

## Chapter Three

### Translation Saliency in Arabic and English

The Translation Saliency model describes constraints on the relationship between a translation and its original text. It adopts a translator-orientation and explains the translator's attunement to information in the process of translating. Meaningfulness is construed as a function of the translator's attunement to communication resources in the interfacing languages. Saliency captures attunement to information beyond the meanings of expressions. Rather than coordinate the meanings of expressions, the Saliency model explains the equivalence relation in terms of information picked out of described situations and utterance situations. Constraints on equivalence require a translator to coordinate speakers' perceptions and attitudes and their reflexes in text.

This chapter examines a wide range of communication resources used to express meaningful states of mind or crucial information about described situations or utterance situations. The data satisfy the postulates of translational saliency: markedness, implicitness and localness. The principle of markedness is applied to a wide range of higher level, pragmatic aspects of communication. Numerous synchronic and diachronic qualitative and quantitative surveys have been examined. Selected data focus on the context sensitive interpretation of delicate variations in use. Arabic communication resources include the motivated use of repetition, code switching, agreement, modes of address in relative clauses, and presentative structures.

The translation of speaker attitudes is well illustrated with Hatim's treatment of the translation of irony from English into Arabic.<sup>1</sup> He addresses the important pragmatic notion of conversational implicature (Section 2.1). Implicatures help to make clear the conditions which affect the appropriateness of utterances in relation to logical expression

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<sup>1</sup> Basil Hatim, 'The Translation of Irony: A Discourse Perspective' (unpublished paper presented at the 'Teaching and Translating Arabic: Issues and Prospects' conference held at the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London on 12-14 December, 1991).

and conversation structure. The implications of an exchange can be deduced by users of a language following cooperative principles governing appropriacy and efficiency.<sup>2</sup> A speaker may know what an utterance means by the application of certain conversational maxims: part of the knowledge shared by members of a linguistic community which influences the form of conversation.<sup>3</sup>

A speaker's attitude may constitute the essential, underlying message implicit in a communication. The attitude of irony results from statements made by a speaker which s/he manifestly does not believe, for the purpose of expressing an attitude of disparagement toward the view expressed in such statements. The speaker's attitude is conveyed through a marked disparity between the speaker's manifest belief and the view expressed. Irony is thus a kind of mockery: the 'simulated adoption of another's point of view or laudatory tone for [the] purpose of ridicule; [having] an inner meaning for a privileged audience and an outer meaning for the persons addressed or concerned'.<sup>4</sup> Hatim argues for the semiotic status of irony, illustrating the translation into Arabic of irony in an extract of Edward Said's *Orientalism*. He suggests that the translation of speaker attitudes involves a trade-off between the manipulation of language-specific linguistic tools for conveying attitudes and the universally available attitudinal values themselves:

The problem for the translator arises when different pragmatic and communicative procedures are resorted to by different languages in the expression of almost universally available attitudinal values which are essentially discursal and semiotic. That is, while almost all languages have at their disposal the potential ultimately to relay, say, a disparaging attitude (a semiotic concern), what constitutes this in terms of rules of politeness, types of implicature, etc. (which are pragmatic concerns) and those of register appropriateness, level of formality, etc. (communicative concerns) can and does vary from one language to another. (p.1)

Hatim is concerned with the mediating role of the translator. He investigates the text-linguistic processes involved in effectively relaying such implicitly expressed intentions as irony. The strategies he adopts for translating irony rest on his claim that a fundamental

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<sup>2</sup> David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Jack Richards, John Platt and Heidi Weber, *Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics* (Harlow, U.K.: Longman, 1985), pp. 64-65.

<sup>4</sup> CONCISE OXFORD DICTIONARY, ed. by J. B. Sykes, 6th edn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), p.572.

divergence exists between Arabic and English in the way rhetorical meaning is implicated. English has a preference for understatement, while in Arabic ‘one can literally do more by saying more’ (pp. 9-10). Pragmatic considerations which Hatim identifies at the heart of translating attitudes such as irony are based on Grice’s Cooperative Principle and the maxims by which rational speakers cooperate to achieve communication. Intentions may be conveyed implicitly by a speaker’s assessment of a listener’s ability to make inferences relating knowledge about the world to facts about the communication situation.

Successful communication is subject to the implicatures which interlocutors cooperatively share. Two of Grice’s maxims which impact upon the translation of implicatures between English and Arabic, according to Hatim, are the Maxim of Quantity and the Maxim of Quality. The maxim of quantity states that speakers should (1) make their contribution as informative as is required for the purpose of the exchange; and (2) not make their contribution more informative than is required. The maxim of quality states that speakers should (1) not say what they believe to be false; and (2) not say that for which adequate evidence is lacking.<sup>5</sup> In English, an ironic attitude is evidenced in intentional violation of the maxim of quality—by the speaker stating what s/he believes to be false in such a way that the hearer understands that the maxim is being broken. Hatim argues that reproducing irony in translation entails preserving the speaker’s attitude. This is observed in the speaker’s motivated choice of flouting one of the maxims of cooperative communication while intending the hearer to understand that such a maxim has been broken. Translating attitudes expressed by the speaker, according to Hatim, entails addressing the act of breaking convention rather than the actual convention being broken. Literally relaying the decision to flout the maxim or quality would remain opaque in Arabic, with its intolerance for that kind of cryptic understatement. For the semiotic attitude of disparagement to be expressed, a strategy of flouting the maxim of quantity is suggested, resulting in overstatement approximating sarcasm in English. Hatim observes

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<sup>5</sup> Hatim, ‘The Translation of Irony...’, p. 6; refs to H. P. Grice, ‘Logic and Conversation’, in *Syntax and Semantics*, ed. by P. Cole and J. L. Morgan (New York: Academic, 1975), III: *Speech Acts* [n.pp.]; and H. P. Grice, ‘Further Notes to Logic and Conversation’, in *Syntax and Semantics*, ed. by P. Cole (New York: Academic, 1978), IX: *Pragmatics* [n.pp.].

that ‘Arabic has a particular preference for what the Arab rhetoricians were fond of alluding to as “useful circumlocution” (i.e. motivated, functional redundancy)’ (p. 10). Without becoming too transparent, the subtlety of the attitude is preserved by the translator’s attunement to language-specific, pragmatic concerns regarding implicature.<sup>6</sup>

Maintaining the communicative force or effect of a text in translation may thus involve compensation from one type of language-specific, conventional constraint to another. Compensation strategies are founded on the translator’s competence. Decisions are based on the tendencies and rhetorical force of constraints on cooperative communication and the effects of contravening constraints. The motivated contravention of conventions pertaining to the *quality* of information conveyed in the English original are, in Hatim’s view, best carried over into the marked or motivated contravention of conventions determining the *quantity* of information in translation into Arabic in this particular instance:

this verbal excess would be highly communicative, telling the reader that there is more than meets the eye in a given circumlocution and thus ultimately pointing to a variety of attitudes over and above the literal meaning. (p. 11)

The crucial aspect in translating attitudes is not to be found in the unilateral transfer or preservation of pragmatic values but rests on higher level semiotic uniformities:

Translation [...] does not necessarily entail [...] the transposition of a given speech act, implicature etc. by an identical pragmatic manifestation [...unless] this one-to-one transfer adequately caters for, and ultimately keeps intact, the semiotic sign in question. (p. 13)

Hatim’s incidental rationalization for the tendency observed in Arabic to flout for rhetorical purposes the maxim of quantity in favour of quality has its roots in what he calls the Arab attitude to truth: ‘[a]n Arab simply feels ashamed to be seen as uttering an untruth whether in jest or for real’ (p. 14). The notions of truth, proof and persuasion are addressed in relation to repetition in Arabic (Section 3.1.1).

The expressions which convey irony in the English original are italicized in extract (1), while their reflexes in Hatim’s Arabic translation are indicated in bold-face.

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<sup>6</sup> Hatim, ‘The Translation of Irony...’, pp. 6-7, 9-11; and Hatim, *Communication Across Cultures*, pp. 186-199.

The greater load of explicit information in the Arabic translation follows the tendency identified by Hatim toward flouting the maxim of quantity in order to indicate a non-literal reading and thus communicate a variety of speaker attitudes. The ‘useful circumlocution’ by which Hatim achieves ‘semiotic equivalence’ is revealed by back translating into English those fragments that have no literal equivalent in the original. The translation strategies by which compensation is achieved include:

- a) explicitly distinguishing the described view (Balfour’s) from the author’s view (Said’s) in line (1:1):

(1:1) Since these *facts are facts*

ولما كانت هذه الحقائق في نظر بلفور حقائق لا غبار عليها

(lit.) Since these facts were, *in Balfour’s view, irreproachable facts*

- b) emphasizing globally in line (1: 3):

(1:3) Balfour *produces no evidence that...*

لا يفلح بلفور في العثور على ما يشير قطعاً إلى...

(lit.) Balfour *does not succeed in discovering what definitely indicates...*

- c) making the distinction between Balfour’s and Said’s points of view explicit and emphatic by lexicalizing quoted speech in lines (1:3) and (1:9), much like point (a) above:

(1:3) the Egyptians and ‘the races with whom...’

المصريين و على حد تعبيره " تلك الأقوام التي..."

(lit.) the Egyptians and *according to his expression* ‘the races with whom...’

(1:9) England exports ‘*our very best...*’

انجلترا تصدر واقتطف من ما قاله بلفور بالحرف الواحد " تصدر افضل ما لدينا..."

(lit.) England exports *and I quote literally what Balfour says* ‘she exports our best...’

## Extract (1):

- Since these *facts are facts*,
- 2 Balfour *must* then *go on* to the next part of his argument.  
[...]  
*Balfour produces no evidence that the Egyptians and 'the races with whom we deal' appreciate or even understand the good that is being done them by colonial occupation.*
- 4 It does not *occur* to Balfour, *however*, to let the Egyptian speak for himself, *since presumably* any Egyptian who would speak out is more likely to be 'the *agitator* [who] wishes to raise difficulties' than the *good native* who *overlooks the 'difficulties'* of foreign domination.
- 6 *And so*, having *settled* the ethical problems, Balfour *turns at last* to the practical ones.  
[...]
- 8 Balfour *by no means implies*, as part of that loss, *the loss* or at least the indefinite postponement of *Egyptian independence*  
[...]  
England exports '*our very best* to these countries'.
- 10 These *selfless* administrators do their work 'amidst tens of thousands of persons belonging to a *different* creed, a *different* race, a *different* discipline, *different* conditions of life'.<sup>7</sup>

ولما كانت هذه الحقائق في نظر بلفور حقائق لا غبار عليها

٢ يجد بلفور لزاماً عليه أن ينتقل إلى الجزء الآخر من مقولته  
[...]

ولا يفلح بلفور في العثور على ما يشير قطعاً إلى أن المصريين وعلى حد تعبيره  
" تلك الأقوام التي تتعامل معها " يتفاهمون أو حتى يفهمون الصنيع الذي من به عليهم  
الاحتلال الأجنبي

٤ غير أن بلفور لا يكلف نفسه هنا عناء أن يترك للمصري أمر التحدث بنفسه عن نفسه  
إذ ثمة افتراض بأن المصري الذي يعبر عن آرائه ما هو في الغالب إلا " محرّضاً يسعى  
لإثارة المتاعب " على عكس ذلك المواطن الأصيل الذي يتفاوض عن " مصاعب " السيطرة  
الأجنبية

٦ وهكذا وبعد حسم بلفور المسائل الأخلاقية

نراه ينتقل وبعد طول انتظار ليبت في المسائل العملية  
[...]

٨ ويغيب هنا عن ذهن بلفور أن جزءاً من تلك الخسارة كان فقدان المصريين لاستقلالهم  
أو على الأقل تأجيل هذا إلى أجل غير مسمى  
[...]

فها هي انجلترا تصدّر واقتطف من ما قاله بلفور بالحرف الواحد " تصدّر افضل  
ما لدينا إلى هذه البلدان "

١٠ ويعمل هؤلاء الإداريون ناكرو ذواتهم وسط ما يصفه بلفور وبهجة مأساوية " بعشرات  
الآلاف من أناس لا يؤمنون بمذهب يختلف عن مذهبهم فحسب ، بل ينتمون إلى

<sup>7</sup> Hatim, 'The Translation of Irony...', pp. 2, 3-5, 10-13; from Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), pp. 33-34; *trans.* Hatim.

جنس مختلف ويتصرفون بأسلوب مختلف ويعيشون ظروفًا حياتية مختلفة "

- d) lexicalizing quotation conventions ما يصفه بلفور *what Balfour describes as*, noted in point (c) above, and explicitly stating Said's judgements about Balfour's attitude

وبلهجة مأساوية *in a tragic tone* in line (1:10.1):

(1:10.1) Those selfless administrators do their work 'amidst tens of thousands of persons...'

ويعمل هؤلاء الإداريون ناكرو ذواتهم وسط ما يصفه بلفور وبهجة مأساوية " بعشرات الآلاف من أناس..."

(lit.) These selfless administrators do their work amidst *what Balfour describes in a tragic tone as* 'tens of thousands of persons...'

(The emphasizing force of (c) and (d) must be measured against the relative paucity of punctuation in Arabic and the long tradition of lexicalizing quotation which dates back to Quranic usage. Hatim notes a distinct preference in Arabic for indirect speech in certain genres such as news reporting. Aside from generic constraints on directly reported speech, Hatim suggests that attitudinal reflexes implicit in the use of quotation in English have to be made more explicit in Arabic based on functional considerations concerning the purposes of utterances.<sup>8</sup>);

- e) distinguishing the (author-and-reader) inclusive point of view from the view being ridiculed (Balfour's) with the addition of *نراه we see him* in line (1:7), like points (a) and (c-d):

(1:7) Balfour *turns at last to...*

نراه ينتقل وبعد طول انتظار ليبت في...

(lit.) *we see him turn, after all the waiting, to decide on...*

- f) making more explicit the sarcasm of *at last* with *انتظار* (lit.) *after all the waiting*; and making more explicit the understatement of *turns to the practical problems* with *ينتقل ليبت في* (lit.) *turns to decide on* in line (1:7) above; (This is part of the chain of understatements used to refer to Balfour's fatuous logic—in line (1:2) *go on to the next part of his argument*, and in line (1:6) *having settled the ethical problems.*);

<sup>8</sup> Hatim, *Communication Across Cultures*, pp. 123-138.

- g) making the case role of agent more explicit than the English understatement *it does not occur to s.o.* by placing Balfour as the subject of the active verb لا يكلف نفسه عناء أن *does not bother to* in line (1: 4):

(1:4) It does not *occur* to Balfour, however to...

غير أن بلفور لا يكلف نفسه هنا عناء أن...

(lit.) However, Balfour *does not bother at this point* to...

- h) emphasizing with the addition of presentative (alerting) structures هنا *at this point/here* and *And behold* فيها هي *And behold* in line (1:4) above, and in lines (1:8) and (1:9):

(1.8) Balfour *by no means implies*...

ويغيب هنا عن ذهن بلفور

(lit.) And *at this point*, it slips Balfour's mind...

(1.9) England exports...

فيها هي انجلترا تصدر

(lit.) *And behold*, England exports...

- i) making more explicit the understated link between *selfless administrators* and *amidst tens of thousands of persons belonging to*, with the emphatic ...بل *not* لا...فحسب، بل... *only...but also...* in line (1: 10.2):

(1:10.2) people *belonging to* a different creed, a different race, a different discipline, different conditions of life.

أناس لا يؤمنون بمذهب يختلف عن مذهبهم فحسب، بل ينتمون إلى جنس مختلف ويتصرفون بأسلوب مختلف ويعيشون ظروفًا حياتية مختلفة

(lit.) people *not only believing in a faith which differs from their faith, but also belonging to a different race, and behaving in a different way, and living in different circumstances.*

- j) overstating the alienating force of Balfour's statement by raising a single participle *belonging to* and its chain of noun phrases to the level of four clauses with the verbs *they believe in*, *they belong to*, *they behave in*, and *they live in*, in line (1:10.2) above; and
- k) further emphasizing this alienation by the explicit contrast between *people not only who believe in a faith*, and *which differs from their (the administrators') faith*; and by

echoing عن يختلف *which differs from* in the ensuing chain of participles مختلفة/مختلفة *different*, in line (1:10.2) above.

Hatim's analysis illustrates the process of identifying translationally salient information: *implicit* speaker attitudes were characterized by *markedness* (indicated by the anomalous relation between the speaker's manifest beliefs and the views being expressed) and by *localness* (indicated by the unshared process of implicature—flouting constraints on the quality of information in English as opposed to the quantity of information in Arabic).

### 3.1 Markedness in Arabic

The notion of markedness is applied in the contrastive analysis of Arabic and English structures by Farghal. Noting the structural asymmetry or incongruity between languages, he suggests a notional approach. He investigates ways in which notions such as causativity are expressed in Arabic and English. The term evaluativeness is adopted as a parameter encompassing prominence and emphasis in discourse. (Hatim uses the term evaluativeness to distinguish argumentative and expository texts, which form the fundamental dichotomy in his text typology.<sup>9</sup>) Two categories are distinguished by Farghal for signalling evaluativeness: lexical correlates and grammatical correlates. Lexical correlates that signal evaluativeness in Arabic include جداً *very*, and فعلاً/حقاً *really/truly/definitely*. Corresponding grammatical correlates include the particle إنَّ *verily/truly/definitely* used to introduce a nominal clause with intensifying force. Farghal observes that a higher degree of evaluativeness or 'marked evaluativeness' (p. 141 ff.) is signalled by the cooccurrence of evaluativeness correlates.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Hatim, 'Pragmatics of Argumentation', pp. 190-191, 196-197; and Hatim and Mason, *Translator as Communicator*, p. 217.

<sup>10</sup> Mohammed Farghal, 'Evaluativeness Parameter and the Translator from English into Arabic and vice-versa', *Babel*, 37 (1991), 138-151.

A symmetrical distribution in Arabic and English of lexical correlates is exemplified in (2), and a symmetrical distribution of grammatical correlates is exemplified in (3):<sup>11</sup>

زوجة الرئيس جميلة حقاً  
wife president pretty definitely

(2) The president's wife is definitely pretty.

إنّ زوجة الرئيس جميلة  
definitely-is wife president pretty

(3) The president's wife definitely is pretty.

An asymmetrical distribution appears with the higher degree of markedness exhibited in Arabic in (4) which is isomorphic in English with (2) or (3):

إنّ زوجة الرئيس جميلة حقاً  
definitely-is wife president pretty definitely

(4) \*The president's wife definitely is definitely pretty.

Unlike the asymmetrical markedness of concurrent lexical and grammatical correlates in copular sentences evidenced in (4), sequence (5)-(7) illustrates a symmetrical distribution of correlates in non-copular sentences across Arabic and English. Lexical correlation is shown in (5), grammatical correlation in (6), and concurrent lexical and grammatical correlation in (7):<sup>12</sup>

حضر الرئيس الاجتماع  
attended president meeting

(5) The president attended the meeting.

إنّ الرئيس حضر الاجتماع  
definitely-did president attended meeting

(6) The president did attend the meeting.

إنّ الرئيس حضر الاجتماع فعلاً  
definitely-did president attended meeting definitely

(7) The president definitely did attend the meeting.

<sup>11</sup> Farghal, 'Evaluativeness...', p. 141.

<sup>12</sup> Farghal, 'Evaluativeness...', p. 141.

Symmetrical distribution is illustrated in other grammatical correlates like reflexives *himself* in (8), and modals *must* in (9):<sup>13</sup>

حضر الرئيس نفسه الاجتماع  
attended president himself meeting

(8) The president himself attended the meeting.

يجب أن يحضر الرئيس الاجتماع  
must to attends president meeting

(9) The president must attend the meeting.

The distribution of concurrent grammatical correlates *إن* and *نفسه* are symmetrical across Arabic and English (10), while concurrent *إن* and *يجب أن* are asymmetrical (11):

إن الرئيس نفسه حضر الاجتماع  
definitely-did president himself attended meeting

(10) The president himself did attend the meeting.

إن الرئيس يجب أن يحضر الاجتماع  
definitely-do president must that attends meeting

(11) \*The president must do attend the meeting.

Discrepancies between an author's manifest view of a described attitude and the described attitude itself were indicated in Hatim's translation of the disparaging attitude of irony (Section 3.0). The underlying principle guiding the translator's strategy for attaining semiotic equivalence was the need to maintain the text's rhetorical force. The intention was to persuade, convince or at least indicate to the reader an attitude or value over and above the literal reading without rendering the translation opaque or too transparent. Both Hatim and Farghal point to principles explaining the successful coordination of interpretations. Their strategies call for the translator's sensitivity to language-specific constraints. Section 3.1.1 looks further at the rhetorical force of persuasion implicit in the Arabic communication strategy of repetition, particularly in the contexts of political argumentation and theologically motivated repetition. Naturalness constraints on non-functional repetition are surveyed, and examples of motivated repetition are examined.

<sup>13</sup> Farghal, 'Evaluativeness...', p. 142.

### 3.1.1 Repetition

Observations on the phenomenon of repetition in Arabic date back to the earliest translators, with sociolinguistic constraints on the packaging of information in Arabic often mistakenly attributed to sloppy style. Harris notes this tradition of Western distaste for the apparent lack of transparency in Arabic rhetoric with a quote from Lemay, referring to twelfth century translators of Arabic into Latin: ‘Both Hermann [of Carinthia] and Robert [of Chester] confess their dislike for the “prolixity of the Arabic language”.’<sup>14</sup> The tension between brevity and prolixity in Arabic is indicated in Emery’s reference to Ibn Al-Muqaffa’s comment on style: in answer to the question ما هي البلاغة؟ *What is eloquence?* he is reported to have replied والاطناب في غير خطل *Brevity without weakness, and prolixity without prattle.*<sup>15</sup> But Arabic is not alone in its taste for stylistic repetition, as Malone demonstrates with reference to the Elizabethan poetic tradition in which embellishment by repetition is valued for its own sake. Extract (12) illustrates lexical repetition involving partial similarity (a), homonymy (b), and polysemy (c) in three lines from Shakespeare’s *The Rape of Lucrece*:

- (12) (a) *Haply* that name of chaste *unhappily* set (v. 8)  
 (b) That for his *prey* to *pray* he doth begin (v. 342)  
 (c) That his foul thought might compass his *fair fair* (v. 346)<sup>16</sup>

Language-specific naturalness constraints result in incongruities in the relative economy or packaging of information on both sides of the translation nexus. With the saying خير الكلام ما قل ودل *The best of speech is brief and informative*, Emery illustrates the brevity and utility of Arabic function words in particular. Samples (13), (14) and (15) show how combinations of closed-class words such as ما *what*, في *in*, عند *at*, and ل *for* may necessitate raising into English nouns and verbs. This indicates a promotion, expansion, or

<sup>14</sup> Brian Harris, ‘Redundancies in Translation from Arabic’ (unpublished paper presented at the ‘Teaching and Translating Arabic: Issues and Prospects’ conference held at the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London on 12-14 December, 1991), p. 1; from Richard Lemay *Abu Ma’shar and Latin Aristotelianism in the Twentieth Century* (Beirut: American University in Beirut, 1962), [n.pp.].

<sup>15</sup> Peter G. Emery, ‘Lexical Incongruence in Arabic-English Translation’, *Babel*, 37 (1991), 129-137 (p. 130).

<sup>16</sup> Joseph L. Malone, ‘Free Association as a Problem for Translation’ (unpublished ms., 1979), pp. 29-30.

greater lexical load in the packaging of information when translating into English. Emery notes that Arabic may exhibit ‘an austerity and economy unmatched in English’ (p. 130):<sup>17</sup>

لا ينقذك مما أنت فيه  
not it-saves-you from-what you in-it

(13) it will not save you from your predicament<sup>18</sup>

بما عندها  
with-what at-it

(14) from its resources<sup>19</sup>

لقد جاء في تقرير لجمعية مكافحة الخمر  
been disclosed in report for-league anti alcohol

(15) a report published by the anti-Alcohol League disclosed that<sup>20</sup>

Incongruent lexicalization in Arabic and English further demonstrates an economy of expression in Arabic not matched in English. The loss of stylistic integrity of a literal translation into English of (16) from a tourist information booklet, results from the fact that only *مسافر* *traveller* can be lexicalized in English. The remaining two participles must be awkwardly paraphrased or omitted altogether, viz. *مستقبل* *person going to meet someone*, and *مودع* *person going to say farewell*:

يشتمل المطار على مواقف للسيارات تتسع لسيارات أكثر من ١٢٠٠٠ مسافر ومستقبل أو مودع

(16) The airport contains enough car parking spaces for over 12,000 cars for travellers, people going to meet someone and people going to say farewell.<sup>21</sup>

In contrast, (17) illustrates a greater load on the packaging of information in Arabic. The Arabic circumlocution *لا يمكن أن يختلف بشأن ضرورتها أحد* (lit.) *no-one can disagree on the matter of its necessity* has been lexicalized in English as *indisputably necessary*:

<sup>17</sup> Emery, ‘Lexical Incongruence’, pp. 130, 132.

<sup>18</sup> Emery, ‘Lexical Incongruence’, p. 130.

<sup>19</sup> Emery, ‘Lexical Incongruence’, p. 130.

<sup>20</sup> Emery, ‘Lexical Incongruence’, p. 130.

<sup>21</sup> Emery, ‘Lexical Incongruence’, p. 132.

الاجراءات [...] لا يمكن أن يختلف بشأن ضرورتها أحد

(17) The measures [...] are indisputably necessary.<sup>22</sup>

Incongruities in the packaging of information can also be traced to language-specific constraints on cohesion. Fragment (18) from a legal text illustrates a higher incidence of lexical cohesion in Arabic. Four occurrences of the word دولة/دول *state/states* is considered acceptable compared to the lower incidence of lexical cohesion in the published English translation:

بتوسط المجلس في الخلاف الذي يخشى منه وقوع حرب بين دولة من دول الجامعة وبين اية دولة اخرى من دول الجامعة او غيرها.

mediates council in dispute which leads from-it existence war between state from states league and-between any state other from states league or non-it

(18) The council shall mediate in a dispute which may lead to war between a member state and another state.<sup>23</sup>

A higher incidence of lexical cohesion in English in the same text is illustrated in (19):

واذا نشب بينهما خلاف [...] ولجأ المتنازعون الى المجلس لفض هذا الخلاف كان قراره عندئذ نافذا وملزما.

and-if arose among-them dispute [...] and-applied contending-parties(M PL) to council(M SING) for-settlement this dispute was decision-his(M SING) then effective and-obligatory

(19) Should there arise among them a dispute [...] and should the contending parties apply to the council for the settlement of this dispute, the decision of the council shall then be effective and obligatory.<sup>24</sup>

The unambiguous anaphoric reference maintained in Arabic through inflectional morphology—a device unavailable in English—brings about a greater lexical load in the English translation through lexical repetition of *council*. In Arabic, قراره *his decision* unambiguously refers to المجلس *the council*(M SING) and not المتنازعون *the contending parties*(M PL). Lexical repetition in *the decision of the council* avoids potentially ambiguous pronominal reference, viz. *their decision*.

<sup>22</sup> Emery, 'Lexical Incongruence', p. 132.

