to produce a text that shows an awareness of the ST underlying meanings (Hussein 1995: 9). Conversely, TT97 was created by the Iraqi translator and London-based journalist, Fadhel Assultani. The translation was published in Damascus by Daru Ttali'atil Jadidah (House for New Youth). Unlike TT95, no introduction accompanies Assultani's translation. Obtaining the two translations from the Arab World proved far from easy. It took me two months to be able to get the two books shipped from a large book shop in Beirut, *Adab wa Fann*. In other words, the process was far from straightforward. The books could not be ordered online for some technical reasons that had to do with payment– I had to phone the book shop and speak to themanager in Beirut in order to arrange purchase and delivery. The library owner, also a publisher based in Beirut, said that there was limited availability of the two translations due to what he described as 'the official rules of what you cannot print in the Arab world'. Censorship is critical here and highly affects the Arab book market and, consequently, readership. It is as Rana Idriss, Director of Dar Al-Adab, a leading Lebanese Publisher of Arabic quality fiction, once put it: 'the Arab world is facing a publishing crisis'. This crisisis mainly due to 'the closure of the market' (Abou-Zeid, 2013), which does not only affect books that are originally written in Arabic but also books translated from other languages including English.The book shop manager also hinted at the sexually explicit nature of the translations of *The Bluest Eye* which might have been a sound reason for their shortage in the Arab market.This explains the difficulty I had encountered in my attempts to obtain the two translations.

It remains to mention that the translations were seemingly available from another large online bookshop in Egypt, *Nil wa Furat*. I contacted the managers who said that although one could find the titles on their virtual book list available online, the books were, in fact, unavailable to purchase from the shop. This is understandable given the

'low purchasing power'of the book market in Egypt (Abou-Zeid, 2013). The above serves as a taster of the current climate in the Arab world and alludes to the restrictions that have an upper hand in the Arab publishing context, such as social taboos of sexual, religious and political nature. Issues of similar nature do not only place a strain on Arab writers who seek to publish their works, but also on Arab translators who seek to publish works which they have translated from other languages. This can instigate the translator's adoption of various techniques which they deem necessary if a translation is to be approved for publication.

In analysing a text with such vividness of language forms, I was mainly focused on investigating the techniques which the translators of *TBE* have adopted: literal translation, explanations, footnotes, etc. To carry out such an investigation, my decision was to make a sentence-by-sentence comparison of the first 5 pages of *TBE* and their counterparts in both TT95 and TT97, following, thereby, in the steps of van Leuven-Zwart herself (1989: 153).

Inanalysing the translations, it was clear that the two translators showed different gender preferences, with the translator of TT95 steadily opting for one gender choice and the translator of TT97 opting for the opposite. Because first impressions can, admittedly, be very insubstantial, I decided to continue with my comparative approach to *TBE* and its two Arabic translations, with the aim of examining whether the initial observation of a gender-conscious translation was still valid throughout the texts. Other relevant, gender-related, practices such as rendering generic male forms as gender-inclusive in TT95, for example, were found, and so my comparative approach was now engaged with gender-related issues found in the translations. This comparative analysis had taken at this stage the form of a pilot study, the details of which will be presented below.

4.2.1.2 The pilot study
The pilot study involved the analysis of only 3 out of the 11 chapters that make up the whole novel, along with their corresponding chapters in the translations. This initial decision was triggered by two factors. The first one was related to a statement written by one of the translators in the introduction to his translation, namely TT95, in which he states that his main objective had been to show Morrison's work the respect it

deserves, for it is a 'demanding [work], a unique case […] and a novel whose language faces us with challenges we cannot overlook' (Hussein, 1995: 10-11, my translation). The second factor is related to the need to provide a satisfactory explanation of the initial patterns found.

The analysis of the 3 chapters which correspond in the ST to the first part of the novel 'Autumn' and a total of approximately 15840 words (18920 and 13100 in TT95 and TT97, respectively[15]), showed that shifts occurred in the translations. Having recorded a total of 57 shifts, with 2 or more shifts occurring in one page while none were recorded in others, it was clear that there was a wealth of shifts in at least one of the translations. The majority of these shifts were optional, accounting for 55 shifts in total. Only 2 obligatory shifts occurred and these were recorded in TT95. TT97 incorporated 37 of the optional shifts. Deciding whether a shift was obligatory or optional depended solely on whether the translator was adhering to or violating a grammatical rule and, more importantly, on whether he had an option in rendering the ST forms the way he did.

The pilot study only considered these shifts along the lines of the optional vs. obligatory distinction of shifts, without relating each shift to one of van Leuven-Zwart's shift categories. Such an approach did not help with understanding the rationale for the occurrence of these shifts or the effect which each of these shifts brought about in the translations. A refining of the method of text comparison was also essential, and therefore specific parameters for the comparative and descriptive textual analysis were deemed necessary and established in the stages that followed the preliminary pilot stage. The decision was therefore to continue with the manual analysis of the whole texts but the focus was now on certain features which facilitated the process of the textual comparative analysis (refer to 3.3 below), as opposed to an investigation of absolutely every single sentence.

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[15] Differences in the length of chapters in the English text and its translations into Arabic are mainly due to the existing linguistic differences between the two languages. The translations have been found integral, which means in van Leuven-Zwart's terms that all chapters, titles, and other parts of the source text, appeared in the translation, and the length of chapters in both languages was nearly the same.

The following sections will demonstrate the different processes involved in this textual analysis, with its two autonomous, albeit interrelated, stages. A detailed account of the methods employed for the comparative, descriptive and explanatory analyses of the primary corpora will therefore be presented. However, before such explanations are provided, it is also necessary to explain how the shifts were classified under the three main categories and the data sampled for the primary analysis in an attempt to avoid the pitfalls associated with the looseness which characterised the method and criteria adopted in the pilot study. Thus, some preliminary remarks are presented on the method according to which the data was sampled and presented for the analysis. A note on the back translation employed will also follow.

4.2.1.3 Criteria for shift classification and data sampling

Before it was manually analysed, the corpus had to be sampled. A manual analysis of 164 pages of prose and their corresponding target counterparts would have been rather daunting. The decision was motivated by the pilot study. Although the focus was on isolated gender forms in the texts, the context was still relevant when the use of these forms proved unclear. For example, the translator in TT97 uses the pronoun هن ('they' in its feminine form) when the ST is employing 'they' to refer to people in general. A translation such as this can be confusing without consulting with the ST context. Furthermore, deciding whether a translational choice resulted in a modulation or a modification shift was sometimes entirely dependent on the ST contextual information which helped ensure a relatively accurate interpretation of the ST occurrence. Therefore, contextualising similar forms and uses was significant for the understanding of a particular translation choice

 As was stated earlier, the texts were analysed in their entirety; however, discerning patterns of gender shift in the translations was now done on the ST units and their target counterparts, which exhibited the following features:

1. Gender-specific forms:
    a. Nouns: man, woman, girl, boy;
    b. pronouns: he, she;
    c. abstract and common nouns: e.g. motherhood, innocence.

2. Genderless words. These include the following categories:

   a. indefinite pronouns: one, someone, somebody, nobody, anybody;

   b. the genderless or gender-neutral noun: person, people,

   c. and gender-neutral pronouns: I, they, we, it.

3. Adjectival expressions (used for the depiction of gendered or genderless nouns, given that adjectives in Arabic are always either masculine or feminine).

The following ST excerpt exemplifies the procedure applied, with features being underlined and signalled according to the category they come under which carries the number with which it is associated above.

'They(**2c**) gave <u>me </u>(**2c**) a puzzled look, decided <u>I</u>(**2c**) was <u>incomprehensible</u> (1), and continued <u>their</u>(**2c**) reminiscing about <u>old squint-eyed</u>(**3**) Shirley. Younger than both Frieda and Pecola, <u>I</u>(**2c**) had not yet arrived at the turning point in the development of <u>my</u>(**2c**) psyche which would allow <u>me</u>(**2c**) to love <u>her</u>(**1b**). What <u>I</u>(**2c**) felt at that time was <u>unsullied </u>(**3**)<u> hatred</u>(**1c**)' (Morrison, 1970: 13).

Sentences which did not exhibit any of the features above were not incorporated in the analysis. The comparative analysis resulted in 161 units which exhibited one or more of the above features and gave examples of both shift and non-shift. These units were carefully analysed and results have been included in Table 17 (see Appendix).

Identifying the gender shifts and classifying them under van Leuven-Zwart's three main categories will be carried out along these simple lines:

1. the units to be compared are mainly the ones that serve a gender-related function in the ST and/or TT(s). Units can be single words (e.g. someone, woman, they), phrases (brave man, ugly girl) or whole sentences (His nakedness stayed in the room with us). Although the context is relevant in this analysis; however, it has been occasionally found that the context did not play the same significant role in the analysis of some of the gender shifts detected, particularly in the case of single words and short phrases which seemed to be self-explanatory;

2. the gender element analysed is the common denominator which assists in classifying the occurring shift and whether it falls within one of the three categories. Consider the following example:

ST: <u>someone</u> must love you.
TT: <u>a man</u> must love you.

The common denominator in this example is the gender neutrality represented by 'someone' in the ST. Deciding the type of shift here depends on how 'someone' changes in TT. The shift here is characterised by a change into a more specific form. A specification shift comes under modulation in van Leuven-Zwart's proposed categories.

Having established the criteria for shift classification, I now move to explain the mechanisms which governed the presentation of analysed samples and related issues.

4.2.1.4 Presentation of examples from the data

The examples chosen for analysis will be presented in the following order: first, the ST extract will be presented, followed by its Arabic counterpart in TT95 and its word-for-word BT. TT97 and its word-for-word BT will follow. For the purpose of clarity (see section 4.2.1.5 below), changes and additions to the back translation provided may be necessary in some of the examples. Also, due to space constraints, other decisions have been taken with regard to the parts of text which do not require a BT. These, and other relevant issues, will be discussed below.

4.2.1.5 A note on back translation

Making the Arabic translations of *TBE* accessible to a reader of this thesis who lacks knowledge of the Arabic language requires a translation from Arabic back into the source language. However, aiming at a back translation suited to the purpose of signalling out the changes applied to the target texts was not without difficulties. This seems to be the case particularly if one takes into account the paramount significance of making available to the reader the nature of changes and corresponding shifts with which this study is primarily concerned. Another crucial factor to keep in mind was the immense difference between English and Arabic in terms of grammar, which makes it even more difficult to provide a *successful* back translation of the Arabic

translations, that is, a back translation which helps the reader to establish and understand the differences which exist between the ST and its translations and enables us to carry out the proposed semiotic analysis of shifts.

For all of the above, a standard, grammatical, back translation, on its own, was deemed insufficient for although it could still help the reader locate the changes made to the original in the target excerpts selected, it would not ensure a sufficiently transparent approach to the translations. Therefore, it was decided that a word-for-word, albeit ungrammatical, translation of the target samples would be extremely useful in this context, although difficult to grasp by the reader. This is a problem which cannot be overlooked given the fact that Arabic operates in a way which is significantly different from English, particularly in relation to grammar and structure. With the limitations of both a standard BT and a word-for-word BT, the decision was to add between brackets in the word-for-word BT any elements which would help make the BT more readable and the TT changes and meanings more graspable.

It is important to highlight one of the differences between Arabic and English, signalled in the word-for-word BT, such as sentence structure. In Arabic, verbs come before their subjects in the case of verbal sentences: nouns also come before their accompanying adjectives, contrary to what generally happens in English. Because this might result in an unreadable back translation due to grammatical distortion, it was deemed necessary to provide between brackets any linking words (e.g. articles, nouns, verbs) which would resolve any incoherence in the BT and supply any missing information which might result in difficulty in understanding the translation.

So, with the aim of establishing gender shifts between the ST and its translation, the decision was taken to signal these differences by using gender indicators, enclosed within parentheses after the expression which has undergone a change in the translation. The letters M, F, N and GM are used to highlight the gender of the Arabic words used by the translators: masculine, feminine and neutral. GM refers to generic male, which is taken in Arabic to mean both men and women, i.e. people in general, and to favour the male. The abbreviations above only stand for individual words (verbs, pronouns and adjectives) in the BT. On the other hand, when the gender of a TT word is indicated by a prefix or a suffix, that is the feminine word is formed by

attaching a prefix or suffix to the masculine (which is also the generic form in Arabic), it will be signalled in the back translation by attaching lower case abbreviations: (f) or (m), to the word, without leaving a space between the two.

See the following example:

إنسان<u>ة</u>

BT: human being(f)

In the above example, the word is a feminine form of the word /إنسان/ (human being) and is formed by adding the 'ta marbutaa' suffix which indicates the feminine gender.

Wherever (deleted) occurs in the BT, it is used to signal any omissions in the translation(s). The BTs for TT95 and TT97 will be referred to as BT95 and BT97, respectively. This will help avoid any confusion while comparing the two BTs in the forthcoming analysis.

It should be pointed out here that sometimes the ST sample given is not analysed in its entirety. The parts enclosed within two slashes are only provided for contextual reasons; i.e. making the context of the analysed parts clear. Due to space constraints, no back translation will be provided for the Arabic translation of these parts either, unless there has been a significant change and a corresponding shift which is of great significance and particular relevance to the major shift analysed in that particular instance.

It remains to note that since the focus is mainly on units (whether whole sentences or individual words) that exhibit a gender feature in the ST and/or gender treatment in the translation(s), these units will appear in bold in the BT provided and its corresponding ST and TT units. The gender element in question will be underlined so that it is clearer what the gender-related information is.

Having explained how the primary analysis will be carried out, the next part will focus on the confirmatory analysis. However, before describing the ArabiCorpus and how it will be used in the analysis, it is essential to present the main theoretical definitions and applications of corpus-based approaches to translation research.

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4.3 Corpus-based studies and approaches to translation

The discussion on corpus-based approaches to translation in this section aims to present the main theoretical definitions and applications of corpus-based approaches to translation research. The section opens with a general account of corpus-based methods and their application in translation research, and continues with a discussion of the main types of corpora, their functions and limitations. It will also focus on the ArabiCorpus, which has been chosen for application in this project, and how it will be employed.

4.3.1 Corpora and corpus linguistics: an overview

Dorothy Kenny, in Baker (1998: 50), defines corpus linguistics as 'the branch of linguistics that studies language on the basis of corpora'. Corpora, in turn, can be defined as 'bodies of texts assembled in a principled way' (Johansson, 1995: 19). Thus, the existence of corpora and corpus linguistics depends on the existence of texts which are referred to by Stubbs (1996: 4) as 'instance(s) of language in use'. What makes texts even more intrinsic to corpora is the fact that texts are seen as pointers to linguistic behaviour which is characterized by natural occurrence and no intervention by the linguist (ibid.). Therefore, texts provide the basis on which the corpus linguists' empirical approach to language, its use and its description is built.

Within descriptive translation studies, theorists have been concerned with the way texts are approached in translation, i.e. how translated texts are treated as providers of introspective rationalization for the translational act rather than factual description of it; the 'why' rather than the 'how', so to speak. Toury (1980, 79-81) has criticized the theoretical approach which does not see translated texts as discernible facts and encouraged repeatable attempts aimed at describing and, if possible, explaining existing translations. Holmes (1988: 101) articulates a similar view when he expresses his discontent with how speculative approaches to translated texts have become the raison d'etre in the study of these texts. Corpus linguists such as Sinclair (1991) and Stubbs (1993 and 1996) have voiced similar concerns in the study of corpora when they addressed issues related to methods of piling up and forming corpora, and the limited statistical tools used in processing corpora. Toury (1980: 61) decried the lack of 'strict statistical methods for dealing with translational norms, or even to supply

sampling rules for actual research' in the 1970s. However, the situation now can be described as promising, for much has been achieved in corpus-based studies and research. The work theorists have put into 'incorporating the methods and tools of corpus linguistics into descriptive translation studies' (Kenny, in Baker 1998: 50) has been exemplary. Not only have they introduced corpus linguistics as a useful tool in the study and description of translated texts, but also brought to light the various challenges which translation poses for corpus-based studies (ibid.). The following section will, thus, present a succinct account of the use of corpora in translation research.

4.3.2 Using a corpus-based approach to the study of translation: key issues and considerations

Both the expediency and reliability of corpus-based tools in the study of language use has attracted the attention of translation scholars ever since 1993, when Baker first introduced corpus-based research to the field of translation. Corpora started to be both used in researching translation and interpreting and developed for this particular use. The corpus types available are various and include 1) parallel and comparable bilingual and trilingual corpora, 2) small or large, sample or monitor control monolingual corpora, 3) translation corpora (only translated texts) (for further details, refer to Baker 1995; Kenny 1998). These will be defined in the following section. Any of these corpus types can be utilised in a study of language use in a translation context; the choice of which type to use is mainly dependent on our research questions and hypotheses. A control (also called reference) monolingual corpus, for example, is particularly useful in a study which seeks to establish or rule out links between patterns discerned in translated texts and those found in non-translated texts of the same genre (for a discussion on control corpus, see section 4.3.3.2).

Simply speaking, corpus methodologies provide tools that help researchers retrieve and study examples of what has been actually said by people. The usefulness of corpus tools, then, is mainly in their practicality. Another critical point is that they ward off the risk of the researcher falling victim to mere hypothesising about what people might say, or to prescriptive assumptions about language in actual use (see Bowker and Pearson, 2002; McEnery and Hardie, 2012; Sinclair, 1991; and Sinclair and Carter, 2004 for a discussion on corpus linguistics).

When proper associations are established between research hypotheses and problems and the corpus tools that can be employed for addressing them, corpus tools can be utilised to investigate various topics. In translation research, the success enjoyed by corpus-based methodology in translation research is facilitated by the fact that, as Laviosa (2002) and Saldanha (2009) suggest, both corpus linguistics and descriptive translation studies share some underlying principles. The present study exemplifies this successful marriage between the two fields. Addressing the research problem(s) and answering the questions investigated in this study requires the use of a reference corpus of non-translated language use in Arabic literary discourse. The application of a corpus-based approach using the reference corpus in question is thought to help us establish the similarities and differences between gender use in the translated texts under examination and gender use in the non-translated texts in my reference corpus. Generally speaking, strong evidence in corpus-based translation studies has emerged which shows that language use differs systematically between translated and non-translated texts. This difference can be seen on many levels. Studies such as Olohan and Baker (2000) and De Sutter and van de Velde (2010) present this difference on morphological and syntactic levels, whereas others such as Laviosa (1998) and Tirkkonen-Condit (2004) exemplify it on a lexical level. Other studies (Şerban, 2004 and Teich, 2003) reveal differences in language use on a discourse level. Thus, there seems to be a general consensus that translated and non-translated texts exhibit differences on various levels. The present study hypothesises that this may not be the case when it comes to gender-related language use and that translated and non-translated texts, particularly when it comes to languages with low levels of gender tolerance such as Arabic, may exhibit more similarities than differences.

But this is a matter that will be investigated in the following chapter on data analysis. The focus of the following sections will be on types of corpora, mainly control corpora, which we employ in this project. Also, design criteria will be drawn upon.

4.3.3 Corpora: types and design criteria

4.3.3.1 Main types of corpora: definitions

Baker (1995: 230-35) identifies three types of electronic corpora that are particularly useful in the study of translated texts. These are parallel corpora, multilingual corpora

and comparable corpora. A parallel corpus is a group of texts which are originally written in one language, accompanied by their translations into another language (ibid.: 231). Different sources show that 'parallel corpora have already been compiled for several language pairs' (Kenny, in Baker, 1998: 51). The usefulness of parallel corpora can be best seen in studying links between source-text and target-text sentences and words. Certain alignment techniques are used in order to shed light on these links and make them explicit and clear (Johansson and Hofland, 1994). Parallel corpora can also be employed with the aim of providing useful information about lexical, syntactic and structural relationships between parallel items in source and target texts and languages. Despite the usefulness of applying parallel corpora in translation research, scholars (Olohan, 2004) acknowledge the pitfalls that the use of this kind of corpora brings about. Olohan (ibid.: 24) attempts to resolve the controversy surrounding the definition and use of the term 'parallel corpus' and suggesting that this term refers to a 'corpus consisting of a set of texts in one language and their translations in another language'. Further, she makes clear that she prefers the use of 'parallel corpus' to the term 'translation corpus' promoted by Johansson (1998), as it prevents any confusion arising from any references made to 'corpora of translations' (ibid.). On compiling parallel corpora, Olohan (ibid.: 25) stresses the importance of 'availability of texts and their translations' drawing attention to the difficulty which characterizes the production of a bidirectional parallel corpus and thus labelling directionality as one of the decisive factors in the compilation of parallel corpora. Although she disagrees with Johansson's (1998) label 'translation corpus' mentioned above, Olohan seems to agree with his later views on the appropriateness of parallel corpora to the purpose of identifying and, where possible, explaining translation patterns: 'a corpus of original texts and translations can be a rich source in the study of translation patterns, not least for those who are learning to translate' (Johansson, 2003: 137, in Olohan, 2004: 29). Olohan seems to see the potential parallel corpora provide in the study of translation patterns and explaining them in terms of 'underlying language systems' as suggested by Salkie (2002: 55-6). However, she also seems inclined towards Mason's (2001) useful suggestion that a certain feature or pattern might only be the result of constraints on translators and translation processes rather than evidence of the underlying constraints that a language system puts on translators or language users in general (Olohan, 2004: 29).

In as much as a parallel corpus poses various challenges to translation scholars, a multilingual corpus has its limitations in the study of translation phenomena. Baker's (1995: 232) term 'multilingual corpus' refers to 'sets of two or more monolingual corpora in different languages, built up in either the same or different institutions on the basis of similar design criteria'. What this indicates is that a multilingual corpus involves texts that have not been subject to a translation act which, in turn, means that these texts are 'originals in their respective languages' (Kenny, in Baker, 1998: 52). Qualms, however, have been expressed as to whether multilingual corpora are of any usefulness for research conducted within translation studies. Baker (1995: 233) argues that multilingual-corpus assisted research is based on the flawed postulation that 'there is a natural way of saying anything in any language, and that all we need to do is to find out how to say something naturally in language A and language B'. Even contrastive linguists share the reservations of translation theorists when they call attention to the problematic nature of multilingual corpora, which can be seen in the different languages, particularly when the textual properties and generic features of the texts used are not well in harmony.

The third type is comparable corpora which, according to Baker (ibid.) are the most effective when it comes to studying and understanding the various features of translated texts and their frequency. A comparable corpus is a collection of texts that have been originally written in language A and another collection of texts translated from another language, B, into language A (ibid.: 33-4). Johansson (2003: 136) and Olohan (2004: 35) also adopt Baker's definition of the term but their interest lies mainly in 'monolingual comparable corpora' which consist of 'a corpus of translations and comparable non-translations in the same language' (ibid.). Like Baker, she shares the appreciation of the potential that comparable corpus has for understanding both the translation product and process (ibid.: 37). Target language, she continues, should be made more 'central' in any discussion on translation and should therefore achieve more versatility in translation research. Olohan (2004: 37) agrees with Baker's (1995: 235) notion that this type of corpus can be helpful in capturing 'patterns which are either restricted to translated text or which occur with a significantly higher or lower frequency in translated text'.

A comparable corpus can help researchers find out about 'specific features of a specific language' (ibid.) and understand the relevance of these features to translation and translators' choices during the translation process. One of the most exciting revelations about comparable corpora (also very relevant to my research) is the fact that they allow the investigation of 'aspects of translators' use of language that are not the result of deliberate, controlled processes and of which translators may not be aware' (ibid.). Although this can be seen as greatly controversial and rather difficult to prove, the patterns discerned from a corpus-based translation analysis may still hold the key to understanding translator's decisions and help us make some generalisable conclusions as to what prompts a translator to opt for A and not B in dealing with a certain textual feature. Although an observation might still not be conclusive, it can be indicative of a certain translational practice that could be revealing of a translator's general disposition, particularly when these practices concur with other patterns.