<sup>23</sup> Peter G. Emery, 'Legal Arabic Texts: Implications for Translation', *Babel*, 35 (1989), 1-11 (p. 4); from M. Mansoor, *Legal and Documentary Arabic Reader*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1965), I, p. 9, and II, p. 4; 'Pact of the League of Arab States'.

<sup>24</sup> Emery, 'Legal Arabic Texts', p. 5; from Mansoor, I, p. 9, and II, p. 4; 'Pact of the League of Arab States'.

A greater lexical load in Arabic is illustrated in the translation of cataphoric ellipsis in (20). This cohesive device is unavailable in Arabic resulting in a greater burden of explicit reference. The cooccurring *create new* and *develop existing* refer forward to *concepts and approaches*. They must be translated as separate, transitive predicates in Arabic with the addition of ما هو...منها (lit.) *what it is...from among them* in the latter clause:

- (20) The Organization shall [...] create new and develop existing concepts and approaches, in respect of industrial development.<sup>25</sup>

تضع [المنظمة] مفاهيماً ونهجاً جديدة للتنمية الصناعية، وتطور ما هو قائم منها  
creates [organization] concepts and-approaches new for-development industrial and-develops what it existing  
from-them

Menacere illustrates naturalness constraints with phrases featuring coordinated Arabic predicates not tolerated in English, viz. ...أجاب وقال لهم. *In reply, he told them...* (lit.) *he answered and said to them*. Fragments (21), (22) and (23) show a range of strategies suitable for translating Arabic coordinated structures, namely adverbialization (21), reflexivity (22), and ellipsis (23):

فكر وأطال التفكير  
thought-he and prolonged-he the-thinking

- (21) He remained thinking for a long time/  
He thought deep and hard.<sup>26</sup>

ليراني وأراه ويضمني وأضمه  
so-he-sees-me and I-see-him and he-hugs-me and-I-hug-him

- (22) so we see each other and hug.<sup>27</sup>

ويغرقني بالحب وأغرقه فيه  
and-he-drowns-me with-love and-I-drown-him in-it

- (23) and he drowns me in love and I him.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Emery, 'Legal Arabic Texts', p. 4; from 'Constitution', English and Arabic versions ([n.p.]: United Nations Industrial Development Organization, 1979), p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Mohamed Menacere, 'Arabic Discourse: Overcoming Stylistic Difficulties in Translation', *Babel*, 38 (1992), 28-37 (pp. 31-32), from ص ٢، «على هامش السيرة»، (القاهرة: دار المعارف، ١٩٢٣)، ص ٢

<sup>27</sup> Menacere, p. 33 from «سفينته حنان إلى القمر»، (بيروت: ١٩٦٤)، د ص

<sup>28</sup> Menacere, p. 33 from «سفينته...»، د ص بعلبكي،

This glimpse at information packaging illustrates various incongruities in relative density caused by language-specific constraints on the productivity of function words, derivation morphology and cohesive devices. Such contrastive analysis pertains to the Transfer terminus of the Translation Salience continuum (Section 2.6). These translation strategies deal with translation norms for conveying unmarked configurations or backgrounded information rather than some marked form of expression upon which a particular, non-literal interpretation may hinge.

The tendency for a greater load of backgrounded information in Arabic has been noted by a number of commentators. Certain genres of Arabic show a propensity for strings of synonyms, which has led to various classifications of lexical repetition. Lexical repetition is a productive process in Arabic text generation, often manifesting as nonce forms. In English, lexical repetition is generally non-productive and limited in use to a restricted range of idiomatic or legalistic collocations such as *each and every*, *fair and square*, *last will and testament*, and *without let or hindrance*.<sup>29</sup> Among the most commonly reported patterns of lexical repetition in Arabic are the cognate accusative and binomial collocations.

Patterns of Arabic lexical repetition are determined by morphological and semantic constraints. Morphological repetition results from either repetition of the vowel pattern or repetition of the root consonants. Repetition of the vowel pattern occurs in binomials like *يحدّد ويخطّط* *defines and delimits*, and *تدمير وتدمير* *destruction and demolition*. Such repetition may range across syntactically parallel constructions. Fragment (24) shows non-synonymous morphologically parallel terms *أواخر* *end*, and *أوائل* *beginning*:<sup>30</sup>

في أواخر القرن الثامن عشر وأوائل التاسع عشر

<sup>29</sup> Adnan J. R. Al-Jabouri, 'The Role of Repetition in Arabic Argumentative Discourse', in *English for Specific Purposes in the Arab World: Papers from the Summer Institute on ESP in the Arab World held at the University of Aston in Birmingham, in August 1983*, ed. by John Swales and Hassan Mustafa (Birmingham: Language Studies Unit, University of Aston in Birmingham, 1984), pp. 99-117 (p. 104).

<sup>30</sup> Al-Jabouri, pp. 100-104; and Barbara Johnstone Koch, 'Presentation as Proof: The Language of Arabic Rhetoric', *Anthropological Linguistics*, 25 (1983), 47-59 (pp. 48-49).

- (24) at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth<sup>31</sup>

Strings of identically vocalized constituents may occur, as يعادي *it is hostile*, يعارض *it opposes*, يحارب *it fights*, يحايي *it flatters*, and يحاسب *it holds responsible* in (25). These words are all vocalized /yu-faa-'i-lu/:

يجب أن يلتزم كل حزب بقواعد أخلاقية ليعيش ، يختلف ولا يعادي ، يعارض ولا يحارب ،  
يويد ولا يحايي ، يحاسب نفسه قبل أن يحاسب الآخرين .

- (25) Every party must live by moral principles—differing but not hostile, opposing but not fighting, supporting but not flattering, holding itself responsible before it holds others responsible.<sup>32</sup>

The widely attested repetition of root consonants (cognate accusative) is illustrated with يدل *indicates an indication*, and حدثت الأحداث *occurrences occurred* in (26) and (27):

مما يدل دلالة قاطعة على أنه  
from-what indicates indication decisive to that-he

- (26) one thing which indicates decisively that he<sup>33</sup>

لأن الأحداث السياسية [...] حدثت

- (27) because the political occurrences [...] occurred<sup>34</sup>

The translation suggested in (26) also illustrates the adverbial force with which cognate accusatives are generally attributed.

Semantically determined lexical repetition is exemplified in binomials like *aid and assistance* التأييد والمساعدة, and *illusion and imagination* الوهم والخيال.<sup>35</sup> A classification of the semantic relationships between such pleonastic constituents within word strings is tentatively offered by Al-Jabouri on the basis of an examination of Mustafa Amin's well-known editorial "فكرة!". Eight categories are presented:

- a) interchangeable synonyms like *sacrifice and sacrifice and sacrifice*; تضحية وبذل وفداء

<sup>31</sup> Koch, p. 49.

<sup>32</sup> Al-Jabouri, pp. 101, 115-116; from ١٩٨٢/٩/٢١ ، الشرق الأوسط ، " فكرة! " ، مصطفى أمين ،

<sup>33</sup> Koch, p. 49.

<sup>34</sup> Koch, p. 49.

<sup>35</sup> Koch, p. 49.

- b) near-synonyms which offer slightly different perspectives to create a forceful effect, viz. الضربات والصواعق *the thunderbolts and the blows*, and المدفع والكرباج *the gun and the whip*;
- c) constituents in some logical relation in which one of the terms implies the other such as استغلالاً ومكاسب *exploitation and gains*, والإرهاب والعنف *the violence and the terror*, and المنافقين والمنتهفون *the hypocrites and the profit-makers*;
- d) a specific term leading into a more general term such as الحرية وحقوق الإنسان *the liberty and the rights of man*, والرأي والفكر *the opinion and the thought*, and المدارس والمعاهد *the schools and the institutions*;
- e) constituents in a modifying relation in which one of the terms restricts another or makes it more concrete as in الإقناع والحجة والدليل *the persuasion and the proof and the evidence*;
- f) constituents related taxonomically or in a graded scale such as تقوى [...] وتعيش *they get strong and live*, and العمدة وشيخ الخفر والمحافظ ورجال الشرطة *the mayor and chief, and the provincial governor and the policemen*;
- g) antonyms, near antonyms or terms in some reciprocal or sequential relationship like ثم حوكت ثم حوكت *they ruled then got ruled*, ثم اندثرت ثم تولت *they took power then perished*, and ثم ارتفعت ثم سقطت *they rose then fell*; and
- h) non-productive collocations or freezes such as اليوم وكل يوم *today and every day*.<sup>36</sup>

A similar classification of the semantic relationships between the constituents in such strings is presented by Shunnaq. He identifies seven categories of lexical repetition based on a corpus of political speeches delivered mainly at the United Nations by Arab leaders and diplomats. Shunnaq goes further to distinguish the obligatory use of lexical repetition (which is 'built into the language system and is employed without much choice by language users') from the motivated or intentional use of lexical repetition for 'functional and communicative' purposes (p. 28 n. 1). Obligatorily employed word strings include collocations used to distinguish overlapping concepts like حكم وسلطان (lit.) *judgement and*

<sup>36</sup> Al-Jabouri, pp. 104-106.

*rule* (i.e. *authority*), and قضاء حكم (lit.) *judgement and conclusion* (i.e. *decision*).

Shunnaq's functional categorization is outlined below.<sup>37</sup>

- a) Specific-generic or part-whole relations narrow the meaning of the generic or extend the meaning of the specific as illustrated in (28)–(30):

يرقب المأساة من خارج الميدان ، ويحصي ويقدر من موقع مستقل

- (28) looking at the tragedy from outside the battle-field and counting and estimating it from an independent position.<sup>38</sup>

وبكل ما استفدناه من دروس الماضي من حروب ومنازعات

- (29) which leads us to the lesson of the past with its wars and disputes.<sup>39</sup>

وتأكيد دعم الشرعية القومية والوطنية للعراق الشقيق

- (30) and confirming the support of the national legitimacy of brotherly Iraq.<sup>40</sup>

In (28), the speaker is narrowing down the meaning from يرقب *looking at*, to

يرقب *counting and estimating*. Shunnaq suggests that in (29) the semantic range of حروب *wars* would be too narrow and منازعات *disputes* would be too general to convey the intended concept. In (30), the English translation *nationhood* fails to capture the encompassing, dual level of nationhood expressed by the juxtaposition of generic القومية *pan-Arab/national* and specific الوطنية *State/homeland/national*.

- b) Totality designated into component parts is illustrated in (31) and (32) where unity and inclusiveness are intended:

وحصدت ما حصدت من البشر ودمرت ما دمّرت من المنشآت والمرافق وأهدرت ما أهدرت  
من الامكانيات والطاقات على صعيد البلدين الجارين

- (31) and it has harvested what it harvested of human beings, destroyed what it destroyed of installations and properties; and depleted what

<sup>37</sup> A. Shunnaq, 'Functional Repetition in Arabic with Reference to Arabic-English Translation of Political Discourse' (unpublished paper presented at the 'Teaching and Translating Arabic: Issues and Prospects' conference held at the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London on 12-14 December, 1991), pp. 1, 4-27, 28 n. 1, n. 5, 30 n. 20, n. 22.

<sup>38</sup> Shunnaq, p. 5.

<sup>39</sup> Shunnaq, p. 7.

<sup>40</sup> Shunnaq, p. 8.

it depleted of resources and energies of the two neighbouring countries.<sup>41</sup>

الاستقرار والسلام والرخاء

(32) stability, peace and prosperity.<sup>42</sup>

In (31), totality is expressed in two lexical sets: the verbs *حصدت harvested*, *دمرت destroyed*, and *أهدرت depleted*; as well as the set of complementary object nouns *البشر humans*, *المرافق والمنشآت installations and properties*, and *الطاقات والامكانيات resources and energies*. In (32), the juxtaposition of *الاستقرار والسلام stability and peace*, and *الرخاء prosperity* suggests totality through a cause and effect relation.

- c) An incremental granularity of measurement and exact specification are illustrated in (33) and (34) with *باليوم والساعة والدقيقة by day, hour and minute*, and *in every book and every word*:

أجل كل إنسان محدد باليوم والساعة والدقيقة التي سيموت فيها

(33) the instant of death of each man is limited by day, hour and minute.<sup>43</sup>

أيام كئنا نرغب أن نرى في كل كتاب وكل كلمة نقرأها قبله في وجه هذا المستعمر

(34) during the days when we were eager to see, in every book and every word we read, a bomb that will explode in the face of the colonialist.<sup>44</sup>

- d) Intersecting category involves modification of one constituent with another as in *الطقس جميل ودفيئ the weather is nice and warm*. This is distinct from tautology in which the semantic components of each constituent are equal. A sense of neutrality is conveyed in (35). This results from the intersecting set of *من خارج الميدان from outside the battlefield*, and *من موقع مستقل from an independent position* since the former does not necessarily entail the latter:

<sup>41</sup> Shunnaq, p. 10.

<sup>42</sup> Shunnaq, p. 12.

<sup>43</sup> Shunnaq, p. 14.

<sup>44</sup> Shunnaq, p. 15.

يرقب المأساة من خارج الميدان ويحصي ويقدر من موقع مستقل

- (35) looking at the tragedy from outside the battlefield and counting and estimating it from an independent position.<sup>45</sup>

e) Freezes, which in English tend to be legalistic, have religious or genealogical origins in Arabic. Quranic freezes such as *مودة ورحمة* *amity and compassion* and *المنكر والفحشاء* *fornication and sins* also appear in secular contexts like (36). The collocation *الافتراءات والأكاذيب* *calumnies and lies* is sourced to the Quranic fragment (37):

وقد صعدت الإدارة الأمريكية حملتها ضد الجماهيرية فبدأت بفبركة الافتراءات والأكاذيب حيث لفتت رواية فريق الإغتيال لعام ١٩٨١.

- (36) the United States administration stepped up its campaign against the *jamahiriyya* and began fabricating *calumnies and lies* in the form of a story about a 1981 hit-squad.<sup>46</sup>

أفترى على الله كذباً أم به جنة (القرآن ٣٤: ٨)

- (37) Has he invented a falsehood against God, or has a spirit [seized] him?<sup>47</sup>

According to Shunnaq, such marked, secular use of the collocation *الافتراءات والأكاذيب* *calumnies and lies* in (36) suggests a rhetorical force which heightens the speaker's identification with the Arabic tradition in contrast to the United States administration which he seeks to admonish. (This line of investigation is addressed in Edwards' analysis of affirmation and rhetorical intentions implicit in extracts of a Gulf conflict speech delivered by the late King Hussein of Jordan below.)

f) Synonymy in strings of two or more lexical items is often used for emphasis as in *البتش والتنكيل* *repression and oppression*. Shunnaq distinguishes degrees of synonymy (absolute-, cognitive-, contextual-, near- and non-synonymy). Contextual synonymy, for example, is illustrated with *السيادة والإستقلال* *independence and sovereignty* in that the two terms are synonymous when describing *states* but not so in the context of *individuals*. A proliferation of synonyms in a string may be logically

<sup>45</sup> Shunnaq, p. 16.

<sup>46</sup> Shunnaq, p. 17.

<sup>47</sup> Shunnaq, p. 18; from Quran 34:8; English trans. A. Y. Ali, *The Holy Quran: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Lahore: [n.pub.], 1938).

structured or fairly random as in *الظلم والتنكيل والبطش* *vanquishing, tyranny, repression and oppression*. Such longer strings function to stress the speaker's point of view, to satisfy prosodic constraints, as a strategic device (providing time to think), or to provide closure. The sense of closure is determined by language-specific constraints on naturalness: expectations need to be satisfied if 'it is felt that something is still missing' (p. 25).

- g) Antonyms may have an encompassing and/or contrasting effect, illustrated in the lexical sets *القوي والضعيف* *the strong and the weak*, *الغني والفقير* *the rich and the poor*, and *الكبير والصغير* *the big and the small* in (38):

انعكاساً للتخلخلات القائمة بين القوي والضعيف والغني والفقير والكبير والصغير

- (38) a reflection of existing inequities between the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, and the big and the small.<sup>48</sup>

In a later paper based on the same corpus, Shunnaq classifies patterns of obligatory morphological repetition. The classification traces the unmotivated or non-functional repetition of obligatory grammatical features: 'used without choice' (p. 89). Typological distributions reflect agreement relations indicated by case, gender, number, definiteness, and *نسبة* *attribution* (adjectival suffix).<sup>49</sup>

Al-Jabouri's and Shunnaq's morphological and semantic classifications clearly identify normative constraints on the production and naturalness of patterns of repetition in Arabic. Such classifications point to normalizing translation strategies. They allow for the resolution of incongruities in the packaging of information during the process of translation.

The effects of language-specific naturalness constraints on translation strategies adopted by professional translators forms the basis of a descriptive study reported by Harris.<sup>50</sup> Aiming to identify what he calls translation norms, a literal English translation of

<sup>48</sup> Shunnaq, p. 26.

<sup>49</sup> Abdullah Talal Shunnaq, 'Patterns of Repetition in Arabic Forced by Morphology with Reference to Arabic-English Translation', *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics*, 28 (1993), 89-98.

<sup>50</sup> Harris, 'Redundancies...'

a modern Arabic documentary text was submitted to competent translator-editors for post-editing, with the result that all revisions were ‘substantially shorter’ than the draft. The amount of reduction ‘correlated with the length of a reviser’s experience’ (p. 1). Faced with incongruities in language-specific tolerances for information load, four naturalizing strategies were adopted for reducing the information load in the translation: omission of repeated lexical items; lexical incorporation; structural conciseness; and reliance on implications derived from the text. Fragment (39) illustrates the omission of *وجود* *presence* in the predicate:

فالوجود العربي في القدس [...] وجود مستمر غير منقطع  
so-presence arabic in jerusalem [...] presence continuous not uninterrupted

- (39) Thus the Arab presence in Jerusalem [...] has been continuous and uninterrupted.<sup>51</sup>

Lexical incorporation is illustrated in (40) by the reduction of the circumlocution

المواقع الجغرافية (lit.) *geographical localities to places*:

أسماء المدن والمواقع الجغرافية  
names cities and-localities geographical

- (40) the names of towns and places<sup>52</sup>

Structural conciseness is illustrated in (41). Drafted in English by Harris as a passive construction, *وتحلّ محلّها* *and their place will be taken by* is subordinated to *having been replaced by*:

وتحلّ محلّها أسماء اخترعها الغزاة الصهيونيون  
and she<sub>1</sub>-replaces place-her<sub>2</sub>(ACC) names<sub>1</sub>(NOM) coined-her[them]<sub>1</sub> aggressors zionist

- (41) having been replaced by names coined by the Zionist aggressors<sup>53</sup>

(This datum appears to be an artefact of the researcher’s methodology. Both translator’s and editor’s drafts retain the information structure of the original. The translator’s draft expands the Arabic construction (presumably in order to maintain theme and focus), while

<sup>51</sup> Harris, ‘Redundancies...’, pp. 13, 15; from رثيف يوسف نجم، ‘Preface’، « كنوز القدس »، عمان: Royal Society for Research on Islamic Civilization، ١٩٨٣/١٤٠٣.

<sup>52</sup> Harris, ‘Redundancies...’, pp. 13-14; from نجم، « كنوز... ».

<sup>53</sup> Harris, ‘Redundancies...’, pp. 13-14; from نجم، « كنوز... ».

the editor abbreviates the unwieldy paraphrase. The datum is a *circumstantial* /*subordinate* clause containing the idiom حل محل الشيء *to replace something*.<sup>54</sup> The object of this verb is *her place/name* which precedes its subject اخترعها الغزاة الصهيونيون *names coined by the Zionist aggressors*. The translation duly subordinates the verb with a participle in English deleting the Arabic object pronoun, but the claim of greater structural conciseness is at best marginal. Nevertheless, the study's purpose of determining naturalizing constraints on translation strategies on the basis of empirical description remains sound.)

Fragment (42) illustrates reliance on the implications derived from the text, where the explicit intent of the Arabic is, according to the editor who adopted this strategy, 'sufficiently implied [in English] by what has gone before in the text' (p. 10):<sup>55</sup>

أسماء عربية قديمة [...] حرفوها لتوافق ما في لغتهم ، وليتوهم الناس أنها من تلك اللغة  
وأنها إليهم تنسب .

names arabic ancient [...] corrupted-they-them so-fit what in language-their and-so-presume people that-they  
from that language and-that-they to-them attributed

(42) ancient Arabic names [...] which have been modified to sound as if they were actually of Hebrew origin.<sup>56</sup>

The set of processes illustrated in (39)–(41) points to the fuzzy nature of any distinction between contrastive grammar and pragmatic translation strategies. The strategy adopted in (41) is dictated by contrasting grammar. The omission and incorporation strategies evidenced in (39) and (40) are driven by naturalness constraints on the receiving language. The blurring or merging of contrasting grammar constraints and pragmatic translation strategies for dealing with backgrounded information evidenced in (39)–(41) may be contrasted with the translation strategy illustrated by (42). The presuppositions entailed in *modified to sound as if they were actually* call to mind the kind of attitudinal reading addressed in Hatim's account of irony in Said's *Orientalism* (Section 3.0).

<sup>54</sup> A DICTIONARY OF MODERN WRITTEN ARABIC, ed. by Hans Wehr, 2nd edn (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976), pp. 198.

<sup>55</sup> Harris, 'Redundancies...', pp. 1, 3, 6, 9-10, 13-16.

<sup>56</sup> Harris, 'Redundancies...', pp. 13-14; from « كنوز... » ، نجم

The contrastive analysis of incongruencies in the relative packaging of backgrounded information must be distinguished from the motivated or marked use of repetition. Among the data considered so far, the attitudinal readings entailed in (25), (36) and (42) exemplify the motivated use of repetition in Arabic as a strategy for getting at a particular meaningful interpretation in situated text. Information is configured in such a way as to alert the reader to an interpretation over and above propositional content. These three extracts are reproduced below for convenience:

يجب أن يلتزم كل حزب بقواعد أخلاقية ليعيش ، يختلف ولا يعادي ، يعارض ولا يحارب ،  
ويؤيد ولا يحابي ، يحاسب نفسه قبل أن يحاسب الآخرين .

- (25) Every party must live by moral principles—differing but not hostile, opposing but not fighting, supporting but not flattering, holding itself responsible before it holds others responsible.

وقد صعدت الإدارة الأمريكية حملتها ضد الجماهيرية فبدأت بفبركة الافتراءات والأكاذيب  
حيث لفقت رواية فريق الإغتيال لعام ١٩٨١ .

- (36) the United States administration stepped up its campaign against the jamahiriyya and began fabricating calumnies and lies in the form of a story about a 1981 hit-squad.

أسماء عربية قديمة [...] حرفوها لتوافق ما في لغتهم ، وليتوهم الناس أنها من تلك اللغة  
وأنها إليهم تنسب .

- (42) ancient Arabic names [...] which have been modified to sound as if they were actually of Hebrew origin.

The imperative force of the speaker's belief in (25) is reinforced by the cumulative effect of morphological repetition—much like, say, (31) above. Affirmation and solidarity with the speaker's cultural perspective is heightened in fragment (36) by referring outside the sociolinguistic community with marked use of a religious collocation in a secular context. The underlying attitudes of disparagement and incredulity in fragment (42) are conveyed through explicit reference in Arabic, which contrasts with the English strategy of presupposing a false premise.

Though concerned with implicit aspects of communication, many other samples presented so far lack translational salience because they fail to satisfy the postulate of

markedness (lacking rhetorical force in these contexts) and/or the postulate of localness (being shared or equally acceptable as English communication resources). Contrastive analysis of unmarked features pertains to Transfer in the salience continuum. In contrast to rule-governed constraints on the natural packaging of backgrounded information, translational salience draws attention to marked or meaningful anomalies in an original which are also unshared with the interfacing language. Saliency identifies such entities for the purpose of maintaining significance in translation.

The remainder of this section looks at motivated uses of repetition in Arabic to persuade as well as some instances of what could be construed as theologically motivated uses of repetition. Citing the adage *كثرة التكرار بتعلم الحمار Enough repetition will teach even a donkey* (pp. 47-48), Koch investigates the rhetorical force which characterizes the motivated use of repetition in Arabic. Her thesis claims that elaborate and pervasive patterns of lexical, morphological and syntactic repetition and paraphrase in Arabic are essential to the cohesiveness and rhetorical effectiveness of Arabic argumentation. In contrast to the hypotaxis or subordination which characterizes Western syllogistic or deductive models of argumentation, Koch proposes that Arabic argumentation is characteristically paratactic, abductive and analogical—it persuades ‘by making its argumentative claims linguistically present: by repeating them, paraphrasing them and clothing them in recurring structural cadences’ (p. 47). The rhetorical force of repetition is based on what she calls the creation of presence. It is said to be a natural consequence of the cultural centrality of the Arabic language in Arab-Islamic society. Koch discounts the well-worn claim that Arabic argumentative style is essentially the product of an oral tradition by examining a corpus of carefully planned texts by highly literate authors, adding that the oratory of Aristotle, ‘the apogee of literateness’, would by this criterion ‘have to be called “oral”’ (p. 53). Presence in Arabic rhetoric, according to Koch, rests on established truths which emerge through argument:

The purpose of argumentation in these cases is simply to convey the truth; to make a potentially available truth actually available to the hearer. This kind of argumentation can be called presentation. (pp. 53-54)

In situations where there is no clearly established or universal truth, argumentation is established by proof rather than presentation. Koch indicates the dangers of the strategy of trying to establish proof in argumentation. She points out that an attempt to prove something presupposes doubt, and that such a strategy may be counterproductive, impossible or paradoxical in certain circumstances—such as political or theological argumentation.<sup>57</sup>

Formal features associated with orality are said to typify Arabic persuasive text: parataxis (the use of additive or coordinated structures rather than subordination); formulacity (the use of repeated stock phrases); and repetition (a term covering phonological through to discourse level repeated configurations of features). Koch argues that the persuasive force of repetition strategies in Arabic results from the sheer number and the balanced and elaborate ways in which an idea is stated. The paratactic and polysyndetic arrangement of discourse leads her to suggest that ‘ideas flow horizontally into one another’ (p. 52). Rather than aiming to convince the reader through logical argument, it is claimed, the goal of repetition in Arabic argumentative discourse is to instil in the reader a sense of identification with its point of view. The iconic use of Arabic is also suggested. Like puns and wordplay ubiquitous in everyday talk, the special status of Arabic in more formal situations constrains users to draw attention to the structures of the message: ‘to the Arabicness of one’s talk as one talks’ (p. 229). Indeed, the multiplicity of constraints on repetition is conceded.<sup>58</sup>

Sa’adeddin suggests aural and visual modes as explanations of language-specific constraints on text development. He argues that communal text norms or expectations result in the predominance of the visual mode in English (‘a lineally-determined, logically coherent and syntactically cohesive unit of sense’) and the use of the aural mode in Arabic

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<sup>57</sup> Koch, pp. 47-48, 52-56.

<sup>58</sup> Koch, p. 52; and Barbara Johnstone, “Orality” and Discourse Structure in Modern Standard Arabic’, in *Perspectives in Arabic Linguistics I: Papers from the First Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*, ed. by Mushira Eid, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science Series IV: Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 63 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1990), pp. 215-233 (pp. 215-219, 225-229).