Comparative uses of corpora do not, it seems, only allow us to understand the decisions the translators make which can give us some insight into analyzing and understanding features of translation products; they can also 'provide evidence of translation processes' (ibid.: 38). This point of view is not one that all scholars share, nevertheless; Olohan (2004: 39) draws on Stewart (2000: 210), who believes that different kinds of corpora are used for different aims that are not necessarily related whatsoever. He clarifies his point by stating that the use of parallel corpora centres on the translation process whereas using comparable corpora prioritizes the product of the translation act (ibid.), and, therefore, 'analysis of the product [is not] as useful for providing insights into the process' (Olohan, 2004: 39) as it is believed.

Even so, comparable corpora provide insights through a more revolutionary treatment of the translation product, in which source texts are no more of primary importance. In drawing on this notion, Olohan (2004) seems to be fully endorsing Baker's suggestion about making translations themselves 'central' rather than peripheral or dependent on source texts as they have always been. This is where comparable corpus studies become decidedly apt, for no reason except that they assist in changing the way we view translation and in providing new, perhaps uncensored, methods for conducting translation research. As Olohan (2004: 39) suggests:

…one of the central aims of comparable corpus studies appears to be a desire to develop, test and refine methods for studying translation, and researchers are keen to ascertain the extent to which their research can reveal something about the translation activity in general.

Olohan (ibid.) is 'keen to ascertain the extent to which [corpus] research can reveal something about the translation activity in general'. For this very purpose and the purposes of my research, the application of a fourth type, namely reference corpora, proves vital. The following section will therefore discuss reference corpora and their usefulness to this project.

4.3.3.2 Reference corpora: Arabic corpora and corpus selection

Large bilingual reference corpora are seen as the best-known corpora outside the domain of translation studies (Baker and Saldanha, 2009). Examples of these corpora are the British National Corpus, The Bank of English and The Brown Family of corpora (Baker, 2006: 43). Laviosa (2002: 37) refers to these corpora as non-translational. Such corpora, however, have been created to be employed in translation studies and research (the Translational English Corpus (Olohan, 2004: 59) and their advantages have been enormous compared to their pitfalls. Baker (2006: 43-44) argues that employing a monolingual reference corpus in any study of language can be helpful for the following reasons. 'Reference corpora are large and representative enough of a particular genre of language' (ibid.: 43). A reference corpus also aids in the retrieval 'of what is 'normal' in language by which [the researcher's] own data can be compared to' (ibid.: 43), which is exactly how I have employed my control corpus in this project.

The age of internet has made it possible for us today to access large reference corpora, in several languages, on the World Wide Web. These resources offer online interfaces which can be widely accessible or offer free sign-in accounts to language students, among others, all over the world. The internet has an unquestionably well-established 'centrality […] to the practice of corpus linguistics today' (McEnry and Hardie, 2012: xv). This makes the internet particularly useful when it comes to finding corpus resources that are useful for research in certain languages such as Arabic which 'lacks sufficient resources in this field' (Al-Sulaiti and Atwell, 2006: 1). Arabic, although

'rivalling English in number of mother-tongue speakers' (ibid.: 2; also see Graddol, 1997) and therefore considered as an international language, has not received the attention which English has in terms of availability of corpora for teaching and research purposes. Al-Sulaiti and Atwell (2006: 1-2) give a detailed list of the corpora developed for investigating the main varieties of English which is exhaustive in not only covering British and American English but also other varieties such as Australian, Indian and Cameroonian. Compared to English, and surely to other languages as well, 'corpus-based research in Arabic lags far behind that of Modern European languages' (ibid.: 2), both in terms of the tools it provides and the 'source type' that the existing corpora represent. This insufficiency of Arabic corpora led Latifa Al-Sulaiti and Eric Atwell, Professors at the School of Computing at the University of Leeds, to build, in 1996, the Corpus of Contemporary Arabic (CCA). This corpus contains spoken and written texts of contemporary Arabic, a term that Al-Sulaiti and Atwell (2006) define as 'the form of Standard Arabic used across the Arab speaking countries which is written or spoken in the 1990's up to the present time as well as contemporary regional varieties' (ibid.: 15, my emphasis). This, among other reasons, renders the CCA unsuitable for the purposes of this research which requires a reference corpus of written literary Standard Arabic which is the only form fit for my investigation of the literary gender tradition in Arabic. The only corpus which was deemed suitable for the purposes of this research is the ArabiCorpus, which will be discussed in section 3.2.2.1.

Although it constitutes the smallest part of my analysis, the proposed confirmatory control corpus-based analysis is a key methodological ingredient of this research. The application of a corpus-based approach in this project has already been defended on the grounds of the bearing it has to testing the results of the analysis of the primary data (see Chapter 4 and particularly section 4.4 for a further discussion on this).

Other relevant reasons are the help it provides for
1)   meeting the objectives of this study, particularly the one which addresses and examines the possible interrelatedness between the strategies adopted by the translators of TBE into Arabic and those utilised by Arab writers in terms of gender use and relations; and

2)   reaching generalisable conclusions about gender treatment in English-Arabic translation by looking at large corpora of Arabic literary non-translated texts and trying to establish similarities/differences by comparing general patterns of use between the primary corpus and the reference corpus.

Employing this approach, however, does not mean that I am not aware of the criticisms which surround it. This approach is utilised in this project despite the criticism, because I believe that it is the approach most suited to situating the results of the primary analysis in the wider context of the target system. It is true that corpus-based methods have been criticised for reasons which have to do with i) inability to serve as a basis for linguistic generalisation, for a corpus is an inadvertent set of texts or utterances (Chomsky, 1965: ii) being restricted to the texts included in the corpus and, thus, unable to provide the researcher with necessary information which would render their findings valid in relation to other texts outside the corpus used (Krzeszowski, 1989: 3), iii) being 'finite' and, thus, 'incomplete' in nature (Olohan, 2004: 149), iv) being 'products of human beings and thus inevitably reflect their views, presuppositions and limitations [which makes them] key to an objective treatment of their object of enquiry' (Bosseaux, 2007: 91), v) inability to 'generate meaning and [that] it will always remain a tool' (Opas and Rommel, 1995: 262). Nevertheless, corpora and corpus-based approaches have been praised for enabling generalisations to be made and developed about language use (Kennedy, 1998), recording patterns and frequencies rather than isolated instances of language and language use (Stubbs, 2001), capturing and establishing patterns which are unique to translated texts (Baker, 1995), and establishing linguistic features as evidence of certain constraints on translation in terms of discourse and genre (Mason, 2001), 'making life easier for the literary critic' (Opas and Rommel, 1995: 262) and enabling 'rapid access of linguistic items' (Munday, 2002: 80), among others.

In order to counter the problems which are usually associated with applying a corpus-based methodology, the focus will be on the corpus representativeness, comparability to the primary texts, and the analytical tools it provides for analysing the results of the primary corpus. What matters most, as Kennedy (1998: 60) postulates, is that 'issues in corpus design and compilation [and I would add, selection] are fundamentally concerned with the validity and reliability of research based on a particular corpus,

including whether that corpus can serve the purposes for which it was intended'. A discussion of general as well as specific issues with regards to corpus compilation and design is appropriate at this point in the discussion.

4.3.3.3 Design criteria

Although the term corpus is generally used to refer to 'any collection of running texts […] held in electronic form and analysable automatically or semi-automatically (rather than manually)' (Baker, 1995: 226, author's emphasis) and can therefore be seen as a loose term, the design and use of corpora in the study of translated texts is far from ad-hoc. This is exactly what makes a corpus different from a machine-readable text; a corpus is built 'according to explicit design criteria for a specific purpose' (Atkins et al., 1992: 1). Designing a corpus depends most of all on the desired use of this corpus and the fact that corpus should be, to a certain degree, 'representative of a particular type of language production and/or reception' (Kenny, in Baker, 1998: 50). According to Baker (1995: 229-30), decisions that are to be taken into account when designing a corpus involve those about the kind of language to be included, i.e. spoken or written; text-types that should be considered and the question of whether full texts or only selected excerpts are to be included. These decisions constitute what creates the different types of corpora which are specifically employed in translation and by translation scholars. This systematic approach to compiling and designing a corpus is what makes corpora a 'research methodology that may be applied to a range of research questions within translation studies' (Olohan, 2004: 1). The use of corpora can even give some insight into the study of translational norms and translators' behaviour (ibid.). Similarly, Hunston (2002: 123- 28) praises the usefulness of corpora, particularly parallel corpora, in informing translators' decisions. Clearly, the stress has been on approaching corpora from a descriptive angle rather than prescriptive assumption or dogmatic perspective and viewing them as a methodological tool that has its strengths and drawbacks, rather than seeing them as 'a paradigm occupying one or other pole' (Olohan, 2004: 3). Additionally, for corpora to be best employed in translation research, Olohan (ibid.) adds, they should be accompanied by a comparative model which would strengthen their analysis.

This, however, might not apply to all corpora for there are different types and each calls for a different treatment depending on the research purposes and aims as well as

the limitations associated with each type of corpora. These limitations will be discussed below in an attempt to make these issues clearer.

4.3.4 Limitations

Corpora have certainly been valuable in supplying translation theoreticians with tools that are essential in the study of translation phenomena and practices. Some scholars have, nevertheless, approached corpora with vigilance, for fear that 'a parallel corpus still only provides, for each instance, the result of one individual's introspection, albeit contextually and cotextually informed' (Malmkjær, 1998: 539). Malmkjær also argues that 'in order to be able to provide any kinds of explanation of the data provided by the corpus, rather than mere statistics, analysts really need substantially more context than computers tend to search and display' (ibid.). Comparable corpora are no different from parallel corpora in that they, too, pose serious challenges to translation scholars. Kenny (in Baker, 1998: 53) stresses the problematic nature of comparable corpora in translation when she proposes that 'it is in the very nature of translation that new genres are introduced from one literature to another, and there may be nothing 'comparable' in the host literature to a next introduced to it through translation from another textual tradition'.

Leech (1991: 15, in Malmkjær, 1998: 540) stresses the importance and usefulness of employing corpora in research as long as there is 'a division of labour between the corpus and the human mind'. For him, securing this division is what guarantees a successful analysis of data, a view which I adopt in this project. Malmkjær (1998) has her own reservations, nonetheless. She argues that the tendency to make such a division is 'worrying' particularly when 'the mind's share is minimal or expended during the corpus construction phase' (ibid.: 540). Further, she goes on, Leech's suggestion is inapplicable as it 'almost seems as though availability in machine readable form were the sole criterion for the texts' inclusion in the corpus' (ibid.). Malmkjær's discussion raises relevant questions which are relevant to corpora, and most importantly their availability, accessibility and applications in languages that are less well-studied within corpus-based translation studies, such as Arabic. However, these points have been addressed by this research and the methodology testifies to this (see Chapter 4).

Like Malmkjær, Olohan (2004.) praises research carried out in translation studies using corpora for its 'non-prescriptive orientations' and the abundance of 'underlying assumptions' it makes available to researchers. These areas include but are not limited to 1) the descriptive approach to translated texts, 2) the study of 'what is probable and typical in translation and […] interpreting what is unusual' (ibid.), 3) employing a corpus-based analysis which has both quantitative and qualitative significance and can thus be used to study the lexical, syntactical and discoursal features of translated texts. Olohan, however, takes account of the negative views of corpora expressed by scholars such as Chomsky and draws on Chomsky's criticism of corpus linguistics in order to test the applicability of corpus-based tools to research in translation and demonstrates, once again, the credibility of her discussion by accounting for all the different views of corpora and their reliability in research. It should be noted that Chomsky is one of the linguists who see the aim of corpus linguistics as contradicting that of linguistics. For him, the main difference stems from the fact that while linguistics studies language competence (parole) not performance (langue), corpus data and approaches provide us with information that is related to performance not competence (McEnry and Wilson, 2001: 5-12, in Olohan, 2004: 14). Another criticism seems to be related to the 'non-finite nature of language and the finite nature of a corpus, which means that any corpus is incomplete' (Olohan, 2004: 149).

Although a corpus is not a complete record of language or language use and may not be appealing to linguists like Chomsky, the usefulness of corpus applications in translation, particularly when allied with a comparative approach, is becoming more realisable. A comparative model cannot be employed for a sound explanation or even a calculation of causes and/or effects (Chesterman, 2000: 26). It will fail to 'tell us why a translation or translated language is the way it is' since this will have to shed light on the translator's decisions (Olohan, 2004: 10). It will also fail to do what a causal model can which is to give us insight into the effects that the translated language has (Chesterman, 2000: 26). In order to develop 'new hypotheses that link causal conditions, translation profile features and translation effects' (ibid.), we need to obtain some knowledge about these and be able to give a sound description of them. According to Olohan (2004: 10), 'this is where the comparative model and corpus methodology in translation studies may prove eminently useful'.

Despite the unlimited potential which electronic texts hold for translation studies and analyses (Olohan, 2004: 33) and the fact that corpora are very valuable linguistic tools that can say much about the translation process and product, the stress should always be on research design and efficient analysis of data. A good example is a study conducted by Mason and Şerban (2003), who used a corpus of Romanian novels and short stories along with their translations into English but without 'explicitly' making use of corpus-linguistic techniques, i.e. electronic version of texts and automated quantitative analysis (Olohan, 2004: 32). Mason and Şerban (2003) focused on analysing their data efficiently with a careful design of approach and method and only the sparing help of corpus tools. Conversely, other scholars (Tymoczko, 1998; Hermans, 1999; Mason, 2001; Olohan, 2004) saw the limitations of corpus-based tools and thus prioritised the contextualisation of translations and the relevance this bears to any descriptive approach to translated texts, particularly those which integrate corpus methodology. If translations are not contextualized in a corpus-based analysis of data, there is always the risk of uncorroborated generalizing and therefore contextual factors should be heeded (Mason, 2001: 71).

Having discussed reference corpora and its relevance to a research such as ours, a discussion of the ArabiCorpus which will be employed in this project follows.

4.4 The ArabiCorpus: a description

Because a corpus suitability to the research objectives is one of the most important factors in corpus choice, design and compilation, I have chosen to work with the sub-corpus of Modern Literature incorporated in the ArabiCorpus which will be of great assistance when it comes to representativeness (i.e. of the period of enormous vitality in the Arabic Novel) and suitability to what is intended by my research.The ArabiCorpus is a large (about 70M words) corpus. It was compiled and developed by Dilworth Parkinson, a Professor of Arabic and Head of Arabic Section at Brigham Young University, USA. The corpus can be accessed on the following web link: arabiCorpus.byu.edu. This reference corpus makes it possible to search for words and structures in Arabic or Latin script. The suitability of this corpus stems from the fact that it comprises the following categories:

The Quran

Medieval science

Modern literature (includes novels) (403901 words)

Novels (387036 words)

1001 nights

Egyptian colloquial

Newspapers

The ArabiCorpus enables us to track the different ways in which Arabic is used at the present, and become familiar with the Arabic expressions in relation to gender. All the texts used in the ArabiCorpus are written and not spoken which is also a good comparability factor.

It should also be pointed out that the non-translated texts in the reference sub-corpus chosen (Modern Literature) belong to the target language (i.e. Arabic) repertoire and represent the genre to which the target texts are supposed to belong. Only the sub-corpus of Modern Literature, which also incorporates the category 'novels', will be employed for the control corpus-based analysis. It should be noted that the sub-corpus, Modern Literature, can be described as a balanced corpus or sample corpus (see Biber, 1993 and Leech, 2007 for a discussion on this concept), which makes it 'representative of a particular type of language over a specific span of time [and] is constructed according to a specific sampling frame' (McEnery and Hardie, 2012: 6). This is different from a monitor corpus (which describes the ArabiCorpus in general) (Sinclair, 1991: 24), which continues to expand over time by accommodating new texts (McEnery and Hardie, 2012: 6). Adopting a sample corpus approach in my analysis will guarantee representativeness and comparability.

Building the Modern Literature subcorpus ended in February 2012 when only two new novels were added. Below are all the novels, 32 in total, included in the corpus, which were produced in the period of the 'new Arabic novel', covering the time span 1940s-present:

Ali Salem: *Awladuna Fi London* (Our children in London)

Ibrahim Abdul-Majid: *La Ahad yanamu fil eskandariyya* (No one sleeps in Alexandria)

Alaa Al-Aswani: *`imarat ya`qubian* (Jacobian's Building)

Rim Basyouni: *Madbouli* (Madbouli)

Rim Basyouni: *Ra'ihatul Bahr* (The Smell of Sea)

Khaled AlKhamisi: *Taxi*

Alaa Al-Aswani: *Chicago*

Ahlam Mustaghanmi: *Dhakiratu aljasad* (Memory of the Flesh)

Rajaa Abdullah Al-Sanea: *Banat El-RiyaD* (Girls of Riyadh)

Taher WaTTar: *Alwali aTTaher ya`udu ila maqamihi aZZaky* (The good governor returns to his holy shrine)

Taher Wattar: *Alwali ATTaher yarfa`u yadayhi biddu`a'* (The good governor prays to God)

NaJib MaHfouZ: *Miramar* (Miramar)

NaJib MaHfouZ: *Alkarnak* (Alkarnak)

Taher WaTTar: *AlHawwat wal qaSr* (The owner and the palace)

NaJib MaHfouZ: *AaSda' Assyrah Adhdhatiyyah* (Autobiography)

NaJib MaHfouZ: *Sada Annisyan* (Forgetfulness prevails)

Tayyeb SaliH: *`urs AZZyn* (The Wedding of Zein)

Edwar ElKharrat: *Turabuha Za`faran* (Its soil is saffron)

LaTifah AZZayyat: *AShShayKhuKhah wa QiSaS UKhra* (Old age, and other stories)

Yahya Haqqi: *QiSaS Li Yahya Haqqi* (Stories, by Yehia Haqq)

Elyas Khoury: *Mamlakat Al-Ghurabaa* (Kingdom of strangers)

Ahlam Mustaghanmy: *Aber Sarir* (Passer by a bed)

Ghassan Kanafani: *Om Saad* (Saad's mother)

Ahlam Mustaghanmy: *FawDa AlHawas* (Chaos of the senses)

Najat Halo: *Sirr AlHayat* (Secret of life)

Saadallah Wannous: *MuGamarat Raas Almamluk Jaber* (The adventure of mamluk Jaber's head)

Tamim Saeb: *La Tafqa Aynaika ya Odib* (Don't pluck your eyes out, Oedipus)

Ghassan Kanafani: *Masrahiyyat Albab* (The Door, a play)

Ghada Alsamman: *Khatmon LiZakirah Bishshame AlaHmar* (Red wax seal memory)

Ghassan Kanafani: *A'ed ila Haifa* (Returning to Haifaa)

NaJib MaHfouz: *Awlad Haretna* (Children of our alley)

Amjad Nasser: *Haithu La Tasqot Alamtar* (Where the rain does not fall)

The search function helps locate a word or a string of words within the corpus. It also gives citations from the novels in which the word(s) occur, which makes it possible for us to find out about the context in which the word is used, given that the context is a significant factor to take into consideration. Further, it makes it feasible for us to specify the different forms of the word we search for (singular, plural, etc.), and gives access to the words that come before and after the word in question. Information on word frequency in the whole corpus or only a subsection of it (e.g. novels) is also available.

It should be noted that the novels compiled in this corpus can be comparable to the target texts that, along with their source text *TBE*, constitute my primary corpus (the translations of *TBE* into Arabic) for the following reasons:

1. Both female and male Arab writers are represented in the ArabiCorpus which would help to give a representative view of Arabic writing in general, without focusing at all on differences in the writers' styles or their gender. Although the translator's sex might be of particular significance in a study such as this, the decision was to pay no further attention to this factor. This should be noted here, particularly since it is not the intention of this study to look into whether the translators' sex is one of the reasons which affected their decisions. After all, even if the results were indicative of a particular trend, they still might not be representative.This research is intended is to scrutinise the translators' decisions by establishing the degree of relatedness – or absence of any at all – which these decisions bear to the Arab writers' choices as seen in the ArabiCorpus. It should also be made clear that the research hypothesis seeks to establish the link between the

*general*gender tradition in Arabic and the translators' practices in the two translations under investigation.

2. Because the focus is on the existing channels of signification available in Arabic (in terms of gender) which may inform the translators' decisions, the comparability between the length of the control corpus and the length of the two target texts will be regarded differently in this study from how it is usually treated from a corpus-based perspective. Normally, it is desirable in the context of corpus-based translation research to have a comparable corpus of translations into language 'B' and non-translations in the same language which are comparable in length. In this study, this norm will be flouted, for reasons related to the fact that the corpus length here 'can serve the purposes for which it was intended' (Kennedy, 1998: 60) and help to address the questions which this research addresses. The total length of the corpus of translations, i.e. the two target texts, is about 100,000 words which accounts for only a small part of the control corpus employed for the comparison.

3. The two target texts to be analyzed were published in the late 1990s: one in 1995, the second in 1997, which means they were published at the time during which some of the novels from the ArabiCorpus were published. It has been mentioned that the novels in the ArabiCorpus were produced in the period of the 'new Arabic novel', which covers the time span 1940s-present. This makes the novels in the ArabiCorpus representative of the genre of the New Arabic novel and the general cultural tradition during this period.

The following section will describe how the ArabiCorpus is intended to be used in this project.

4.4.1 Functions of the ArabiCorpus

It has already been suggested that the ArabiCorpus is designed to allow researchers to search large Arabic corpora for words and structures. The corpus is untagged and provides information on word frequency, citations giving 10 words before and 10

words after the word searched, thereby allowing the researcher to be informed about the context in which the word occurs, and information on collocates of the word in question. Some regular expression searching is also possible, allowing the user to find larger structures and grammatical patterns. These functions are exactly what is needed in a confirmatory analysis such as I intend to embark on in this project.

To search for words or structures, one should be equipped with the correct information. This includes the DT transliteration system by which the ArabiCorpus search tool operates. The following table illustrates this:

ا A	د D	غ G	ء C
أ L	ذ V	ف F	ؤ W
إ E	ر R	ق Q	ئ Y
آ M	ز Z	ك K	ـْ O
أ O	س S	ل L	ـّ ~
ب B	ش P	م M	ـَ A
ت T	ص S	ن N	ـِ I
ث V	ض D	ه H	ـُ U
ج J	ط T	و W	ـً N
ح H	ظ Z	ي Y	ـٍ I
خ X	ع C	ى E	ـٌ U
ة Q		ـَ G	ـ ___

Table 1. DT Transliteration System Chart

(Source: arabiCorpus.byu.edu)

This transliteration system helps the user to type in Latin characters instead of Arabic script if their computers are not set up to type Arabic script into the 'Arabic chars' box in the search window below.

Table 2. ArabiCorpus search window

The 'corpus' box allows one to search either the whole corpus or only parts of it by scrolling down and choosing the function required. The 'advanced search' box is useful when looking up extra forms such as plurals, variant stems, etc. of a particular word. It also provides additional Arabic verb types.

A search for a word in the ArabiCorpus will result in something similar to what we see in Table 3 below.

Table 3. ArabiCorpus basic search window and result

The search window can also provide the citations in which 'رجل' has occurred. The result will be something like the following:

	latin chars (transliteration help)	arabic chars	part of speech	corpus		
			noun ▾	Modern Literature ▾	submit	instructions
						advanced search

search results for rjl | رجل in Modern Literature   summary   citations   subsections   word forms   words before/after   collocate

citations

showing 1 through 100 of 2,565 — sorted by word before
sort by word after
click on number at left for full citation

go to page : 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 |

sort word	10 words after	word	10 words before	subsection
1	عرفت معه معنى الحب الحقيقي...	رجل		SmellOfSea
2	المثالي لا يظلم ولا يزني.. لأن يظلمها	الرجل		SmellOfSea
3	يقرأ والمصحف مغلق بين يديه . يقرأ بصوت عال ويبدو	الرجل		Sleeps
4	الأنيق وأطفاله لم يختفوا. رأهم حتى خرجوا من أقرب الأبواب	الرجل		Sleeps
5	في الخمسين من العمر.. متأنق الهندام.. حليق الذقن.. عطر الرائحة..	رجل		Taxi
6	بثياب أخرى، بابتسامة وكلمات أخرى، وبجلسة يسهل له فيها إجلاسك	رجل		Remembrance
7	يسخر من هذا العالم بيد واحدة. ويعيد عجن تضاريس الأشياء	رجلا		Remembrance
8	كاد يكون أباك.	رجل		Remembrance
9	طيب.." هل الطيبة هي حقا صفته المميزة الأولى؟ أعرف أنا	"رجل		Remembrance
10	كالآخرين؟! أدري طريقي صعب وأدري فراقك صعب حتى رجوعي صعب	رجل		RiyadGirls
11	يقف مستسلما، عيناه، تتبادلان الدور، واحدة، تبدو بلهاء تعبة مكدودة،	الرجل		SaintPrays
12	يحاول أن يقف في المجرى ويصده عن تنفيذ مشيئة الأقدار.	الرجل		FisherCastle
13	الذي يقع فريسة بين أيدى نساء المخصصين، ينتهى إلى الهلاك.	الرجل		FisherCastle

Table 4. ArabiCorpus result window: citations

Table 4 above also shows how one can have access to the full citation for more contextual information. Because the results are all in Arabic, English glosses will be provided systematically in the forthcoming analysis in Chapter 4.

These search functions will help to identify similarities and discrepancies between the gender representations in the translations into Arabic analysed and the representations of gender as seen in the ArabiCorpus. The focus will be mainly on three main corpus tools:

- Word frequency lists
- Collocations

- Concordancing tool: KWIC (key word in context)

The next section will describe how the ArabiCorpus will be used in my analysis.

4.4.2 Application of the ArabiCorpus in the confirmatory analysis

After conducting the search and seeing the results obtained, it is worthwhile to draw a comparison between the analysis of the primary corpus and that of the control corpus. If the patterns found in the primary data and those found in the control corpus are similar, more generalisable conclusions can be drawn. These conclusions will make it possible to answer the questions that this research addresses.

The search for particular words and structures in the ArabiCorpus was carried out with one major objective in mind: establishing results which would corroborate or invalidate the results of the primary analysis of data. The shift patterns discerned from the primary corpus helped us to reach a clear and informed realisation of male and female depiction and their subsequent representations in the Arabic translations of *TBE*, ensuring an effective confirmatory analysis was achieved along the following lines:

1. Establishing similarities and dissimilarities with Arabic literary writing will be done by finding out what collocates with 'woman' and 'man' and, by so doing establishing normative and marked forms. Such a search will help us find out whether forms such as these exist in the ArabiCorpus: the normativeforms of كونها امرأة (being a woman) andكونه رجلاً (being a man);
2. Looking for individual outliers, as part of collocations or word combinations, that present a marked case in the translations, and establishing frequencies:
A. Arabic gender-inclusive forms: هم/هن، هو/هي، أنتم/أنتن (you (M) and you (F))
B. marked forms: بوي فريند، جيرل فريند which are transliterations of 'boyfriend' and 'girlfriend', الأصدقاء الفتية (boys who are friends)

Having established the search criteria, pattern(s) and rationale for search, the search for these items will be conducted. This will be carried out in depth in Chapter 4.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the methods employed for the primary as well as confirmatory analysis. A description of the paradigms that inspired the proposed comparative-descriptive-analytical approach to the analysis of the primary texts was first presented. The corpus-based tools utilized for carrying out the confirmatory analysis of the primary results were then discussed. It is proposed that the combination of the three methodologies discussed in Section 3.1 for the primary data analysis will bridge any existing gaps in any of them and ensure that a holistic manual and electronic (corpus-based) analysis of data will contribute to augmenting the validity of the data analysis results.

Chapter 4 will therefore present the primary analysis with its quantitative and qualitative components, for both the microstructure and macrostructure of the TTs. This, I believe, will take our understanding of gender shifts from levels of abstraction to levels of application.

Chapter 5 – DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Analysis of the primary corpus

### 5.1.1 Quantitative analysis of the primary corpus: introductory remarks and general results

By carrying out a quantitative analysis of TBE and its two translations into Arabic, the objective is to identify, by statistical means, the gender shifts occurring in the Arabic translations. The first step in the quantitative analysis was to identify and number all instances of gender relations in the source text in order to facilitate comparison with the target texts. The examples found are listed in Table 17 in the Appendix.

The gender shifts in the translations were identified according to specific features (see section 4.2.1.3). In total, 161 instances were found which exhibit one or more of these features. Shifts and non-shifts were recorded. The majority of shifts were seen in TT97, which is, chronologically speaking, the second translation of the ST, published in 1997, two years after TT95 was published. A detailed discussion of all the extracted instances is impossible due to space constraints. However, since a comprehensive account of the shifts and non-shifts occurring will be useful and make the picture clearer for the reader, I chose to create a table which classifies all the shifts and non-shifts occurring in the translations of the 161 ST examples. (See Table 17 in the Appendix.)

The significance of Table 17 is the indication it provides of the type of change effected by a certain shift. This isan important aspect of this analysis as it indicates a distinction between the three main categories of shifts indicated below: modulation, modification and mutation, depending on the semantic change these shifts bring about in the translations.

In order to make the results obtained in Table 17 clearer, graphs whichrepresent the results will be listed below and followed by the relevant discussion. The graphs will provide a visual representation of the various relationships that exist between different variables. Graph 2 shows the number of shifts and non-shifts recorded in the 161

examples found in comparing the ST to TT95 and TT97. Shifts occurred in both translations. However, the percentage of shifts observed in TT97 was higher compared to TT95, as can be seen in Graph 2.
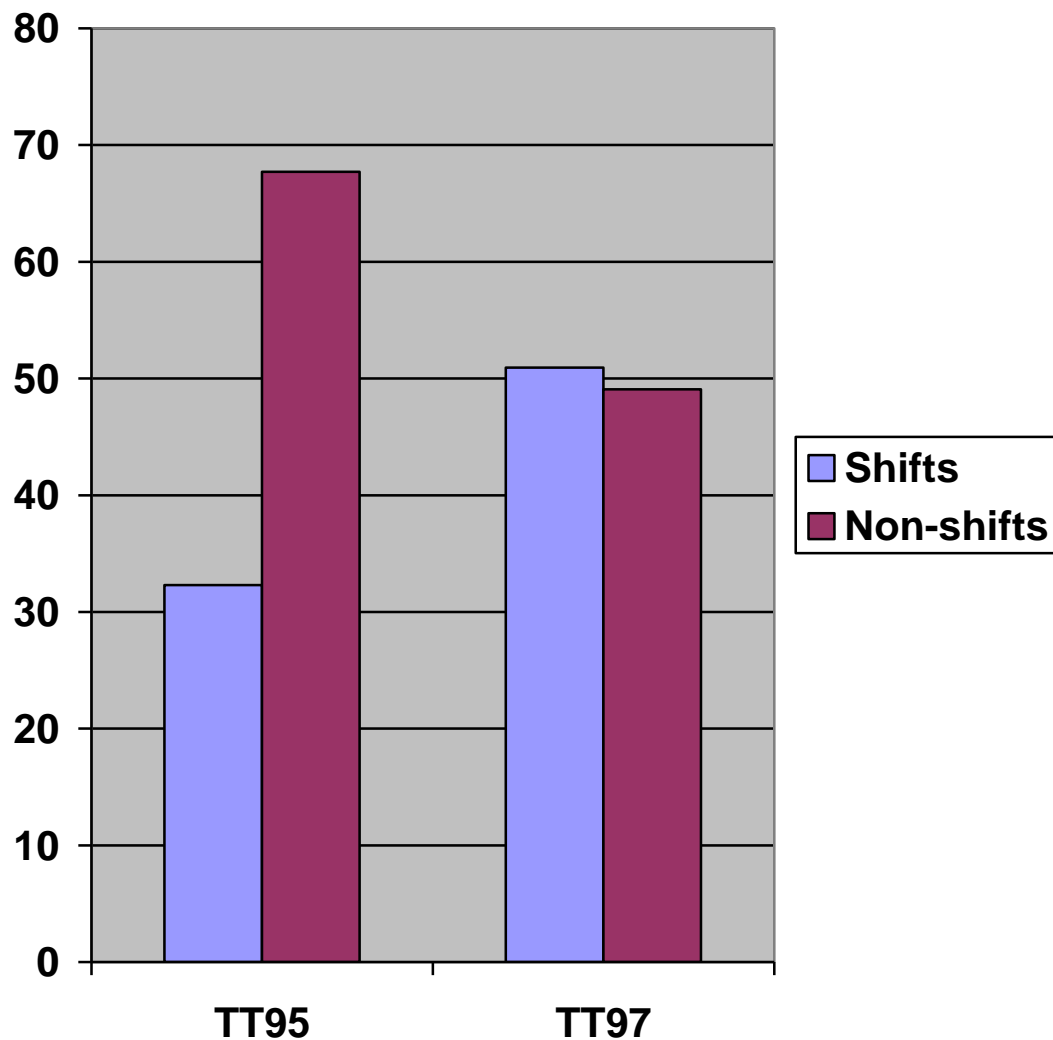
Graph 2. Comparison of number of shifts and non-shifts of TT95 and TT97

Graph 3 displays the distribution of shifts according to the three main categories of modulation, modification and mutation (micro-structural shifts).A high number of modification shifts is found in the two translations (40 in TT97 and 24 in TT95), which means that no radical degree of change was recorded as a result. This is due to

the fact that these shifts were mainly explicitation[16] shifts. The same applies to TT97, albeit to a smaller degree. Also, there is a high degree of modulation shift (grammatical specification) found in TT95 as can be seen in Graph 3.
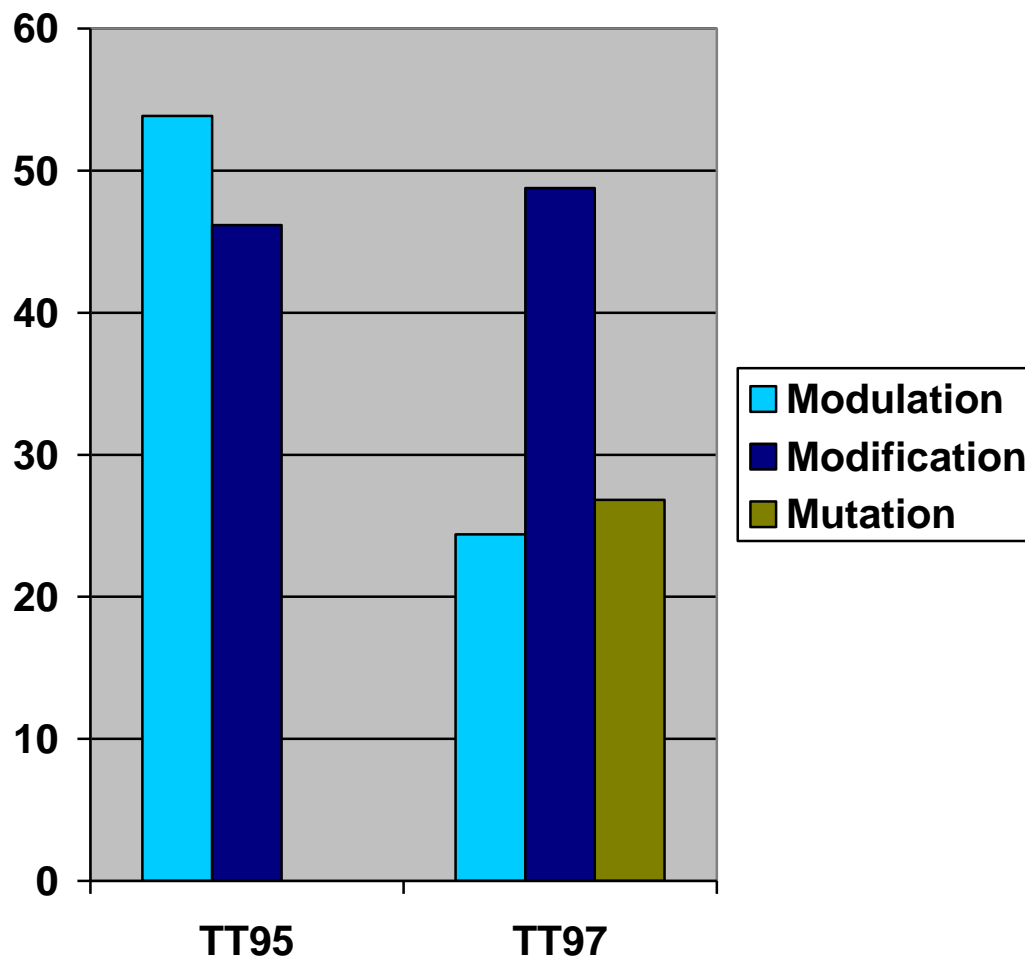
Graph 3.Distribution of micro-structural shifts in TT95 and TT97

Graph 4 shows the differences between the two translations in terms of how obligatory or optional the shifts were.A higher degree of 'optionality' characterised the shift patterns discerned in TT97, while only 4 obligatory shifts were recorded. In TT95, also both obligatory and optional shifts occurred. However, obligatory shifts

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[16] (Baker, 2003) lists 'explicitation' as a translation universal. The concept of 'universal' was not new in 2003, when Baker published her groundbreaking paper 'Corpus linguistics and translation studies: Implications and applications'; however, the paper is perceived as the inspiration for the interest in the concept in the field of translation. This thesis will not go in to further detail regarding the notion of 'translation universals'.

numbered 5, making us think that perhaps norms rather than rules have the upper hand in influencing the translator's choices. However, this will be investigated further when the control corpus-based analysis is applied.
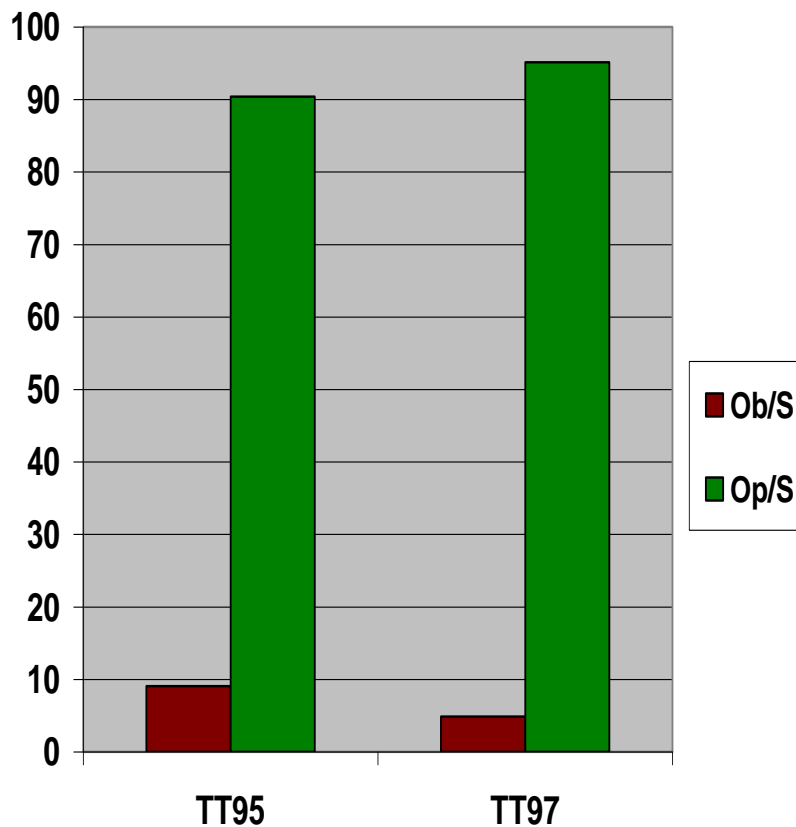
Graph 4. Obligatory (Ob/S) and optional (Op/S) shifts in TT95 and TT97

The quantitative analysis also made it possible to highlight the shift-change distinction discussed in section 2.4.3 and demonstrate that shifts did not always result in semantic change in the translations. Graph 5 below highlights this distinction by showing differences between TT95 and TT97.In terms of the meaning change observed, change ranged from minor to major to radical in TT97, with radical here highlighting the conservative stance the translator adopts in the use of gender forms. In TT95, on the other hand, no radical change was observed despite a high presence of optional shifts. In fact, there were no mutation shifts observed in TT95, in comparison to TT97 which incorporated 22 of this type of shift. This means that TT97 showed a noticeable inclination towards a drastic alteration in the core information and forms which the ST

provided, which highlights the noticeable difference in the two translators' approaches and choice of gender forms.
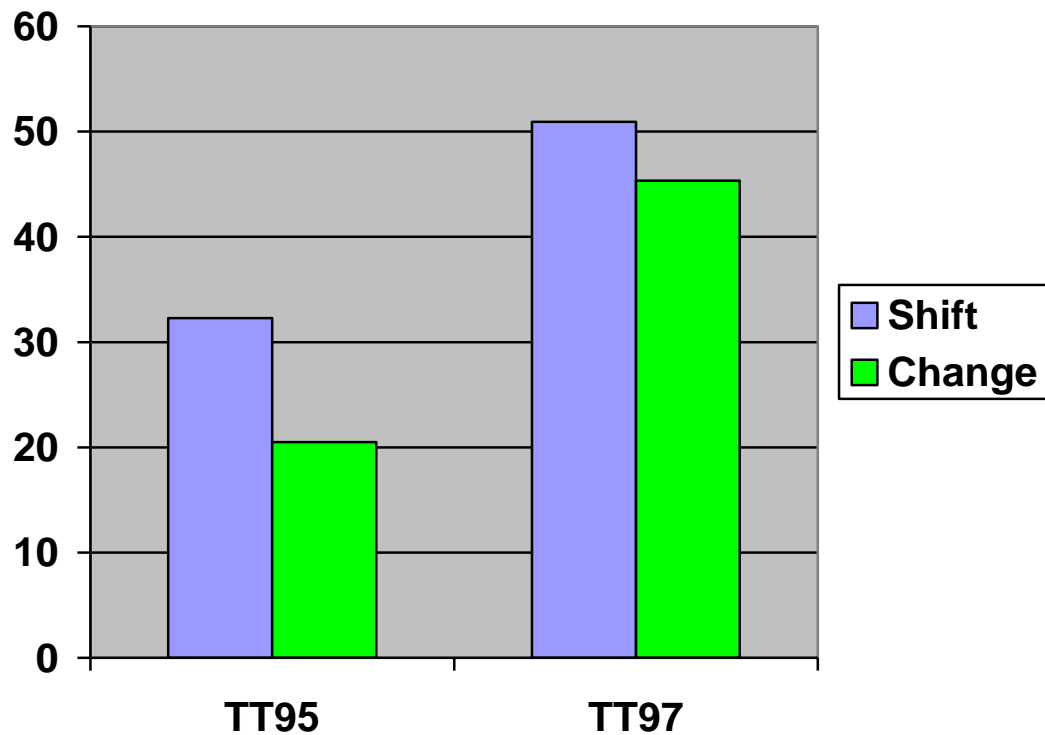
Graph 5.Shift-change ratio in TT95 and TT97

Graph 6 presents a comparison between the TTs in terms of the intensity of change observed, ranging from minor to major to radical.
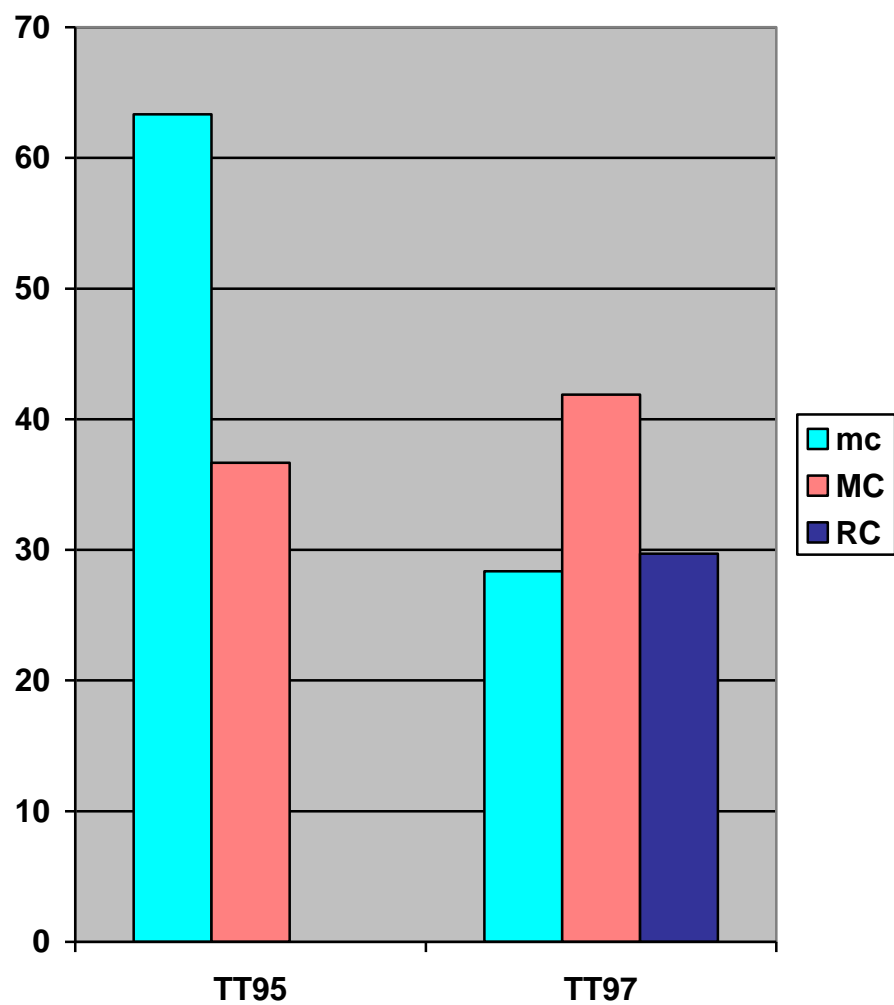
Graph 6. Distribution of change types in TT95 and TT97

The following qualitative analysis will make the above patterns clearer by drawing on their underlying implications in the translations, and linking them with other patterns which have been discerned in observing the gender forms in the translations.

5.1.2 Qualitative observations

This section presents the qualitative part of the analysis of shifts between source and target texts. In the following part, a number of data samples obtained from the quantitative part of the analysis are analysed. The analysis will be divided into the following elements:

1. a shift-informed analysis
2. a gender-informed analysis
3. a semiotically-informed analysis

It will discuss the following patterns which have been observed from the qualitative analysis of data:

1. There seems to be a translational tendency in TT95 to opt for a feminine Arabic equivalent of ST words and expressions when the ST word can have either a masculine or a feminine TT equivalent whereas in TT97 the translator mostly opts for the masculine equivalent. TT95 shows a greater tendency towards gender-specific forms, making the female presence more felt in the translation than in the ST, which is overall gender-neutral.
2. Language is sometimes gender-inclusive in TT95, even when it is not in the ST.
3. An initial observation shows that some of the patterns found in TT95 do not reflect actual writing norms in Arabic (gender-inclusive and ambi-gendered forms) but have been rendered the way they are solely for fictional (or translational) purposes, and the translator's introductory notes and footnotes give some evidence of this. (See section 4.2.1.1.) The same cannot be said about TT97. This pattern also needs to be examined further by applying a control corpus-based analysis.
4. Whereas TT95 demonstrates a tendency towards making some of the ST forms genderless or ambi-gendered, the translator in TT97 seems to blow the

female/male qualities depicted in the ST out of proportion, making them more clichéd and conventional and thus more appropriated within an Arabic context. This observation, however, can be considered impressionistic and therefore it will be examined and verified by means of the forthcoming control corpus-based analysis.

5. Both translations, albeit to varying degrees, still shy away from adhering very consistently to one gender pattern. For example, TT95, which is the more gender-conscious translation, was still characterised, on occasions, with traces of gender indeterminacy. In short, neither of the translations can be said to have a single approach to this gender dilemma.

6. In TT97, the translator adopts a normative gender approach to the ST, evident in the choice of marked gender expressions. This was done, for example, by changing verb-subject agreement in Arabic through making the verb of a feminine subject masculine. In other words, TT97 showed general preference of the masculine forms, even when this would mean going against a grammatical rule. The result was sometimes a sexually marked translation. TT95 also provides examples of marked gender forms. Despite the infrequency of these instances, the translator's rationale for these decisions remains difficult to grasp fully.

The above trends will be further explained in the following qualitative analysis and their further implications for this study will be presented.