(‘to establish a relation of informality and solidarity with receivers of the text’).<sup>59</sup> The degree of fit between expectations in the receiving culture and text development conventions in the system of the original text is to some extent predetermined, and a poor fit may be detrimental to the effectiveness of translation. The translator’s lack of attunement to language-specific constraints on text development is said to result in misunderstanding or negative transfer.<sup>60</sup>

Explanations by Johnstone/Koch and Sa’adeddin for the motivated use of repetition in written Arabic to persuade have suffered substantial criticism. Hatim takes issue with the perjorative application of ‘monolithically labelled’ categories such as orality and literacy to describe rhetorical traditions (p. 162). Although sharing some common ground about attitudes to truth (examined in Section 3.0 in the context of Gricean maxims), Hatim rejects cognitive characterizations of language-specific rhetorical strategies. He questions the viability of viewing textual conventions as transmitters of cultural values. Pointing out that counter-argumentation characteristic of English rhetoric was exhaustively studied and widely practised ‘during socially and intellectually more enlightened periods in the development of Arabic rhetoric’, he observes that this strategy is still practised in Modern Standard Arabic ‘with felicity and utmost effectiveness, but almost exclusively by a minority of Western educated Arabs and those well-versed in classical Arabic rhetoric’ (p. 160). Hatim suggests that features of text development are universally available, but that there are language-specific tendencies for one rhetorical strategy or another (which no doubt change through time). Differences in use are attributed to speakers rather than languages. Hatim also criticizes Johnstone/Koch for her failure to distinguish non-functional repetition (necessitated by linguistic rules) from functional repetition (such as argumentation). The argumentative function characteristic of Arabic through-argumentation (the statement of a given position followed by presentation of extensive defence), is highly motivated and no less logical or proof-oriented than English rhetorical strategies. Hatim attributes proof-orientation and presentation-orientation in text

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<sup>59</sup> Mohammed Akram A. M. Sa’adeddin, ‘Text Development and Arabic-English Negative Interference’, *Applied Linguistics*, 10 (1989), 36-51 (p. 39).

<sup>60</sup> Sa’adeddin, ‘Negative Interference’, pp. 36-39, 48-50.

development to text type and audience constraints.<sup>61</sup> Hatim and Mason believe that counter-argumentation tends to be viewed by Western commentators as proof-oriented, and through-argumentation as presentation-oriented. They explain pragmatic constraints on argumentation partly in terms of contrasting culturally-specific approaches to power. The degree to which a text producer's plans and self-evaluation may be imposed (at the expense of a text receiver) is linked to politeness. But it is felt that relinquishing power in Arabic 'is bound to be perceived as irrevocable':

within the rhetorical and cultural conventions of English, to be seen to cede power, even if insincerely, enhances credibility. In Arabic, on the other hand, this relinquishing of power tends to be shunned as lacking in credibility and therefore unconvincing.<sup>62</sup>

The centrality of form to the communication of messages reinforces the need, in an account of translation equivalence, to coordinate surface features with interpretation rather than focus on the contrastive analysis of propositional content or the meanings of expressions.

Syntactic patterns of repetition exhibit both structural and rhetorical functions. As a text-building device for attracting new material, complex series of parallel structures form the basis of paragraph development. The rhetorical function of parallel constructions is achieved by keeping the recipient to a definite viewpoint. A rise in momentum is created through the re-examination of a situation from different perspectives, resulting in the effect of forceful assertion by intensifying the reality of claims:<sup>63</sup>

a kind of tension which carries the arguments along without any overt substantiation of claims. [...] As the argument is developed, the assertion is made firmer and more solid, and the emotional impact that it leaves on the recipient helps to achieve persuasion. (pp. 110-112)

In their investigations of the mechanisms by which repetition can be used to persuade, both Al-Jabouri and Koch distinguish the form of repetition (parallel structures) from the

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<sup>61</sup> Hatim, *Communication Across Cultures*, pp. 52-53, 157-173; and Hatim, 'Pragmatics of Argumentation', pp. 190, 194-198.

<sup>62</sup> Hatim and Mason, *Translator as Communicator*, p. 139.

<sup>63</sup> Al-Jabouri, pp. 107, 109-111.

substance of repetition (paraphrase). The cumulative effect of the claims in (43) results from exact parallelism, where there is almost complete coincidence between the parallel forms. Parallel structures are linked in this instance by the connective *و* *and*:<sup>64</sup>

وكم من أحزاب حكمت ثم حوكت، وتولت ثم اندثرت، وارتفعت ثم سقطت.

(43) and how many parties ruled then got put on trial, and took power then perished, and rose then fell.<sup>65</sup>

Based on a corpus of well-known, lucid and persuasive writers, mostly debating the contentious issue of Arab nationalism, Koch illustrates this exact parallelism with what she calls listing parallelism (44).<sup>66</sup> The first two constituents are introduced with the finite verb *ظل* *remained*, and all four constituents are constructed with a subject plus participle, viz. *الأتلمان* *the Germans divided among*, *الاطليان* *the Italians distributed among*, *البولونيون* *the Polish divided among*, and *اليوغوسلافيون* *the Yugoslavs subject to*:

ظل الألمان منقسمين بين عشرات الدول والدويلات المستقلة، وظل الطليان موزعين على ثمان وحدات سياسية، والبولونيون مقسومين بين ثلاث دول قوية، واليوغوسلافيون خاضعين إلى حكم دولتين عظيمتين.

(44) The Germans were still divided among tens of states and independent small states, and the Italians were still distributed among eight political units, and the Poles divided among three powerful states, and the Yugoslavs subject to the rule of two great states.<sup>67</sup>

Partial coincidence in the construction of configured constituents is illustrated in (45), in what Al-Jabouri calls incomplete parallelism. Reiteration is introduced by *إذا* *if* with no explicitly mentioned subject, and the five constituents vary in their construction:

<sup>64</sup> Al-Jabouri, pp. 107-111; and Koch p. 48.

<sup>65</sup> Al-Jabouri, p. 107; from "فكرة! أمين،"

<sup>66</sup> Koch, p. 59;

شوقي ضيف، «أسلوب طه حسين الأدب العربي المعاصر»، (القاهرة: ١٩٥٧) ص ١٥٢-٢٥٢؛  
ساطع الحصري، "حول حدود سوريا التبعية" «ضفاح عن العروية»، (بيروت: ١٩٥٦) ص ٤١-١٥؛  
ساطع الحصري، "الوقائع والأحداث: نظرات عامة" «ما هي القومية؟»، (بيروت: دار العلم للملايين، ١٩٥٩)  
ص ٧-٢٨؛

جمال عبد الناصر، "الثورة العربية" خطاب القاه في راديو دمشق، ١٩٥٨؛

جمال عبد الناصر، "إن القدر لا يهزل" «فلسفة الثورة»، (القاهرة، ١٩٥٢) ٦٠-٦١؛

reprinted in Vincent Monteil, *L'arabe moderne* (Paris: Librairie Klincksieck, 1960), pp. 314, 319 and 335.

<sup>67</sup> Koch, p. 50.

إذا دافع عن قضية الحرية وحقوق الإنسان، إذا احتضن كل مظلوم، إذا قاوم الفساد، إذا ضرب الأمثلة في القدوة الصالحة، إذا حوّل الكلمات إلى أفعال والوعود إلى حقائق.

- (45) if [the party] defended the issue of liberty and human rights, if it embraced every unjustly treated [person], if it resisted corruption, if it set good examples, if it changed words into actions and promises into realities.<sup>68</sup>

Koch describes this kind of configuration as cumulative parallelism illustrated in (46). A kind of momentum is developed with the echoing of:

<i>so it was natural that...should arise</i>	فكان من الطبيعي أن تنشأ...
<i>and it was natural that...should spread</i>	وكان من الطبيعي أن ينتشر...
<i>and it was natural that...should compel</i>	وكان من الطبيعي أن يدفع...

This text-building strategy allows for cumulative development in the argument:

فكان من الطبيعي أن تنشأ الفكرة القومية، وتترعرع وتتقوى بسرعة كبيرة في البلاد الألمانية، بعد النكبات التي توالى عليها خلال تلك الحروب. وكان من الطبيعي أن ينتشر فيها " الإيمان بوحدة الأمة الألمانية، " وكان من الطبيعي أن يدفع هذا الإيمان مفكري ألمانيا وساستها إلى مكافحة النزعات الإقليمية [...] بكل قوة وحماس.

- (46) So it was natural that the nationalistic idea should arise and grow and become powerful with great speed in the German lands after the misfortunes which came upon them during those wars. And it was natural that 'the belief in the unity of the German nation' should spread in them and it was natural that this belief should compel the intellectuals of Germany and her leaders to combat the regional tendencies [...] with all power and zeal.<sup>69</sup>

The semantic relationships between paraphrased constituents reveals the speaker's perspective on the described situation. The point of view substantiated in the paraphrases illustrated in (47) and (48) describe a situation repeatedly from the same perspective:

ليست مغانم تقسم، ولا أسلاباً توزع.

- (47) not gains to be divided, and not plunder to be distributed.<sup>70</sup>

الكلمات إلى أفعال، والوعود إلى حقائق

- (48) words into actions and promises into realities.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Al-Jabouri, pp. 108-109; from " أمين، " فكرة!

<sup>69</sup> Koch, pp. 50-51.

<sup>70</sup> Al-Jabouri, p. 110; from " أمين، " فكرة!

Alternatively, a situation can be described from two opposite perspectives as in (49):

لا قيمة لحزب وهو فوق الكراسي، وأما قيمته الحقيقية فتظهر عندما ينقد السلطان.

- (49) There is no value to a party as it [sits] on the seats [of power], for its true value appears when it criticizes the ruler.<sup>72</sup>

Koch observes that this kind of perspective, what she calls reverse paraphrase, is one of the most frequently used and basic mechanisms for the statement of an argumentative thesis.

Fragment (50) is the most compact in Koch's data: a prototypical example of reverse paraphrase, probably 'as close as possible to the template form for argumentative claims' (p. 52). The author is summarizing Sa'ada's article with the intention of demolishing it.

Two paraphrastic clauses joined by *و* and are presented, 'the first [phrase] tells what Syria is [and] the second what it is not' (p. 52):

إنّ المحور الأساسي الذي تدور حوله آراء أنطون سعاده وتعاليمه، تتركز على الزعم التالي:  
" السوريون أمة تامّة، قائمة بنفسها. " والأمة السورية ليست جزءاً من الأمة العربية."

- (50) The basic axis around which revolve the opinions of Antun Sa'ada and his teachings rests on the following claim: 'The Syrians are a complete nation, standing by itself.' 'And the Syrian nation is not a part of the Arab nation.'<sup>73</sup>

Given the various classifications of forms of repetition in Arabic, it remains to be seen how the functional or motivated use of repetition operates in Arabic. It was noted in (36) above that affirmation and solidarity with the speaker's cultural perspective is heightened by referring outside the sociolinguistic community with marked use of a religious collocation in a secular context—referring to the United States administration with the Quranic allusion *الافتراءات والأكاذيب* *calumnies and lies*. The kind of empathy implicit in this juxtaposition strategy is revealed in Edwards' investigation of the rhetorical structure of political oratory. Focusing on the influence of culture on rhetorical form, he demonstrates an awareness of the interplay between naturalness and fidelity in the translation of meaningful surface expression:

<sup>71</sup> Al-Jabouri, p. 109; from " أمين، فكرة! "

<sup>72</sup> Al-Jabouri, p. 110; from " أمين، فكرة! "

<sup>73</sup> Koch, pp. 51-52.

translation frequently involves far more than the transfer of word meanings from one language to another. [...] Literal or semantic translation of cultural-specific aspects of text structure or rhetorical devices may result in translations which appear chaotic or incoherent, while ‘acculturation’ of the source text may diminish the rhetorical force.<sup>74</sup>

Edwards argues that the impact of culture-specific constraints on equivalence in translation extends well beyond identification of local referents, concepts and metaphor, to include the organization of discourse and the integration of linguistic form with rhetorical purpose. Lexico-semantic incongruence between languages is regarded as merely part of a more complex picture: ‘Culture and language are inextricably linked at the broader sociolinguistic, pragmatic, and stylistic levels’ (p. 1). The interpretation of expressions against some context requires a listener to make inferences about the speaker’s communicative intentions toward interlocutors. The choice of expression serves a text-producer’s rhetorical intentions, and such decisions cannot be dissociated from the sociolinguistic context and conventional values constraining acceptability and effect. The notion of style integrates formal linguistic factors with the values attached to expression. Values attributable to expressions flow from appropriacy considerations (constraints on naturalness), whether ideal, typological constraints or those knowing violations of normative constraints which speakers deploy for some meaningful purpose. Such violation of constraints constitutes motivated or marked expression. Among the crucial sociolinguistic constraints on various rhetorical modes of address, Edwards isolates their interactive function—the sense of solidarity and cultural resonance expressed by given uses.

Observing the contrasting typological rhetorical patterns of Arabic (characterized by parallelism) and English (characteristically linear and hierarchical), Edwards also points out the fundamental rhetorical force of two distinctly Arabic linguistic features: code switching and elaborate patterns of repetition. The high esteem in which competent users of literary Arabic are held, suggests an affirming strategy. As Edwards notes, ‘sometimes even merely use of [literary and classical] forms is seen as admirable in itself’ (p. 2). (The

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<sup>74</sup> Malcolm Edwards, ‘Translation: Text and Culture’ (unpublished paper presented at the ‘Teaching and Translating Arabic: Issues and Prospects’ conference held at the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London on 12-14 December, 1991), abstract.

rhetorical force of the code switching strategy in Arabic is examined in Section 3.2.1.) The integration of elaborate patterns of repetition also points to the difficulty of separating linguistic form and rhetorical purpose, with Edwards suggesting that the use of lexical repetition may be motivated by ‘a desire for precision rather than verbosity’ (p. 4).<sup>75</sup>

Edwards illustrates differences in rhetorical structure between Arabic and English with an analysis of extracts from a speech delivered by the late King Hussein of Jordan at the height of the Gulf conflict in February of 1991, a speech which Edwards describes as ‘coherent, cogent and powerful’ (p. 8). Extract (51) is from the opening section of the speech in which, according to Edwards, the King is ‘appealing to the Arab sense of unity’ (p. 8):<sup>76</sup>

ايها القابضون على جمر الإيمان والرافضون مذلة الوطن، الصادقون الصادقون في ايمانكم  
عقلاً وقلباً منطلقات وأهدافاً فكرياً وسلوكاً

- (51) Oh those holding firmly onto the embers of faith and those who refuse the nation’s humiliation, true believers in your allegiance, in mind and heart, aspirations and aims, thought and deed.<sup>77</sup>

An overriding sense of affirmation, empathy, solidarity and involvement with the audience is evident. The extract exhibits repetition on all levels. The configuration *القابضون the holders*, *الرافضون the rejectors*, and *الصادقون the believers* shows not only morphological repetition of the plural فاعل active participle but also displays repeated pharangealization (with قاف ضاد and صاد), semantic contrast (between *القابضون the holders* and *الرافضون the rejectors*), and polysemy (with repeated *الصادقون the believers(N)* and *the true(ADJ)* in apposition). The three paratactically arranged doublets which follow, all indefinite accusative and modifying *ايمانكم your belonging*, have an encompassing effect with their complementary semantic distribution, viz. *عقلاً وقلباً in heart and mind*, *منطلقات وأهدافاً in aspirations and aims*, and *فكرياً وسلوكاً in thought and conduct*. The overall effect of these configurations of repetition is such that, according to Edwards, it is ‘unlikely that suitable equivalents could be found in another language’ (p. 8).

<sup>75</sup> Edwards, pp. 1-2, 4-7.

<sup>76</sup> Edwards, pp. 8-12.

<sup>77</sup> Edwards, p. 8.

This interrelatedness of form and content is further illustrated later in the speech:

لقد حملنا مسؤوليتنا نحو عروبتنا وإسلامنا ونحو الأمن والسلام العالميين منذ البداية وبذلنا كل جهد ممكن في سبيلها ولا يؤلنا أبداً ان تكون المكافاة لنا عقوبات متلاحقة على بلدنا وشعبنا بل ان هذه العقوبات كشفت للعالم كله انها الثمن الذي يجب ان ندفعه لاننا حاولنا منع الكارثة التي دبر لها بالليل وخطط لها لكي تقع.

- (52) We have borne our responsibility towards our Arabness and our Islam, and towards world security and peace from the beginning, and we have made every possible effort to discharge it [our responsibility], and it does not deter us that our reward has been to have sanctions imposed upon our people. Rather, those sanctions have shown the whole world that they are the price we have to pay because we have tried to avert a disaster which was planned in secret and which was designed to take place.<sup>78</sup>

The apparent circularity and opaqueness of the argument arises from the interplay of surface markers of connectedness, on the one hand, and conceptual relations, on the other.

The limited range of connectives in the extract is fairly evident, and may be listed as follows:

*We have borne our responsibilities ...* لقد حملنا مسؤوليتنا ...  
*and we made every effort possible ...* وبذلنا كل جهد ...  
*and it does not deter us that ...* ولا يؤلنا أبداً ان ...  
*yet these sanctions have shown ...* بل ان هذه العقوبات كشفت ...

The semantic versatility and multifunctional nature of the connector *and* و forces a greater effort on the part of recipients of the text to establish connections between the propositions. This reinforces the importance of situational information in the determination of interpretation. An absence of explicit markers for determining the precise semantic relations between propositions results in vagueness or indirectness. Edwards suggests this is a deliberate strategy on the part of the speaker, 'forcing the audience to participate by making them work to establish meaning' (p. 11). The force of Hussein's argument becomes more obvious following a closer look at the carefully structured thematic progression in the text. The first three sentences listed above are thematically linked by the verbal inflection *we/us*, creating a rhythm and an affirmation of values underlining 'Jordan's good intentions and the efforts it has made to secure peace' (p. 10). A thematic

<sup>78</sup> Edwards, p. 9.

shift is marked by the concessive *بل yet* which contrasts Jordan's honourable conduct with *العقوبات the sanctions* imposed upon it. This shift is motivated, Edwards asserts, by its force of impact on the rhythm established immediately prior: 'the switch of theme is deliberate, and makes an impact precisely because it breaks the pattern established in the immediately preceding discourse' (p. 10). The contrastive *بل yet* is particularly noteworthy in its use here to connect an apparent paraphrase in lines (52:2-3) and (52:3):

لا يؤلنا أبداً ان تكون المكافاة لنا عقوبات متلاحقة على بلدنا وشعبنا

(52: 2-3) It does not deter us that our reward has been sanctions imposed on our country and our people.

بل ان هذه العقوبات كشفت للعالم كله انّها الثمن الذي يجب ان ندفعه

(52: 3) Those sanctions have shown the whole world that they are the price we have to pay.

Edwards suggests that the concessive link introducing *الثمن the price* indicates an ironic attitude by the speaker in his immediately prior use of *المكافاة reward* to describe Jordan's stance: 'for not being sufficiently cooperative' (p. 10).

The empathy, impact and attitudes achieved in various fragments presented in this section are brought about through specific rhetorical effects. They result from speakers' motivated choices of expression to satisfy some communicative purpose. While the data were shown to offer determinate interpretations, there exists an area of particular interest among translationally salient configurations of information—those utterances which appear to lack determinate interpretation. Instances of indeterminate lexical repetition are to be found in sacred texts investigated by Malone. He coins the generic term *transjasence* to refer to the intertwining of dual components of linguistic organization: phenomena which relate simultaneously to phonetic/phonemic and syntactic/semantic levels of analysis. The intentionality attributed to *transjasence* effects such as pun, alliteration, rhyming and symbolism are distinguished from the gratuitousness of free association and author's proclivity. But the intentionality or otherwise of particular lexical and syntactic configurations may not be so transparent in sacred texts. Malone warns:<sup>79</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Malone, *Science of Linguistics...*, pp. 195-208.

The question of an author's proclivity can assume special urgency in certain case types, such as those of sacred texts, where it is imperative neither to dismiss theologically motivated repetition as accidental nor to interpret quirky repetition as numinous. (p. 208 n. 13)

The extent to which a given instance of repetition can be interpreted either as free association or as satisfying some symbolic purpose reflects the slipperiness or relativistic nature of indeterminate interpretation, and 'the risk of diluting the symbolic impact of the original' (p. 29). This indeterminacy no doubt results from the sacred nature of the text under analysis, and Malone forewarns the ramifications of misrepresentation:<sup>80</sup>

If free-associational repetition in a valued religious or philosophical text is misinterpreted as purposeful repetition, there may be substantive repercussions in the subsequent development of the religion or philosophy in question. (p. 40)

Malone looks at the significance to translation of polysemous repetition exemplified in such words as: *حَرَّمَ* *he forbade*, and *he made sacred*; and *انتقى* *he guarded himself against evil/took shelter*, and *he feared*, and also *he made something a matter of conscience/was dutiful*. The organic function or unitary purpose of polysemous repetition presents a problem in translation because of the likelihood of divergence or lack of a corresponding unitary lexical item across the nexus of translation. Non-intentional or gratuitous repetition of polysemes, called free association by Malone, may be due to the author's unconscious selection. Such unmotivated repetition serves no communicative, symbolic or aesthetic purpose and is of little consequence to the translator because of its lack of meaningfulness. But the translator cannot ultimately know whether a particular instance of repetition is motivated or simply coincidental, haphazard or gratuitous. This indeterminacy in the intentionality of polysemous repetition may undermine any potential translation strategy which aims to reconstruct textually motivated entities. Determining intentionality may be fundamental to a translator's interpretation of an original text. Yet such determinations are speculative, as Malone points out:<sup>81</sup>

In many cases it is difficult or impossible for a translator to know when a source text repetition should be attributed to free association, and yet in most such cases some decision has to be made concerning the author's intention as prerequisite to

<sup>80</sup> Joseph L. Malone, 'Free Association as a Problem for Translation' (unpublished ms., 1979), pp. 28-29, 40.

<sup>81</sup> Malone, 'Free Association...', pp. 1-6.

selecting a reasoned target language version. This is so because, unless the target language can match the source language repetition point for point, any resulting deviation in the target version from the source will betray something of the translator's personal interpretation of the repetition, for better or for worse. (p. 6)

The distance between instances of polysemous repetition within a text is obviously an important mitigating factor in determining its significance. The following extracts contain polysemous repetition in close proximity—either within suras of the Quran or in adjoining suras. Translation strategies are those adopted by Ali.<sup>82</sup> In (53), اتقوا is translated divergently as *take shelter in*, and *fear ye*. In (54), تتقون is translated as *you guard yourselves*, while المتقين is translated as *the dutiful*. In (55), يتقون is translated divergently as *they keep their duty*, and *they guard against evil*:

يَأَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَأْكُلُوا الرِّبَا أَضْعَافًا مُضَاعَفًا وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ  
وَاتَّقُوا النَّارَ الَّتِي أُعِدَّتْ لِلْكَافِرِينَ (القرآن ١٢٩:٢-١٣٠)

- (53) O ye who believe! Devour not interest doubling it over and again, and take shelter in God that ye may be successful. Fear ye the Hell-fire that is prepared for the disbelievers.<sup>83</sup>

ولكم في القصاص حياة يا أولى الألباب لعلكم تتقون  
كتب عليكم إذا حضر أحدكم الموت إن ترك خيراً الوصية للوالدين والأقربين بالمعروف حقاً  
على المتقين (القرآن ١٧٩:٢-١٨٠)

- (54) And there is life for you in retaliation, O men of understanding, that you may guard yourselves. It is prescribed for you, when death approaches one of you, if he leaves behind wealth for parents and near relatives, to make a bequest in a kindly manner; it is incumbent upon the dutiful.<sup>84</sup>

- وما على الذين يتقون من حسابهم من شيء ولكن ذكري لهم ليتقون (القرآن ٦٩:٦)
- (55) And nothing of their account falls upon those that keep their duty, but only to remind so they may guard against evil.<sup>85</sup>

Fragment (56) illustrates a similar divergence in the translation of polysemous repetition with حرم translated variously as *has forbidden*, and *has made sacred*:

<sup>82</sup> M. H. Ali, *Holy Quran*, 4th edn (Lahore: Ahmadiyyah Anjuman Ishaat Islam, 1955); Malone, 'Free Association...', pp. 10, 37-41; and Malone, p.c., 21 Jan. 1992.

<sup>83</sup> Malone, p.c., 21 Jan. 1992; from Quran 3: 129-130.

<sup>84</sup> Joseph L. Malone, 'Free Association...', pp. 40-41; from Quran 2: 179-180.

<sup>85</sup> Malone, p.c. 21 Jan., 1992; from Quran 6: 69.

قل تعالوا اتل ما حرم ربكم عليكم [...] ولا تقتلوا النفس التي حرم الله (القرآن ١٥٢:٦)

- (56) Come ye! I will recite unto you what your Lord has forbidden you [...] and take not life which God has made sacred.<sup>86</sup>

Fragment (57) illustrates a polysemous interpretation of *إثم* *sin/sinning* variously as *إثم* *sins against me*, and *إثمك* *your sins*. Such contrasting interpretation flows on from situational constraints:

إني أريد أن تبوا بإثمي وإثمك (القرآن ٢٩:٥)

- (57) Verily I intend that thou beareth the sins against me and thine own sin.<sup>87</sup>

Fragments (53)-(56) show significant divergence—the polysemous repetition in the originals is completely absent from the translations. The unresolved consequence of Ali's translation strategy for the English reader's interpretation of indeterminate polysemous repetition in the original is indicated in Malone's conclusion:

It must be left for Islamic exegesis to determine the extent to which such a translation is consonant with the Prophet's original intended meaning. (p. 40)

This section has demonstrated that conveying attitudes in translation requires the translator's attunement to information over and above propositional content. Preserving the meaningfulness of information suggested by such functional readings (often indicating the point of an utterance), entails a distinct class of compensation or translation strategies. Translationally salient information has been distinguished from the explicit transfer of non-salient information associated with contrastive analysis and translational norms. Salient information, for the purpose of translation, satisfies the postulates of markedness, implicitness and localness. Non-salient information lacked one or more of the defining features of salience.

<sup>86</sup> Malone, p.c. 21 Jan., 1992; from Quran 6: 152.

<sup>87</sup> Malone, p.c. 21 Jan., 1992; from Quran 5: 29.

### 3.2 Variation in Arabic

Markedness has been utilized as a tool for identifying textual reflexes of speaker attitudes and perspectives (Section 3.1). Contextually determined constraints on interpretation are also indicated by the wider process of selecting options among distributional variants. By way of introduction, three illustrations of grammatical variation in Arabic are outlined: intermediacy, lexical variation and pronoun reduplication.