5.1.3 Shifts in the Micro Structure

This section is devoted to an investigation of the main components behind the statistics given above, and will look into both the micro- and macro-shifts manifested in the two Arabic translations of *TBE*. It should be noted that the microstructural analysis which will follow has as its main focus the three main categories of shifts. The sub-categories suggested below are gender-informed, relating to the gender patterns discerned in the analysis. The macrostructural analysis which follows in 4.3.5.2 will explain the semiotic implications of these microstructural shifts.

The main aim of van Leuven-Zwart's comparative model is looking for microstructural shifts. The following is a selective sample of the shifts recorded

which fall within the three main categories of van Leuven-Zwart's model. The chosen examples are representative because they account for all the types of shift and accompanying change which were recorded in the translations. (See section 4.2.1.3 for details.) Most importantly, the representativeness of the chosen examples has been decided along these major lines: shift-non shift distinction, optional vs. obligatory shift, shift-change distinction, and the three main categories of shift (modulation, modification and mutation). The samples presented below provide examples which represent each of the above classifications, all of which have been decisive in accounting for the shift patterns recorded in the analysis.

It remains to say that some examples can illustrate a number of different shifts; however, accounting for all the shifts under a specific shift category would have been confusing. Thus, and also due to space constraints, the decision was to focus on the shift that was most relevant to the investigated category or subcategory in a given example.

5.1.3.1 Modulation shifts
The first category to be discussed in this part of the analysis is modulation. As suggested earlier (section 2.4.1), a modulation relationship is found when an ST element changes via translation into another element with a narrower meaning or a more general one.

Modulation shifts can be either semantic or stylistic. Semantic modulation occurs when a semantic aspect of disjunction manifests itself, which, in turn, can be the result of either specification or generalisation. Deciding whether a modulation shift falls in to the category of specification or generalisation solely depends, in van Leuven-Zwart's terms, on whether 'the aspect of disjunction manifests itself' in the TT or the ST (1989: 160). Whether it is of a semantic or stylistic nature, a modulation shift is always considered specification if disjunction is found in the TT whereas a modulation shift is dubbed generalisation when this aspect of disjunction is manifest in the ST.

TT95, it seems, is home to the majority of specification shifts. In gender terms, three general trends are immediately noticeable. The first practice which calls for attention

is the gender treatment of definite and indefinite pronouns (you, one, someone, somebody, nobody, etc.) and genderless or gender-neutral nouns: person; vs. gender-specific nouns: man, woman, girl, boy, etc. The second is to specify using intensive words, thereby making the ST unit sound more clichéd or enhanced in the translation. The third is to specify via addition, explanation or exoticization in order to make clearer certain ST references in the translation. The following examples illustrate these shifts.

5.1.3.1.1 From gender-neutral to gender-specific: defining the indefinite

In the translations, there seems to be a general tendency towards gender specification. The translators have shown an inclination towards defining indefinite pronouns, i.e. making gender-specific a number of gender-neutral or ambi-gendered pronouns. The following examples testify to this pattern.The examples below all exhibit a specification shift in TT95, manifest in rendering indefinite, gender-neutral pronouns into Arabic, making them gender-specific in the translations. The context was sometimes indicative of the translator's rationale behind their decision to opt for a particular gender (2) while it was not on other occasions.In (1), for example, the context, preceding and following the analysed unit, does not specify the gender of who 'someone' refers to, which makes the translator's decision in TT97 difficult to grasp.

(1)

ST:/'when the deep purple falls over sleepy garden walls/, **someone thinks of me**'.

TT95:.شخص ما سيفكر بي

BT95: **Someone** (N) **thinks of me**.

TT97:.رجلما سيفكر بي

BT97: **A man** (M) **thinks of me**.

(2)

ST: **I think of somebody with hands who does not want me to die**.

TT95:.أفكر بإنسانة لها يدان لاتريدني أن أموت

BT95: **I think of /a human being(f) [who] has(f) hands** not (f)want to me die.

TT97:.أفكر بشخص ذي يدين لا يريدني أن أموت

BT95:**I think of somebody (N) with hands [who does] no want me to die.**

(3)

ST: What the devil does **anybody** need with three quarts of milk?

TT95:ما الذي <u>تحتاجه</u> **إحداهن** بثلاثة أرباع جالون من الحليب؟

BT95:What that **(f)need anybody(f)** with three quarts of milk?

TT97 بحق الشيطان **أي شخص يحتاج** إلى ثلاثة أرباع قنينة حليب؟

BT97:.In right the devil what **anybody (N) need (N)** for three quarts of milk?

The shift in (3) may in all likelihood be the result of the translator's awareness of the contextual information accompanying the use of 'anybody' in the ST which is evident in the utterance 'the ''folks'' my mother was referring to was Pecola'. Since this textual information is available to both translators, it is unclear why the translator in TT97 still chose to preserve the ST forms, unlike the translator in TT95.

While the rationale, if any, for these shifts in the translations may be vague, these shifts (along with the accompanying semantic changes they bring about in the TTs) continue to shape both the micro- and macrostructures of the translation in various ways. In other words, the gender shifts above, although only grammatical, result in changes which, in turn, contribute, even if slightly, to how the text eventually operates on its many levels, whether semantic, syntactic or discoursal. It remains to state that all the modulation shifts above resulted in minor semantic changes, making the translation in TT95, more gender-specific than TT97.

(4)

ST:/'But… how?'/ Asked Pecola.

'**Somebody (N) has to love you**'.

TT95:قالت بيكولا: /ولكن كيف؟/

قالت فريدا: **لا بد لرجل من أن يحبك**

BT95:Frieda said: **has a man (M) to love you**.

TT97:/ولكن كيف؟/

أجابت فريدا: **يجب أن يحبك شخص ما**.

BT97:Frieda said: **must to love you somebody (N)**.

The context in (4) is also of considerable significance. The two girls are discussing pregnancy and birth. Innocence clearly characterises their talk, given the reference to 'having somebody love you' and what this would denote to innocent young children. After all, for these little girls 'the process of having a baby by any male was incomprehensible to [them]' (Morrison,

1970: 150). While the use of 'somebody' would still be understood to be an indirect reference to 'a man', the shift into 'man' in TT95 makes the reference more gender-specific and, by so doing, renders the whole utterance more specific than it is in the ST.

(5)

ST:We'll never /let her/ go. We **could never find anybody (N) like Polly**[…] **Really, she is the ideal servant (N).**

TT95: لن /ندعها تذهب/ أبداً **فلن نجد امرأةً مثل بولى**... **إنها حقاً الخادمة المثالية.**

BT95:**Won't we find a woman (F) like Polly. She really [is] the servant(f) ideal.**

TT97: لن /نسمح لها بتركنا/ أبداً... **فلن نستطيع أن نجد أحداً مثلها أبداً.. إنها الخادم المثالية.**

BT97:**Could not we find anybody (N) like her. She [is] servant (M) ideal(f).**

Another unit which exemplifies a specification shift and relies heavily on the accompanying contextual information is seen in (5). This example is interesting for more reasons than one. Not only does the comparative analysis of the ST and the two TTs yield a specification shift in TT95, i.e. semantic change of 'anybody' into 'woman', it also reveals a preference in TT97 for rendering the whole reference to 'Polly' less explicit by replacing her name with the pronoun 'her'. Another interesting decision was the use of the GM noun 'الخادم' (servant) to describe Polly, while using a feminine adjective to describe her. Although this is an accepted combination in Arabic, given that servant in its generic form is widely used to refer to both genders, the translator in TT95 still opts for the feminine form of servant. This is also a reminder of Muqaddam's discussion in section 2.3.2.2, and of the preference to opt for the masculine which makes pronunciation easier, as the rule reads in Arabic (Muqaddam, 2010: 46-7).

(6)

ST:**Lying next to a real person (N) who was really ministratin'** was somehow sacred.

TT95: **كان الرقاد بجوار إنسانة حقيقية تعاودها الدورة الشهرية حقا** أمرا مقدسا على نحو من الأنحاء.

BT95:**Was lying in next to a human being (F) real (F) [who was] having(f) the period monthly really a thing sacred somehow.**

TT97: **فأن تتمدد جوار شخص حقيقي كان ينزف دما لهو شيء مقدس فعلا.**

BT97:**Because to lie next to a person (N) real (M) [who] was bleeding(m) blood was a thing sacred really.**

In (6), TT95 makes the reference to Pecola more specified by reducing the ST signifier 'real person' into 'real female human being', where both the noun and its adjective have feminine genders. On a grammatical-gender front, this translational practice resulted in an ST gender-

neutral reference becoming a gender-specific (i.e. feminine) in the target text. This change in TT95 helps to verbalise the link made in the ST between womanhood and menstruation even more and further establishes the sacredness of menstruation and menstruating women in the girls' view. Also, TT95 keeps the level of explicitness of the reference made to menstruation unchanged by using 'الدورة الشهرية' (monthly period), a reference which TT97 makes rather general in Arabic through the use of 'ينزف' (bleed). It must be noted here that describing menstruation as sacred can be controversial for an Arab translator; particularly since menstruation blood is regarded as impure. This could provide a possible explanation for the translator's choice in TT97 to not opt for a similar rendering to the one seen in TT95. Contrary to TT95, TT97 is characterised by semantic generalization.

(7)

ST:He ever been **married to anybody (N)?**

No.

/How come/? **Somebody (N)** cut it off?

/He's just picky/. You see **anything (N)** /around here you'd marry/?

TT95:هل سبق أن تزوج**إحداهن** على الإطلاق؟

لا

/كيف ذلك/؟ هل بترت**إحداهن**عضوه؟

/كل ماهنالك أنه صعب الإرضاء/. هل ترين حولك**امرأة** /يمكنه الزواج **بها**/؟

BT95: Ever before married he**someone(f)** at all?

No

How that? Did cut **a somebody(f)** penis his?

Do see you around you **a woman** can he **marry to(f)?**

TT97: <u>لم يتزوج أبداً من قبل</u>؟

لا.

وكيف ذلك؟ هل قطعه له **أحد**ما؟

إنه مجرد شخص صعب. هل ترين حولك**أي شيء** يصلح للزواج؟

BT97: Never he married **(deleted)** ever from before?

No.

And how that? Did cut his **someone (N)?**

Do you see around you **anything** (N) suitable for marriage?

In (7), the translator in TT95 also changes the ST gender-neutral references into gender-specific ones, while TT97 makes no such change. The most critical part can be said to be the reference to 'someone' cutting off Henry's penis preventing him

from getting married. While the ST keeps the reference to this somewhat general, and thus, implicit, TT95 elucidates it. TT97 tells a different story by retaining the source forms. However, this translator omits any reference to 'anybody' in the first line. In contrast, TT95 shows a different approach: the shift which 'somebody' undergoes in TT95, changing from neutral to specifically feminine, makes this reference even bolder in the translation. Another shift occurs when 'anything' changes into 'woman'. Again, TT97 shows a different gender orientation.

The examples which follow show that specification shifts did not only occur in the translation of indefinite pronouns- a general tendency to turn the referents of some gender-neutral nouns into gender-specific references in the translations and particularly in TT95, can also be observed.

(8)

ST:The love of **a free man**(M.) is never safe. There is **no gift for the beloved**(N). **The lover**(N) alone possesses **the gift of love**. **The loved one**(N) is **shorn, neutralized, frozen** in the glare of **the lover's**(N) inward eye.

TT95:وحده **والمحبوب**. فليس هناك هبة **للمحبوب**. ليس بالحب الآمن قط حب **إنسان حر**

والمحبوب. يمتلك هبة الحب.

يجزّ وينحّى جانباً ويجمد في توهج عين المحب المطلة إلى داخله.

BT95:Love [of] **human being** (N) free [is] not love safe never. As there is **not gift to beloved (N).** And **lover (N)** alone possesses(n) gift of love. **And loved one (N) shorn(n), neutralized(n), frozen(n) in glare eye lover(n)** looking to within.

TT97: **والمحبوبة تجزّ**. الحب يملك هبته من الحب وحده **المحب**. **للمحبوبة**. لاتوجد هناك هبة أبداً ليس مأموناً **رجل حر** حب

تبطل وتجمد في جليد عين المحب الداخلية.

BT97:Love [of] **man (M) free (M**) [is] not love safe never. There is not gift to**beloved(f).Lover (M)** alone **possesses(m)** gift of love. **And loved one(f) shorn(f), neutralized(f), frozen(f) in glare eye lover(M)** inward eye.

Because the lover's gender has been decided by the source as male in (8), the translator assigns a female gender to the noun 'beloved' in TT97. The translator in TT95, however, does not assign a gender to 'beloved', thereby treating 'lover' as gender-neutral in the translation.

(9)

ST:Anyways, **the baby (N) come**. **Big old healthy thing (N).**

TT95: على أي حال،**شرفت المولودة. فتاة ضخمة عفيّة.**

BT95:Anyway, **came(f) the baby(f).Girl big(f) healthy(f)**.

TT97: على أية حال، **وضعت مولوداً. شيء كبير بصحة جيدة.**

BT97:Anyway, **delivered I a baby (GM). Thing (N) big(n) with health good.**

Example (9) gives another example of specification. TT95 makes specific the gender of Pauline's baby not only by opting for the feminine form مولودة (female baby) but also by translating 'thing' as فتاة , i.e. girl. TT97 makes a controversial choice in using مولوداً (GM baby). The reason why this choice sounds controversial is the incongruity which exists between the form of the word (which can indicate neutrality and masculinity simultaneously) and the underlying masculine meaning, simply because the source text makes a clear indication to the baby's gender at an earlier point in the narrative: 'when I had the second one, a girl, I 'member I said I'd love it no matter what it looked like. She looked like a black ball of hair' (Morrison, 1970: 96). Another point to consider here is that the Arabic word for 'baby' used by the translator in TT97, with its possible masculine referent, would certainly contradict the earlier contextual information in the ST and also the context that follows which makes clear the feminine gender of Pauline's baby.

(10)

ST:There is a difference between **being put out and being put outdoors**. If **you (N)**are put out, **you go (N)** somewhere else; if **you (N)**are outdoors, there is no place to go.

TT95: هناك فارق بين **أن تطرد/تطردي وأن تتشردوا**...فإذا ماطردتم فإن **بمقدوركم** الذهاب إلى مكان آخر، أما إن **كنتم مشردين** فما من مكان **يمكنكم** الذهاب إليه...

BT95: There is difference between **being put out(m)/put out(f) and being put outdoors (N).** If **put out (GM) you (GM)**can go to a place different, but if **you (GM) [are] outdoors** then there [is] no place can **you (GM)**can go to.

TT97: هناك فرق بين **أن تطرد من المنزل وبين أن تقذف في العراء**... إّذا **طردت** من المنزل **فبإمكانك أن تذهب** إلى مكان آخر... أما **إذا قذفت** في العراء فليس هناك مكان يمكن **أن تذهب** إليه...

BT97: There is a difference between **you put out (N) and between you put (N)outdoors.** If **put out you (N)**of house then can **you (N)** go to a place different and if thrown **you (GM)** out there is no place can **you go (GM)** to.

(11)

ST:**To contemplate, for example, evidence of <u>human (N) footsteps</u> on the mat**.

TT95:**على سبيل المثال تأمل <u>أثر خطى الرجال والنساء</u> ضخمة على الحصير.**

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BT95:On way example, **contemplate evidence of <u>mark [of] footsteps [of] men and women on the mat.</u>**

TT97:أن يتأمل في آثار <u>تركتها خطوات إنسانية</u> على الممسحة.

BT97:**To contemplate in marks left(f) [by] <u>footsteps human (N) </u>on the mat.**

Examples 10 and 11 exemplify a gender practice which makes a gender-neutral pronoun gender-inclusive (a characteristic which is not very popular in Arabic). While TT95 demonstrates this practice on only two occasions, TT97 does not use it at all.

The decision here in TT95 to include both the masculine and feminine in the gender reference is critical. After all, in Arabic, the rule dictates that masculine forms are used to refer to the two sexes. The translational practice above, however, is not completely alien to the Arabic language. In the Quran, for example, this practice is very well established when God addresses المؤمنون والمؤمنات (believers (M) and believers (F)). Whether or not this practice is becoming fashionable in Arabic writing will be revealed by means of the confirmatory corpus-based analysis which will follow the primary analysis. Ex. 11 is one of the most significant specification shifts recorded in TT95. This example highlights the translator's decision to opt for a gender-inclusive translation by rendering 'human', which is generic in nature, as الرجال والنساء (i.e. 'men and women'), making it thereby more specific. Although, as I suggested above, this seems to be a new practice in Arabic, it still is difficult to gauge its intensity and/or popularity, which makes an ArabiCorpus-based analysis both advantageous and necessary.

This solitary instance seen in (11) is an outlier, that is an occurrence of a gender practice that has been recorded only once. These outliers are as significant as the patterns discerned, for they can be pointers to subversive trends (indicating a possible gradual emergence of what Foucault calls 'logic of revolt' (1980: 258); see section 2.1.6) or translational practices that are dependent on new trends in the language. However, verifying whether this is the case will be established via the confirmatory analysis. In terms of semantic change, the above modulation shifts did not bring about any degree of change in TT95, indicating that the translator's decision to 'revolt' against a TC norm, meaning was not affected in the translation.

5.1.3.1.2 Intensification shifts: using the intensifier 'very'

A second practice which also falls under semantic specification is the intensification in the translations of some ST references to men and women. This practice is mainly seen in TT97, in the translator's use of the intensifier 'very', resulting in a more specific gender reference to one or both genders. In gender studies, 'intensification' is a term which indicates a tendency to gravitate towards stereotypes, accentuating thereby accentuating a traditional view of the two sexes. (See Chrisler and McCreary, 2010 and Levesque, 2012 for a discussion on the gender intensification hypothesis)[17]. This is seen in TT97 in the form of a traditional description of men and women; in other words, male and female qualities seem to be accentuated and fully endorsed. Such traditional approach was only encountered in TT97, in which the translator adds the intensifier 'very' before a male or female quality of description. Another relevant usage here is the addition in TT97 of adjectives or adjectival expressions for the intensification of a certain male or female attribute, as we will see in the following section.

We may consider the following examples:

(12)

ST:**He fought her the way <u>a coward (N) fights a man (M)</u>**- /with feet, the palms of his hands, and teeth/. **She**, in turn, fought back in <u>**a feminine way**</u>- /with frying pans and pokers/.

TT95: كان يتشاجر معها على النحو الذي **يتشاجر به جبان مع رجل**-/بالقدمين، براحتي يديه، بأسنانه/ وقد تشاجرت معه بدورها **بطريقة أنثوية صرفة**،/أي بالمقالي وقضبان إذكاء النار/.

BT95:Was he fight with her on the way <u>which fights with a coward (N) with a man (M)</u>.And fought she with him, in turn, in <u>a way feminine pure</u>.

TT97: كان يقاتلها بالطريقة نفسها التي يقاتل **فيها جبان رجلاً شجاعاً جداً**- /بالأقدام والأكف والأسنان/، وكانت هي بالمقابل تقاتله**بطريقة أنثوية جداً** /بمقلاة القلي والمسعار/.

BT97:**Was he fight [with] her in the way similar which fight with it <u>a coward (N) a man (M) courageous very</u>. And was he in turn fight him in <u>a wayfeminine very</u>.**

---

[17] This is also related to the Gender Intensification Hypothesis, first proposed by Hill and Lynch (1983), which suggests that social pressures lead to 'endors[ing] more traditional gender roles [and] behaving in traditional gender-differentiated ways' (Chrisler and McCreary, 2010: 530).

What is notable in (12) is the translators' addition in TT95 and TT97 of the intensifiers 'purely' and 'very', respectively, before the description of Mrs Breedlove's fighting style. Although the semantic change is minor here, it is still a modulation shift. The translators' addition of 'purely' and 'very' could be taken to serve the strengthening, through intensification, of a stereotypical depiction of woman's fighting style in the ST. In TT97, this becomes even more interesting when paired with another intensification choice. A questionable factor is the addition of 'courageous' in TT97. Men are not described as being courageous in the ST, which could indicate that the translator's addition of 'courageous' is an attempt to promote a certain male image.

In simple terms, intensification via addition here also results in a specification shift. Although this shift has not resulted in a change to the ST meaning, it has certainly resulted in a slight change to the source text depiction of men. This is in contrast to TT95, where no shift is detected.

(13)

ST: Nobody ever played with her. Probably, he thought, because **she was ugly**.

TT95: ولم يلعب أحد معها قط ، وحدث نفسه بأن ذلك ربما كان راجعاً إلى **أنها قبيحة الهيئة**.

BT95: Not play anybody with her ever, and thought he himself that that probably was related to that **she [was] ugly**.

TT97: لم يكن أحد يلعب معها لأنها، كما فكر، **قبيحة جداً**.

BT97: Not anybody play with her because **she**, as thought he, **ugly very**.

A similar practice is observed in (13). The translator in TT97 again adds the intensifier 'very' before ugly, increasing by so doing the degree of her ugliness, while keeping the meaning of the ST unaffected. The change here is minor but has still resulted in a shift. Although this shift might have slight or no effect on the microstructural level of the text; however, it will be shown later that such changes, minor as they may be, still, collectively speaking, have undeniable effects on the macrostructure, which will be semiotically analysed.

What is also worthy of attention in TT97 is the translator's deletion of 'probably' which resulted in altering the uncertainty which characterises the ST utterance, making the intensified reference to Pecola's ugliness by using 'very' even stronger thereby.

This intensification shift which can be associated with an inclination towards gender stereotypes in TT97, taking into consideration all of the patterns discerned in TT97 that have been discussed so far, can also be a pointer to a normative tendency on the part of the translator and one which did not concur with any semantic change in the translation. This optional addition of intensifying words for describing men and women in his translation may be attributed to an internalisation of Arabic social gender norms. (See section 3.2.4.)

Taking the previous patterns into account, it is becoming clear that we have in these translations what Toury (1995: 55) calls a 'regularity of behaviour' which is, in his opinion (I cannot but agree), 'a main source for any study of norms' (ibid) and that they could, most likely, point to what ensures 'the establishment and retention of social order' (ibid). However, I also hold the opinion that a 'regularity of behaviour' could also be a consistent attempt to flout a norm in order to change a certain gender role which has been traditionally assigned to one sex or the other. However, the random outliers are of undeniable significance as well, as they could be pointers to 'non-compliance with a [given] norm' (ibid.).

5.1.3.1.3 Addition, explanation or exoticization of ST references

Another specification category is what is called exotization which refers to the translational practice which keeps in the translation the graphic or morphological form of the ST word, making it closer to the source. A foreignising technique of this kind has only been recorded once in the translations.

(14)

ST:**The Breedloves lived** in a store front.

TT95: عاشت **عائلة بريدلوف** في مقدمة متجر.

BT95:**Lived(f) family(f) Breedlove** in front store.

TT97: عاش **/البريدلوفز/** في مقدمة متجر.

BT97:**Lived(m) Al-Breedloves (M)** in front store.

Unlike the shifts discussed above, the two shifts in (14) are instances of stylistic specification. The one in TT95 is one of the very few obligatory shifts encountered in the translations. The addition of عائلة (family) is obligatory in TT95. In this particular case, linguistic difference is evident in the addition of the feminine word 'family', which acts here as an adjectival expression which defines the Breedloves. Whereas English makes the family name plural to indicate members of this family, Arabic behaves differently and in a way which would make reference to members of a family

and family names clear. Thus, it goes without saying that family names in Arabic are always accompanied by one of two words, عائلة or آل. Otherwise, the name is taken as somebody's given name and not their family name. Henceforth, it can be argued that the translator's is a naturalising technique whose function is the retention of some socio-linguistic order which comes hand in hand with linguistic use and forms.

TT97, however, seems to flout this rule by adopting a different, rather peculiar, technique. The adopting of the noun بريدلوفز (Arabic transliteration of Breedloves) though motivated by an obligatory reason, results in an awkward structure in Arabic. No semantic change has resulted from either of the shifts in the two translations and the ST meaning remains unchanged.

Differences between language systems, whether social, grammatical or political, are also greatly influential. In accentuating these differences, translators may sometimes be contributing, whether willingly or unconsciously, to the retention of social order, the order which they have always been familiar with.

The following is also a specification shift which yet again highlights an inclination towards stereotypes, as the translator in TT97 seems keen to ensure that the traditional roles that are socially and normatively assigned to men and women are well retained. An explanation as to why this may be the case is presented below.

(15)

ST: **She took on the full responsibility and recognition of <u>breadwinner</u>**(N) and returned to church.

TT95: تحملت المسؤولية التي تقع على كاهل **معيلة الأسرة** و الاعتراف بتلك الوضعية **كاملة** وعادت إلى الكنيسة.

BT95: **[She] took(f) on the responsibility which falls(f) on the shoulders of <u>breadwinner(f)</u> and recognition of that position complete[ly]**.

TT97: لقد أقرت **بمسؤولية رعاية الأسرة التي تقع على كاهل الرجل**وعاودت للذهاب إلى الكنيسة.

BT97:[She] admitted(f) the responsibility of <u>looking after the family which falls on the shoulders of the man</u>.

In TT95, we have a case of turning a gender-neutral word (breadwinner) to a gender-specific one in the translation, that is معيلة الأسرة (Breadwinner (F)), making the role of breadwinner sound natural for a female to take on, particularly in Arabic which

recognises the man as religiously and biologically the one fit for a mission as trying as sole provider for the family (Quran, Annisa': 33). Although women's role in providing for their families has become more felt and appreciated in recent years, particularly in liberal areas and in more tolerant families, men are still considered to be the ultimate breadwinners, as the Quran dictates. As discussed earlier (see Literature Review), this and other 'myths' which still seem to have a great effect on the social life in the Arab world may not always be the direct result of internalising certain ideologies as they are a way to validate the superiority and prominence of manhood in that part of the world which focuses on 'magnifying a man's manhood, even if illusively, in a way that would retain the social order and norm' (Hijazi, 2005: 42, my translation). Moreover, a woman is 'a weak, incapable, ignorant and stupid human being who always needs a guardian and keeper' (ibid., my translation). This guardian is, of course, a man.

In rendering the ST unit in this way, TT97 is an embodiment of this traditional relationship between a man and a woman in which a man is the master and a woman the servant (ibid.: 42). In TT97, the woman takes on a responsibility which is the man's, for he is the breadwinner. Because the ST does not provide such information, it appears that there is a tendency on the part of the translator to conform to prevailing norms in Arabic, strengthening thereby a socially determined myth about the genders as being the 'Right Reason', the 'doxa', as Barthes (1977: 165) would argue. (Refer to 2.1.5.3 above.)

Although specification has a powerful presence in the translations and results in minor change in the translation, we can also find several examples of generalisation, which will be discussed in the following section.

5.1.3.1.4 Generalisation shifts

As pointed out above, there seems to also be a tendency for generalising in the TTs, albeit to a smaller degree in comparison with the greater tendency for specification. Some of these shifts are the result of an obligatory category which made such shift inescapable. The shift here demonstrates how the signifier undergoes a change characterised by generalisation, as seen in examples 16 and 17. Both give examples of a generalisation shift occurring only in TT97.

(16)

ST: **Eyes all soft and wet. Across between a puppy and <u>a dying man (M)</u>.**

TT95: تبدو **عيونهم رقيقة مبتلة وكأنهم في منتصف الطريق بين جرو <u>وإنسان يموت</u>.**

BT95:**Seem eyes their soft wet and as if they in middle the road between a puppy (M.) and <u>a human being (N)</u> dying.**

TT97: أنتم تعرفون إنهم يصدرون أصواتاً تدل على الشره.**العينان لطيفتان نديتان. تهجين بين جرو <u>ورجل يموت</u>.**

BT97:**Eyes soft wet.A cross between a puppy and <u>a man (M)</u> dying.**

In (16) 'man' which has a masculine gender in the ST is translated as إنسان (human being (N)) which is a neutral-gender word in Arabic that could refer to men and women alike. This shift in TT95 conceals the gender of the referent and leaves it open to interpretation by the target reader. TT97 retains the ST usage and 'man' remains unchanged which the Arabic noun رجُل highlights.

(17)

ST:She told me **<u>I shouldn't let a man (M) take advantage over me.</u>**

TT95: قالت لي بأنه **<u>لا ينبغي أن أسمح لزوجي أن يستغلني</u>.**

BT95:Told she me that **<u>no should let I husband (M) my to take (M) advantage over me.</u>**

TT97: قالت لي بأنني **<u>لا ينبغي أن أسمح لأي أحد باستغلالي.</u>**

BT97:Told she me with that **<u>no should let I anybody (N) to take (M) advantage over me.</u>**

Example 17 gives a similar example of generalisation. However, only TT97 changes the ST reference to a specific woman, Pauline, being abused by a man, to a woman being abused by her husband. While Pauline is encouraged by another woman to stand up to a man who is taking advantage over her, the translation shifts the blame from the 'man' by changing it to 'anybody', which could be taken to mean any man and/or any woman. By contrast, TT95 makes even more specific the referent of the word 'man' by rendering it as زوجي (my husband), inferred from the ST contextual information which preceded the above utterance.

5.1.3.2 Modification shifts
The examples examined in this section show a contrasting relationship between the ST 'comprehensible textual unit[s]' (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989: 156), i.e. transemes, and at least one of the two target transemes available for comparison. This contrast results in semantic, stylistic, syntactic or pragmatic shifts.

According to the subcategories suggested by van Leuven-Zwart, modification shifts can be semantic, stylistic or syntactic. Like semantic modulation, semantic modification is also dependent on the occurrence of disjunction at the semantic level. The same can be said of stylistic modulation and stylistic modification. Syntactic modification is perhaps the most remarkable among these subcategories, simply because its occurrence may influence textual functions that are directly related to the discourse level of texts, e.g. syntactic ordering is different between ST and translation (1990:78).

Unlike modulation, modification may also be syntactic. Modification always indicates that both transemes show an aspect of disjunction. Instances where a modification relationship existed between the ST and TT units have all been found to come under a number of the subcategories of modification suggested by van Leuven-Zwart. In terms of their gender significance, however, these modification shifts can be divided into three major subcategories. The first category presents a shift in agency which indicates a role reversal in the translation(s). In other words, it has been noticed that the roles given to the two genders in the ST have been either slightly or completely reversed in one of the translations under examination a tendency revealed by TT97 but not TT95. The second category highlights a tendency to make implicit or explicit in the translation(s) certain ST references to men and women. The third category exemplifies another noticeable inclination to gravitate towards stereotypes by adding phrases such as 'being a man', 'being a woman', thereby injecting the translation with presumptuous statements about the two sexes.

These categories and the practices that accompany their creation in the translation(s) are discussed below.

5.1.3.2.1 Gender role-reversal: agency shifts
In the examples below, we see a shift from an active role of 'woman' in the ST to a rather passive role in TT97, bringing about a major semantic change in the translation. TT95, by contrast, retains the source passive role assigned to 'man'.

(18)

ST:**They give him back his manhood which he takes aimlessly**.

TT95: **يعدن إليه رجولته التى يأخذها دونما هدف.**

BT95:<u>Return they(f) to him manhood his which he takes it without aim.</u>

<u>يأخذ رجولته منهن دونما عناء.</u> :TT97

BT97:<u>**He takes manhood his from them(f) without effort.**</u>

(19)

ST:<u>**She,**</u> like a good Victorian parody<u>**, learned from her husband**</u> all that was worth learning.

TT95:<u>**وقد تعلمت**</u>، باعتبارها تقليداً فيكتورياً جيداً، <u>**من زوجها**</u> كل ما هو جدير بالتعلم.

BT95:<u>**And learned(f) from husband (M) her all what it deserved with learning.**</u>

<u>وقد علمها زوجها كل ما كان جديراً بالتعلم.</u> :TT97

BT97:<u>**And taught(m) her husband (M) her all what was deserved with learning.**</u>

The difference between BT95 and BT97 in (18) above is striking: the passive Cholly has changed, through translation, in to a doer of the action. In the ST, the women assume the active role of giving. However, the syntactic-semantic shift in TT97 makes the women passive agents and receivers of the action carried out by the man. What makes this translation even more controversial is the shift in the translation of the adverb 'aimlessly'. The decision to opt for دونما عناء (without effort) is suggestive of the traditional qualities which define a man and how he normally behaves. Example (19) presents a somewhat similar case and the shift is clear in the alteration which the ST undergoes in TT97. The woman, who assumes an active role of learning in the ST, turns into a receiver of the action in TT97. 'She learns' in the ST becomes 'is taught' by the husband in the translation.

The above practice has been recorded on a number of similar occasions. In all of these cases, a role-reversal has been the case, which has resulted in a noticeable, overwhelming gender imbalance in TT97, characterised by forefronting the role of 'man' as doer of the action and therefore the more active gender.

The following section presents additional types of changes to the ST which result in making gender references in the TTs either implicit or explicit.

5.1.3.2.2 Implication and explicitation shifts
Contrary to van Leuven-Zwart's suggestion, explicitation and implication do not only occur as a result of syntactic-stylistic modification, which mainly refers to the existence of syntactic differences between the ST and TT 'regarding the quantity of

elements conveying information' (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989: 167). While her definition still stands, it is clearly insufficient in a study such as this. It has been found that syntactic-semantic modification may also have effects of an explicitating or implicitating nature in the translation.

van Leuven-Zwart overlooks examples of obligatory syntactic modification that fall outside the three main categories: semantic, stylistic, pragmatic. She maintains that the resulting shifts are 'not the result of a choice on the part of the translator because there is no choice to be made' (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989: 166). But does this imply that all shifts which are not the result of a translational choice do not fall within the above three categories? And if they do not, why is there no account whatsoever of such shifts anywhere in her model? In the following example, an implication shift occurs due to difficulty rendering into Arabic a culture-specific item such as 'boyfriend'. The result is a major change in meaning in both of the target texts.

(20)

ST: **I never seen nobody (N) with as many boyfriends as you got**, Miss Marie. /How come they all love you/?

TT95: يا آنسة ماري. /كيف حدث أنهم جميعاً **لم يسبق لي أن رأيت واحدة لها مثل هذا العدد الكبير من الفتية الأصدقاء** يحبونك/؟

BT95:Never before for me **that saw I one female with this number large of boys [who are] friends** Miss Marie.

TT97:؟/كيف حصل أنهم كلهم يحبونك آنسة ماري. **لم أر أحداً قط لديه عدد كبير من الأصدقاء مثلك**

BT97: Never **saw I one with number big of friends (N)** like you Miss Marie.

The change in TT95 of boyfriends to الفتية الأصدقاء (boys [who are] friends), which is how a grammatical BT would read, exemplifies an obligatory shift. This is because in Arabic there is no known equivalent to the words 'boyfriend' and 'girlfriend'. In Arabic, there even seems to be a general tendency to borrow the exact term from English by transliterating the words 'boyfriend' and 'girlfriend' (بوي فريندجيرل فريند،), for want of a corresponding terminology in Arabic (Yousef, 1997: 104). This is closely connected to the culture as 'these terms and their underlying ideology do not exist in the Arabic culture *at all*' (ibid, my translation, added emphasis). It is desirable to transliterate these and any similar words which are unique to the SC,

which is a way of resolving the translational problem they create and indicating popularity of such words in the target language (ibid.).

The translator in TT95 chose to explain 'boyfriend' while the translator in TT97 deleted the gender-specific reference, making it, in doing so, genderless. It should be noted, however, that the translator's choice in TT95 remains arguable, because it renders less explicit the ST reference to sex, retrievable from the source context which precedes and follows, which boyfriend also stands for, by making it rather general. In TT97, the reference is made rather implicit by omitting any indication to the sex of these friends. The resulting shift here is optional and occurs on similar occasions twice in the texts. (See ST samples 58 and 80 in Table 17 in Appendix.)

The following example also exemplifies an implicitation shift. This time the shift analysed is not stylistic resulting from difficulties encountered when translating a culture-bound item or the optional rendering of this element into another of a less explicit nature, but from a syntactic-semantic change to the ST. This is another example which shows the rigidity of van Leuven-Zwart's categories. After all, implicitation does not only result from a syntactic-stylistic sub-category of modification. The shift in TT97 below not only renders far less explicit the reference to a man's uselessness in looking after his family (by failing to provide coal in winter, in the case here). It also shifts the blame from the man by using the implicit reference 'things'.

(21)

ST: **You sure ain't** bringing in nothing.**If it was left up to you, we'd all be dead**.

TT95: **من المؤكد أنك** لن تجلب شيئاً، و **إذا ترك لك الأمر فإن الموت سيطوينا جميعاً.**

BT95:**Surely you** not will bring(m) a thing,   **and if was left up [to] you the matter then death will befall us all.**

TT97: **أنت لا تقوم** بأي شيء، **وإذا بقيت الأمور بهذا الشكل فسنموت كلنا**

BT97: **You (deleted) no do (M)** with anything. **And if remained(f) things in this way then will we die all.**

In TT95, the translator stresses this point even more when he moves 'sure' in its adverbial form to a frontal position, while keeping the reference to the man as the main cause of the problem. The shift here is considered one of stylistic nature but

which does not create a change in meaning. In contrast, TT97 deletes 'sure' and opts for a less explicit rendering of the ST by changing 'you are bringing in nothing', which is the main reason behind the family dispute and any other mischief that might befall the family, into 'you are doing nothing' which can bear different implications and could direct blame away from Cholly; Cholly might not be doing anything for reasons that are beyond his control. 'If it was left up to you' also undergoes a shift in TT97 when the translator again opts for a less explicit rendering, 'if things remained like this' which further serves to steer blame away from the man. This is also evident in the following example.

(22)

ST: /And she said that Mama should take me to the doctor**,/because I might be ruined**, /and Mama started screaming all over again./

TT95:/قالت إن أمي ينبغي أن تصحبني إلى الطبيب،/ **لأنني ربما سلب عفافي،** /و بدأت أمي بالصراخ من جديد./

BT95: /Said she that mother my should take me to the doctor/ **because maybe was taken virginity my from me** /and started mother my in screaming from again/.

TT97:(D.)قالت لماما أنها يجب أن تأخذني إلى الطبيب **لأنني ربما قد فقدت عفافي.**

BT97: /Told she to Mama that she should take me to the doctor/ **because I maybe have lost me virginity my. /deleted/.**

The little girl, Claudia MacTeer, here narrates what happens after Mr. Henry, the tenant at their house, tries to assault her by touching her chest. The family's neighbour suggests that the mother take her daughter to check if the latter has been 'ruined' as a result of Henry's sexual assault. The ST uses 'might be ruined' to describe the result of the girl being 'ruined' that is, sexually assaulted, *by* the man. The first translation relays the meaning by opting for an explanation of this part of the ST: 'because maybe I have had my virginity taken from me' which is still in the passive form suggesting that the act was forced on the girl and initiated by the man. TT97 does not have the same implication

TT95 displays a lexical shift but this shift does not result in a semantic change, as it provides an explanation of 'ruined' particularly since opting for a literal translation of 'ruined' in Arabic would not convey the meaning implied in the ST. 'Ruined' would be translated into Arabic as 'dummerat' or 'Khurribat' (destroyed) which would not be a successful attempt at explaining the underlying meaning the word conveys in the

ST. Opting for an explanation of 'ruined' in TT95 is necessary and hence the shift is obligatory. The translator's need to explicate, however, results in a shift, and is evident in the additional information he supplies to the reader in TT95. The use of 'virginity' makes clear in TT95 the link between 'ruined' and the little girl being sexually assaulted. In contrast, the translator's decision to change the verb form in TT97 can be described as an optional choice which results in change to the meaning that the ST is providing. This change in agency manifested by changing the verb form from passive to active has definitely resulted in a form of disjunction between the ST and TT97 units compared: 'I might be ruined' and 'I might have lost my virginity'.

The above were all examples of implicitation shifts. The second modification category here is explicitation which is seen in the following examples:

(23)

ST: /Mama had told us two days earlier/ **that a 'case' was coming –a girl who had** no place to go.

TT95: /كانت أمي قد أبلغتنا قبل يومين أن /**هناك "حالة" على وشك المجيء**، بنت ليس لها مكان تلجأ إليه/

BT95: **There was a 'case' (N) on** about coming, **a girl [who] no had** to her place to go to it.

TT97: /كانت أمنا قد أخبرتنا قبل يومين/ أن**"شخصا"** سيأتي إلى بيتنا، **فتاة لا تملك** مكانا آخر تلجأ إليه/

BT97: '**Someone' (N) was coming to house our, a girl [who] no had** place else to go to it.

The 'case' here refers to Pecola and its use is motivated in the ST owing to the implications it has: Pecola's sensitive situation, being raped, is a fact that the mother knows and hides from her daughters. The use of 'case' is also significant here for it leaves the meaning of the ST open for interpretations by not establishing the link between 'case' and 'girl' until the reader reaches the second part of the sentence. Also, 'case' could serve the aim of objectifying the girl in the ST as a way of showing how she is seen and treated by society; after all, she is perceived as a case, not a person. The first translation renders the ST literally, keeping the meanings of 'case' open to different interpretations and the significant gender implications of the source sign 'case' unhampered with. By contrast, TT97 changes 'case' to 'someone', giving the reader more information than is provided in the ST and narrowing down the range

of meanings that 'case' could refer to by making it more specified and perhaps more 'human'.

Further explicitation shifts have been found in the rendering in the translation(s) of the personal pronoun 'they' into the noun(s) it stands for in the ST. 'They' has been found on several occasions to translate into 'women', 'men' and 'boys', which makes the ST referent more specific in the translation(s). The context in all of these instances was suggestive of the referent, and no semantic change occurred as a result, as in these examples:

(**24**)

ST:**They (N) come from Mobile**. **And the sounds of these places in their (N) mouths make you think of love.**

TT95:وأصوات هذه الأماكن **في حلوقهن** تدفعك للتفكير بالحب.[...] **تجيئ هذه النساء من موبايل**

BT95:**(f)Come these women from Mobile** […] and sounds these places **in mouths their(f)** push you to think of love.

TT97:يجعلك تفكر بالحب.**في أفواههم** نطق أسماء هذه الأماكن [...] **يأتون من موبيل**

BT97:**Come (GM) they** from Mobile […] Pronouncing names these places **in mouths their[n]**makes you think of love.

(**25**)

ST:**They (N) moved slowly.**

TT95: كان **هؤلاء الفتيةيتحركون** على مهل

BT95:Was **those boys move(m)** on slowly.

TT97:**إنهم يتحركون** ببطء

BT97:**They(m) move (M)** slowly and **laugh they(m)** slowly […]

(26)

ST:**What they (M) do not know** is that /this plain brown girl will build her nest stick by stick./

TT95: **وما لا يعرفه هؤلاء الرجال** أن /هذه الفتاة البنية الملساء سوف تبني عشها قشة إثر الأخرى/.

BT95:**And what no know it those men** [is] that /this girl brown plain will build nest her stick after stick/.

TT97: **الشيء الذي لا يعرفونه** هو أن /هذه الفتاة السمراء البسيطة سوف تبني عشها عوداً عوداً/.

BT97:**Thing which no know(m)**is that /this girl brunette simple will build nest her stick [by] stick and make from it world her which no violated./

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While the last three samples have exemplified explicitation practices in the translations, the examples in the next section focus on the making of gender clichés in the TTs.

5.1.3.2.3 Clichéd references to men and women: stereotypes

The following instances exemplify a tendency to gravitate towards and accentuate stereotypical ways of perceiving men and women. Additions of expressions such as 'as man' in (27) and using 'this is the woman who deserves respect' in (28) testify to this. These shifts have all resulted in major meaning change in TT97.

(27)

ST:**He [Cholly] had no problem finding other people and other things to occupy him** .

TT95: **ولم يواجه مشكلة في العثور على آخرين وعلى أمور أخرى تشغله**.

BT95:**And not face(m) problem in finding on others and on things other occupy him**,

TT97:... **ولم تكن هناك مشكلة بالنسبة إليه كرجل في إيجاد أشخاص، وأشياء أخرى ليشغل نفسه بها**

BT97:**And not was there problem for him at all as man** in finding people and things other to keep busy himself with […]

Looking at BT97 in (27), one notices the tendency of the translator to depict the man in a certain way which gives the impression that because he is a man, he did not have a problem finding other companions, suggesting thereby that it would be difficult for a woman to do so. A similar practice is followed in (28) as the translator in TT97 again presents what looks like a stereotypical way of seeing women, and perhaps suggesting an attempt to enforce certain types of female behaviour. In addition to the evident changes which TT97 introduces, the translator replaces the last sentence in the ST by 'this is the woman who deserves respect'.

(28)

ST:/Their only respect was for what they would have described as 'good Christian women'/. **The women whose reputation was spotless, and who tended to their families, who didn't drink or smoke or run around […] had their undying, if covert, affection**.

TT95: **النساء النقيات** ذوات سمعة بلا **/. "النسوة المسيحيات الطيبات" وكن يمحضن احترامهن الفريد لمن يصفن بأنهن** /

شائبة، **اللواتي يرعين أسرهن ولايشربن ولا يدخنّ ولاينطلقن** حسبما طاب لهن. هؤلاء النساء لهن عاطفتهن التي **لاتموت.**

BT95:And they (F) specified(f) respect their(f) to who describe they(f) with that **'women Christian good',** the women pure [who] have reputation with no spots, **those (F) tended**

to families their(f) and no drink and no smoke and no run around according to like they **(F).** Those women have love their(f) which no die.

TT97: كن يحترمن فقط النساء اللواتي يدعونهن النساء المسيحيات الطيبات/. **فالمرأة الطيبة هي من كانت سمعتها بلا شائبة. ترعى عائلتها، لاتدخن ولا تشرب ولاتجري هنا وهناك. هذه هي المرأة التي تستحق الاحترام.**

BT97:/They (F) respected(f) only women who (F) call they (F) women Christian good/. **Because the good woman is who was reputationher(f) with no spot. Tend(f) family her, no smoke, no drink** and no run around here and there. **This is the woman who deserves respect.**

(29)

ST: **Geraldine <u>did not allow</u> her baby (N), Junior, to cry.** As long as his needs were physical, **she could meet them**.

TT95: **لم تسمح جيرالدين لوليدها، جونيور، بالبكاء.** ومادامت احتياجاته عضوية **فقد كان بوسعها تلبيتها.**
BT95:**<u>Not allow(f)</u> Geraldine for baby (N) her, Junior, to cry**. And as remain needs his physical **<u>so [she] was able [to] meet</u>**.

TT97: **لم تستطع جيرالدين أن تسمح لابنها جونيور بالبكاء.** فما دامت حاجاته جسدية، **فقد كانت تلبيها دائما.**
BT97:**<u>Not could</u> Geraldine to allow to baby (M) her Junior to cry**. Because as remain needs his physical, **<u>so [she] did meet them always</u>**.

The addition in TT97 in (29) of 'could not' may serve as a suggestion on the part of the translator of a woman's maternal behaviour which makes her 'unable' (which 'could not' implies) to let her baby cry.

Similarly in (30), the translator's misinterpretation of the ST in TT97, evident in 'just like any other woman', is worthy of critical attention for a variety of reasons. Not only does it add to the host of shift patterns found in TT97, but it could also be taken as a case of social gender which is assigned on the basis of a stereotypical classification (Romaine, 1998: 4). The assigning of social gender here could be an indicator of underlying social beliefs about the attributes of men and women. Just like the shifts in examples 27 and 28 above, this shift in TT97 accentuates a tendency on the part of the translator to gravitate towards a stereotypical way of perceiving men and women. On the basis of this gender assignment, it is believed that 'naturalized norms and expectations about verbal behaviour are imposed upon people [who are] perceived through a 'lens' of gender [bi]polarization' (Talbot, 2003: 468).

(30)

ST:**Restricted, as a child, to this cocoon of her family's spinning**, she cultivated quiet and private pleasures. **She liked, most of all, to arrange things**.

TT95: وإذ قُيّدت بولين في طفولتها إلى هذه الشرنقة من تدويم عائلتها، فقد تعهدت بالعناية مباهج هادئة ومقتصرة عليها. أحبّت، في المقام الأول، ترتيب الأشياء.

BT95:**As restricted(f) Pauline in childhood** her to this cocoon of spinning family her, so made(f) with care pleasures quiet and applicable on her. **Liked(f), in first place, [to] arrange things**.