The notion of intermediacy is introduced by Comrie to describe the plethora of cases which do not fit into discrete distinctions between grammatical properties, features, relations or word class. In reality, various combinations of features and conflicting assignment of relations are attested. Variation in the negation of pronominal structures in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic is reported by Eid. Intermediate word class and agreement relations in the Moroccan dialect of Meknes are illustrated in Comrie's samples (58) to (61) below. Sample (58) shows intermediate word class characteristic of contrasting verbal *مش...ما* and non-verbal *مش...مش* negation of adjectives. Samples (59) and (60) show similar intermediate verbal and non-verbal negation of prepositional phrases *في الدار* *in the house*, and *عندي* (lit.) *at-me*. Sample (61) demonstrates variant subject-predicate agreement. The grammatical subject *الكتب* *the books* agrees variously with *كانت/كانو/كان* *he was/they were/she was*:<sup>88</sup>

الدجاجة مش كبيرة  
chicken not big  
الدجاجة ما كبيراش  
chicken not big-not

(58) The chicken is not big. (p. 18)

<sup>88</sup> Bernard Comrie, 'On the Importance of Arabic for General Linguistic Theory', in *Perspectives in Arabic Linguistics III: Papers from the Third Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*, ed. by Bernard Comrie and Mushira Eid, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science Series IV: Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 80 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1991), pp. 3-30 (pp. 14-29); and Mushira Eid, 'Verbless Sentences in Arabic and Hebrew', in *Perspectives in Arabic Linguistics III...*, pp. 31-61 (pp. 49-54).

المرأة مش في الدار  
woman not in-house

المرأة ما في الدار  
woman not in-house-not

(59) The woman is not in the house. (p. 18)

مش عندي الكتاب  
not at-me book

ما عنديش الكتاب  
not at-me-not book

(60) I don't have the book. (p. 19)

فطمة كان عندها الكتب  
fatima was-he at-her books

فطمة كانوا عندها الكتب  
fatima were-they at-her books

فطمة كانت عندها الكتب  
fatima was-she at-her books

(61) Fatima had the books. (pp. 24-5)

Although there are preferred versions or usages, the relevance of variation to the notion of translation equivalence lies in the semantic characterizations of such formal oppositions or discrete distinctions in actual use. Such oppositions implicate multiple interpretations in the presence of contextual, situational and other factors.

Variety of lexical forms in Classical Arabic is also widely attested. This is attributed by Baalbaki to the large number of dialects of the different tribes included 'under the umbrella of the *fus-ha* [الفصحى *classical Arabic*]' (p. 17). He notes the various forms of verbal nouns belonging to a single verb root such as لقي *he found/met* which share the same meaning 'with no apparent nuances at all' (p. 17). He cites Ibn Jinni who observed that 'the more forms (الفاظ) there are to express one meaning, the more likely it is that these forms are usages by different communities (جماعات) which coexisted (اجتمعت) in [the dialect or idiolect of] the speaker'.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Ramzi Baalbaki, 'I'raab and Binaa' from Linguistic Reality to Grammatical Theory', in *Studies in the*

The intermediacy inherent in surface variation must be distinguished from less subtle, grammatical or rule-governed contrasts. The Translation Saliency model subsumes rule-governed distinctions under the rubric of Transfer (Sections 2.3–2.5 and 4.2). The distinction between variation and more overt grammatical contrasts is well illustrated in Bloch's principle of balancing. Bloch contrasts two uses of pronoun reduplication: as a focusing device and as a balancing device. Pronoun reduplication is the optional reduplication of a preceding bound pronoun (suffixed to or inherent in a finite verb) as a free personal pronoun. Focusing and balancing reduplication are contrasted in the following:<sup>90</sup>

وما ظلمناهم ولكن كانوا هم الظالمين (القرآن ٤٣: ٧٦)  
not wronged-we-them but did-they they wrong

(62) We never wronged them, but *they* did the wrong.<sup>91</sup>

بعثني انا والزبير  
sent-he-me I and-zubayr

(63) He sent me and Zubayr.<sup>92</sup>

In (62), the pronoun inherent in the verb كانوا *they did* is reduplicated as a free pronoun هم *they*. The reduplication is a focusing device, contrasting the agents *we* and *they*. It has a clear semantic effect. Other focusing devices involve clefting (*It is I who did it*), word-order reversals (*O-you we-praise* إياك نعبد), and stress. In contrast, the reduplication in (63) is a balancing device. The bound object pronoun suffixed to the verb بعثني *he sent me* is reduplicated as a free pronoun انا *I*. Balancing reduplication helps clarify grammatical relations in coordinated structures. Coordination and apposition place entities syntactically on a par, and balancing reduplication makes explicit the grammatical relation between the items. Bloch observes that balancing reduplication is 'a means of making this syntactic

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*History of Arabic Grammar II: Proceedings of the 2nd Symposium on the History of Arabic Grammar, Nijmegen, 27 April - 1 May 1987*, ed. by Kees Versteegh and Michael Carter, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science Series III: Studies in the History of the Language Sciences, 56 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1990), pp. 17-33 (p. 27, n. 1); and

ابو الفتح عثمان بن جني، «الخصائص: باب الفصيح يجتمع في كلامه لغتان فصاعداً»، تحقيق محمد علي النجار، مجلد ٣، (القاهرة: دار الكتب المصرية، ١٩٥٢-١٩٥٦)

<sup>90</sup> Ariel A. Bloch, *Studies in Arabic Syntax and Semantics* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), pp. 1-14.

<sup>91</sup> Bloch, p. 1; from Quran 43:76.

<sup>92</sup> Bloch, p. 2; from H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax* (Heidelberg: 1921), p. 342.

parity explicit in the surface structure [...] achieved by adaptation of the morphological status of the pronoun to the morphological status of its coordinative' (p. 7). Of particular interest here is that we are not dealing with a linguistic rule but with acceptable variation. This is demonstrated in the contrasting absence of balancing pronoun reduplication in fragment (64). Unlike (63), the unbound object *ابنها her son* is not balanced with the coordinated, bound object in *جعلناها we appointed her*. Balancing reduplication is hypothesized in (64a) as *هي وابنها her and her son*:

جعلناها وابنها آية للعالمين (القرآن ٢١:٩١)  
appointed-we-her and-son-her sign to-worlds

(64) We appointed her and her son to be a sign unto all beings.<sup>93</sup>

جعلناها هي وابنها آية للعالمين  
appointed-we-her she and-son-her sign to-worlds

(64a) We appointed her and her son to be a sign unto all beings.

Balancing reduplication has parallels in other forms of parity marking. The unbalanced structure proposed in (65a) is avoided with pronoun reduplication presented in (65b), or with verb reduplication in the actual utterance (65):

وداه وودي لبيداً  
paid-he-him and-paid-he labiid

(65) He paid him and he paid Labiid.<sup>94</sup>

وداه وليبداً  
paid-he-him and-labiid

(65a) He paid him and Labiid.

وداه هو وليبداً  
paid-he-him he and-labiid

(65b) He paid him and Labiid.

<sup>93</sup> Bloch, p. 3; from Quran 21:91.

<sup>94</sup> Bloch, p. 8; from H. Reckendorf, *Die Syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (Heidelberg: 1895-1898), p. 497.

It is a matter of contextual interpretation whether fragment (65) is to be interpreted as two events and thus semantically motivated repetition or as a syntactically motivated balancing device: ‘only the context can determine which of these two interpretations applies in a given case’ (p. 9).

Variation, like the associated notion of markedness (Section 3.1), can quite clearly be seen as an indicator of contextually determined interpretations of situated texts. The notion has ramifications for any model of translation equivalence. The rest of this chapter looks at four types of linguistic variation which constrain interpretation: code switching (Section 3.2.1); number agreement (Section 3.2.2); direct and indirect reference in relative clauses (Section 3.2.3); and amplified and proclitic readings of presentative structures (Section 3.2.4). The perspectival relativity of language (Section 2.2) implicates a process of attunement by the translator to language-specific communication resources. The data presented in these sub-sections demonstrates how the interpretation of variant context sensitive readings enables speaker perspectives and attitudes to be conveyed. Samples are drawn from vernacular Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), and classical Arabic.

### 3.2.1 Code Switching

Code switching describes changes made by a speaker from one language system to another within an utterance. This section considers monolingual code switching in Arabic rather than interlingual code switching, say between Arabic and English. Code switching is a common phenomenon in spoken Arabic and it involves switching between levels of Arabic—between fully inflected MSA, uninflected MSA and vernacular Arabic. It is shown by Holes to play an important part in the interpretation of political speeches, where motivated switches between levels of Arabic corresponds to changes in content and attitude.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Clive Holes, ‘The Uses of Variation: a Study of the Political Speeches of Gamal Abd Al-Nasir’, in *Perspectives in Arabic Linguistics V: Papers from the Fifth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*, ed. by Mushira Eid and Clive Holes, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science Series IV: Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 101 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1993).

Variation between standard and non-standard Arabic is traditionally described with the sociolinguistic term diglossia. In the Arab world, a number of spoken dialects coexist with a distinct, standardized form of the language which is used primarily in the written mode.

Diglossia is defined by Ferguson as:

a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superimposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.<sup>96</sup>

A number of researchers are critical of Ferguson's approach. Holes rightly points out the inadequacy of schematic categorizations such as the label diglossia when applied to Arabic. He notes that 'sharp demarcation lines could not be drawn in most areas of the style spectrum' (p. 14). Citing Kaye, Zughoul describes Ferguson's definition as impressionistic, pointing out that the interaction between varieties of the language is flexible and changeable rather than stable. Zughoul also discusses the non-linguistic functions of code switching in Arabic, describing perceived attitudes toward the various levels of usage and the psychological or emotive connotations of their use in nationalistic or religious contexts. He also draws on Shaaban's conclusion that code switching is characteristic of educated Arabic, and its use depends on the nature of the topic, country of origin of the speaker, and the speaker's familiarity with other dialects and with interlocutors.<sup>97</sup>

Code switching is a communication resource. It may be employed when the speaker's main concern is with communicating a particular message, evoking certain evaluative responses, in direct quotations, in reported speech, or as an accommodation strategy in interactive communication. It functions to clarify, amplify or emphasize a message and

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<sup>96</sup> Charles A. Ferguson, 'Diglossia', *Word*, 15 (1959), 325-340 (p. 336); also quoted in Comrie, 'Importance of Arabic', p.5, and Zughoul p. 201.

<sup>97</sup> Muhammad Raji Zughoul, 'Diglossia in Arabic: Investigating Solutions', *Anthropological Linguistics*, 22 (1980), 201-217 (pp. 201-202, 205-206); Alan S. Kaye, 'Remarks on Diglossia: Well Defined vs Ill Defined', *Linguistics*, 81 (1972), 32-48; and Kassim Shaaban, 'Code-Switching in the Speech of Educated Arabs', *Journal of the Linguistic Association of the Southwest*, 3 (1978), 7-19.

plays a role in maintaining participant identities and attitudes.<sup>98</sup> Underlying the code switching strategy is the notion of convergence whereby ‘individuals adopt each other’s speech by means of a wide range of linguistic features’.<sup>99</sup>

The significance of motivated code switching variation becomes apparent through Holes’ review of models of variation in spoken Arabic. Holes realizes the centrality to extempore spoken Arabic of variation, citing Blanc’s proposal of shared strategies which guide the choice of linguistic variables combining to produce a ‘supradialectal Arabic style continuum’ (p. 13). The distribution and choice of variants is conceived in terms of *مستويات* *levels* in Badawi’s model of variation, based on a sociolinguistic study of Egyptian Arabic. Badawi does not view the level of use or style on the speech continuum as automatically determined by the social identity of the speaker. Partially determined by a person’s education, job and social milieu, the level of use is constrained by actual, socially defined ‘normal styles’ as well as the potential communication resources or shared repertoire available to a speech community. Individuals make choices in the light of communal rules about contextual appropriacy. Holes summarizes:

Within the limits imposed by their own exposure to and control of the style spectrum speakers are free to move up and down it in accordance with what they perceive to be the moment-by-moment requirements for appropriate language use. (p. 15)

The borders between levels of *العامية* *vernacular/spoken Arabic* are at best fuzzy, and Holes prefers to depict a ‘constellation of variables’ (p. 15). Possibilities of cooccurrence range from the categorical absence to categorical presence of cooccurring features. Particular values associated with these variables tends to parallel the normal speech of different education levels.<sup>100</sup> Consistent with this explanation is Biber’s quantitative analysis of

<sup>98</sup> Abdel-Rahman Abu-Melhim, ‘Code-Switching and Linguistic Accommodation in Arabic’, in *Perspectives in Arabic Linguistics III...*, pp. 231-250 (pp. 236, 248-249); John J. Gumperz, *Discourse Strategies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp 75-6, 78; and Francois Grosjean, *Life with Two Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 148-150.

<sup>99</sup> Howard Giles and others, ‘Speech Accommodation Theory: the First Decade and Beyond’, *Communication Yearbook*, 10, ed. by Margaret L McLaughlin, (Newbury Park, CA: Sage), pp. 13-48 (pp. 14-15); quoted in Abu-Melhim, p. 236.

<sup>100</sup> Holes, pp. 13-15; Haim Blanc, ‘Style Variations in Spoken Arabic—A Sample of Interdialectal Conversation’, *Contributions to Arabic Linguistics*, ed. by Charles Ferguson, Middle Eastern Monographs, 3 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Centre for Middle East Studies, 1960), pp. 81-156; and ص ١٢-١٣

السيد بدوي، « مستويات اللغة العربية المعاصرة في مصر »، (القاهرة: دار المعارف، ١٩٧٢)،

variation across speech and writing in English. Functional notions or dimensions are profiled with the aid of multi-variate factor analysis of lexico-grammatical feature cooccurrence (Sections 2.3 and 4.2).

Two tendencies in the transition between language systems are described by Holes: crossover (where a switch occurs in the middle of an utterance); and interweaving (where a mixture of dialectal and standardized forms is exhibited within an utterance). Excerpt (66), from a broadcast discussion, illustrates crossover:

ما فيش عندي حاجة أضفها إلى ما قاله الجنرال

(66) I don't have anything to add to what the general said.<sup>101</sup>

The word أضفها *I-should-add-it* marks the code switching juncture or crossover from colloquial to MSA. This juncture also draws attention to the phenomenon of word-level hybridization. Further instances of this common process of hybridization are illustrated by the use of the vernacular verb prefix بـ with MSA verbs in يقبل *is accepted*, and يستطيعوا *will be able* in (67):

فهو يقبل ، والإحتمال الأكبر إن أيضاً يستطيعوا إنهم يجدوا له سكن

(67) So he is accepted, and the great probability is that they will also be able to find accommodation for him.<sup>102</sup>

The important point that Holes makes is that such hybridization is a rule-governed process. In contrast to acceptable hybrids like مايقبلش *he isn't accepted*, the analogous vernacular negation of an MSA verb such as مايبذهبش\* *he isn't going* is unacceptable.<sup>103</sup>

This suggests the coexistence of conditional constraints on hybridization that are shared by speakers: some 'mutual accommodation of the rival language systems' (p. 19). This mutual accommodation is clearly illustrated in Holes' brief examination of phonological variation in spoken Arabic, specifically in the cooccurrence and complementary distribution of variants. Holes demonstrates that phonological variation is

<sup>101</sup> Holes, p. 18; quoted in Terry Mitchell, 'What is Educated Spoken Arabic?', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 61 (1986), 7-32 (p. 24); from Gustav Meiseles, 'Educated Spoken Arabic and the Arabic Language Continuum', *Archivum Linguisticum*, 11 (1980), 118-148.

<sup>102</sup> Holes, p. 19; from Leeds University research project data base lead by Terry Mitchell.

<sup>103</sup> Holes, pp. 17-21.

often lexically conditioned: that there are morpho-syntactic constraints on the switching between the standard and non-standard variants, as revealed in the following lexical groupings:

(68a) ثقافة *culture*; تقدّم *progress*; قوّات مسلّحة *armed forces*;

(68b) قلاّف *shipwright*; حدّق *he fished*; باق *he stole*;

(68c) قال *he said*; قرأ *he read*; فرق *difference*.<sup>104</sup>

It is suggested that the well-known dialectal variation of the phoneme ق /q/ in these lexemes—as /g/ in Gulf Arabic, or as a glottal stop /ʕ/ in Cairene—is conditioned on the basis of culturally associated reference. The vernacular variants /g/ or /ʕ/ are rarely available to lexemes associated with the pan-Arab culture, exemplified by members of group (68a) even in the speech of non-literates. Conversely, the standard (MSA) variant /q/ is not available in words associated with the oracy-based local culture exemplified by group (68b). Any substitution of the variant in these categories would result in either a non-word or a changed meaning. Group (68c), on the other hand, consists of common items which can and do alternate in their standard and non-standard variant pronunciations. Such words are part of the common lexical stock of most dialects and MSA, and there is a substantial overlap in meaning between the systems. Further to this, Holes proposes that the range of variation is associated with speaker preference. Variants possess degrees of stylistic significance, and this entails the possibility of stylistic manipulation. Code switching variation is thus conceived of as a balance between appropriacy—conventionally constrained options available in a given context—and the speaker’s manipulation of available options or variants. This manipulation is constrained by the non-referential or affective dimensions of communication. Use of the communicative resource contributes to ‘what a speaker really “means” and how his/her performance is interpreted by the interlocutors or audience’ (p. 21).<sup>105</sup>

In contrast to the referentially constrained phonological variation suggested in the complementary distribution illustrated in groups (68a) and (68b) in the sample above,

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<sup>104</sup> Holes, pp. 19-20.

<sup>105</sup> Holes, pp. 20-21.

Holes demonstrates the broad scope in variation phenomena exemplified in (68c). Such variation has reflexes in affective, non-referential or paralinguistic aspects of the communication situation—like sociolinguistic factors and speaker intention. In his study of political speeches made by the late president Gamal Abd Al-Nasir during the period 1956-65, Holes shows how code switching variation corresponds closely to changes in the texts' content and fluctuations in the utterance situation. In Nasir's treatment of political issues, code switches reflect changes in his immediate perspective on the issue at hand: from an abstract, depersonalized perspective using formal, fully inflected or uninflected MSA, to the concrete, personalized perspective of narratives, anecdotes and asides using the everyday speech of Cairo. Nasir's code switching not only functions to address the widest potential audience but also has symbolic significance in its effect on the audience perception of the speaker. His strategies create 'a "man-of-the-people" image by breaking all the "rules of use" in a situation in which formal language, however imperfectly understood by the audience, is normally *de rigueur*'.<sup>106</sup>

Code switching variation is a highly motivated strategy. Its significance (as a rhetorical device and in the organization of discourse) parallels the kinds of markedness strategies considered in Section 3.1. Nasir's code switching is also shown to have an organizing function in his discourse. The political message, axiom, dogma or aphorism is invariably presented in MSA, while Nasir's explanations of these messages are presented in colloquial Cairene. Consistent with Edwards' and Koch's analyses, it is argued by Eid and Holes that the code switching tactic reinforces the truth value of the message by exploiting sociolinguistic associations shared by interlocutors:

the act of mediating message elements via MSA is tantamount to claiming for them a truth value, and a quasi-scriptural status, which those delivered in colloquial can never have. (p. 2)

Holes relates formal variation to discourse function, taking 'communicative content' as his starting point. The impact of the use or non-use of certain forms results from the listener's expectations based on experience and convention. Communication strategies

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<sup>106</sup> Mushira Eid and Clive Holes, 'Introduction', in *Perspectives in Arabic Linguistics V...*, pp. 1-10 (p. 1).

adopted by the speaker are said to reflect changing intentions and perspectives. In describing the range and use of an individual's style, Holes aims to explain the factors which cause the speaker to switch codes, and the linguistic and paralinguistic signals associated with such variation.<sup>107</sup>

Many of Nasir's political speeches were noted for their performance qualities rather than as scripted monologues. This demonstrates the populist leader's ability to empathize with his audience. Holes' analyses are based on published analogue recordings of a selection of Nasir's speeches. Extracts of three of the speeches demonstrate a range of motivated code switching variation. Extract (69) comes from Nasir's Victory Day speech of 1957, a retrospective of the previous year's Suez crisis and a restatement of Egypt's commitment to non-alignment. Extract (70) comes from a speech delivered to mass rallies at Al-Azhar early in November 1956 at the height of the Suez crisis—three days before the November 5 attack of Anglo-French forces at Port Said and Port Fouad. This episode involved heavy fighting and civilian casualties. It was a time of 'acute tension in Egypt and the Middle East as a whole [...] when the Egyptian army was in full retreat from the Israelis in Sinai' (p. 23). Extract (71) comes from a public speech delivered on Unity Day in February 1964. It is an explanation of Nasir's understanding of socialism and it refers to الميثاق *the National Charter* presented almost two years prior to the National Congress of Popular Forces. Rhetorical functions associated with code switching variation include personalization, justification, locating in the audience's world and elaboration.<sup>108</sup>

Extract (69) illustrates the personalization which Nasir achieved with changes from uninflected MSA in lines (69:1-6) to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) in (69:6-8). This extract demonstrates 'a perceptible downward style shift' (p. 34). Holes attributes this style shift to the interpersonal aspects of the message. The shift is informed by a transition in the nature of the entities referred to in the segment: a transition from the abstract 'political "we"' to the concrete, personal "'we" of the ordinary Egyptians' (p.35). A change in code

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<sup>107</sup> Holes, pp. 17, 21, 38.

<sup>108</sup> Holes, pp. 21-24, 28-29, 33-34.

from MSA to ECA suggests a symbolic switch to the local values and actual experiences of the audience themselves:

٢ إن مصر، ايها الاخوة، رغم ما قاسيناه، إن إحنا بنتبّع سياسة عدم الانحياز، سياسة الحياد  
 الايجابي علشان نكبّر معسكر السلام لان العالم اذا انقسم الى معسكرين واصبحت دول العالم  
 منقسمة جزء منها مع هذا المعسكر وجزء مع المعسكر الآخر، لا بد ان تقوم حرب ولا بد ان  
 ٤ تقاسى البشرية الالهوال...النهردة إحنا حينما ننادي بالحياد الايجابي وحينما ننادي بعدم  
 الانحياز، إننا نعمل على كسر حدّة التوتر وإننا نعمل على ابعاد شبح الحرب وإننا نعمل  
 ٦ على تثبيت السلام وعلى تدعيم السلام...النهردة، يا اخواني، نبصّ للماضي بانتصاراته...  
 نبصّ للماضي بمعاركه...نبصّ للماضي بتعنا بشهداءه...نبصّ للأعلام بتاعتنا إلی  
 ٨ رفعناها بالنصر وفتكر الأعلام بتاعتنا إلی ضُرّجت بالدماء (p. 43)

(69)

Egypt, fellow Egyptians, despite what we have suffered, we are pursuing  
 the policy of non-alignment, the policy of positive neutrality,  
 2 so that we increase the size of the peace camp, because if the world is  
 divided into two camps, and the nations of the world are  
 divided, one group in one camp and one in the other, there is bound to be  
 war, and humanity is bound to  
 4 suffer its horrors. ...Today, when we call for positive neutrality, and  
 when we call for  
 non-alignment, we are simply working towards reducing the sharpness  
 of tension, working towards removing the spectre of war, and  
 working  
 6 towards stabilizing and supporting peace. ...Today, my brothers, we  
 look to the past with its victories,  
 we look to the past with its battles, ...we look to the past of ours with its  
 martyrs, ...we look...to the flags of ours which  
 8 we held aloft in victory and we remember those flags of ours which were  
 soaked in blood. (p. 43)

Impersonal entities referred to in (69:1-6) are: مصر *Egypt*, العالم *the world*, البشرية *humanity*,  
 سياسة عدم الانحياز *the policy of non-alignment*, سياسة الحياد الايجابي *the policy of positive  
 neutrality*, كسر حدّة التوتر *reducing the sharpness of the tension*,  
 ابعاد شبح الحرب *removing the spectre of war*, and تدعيم السلام [...] *stabilizing  
 and supporting peace*. Personalization of themes in (69:6-8) is indicated by *يا اخواني* *my  
 brothers*, and the inclusive subject pronoun *we* in every clause: *نبصّ* *we look* (four  
 instances), *رفعناها* *we held aloft*, and *فتكر* *we remembered*.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Holes, p. 34.

The code switching exhibited in (69:6-8) from the actual address is particularly interesting when compared to the original speech script (69a:6-8):

النهردة، يا اخواني، نبصّ للماضي بانتصاراته...نبصّ للماضي بمعاركه...  
 نبصّ للماضي بتعنا بشهداءه...نبصّ...للأعلام بتاعتنا إالي رفعناها بالنصر  
 ونفتكر الأعلام بتاعتنا إالي ضُرّجت بالدماء

(69:6-8 transcript of the actual address)

اليوم، يا إخواني، ننظر للماضي بانتصاراته، ننظر للماضي بمعاركه وننظر للماضي بشهداءه  
 وننظر للأعلام التي رفعناها بالنصر...وتتذكر أعلامنا التي ضُرّجت بالدماء

(69a:6-8 original speech script)

This comparison indicates the extempore nature of the code switching strategy and also provides a point of comparison from which to describe the process of code switching. A process of lexical substitution is apparent in open- and closed-class words: اليوم becomes النهاردة today; ننظر becomes نبصّ we look; نتذكر becomes نفتكر we remember; التي becomes إالي which; and the MSA possessive pronoun suffix -نا our is substituted with the ECA genitive particle بتاعتنا our, viz. أعلامنا our flag becomes الأعلام بتاعتنا our flag. First person involvement (identifying with the inclusive we theme) is reinforced with repeated use of the more explicit and emphatic ECA expression الأعلام بتاعتنا our flags (the first instance of which lacks a possessive pronoun suffix -نا our in the original MSA speech script, viz. لأعلام to the flags). The more impersonal and metaphorical tone of the initial themes (69:1-6)—the ‘political “we”’ or Egypt in the abstract—is resumed through the switch back to MSA with the stock phrase ضُرّجت بالدماء soaked in blood (69:8).<sup>110</sup>

The amenability of lexical hybridization to variant combinations is illustrated in three forms of we will fight in extract (70). The verb appears colloquially as حنحارب in (70:1), less colloquially as حنقاتل in (70:8), and in MSA as سنقاتل in (70:2):<sup>111</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Holes, pp. 34-35.

<sup>111</sup> Holes p. 26.

في أي مكان حنحارب...من بيت لبيت ومن قرية لقرية  
[...]

- ٢ شعارنا اننا سنقاتل ، سنقاتل ولن نسلّم...دا شعار كل فرد من القوات المسلّحة ودا شعار  
كل فرد في الشعب...النهددة إحنا مستعدين ، مستعدين ايها الإخوة ان نقاتل والموت حق  
٤...وانا في حرب فلسطين ، كمثل من امثلة ، كنت موجود في الفلوجة زيما إنتو تعرفوا...  
خمسشهر غارات جويّة متتالية ، خمسشهر ضرب مستمر بالمدفعية ، خمسشهر هجوم  
٦ وعمليات حربية...ما متش ، جيت...ما كتش طبعاً قاعد في الخندق...كت  
بستمرار برة ، لكن...دا ، العمر دا بيدالله ، ما فيش واحد ابداً حيقدر يقرر اجله...  
٨ حنقاتل...انا هنا في القاهرة ، ضد اي غزو ، ساقاتل معكم...انا هنا موجود في القاهرة ،  
اولادي موجودون معكم في القاهرة ما طلعتهمش برة مش حطّلهم برة وانا موجود معاكو هنا  
١٠ في القاهرة...حنقاتل زي ما قلت إلكم مبارح لآخر نقطة دم...لن نسلّم ابداً

(70)

In any place we will fight...from house to house and from village to  
village.

[...]