TT97: حصرت بولين نفسها في هذه الشرنقة التي نسجتها عائلتها كطفلة. متعاً خاصة هادئة كانت تحب. وكأي امرأة كانت تحب ترتيب الأشياء.

BT97:**Restricted(f) Pauline herself as a child(f)** in this cocoon which woven it family her. Pleasures private quiet [she] did love. **And just like any woman, she loved arranging things**.

This is not to say, however, that only the above examples show a tendency for gravitating towards stereotypes but these are the most obvious. There is another shift in (29), an agency shift, which can also be an indicator of such a tendency.

5.1.3.2.4 Syntactical shifts: breaking a grammatical gender rule

The following category of modification gives examples of shifts in syntax. This time, the translator in TT97 violates a grammatical-gender rule, resulting in a syntactical error. In discussing syntactic modification, van Leuven-Zwart (1989: 166) suggests that shifts characterised by syntactic modification are 'language bound', claiming that these shifts cannot be the result of a translational choice for 'there is no choice to be made' (ibid.). This is debateable, given the results of this study and the examples which follow in this section. None of the shifts below results in a major change of meaning in TT97.

(31)

ST:**And that *mama* neither. What kind of something is that?**

TT95: والأمر نفسه ينطبق على تلك الماما، أي نوع من الأمور الغريبة ذلك الذي يجري؟

BT95: And **the thing same applies on that (F) mama, what kind of things strange that (M) which happens (M)?**

TT97: لم يأت الأم أيضاً. أي نوع من المخلوقات هؤلاء؟

BT97: **Didnot come (M) the mother (F.) too. What kind of creatures (F) those (M)?**

TT97 in (31) shows how the translator uses a masculine verb with a feminine subject. Again, such practice violates the Arabic grammatical rule of verb-subject agreement in gender. However, this is not to say that it was certainly intended, for it could, in all likelihood, be an editorial oversight. (See section 5.1.3.1.1, Example 5.) This type of transgression, however, when combined with other, similar, instances in TT97, could also be an indicator of a greater gender tendency to deconstruct by breaking a rule.

It is evident that these choices on the translator's part in TT97 are marked. However, as seen in previous examples, TT97 is not alone in its promoting of marked gender use, whether intentionally or unconsciously. A similar attitude has been recorded, yet again, in TT95. This time, however, the marked use is gender-inclusive, subverting thereby an overwhelmingly biased gender practice in Arabic which favours the masculine and makes it the (masculine) generic form.

(32)

ST:**Our innocence and faith were** no more productive than his lust or despair.

TT95: لمتأت **براءتنا وإيماننا** بثمار أكثر من ثمار شهوته ويأسه.

BT95: Not did **produce (F) innocence (F) ours and faith (M)** ours with fruits more than the fruits of lust his and despair his.

TT97: ولميكن **براءتنا وإيماننا** أكثر إخصاباً من شهوته ويأسه

BT97: And not **was (M) innocence (F) ours and faith (M) ours** more productive than lust his and despair his.

Example (32) demonstrates another syntactic shift in TT97 (And not was (M) innocence (F) ours and faith (M)). In the ST, a plural verb is used because there are two subjects connected by 'and'. This is also the usage in Arabic, when the verb comes after its subject(s). In the translations above, the two translators, for stylistic reasons it seems, choose to put the verb before its subjects which means, in this case, that the verb has to be singular and in agreement (Abdel-Hafiz, 2005: 104) with the first subject that follows, i.e. innocence which has a feminine gender in Arabic. This means that the verb must in this case be feminine too, that is (Not did produce (F) innocence (F) ours and faith (M)) manifested in TT95.

(33)

ST: **Pecola looked and looked at the <u>women</u>. <u>Were they real?</u>**

TT95: راحت **بيكولا تنظر وتمعن النظر في** <u>النسوة</u>. <u>أهن حقيقيات</u>؟

BT95: **Went on Pecola look[ing] and closely look at the <u>women. Were they (F) real (F)</u>?**

TT97: **وظلت بيكولا تنظر وتنظر إلى هاته <u>النساء. هل هم حقيقيون؟</u>**

BT97: **And remained Pecola look[ing] and look[ing] at these <u>women? Are they (M) real (M)?</u>**

Example (32) is particularly significant because of the violation noticed in TT97 of the grammatical rule in Standard Arabic which says that a verb agrees with the following subject in gender but not in number, whereas the preverbal subject would agree with the verb in person, number and gender. Clearly, (32), in its two translations, illustrates the former, similar, case in Ex. 31 above. While TT95 adheres to this rule, TT97 violates it completely by giving the verb of a feminine subject a masculine gender (Didnot come (M) the mother (F)). It is difficult to speculate as to what the translator's intention really was. What is certain, though, is the translator's motivated practice, given the similar shift in (33). Looking at TT97 in (33), a striking practice is immediately noticeable. The translator has, once again, opted for a rendering which violates the grammatical rules of Arabic when it comes to agreement in gender between noun and adjective. Unlike TT95 which abides by the rule and provides the feminine form of the adjective 'real' in Arabic, TT97 opts for the masculine form. Although the masculine form can be taken here to indicate a generic form that refers to men and women, the grammatical rule clearly states that with a feminine noun, only a feminine verb or adjective are to be used.

The translator's decision in TT97 resulted in syntactical errors in Arabic. However, even errors are perceived in the context of translation as germane to fulfilling a TT function and its receivers' expectation (Schmitt, 1998: 394; Nord, 2009: 190). Some researchers also see that they indicate a relationship between ST and TT and are therefore worth investigating (Hansen, 2010: 385). I am aware, nonetheless, that such shift could be seen as a typo or an editorial oversight and may well be an indication of the translator's adoption of spoken Arabic language conventions[18]. Thus, these shifts cannot be taken here as a certain pointer to the translator's orientation.

While the shifts observed in examples(31), (32) and (33) may well be mere oversights, they still do not still do not result in either major or radical semantic

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[18] Spoken varieties of Arabic do not operate according to the gender rules of Standard Arabic. For example, it is acceptable for a noun such as 'women' to take a masculine verb (McLoughlin, 2009: 27): راحوا النسوان عالحفلة (the women went (M.) to the party)

changes at the microstructural level of the text(s). The following category of mutation shifts does result in radical change, and it is TT97 which hosts the majority of these shifts.

5.1.3.3 Mutation shifts

The category discussed in the present section is mutation shift, the majority of which are hosted by TT97. As suggested earlier, shifts of mutation occur when there is a radical change in the meaning of the ST in the translation. The following examples demonstrate how mutation takes place in the translation(s).

(34)

ST: /They**learn how to do** the white **man's work with refinement.**

TT95:و يعرفن كيف يقمن بعمل الرجل الأبيض بمزيد من التميز.

BT95:**And** <u>know(f) how do</u> they the work [of] man white <u>with more of excellence.</u>

TT97:يلتحقن بالكليات الزراعية **كى يخدمن الرجل الأبيض بكل دماثة.**

BT97:Join they with colleges agricultural **in order to serve(f) the man white in a total good way.**

Example (34) shows how the ST undergoes a radical change in TT97 which is brought about by a mutation shift. The first translation changes the meaning of the ST only slightly by changing the ST verb 'learn' to 'know' in TT95. The second translation diverts from the ST sign to a completely new one. The use of the verb 'serve' instead of 'do' can be considered a lexical shift which results in a change in the meaning of the ST sign which says that 'black women are doing the white man's work with refinement'. The reference to women's ability to do men's job 'with refinement' is omitted in TT97. While a shift occurs in TT95, the effect it creates can be described as enhancing women's abilities and stressing their knowledge; women do not have to learn how to do a man's work better than he does for they know how to do so already. By contrast, the second translation changes the meaning radically by suggesting that women are taught how to serve white men.

(35)

ST:Few **people** can say the names of their hometowns with such sly affection. Perhaps because **they don't have hometowns.**

TT95: قلائل هم الذين يستطيعون نطق أسماء مسقط رؤوسهم بمثل هذه العاطفة المراوغة، و ربما كان ذلك راجعا إلى
أنهن لا يعرفن مسقط رؤوسهن.

BT95:**Few (N) are those** [who] can they say the names [of] hometowns their with similar sly affection. And perhaps was that related to [that] **they (F) [do] not know(f) hometowns their.**

TT97:**قليلات يستطعن** لفظ أسماء مساقط رؤوسهن بمثل هذا الحنان المراوغ ربما **لأنهن لا يملكن رؤوس**

BT97:**Few women** can say the names [of] hometowns their with similar sly tenderness, perhaps because **they (F) [do] not have(f) heads.**

Example (35) demonstrates a similar shift. The ST tells us about black people who leave their hometowns when they are very young with their parents for reasons of civil strife and/or poverty and go to stay somewhere else. When these people grow up, they find it difficult even to remember the names of their hometowns. The first translation relays the meaning of the ST and thus no shift occurs. In TT97, however, two shifts are detected. The first one occurs when the translator renders 'people' as 'women'. This is questionable given that 'people' is of neutral gender in Arabic, for it refers to both men and women. The second happens when 'they don't know their hometowns' becomes 'they don't have heads' which serves as an explanation of why these women cannot say the names of their hometowns with affection. The two shifts observed in TT97 change the cause-effect relation in the utterance radically and make women sound mentally incapable.

(36)

ST: Their goading glances and private snickers at **her way of talking (saying 'chil'ren')** and dressing developed in her a desire for new clothes.

TT95: غذت نظراتهن التي تشبه المنخس إليها وضحكاتهن نصف المكبوتة فيما بينهن **على طريقتها في الحديث (كقولها "عيال")** وطريقتها في ارتداء الملابس، غذت فيها رغبة في الملابس الجديدة.

BT95: Fed glances their that were similar to a spur and laughs their [which were] half suppressed among them on**way her in talking (like saying her 'chil'ren')** and way her in wearing clothes, fed in her a desire in clothes new.

TT97: أدت نظراتهن الغامزة وضحكاتهن الخافتة بسبب طريقتها في اللبس **وفي الحديث "مثل الأطفال"**كما يقلن، إلى زيادة رغبتها في الشراء.

BT97: Lead glances their goading and laughs their quiet because of way her in dressing and in **talking (like children),** as they say, to increasing desire her in buying.

A similar shift is discernable in (36). The source text talks about Pauline Breedlove who, the reader is told, is mocked by other women because of how she speaks and dresses. The use of 'chil'ren' in the ST serves to give readers an idea of how Pauline pronounces words. At other points in the novel, one can see that Pauline's writing is full of grammatical and spelling mistakes as an indication of her poor education.

TT95 tries to communicate this idea by using a colloquial word for 'children' in Arabic. The second translation creates a radical change in the meaning of the ST when 'saying chil'ren' becomes 'like children' implying that Pauline speaks like children, implying that the woman is something she is actually not in the ST. In other words, the second translation seems to be depicting the woman in a negative way by suggesting that as a grown-up she is unable to speak like one. Whereas the ST describes woman's way of saying 'children', TT97 seems to give a judgmental view of the woman's way of speaking, something which is completely absent from the ST.

5.1.4 Conclusions

5.1.4.1 Shifts on the microstructural level: main findings
The above microstructural analysis was a sample analysis based on the theoretical and methodological framework developed in the chapters that preceded it. The analysis attempted to provide a representation of the various types of gender shifts found in the translations. The quantitative analysis shows that translation shifts in gender occur in the translations. The qualitative analysis that is based on textual and contextual evidence from the data suggests that these shifts may together indicate a tendency on the part of the translator(s) to alter the gender representations in the ST and make the TT either target-orientated or a reflection of the translator's repertoire of norms, which could help to establish the link between the translators' linguistic practices and the gender stereotypes available in Arabic. What is important here is not only whether the translators promote their own gender preferences (making TT95 more gender-inclusive and TT97 more gender-neutral) but also that they continue to oppose the source text gender orientation and therefore tamper withthe meanings this orientation serves in the ST.

The analysis makes it clear that several ideological reasons intervened with the translators' translational choices and that the majority of shifts were triggered by personal preference(or a possible translational oversight in the case of a few examples; see examples(31), (32) and (33)) rather than linguistic necessity dictated by the grammar of the Arabic language. These optional shifts in TT97 further suggest astrong inclination towards ideological manipulation, which merits further investigation in the forthcoming confirmatory analysis. But 'not all shifts are an indication that the translator has intervened in the text in a purposeful way, and in

view of a particular design' (Mason and Şerban, 2003: 273). In other words, a translational choice might as well be denotative of a mere oversight or the translator's own way of tackling a translational problem, a translational issue which was not addressed by van Leuven-Zwart's shift analysis. Conversely, while we came across patterns of shifts which indicated a preference that may be ideologically and/or socio-culturally motivated on the part of the translator, there are examples of shifts which, though optional, may only be the translator's personal way of facing a translation dilemma, such as the difficulty dealing with a particular culture-specific expression (e.g. boyfriends in Ex. 20), or can simply be an editorial oversight as in the case of the examples in which the translator in TT97 broke a grammatical rule (examples (31), (32), (33)). In studying optional shifts, however, it is crucial to differentiate between the forms which are agreed upon by the native speakers of a given language and are therefore considered to be unmarked, and those which are peculiar and thus marked (Toolan, 1990: 183; Mason and Şerban, 2003: 274). Establishing this distinction will certainly assist in the establishing of the search criteria needed for carrying out the proposed confirmatory analysis.

Another crucial point is the fact that the analysis has shown that these shifts affected the meaning of the ST in varying degrees that ranged from no change to minor change to major change to radical change (particularly in TT97). Modulation shifts resulted in either no change or a minor change to the ST meanings in both translations. Modification shifts mostly resulted in major semantic changes, whereas mutation shifts lead to a radical change in meaning. This finding suggests that shifts, even when coming under the same category, be approached with more subtlety, according to the kind of change they create in translation. Therefore, a distinction should be made between shifts as minor changes occurring on the surface of the text and without affecting its meanings or any of its functions, and shifts as deep changes which have a major influence on how the text is received in the TC. Shifts that result in effecting major deep changes to texts can also have serious effects on the macrostructural relations of the text. Additionally, outliers have been found to be as crucial in this study as have the patterns discerned, because both in terms of translational as well as

normative behaviours[19] in the translations, these 5 sporadic shifts, found in both translations, (2 in TT95 and 3 in TT97) provide an additional tool to the researcher for the understanding of the occurrence of consistent and recurrent shifts. This is because they can be sometimes reminders of the change that norms undergo over time and how people's behaviour which is determined by these norms change accordingly. Furthermore, these uncommon translational practices could be pointers to a normative behaviour which is starting to become common or to one which has, only recently, started to become rather obsolete. Either of these cases could be reason for infrequent translational choices.

This is very relevant in any study such as minewhich deals, to a certain degree, with norms and normative behaviour in translation. Translation Studies, for very good reasons, has always put great emphasis 'on what is pervasive […] and not what is different and unexpected' (Saldanha, 2004: 40). In the process, scholars seem to have overlooked the perils of focusing too much on norms while leaving aside variation. (Van Leuven-Zwart's model of shift analysis is an example.) Kenny (2014: 70), however, warns against consigning indeterminate outliers to 'the ranks of the unanalysed'. She continues, 'norms may start out as mere explanations for regularly observed patterns in translation behaviour, but there is a risk that they can start to restrict the potential of translation studies in general, and corpus-based translation studies in particular' (ibid.), something which has been kept in mind in this study by giving equal importance to infrequent instances of shift in the analysis as well as patterns. This will be made clearer below as I present the macrostructural implications of the shifts and provide an insight into normative behaviour in translation by explaining the possible effects of the microstructural gender shifts on the macrostructure of the text.

On the whole, the two translations showed distinctively different approaches to gender. TT95 was more orientated towards a gender-inclusive approach, whereas TT97 tended to favour generic male forms, even at the expense of grammatically intact language choices. TT95 also displayed a subversive inclination which was

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[19]A translator, just as any individual, 'tends to follow norms, almost unaware' (Malmkjær, 2005: 14). But norms change over time; they are not stable (Toury, 1995: 62), which means that translators might also change their behaviour over time. This can only be understood through close 'observation of the immediate results of translational behaviour, texts' (Malmkjær, 2005:14).

manifest in rendering generic male forms as gender-inclusive, going thereby against the norm which makes the feminine always part of the masculine. These choices are indicative of the translators' general approach. Understanding their rationale, however, requires establishing clear systematic links to the theories presented in Chapters 2 and 3. The following section will, therefore, endeavour to highlight these links and make clearer the socio-semiotic significance of the above trends.

5.1.4.2 Implications of shifts on the macrostructural level of TTs

Establishing the significance of the above comparative analysis and the shift patterns and individual cases was not possible without an accompanying descriptive paradigm which exposed the interrelationship between the occurrence of these shifts in the analysed translations and the relevant socio-semiotic factors surrounding each occurrence. The importance of these factors in an analysis such as this stems from the fact that although they might not help the researcher or reader understand how translators think or even arrive at their translational decisions, they would surely, even if only partially, help us gain an insight into the why of the above shifts. After all, it is not only suggested in my hypothesis that a gender-based and semiotic framework would offer helpful tools for the understanding of the occurrence of the shifts under examination, but it would also aid the establishing and explanation of the possible socio-political and ideological rationale for their occurrence, whether consistent or infrequent, in the translations.

The descriptive analysis is only to be considered complementary to the comparative one, for it is useful in the description of the consequences of shifts on the macrostructural level. This means that the effects that shifts have will be explained on the discourse level of the text and in relation to elements such as the narrator's attitude towards the fictional world, the point of view from which the narrator looks at the world' (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989: 171). (See Literature Review for details.) As suggested by van Leuven-Zwart, because the microstructural shifts constitute the macrostructure of analysed texts, a shift in the microstructure may result in a macrostructural shift (ibid.: 171). Although this also holds true for my analysis of gender shifts, van Leuven-Zwart's suggestion that isolated instances of shift (possible outliers that fail to constitute a pattern) are irrelevant in macrostructural analyses is worthy of critical attention. Van Leuven-Zwart's analysis demonstrates a

predisposition towards judging the importance of a shift according to the frequency of this shift in the translations, a tendency which has already been rejected in this study given the significance I have given to the isolated instances even when they fail to constitute a pattern.

For van Leuven-Zwart (1989: 171) a single semantic modulation shift from 'afraid' to 'frightened to death' does not signify a change in the narrator's attitude towards the fictional world that is worthy of scrutiny, because it does not result in a macrostructural shift. However, a single gender shift from 'they' to 'men and women' in the Arabic translations of *TBE* is definitely a shift worthy of our attention. A shift such as this may also be an instance of unique gender treatment in Arabic and therefore a pointer to possible change in the literary and social attitude towards gender relations seen in the Arabic literary tradition. Even if 'non-compliance with a norm in particular instances does not invalidate the norm' (Hermans, 1991: 162), these instances may still signal a deviation from the norm which may hold a particular significance in a study such as this. This analysis set out to demonstrate the significant contribution which all of the gender shifts recorded, no matter how infrequent, make to the analysis, on both the micro- and macrostructural levels. Thus, even if we are unable to reach generalisable results or conclusions relying on a single instance, we should still be able to make relevant and useful observations and also reach results which may be pointers to new or even superseded trends in the Arabic gender tradition. One should also bear in mind the significance which these outliers may reveal once the proposed confirmatory corpus-based analysis is carried out.

As pointed out in Chapter 2, this discussion is based on the theoretical concepts and arguments which borrow mainly from the fields of sociology and semiotics. Whereas previous models of shift analysis identify the paratextual and ideological factors governing the occurrence of shifts in translated texts (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989, 1990), or locate shifts 'within the wider publishing, political and sociocultural contexts' (Munday, 2002: 80), I have already proposed that an understanding of *gender* shifts may require a venturing into other domains as well. Therefore, gender shifts need to be situated within a frame which is based, first and foremost, on concepts from sociology and semiotics as these two fields are believed to offer valuable tools for the macrostructural analysis of these shifts. An approach relying heavily on Bourdieu's

cultural theory, Barthes' semiotic approach, and Bourdieu's and Foucault's proposed power relations and elements of poststructural thought is believed to hold the key to understanding the rationale for the occurrence of such shifts. I will start with modulation in the translations.

It has already been concluded that semantic specification is overwhelmingly dominant in the translations. Three major gender propensities were discernable in the two translations, particularly in TT95 (see Graph 3): the first is the frequent and consistent changing of indefinite pronouns into nouns with defined genders; the second is the recurrent use of intensive elements (e.g. very) which would help to make references to the two genders more specific; and thirdly having to specify via addition, explanation or exoticization in order to make clearer certain ST references in the translations. Generalisation has also been recorded, although to a noticeably lesser degree, in these translations. These generalisation shifts, according to van Leuven-Zwart (1990: 70) have macrostructural implications as 'they operate on the story and discourse levels'; they can, henceforth, affect the functions of the text. Having established this discoursal interrelationship between micro- and macrostructural shifts, she goes on to argue that intensive and frequent semantic modulation 'may bring about a shift in the *mind style* (ibid., emphasis in original). Such a shift has significant implications as to what the translator's mind style is like in the translation (e.g. specific, suggestive, emotionally charged, clichéd, aggressive) and also impact on the reader's reception of this mind style. A reader, for example, might see in a translated text which is made specific through the consistent use of intensive elements, a suggestive, overstated or clichéd text (ibid.: 71). The opposite is also true of frequent and consistent semantic generalisation.

Van Leuven-Zwart's conclusions may be entirely applicable in the context of her research, but are they valid in others were not only patterns of shifts are regarded? Because this thesis also takes into account the outliers as well as the shift patterns, and because I have succeeded in showing how changes do not always result in shifts and how it is necessary to make a distinction between the two, the applicability of van Leuven-Zwart's observations above becomes arguable. What is certain, however, is that the specification and generalisation practices and how they are distributed between the two translations have resulted in a more ambi-gendered text, TT95 and a

more gender-neutral text, TT97. Sometimes, TT95 even shows a general tendency for gender-sensitive language in which the female is more recognised. TT97 also displays a similar tendency, although the preference is generally in favour of the male. Translator's ideolgical orientation is key here and although the analysis had not solely focused on ideological manipulation, ideology is still recognised as the rationale behind some of the translational choices made in the TTs, particularly those impregnated with social gender representations of men and women. After all, much of what goes under the banner of linguistic approaches can be referred to as ideological manipulation (so one cannot go wrong with this one really), says Mona Baker in an interview done by Andrew Chesterman. [Chesterman interviewing Baker in the *Cultus Journal*, 2008]. This intersects with various views which equate translation with manipulation, whatever is itstype.This manipulation seems, at times, to be governed by the extent to which translating ideology is influenced by the socio-cultural context. It is also dictated by the impact ideology has on choices made by the translators, for a translation is not merely the act of transferring lexical units from source into target texts but most importantly, as Lefevere (1992: 16) argues, of 'rewriting or manipulating original texts'. As a consequence, the act of translating is identified as an ideological activity defined by the cultures that are part of the activity and which inform translators' decisions.

The gender patterns which resulted from the specification and generalisation shifts in the translations, as well as the explicitation and implicitation shifts, all have a macrostructural explanation in the semiotic and sociological theories, discussed in Chapter 2. For instance, I found that TT97 is clearly promoting a cultural view of the Arabic world, evident in the translator's internalisation of the cultural and linguistic norms. In contrast, TT95 displays a greater tendency to contravene norms, showing thereby an inclination towards an internalised gender-sensitive ideology. The translator in TT95 repeatedly resisted 'a normal-normative-normalisable form [of power]' (Foucault, 1980: 254). This resistance, manifest in translational choices which went against an established norm, resulted in TT95 in a gradual emergence of 'a logic of revolt' (ibid.: 258).