- 2 Our slogan is 'We will fight, fight and never surrender.' ...That is the  
slogan of every individual in the Armed Forces, and that is the  
slogan  
of every individual of the people. Today we are ready, ready, my  
brothers, to fight, and death is a fitting end.
- 4 When I was fighting in the Palestinian War, as an example, I was in  
Faluga, as you know;  
five months of continuous air-raids, five months of continual artillery  
bombardment, five months of attacks  
6 and war operations. ...I didn't die. ...I came back. ...Of course, I wasn't  
just sitting around in the trenches, ...I was  
always out [on the field of battle], but...this life, it's in God's hands,  
there's no one who can ever decide his own fate.
- 8 We will fight. ...I am here in Cairo, against any attack I will fight with  
you. ...I am here in Cairo,  
my children are here with you in Cairo. I haven't sent them away from  
the city and nor will I while I am here with you  
10 in Cairo. We will fight, like I told you yesterday, to the last drop of  
blood. ...We will never surrender. (p. 40)

Nasir's personalization of the call to fight in extract (70) is most obvious through  
inclusive pronominal reference *we* in the following fragments:

حنحارب

(70:1) we will fight

شعارنا اننا سنقاتل ، سنقاتل ولن نسلّم

(70:2) Our slogan is ‘We will fight, we will fight and we will never surrender’.

إحنا مستعدين ، مستعدين ايها الإخوة ان نقاتل

(70:3) We are ready, ready my brothers to fight.

حنقاتل [...] لآخر نقطة دم...لن نسلّم ابداً

(70:10) We will fight [...] to the last drop of blood. ...We will never surrender.

Personalization is made more concrete with a kind of first-person testament to his service in the 1948 war in (70:4-7). This combination of inclusive reference, personal testament and code switching variation suggests a speaker-audience relationship of ‘fortitude and brotherly solidarity’ according to Holes (p. 25). Nasir’s speech is markedly Egyptianized after summoning forth the slogan of war (70:2-3), and again at the climax of this segment (70:9):<sup>112</sup>

دا شعار كل فرد من القوات المسلّحة ودا شعار كل فرد في الشعب

(70:2-3) That is the slogan of every individual in the Armed Forces, and that is the slogan of every individual of the people.

ما طلّعتهمش برة مش حطّلتهم برة

(70:9) I haven’t sent them away [from the city] and nor will I.

The code switching juncture in (70:2) exhibits contrasting use of predominantly MSA forms (70:2) followed directly by an Egyptian colloquial elaboration (70:2-3):

شعارنا اننا سنقاتل ، سنقاتل ولن نسلّم

(70:2) Our slogan is ‘We will fight, fight and never surrender.’

دا شعار كل فرد من القوات المسلّحة ودا شعار كل فرد في الشعب

(70:2-3) That is the slogan of every individual in the Armed Forces and that is the slogan of every individual of the people.

<sup>112</sup> Holes pp. 25-26.

The MSA utterance is seen by Holes as a claim by the speaker to have uttered authoritative text. It is punctuated with deliberate pauses before and after and delivered slowly. The following Egyptian colloquial utterance is seen as a commentary or exegesis on the preceding authoritative text. The elaborating utterance or exegesis utilizes a variant code in the act of pointing back to the authoritative text to which it is a commentary. This suggests a rhetorical principle:<sup>113</sup>

exactly [like] that of the *imam* or schoolteacher reading the scriptures or the set book, and then looking up from his tome to explain to the congregation or class what it means. (p. 27)

Further examples of this rhetorically principled code switching juncture are seen in speech excerpt (71):

- الاشتراكية زي ما قال الميثاق ، هي الترجمة الصحيحة لكون الثورة عملاً تقديمياً...  
 ٢ الاشتراكية يعني ايه...الاشتراكية ككلمة معناها اقامة مجتمع الكفاية والعدل...  
 اقامة مجتمع تكافؤ الفرص...اقامة مجتمع الانتاج واقامة مجتمع الخدمات...  
 ٤ الاشتراكية يعني ايه...نقول الاشتراكية كلمة واحدة بس...  
 [...]   
 الديمقراطية هي الحرية السياسية والاشتراكية هي الحرية الاجتماعية...الكلام دا قلناه  
 ٦ قبل كدا ، الكلام دا جاء في الميثاق...  
 [...]   
 لا يمكن للحرية أن تتحقق...كلنا عندنا تجربة واحدة...  
 [...]   
 ٨ وكانوا يقولوا أن في حرية سياسية أو في ديمقراطية سياسية...  
 ولكن الإستغلال والإقطاع ورأس المال المستغل قضى على كلمة الديمقراطية اللي  
 ١٠ قالوها...وعلاشان كدا إحنا بنقول...لا يمكن في أي حال أن يقال أن هناك حرية  
 إلا إذا توفرت الديمقراطية السياسية مع الديمقراطية الاجتماعية.

<sup>113</sup> Holes, pp. 27-28.

- (71) Socialism, as the Charter says, is the correct interpretation of the revolution in terms of progressive action.
- 2 What does socialism mean? ...Socialism, in a word, means the establishment of a society of sufficiency and justice, ...of equal opportunity, ...of production and services.
- 4 What does socialism mean? ...We say 'socialism' is just one word.  
[...]  
Democracy is political freedom, and socialism is social freedom. We've said that
- 6 before, it's in the Charter.  
[...]  
It's impossible for freedom to be achieved, ...we've all got clear experience of this.  
[...]
- 8 They used to say that there was political freedom or there was political democracy,  
...but exploitation and feudalism and capitalism put an end to the idea of democracy which they meant,
- 10 ...so that's why we say...that it's impossible in any circumstances for it to be claimed that there is freedom unless...political democracy exists alongside social democracy.  
(pp. 41-42)

A number of rhetorical functions are suggested by the code switching junctures. The contrasting junctures in (71:1) and (71:5-6) suggest parenthetical justification or corroboration in ECA of a preceding claim in MSA. The initial claim in each case carries with it a metaphorically 'scriptural' tone with the following explanation 'attempting to persuade the audience of its rightness' (p. 29):<sup>114</sup>

هي الترجمة الصحيحة لكون الثورة عملاً تقدمياً

(71:1) [...it] is the correct interpretation of the revolution in terms of progressive action.

زي ما قال الميثاق

(71:1) as the Charter says

الديمقراطية هي الحرية السياسية والاشتراكية هي الحرية الاجتماعية

(71:5) Democracy is political freedom, and socialism is social freedom.

<sup>114</sup> Holes, pp. 28-31.

الكلام دا قلناه قبل كدا ، الكلام دا جاء في الميثاق

(71:5-6) We've said that before, it's in the Charter.

The juncture at (71:7) suggests Nasir is supporting the truth value of the preceding MSA assertion by appealing to the audience's personal experience. Support is located in the audience's world through the switch to ECA:

لا يمكن للحرية إن تتحقق

(71:7) it's impossible for freedom to be achieved

كلنا عندنا تجربة واحدة

(71:7) we've all got one [and the same] experience [of this].

Another device is illustrated at two junctures (71:2-3) and (71:4). In these cases, Nasir's clarification follows a change in the speaker's role to the 'uncomprehending surrogate listener' (p. 30). In both instances the uncomprehending questioner asks in Egyptian colloquial (71:2) and (71:4a). This gambit is immediately followed by a clarification in MSA in the first instance (71:2-3), and an assurance in ECA in the second instance (71:4b):

الاشتراكية يعني ايه

(71:2) What does socialism mean?

اقامة مجتمع الكفاية والعدل...اقامة مجتمع تكافؤ الفرص...  
اقامة مجتمع الانتاج واقامة مجتمع الخدمات

(71:2-3) Socialism, in a word, means the establishment of a society of sufficiency and justice...of equal opportunity ...of production and services.

الاشتراكية يعني ايه

(71:4a) What does socialism mean?

نقول الاشتراكية كلمة واحدة بس

(71:4b) We say 'socialism' is just one word.

The code switching tactics employed in (71:1-7) characterize different roles which Nasir adopts in this address. Defining and stating abstract concepts are indicated by the choice of uninflected MSA. Exophoric references to these abstractions, on the other hand, are presented in ECA. In these instances, Nasir ‘steps outside his “teaching” text’ (p. 31). Code switching variation thus marks off the important messages or ‘truths’ of the real text uttered in MSA, from the parenthetical references and rhetorical questions in ECA. Code switching junctures have an organizing function, linking parts of the discourse.<sup>115</sup>

The remainder of this extract further supports this analysis. Political axioms are presented in MSA in (71:9) and (71:10-11) below:

كانوا يقولوا أن في حرية سياسية أو في ديمقراطية سياسية

(71:8) They used to say that there was political freedom or there was political democracy

[...] ولكن الإستغلال والإقطاع ورأس المال المستغل قضى على كلمة الديمقراطية

(71:9) but exploitation and feudalism and capitalism put an end to the idea of democracy

اللي قالوها

(71:9-10) which they meant

وعلاشان كذا إحنا بنقول

(71:10) so that’s why we say

لا يمكن في أي حال أن يقال أن هناك حرية إلا إذا توفرت الديمقراطية السياسية مع الديمقراطية الإجتماعية.

(71:10-11) it’s impossible in any circumstances for it to be claimed that there is freedom unless...political democracy exists alongside social democracy.

The use of rapid conversational ECA in (71:8) has an indirectly dismissive function. Nasir reports an anonymous ‘wrongheaded’ claim which is in Holes’ analysis to be ‘accorded less weight and has less truth value than his axioms’ (p. 32). Fragments (71:9-10) and

<sup>115</sup> Holes, pp. 30-31.

(71:10) function anaphorically and cataphorically respectively, linking back to (71:8) and forward to (71:10-11).<sup>116</sup>

In contrast to the code switching variation exhibited in extracts (70) and (71), Holes also looks at extracts of other speeches on virtually identical themes yet presented in inflected MSA. In a similar political context and just a week after the speech extracted in (70), Nasir delivered a speech on the Anglo-French invasion in fast tempo *fus-ha* at an Al-Azhar mass rally two days after the ceasefire declared on 7 November 1956 following some 650 to 1,000 killed. Unlike the personalized atmosphere projected in extract (70), the message in this case concerned the difference between surrender and peace: ‘that the Egyptian government had not surrendered but sued for peace—is expressed through the language of political abstraction and symbol’ (p. 24). The two texts were presented in very similar circumstances and with similar objectives, aiming to inspire Egyptians ‘to pull together [...] in order to fight and defeat a foreign invader’ (p. 26). The speech extracted in (70) employs the strategy of code switching variation and represents according to Holes a ‘concrete personal challenge to the enemy’. The speech delivered in *fus-ha* a week later represents ‘an abstract, inspirational appeal to an ideal of defiant nationhood’ (p. 26). Divergence in the communication strategies utilized in the two texts points to their different symbolic status and differing speaker-audience relationships. In contrast to the speech extracted in (71), Holes notes a five-and-a-half hour speech also on الميثاق *the National Charter* delivered to the National Congress of Popular Forces in pure *fus-ha*. Both speeches presented a description and definition of the meaning of socialism, yet once again striking differences in the choice of code reflect differences in the status of the text and the speaker-audience relationship. The use of *fus-ha* had no referential significance but rather created ‘linguistic and paralinguistic indicators of the status which Nasir wish[ed] the audience to accord the text’ (p. 28). Addressed to the Congress in slow, fully inflected *fus-ha*, Holes depicts Nasir—as he elaborates the principles of a socialist economy—revealing an authoritative text, ‘acting as an instrument for the mediation of

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<sup>116</sup> Holes, pp. 32-33.

[the Charter]' (p. 28). This strategy contrasts with the explaining, interpreting and persuading roles brought to life by the code switching strategies adopted in extract (71).

In Holes' analysis, the meaningful choice of linguistic variants is shown to be motivated by a range of factors. In particular, Nasir appropriates the code switching convention for his own rhetorical purpose: 'the tactical role, or pose, which the speaker wishes to strike vis-a-vis the audience' (p. 33). The choice of *fus-ha*, MSA or ECA signals the symbolic status of the text and speaker-audience relationships. *Fus-ha* and MSA were shown to indicate the truth value of some abstract, idealized, metaphorical, timeless or authoritative message. The switches to vernacular ECA suggested the speaker's elaboration or personalization of the message—the real time organization of timeless truths.

This assessment of code switching strategies affords an essential insight for a theory of translation equivalence. Code switching is a resource which forms part of the creative process of communication—it is not a rule-governed process. As Holes advises: 'it would be fruitless to try to establish a one-to-one correspondence between a particular kind of communicative intent and a particular "variety" of Arabic, even if we were in a position to define what we meant by variety' (p. 33). The Translation Salience model focuses on the translator's ability to perceive salient information in the text at whatever level of analysis. Attunement to uniformities cannot be determined solely by reference to rule-governed constraints on expression. A translator-oriented model seeks meaningfulness in the wider context of communication situations. Code switching is a highly motivated or *marked* communication resource. It becomes translationally salient by virtue of the speaker attitudes, message values and speaker-listener relationships *implicit* in its utilization, and by virtue of the unshared or *local* nature of the resource at the nexus of translation into English.

### 3.2.2 Deflected and Strict Agreement

Variant patterns of agreement in Arabic provide communication strategies for speakers to pick out context sensitive information. In this sub-section, obligatory or rule-governed usage is contrasted with optionally constrained, non-rule-governed uses.

Grammatical agreement describes a relationship between elements in some grammatical configuration in which two grammatical elements (X and Y) are matched in some property or feature (Z). Put simply by Corbett: ‘in a given language X agrees with Y in Z’ (p. 24). In Arabic, an attributive adjective agrees with its head noun in gender, number and definiteness. To mirror the relationship implied by the statement ‘X agrees with Y’, the terms target and controller are used: one agreeing element X, such as an attributive adjective, is called the target; and another element Y, such as a head noun, is called the controller. Slightly more detailed frameworks by Lehman and Moravcsik offer two insights of relevance to the Translation Saliency model. First is the morphosyntactic or surface dimension in which the agreement phenomenon operates. Second is the contingency of choice among variants or options. Consistent with the view of agreement as a relationship between elements in some grammatical configuration, Moravcsik determines that X and Y exhibit ‘a grammatical or semantic syntagmatic relation’ (p. 90). The amenability of agreement to the notion of optionality (a speaker’s choice from among variants) is suggested in the condition of paradigmatic independence of X and Y in Z: the agreeing property is described in terms of a grammatical category for which there exists a ‘form paradigm of subcategories’, and the fact of X belonging to a subcategory of Z is independent of the presence or nature of Y (p. 90).<sup>117</sup>

Before examining motivated agreement variation in Arabic, a few preliminaries require consideration—features, domain, strictness, variant agreement, and function.

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<sup>117</sup> Charles A. Ferguson and Michael Barlow, ‘Introduction’, in *Agreement in Natural Language...*, pp. 1-22 (pp. 1, 5-7); Christian Lehman, ‘On the Function of Agreement’, in *Agreement in Natural Language...*, pp. 55-66 (pp. 55); Moravcsik, pp. 89-90; C. Lehman, ‘Universal and typological aspects of agreement’, in *Apprehension: das sprachliche Erfassen von Gegenständen*, ed. by H. Seiler and F. J. Stachowiak (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1982), II, pp. 201-267; and Greville G. Corbett, ‘Agreement: A Partial Specification Based on Slavonic Data’, in *Agreement in Natural Language...*, pp. 23-53 (pp. 24-25).

The most basic point of inquiry involves the features or properties in which grammatical elements may agree. The features or grammatical categories which are matched in an agreement relation may be inherent or overtly marked. Certain features appear in some agreement relations but not in others. Samples (72) and (73) illustrate the agreement in Classical Arabic of an attributive adjective with its head noun in gender, number, case and definiteness. Samples (74) and (75) illustrate predicate adjective agreement with its subject in gender, number and case. Sample (76) shows that the past copula كان imposes an accusative case on the predicate adjective which agrees in gender and number only:<sup>118</sup>

المعلمُ الجديدُ  
teacher(M SING NOM DEF) new(M SING NOM DEF)

(72) the new teacher

المعلمِ الجديدِ  
teacher(M SING GEN DEF) new(M SING GEN DEF)

(73) of the new teacher

المعلمُ جديدُ  
teacher(M SING NOM DEF) new(M SING NOM INDEF)

(74) The teacher is new.

المعلمةُ جديدةٌ  
teacher(F SING NOM DEF) new(F SING NOM INDEF)

(75) The [female] teacher is new.

كان المعلمُ جديداً  
was teacher(M SING NOM DEF) new(M SING ACC INDEF)

(76) The teacher was new.

The domain of agreement in both classical and colloquial Arabic ranges from the phrase level to the clause level. Agreement in classical Arabic and contemporary Syrian Arabic of an attributive adjective with its head noun in gender, number and definiteness is illustrated in an indefinite noun phrase in (77) and in a definite noun phrase in (78).

<sup>118</sup> Ferguson and Barlow, pp. 3-4, 10-12.

Agreement at the clause level is illustrated in (79) and (80), where a relative clause as a whole is shown to agree with its head noun in definiteness. Number agreement in Egyptian colloquial Arabic between the preposition *بتاع* *of* and the thing possessed is illustrated in the masculine, feminine and plural samples (81), (82) and (83):<sup>119</sup>

- رجلٌ كبيرٌ  
[MSA] man(M SING INDEF) big(M SING INDEF)  
رجالٌ كبير  
[Syrian] man(M SING INDEF) big(M SING INDEF)
- (77) a big man

- الرجلُ الكبيرُ  
[MSA] man(M SING DEF) big(M SING DEF)  
الرجالُ الكبير  
[Syrian] man(M SING DEF) big(M SING DEF)
- (78) the big man

- رجلٌ رأيتهُ أمس  
[MSA] man(M SING INDEF) Ø(REL INDEF) saw-I-him yesterday  
رجالٌ شففتهُ مبارح  
[Syrian] man(M SING INDEF) Ø(REL INDEF) saw-I-him yesterday
- (79) a man that I saw yesterday

- الرجل الذي رأيتهُ أمس  
[MSA] man(M SING DEF) that(REL DEF) saw-I-him yesterday  
الرجال التي شففتهُ مبارح  
[Syrian] man(M SING DEF) that(REL DEF) saw-I-him yesterday
- (80) the man that I saw yesterday

- البيت بتاع المدير  
[Egyptian] house(M SING DEF) of(M SING) manager
- (81) the manager's house

- الجنينة بتاعت البيت  
[Egyptian] garden(F SING DEF) of(F SING) house
- (82) the garden of the house

<sup>119</sup> Ferguson and Barlow, pp. 4-7.

البيوت بتوع الشركة  
[Egyptian] houses(PL DEF) of(PL) company

(83) the houses of the company

Irregularities in the strictness of the agreement relation are evidenced in the occurrence of feature mismatches. Ferguson and Barlow note that ‘in many instances the matching is split, partial or ambiguous’ (p. 14). This contrasts with the basic notion that the same feature appears at several places related syntactically, semantically or functionally. Mismatching of agreement features draws attention to the existence of complicating phenomena. Feature mismatch in Arabic is exhibited in the feminine singular adjectival, verbal and anaphoric pronoun agreement typically associated with non-human plural nouns in non-contemporary written Arabic. It also occurs with some human broken and sound plural nouns in contemporary dialects. Variation between plural and feminine singular agreement with plural controllers follows on from non-uniform strictness in agreement. Such variation is investigated in a paper by Belnap and Shabaneh, and in a subsequent paper by Belnap.<sup>120</sup>

The synchronic operation of resolution rules yielding conflicting preferred agreement outcomes may lead to instances of variant agreement, attested in (83) and (83a). Contrasting plural and feminine singular agreement between preposition and preceding possessed noun is exhibited by بتوع *of*(PL) in (83) and بتاعت *of*(F SING) in (83a):

البيوت بتاعت الشركة  
[Egyptian] houses(PL DEF) of(F SING) company

(83a) the houses of the company

The existence of variant patterns of agreement calls to mind the knotty problems associated with translating the ‘surface of texts with all their gaps, errors, ambiguities,

<sup>120</sup> Ferguson and Barlow, pp. 13-14; R. Kirk Belnap and Osama Shabaneh, ‘Variable Agreement with Nonhuman Controllers in Classical and Modern Standard Arabic’, in *Perspectives in Arabic Linguistics IV: Papers from the Fourth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*, ed. by Ellen Broselow, Mushira Eid and John McCarthy, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science Series IV: Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 85 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1992), pp. 245-262; and R. Kirk Belnap, ‘The Meaning of Deflected/Strict Agreement Variation in Cairene Arabic’, in *Perspectives in Arabic Linguistics V...*, pp. 97-117.

multiple referents and “foreign” disorder’ to which Genzler draws attention.<sup>121</sup> The call is echoed in an observation by Ferguson and Barlow on the paucity of research on the creative side of language: ‘the playful, poetic, aesthetic use of language’. They warn against overly functionalist explanations of agreement variation in terms of ‘efficiency in the referential use of language’ (pp. 16-17).<sup>122</sup>

Agreement variation is associated with conflicting linguistic phenomena such as semantic versus syntactic agreement, coordination of conflicting categories, lexical idiosyncrasies, word order and syntactic distance. Agreement variation may reflect the progress of change within a language (documented by Belnap and Shabaneh). It may also manifest user preferences. More importantly from the perspective of translation equivalence, agreement variation may be determined by communicative strategies or pragmatic considerations such as the speaker’s perception of referents (documented by Belnap). Agreement variation is illustrated in (84):

- (a) جائتني مكاتيب  
reached-she-me letters  
(b) جاءني مكاتيب  
reached-he-me letters  
(c) جاؤوني مكاتيب  
reached-they-me letters

(84) I got some letters.<sup>123</sup>

Singular feminine agreement commonly associated with inanimate plurals appears in (84a). Of the two marked variants, the morphosyntactically unmarked third person masculine singular option (84b) is available with an indefinite subject immediately following the verb. It has a classicizing effect, as ‘a remnant of the older general rule of verb-initial sentences in Classical Arabic’ according to Ferguson and Barlow (p. 16). Use of a plural verb with an inanimate subject (84c) is the least likely variant. It suggests a referential, attitudinal, or syntactic contrast:

<sup>121</sup> Genzler, p. 12.

<sup>122</sup> Ferguson and Barlow, pp. 7, 16-17.

<sup>123</sup> Ferguson and Barlow, p. 16.

an emphasis on the plurality (e.g., in contrast to the receipt of a single letter), or a kind of personification (e.g., the letters viewed as deliberately coming), or an attraction to a series of plural agreements (e.g., with human subjects). (p. 16)

The significance of situational constraints on variant agreement assignment is investigated by Corbett. He notes the ubiquity of agreement variation and stresses the inadequacy of explanations based simply on conflicting syntactic and semantic constraints. Corbett proposes a view in which one form has ‘greater semantic justification than another’ (p. 47). Distributional constraints include animacy and precedence. Animate controllers are subject to greater semantic justification than inanimates, as are controllers which precede their targets. The distance between controllers and targets, the presence of quantifiers and numerous sociolinguistic variables (such as the speaker’s age and occupation) interact with target, controller and agreement features. But Corbett admits it is ‘very difficult to pin down the effect of one particular factor’ (p. 50).<sup>124</sup>

In response to the superfluity and redundancy to which agreement relations have traditionally been attributed—much like the repetition phenomena investigated in Section 3.1.1—various authors have looked at the communicative functions of agreement. It is widely noted that agreement relations function to overcome the noise of communication and free up expressions to fulfil some other function (such as the use of word order for topicalization and focusing). Lehman’s thesis concentrates on the referential nature of agreement: that agreement primarily functions to ‘identify or reidentify referents [...] by giving information on grammatical properties of its referent’ (p. 55). Ferguson and Barlow suggest that agreement relations contribute to the message directly, most importantly in the cross-indexing of important referents. Croft argues that in contrast to the marking of case, agreement has pragmatic force, cross-referencing or indexing the important or salient arguments. Rather than point to a relationship between two entities in the described situation itself, agreement phenomena determine a relationship between the speaker and referents in the described situation. That is, agreement relations determine the speaker’s point of view or attitude towards referents. To distinguish agreement relations from case

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<sup>124</sup> Corbett, pp. 46-50.

marking, Croft employs another pragmatic notion—obviousness. He claims that case marking denotes non-obvious grammatical relations, in contrast to agreement relations. Rather than depending on some property of the described situation, a semantic relation between two entities follows on from the knowledge and presuppositions of the speaker and hearer. In this way, the obviousness associated with agreement denotes a relationship between the interlocutors and a semantic relation, rather than a relation between two entities in the discourse situation. Case marking thus denotes the semantically distinct dependency relations holding between entities, while agreement is a deictic strategy. The role of agreement in the interpretation of discourse situation and described situation, and its relevance to equivalence in translation, are readdressed after a more detailed examination of the literature on agreement variation in Arabic.<sup>125</sup>

The meaningfulness of agreement variation in Arabic is investigated in two papers on number agreement variation. Based on a statistical analysis of the frequency of various agreement relations in a diachronic corpus, Belnap and Shabaneh provide a historical outline of how agreement variation with non-human plural controllers has come to be practically eradicated in Modern Standard Arabic. In a later paper, Belnap extends the domain of agreement to include agreement with human plural controllers. Based on a survey of spoken Cairene Arabic, he demonstrates that agreement variation can function to indicate nuances in the speaker's perception of referents.<sup>126</sup>

A distinctive feature of agreement in Arabic is the feminine singular agreement of targets with non-human plural controllers. A gender distinction is shown by attributive adjectives with singular non-human controllers in (85) and (87). No corresponding gender differentiation is shown with plural non-human controllers in (86) and (88):<sup>127</sup>

الكتاب الجديد  
book(M SING) new(M SING)

(85) the new book

<sup>125</sup> Ferguson and Barlow, pp. 16-17; Lehman, pp. 55, 61-65; and Croft, pp. 167-168, 173-176.

<sup>126</sup> Belnap and Shabaneh, pp. 245-262; and Belnap, pp. 97, 116.

<sup>127</sup> Belnap and Shabaneh, p. 246.

الكتب الجديدة  
books(M PL) new(F SING)

(86) the new books

السنة الجديدة  
year(F SING) new(F SING)

(87) the new year

السنوات الجديدة  
years(F PL) new(F SING)

(88) the new years

A similar discrepancy between singular and plural non-human agreement is evidenced in the agreement between subjects and verbs. Sample (89) illustrates consistency in gender agreement between verb and masculine singular non-human subject, whereas (90) indicates feminine singular verb with masculine plural non-human subject. Sample (91) illustrates consistent agreement between masculine singular anaphoric possessive pronoun (س *its*) and antecedent masculine singular non-human controller حزب *party*. Sample (92) indicates feminine singular anaphoric possessive pronoun (ها *its*) with antecedent plural non-human controller احزاب *parties*:<sup>128</sup>

أوضح البيان  
clarified(M SING) report

(89) the report clarified

أوضحت البيانات  
clarified(F SING) reports

(90) the reports clarified

حزب المعارضة وإدارته  
party opposition and-administration-his

(91) the opposition party and its administration

احزاب المعارضة وإدارتها  
parties opposition and-administration-her

(92) the opposition parties and their administration

<sup>128</sup> Belnap and Shabaneh, pp. 246-247.

The kind of agreement exemplified in (86), (88), (90) and (92) is labelled deflected agreement, a term coined by Ferguson and Rice in an unpublished paper on agreement phenomena in Damascus Arabic. Deflected agreement indicates some mismatch of agreement features. Strict agreement describes the absence of feature mismatching: ‘some category that is overtly or inherently present in the controller (subject or head-noun) is copied in the target (verb, noun-modifier)’.<sup>129</sup> In contrast to the deflected agreement characteristic of plural *non-human* controllers, strict agreement exhibited by plural *human* controllers is presented in (93) to (96). There is ‘no collapsing of categories to the deflected agreement found with non-human plural controllers’ (p. 247):<sup>130</sup>

المدرّس الجديد  
teachers(M SING) new(M SING)

(93) the new teacher [male]

المدرّسون الجدد  
teachers(M PL) new(BPL)

(94) the new teachers [males or mixed gender]

المدرّسة الجديدة  
teachers(F SING) new(F SING)

(95) the new teacher [female]

المدرّسات الجديّدات  
teachers(F PL) new(F PL)

(96) the new teachers [female only]

Three types of strict plural agreement are available in Arabic: sound masculine plural agreement, sound feminine plural agreement, and broken plural agreement. In their corpus, Belnap and Shabaneh observed very few instances of sound masculine plural agreement with non-human controllers. They note that in each case the context indicates metaphorical

<sup>129</sup> Belnap, p. 98 n.2; from Charles A. Ferguson, ‘Grammatical Agreement in Classical Arabic and the Modern Dialects: A Response to Versteegh’s Pidginization Hypothesis’, *Al-‘Arabiyya*, 22 (1989), 5-17 (pp. 11-15).

<sup>130</sup> Belnap and Shabaneh, pp. 247-248.

reference of the non-human controller to human beings. This is exemplified in (97) where *other(M PL) generations(BPL)* refers to human beings:<sup>131</sup>

ثمّ انشأنا من بعدهم قروناً آخرين (القرآن ٢٣: ٤٢)  
then created-we after them generations(BPL) other(M PL)

(97) Then after them we created other generations.<sup>132</sup>

Both strict sound feminine agreement and strict broken plural agreement were found to occur with non-human plural controllers. In (98), sound feminine attributive adjective *a few(F PL)* occurs with broken plural controller *أيام(BPL)*. In (99), broken plural attributive adjective *momentous(BPL)* collocates with broken plural controller *events(BPL)*:

في أيام معدودات (القرآن ٢: ٢٠٢)  
in days(BPL) few(F PL)

(98) in a few days<sup>133</sup>

كانت القلوب تثقلها احداث جسام  
did-she hearts(BPL) she-burdens-her events(BPL) momentous(BPL)

(99) momentous events burdened the hearts<sup>134</sup>

Cooccurring strict sound feminine plural and strict broken plural agreement with non-human plural controllers was also attested in the corpus. In (100), the non-human controller *صمّ(BPL)* *hooves(BPL)* assumes a metaphorical force with a set of three broken plurals and two sound feminine plurals, viz. *ميتان(BPL)* *striking(BPL)*, *ملاطس(BPL)* *hard/iron(BPL)*, *شديدات(BPL)* *strong-jointed(F PL)*, and *ليّنات(BPL)* *resilient(F PL)*:

على صمّ صلاب ملاطس شديدات عقد ليّنات متان  
on hooves(BPL) iron(BPL) striking(BPL) strong-jointed(F PL) resilient(F PL) firm(BPL)

(100) on firm, resilient, strong-jointed, striking, iron hooves<sup>135</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Belnap and Shabaneh, p. 248, n. 5.

<sup>132</sup> Belnap and Shabaneh, p. 248 n. 5; from Quran 23:42.

<sup>133</sup> Belnap and Shabaneh, p 249; from Quran 2:203.

<sup>134</sup> Belnap and Shabaneh, p 249; from « روز اليوسف », القاهرة: ١٩٨٩، ص ٤٠.

<sup>135</sup> Belnap and Shabaneh, p 249; from

« ديوان إمريء القيس », تحقيق محمد ابو الفضل ابراهيم (القاهرة: دار المعارف بمصر، ١٩٥٨)، ص ٨٧

There was a single instance in the corpus of sound feminine non-human plural controller الإجازات *vacations*(F PL) with broken plural attributive adjective target القصار *short*(BPL) presented in (101):

وهذه الإجازات القصار التي كانت تتخلل دراسة الأزهريين  
and-this(F SING) vacations(F PL) short(BPL) that(F SING) did-she she-interrupts studying azharites

(101) and these short vacations that interrupted the Azharites' studying<sup>136</sup>

Cooccurrence of strict and deflected agreement within a noun phrase was likewise rare, illustrated in (102). The non-human broken plural controller جمل *sentences*(BPL) has two attributive adjective targets, exhibiting strict broken plural agreement with قصار *short*(BPL), and deflected feminine singular agreement with متقطعة *choppy*(F SING):

وإنما هي جمل متقطعة قصار  
however she sentences(BPL) choppy(F SING) short(BPL)

(102) However, they were short, choppy sentences.<sup>137</sup>

Other types of cooccurring strict and deflected agreement were not uncommon in the corpus. Fragment (99) above shows strict agreement of the subject احداث *events*(BPL) with attributive adjective جسام *momentous*(BPL) yet deflected agreement with the verb كانت...تثقل *she burdened*. Similarly, fragment (100) above shows strict plural agreement of controller الإجازات *vacations*(F PL) with attributive adjective قصار *short*(BPL) yet deflected agreement with relative pronoun التي *that*(F SING) and verb كانت تتخلل *she interrupted*.

Arab and European grammarians alike have had little to say on the relative frequency of variant agreement relations in Classical Arabic. The diachronic corpus examined by Belnap and Shabaneh reveals a historical progression in the changing patterns of agreement variation to the point where feminine singular agreement with non-human controllers in MSA is almost categorical: having 'gradually spread and become the prevailing pattern by the tenth century and probably earlier in prose' (p. 260). Pre-modern materials in the corpus showed considerable variation, with much more frequent broken

<sup>136</sup> Belnap and Shabaneh, p 250; from

طه حسين، « الأيام »، (القاهرة: دار المعارف بمصر، ١٩٨٤)، ٢، ص ٥٢

<sup>137</sup> Belnap and Shabaneh, p 250; from

طه حسين، « الأيام »، ٢، ص ٢٣

and feminine plural agreement with non-human plurals, having been ‘the prevailing agreement type at one time in the past’ (p. 260). The use of broken plural agreement in modern prose is thus an indicator of relic literary style within a limited class of adjectives consisting of a single morphological type, فعال /fi-‘aal/, instanced as قصار *short*, طوال *long*, جسام *huge*, and ثقال *heavy*. These are found in Taha Husein’s *recherché* style and also in a restricted number of collocations like احداث جسام *momentous events* in (99).<sup>138</sup>

Belnap’s separate paper extends the domain of agreement to include both human and non-human agreement variation. Variation in human controllers is shown to be ‘far more extensive [...] than one would expect’ (p. 101). In a descriptive, interview-based survey of strict and deflected variation exhibited with human and non-human plural controllers in Cairene Arabic, Belnap illustrates the semantic significance of this motivated variation: ‘[a]greement variability functions as a resource available to speakers to more narrowly classify referents represented by head nouns’ (p. 99).

A statistical correlation was indicated between deflected agreement with inanimate controllers, and strict agreement with human controllers as outlined earlier in this section. Samples (86), (88), (90) and (92) exhibiting deflected agreement with non-human controllers were contrasted with (93) to (96) exhibiting strict agreement with human controllers. Nevertheless, Belnap detects an intermediate range of variation distributions based on a number of criteria: specificity of the controller, distance between the agreement loci, the presence of quantifiers, and the speaker’s perception of the referent as grouped or individuated. Belnap concludes that agreement variation is a grammatical resource that speakers may use to indicate their perception of the referent represented by the controller. He notes a number of mitigating factors including syntactic, semantic, morphological and discourse constraints.

The specificity of the controller constrains variability in that deflected agreement could be expected with less specific, more generic human controllers. Fragment (103) shows deflected agreement of عيانة *sick*(F SING) with a generic human controller الناس

<sup>138</sup> Belnap and Shabaneh, pp. 250-251, 255, 259-260.

*people*(COLL). Fragment (104) shows deflected agreement of *كبرت she has grown up* with the broken plural human controller *اولاده his sons*(BPL):<sup>139</sup>

كل الناس عيانة بالسكّر وبيقعدوا لوحدهم  
all people(COLL) sick(F SING) with-diabetes and-live-they by-themselves

(103) All the people are sick with diabetes and live by themselves.

اولاده كبرت وبناته تجوزت  
sons(BPL)-his grew-she and-daughters(BPL)-his married-she

(104) His sons have grown up and his daughters have married.

Other human controllers exhibiting deflected agreement included head nouns ‘not necessarily perceived as human, but having human referents’ (p. 102). Such controllers include *نجوم stars/personalities*, *جنسيّات nationalities*, and *نوعيّات types*. Fragment (105) exemplifies deflected agreement of sound and broken plural controllers with human referents such as *فلاحين farmers*, *غربيّين Westerners*, *أجانب foreigners*, *عمال workers*, and *شباب youths*:<sup>140</sup>

الفلاحين كانت حلوة  
farmers(BPL) was-she great

(105) The farmers were great.

The effect of distance between the controller and agreement loci or targets, is explained with the notion of information recoverability:

the nearer an agreement locus is to its head the more immediate is the association between the two: deflected or neutralized agreement are far less likely to interfere with the interlocutor perceiving the grammatical relationship between the head and locus. The more distant the locus is from its head, the greater the potential for confusing the relationship between head and locus. (p. 104)

Fragment (106) contrasts the proximity of the feminine singular anaphoric possessive pronoun in *اهمّيّتها her importance* and its controller *حاجات things*(F PL) against the more distant masculine plural anaphoric pronoun object in *نرتّبهم كئنا we were ordering them*. This suggests that the deflected agreement option can be associated with proximity to the

<sup>139</sup> Belnap, pp. 100-101.

<sup>140</sup> Belnap, p, 102 n. 7.

controller: ‘the closer the locus of agreement is to the head the greater the frequency of deflected agreement’ (p. 103):

شوية حاجات...مش بترتيب اهميتها...وبعدين نشوف إذا كنا نرتبهم  
few things(F PL) [...] not in-order importance-her [...] and-afterward we-see if were-we we-order-them

(106) a few things...not in order of their importance...and afterward we’ll see if we were ordering them.

The effect of word order is illustrated in (107). The deflected agreement of *she* *تيجي* comes with subject *العيال* *the children*(BPL) is most favoured by the pre-nominal position. In contrast, strict agreement is exhibited in the post-positioned plural masculine object in *أقول لهم* *I-tell-them*:

يوم مثلاً تيجي العيال أقول لهم  
day example she-comes children(BPL) I-say to-them

(107) One day, for example, the children come and I tell them

The presence of quantifiers is shown to strongly favour strict agreement, while the absence of quantifiers with inanimate controllers strongly favours deflected agreement. Fragment (108) illustrates strict agreement with a numerical quantifier. This is almost categorically determined irrespective of other determining criteria such as the animacy of the controller. In this case, strict agreement accompanies an inanimate controller. Fragment (109) exemplifies strict agreement of an inanimate controllers cooccurring with a non-numerical mass quantifier *شوية* *a little*. Such quantifiers only slightly favour strict agreement:<sup>141</sup>

الخمسة ليالي الباقيين  
five(F) nights(BPL) remaining(PL)

(108) the remaining five nights

تحطّي شوية شربة صغيرين قوي  
so-you-put bit soup little(PL) very

(109) then you add just a little bit of soup

<sup>141</sup> Belnap, p. 104.

In contrast to the strict agreement expected with numerically quantified controllers illustrated in (108), Belnap points out instances of marked variation in which numerically quantified controllers occur with deflected agreement. The numerals *عشر* *ten*, *عشرين* *twenty*, and *مئة* *one hundred* exhibit deflected agreement where the referent is actually a coin or bill. Belnap reasons that the deflected agreement apparent in the following utterances reflects the speaker's perception of the referent as a group or collection, as a note in (110) and as an amount in (111):<sup>142</sup>

العشرة جنيه دييت  
the-ten pound this(F SING)

(110) these ten pounds  
or this ten pound note

فالتسعة جنيه، دي نص مرتب ابويا  
so-the-nine pound this(M SING) half salary father-my

(111) The nine pounds, that's half my father's salary.

The appearance of strict agreement in similar situations, it is suggested, would indicate a scattered or non-grouped perspective on the referent as illustrated in (112) and (113). The speaker in (112) did not have an individual note in mind, and seems to perceive the money from a scattered perspective as the narrative recounts 'an experience from [the speaker's] childhood about gradually winning back money he lost gambling' (p. 105). In (113), the speaker is referring to specific, individuated items. She 'has a list of very specific referents in mind' (p. 109):<sup>143</sup>

- العشرة جنيه؟  
- بس بقا كلهم فضة  
the-ten pound  
but (EXPL) all-them coins

(112)- The ten pounds?  
- But all of them were coins.

<sup>142</sup> Belnap, pp. 105-107.

<sup>143</sup> Belnap, pp. 105-107, 109-110.

- يعني دول الحاجات  
 - رتبتهم؟  
 - دلوقت وانا بأقولهم كنت برتبتهم  
 it-means those things  
 arranged-you-them?  
 now as-I am-saying-them was-I I-am arranging-them

- (113)- I mean, those are the things  
 - Did you put them in order?  
 - As I was saying [about] them now, I was putting them in order

A finer distinction between specific reference and individuated reference is adduced with (114). Specificity alone is insufficient to induce strict agreement. Although a strong correlation would be expected between specific referents and those perceived as individuated, the choice of deflected agreement here involves the speaker's specific reference to 'his and his former fiancée's character traits, but not of their individual traits' (p. 110):

طباعي اختلفت عن طباعها  
 characteristics-my differed-she from characteristics-her

- (114) My characteristics differed from her characteristics.

The distinction between strict or deflected agreement presented in fragments (110) to (114) signals the speaker's perception or classification of the referent as either grouped or individuated. This demonstrates the meaningful nature of agreement variation in certain contexts. Indeed, Belnap claims that 'in such cases it is the only indicator of the speaker's perception of the referent' (p. 106).

Such choice constitutes a communication resource. Distinctions between properties of discourse structure and properties of the real world originate with the speaker. Such discrepancies may indicate the speaker's perspective or attitude toward the described situation. Variation in agreement relations constitutes a surface level reflex connecting speakers with the discourse situation and the described situation. The internal consistency of agreement relations is obligatorily determined in actual situated discourse. In contrast, external consistency is not a requirement of well-formedness: 'any discrepancies between a discourse referent and the equivalent described object would need some sort of pragmatic

justification'.<sup>144</sup> As a deictic strategy determining a relationship between speaker and referent in the described situation, the optionality of the external consistency condition of agreement must be reconciled with the tension in actual discourse situations between discourse consistency and successfully referring to described objects—linking the real world to the maintenance of the 'fiction of a discourse situation'.<sup>145</sup>

Variant strict and deflected agreement in Arabic may suggest personification or a relic literary style. In certain situations, it may indicate nuances in the speaker's perception of referents as either grouped and specific, or scattered and individuated. The following section reconciles a speaker's attitude or perspective on situations with strategies for referencing the resumptive pronoun in Arabic relative clauses.

### 3.2.3 Direct and Indirect Relative Clauses

This section examines Bloch's research into the basic mechanisms of syntactic and semantic change in Arabic. He argues for the interconnectedness of syntax and semantics. Referenced with data from classical, middle and modern Arabic, his investigation includes analysis of the meaningful distribution of two related constructions—direct and indirect relative clauses.<sup>146</sup> Its value here is that semantic contrasts are established through close scrutiny of the utterance situation. Variation in the use of direct and indirect relative clauses is shown to be a communication resource adopted by speakers to get at their perspective on the described situation.

Like variation in number agreement relations (Section 3.2.2), Arabic inflection is amenable to variant referencing at the clause level. There are two distinct modes of reference inherent in Arabic relative clauses. These modes are identified by Bloch from the viewpoint of the speaker as either 'direct' or 'indirect'. Pronominal reference in the subordinate clause which refers back to a referent in the main clause is called العائد

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<sup>144</sup> Barlow, p. 190.

<sup>145</sup> Barlow, p. 210.

<sup>146</sup> Bloch, pp. xiv, 15-40.

*resumptive pronoun*. The resumptive pronoun may be inherent in the subordinate verb itself, suffixed to the subordinate verb or free. The resumptive pronoun may refer directly to the subject of the main clause or indirectly to the object of the main clause. This distinction is illustrated in the following pair of relative clauses. Fragment (115) exemplifies direct reference, where the resumptive bound first person reference in لي *I had* agrees in person with the sentence subject أنا *I*:

أنا رجل لا مال لي  
I man(INDEF) Ø(REL INDEF) is-not money for-me

(115) I am a man who has [I-have] no money.<sup>147</sup>

In contrast, fragment (116) exemplifies indirect reference, where resumptive bound third person له *he has* agrees in person with object امرأة *a person*:

كنتُ مرءاً ليس له من أهل  
was-I person(INDEF) Ø(REL INDEF) was-not for-him any family

(116) I was a man who had [he-had] no family.<sup>148</sup>

There are thus two ways in which a speaker may refer back to a first- or second-person referring expression in a main clause: directly to the subject (“*I am/you are the one who I/you do...*”); or indirectly to the object (“*I am/you are the one who he/she does...*”). This linguistic variation remains unexplained even by modern grammarians. As Bloch laments, ‘one is left with the impression of an utterly unprincipled alternation between the two modes’ (p. 38). Bloch’s initial structural account provides a partial explanation of the phenomenon, demonstrating the emergence of a clear distribution principle.<sup>149</sup>

The contrast between direct and indirect modes of reference follows on from the notion of specificity, which can be traced to the medieval Arab grammarians’ distinction between the related categories of التعريف *definiteness* and التخصيص *specificity*. A review of invariable third person resumptive pronoun reference reveals a scale or hierarchy of modes of address in the major types of relative clauses in classical Arabic (Table 2). Two

<sup>147</sup> Bloch, p. 17; from V. Cantarino, *Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose*, 3 vols (Indiana: 1974-1975), III, p. 157.

<sup>148</sup> Bloch, p. 17; from Cantarino, III, p. 158.

<sup>149</sup> Bloch, pp. 16-21, 38.

extremes in the scale of specificity are realized. Type A denotes the most specific head (a narrowly definable, particular entity), while type F denotes the most unspecific head (of a more general, vague nature).<sup>150</sup>

TABLE 2 *Specificity Hierarchy of the Major Types of Address in Relative Clauses in Classical Arabic—Feminine Head (Bloch, p. 18)*

A. Layla who said	ليلى التي قالت	Layla who(REL DEF) said-she
B. the woman who said	المرأة التي قالت	the-woman who(REL DEF) said-she
C. a woman who said	امرأة قالت	a-woman Ø(REL INDEF) said-she
D. the one (fem.) who said	التي قالت	who(REL DEF) said-she
E. someone (fem.) who said	من قالت	who(REL INDEF) said-she
F. someone (unmarked) who said	من قال	who(REL INDEF) said-he

Bloch points out that the degree of specificity of the head of a relative clause is a significant determining factor in the distribution of direct and indirect reference: ‘the proclivity for dir[ect relative clauses] gradually decreases as the heads become less specific’ (p. 20). At either end of the scale there is a correlation, with heads with the highest specificity (types A and B) exhibiting a clear preference for direct relative clauses and those with the lowest specificity (types E and F) exhibiting a preference for indirect relative clauses. But no pattern of preference was apparent for heads of intermediate specificity (types C and D): ‘in this “grey” indeterminate area [...] no marked preference for either the dir[ect] or indir[ect] RC [relative clause] could be detected’ (p. 21). Bloch investigates the variability exhibited by resumptive pronouns modifying first- and second-person referring expressions in the main clause.<sup>151</sup>

The use of direct reference in less specific structures was considered by medieval Arab grammarians to be a ‘deviation’ from the canonic indirect reference, which ‘was felt to be in conformity with the norm’ according to Bloch (p. 37). Direct and indirect relative clauses were analyzed in relation to الإخبار في القصد *intention of the report* and على المعنى *according to meaning* by Al-Tibrizi (b. A.D. 1030/هـ ٤٢١). Though prescriptive in approach, Al-Tibrizi’s work calls attention to non-structural constraints on the distribution

<sup>150</sup> Bloch, pp. 18-19.

<sup>151</sup> Bloch, pp. 18-21.

of direct and indirect reference in the indeterminate range (types C and D). Bloch addresses constraints anchored in the utterance situation. Their role in the distribution of the direct and indirect modes implicates the speaker's point of view.<sup>152</sup>

Choice of direct or indirect reference is shown to reflect the speaker's displayed attitude or perception of an entity. To this end, a number of semantic oppositions are considered: concrete reference versus oblique or vague reference; an entity that is 'on the scene', specific or concrete versus one that is 'off the scene', unspecific or encompassing; and an attitude or perceived entity that is inward or self-contained versus that which is outward or categorized. These abstract notions are not suggested as conditions or rules of grammar but rather are presented as tools for interpreting contextual criteria associated with a given situated text.

The non-random, motivated or marked variation between direct and indirect reference in relative clauses is evidenced in Bloch's notion of emphaticity: the 'emphatic indirect relative clause' (pp. 25-27). The choice of a particular variant may create a stylistic device: a 'portentous, ceremonious, occasionally mysterious effect' (p. 25). A change in specificity indicates a discrepancy between a described situation and the expression used to describe that situation: between 'what the speaker is really talking about, which is a familiar and known entity, and the opaque and unspecific way he chooses to talk about that entity' (p. 25). In (117), the love-stricken person speaks of an unspecified heart when he has his own heart in mind:

أعزّي قلباً مستهاماً

(117) I am consoling a lovesick heart.

In this case, the speaker has chosen an indirect reference *قلباً مستهاماً* a *lovesick heart* to refer to a specific entity—his heart. Faced with the choice between direct and indirect reference, a downward shift in the hierarchy of modes of address in the major types of relative clauses results in marked indirect reference. Consider (118) in which the speaker's

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<sup>152</sup> Bloch, pp. 24-38.

self-reference shifts from direct to indirect, from *إن بقيتُ إن If I remain alive/survive to unless a nobleman dies:*<sup>153</sup>

إن بقيتُ لأرحلن بغزوة تحوي الغنائم أو يموت كريم  
if remained-I alive then-I-start-will on-raid(F) she-gathers booty or he-dies nobleman

- (118) If I remain alive, I shall participate in a warring expedition that yields booty—unless a nobleman should die.<sup>154</sup>

Bloch argues that the speaker's attitude towards the described situation is reflected in a particular choice, and the speaker is free to choose an unmarked (non-emphatic) variant: '[i]n another situation the speaker might have chosen to present exactly the same entities in a non-emphatic way' (p. 27). Fragment (119) illustrates a similar kind of marked (or emphatic) indirect reference:

قلتُ من انت فقالت انا من شقّه الوجد وأبلاه الكمد  
said-I who you? so said-she I who(REL INDEF) betrayed-him passion and-hardened-him grief'

- (119) I said: 'Who are you?' So she said: 'I am someone who [he] has been afflicted by an all-consuming passion and deep grief'.<sup>155</sup>

An unmarked (non-emphatic) counterpart (119a) would involve the more specific relative clause (type D in the hierarchy rather than type F):

قلتُ من انت فقالت انا التي [...]  
said-I who you? so said-she I who(F REL DEF) [...]

- (119a) 'I said: "Who are you?" So she said: "I am the one who [...]"

In other words, the shift in specificity exhibited by *من انا I am someone who* is neutralized in *انا التي I am the one who*.<sup>156</sup>

Contrasting uses of the direct and indirect modes are shown by Bloch to emphasize different attitudes or perspectives on the described situation or utterance situation—and hence affect interpretation. The oblique reference or vagueness inherent in the use of indirect relative clauses is contrasted with the concretizing effect of the direct mode, as illustrated in the following selection:

<sup>153</sup> Bloch, pp. 25-27.

<sup>154</sup> Bloch, p. 25; from H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax* (Heidelberg: 1921), p. 200.

<sup>155</sup> Bloch, p. 26; from Umar, « ديوان », ed. by P. Schwarz (Leipzig: 1901-1909), p. 115.12.

<sup>156</sup> Bloch, pp. 26-27.

يا من لا يموت ارحم من يموت

O who(REL INDEF) not he-dies have-mercy(IMP) who(REL INDEF) he-dies

(120) O the one who does not die, have mercy upon him who [he] dies.<sup>157</sup>

مثل قتلك هدّ قومك كلهم من كان يحمل عنهم الاثقال

like killing-your weighs people-your all-them who(REL INDEF VOC) was-he he-carries for-them burdens

(121) Something like your being killed weighs heavily down on your people, O the one who [he] used to carry their burdens.<sup>158</sup>

من اجلك يا التي تيمت قلبي وانت بخيلة بالبذل عني

from sake-your O who(F REL DEF) enslaved-you(F) heart-my and-you(F) withholding generosity from-me

(122) Because of you, O you who [you] enslaved my heart, yet [you] are giving yourself only sparingly to me.<sup>159</sup>

أعوذ بعزتك الذي لا اله الا انت

I-take-refuge in-might-your whom(REL DEF VOC) is-not god except you

(123) I take refuge in your might, O you whom there is no god beside [you].<sup>160</sup>

بعد نديمياً الذين بكيتكما

after drinking-companions(DUAL) whom(REL DEF) wept-I for-you(DUAL)

(124) After you, my two drinking companions whom I wept for [you].<sup>161</sup>

Here the basic contrast can be formalized in the dichotomy:

من (REL INDEF) + INDIRECT *versus* الذي (REL DEF) + DIRECT.

In (120) and (121), use of the indirect mode with من (REL INDEF) creates an effect of oblique reference—addressed to God in (120), and from a eulogy to a slain friend in (121). Fragments (122), (123) and (124) on the other hand employ the direct mode with الذي (REL DEF) creating an effect of concretizing absent persons or entities. Fragment (122) is addressed to a particular lover and no-one else. In (123), God's oneness is an essential element of the message, so the high specificity of the direct mode is elicited due to 'the

<sup>157</sup> Bloch, p. 26; from H. Reckendorf, *Die Syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (Heidelberg: 1895-1898), p. 606.

<sup>158</sup> Bloch, p. 26; from Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, p. 435.-5.

<sup>159</sup> Bloch, p. 30; from Sibawayhi, « كتاب », ed. by H. Derenbourg (Paris: 1881-1885), I, 269.10.

<sup>160</sup> Bloch, p. 29; from T. Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik des Classischen Arabisch* (Darmstadt: 1963), p. 100.

<sup>161</sup> Bloch, p. 29; from Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, p. 443.

“one of a kind” nature of the addressee’ (p. 29). In (124), two specific persons are addressed, regardless of whether or not they may only have existed in the speaker’s mind as the standard ‘two companions’. What matters, according to Bloch, is:

not only real, objective truth, but the situational, subjective truth of the moment of utterance, and from this point of view these are two very real, concrete persons, so presented by the direct mode of address. (p. 30).