Bourdieu's (1990: 74-6) notion of 'doxic knowledge' is manifest in going against norms; it refers to the taken-for-granted ways of perceiving the world and the norms that govern our thinking and social relationships in and with the world. TT97 seems rather to operate by 'the Right Reason, [...] the doxa' (Barthes, 1977: 156). However, various choices on the part of the translator in TT95 could be considered attempts to deconstruct and go against a normative gender form in Arabic. An example of an interesting practice which may indicate violating a norm in Arabic can be seen in examples (10) and (11) above, where a gender-neutral word was rendered into a gender-inclusive one. The decision of the translator in TT95 is seen as marked, for it is not yet an established norm in Arabic to say أنتم وأنتن or (you (M) and you (F)); normally, the masculine form is used to refer to both. The syntactic modification shift in examples (30), (31) and (32) also displays a tendency to flout norms. Marked forms (in the form of syntactic errors) were promoted. However, the subversive strategies here have a different effect from the ones seen in examples (9) and (10). Unlike TT95, TT97 takes the use of the masculine gender (as a generic form) to a new level by assigning a masculine gender to the verb accompanying a feminine noun in (31) and (32), and a masculine adjective to describe 'women' in (33). Although subversive techniques are abundant in TT95, there are still conflicting tendencies recorded, which seem to conform with the system of 'doxic knowledge' or what Bourdieu calls 'habitus' (see Chapter 2): a concept which 'attributes much more causal force to the action of the dominant' (Fowler, 1997: 4). The dominant have power, which is perceived as an endless form of symbolic violence. These concepts and their accompanying ideologies determine 'the fate of reproduction that we are condemned to bear in this conception of both class and gender' (ibid.: 5), two significant areas focused on by Bourdieu, as we saw in Chapter 2, sections 2.1.7. and 2.1.7.1.

Bourdieu's concepts, which were presented in Chapter 2, are relevant in relation to our translators; after all, they are agents who have a certain relation to production, i.e. they affect production one way or another and contribute to the emergence of new forms or the preserving of old ones. This, I believe, bears particular relevance to some of the practices found in the translations, particularly in the emergence of new subversive forms which accentuate the feminine in language, as well as the oppression of taken-for-granted, doxic forms, which have always favoured the masculine forms. These practices can also be explained in light of another relevant

notion proposed by Bourdieu (1990: 74) which is 'the submission of thought to a rational (or what would sound or look rational) procedure of 'truth-claims'. This submission may explain in TT95 'the emergence of complex forms of resistance' (ibid.) though marked forms that favour the feminine, and in TT97 'the durability of the earliest actions learnt […] through the mastery of practice' (ibid.).

The above also intersects with Barthes' (1986) view of the translator as a reader, which does not only make the translator someone who endorses certain norms and behaves accordingly, but also as an active creator and promoter of norms. After all, a reader is an active agent in the creation of meaning, which is evident in the translators creation of new linguistic forms, whether in deconstructing the already-existing forms (e.g. grammatical relations in(31), (32) and (33)) or by giving birth to new ones (e.g. (10) and (11)). Thus, Barthes' views of language use as a force that signifies the relation of literary forms with the world are applicable here. This is central to the understanding of the shifts we came across in my comparative analysis. Translation research to date has tended to focus on the interrelationship between translation and writing rather than translation and reading. After all, it is the role of translators as readers which sets the stage for what they write, i.e. translate. It is the reading, internalisation, thinking and rethinking of social forms –old or new, normative or revolutionary, doxic or unassumed – which result in the writing of certain textual forms that have specific functions, as some of the shifts recorded imply. The shifts encountered in this piece of research are no exception to this. After all, a given reading of social relations and forms would only result in a certain way of writing (i.e. rewriting) of these forms.

The primary analysis has addressed the shift patterns discerned and the effects these shifts had on the macrostructural level in the translations, and established links between the various theoretical notions proposed in Chapter 2 and the shifts encountered. The following section presents the confirmatory analysis which aims to inform our understanding of the workings of gender norms in Arabic literary texts, and assist us in establishing useful links with the results of the preceding analysis.

5.2 Confirmatory analysis: relating the findings to norms via a control corpus

5.2.1 Introduction

The rationale for the application of a control corpus-based analysis in this study has already been presented in Chapter 4. The ArabiCorpus is designed to allow researchers to search large Arabic corpora for subtle indicators to language use starting from single words and phrases and up to whole sentences. This corpus is untagged and provides information on word frequency, citations giving 10 words before and 10 words after the word searched, allowing users to see the context in which the word occurs, and collocates of the word in question. Some regular expression searching is also possible, allowing the user to find larger structures and grammatical patterns. These functions are needed in a confirmatory analysis such as undertaken in this project.

The search for particular words and structures in the ArabiCorpus was carried out with one major objective in mind: establishing results which would help crystallise our understanding of normative behaviour when it comes to gender in Arabic. Doing the search in question, however, required specific criteria to be established which would facilitate the retrieval of patterns and corresponding results needed to make practical links with the earlier results from the primary corpus.

The confirmatory analysis was carried out according to certain criteria which were discussed above. (See Section 4.4.2 above for a detailed discussion.)

5.2.2 Application of the ArabiCorpus in the analysis

Comparing the ST with its TTs has made it possible to identify numerous shifts in gender relations. The next step, following Toury's method (see section 3.1.2.1) is to make a more general statement about the norms adopted by each translator. From the examples presented in the analysis, it is evident that the translators have only rarely been bound by the syntactic and stylistic structures of the ST (see example (14)). However, this is not sufficient to go as far as to claim that the translators have adopted a norm of adequacy. (See Toury, 1995: 57.) One can, however, say that the translation

act was certainly governed by norms of acceptability in the target culture. This will be further examined by undertaking this confirmatory corpus analysis.

Having established the search criteria, pattern(s) and rationale for search, the first search will be for the noun امرأة (woman). The next thing to do is to key in the Arabic equivalent of 'woman' in the search box under 'arabic chars', choose what part of speech 'woman' is, and then opt for the sub-corpus which the search will cover. Modern Literature, since it also includes the category Novels. It should be noted that no date filters were used in the search. The ArabiCorpus does not provide such a tool and employing it, had it existed, would not have added anything new to the analysis. Table 5 below illustrates the search for 'woman' and, like all the other tables which appear below, is extracted from the ArabiCorpus tool online: arabiCorpus.byu.edu

Table 5. ArabiCorpus search window for امرأة (woman)

As one notices, Table 5 also displays the search result: 670 occurrences of 'woman' in the Modern Literature subcorpus. The search options, citations, subsections, word forms and words before and after provide more specific information about the context in which the word 'woman' occurs and the 10 words that come before and after, how frequent the word is, and where the word has occurred. These functions can also provide the full citation in which the word has occurred and what this word collocates with. Table 6 below illustrates what comes up when one selects the option 'citations'.

Table 6. ArabiCorpus search window and results for citations for 'woman'

The context of each of the instances above can be accessed by clicking on the number which appears next to the citation to the left. These examples were selected randomly, as an attempt to show that the corpus incorporated instances of gender use. Looking at all the citations above and contextualizing them, it becomes clear that the use of 'woman' in the ArabiCorpus demonstrates a tendency towards a traditional depiction of women as submissive in Arabic writing. This is not to say that the writers are necessarily adopting one view or another of women; after all, there is no way of knowing for sure the writer's ideological orientation in a study such as this. Unearthing this information would probably necessitate a close reading and analysis

of the writer's literary production. Writers in this context, therefore, may only be presenting a general socio-cultural view which perceives women in a certain way. By looking closely at the context in which 'woman' occurs in the corpus, the picture becomes clearer. Below are glosses of the examples in Table 6 which illustrate the traditional, normative, depiction of 'woman' in the corpus. These are the first citation from the top and the last 4 citations from the bottom. Because Table 6 only provided up to 10 words before and after 'woman' which occasionally rendered the meaning incomplete, I had to explore the context of the citations above in order to present understandable Arabic glosses as follows:

(1) Prophet Mohammad says: a woman who refuses to have sex with her husband is cursed by the angels.

(2) In modern Saudi literature, the man thinks he gets what he wants when a woman surrenders her body to him. A woman, on the other hand, gets what she wants when she feels the man's appreciation of her gift.

(3) Do men fear their women's independence? Do they feel that a woman's independence and success in proving herself violate the man's status as main provider and protector?

(4) Do you not believe in eternal love? A woman was created to be faithful, to love and give.

(5) Women are deficient in intelligence and religion. Nothing destroys a man's life better than a woman.

Other occurrences of woman which highlight traditional, normative, views of women were also noticeable in the ArabiCorpus:

(6) Woman is 'natural' when she is a housewife and has children.

(7) 'Woman' is rectified by marriage and man is the one responsible for her transformation. A married woman is very 'committed'.

(8) A divorced 'woman' is a 'lonely' woman, and divorce is a 'sin' which a woman commits. She also becomes a 'slave' when divorced.

(9) A 'woman', when married, should always work hard for as long as she lives in order to keep her man.

(10)   Woman cannot, and should not, be treated with lenience. On the
          contrary, she should be ignored and humiliated.

(11)   A loving woman is a toy in the man's hands.

(12)   A rational woman never treats her man as her rival or equal. She treats
          him *tenderly as a woman should* do.

Tables 7a and 7b below illustrate what collocates with 'woman' in the Modern Literature subcorpus. It should be noted that the corpus lists only the collocates which appear at least 4 times. The retrieval of other combinations that occur less than 4 times can be carried out by checking the words that come before and after a given search word, which is shown in Tables 8a and 8b.

Again, contextualizing the results of the ArabiCorpus searches proved vital for many reasons, the most significant of which is the understanding of what a word means which, in turn, facilitated the grasping of the wider textual meaning of a collocate. Thus, it was necessary to constantly refer to the context to ensure that correct glosses were provided for the Arabic text.

Table 7a. Collocates for the word امرأة (woman)

Collocate	Occurrence	Collocate	Occurrence	Collocate	Occurrence
From	127	Loves	8	City	5
In	113	Different	8	That	5
That	97	Is not	8	After her	5
On	71	Any	8	Sitting	5
To	60	How	8	With her	5
No	58	Without	8	The first	5
Not	50	Once	8	Body	5
Another	45	The man	7	Married	5
Every	38	Love	7	And she said	5
Or	36	Mine	7	You	5
Was	35	Because she	7	Saw her	5

Man	30	And	7	Ordinary	5
Of	27	As if	7	Happens	5
Some	27	So	7	Just	4

Table 7b.Collocates for the word امرأة (woman)

As seen in Table 7b, the words which frequently collocate with woman in Arabic are prepositions. Other retrieved combinations are as follows:

Love of a woman

Married woman

Ordinary woman

Another woman

Not a woman

Because the ArabiCorpus does not list collocates which occur less than 4 times, it was necessary to consult other combinations. Thus, Tables 8a and 8b below illustrate the frequency counts for the words which accompany 'woman', i.e. words which come before and after woman in the ArabiCorpus.

Table 8a.ArabiCorpus word frequency counts for words accompanying امرأة **(woman)**

Word before	Occurrence	Word after	Occurrnece
This	47	First	67
That	42	Who	60
That a	15	Second	56
Aught	11	From	15
Man	10	Not	14
Of	9	In	13
Said	7	Whom	13
To	7	That	8
About	7	To	7
And but	6	In	6
With this	6	Beautiful	6
With	6	Lonely	5
Between	6	On	5
Since	5	Herself	4

Table 8b.ArabiCorpus word frequency counts for words accompanying امرأة/ **(woman)**

Looking at the combinations containing the word 'woman', it becomes clear that examples such as كونها امرأة (being a woman) do not exist in the corpus. Combinations which exist and are most frequent are:

المرأة الأولى First woman
المرأة التي Woman who
المرأة الثانية Second woman
هذه المرأة This woman

Notwithstanding the absence of a similar word combination from the corpus, the translator's addition of كونها امرأة (being a woman) in TT97 could still indicate the translator's internalisation of socio-cultural norms which suggest how a woman should be, and promote a stereotypical way of perceiving women in the Arab societies which share more similarities than differences. This could particularly be the case if we take into consideration the forms encountered in the ArabiCorpus.

Examining the forms that accompany رجل (man) and its occurrences in the corpus, more specific findings emerge.

Table 9. ArabiCorpus search window for رجل (man)

Table 9 displays the search results for 'man' (2390 occurrences) in the Modern Literature subcorpus, which is much higher than the occurrence of 'woman' in the corpus. It should be noted that retrieving reliable results for رجل was not as straightforward as it was with the previous search for امرأة in the corpus. The corpus tools do not take lemmas[20] and homographs into account as these tools only recognise the appearance of word forms, not their meanings. As far as homographs were concerned, I was able to conduct an advanced search provided by the ArabiCorpus tools, which enabled me to add diacritical marks to words that made it possible to distinguish between رَجُل (man) and رِجْل (leg), for example. Table 9 below illustrates this.

Table 8. Advanced search for word /رجل/

The usefulness of the ArabiCorpus lies mainly in the fact that a search will definitely return all of the forms of a given word (given that I am not looking for a particular form), which makes the results more representative about the use of 'man' in the corpus.

Tables 11a and 11b below illustrate what collocates with 'man' in its different forms in the corpus.

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[20] A lemma is 'a label under which all the inflected forms of a word can be gathered' (Kenny, 2014: 34). For instance,
/رجل/ ,/رجلان/ ,/رجله/
are inflected forms of the word reflecting differences in number and finiteness.

Table 9a. Collocates of the word رجل (man (M))

Collocate	Occurrences	Collocate	Occurrences	Collocate	Occurrences
From	328	Who (F)	8	Certainly	5
That	277	Her husband	8	So he went	5
In	253	To be	8	He opened	5
This	197	And left (M)	8	High	5
Has	192	Story	8	From her	5
No	187	And he left	8	Wants	5
To	156	Behind	8	About	5
Was	152	She says	8	She can	5
Who	130	With me	8	Mad	5
That	124	And he went	8	Anger	5
About	118	He speaks	8	Audience	5
-	118	Towards me	8	Thus	5
Didn't	109	Perhaps	8	And he continued	5
You	102	Love	8	Talk	5

Table 10b. Collocates of the word رجل (man (M))

Tables 11a and 11b illustrate that the words which most frequently collocate with 'man' are prepositions and proximal and distal adjectives (this and that). The search found that a not-at-all unexpected word which collocates only three times with man in the ArabiCorpus but which was only retrievable when words before and after were checked was the word الشرقي (eastern) as opposed to 'western' which is equivalent to 'free and open-minded' in the Arabic. Table 12 below illustrates the words that come before and after رجل (man) in the corpus. الشرقي (eastern) has been listed below.

latin chars (transliteration help)	arabic chars	part of speech	corpus	
		noun ▾	Modern Literature ▾	submit
				advanced search

search results for rjl | رجل in Modern Literature		summary		citations	subsections	word
فنهض	2	مليا	3			
فرمقه	2	يعيش	3			
لى	2	الأنيق	3			
كما	2	ذو	3			
وفاء	2	ذلك	3			
تحبى	2	مهذب	3			
هنا	2	ربما	3			
عليها	2	عاديا	3			
بأن	2	هل	3			
الجوزاء	2	قذر	3			
أنك	2	يلبس	3			
وهتف	2	إليه	3			
وظهر	2	الشرقي	3			
حديث	2	تماما	3			
اليوم	2	صالح	3			
حداد	2	محترم	3			
ليصير	2	صريح	2			
أسارير	2	وما	2			
أضع	2	القاسي	2			

Table11a. ArabiCorpus word frequency counts for words accompanying رجل (man)

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Word before	Occurrence	Word after	Occurrnece
So he stopped Looking	2	Thoroughly	3
So he eyed him	2	Lives	3
In me	2	Smart-looking	3
As	2	Who	3
Faithfulness	2	That	3
Woman loving	2	Polite	3
Here	2	Perhaps	3
To her	2	Ordinary	3
That a	2	Does a?	3
Gemini	2	Dirty	3
That you	2	Wears	3
And he shouted	2	To him	3
And he appeared	2	Eastern	3
Talk	2	Exactly	3

Table 12b. ArabiCorpus word frequency counts for words accompanying رجل (man)

The collocation الرجل الشرقي (eastern man) is of great importance, simply because in the corpus it refers to the characteristics of Arab men. These are, as suggested by the corpus, 'conventional', 'jealous of women', and 'needy'. Perhaps, the most crucial among these is the reference to Arab men's jealousy of clever and confident women. By clicking on 'citations', one is able to retrieve the context which states very clearly that clever, educated women are not wanted by men or considered to be 'suitable brides' when the man is looking for a wife, for they threaten his manhood by 'knowing' about the world and their needs. A highly educated woman is rejected because 'she knows what she wants' (Alsanea, 2007: 44). This quote comes from the Modern Literature subcorpus in the ArabiCorpus and, thus, gives an idea about the types of texts which are incorporated in this subcorpus and the kind of social gender relations that Arabic promotes.

The above results generated from searching for 'man' and 'woman' both suggest that there are forms in Arabic writing which can explain the translator's tendency to

conform to certain socio-cultural norms of Arabic. Although there were no results coming up for the exact forms that the translator of TT97 used, I may still suggest that TT97, unlike TT95, reflects normative behaviour in Arabic writing. TT95 resists this conformity by introducing new marked forms which give equal status to masculine and feminine representation in the language. Looking for these marked forms found in both translations was carried out next.

The second part of the search focused on the following marked forms:

1. the gender-inclusive forms of أنتم وأنتن (you (M) and you (F)) and هم وهن (they (M) and they (F));

2. the form الفتية الأصدقاء(boyfriends) and see whether the forms بوي فريند or جيرل فريند (boyfriend and girlfriend's Arabic transliterations) are at all used in the corpus.

To start with, a search for أنتم وأنتن (you (M) and you (F)) was conducted. The search returned no results.

Table 13.Search results for the marked form أنتم وأنتن (you (M.) and you (F.))

Searching for the generic (masculine) form أنتم (you), however, resulted in the following:

noun ▼   Modern Literature   ▼

أنتم

earch results for Lntm | أنتم in Modern Literature   summary   citations   subsec

ubsections

subsection	occurences	frequency
SayibOdiib	14	184.04 per 100,000
FisherCastle	11	41.11 per 100,000
MahfouzChildren	11	10.51 per 100,000
Sleeps	9	9.13 per 100,000
Chicago	7	9.09 per 100,000
RiyadGirls	7	12.46 per 100,000
SaintReturns	6	31.13 per 100,000
Yaqub	6	10.87 per 100,000
Remembrance	5	7.04 per 100,000
Awladna	5	29.65 per 100,000
HaluSirr	5	44.6 per 100,000
KanafaniBab	4	43.18 per 100,000
SaintPrays	4	20.04 per 100,000
KhouryKingdom	3	15.16 per 100,000
KanafaniHaifa	3	26.49 per 100,000
Taxi	2	7.04 per 100,000
KanafaniUmSaad	2	30.2 per 100,000
AhlamFawda	2	3.48 per 100,000
Madbuli	2	4.99 per 100,000

Table 14. Frequency of أنتم (you GM) in the novels included in the ArabiCorpus

The form أنتم (you GM) has been traditionally and extensively used in the novels in a generic sense. This is clear when one examines the contexts in which the word occurs. Tables 15a and 15b give an indication as to the combinations and contexts found in the subcorpus.

noun ▼   Modern Literature   ▼   submit   ins

search results for Lntm | أنتم in Modern Literature   summary   citations   subsections   word

citations

showing 1 through 100 of 114 — sorted by word before
sort by word after
click on number at left for full citation

go to page : 1 | 2 |

sort word		10 words after	word	10 words before
1		أنا تبيحكم، كنتم، أنا أم جنا، إنسا هنا، من يا	أنتم	
2		الولى أنا الزكي، المقام هذا صاحب أنا هنا، من يا	أنتم	
3		الذي باسم آمركم، كنتم، أم إنسا هنا، من يا	أنتم	
4		لجلالته مخلص لكل أعداء بالتالي فأنتم لجلالته أعداء	انتم	
5		((أقواسكم عن بها رمت قد.. حية سهام وأولادكم.. الأقواس))	أنتم	
6		أوديب.. ينتظرها كما ، الكبرى المأساة تنتظرون	أنتم	
7		الأدلة قدمتم إذا إلا.. علينا بوقاحة تتهجمون	أنتم	
8		أنتم. هي.. أنتم		
9		فقط. الضمير يحكمه حاكم إلى بحاجة لستم فأنتم		
10		بزمنكم.. النظر إعادة إلى بحاجة	أنتم	
11		المقهى. من توا راجع أنا وجدتموني، لأنكم محظوظون	أنتم -	

Table 15a. Search results for the combinations of أنتم (you GM)

10 words before	word	10 words after	sort word	
	You	Who are here, whether human or jinni, I am your sheikh. Me.		1
	You	Who are here, I am the master of this Holy shrine. I am the master.		2
	You	Who are here, whether human or jinni, I order you in the name of he who		3
	You	Are enemies of his Highness and thus You are enemies of everyone who is loyal to his Highness.		4
	You	Are the bows and your children are the living Arrows whom life threw from your arrows.		5

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	You	Are waiting for the big tragedy, just like Oedipus.		6
	You	Attack us rudely, unless you have evidence to provide.		7
	You	It is you.		8
	You	Do not need a governor Guided by his conscience alone.		9
	You	Need to reconsider your times.		10
	You	Are lucky to have found me. I have just returned from the café.		11

Table 15b.Search results for the combinations of أنتم (you GM)

By retrieving the context of these combinations, I found that أنتم has been extensively used in the corpus in its generic male sense, even when the reference was to both men and women. In fact, there were a number of occasions where the pronoun in its generic form was used to refer to women. This was done when the text was written in a colloquial variety of Arabic. Leaving the lemmas of the word أنتم (you GM) out, I found out that 91 occurrences were recorded whereas the feminine form أنتن (you F) occurred only 3 times.

This is a clear indication that the corpus demonstrates conformity with the rules of the Arabic grammar and norms of Arabic writing. Although TT95 does not violate a grammatical rule, it certainly violates a norm by making 'you' gender-inclusive in Arabic. TT97 does not show a similar treatment.

The search for الفتية الأصدقاء (boys who are friends) did not return any results, neither did the search for بوي فريند(boyfriend). However, searching for جرل فريند(girlfriend) returned the following results:

search results for jrl fryn | جرل فرين in Modern Literature   summary   citations   subsections   word for

citations

showing 1 through 3 of 3 — sorted by word before
sort by word after
click on number at left for full citation

go to page : 1 |

	sort word	10 words after	word	10 words before	subsection
1	آمال	آمال: جرل فريند يعني ايه..؟.. أصحابكم يعني؟			Awladna
2	دور	عصمت: الحل الوحيد.. انكم تمثلوا دور الجرل فريند (girl friend) بتوعنا.			Awladna
3	سعيد	سعيد: الجرل فريند هنا، نوع من العلاقة، أكثر من الصحوبية سنة.. وأقل من سعيد			Awladna

Table 16a. Search results for جرلفريند (girlfriend)

10 words before	Word	10 words after	sort word	
Amal	girlfriend	Meaning what? <u>Your friends</u>?	Amal	1
Ismat: the only solution is that you play the role of	The girlfriend	(girlfriends) ours.	Role	2
	The girlfiend	Girlfriend here indicates <u>a type of relationship</u>; one year longer than a normal friendship and one year less than...	Saeed	3

Table 16b. Search results for جرلفريند (girlfriend)

It should be noted that searching for 'girlfriend' was not straightforward in Arabic, given that the word can be written in different ways depending on the user's knowledge of English pronunciation and their Arabic dialect. In other words, 'girlfriend' may be found in Arabic in various forms depending on how the sounds are transliterated by the individual, and therefore the search had to take all of these forms into consideration. The same criteria were employed when looking for 'boyfriend' but the search returned no results, nonetheless.

Retrieving these loan words in the ArabiCorpus is interesting for more reasons than one. First of all, it is a clear indication that these English forms are used in Arabic writing which begs the question: why did the translators choose to explain the words 'boyfriends', manipulating by so doing the ST underlying discoursal meanings and making less explicit the reference to love and sex, instead of adopting the same technique of transliterating the term, a technique which has been widely used in Arabic? Secondly, finding these words in actual use make the difference in the two translators' approaches to the rendering of 'boyfriends' in the translations even more accentuated. TT95 explains boyfriends, succeeding in one instance in conveying the meaning of the word (when opting for 'boys with whom these girls are emotionally connected') whereas TT97 renders it consistently as 'friends' which makes the reference to having a boyfriend implicit in the translation. Table 16b illustrates the culture-bound nature of the word 'girlfriend', evident in how 'girlfriend' is explained: 'a friend' (1), 'a type of relationship' (3) which have been underlined above.