Bloch establishes the optionality of direct and indirect reference with the existence of these and other contrasting data. The speaker’s choice of one mode over the other is shown to be motivated by contextual criteria. Freedom to choose between the two modes of reference thus constitutes a communication resource by which speakers can get at a desired interpretation from the unique perspectives in which they find themselves. However, Bloch points out that the choice of mode of address is not universally available as evidenced by standard Quranic vocative formulas which overwhelmingly employ the indirect mode, such as *يا أيها الذين آمنوا* *O, you who believe*.<sup>162</sup>

Another contextually determined opposition illustrated by the contrasting application of the direct and indirect modes is that of specific or limited reference, as opposed to unspecific or encompassing reference. Consider the following data:

قال: يا مين يحبني اجيب شقفة نار وحملة حطب

said-he O who(REL INDEF) he-loves-me bring(IMP) shards fire and-load wood

(125) He said: ‘O [you] whosoever [he] loves me bring me some fire and a load of wood’.<sup>163</sup>

قالوا: مين أكلها؟ مين أكلها؟ وقالوا: يا اللي أكلتها عليك الأمان

said-they who(INTER) ate-he-it? who(INTERROG) ate-he-it? and-said-they O who(REL DEF) ate-you-it upon-you safety

(126) They said: ‘Who ate it? Who ate it?’ And they said: ‘O you who [you] ate it, we guarantee no harm will come to you [for having eaten it]’.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Bloch, pp. 26-31.

<sup>163</sup> Bloch, p. 31; from J. Blau, *Syntax des Palästinensischen Bauerndialekts von Bir-Zet* (Waldorf: 1960), p. 262.

<sup>164</sup> Bloch, p. 31; from Blau, *Palästinensischen Bauerndialekts...*, p. 262.

يا من تُبَيِّنُهَا النَّفْسُ  
O whom(REL INDEF) expounds-it soul

(127) O you whom the soul announces [it].<sup>165</sup>

يا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ أَنْزَلَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ آيَاتِ الْجَمَالِ  
O you whom(REL DEF) descended-she upon-them tokens beauty

(128) O you whom the tokens of beauty have descended upon [them].<sup>166</sup>

يا من تَحْبُونَ الْأَلْمَانَ  
O who(REL INDEF) you(PL)-love germans

(129) O you who [you] love the Germans.<sup>167</sup>

Once again the contrasting structures can be schematized:

من (REL INDEF) + INDIRECT *versus* الذي (REL DEF) + DIRECT.

(Although (128) employs الذي (REL DEF) with the indirect mode.) Bloch's analysis of contextual criteria reveals that the indirect mode used in (125) is addressed to *any person who...* or *all persons who....* In contrast, the direct mode used in (126) is addressed to a specific yet unidentified person in the utterance situation—on the scene yet 'into the air'.

The speaker is among forty robbers in a cave who:

having just sat down to feast on some meat which they had prepared, discover that one of the forty pieces is missing. They do not know who the thief is—it could be anyone among them, or someone else (the reader alone knows that it is the poor fellow who is hiding in the same cave, the story's protagonist). The choice of the dir[ect relative clause] may be motivated by an 'on the scene' notion, if the robbers assume that the culprit is one of them—a likely assumption given the nature of their profession. [...] But even if the speaker [...] assume[s] the addressee to be present, they certainly do not speak *to* [him]. The direct address is made 'into the air', figuratively speaking. (p. 32)

The notional perspectives in contrast are the unspecific, off the scene, encompassing reference exhibited through the indirect mode in (125) and the specific, on the scene, limited reference expressed through the direct mode in (126). The contrast of notions evidenced in (127) to (129) supports this. In (127) and (128), no concrete physical entity is present in the utterance situation. The indirect mode further suggests a canonic formula,

<sup>165</sup> Bloch, p. 33; from Cantarino, II, p. 219; from

جبران، « المجموعة الكاملة لمؤلفات جبران خليل جبران العربية » (بيروت: دار السلام)

<sup>166</sup> Bloch, p. 33; from Cantarino, III, p. 175; from جبران، « المجموعة... »

<sup>167</sup> Bloch, p. 33; from محفوظ، « خان الخليلي » (القاهرة: ١٩٦٢)، ص ٢٧٦، ٧

confirming the ‘particularly elevated and sublime subject matter’. But (129) involves a group of friends at a social gathering—an on the scene use of the direct mode ‘with the addressees identifiable by the speaker and directly spoken to’ (p. 33).<sup>168</sup>

The encompassing notion adduced in (125), (127) and (128), and the concretizing notion in (122), (123) and (124) are themselves contrasted in the following:

انت رضوانني الذي أدخلني هذا الفردوس بحوره العيني  
you ridwan-my who(REL DEF) brought-he-me this paradise with-houris eyes

(130) You are my Ridwan who [he] brought me into this Paradise with its wide-eyed houris.<sup>169</sup>

The situation has metaphorical force: an intoxicated speaker addresses Ridwan (also the name of the guardian of Paradise), who had ‘previously introduced the speaker to the nightlife pleasures of Cairo’. With an indirect relative clause, utterance (130) attests to encompassing reference: ‘evoking the Heavenly guardian letting him enter Paradise’. The use of a direct relative clause hypothesized in (130a) would create a concretizing force:

أنت رضوانني الذي أدخلتني [...]   
you ridwan(REL DEF)-my who brought-you-me [...]

(130a) You are my Ridwan who [you] brought me into [...]

Bloch suggests this ‘would have focused on the “real thing” on earth, i.e. the friend who had just brought him into the shady bar’ (p. 36).

A further contrast—of indirect and direct reference with the same relative clause type—is attested in (131) and (132):

أيها الواقعيون السطحيون الذين لا يرون من الواقع سوى وجهه الظاهري  
O realists superficial who(REL DEF) not they-see reality except face-its outward

(131) O you superficial realists who [they] see nothing but the outward face of the material world.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>168</sup> Bloch, pp. 31-33, 36.

<sup>169</sup> Bloch, p. 36; from J. Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic* (Louvain: 1966-1967), p. 166.

<sup>170</sup> Bloch, p. 34; from « نشيد الأرض »، عبدالمملك نوري، in V. Monteil, *Anthologie bilingue de la littérature arabe contemporaine* (Beirut: n.d.), p. 79.10

أيها التعساء أيها الأموات الذين تظنّون أنفسكم أحياءً  
 O unhappy O dead who(REL DEF) you(PL)-think yourselves alive

(132) O you unhappy people, you [living] dead who [you] deem  
 yourselves alive.<sup>171</sup>

Like (130) and (130a), these fragments contrast the use of direct and indirect clauses with  
 الذي (REL DEF) formalized:

الذي (REL DEF) + INDIRECT *versus* الذي (REL DEF) + DIRECT.

In the case of (131) and (132) though, Bloch observes a different meaningful distribution. The addressees are the same in both instances and are not contrasted in terms of reference to an entity, that is on the scene or off the scene. The utterances are directed toward ‘a certain type of human beings whom the author criticizes for deplorable qualities of character and mind’ (p. 34). Use of the indirect mode in (131) creates a categorizing effect: the people are assigned class membership. The force of the classifying device in (131) has the insulting effect of inclusion in a larger category. Bloch contrasts the relatively mild ‘you silly guys’ with the more insulting ‘you silly Americans’ (p. 34 n. 50). By contrast, the direct mode of (132) presents a more inward view. The addressees are seen as self-contained: ‘these people are described as what they *are*’ (p. 34).<sup>172</sup>

Bloch’s treatment of the distributional trends in indeterminate relative clause types clearly indicates that far from a random variation, the distribution of direct and indirect modes of address is to some extent contextually conditioned variation:

the distribution of the Arabic dir[ect] and indir[ect] RCs [relative clauses] corresponds to notions such as specific/unspecific; on the scene/off the scene; self-contained/categorized; plain/emphatic—notions which have clearly definable formal-grammatical as well as contextual and semantic correlates. (p. 40)

The speaker’s perspective is reflected in the choice of a particular expression among variants. As Bloch observes, such choices are ‘not dictated by the objective reality but by the speaker’s attitude towards that reality’ (p. 27). The choice of direct or indirect reference signals a shift in emphasis by the speaker for some effect. Isolating contextual constraints does not implicate a notion of markedness whereby one (unmarked) of the

<sup>171</sup> Bloch, p. 34; from « نشيد... » نوري، in Monteil, p. 81.3;

<sup>172</sup> Bloch, pp. 22-24, 34.

variants is more frequent than another (marked) variant. Rather, the mode of address constitutes a meaningful distribution in which the choice of a particular variant evokes the speaker's attitude or perspective on the described situation or the utterance situation. These motivated choices indicate correlations between situations and the anomalous or *marked* ways in which speakers choose to express themselves. *Implicit* information is conveyed about the speaker's perspective or attitude, and the communication resources (conventions determining expression) are *local* or unshared at the nexus of translation. These data satisfy the postulates of translational salience.

### 3.2.4 Amplified and Proclitic Presentative Substantive Structures

Section 3.2.3 shows how the choice of a given structural variant in an utterance may reflect the speaker's attitude or perspective. In contrast, this section looks at variant readings inherent in a particular structure. Instances of ambiguity require inferencing strategies to deduce one intended reading among potential readings. Alternatively, such utterances may indicate a motivated use of the ambiguous expression.

Scrutiny of ambiguous structural variation is informed by Bloch's study of the meaningful distribution of amplified and proclitic presentative substantive structures. Once again, Bloch's argumentation rests crucially on the premise of the interconnectedness of syntax and semantics. Semantic constraints are established through close scrutiny of contextual background. Bloch presents a comparative and historical description of some important Arabic syntactic structures. He plots their syntactic and semantic development, drawing on observations of the medieval grammarians and adducing data from a wide range of periods and genres (pre-Quranic to modern literary and colloquial). Bloch's analyses of particular readings support the current purpose of reporting structurally determined ambiguity. The variant readings discussed in this section do not necessarily constitute motivated variation. Rather, Bloch's analyses constitute guides to interpreting use—the making sense of a particular reading which appears to fit the context. But limiting Bloch's data to this purpose calls to mind the prescriptive approaches to

interpretation which seek an intended message (Section 1.2.1). One purpose of this section is to illustrate polyvalent interpretation.

The function of presentative structures is to alert or draw the hearer's attention. A range of Arabic linguistic forms have this function. The basic type of presentative structure is, in Bloch's terminology, the nuclear presentative sentence. This is a self-contained unit which consists of a substantive or pronoun in conjunction with a presentative particle or closed-class word such as a demonstrative used with presentative force. The underlying meaning can be schematically represented:

Here	is	...X
There	comes appears	

where 'X' stands for a substantive or pronoun, referred to as the head. Presentative structures incorporate a number of meanings such as:

Suddenly there	was came appeared	...X.
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The heterogeneity of presentative structures in Arabic is demonstrated in Table 3.

TABLE 3 *Arabic Presentative Structures (Bloch, pp. 54-55)*

Here is Zayd	هذا زيدٌ	DEM + NOM
	إذا بزید	PART + <i>with</i> + GEN
	إذا زيدٌ	PART + NOM
Here I am	ها انا ذا	EXPL + PRON + DEM
Here you are	ها انت ذا	
[etc.]	[ الخ ]	

The use of demonstratives with a presentative function dates from the earliest texts, as Bloch illustrates with the Quranic extracts (133) and (134). These extracts show the presentative force of هؤلاء *these* and هذا *this*:

هؤلاء بناتي إن كنتم فاعلين (القرآن ١٥: ٧١)  
these daughters-my if were-you doing

(133) Here are my daughters, if you must do it.<sup>173</sup>

قال يا بُشرى هذا غلام (القرآن ١٢: ١٩)  
said-he good-news this young-man

(134) He said: 'Good news! Here is a young man'.<sup>174</sup>

The presentative notion was recognized in medieval Arabic grammar by Sibawayhi (d. ca A.D. 796/هـ ١٨٢). سيبويه (١٨٢ هـ/796 A.D. He distinguished the alerting function of presentatives (تنبيهه) (*alerting/calling attention to*) from the identifying function of reference (تعريف) (*identifying/acquainting*):<sup>175</sup>

والمعنى أنك تريد أن تنبّه له منطلقاً لا تريد أن تعرفه عبدالله لأنك ظننت أنه يجهله فكأنك قلت انظر إليه منطلقاً<sup>176</sup>

In addition to the nuclear presentative structure, Bloch distinguishes two types of non-nuclear presentatives on the basis of syntactic and semantic criteria: amplified and proclitic presentative structures. These structures are distinguished from nuclear presentatives on the basis of some additional constituent, usually a circumstantial clause. Syntactically, amplified presentatives are modified by accusative circumstantials. Proclitic presentatives are modified by nominative circumstantials. Amplified and proclitic presentatives are thus only distinguishable in cases where structural constraints permit case marking. Table 4 illustrates the amplified presentative (modified by an accusative circumstantial participle *منطلقاً passing by*) and the proclitic presentative (modified by the nominative circumstantial participle *منطلقاً passing by*).

<sup>173</sup> Bloch, p. 56; from Quran 15:71.

<sup>174</sup> Bloch, p. 56; from Quran 12:19.

<sup>175</sup> Bloch, pp. 56-57.

<sup>176</sup> Bloch, pp. 56-57; from ١٢:٢١٨ ص ١، « كتاب »، سيبويه

(Bloch's *trans.*) 'The meaning is that you intend to draw his (i.e. the hearer's) attention to him (i.e. Abdalla) as he is departing. You do not want to identify him, thinking that he did not know him. Rather, it is though you had said: "Look at him", as he is departing.'

TABLE 4 *Nuclear, Amplified and Proclitic Presentative Structures (Bloch, pp. 54-55)*

Nuclear	هذا زيد	DEM + NOM
Amplified	هذا زيد منطلقاً	DEM + NOM + PARTICIP(ACC)
Proclitic	هذا زيد منطلق	DEM + NOM + PARTICIP(NOM)

Bloch suggests an approximate English correspondence of the amplified/proclitic contrast in: *There is Pooh, sitting on a branch* (amplified); and *Look/ behold, Pooh is sitting on a branch* (proclitic). In both nuclear and amplified structures, the presentative and following substantive form a sentential unit or nucleus (viz. *Here's Zaid...*). Proclitic structures do not form a sentential unit (viz. *Look, Zaid...*). The contrast is illustrated by the following data constructed with the demonstrative هذا employed with presentative force. Fragments (135) and (136) are amplified presentatives, modified with accusative circumstantials متوشحاً *girded*, and ساجداً *prostrating himself* respectively. Fragments (137) and (138) are proclitic presentative structures, with nominative circumstantials آخذاً *holding*, and مردوداً *being returned* respectively:<sup>177</sup>

هذا عمر بن الخطاب متوشحاً بالسيف

this umar bin al-khattab girded(PARTICIP ACC) with-sword

(135) (Out) there is Umar b. Al-Khattab, girded with a sword.<sup>178</sup>

هذا الفرزدق ساجداً

this farazdaq prostrating(PARTICIP ACC)

(136) There is Farazdaq, prostrating himself.<sup>179</sup>

هذا جبريل آخذاً بعنان فرس يقوده على ثناياه النقع

this gabriel holding(PARTICIP NOM) to-reins horse he-leads-it on front-teeth-his dust

(137) Look, Gabriel is holding the rein of a horse, leading it, with dust on his front teeth.<sup>180</sup>

وهذا عطائي مردوداً في بيت المال

and-this pay-my returning(PARTICIP NOM) in house money

(138) And look, my pay will be returned to the treasury.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>177</sup> Bloch, pp. 58-62, 99.

<sup>178</sup> Bloch, p. 58; from Nöldeke, p. 49.

<sup>179</sup> Bloch, p. 58; from Nöldeke, p. 141.

<sup>180</sup> Bloch, p. 59; from Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, p. 107.

<sup>181</sup> Bloch, p. 59; from Reckendorf, *Die Syntaktischen Verhältnisse...*, p. 406.

Semantically, amplified and proclitic presentatives may be distinguished by the underlying speaker-observer's time perspective. The concrete, deictic meaning of amplified and nuclear presentatives is indicated by the fact that time (as opposed to tense or aspect) is in the present. This gives them 'a distinct sense of immediacy and concreteness, of a "scene" unfolding before the eyes at the time of utterance' (p. 61). Proclitic structures, on the other hand, are not bound to a specific time perspective. This is seen in the present time perspective of (137), future perspective of (138), and past perspective of (139):

وهذا بصلوات القديس مار أفرم خلّص الله المدينة  
and-this with-prayers saint lord ephram saved God city

(139) And behold, because of the prayers of St. Ephram God saved the city.<sup>182</sup>

Use of the proclitic with future time perspective is further illustrated in (140):

هوذا تابوت عهد سيّد كل الأرض عابراً امامكم في الأردن  
he-this ark covenant lord all earth passing(PARTICIP NOM) before-you into jordan

(140) Behold, the ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth is to pass over before you into the Jordan.<sup>183</sup>

Given contrasting present time deixis characteristic of the amplifying presentative and the extended time perspectives of the proclitic presentative, the use of an amplifying structure *عابراً* *passing over*(ACC) in the same utterance situation as (140) would produce a misleading interpretation suggested in gloss (140a), one 'clearly falsifying the intended meaning' (p. 61):<sup>184</sup>

(140a) \*There is the ark [...], passing before you

While the basic meaning common to all presentatives is the alerting function, proclitic presentative structures exhibit a wide range of meanings extending beyond this primary deictic function. Argumentative use of the proclitic is illustrated in fragment (138) above, where the proclitic presentative is used to alert to an intended action: 'addressed to Al-Hajjaj by a soldier who had been disobedient and is now pleading for clemency' (p. 62).

<sup>182</sup> Bloch, p. 60; from Blau, *Grammar of Christian Arabic*, sect. 363.3.

<sup>183</sup> Bloch, p. 61; from Jos. 3:11 « الكتاب المقدس »

<sup>184</sup> Bloch, pp. 60-62.

Numerous semantic extensions in the use of proclitic presentatives are demonstrated by Bloch: alerting the addressee to more abstract entities such as a fact (rather than an object or scene); expressing abstract semantic relations such as signalling realization, conclusion, result, cause, explanation and consequence (approaching the functional range of conjunctions); and confirming a statement, emphasizing its validity, or expressing certainty that the addressee knows something (approaching the modal function usually associated with the particle *إِنَّ*).<sup>185</sup>

Crucial to the notion of ambiguous readings are sentences whose surface features mask either an amplified or proclitic structure. Such instances are subject to ambiguous interpretation due to an absence of nominative or accusative case marking on the circumstantial component. In cases where the amplified and proclitic readings become indistinguishable, the fundamental criteria distinguishing the two structures are therefore ultimately semantic.

There are two circumstances in which the underlying structure of presentative sentences cannot be determined by the surface feature opposition exhibited by participles (of nominative versus accusative). Fragment (139) above illustrates one circumstance: a clause containing the finite verb *خَلَّصَ saved* is attached to the presentative nucleus. Another ambiguous circumstance (in which the amplified/proclitic distinction is neutralized) involves attachment of a prepositional phrase to the presentative nucleus. Unlike most of the cases so far considered (involving obligatory case marking on the circumstantial participle), a presentative construction based on a finite verb or a prepositional phrase is morphologically unmarked for case.<sup>186</sup>

Structural ambiguity is demonstrated in the following data set to which an amplified or proclitic reading may be supplied:

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<sup>185</sup> Bloch, pp. 62, 69, 72-73, 76-78.

<sup>186</sup> Bloch, pp. 63-69.

هذا الأعشى قد نزل بمائنا  
this al-a'sha alighted at-water-our

- (141) Here is Al-A'sha, having settled down at our watering place.  
or Look, Al-A'sha has...<sup>187</sup>

هذه بضاعتنا رُدَّتْ إلينا (القرآن ١٢:٦٥)  
this with-merchandise-our returned(PASS)-she to-us

- (142) Here is our merchandise, returned to us.  
or Look here, our merchandise has been...<sup>188</sup>

هذه نوال جاءت لتراك  
look nawal came-she to-she-sees-you

- (143) Here is Nawal, having come to see you.  
or Look, Nawal has come...<sup>189</sup>

In contrast to the circumstantial phrases in (133) to (138) and (140) formed by nominal or accusative participles, samples (141), (142) and (143) contain finite verbs *قد نزل* *having settled down*, *رُدَّتْ* *returned*, and *جاءت* *came*. Ambiguous amplified or proclitic readings are indicated in variant translations. In the absence of structure determining markers (where surface structure suggests either an amplified or a proclitic reading), the ultimate determining criteria must be resolved contextually: 'only its semantic context may suggest a "reading" of its underlying syntactic structure' (p. 100). However, syntactically unmarked fragments (141), (142) and (143) are ambiguous from the perspective of surface structure as well as contextual interpretation. They are utterances exhibiting no structure-determining markers made in contexts where both interpretations are possible. Indeed, ambiguity is evidenced in variant translations such as those by Nöldeke and Arberry of fragment (142) above. Nöldeke suggests an amplified reading *Da ist unser Geld, uns wiedergegeben*, and Arberry suggests a proclitic reading *See, our merchandise here is restored to us* (p. 64). Bloch seems to be suggesting the possibility of a marked contrast in meanings in such contextually and syntactically indistinguishable utterances—a dichotomy highlighted by 'the hesitation, on the part of the observer of such a sentence, as to which of these two interpretations is the one intended' (p100).<sup>190</sup>

<sup>187</sup> Bloch, p. 63; from Nöldeke, p. 49.

<sup>188</sup> Bloch, p. 63; from Quran 12:65.

<sup>189</sup> Bloch, p. 63; from محفوظ، « خان الخليلي »، ص ٢٦٥:١.

<sup>190</sup> Bloch, pp. 63-69, 99-101.

There are nevertheless contexts which favour one interpretation or reading over another. Fragments (144) and (145) below suggest an amplified reading according to Bloch, ‘evok[ing] the sense of a concrete scene being described’ (p. 64). This interpretation is supported in (144) by the explicit *كما ترون* *as you can see*:

هذا سيد قريش يصنع بابن عمه كما ترون لحمًا  
this leader quraysh he-treats with-son uncle-his like you-see meat

- (144) [Al-Hulays...had passed by Abu Suyfan b. Harb as the latter was striking the side of Hamza’s mouth with the point of the spear...whereupon al-Hulays said: O Banu Kinana,] here is the leader of the Quraysh, treating his cousin like meat, as you can see [i.e. mutilating his corpse].<sup>191</sup>

هذه قريش قد أقبلت بخيلائها وفخرها [...] اللهم أحنهم الغداة  
this quraysh been approached-she with-vanity-her and boastfulness-her [...] O-god destroy-them morning

- (145) [When the Prophet saw them (the Quraysh) descending from the (hill) Aqanqal...into the valley, he said: O God,] here are the Quraysh, having come with their vanity and boastfulness [...] O God, wipe them out this morning.<sup>192</sup>

These fragments are syntactically ambiguous by virtue of the circumstantial clauses initiated by the verbs *يصنع* *he treats*, and *قد أقبلت* *she having come with*.

A variety of proclitic readings of syntactically unmarked presentatives may be identified. Item (146) is unmarked on the surface by virtue of the prepositional phrase *في وادي السباع* *in Wadi Al-Saba*:

هذا الزبير في وادي السباع  
this al-zubair in wadi al-siba

- (146) Look, Al-Zubair is in Wadi Al-Siba.<sup>193</sup>

A proclitic reading of this item is clearly attributable from the state of affairs in the utterance situation. Since Zubair is not at the scene of the utterance but in Wadi Al-Siba, the presentative functions in a proclitic sense. It alerts the addressee to the fact of Zubair’s location (much like *Listen/Hey, Zubair is in...*) rather than actually pointing to Zubair in the concrete-deictic sense of the amplified presentative (*\*There is Zubair,...*).

<sup>191</sup> Bloch, p. 64; from Nöldeke, p. 49.

<sup>192</sup> Bloch, p. 64; from Ibn Hisham, «سيرة رسول الله», ed. by F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen: 1858-1860), I/1, 440.

<sup>193</sup> Bloch, p. 66; from Ibn Sa‘d, «كتاب الطبقات الكبير», ed. by E. Sachau (Leiden: 1904-1909), III/1, 78.

Fragment (147) is ambiguous by virtue of the circumstantial clause *قد أَلقت إلى* *she has thrown*:

هذه مَكَّة قد أَلقت إليكم أفلاذ كبدها  
this mecca been threw-she to-you pieces liver her

- (147) [Then, upon being informed of the makeup of the army facing him, the Prophet went to his people and said:]  
So Mecca has thrown to you the innermost pieces of its liver [i.e. its best men].<sup>194</sup>

The Prophet's words in this fragment precede the scene narrated in (145) above. Unlike the amplified reading of a concrete scene being described in (145), this excerpt is more likely to be understood with a proclitic reading. It signals a realization or conclusion inferred against the background of the impending encounter with the Meccans.

Fragment (148) likewise lacks unambiguous surface marking with *قد هجم على* *it has taken by surprise*:

يا بنيَ هذا الشتاء قد هجم عليك وأنت تحتاج فيه إلى معونة  
O son-my this winter been surprised-he for-you and-you you-need in-it to assistance

- (148) My son, look, winter has taken you by surprise and you will need some [financial] aid during this period.<sup>195</sup>

This fragment also demands a proclitic interpretation. Here a father wishes to convince his son to accept a sum of money as a gift, having an argumentative function like (138) above.

Similarly, (149) and (150) indicate ambiguous readings constructed on circumstantial clauses *يلقّبها بـ* *he terms it*, and *تعلمون* *you know* respectively. Proclitic readings are suggested in the functions of confirming a statement emphasizing its validity (149), and expressing certainty (150):

<sup>194</sup> Bloch, p. 65; from Nöldeke, p. 49.

<sup>195</sup> Bloch, p. 65; from

« رنات المثلث والمثنائي في روايات الأغاني », تحرير الصالحاني (بيروت: ١٩٠٨)، ١، ص ٢-٤

[...لغة مستقلة عن اللغة التي طرقت بها مصر ابواب العصر الحديث.] فهذا فرح أنطون  
يلقبها باللغة الجديدة  
so-this farah antun he-terms-it with-language new

- (149) [...a language that is independent of the language with which Egypt entered the modern era.] Farah Antun actually terms it ‘the New Language’.<sup>196</sup>

وها انتم تعلمون ما حدث  
and-EXPL you(PL) you(PL)-know what happened-he

- (150) And you know, of course, what happened.<sup>197</sup>

(These data indicate a semantic development in the direction of the particle *إن* according to Bloch.)

Fragments (151) and (152) are indeterminate presentatives by virtue of the circumstantial clauses *أغنى* *he made rich*, and *يقتل* *he beats*:

هَيَّوْهُ السُّلْطَانُ أَغْنَاهُ  
behold sultan enriched-he-him

- (151) And behold, the sultan made him rich.<sup>198</sup>

أَهُوْ أَبُوكْ يِقْتَلُكَ  
EXPL father-your he-beats-you

- (152) Your father will beat you.<sup>199</sup>

Unambiguous proclitic interpretations can be drawn from the contexts of these vernacular samples. They are used to indicate the result or consequence of an action or event.