5.3 Conclusion

The above analysis has given some tangible evidence as to the higher masculine presence in the Arabic language. It also demonstrated a general tendency to use generic male forms which refer to the two sexes. No indication of a subversive tendency was ever seen in the corpus, which suggests that perhaps, after all, the translator' behaviour in TT95 when it comes to using gender-inclusive or opting for a feminine forms is not a reflection of the gender tradition in Arabic writing, but rather an attempt to create new gender forms and realities. This could yet be another reference to the translator's role as an active writer and, most significantly, reader, as Barthes advocates. However, given that the search looked at microstructural aspects

in the ArabiCorpus and used a limited number of terms, I understand that this remains a big claim to make.

The confirmatory analysis has, undoubtedly, helped to further elucidate the translators' decisions, despite the fact that it was only adopted for an evaluation of gender use and relations that define the Arabic literary tradition, given that the texts in the corpus are representative of a whole region.

The aim of the next, and final, chapter is to examine the above patterns in light of the theoretical notions put forward in Chapters 2 and 3, in an attempt to answer the research questions posed at the outset of this study.

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

This study set out with the main aim of investigating gender shifts in literary translation from English into Arabic via the analysis of translational shifts, particularly in relation to how gender relations are formed and presented in the Arabic literary tradition(s). It did so by attempting to identify and highlight ideological and socio-semiotic structures as well as the linguistic strategies that, in general, characterize gender manipulation in literary discourse.

This was done by subjecting the two Arabic translations of *TBE* to an overall quantitative data analysis, which was succeeded by a process-oriented qualitative analysis of the gender shifts recorded.

Following a comprehensive literature review in Chapters 2 and 3, and a detailed description of the data sampling procedure in Chapter 4, the quantitative and qualitative analyses were reported in Chapter 5. The qualitative process-oriented analysis of the data was guided by the notion of shift, as employed in van Leuven-Zwart's model of shift analysis. Different shift patterns were identified as corresponding to each of the proposed categories described in Chapters 3 and 5.

The purpose of this final chapter is to situate the present study in the context of the theoretical notions put forward in Chapters 2 and 3, in an attempt to answer the research questions. Section 6.1 presents an overall view of the shift model employed, its suitability and limitations, and its usefulness in the description of gender shifts. Section 6.2 presents the discussion of semiotics as a viable theoretical framework. Section 6.3 evaluates the corpus-based approach to translated and non-translated texts, and its usefulness in a translational context such as the one dealt with in this thesis. Section 6.4 discusses the implications of the results and puts forward suggestions for potentially fruitful avenues in future research.

6.1 Understanding gender shifts in translation: is a shift model sufficient?

In Chapter 5, the rationale for selecting and employing van Leuven-Zwart's model of shift analysis for the description and analysing of gender shifts in this thesis was

discussed. However, the shortcomings of this model necessitated changes to some of its basic components before applying it in to the analysis. It was found that some of the theoretical notions adopted by van Leuven-Zwart could not be utilised in their current forms, or could not be utilised at all.

The analysis was divided into two parts: microstructural and macrostructural. The microstructural analysis (presented in Chapter 5 above) was based on the theoretical and methodological framework developed in the chapters that preceded it and provided a quantitative analysis of the shift patterns discerned from the comparative analysis. The analysis attempted to provide a representation of the various types of gender shifts found in the translations. The quantitative analysis showed that translation shifts in gender occurred in the translations. The qualitative analysis based on exhaustive textual and contextual evidence from the data suggested that these shifts may together indicate a certain tendency on the part of the translator(s) to alter the gender representations in the ST and make the translational act either target-orientated or a reflection of the translators' repertoire of norms, which could help to establish the link between the translators' linguistic practices and the gender stereotypes available in Arabic. What was important here was not only whether the translators promoted their own gender preferences but also that they continued to oppose the source text gender orientation and therefore tamper withthe meanings this orientation serves in the ST.

The analysis made it clear that the majority of shifts were optional and occurred in both translations. However, TT97 exhibited a higher percentage of these shifts, which further suggested an inclination, on the part of the translator, towards making ideological changes to the translation, a manipulation that merited further investigation, and which was, later on, achieved through the confirmatory corpus-based analysis.

The analysis was carried out keeping in mind that shifts do not always act as indications of translator's purposeful intervention (Mason and Şerban, 2003: 273). By the same token, and while I came across patterns of shifts which indicated a preference that may have been ideologically and/or socio-culturally motivated on the part of the translator, there were examples of optional shifts which were the result of

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the translator's personal strategies for dealing with a translation dilemma such as the difficulty encountered when translating a particular culture-specific expression (e.g. boyfriends in example(20), in Chapter 5). Obligatory shifts were recorded as well; however, the number of these (5 in total) in comparison with the total number of the optional shifts occurring demonstrates a high tendency towards manipulation in the translations, particularly in TT97, which appears to be triggered in this instance by personal preference rather than linguistic necessity dictated by the grammar of the Arabic language. In studying optional shifts, however, it is crucial to differentiate between the forms which are agreed upon by the native speakers of a given language and are therefore considered to be unmarked, and those which are peculiar and thus marked (Toolan, 1990: 183; Mason and Şerban, 2003: 274). Establishing these categories was perceived to be of great relevance to the application of my confirmatory analysis. Establishing these categories was further facilitated by understanding their socio-ideological underpinnings.

The social and ideological impact of the gender shifts is where the significance of this study lies. The analysis showed a strong ideological inclinationon the translators' part, especially the translator of TT97, an inclination that was further corroborated by semiotic and gender-related explanatory analyses which showed the possible links between the translational patterns discerned and the translators' gender beliefs and assumptions which are informed by masculine interpretations of gender and the power relations that govern Arabic language, as both Muqaddam and Adonis argue (see Section 3.2.2.)

The analysis looked, albeit sparingly, intohow ideology, being an essential element of cultural context, continues to influence the process of transfer as well as translators' choices. The patterns discerned showed how translators were ideologically motivated; how translational choices continued to shape the linguistic transfer from the source language to the target language. The shifts detected were also pointers to a strong ideological stance that favoured the masculine in TT97 and a different ideological orientation in TT95 which promotes gender-inclusivity. The translators seemed aware of their personal and social identities, displaying their awareness in the choices they made and the target texts they had created.We should not forget that the issue of ideology in the practice of translation imposes various challenges to translators for

ideology shapes the way by which translators reproduce in the target text the ideology of the source (Hatim and Mason, 1997: 145). A translator's choice here is 'determined by the interests and objectives of social agents' (Toury, 1980: 53) and informed by the norms of translation process, among others. However, translators do not only attempt to reproduce ideology – they also challenge it by manipulating the source text under the influence and constraints of their own value system. This is true of the translations of The Bluest Eye and examples from the two target texts testified to this. The translators, albeit to varying degrees, have been influenced by the values and gender assumptions in their gender repertoire. This is not to forget that power relations in a given society affect how ideology works in that society and the influence it has on members of that society, including translators.

Another crucial point was the fact that the analysis of the primary corpus showed that the shifts occurring affected the meaning of the ST in varying degrees that ranged from no change to minor change to major change to radical change (particularly in TT97). The following patterns were established:

1. Modulation shifts always resulted in minor changes in the ST meanings. Most of the modulation shifts recorded, however, resulted in no semantic change in the TT.
2. Modification shifts always resulted in either minor or major changes.
3. Mutation shifts always coincided with radical change to the ST meanings.

Even more important was establishing that there was no straightforward correlation between the category of shift and the change it creates in the text. This meant that shifts, even when coming under the same category, had to be approached with caution and according to the kind of change they created in the translations. Therefore, a distinction was made between shifts as surface changes (in the form) and shifts as deep changes on the level of text discourse and content. Outliers had also been found to be as crucial in this study as had the patterns discerned, because both in terms of translational as well as normative behaviours in the translations, these sporadic shifts provided additional insight into the understanding of the occurrence of consistent and recurrent shifts. Whether the presence of outliers is a pointer to a normative behaviour which is starting to become common or to one which has, only recently, started to

lose ground and become rather obsolete, it still cannot be proved. This further adds to the reality that the usefulness of a corpus-based approach is rather limited. Either of these cases could be reason for intermittent translational practices. The importance of these findings was in the shortcomings it pointed out in van Leuven-Zwart's model of shift analysis. Although the model proved useful in the analysis of gender shifts in terms of the descriptive tools and categories it provided, which indicates its usability in analysing different types and categories of shifts and other language pairs, it still fell short of making available the analytical tools needed for understanding the occurrence of gender shifts. In addition, the complexity of the sub-categories it provided and their unsuitability for the analysis meant that there was a need for new subcategories which, for the purposes of this research, had to expose the gender and semiotic denotations as well as connotations of the shifts analysed. This meant that in order to establish gender shift as an analytical category for the understanding of a translator's behaviour and its socio-cultural implications as well as motivations, a shift model was not enough. A semiotic analysis was, therefore, perceived as necessary in a study, any study, of gender shifts.

6.2 Semiotics: an effective framework?

One of the main objectives of this research was to investigate the underlying semiotic connotations of the gender shifts found in the two Arabic translations of Morrison's *TBE*. For this purpose, an approach with both comparative and descriptive components was applied. Establishing the significance of this comparative and descriptive approach was not possible without an accompanying analytical paradigm which would expose and make clear the interrelationship between the occurrence of the gender shifts recorded by the quantitative analysis of the translations and the relevant gender and semiotic conditions surrounding this very occurrence. One of the most crucial aims of this research, as I have already argued, is understanding whether gender shifts are fundamentallysemiotic, i.e. whether the occurrence of gender shifts has a semiotic rationale and results in creating a semiotic change in the target text(s).

But did semiotics offer a framework that was useful enough, or even sufficient, for explaining the occurrence of gender shifts? Were these shifts fundamentally semiotic in nature, as I had hypothesized? Did the semiotic notions chosen offer sound

explanations for the various shift patterns recorded and the shifts that fell outside the recorded patterns?

Although studying gender shifts in a semiotic light could be seen as impressionistic, one should not forget that semiotics still provides tools which, if employed methodically, could offer practical explanations rather than just descriptions of the translational phenomena encountered. This was one of the main reasons for employing a semiotic approach to the data in this research. Not only did I see in semiotics a possible framework that could be combined successfully with van Leuven-Zwart's model of shift analysis, I later came to realise that semiotics certainly offered an abundance of useful interpretations of gender use and shifts. However, the danger is always in falling easy victim to the variety of interpretations, a problem which I have overcome by making more specific my major rationale for a semiotic approach.

Perceiving the interrelationship between the translators' decisions and some of the discussions put forward by Barthes and Derrida made possible an understanding of a semiotic rationale for making these decisions in the first place. Our understanding, however, would not have been complete without the additional help of some of the arguments that I borrowed from the fields of sociology, namely those of Foucault and Bourdieu. While semiotics offered invaluable analytical tools for grasping the translation of gender shifts, it was sociology which provided what seemed more practical terminology and concepts for both the description and analysis of gender shifts. It is, therefore, suggested that a combination of semiotic and sociological analytical tools may provide a more comprehensive analysis of shifts in general and gender shifts in particular.

As we have seen, the initial statistical analysis underlined a noticeable tendency on the translator's part, manifest through patterns, towards manipulating, albeit to varying degrees, the meanings of the source text. Patterns emerged which demonstrated a general tendency to comply with norms. This, among other initial observations, was seen as supporting the initial assumption that the translators translated in a certain way because they were unable to detach themselves from the socially entrenched signification channels available in their own culture.

The analysis revealed that optional shifts were higher in number compared to the obligatory ones, which indicated a tendency to manipulate the ST meanings. The frequency of optional shifts in comparison with the obligatory ones found in the two translations, and the high number of mutation shifts found in TT97 in comparison with those found in TT95 demonstrate a radical tendency in TT97. Most crucially, the overwhelming inclination in TT95 was to make the female presence felt strongly via gender-specific forms, whereas TT97 showed an opposite attitude, by mostly adopting masculine forms, even if that sometimes meant going against a grammatical rule (e.g. example(30)). The two translations presented two opposing attitudes towards male and female representations, TT95 being female-orientated, less conventional and sometimes linguistically marked and TT97 being the opposite of the above while exhibiting a number of systematic syntactic errors and syntactically marked forms.

Despite those initial observations, the later stages of the analysis showed that the two translations, despite leaning towards one pattern more than the other, still avoided adhering to one and only one general pattern that could be said to be representative of the translator's general tendency and normative behaviour. In other words, the translations were characterised, albeit to varying degrees, by inconsistency in the translators' choices. Therefore, it was safe to say that the initial observations were only partially corroborated in the subsequent analysis. In fact, there were outliers which showed that there was not one general overwhelming tendency which was representative of the translator's behaviour. For example, in one of the translations, TT95, there were separate instances which did not reflect actual writing norms in Arabic, but rather seemed to have been created solely for fictional (or translational) purposes. Henceforth, the initial hypothesis in which I claimed that gender shifts were a reflection of the translators' compliance with the writing norms in their own culture, i.e. Arabic, was only partially corroborated in the beginning (when a general tendency towards complying with norms rather than rules was seen), only to be later refuted on the basis of the translators' indeterminacy and the confirmatory corpus-based analysis.

Although the hypothesis was confirmed in the quantitative stage of the analysis, particularly in TT97 which displayed a general inclination towards normative

behaviour in adhering to gender stereotypes in Arabic, the result had to be interpreted with caution, given some of the completely opposing patterns found in TT95. The patterns found were also accompanied by single instances, which gave a different impression as to the translator's inclination. Occasionally, the translator seemed to go against some of the patterns he established. In other words, even the norms that the translators seemed to follow were occasionally flouted, leaving the door open for re-interpreting the translator's decisions.

Overall, the observations made during the data-analysis process lend some credence to Toury's (1995: 55) suggestion that 'verbal formulations of course reflect awareness of the existence of norms as well as of their respective significance. However, they also imply other interests, particularly a desire to *control* behaviour - i.e., to dictate norms rather than merely account for them. Normative formulations tend to be slanted, then, and should always be taken with a grain of salt'. This was also applicable in the later stages of the analysis, when the confirmatory analysis was undertaken, which showed the translators' inclination to 'dictate norms' which were not accounted for in the ArabiCorpus, when the control corpus analysis was later undertaken.

6.3 Control corpora: usefulness and limitations

For the purposes of this research, corpus tools were deemed necessary for the understanding of gender norms in the Arabic literary tradition. The main objective of undertaking a confirmatory analysis was to arrive at a more general statement about the norms adopted by the translator. This was done following Toury's method. (See Chatper 5 for a detailed discussion.) From the examples presented in the analysis, it was evident that the translator in TT97 had only been rarely bound by the syntactic and stylistic structures of the ST (see example(13), Chapter 5); however, this was not sufficient in order to make the claim that the translator has adopted a norm of adequacy, nor was it ample enough to suggest a norm of acceptability either. (See Toury, 1995: 57.) This was only possible to determine once I undertook the confirmatory corpus analysis of data.

Carrying out the confirmatory corpus analysis made it possible to make a number of observations regarding the general gender tradition in Arabic literary writing. The corpus seemed to illustrate a stereotypical way of perceiving women in the Arab societies which seem to share more similarities than differences. This could particularly be the case if we take into account the forms encountered in the ArabiCorpus.

The results generated from searching for 'man' and 'woman' in the control corpus, for example, both suggested that there are forms in Arabic writing which can explain the translator's tendency to conform to certain socio-cultural norms of Arabic. Although none of the results corresponded directly with the exact forms that the translator used, I could still suggest that TT97, unlike TT95, reflected normative behaviour in Arabic writing. TT95 resisted this conformity by introducing new marked forms which give equal status to masculine and feminine representation in the language. Looking for these marked forms, it was clear that one of the translations, namely TT95, violated a writing norm in the Arabic by making 'you' gender inclusive, when it is not. Clearly, adopting corpus-based tools in the hope of better grasping the rationale for a translational decision has proved useful to this research.

The application of a corpus-based approach was also useful in testing the view, shared by many, that translated and non-translated texts exhibit differences on certain (gender, in this research context) levels. The present study hypothesised that this was not the case when it came to gender-related language use and that translated and non-translated texts, particularly when it comes to languages with low levels of gender flexibility such as Arabic, may exhibit more similarities than differences.

6.4 Implications and future directions

Several conclusions have been reached in this research on the basis of the two translations and the texts included in the control corpus. The methodological approach that I adopted borrowed from established methods but also presented a fresh way of tackling these translation phenomena. (See Chapter 4.) Not that the well-known methodologies proved futile, but the translation problem of gender shifts which is the focus of this piece of research was worthy of significant attention. While

I admit my methodological approach borrowed from existing methodologies, it still offered a unique combination of useful tools. In addition, in Arabic, little or no attention has been paid to the issue of shifts in general, let alone those on the level of gender discourse in translated texts. That meant that testing existing methodologies, in the study of translational phenomena without having to completely 'reinvent the wheel', as Toury (1995) would argue, could still be useful in understanding these phenomena in a particular language pair, to see whether conclusions made by different studies share any similarities. It would, however, still be interesting to see a different methodological combination being employed in testing the same translational phenomenon. It would be worthwhile, for instance, to apply an electronic corpus-based analysis to the primary corpus, which would facilitate the close and consistent examination of certain textual features and save both time and effort. Despite the shortcomings associated with such an approach, electronic tools could enable a researcher to establish useful links between the existence of gender shifts and other textual references. A high frequency of certain articles or prepositions could sometimes be helpful indicators of the factors contributing to a certain translational phenomenon.

The method employed in this study may have been utilised before by researchers and can therefore be looked at as recurring in some of its aspects (i.e. it acknowledges the efficacy and applicability of old research such as corpus-based approaches, among others); nonetheless, its original contribution is undeniable. The method certainly is useful for it provides explicit procedures and techniques for the close investigation of a 'repertoire of gender features' in source texts and their translations.

It was suggested that the methodology proposed can be employed for a 'replicable' study of gender shifts, not only because of the descriptive tools it offers but also because of the analytical theoretical notions along which it operates which are primarily borrowed from Descriptive Translation Studies and General Semiotics. Emphasis on the socio-cultural context (primarily that of the target texts, and later on in the reference corpus) is also believed to be an added advantage in unearthing certain linguistic habits and patterns which could, in turn, reveal something about the translators' ideological positioning and situate this positioning in the wider cultural context.

The insights this study has drawn confirm corpus-based research as a sound, robust methodological approach to unearthing similarities as well as differences between translated and non-translated texts. Having said that, I still am of the view that combining manual and electronic methods of analysing data may be a more ample approach, given that electronic corpora may still be unable to highlight particular instances of language use.

Despite the limitations outlined here and elsewhere in this thesis, distinctive patterns were identified, as discussed in Chapter 5. Moreover, the results obtained from the data analysis clearly demonstrate the explanatory potential of Semiotic Theory, as well as the validity of the sociological notions proposed by Bourdieu and Foucault, in the study of shifts in general and gender shifts in particular. By employing a semiotic approach to translation, the present investigation further contributes to the debate regarding the adequacy of semiotic theory as a theoretical framework for translation research and that of corpus-based studies as a methodological approach to translation as well as to understanding the relationship between writing and translating.

Naturally, further research is required to verify the generalisability of the results. However, despite the limitations concerning the sample size involved and the manual analysis of the primary corpus which would not account for all the instances of gender shift, the study was able to determine the role played by each translator's norms in the successful interpretation of the gender shifts recorded in the translations. The fact that the confirmatory corpus was already available on the web, with texts chosen randomly by its compiler, meant that determining the extent to which the norms of Arabic writing when it comes to gender relations and use may have affected the translators' decisions could not be evaluated fully, given the inevitable limitations of a confirmatory corpus. Therefore, compiling a control corpus of literary texts that are written originally in Arabic and which are thought to exhibit interesting features of gender and gender use may be worth pursuing. Despite the circular argumentation to which such a corpus could lead, it would still be useful to observe the advantages, pitfalls, scope and limitations of compiling and using such a corpus. Further, looking into similarities and differences in approaches to gender between male and female writers in Arabic in order to see whether sex determines gender in language use, as

opposed to studying gender in translation by men versus women, could also be a further possible research avenue.

Undertaking the same research but this time with the opposite language direction is another potentially intriguing investigation. It would be worthwhile to find out whether texts translated from Arabic into English exhibit any similar gender changes, and the ideological orientation of the English translators. Furthermore, it would be worthwhile to see whether translations of gender forms into English would be governed by translation norms or dictated by the rules of the language.

Working with different genres as data could also be an area for investigation. Such data could consist of socio-political texts or even gender discourse which exposes critical and sensitive gender issues in the west (e.g. gay marriages and adoption) or the east (the demonisation of Islam). Such issues might guarantee more emotional involvement on the part of translators. It would certainly be interesting to examine the effect of the translator's inevitable biases on his/her interaction with texts.

Another relevant research venue is the shift-change distinction I have proposed and discussed in my research. Naturally, further investigation is required to simplify the concept and make its application more consistent, which I admit, is not something I have achieved total success in doing. However, although the scale I have proposed and employed needs further refinement, it still proved useful in providing general guidelines for approaching the various types of changes created in the translations by the occurrence of shifts.As is the case with research in general, the joy always lies in venturing into realms, both old and new, verifying hypotheses and testing and retesting theories and applications.

6.5 A closing statement

In summary, this thesis set out to investigate gender shifts in translation from a semiotic perspective, given a hypothesis which suggested that gender shifts are fundamentally semiotic. Drawing on research into Descriptive Translation Studies particularly norm theory and shift analysis, as well as semiotic theory and corpus-based research, the study employed a semiotic, control corpus-based approach to the

data for the analysis of gender shifts, in order to answer a number of research questions and examine a number of relevant objectives. By revisiting the research questions systematically here, while simultaneously keeping the objectives in mind, the following observations and conclusions emerge:

1. Translational shifts are more governed by socio-linguistic norms than determined by linguistic rules. Researching shifts in our case has made it possible to understand how gender operates at various textual levels. In other words, this study showed that gender is not only a mere theoretical category which signifies certain representations of men and women but also a concrete construct with extensive analytical implications during the process of translating.

2. Semiotics provide sound explanations for the occurrence of gender shifts in translation and understanding these, not only at the textual level but also at the socio-cultural one. Semiotics certainly exposes translational acts as indicators of wider socio-cultural norms that continue to affect the translation process.

3. The translators' techniques helped us form a more practical understanding of the type of gender relations present in Arabic that seemed to govern the translational process. The theoretical framework made it possible to understand the rationale for the patterns discerned, given the variety of theoretical approaches employed. It was possible to determinethe influence ofthe translator's gender ideologies in the TTs,which were indicators of the translators' idiosyncrasies and the norms of the TC. Further, it was evident that the translators' presence was felt in going against the norms, and sometimes rules, of the Arabic culture and language. The analysis has given a good indication of how ideology continues to shape the act of translation and how translation is a norm-governed activity.

4. A control corpus-based approach to the data, using the ArabiCorpus, proved vital in the identification of patterns or isolated instances in the Arabic literary tradition which were significant in informing the primary analysis and understanding of the results generated. Although the results were not conclusive; it was, however, possible to suggest that the translator's behaviour in TT95 was not a reflection of the gender tradition in Arabic writing, thereby disproving my hypothesis. This was an indication that it was likely that gender shifts do not occur in translation from English in to Arabic due to intrinsic

differences in the grammatical structures between the two languages but mainly because of the translators' idiosyncrasies and preferences.

In all, semiotic and sociological explanations proved instrumental in identifying the rationale for the occurrence of these shifts. One important finding, however, was that although the fact that the control corpus chosen for the analysis was built by another researcher, which gave a degree of credibility and objectivity to these results, it would have been interesting to embark on the mission of building a corpus of Arabic literary texts, according to my own criteria. I believe that doing so would have added another dimension to my research on gender shifts.

In addition to its contribution to existing research in the fields of gender studies, Descriptive Translation Studies, and corpus-based translation research (particularly into translated and non-translated texts), the present study has further illustrated the explanatory potential of semiotic and sociological theories, as well as the validity of van Leuven-Zwart's model of shift analysis in its main categories of shift, in providing a socio-semiotic-based, cause-effect, norm-rule and ideological account of translation decisions. It is hoped that the methodology in this study can be replicated when undertaking future research in order to both address its limitations, and confirm or disconfirm its findings.

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