While (144) to (152) admit to either amplified or proclitic reading on syntactic grounds (by the absence of nominative/accusative case marking), interpretation of these utterances is resolved contextually. In contrast, (153) below approximates the ambiguous samples (141), (142) and (143), in that its neutral context admits either a proclitic or an amplified reading:

<sup>196</sup> Bloch, p. 69; from

السعيد محمد بدوي، « مستويات العربية المعاصرة في مصر »، (القاهرة: ١٩٧٣)، ص ٨١: ٧

<sup>197</sup> Bloch, p. 77; from Reckendorf, *Die Syntaktischen Verhältnisse...*, p. 409.

<sup>198</sup> Bloch, p. 92; from Blau, *Palästinensischen Bauerndialekts...*, p. 13.

<sup>199</sup> Bloch, p. 92; from W. Fischer, *Die Demonstrativen Bildungen der neuarabischen Dialekte*, (The Hague: 1959), p. 160.

وها هم ألاء قد انتقلوا فهل تطمئن قلوبهم حقاً  
and-EXPL they just moved-they so-INTER she-appeases hearts-them really

- (153) And here they have just moved [to a new neighbourhood], but will they really find peace of mind?!<sup>200</sup>

Bloch initially suggests a proclitic reading in which the speaker draws attention to an action or event having occurred ‘just now’ or very recently: ‘in close proximity to the “speaker’s present” [...] i.e. the moment of utterance’ (p. 78). However, in the absence of definitive contextual criteria an alternative reading may be suggested:

- (153a) Here they are, having just moved...

Samples (141), (142), (143) and (153) illustrate the partial overlap between the amplified and proclitic presentative structures. Bloch emphasizes the contrast between amplified and proclitic presentatives is not absolute, suggesting the ‘occasional bivalence of a presentative sentence’ (p. 100).

Bloch’s diachronic study shows how, once dislodged from the nucleus, the presentative becomes exposed to contextual influences and is capable of acquiring new meanings beyond the deictic-concrete. In syntactically unmarked cases (where either a finite verb or prepositional phrase is added to the nuclear presentative rather than a circumstantial phrase which is obligatorily inflected), it becomes problematic to interpret the non-nuclear presentative as either amplified or proclitic. In some cases, such as (139) and (144) to (152), contextual criteria enable the likely reading to be inferred. But in other cases such as (141), (142), (143) and (153), contextual criteria are insufficient to enable disambiguation, and the structures remain opaque to a particular reading or interpretation. To consider such instances as marked variants does not depend on whether or not such ambiguities are intended by the speaker. The significance of such ambiguous utterances lies in the effect of hesitation in their interpretation.

In some respects, the discussion presented in this section constitutes an analytical tool for interpreting potential readings from contextual criteria—making sense of a particular reading that appears to fit the context—rather than interpreting motivated uses. This

<sup>200</sup> Bloch, p. 77; from « خان الخليلي », ص ١١-:٢٢

implicates the contrastive analysis of usages, described under the rubric of Transfer (Sections 2.6.4 and 4.2). Nevertheless, it has been seen how the use of ambiguous structures in certain neutral contexts results in marked readings characterized by hesitation on the interlocutor's part to adequately disambiguate interpretations. The Saliency model effectively extends the notion of translational significance from imputed speaker intentions to include the potential interpretations adopted by recipients.

### 3.3 Summary

Qualitative analysis in this chapter identifies translationally salient information across a wide range of parallel Arabic-English data. Focal data satisfy the postulates of translation salience. In each case, meaningful distributions are implicated in individual contextualized readings of original communication events. Meaningfulness in these instances is not linked to the transfer of expression meaning. The coordination of crucial information (linked to states of mind, situations of utterance and described situations) is consistent with attunement to constraints on salience—satisfying the postulates of markedness, implicitness and localness.

Arabic repetition phenomena may indicate affirmation and solidarity with a speaker's cultural perspective, the imperative force of a speaker's belief, various underlying attitudes (such as disparagement), and even a degree of indeterminacy in sacred contexts (Section 3.1.1). Code switching variation may also signal the symbolic status of text and of speaker-audience relationships. Manipulation of this device functions in the organization of text (highlighting the distinction between an abstract, depersonalized or authoritative message, and a concrete or personalized perspective). It also affects the listener's perception of the speaker (Section 3.2.1). Variant agreement within noun phrases and clauses may indicate personification, a literary style or nuances in the speaker's perception of referents (as grouped or individuated—Section 3.2.2). Agreement variation between a main clause and the resumptive pronoun (in certain types of relative clauses) indicates the

speaker's perception of the described situation. Effects include oblique versus concretizing reference, specific versus encompassing reference, and classifying versus self-contained (Section 3.2.3). Presentative structures may exhibit structural ambiguity, which in the absence of disambiguating contextual criteria creates an effect of hesitation in their interpretation (Section 3.2.4).

Currently, salience is narrowly construed. The translator's attunement is anchored to constraints on meaningfulness in an original communication. Section 4.1 observes the relativity of the postulate of markedness as an insight into extending the Translation Salience model.

## Chapter Four

### Extending the Translation Saliency Model

This chapter points to two areas in which translation saliency may be extended from the narrowly construed model presented here. The relativity of constraints on markedness is addressed in Section 4.1, and measurability of the model in Section 4.2.

#### 4.1 Orientation and Markedness

Translation saliency models the way an original communication event partially constrains text development in translation. This relation is described by some as an equivalence relation. Equivalence is construed here as a relation anchored in the translator's attunement to meaningfulness in an original communication event, and subject to an interlingual capacity with the use of communication resources. But another set of constraints at play during the process of generating translation is also indicated in the literature. This is evidenced in, say, Nida's dynamic equivalence (Section 1.2.1), Toury's appropriation of the term polysystems (Sections 1.2.1 and 2.1), and Baker's comparable corpora (Section 2.3). The principle of markedness postulated by translation saliency is, likewise, undeniably a relative notion.

Commentators note the element of strangeness borne by translations, one suggesting that translations bring two cultural-historical identities 'in relation with each other'.<sup>201</sup> In this way, a translation is not viewed as a derivative image or copy of an original, but as a text in its own right. A number of researchers believe that the interpretation of meaningfulness in an original is to some extent guided by facts about the translation process (Section 2.4). But the nature of this relationship is nowhere explained.

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<sup>201</sup> Mauri Pasanen, 'Survival in Translation', in *Translation, a Creative Profession...*, pp. 107-116 (p. 109).

An awareness of the relative nature of markedness underlies the translator's interlingual capacity with communication resources. Interlingual perspectives on meaningfulness in an original communication are presented in several investigations concerned with translating between Arabic and English. Baker notes Halliday's observation on how language can give structure to experience and help to determine our way of looking at things: 'so that it requires some intellectual effort to see them in any other way than that which our language suggests'.<sup>202</sup> Aziz, Jalabneh and Ali illustrate the constraining force of the receiving language and culture. Aziz shows the symbolic nature of various expressions such as *hot* and *cold*, with *سخنت عينك* (lit.) *may your eye become hot*—a curse—and *قرت عينك* (lit.) *may your eye become cold*—a way of wishing someone luck. He contrasts this with English usage: *a warm welcome* and *a cold reception*. Jalabneh suggests functional translations for expressions such as *every cloud has a silver lining*, viz. *فإن مع العسر يسر* (lit.) *and indeed with the problem easiness*. Ali highlights the lack of structural equivalents for culture-bound expressions such as *ifs* in fragment (1):<sup>203</sup>

(1) Gloucester: If? [...] Tell'st thou me of ifs?<sup>204</sup>

كلوستر: إذا؟ [...] أتحدّثني بلغة الاحتمالات/الافتراضات  
gloucester: if? INTERROG-you-talk-me of-language possibilities/assumptions

In so doing, Ali's translation relinquishes the effect of repeated *if* in the original.

Shamaa relates implication and significance to culturally determined norms for interpreting symbolism: 'whether a certain action represents a singular incident or is part of an accepted pattern in that society' (p. 191). He represents the translatability of metaphor as a cline (p. 127). Minimally translatable metaphorical uses may call for a translation strategy of neutralization or omission. Shamaa's analysis reveals a tolerance in Arabic for a high density of metaphorical usage not met in English.<sup>205</sup>

<sup>202</sup> M. A. K. Halliday, 'Language Structure and Language Function', in *New Horizons in Linguistics*, ed. by J. Lyons (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), p. 143, quoted in Baker, *In Other Words*, p. 82.

<sup>203</sup> Yowell Y. Aziz, 'Cultural Problems of English-Arabic Translation', *Babel*, 28 (1982), 25-29 (p. 26); Mustafa Jalabneh, 'Military Translation', in *Language, Discourse and Translation...*, pp. 199-288 (pp. 202-203); and Salah Salim Ali, 'Symbol, Deviation, and Culture-Bound Expression as a Source of Error in Arabic-English Poetic Translating', *Babel*, 34 (1988), 211-221 (p. 212).

<sup>204</sup> William Shakespeare, *Richard III*, 3.4:76-77.

<sup>205</sup> Shamaa, pp. 118-156, 191-194.

Hatim and Mason extract an address by the late Ayatollah Khomeini to illustrate the force of cultural distance on the choice of translation strategy. The translation makes few concessions to the English reader, with characteristics of the Farsi original ‘made entirely visible’ (pp. 148-149). The resulting disorientation stems from what Hatim and Mason describe as the translator’s minimal mediation, and from subsequent unfamiliarity which the mix of genres brings to western readers (political tirade, religious sermon and legal deontology). Hatim and Mason argue that the ability of receivers of the English translation to infer meaning and to construct a text world consistent with that of receivers of the original Farsi communication is ‘by no means self-evident’ (p. 161). Interpretation of the values implicated in an original by receivers of a translation rests entirely on the acceptability of referring expressions in reception. In the context of Arab rhetoric, Hatim argues that far more important than the issue of receiver attitude (as المنكر *denier*, المتردد *uncertain*, and خالي الذهن *open-minded*—Section 1.2.1) is the text producer’s purposeful or motivated violation of text norms. However, such flouting remains within the domain of rhetorical appropriateness.<sup>206</sup>

Farghal illustrates the relativity of markedness across languages with contrastive analysis of structural constraints (through choices at the level of lexis, syntax and discourse).<sup>207</sup> He argues that English journalism has a lower tolerance than Arabic for euphemisms for قُتل *he was killed*—such as استشهد *he was martyred*, and انتقل الى جوار ربه (lit.) *he was transferred to the neighbourhood of his Lord*.<sup>208</sup> The English reader would attribute greater significance to such variants, particularly in a political context. In Arabic, the use of these variants is less marked. Afifi notes the contra-indicating effects of certain expressions such as: *liberal* which conveys a perjorative sense in Iraqi Arabic (in contrast to a generally positive sense in English); and شعار *slogan* which

<sup>206</sup> Hatim and Mason, *Translator as Communicator*, pp. 148-150, 160-163; and Hatim, *Communication Across Cultures*, pp. 47-49, 97-98, 118.

<sup>207</sup> Mohammed Farghal, ‘Managing in Translation: A Theoretical Model’, *Meta*, 38 (1993), 257-267; Mohammed Farghal, ‘Arab Fatalism and Translation from Arabic into English’, *Target*, 5 (1993), 43-53; and Mohammed Farghal, ‘Ideational Equivalence in Translation’, in *Language, Discourse and Translation: In the West and Middle East*, ed. by Robert de Beaugrande, Abdulla Shunnaq and Mohamed Helmy Heliel (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1992), pp. 55-63.

<sup>208</sup> Farghal, ‘Managing in Translation...’, p. 259; Farghal, ‘Arab Fatalism...’, p. 47; and Farghal, ‘Ideational Equivalence...’, p. 60.

carries a favourable sense in Arabic (also contrasting with English usage).<sup>209</sup> Culturally conditioned incongruities in the markedness of lexical choice is further illustrated in (2). Farghal argues that in certain contexts the reporting structure *said* may be managed in Arabic translation as ادعى *he claimed*, and the referring expression *Israel* as الكيان الصهيوني *the Zionist entity* in (2b):

(2) the Israeli Prime Minister said<sup>210</sup>

(a) قال رئيس الوزراء الإسرائيلي  
said-he leader ministers israeli  
(b) ادعى رئيس وزراء الكيان الصهيوني  
claimed-he leader ministers entity zionist

Likewise in (3), a pro-Iraq readership would indicate agentless expression with a passive structure (3b):

(3) a Greek oil tanker was hit by an Iraqi jet-fighter<sup>211</sup>

(a) اصابت طائرة عراقية مقاتلة ناقلة نفط يونانية  
hit-she aircraft(NOM) iraqi fighter tanker(ACC) oil greek  
(b) أصيبت ناقلة نفط يونانية  
was-hit-she tanker(NOM) oil greek

The following list of unmarked conditional expressions enjoys virtually unrestricted use in Arabic, which is unmatched in the highly marked English equivalents:<sup>212</sup>

إن شاء الله ... *if God permitted*  
بحول الله ... *by the will of God*  
بمشيئة الله ... *by the will of God*  
بإذن الله ... *by the permission of God*

Their functional meaning approaches *I will if I have (time/money/room etc.)*.

Farghal argues that naturalizing various interlingual asymmetries in expression is an inevitable part of the process of translating. Such intrinsic managing is distinguished from wilful imposition of the translator's ideological purposes (extrinsic management).

Functional solutions at managing incongruities in the relative markedness of expressions are illustrated in (4). An allusion to the 7th century Platonic relationship between al-Qays

<sup>209</sup> Afifi, pp. 219-220.

<sup>210</sup> Farghal, 'Managing in Translation...', p. 264.

<sup>211</sup> Farghal, 'Managing in Translation...', p. 262.

<sup>212</sup> Farghal, 'Arab Fatalism...', pp. 49-50, 52.

and ليلاه *his Layla* is managed with varying degrees of markedness, viz. *his Layla*, *his date*, and *his Juliet*:

وكانت ليلاه هذه المرة فتاة من البدو  
and-was-she layla-his this time girl from bedouin

- (4a) His Layla this time was a Bedouin girl.<sup>213</sup>  
 (4b) His date this time was a Bedouin girl.  
 (4b) His Juliet this time was a Bedouin girl.

The postulate of markedness suggests itself as a tool for resolving the complex issue of relative perspective on meaningfulness. How this may be attempted (in the context of translating between Arabic and English) is briefly addressed in Section 4.2.

## 4.2 Measurability

The purpose of this section is to anticipate empirical validation that might be attempted with the development of nascent parallel, multilingual and comparable corpora. Hermans observes that the complexity of cultural systems suggests a range of competing, conflicting and overlapping norms and models which are themselves embedded in processes of historical change. Levinson notes that the immense complexity of inferential processes involved in communication means that there are no simple correlations between the form of utterances and what utterances actually do. There are at best only partial solutions. A consequence of rigorous empirical methodology is that while some organizational problems are solved, others are actually created.<sup>214</sup>

### 4.2.1 Theme and Focus

The sequencing of constituents suggests itself as a fundamental and measurable reflex of meaningfulness in utterances. Jurjani developed a multi-systemic analysis of the clause in Medieval Arabic grammar theory, bringing together non-verbal and verbal sentence types under one category of analysis. Information structure is related to speaker choice. In Arabic, verb initial position assumes unmarked status. In non-verbal sentences,

<sup>213</sup> Farghal, 'Managing in Translation...', p. 261.

<sup>214</sup> Hermans, 'Models of Translation', p. 157; and Levinson, pp. 286-292, 326.

unmarkedness is associated with definite given information and indefinite new information. Variation in the sequence of arguments in (5) is explained in relation to Sibawaih's basic point that the important item comes first—VOS in (5a) and VSO in (5b). Importance, according to Jurjani, is constrained by context and speaker intentions:

- (a) قتل الخارجي زيد  
killed-he al-khariji(ACC) zaid(NOM)
- (b) قتل زيد الخارجي  
killed-he zaid(NOM) al-khariji(ACC)

(5) Zaid killed the Kharijite.<sup>215</sup>

Jurjani emphasizes the communicative function of language, evaluating meaningfulness through the analysis of context. His work informed later linguists such as Sakkaki for whom علم المعاني *the science of meaning* dealt primarily with sentence meaning and the pragmatic implications of word order variation. Analysis of meaningfulness in terms of information structure (viz. التقديم والتأخير *fronting and backing*) falls under the rubric of البلاغة *rhetoric* rather than النحو *grammar*. However, the significance of particular sequences of given and new information was not clearly explained by the Arab grammarians. Owens concludes that a fully integrated account of theme and information structure is lacking.<sup>216</sup>

In modern times, Khurshid compares the unmarkedness of verb-initial sentences with subject-initial verbal sentences. He notes that placing the subject first in verbal sentences has a contrasting function. In such marked (subject-initial) constructions, the proposed subject is contrasted with some other unmentioned entity:

ان الأصل في اللغة العربية هو البدء بالفعل ولا يقدم الاسم الا اذا كان هناك سبب بلاغي ويقتضى ذلك، فعبارة: خرج محمد جملة تقريرية أما محمد خرج فالغرض منها هو تأكيد أن محمدا هو الذي خرج وليس عليا. (ص ٤٤)<sup>217</sup>

<sup>215</sup> Owens, p. 252; from

عبد القاهر الجرجاني، « دلالات الإعجاز »، تحقيق محمد رضاي (بيروت: دار المعارف، ١٩٧٨)، ص ٤٤

<sup>216</sup> Owens, pp. 227-263; and Jamal Ouhalla, 'Remarks of Focus in Standard Arabic', in *Perspectives in Arabic Linguistics X: Papers from the Tenth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*, ed. by Mushira Eid and Robert R. Ratcliffe, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science Series IV: Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 153 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1997), pp. 9-45 (p. 9).

<sup>217</sup> (trans.) 'A fundamental in Arabic is to begin with the verb—not the noun—unless there is a rhetorical [functional] reason. The expression محمد خرج (lit.) *left-he Muhammad* is a statement, while the purpose of [the expression] محمد خرج (lit.) *Muhammad left-he* is to ascertain that Muhammad went out and not Ali.'

Like Owens, Levinson notes that issues surrounding distinctions of topic/comment, theme/rheme, given/new, and presupposed/focused are quite ill understood and confused by ‘terminological chaos’ (p. 89):

terminological profusion and confusion, and underlying conceptual vagueness, plague the relevant literature to a point where little may be salvageable. (p. x)

He argues that the whole area of information organization in utterances (as given or new) may be reduced to matters of presupposition and implicature, and to discourse deixis (pointing to entities in the discourse).

Lyons draws attention to the context dependence of utterance organization. He distinguishes thematically unmarked and marked utterances on the basis of presuppositions made by the speaker. Constituents identifying what the speaker is talking about may apply to utterances, sentences or propositions. Concern for communicative function leads to a distinction between thematic structure (the cognitive and communicative point of departure which already exists in the universe of discourse), and information structure (by which the speaker expresses information which is either presupposed or in focus). Lyons also notes that coincidence between categories (like subject and topic, or predicate and comment) is implicit in the grammar tradition of specific languages such as English and familiar languages of Europe. But the definition of logical, thematic and grammatical subject will vary from language to language. Baker criticizes systemic accounts of thematization for their failure to come to terms with typological differences in syntax. Language-specific preferences and restrictions regarding participant initial syntax (SVO, SOV) and process-initial syntax (VSO) are not addressed. Constraints on the relative fixity or freedom of word order across languages also remain unaccounted for. The context sensitivity and conditional nature of information sequencing are undisputable. Lyons explains:<sup>218</sup>

languages vary considerably with respect to whether, and how, they grammaticalize differences of thematic structure. These differences are well known to translators. They are sometimes such as to cast doubt upon the possibility of translating even the propositional content of an utterance, both accurately and naturally, from one language into another. (p. 510)

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<sup>218</sup> Lyons, *Semantics*, pp. 500-511; and Baker, pp. 140-141.

Prince argues that information packaging (the presumably universal informational asymmetry between older and newer constituents) reflects the speaker's hypotheses tailored to constraints surrounding the intended receivers—their assumed needs, beliefs and communication strategies. Like Lyons, she associates givenness with psychological saliency, and also to predictability and shared knowledge. Prince proposes a three-level taxonomy of given-new information.<sup>219</sup>

Dik distinguishes pragmatic functions which are external to predication (theme and tail) from those which are internal (topic and comment). Pragmatic functions specify the structuring of information with respect to contextual and situational constraints. Variant sequences of constituents may be synonymous in describing the same state of affairs, but non-synonymous in the way they reflect the speaker's perspective on the described situation. Variations in the organization of information also reflect the unique situations in which speakers find themselves with respect to communicative purpose. The ordering of constituents is interpreted in terms of markedness. Constituent sequencing is subject to a tension between speaker perspective and an intrinsic hierarchy of semantic functions (case roles: agent, goal etc.). Functions like thematization are thought to be relevant to all languages, but the extent to which the use of various constructions is viewed as normal varies. In some languages, thematization may be grammaticalized and become unmarked, while in others these constructions may be evaluated as sloppy.<sup>220</sup>

The ordering of constituents lends itself both to empirical measurement and to the cross-language analysis of meaningfulness. Typological differences in the unmarked or basic word order of Arabic (VSO) and English (SVO) impact upon the translation of marked word orders.

Effects like humour are linked to expectations shared by interlocutors and to choices about the organization of utterances (including the relative salience of specific textual

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<sup>219</sup> Ellen F. Prince, 'Toward a Taxonomy of Given—New Information', in *Radical Pragmatics*, ed. by Peter Cole (New York: Academic, 1981), pp. 223-255.

<sup>220</sup> Dik, 'Some Principles of Functional Grammar', pp. 49-52; and Dik, *Functional Grammar*, pp. 19, 71, 97-98, 140, 155-156.

constituents and situational entities). In translation from Brazilian Portuguese into English, Vasconcellos notes that language-specific constraints on syntax tend to force presentation of constituents in a different order. Her corpus indicated verb-initial utterances with post-posed subject, which parallels syntactic constraints on translating between Arabic and English. Successful translation involves making inferences about expectations and markedness, and ‘reproducing the “point”’ of an utterance (p. 136).<sup>221</sup> In a 54,000 word parallel corpus of 32 Brazilian texts with published English translation, a high level of consistency was observed in the translation of focus (87%) and theme (showing greater incongruence). Vasconcellos hypothesizes that theme and information systems indicate meaningfulness to which translators are attuned. She concurs that thematization is anchored in the speaker (bridging the gap between the speaker’s internal thought and the expression of that thought), whereas the information system is listener-oriented (providing a mechanism for the listener to incorporate new information).<sup>222</sup>

Papegaaij and Schubert also comment on the meaningfulness associated with word order. They distinguish obligatory from optional ordering and associate choice with contextual constraints. They note that grammatical changes in translation may be forced by theme and information systems.<sup>223</sup> Baker observes that theme and information structure indicate speaker connections with utterance situation. She links information dynamics to a text’s coherence, naturalness, special effects and speaker attitudes. In fragment (6), the rhetorical force of the fronted structure *what Mr Rowland wants* is absent from the unmarked Arabic translation (6a) *ويسعى السيد رولاند الآن الى* and *seeks Mr Rowland now*. Baker argues for maintaining thematic structure with *إن ما يسعى السيد رولاند اليه الآن* (lit) *EMPH-what he-seeks Mr Rowland now to-it* in (6b):

<sup>221</sup> Muriel Vasconcellos, ‘A Functional Model of Translation: Humor as the Case in Point’, *Babel*, 32 (1986), 134-145.

<sup>222</sup> Muriel Habel de Vasconcellos, ‘Theme and Focus: Cross-Language Comparison Via Translations from Extended Discourse’, 2 vols (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University, 1985), pp. 29, 57-62, 78-80, 250-252, 281-283, 499.

<sup>223</sup> B. Papegaaij and K. Schubert, *Text Coherence in Translation* (Dordrecht: Foris, 1988), pp. 173-183.

(6) What Mr Rowland wants is the early publication of this report.<sup>224</sup>

- (a) ويسعى السيد رولاند الآن الى نشر هذا التقرير في أقرب وقت.  
and-he-seeks Mr Rowland now to publication this report in shortest time  
(b) إن ما يسعى السيد رولاند اليه الآن هو نشر هذا التقرير في أقرب وقت.  
EMPH what he-seeks Mr Rowland to-it now it [is] publication this report in shortest time

Baker notes a tension during translation in weighing up functional invariance (in the assignment of theme and focus) against conflicting grammatical constraints in the receiving language. Like Papegaaij and Schubert, she provides a number of strategies for maintaining information structure in translation. She illustrates shifts in translation resulting from a failure to appreciate the function of information structure. An unnatural translation into Arabic in fragment (7a) distorts the information structure of the original by presenting new information *a general picture* as given, viz. وهذه الصورة العامة *and this general picture*. Information structure is maintained with a more natural translation in (7b):

(7) It is a general picture this book tries to depict rather than the detailed idiosyncrasies of any political leader.<sup>225</sup>

- (a) وهذه الصورة العامة هي [...] تلك التي نحاول رسمها في هذا الكتاب  
and-this the-picture the-general she [...] this that we-try draw-it in this the-book  
(b) إن ما نحاول رسمه في هذا الكتاب هو صورة عامة  
EMPH what we-try draw-it in this the-book he [is] picture general

Hatim associates theme progression with text development schema, text type and rhetorical purpose. He suggests that word order manipulation in Arabic is highly motivated and context-dependent, implicating a range of rhetorical effects. Fareh concludes that Arabic displays significantly more foregrounding devices than English, yet lacks certain strategies available in English for postposing elements to final position. Farghal argues that certain types of constituent movement in Arabic are different to their English counterparts, as optional rather than obligatory transformations. Al-Jabr compares theme progression schemata across a range of Arabic and English text types.<sup>226</sup>

<sup>224</sup> Baker, pp. 138-139, from *The Independent*, 8.11.88 [n.p.], and *A Hero From Zero* [no details].

<sup>225</sup> Baker, pp. 149-150, from Kishtainy, *Arab Political Humour* ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 1985), [n.p.]; and Arabic translation [no details].

<sup>226</sup> Hatim, *Communication Across Cultures*, pp. xv, 76-88; Hatim and Mason, *Discourse and the Translator*, pp. 212-222; Shehdeh Fareh, 'Foregrounding Devices and Their Functions in Arabic and English Written

Maintaining theme and focus in translation is broached by Shamaa, El-Sheikh and Al-Najjar. Shamaa illustrates how invariance in the sequence of constituents is maintained during translation through changes in transitivity (ref. fragment (34) in Section 1.2.4, reproduced as (8) below for convenience). This fragment shows how syntactic changes appear forced by consistency in theme and focus. The constituent *anxiety and uncertainty* maintains end position through a process approximating passivization in English:

افتترسه نوع من القلق والحيرة  
preyed-upon-it(SUBJ)-him kind(NOM) of anxiety and-uncertainty

(8) He fell prey to anxiety and uncertainty.<sup>227</sup>

Translations of Quranic verses (9), (10) and (11) enjoy varying degrees of congruence with the original in theme and focus. In Ali's translation (9a), passivization achieves congruence in information structure lacking in Arberry's (9b):<sup>228</sup>

وإذ ابتلى إبراهيم ربه بكلمات (القرآن ١٢٤:٢)  
and-when tested-he ibrahim(ACC) lord(NOM)-his with-speaking

- (9a) And remember that Abraham was tried by his Lord with certain commands  
(9b) And when his Lord tested Abraham with certain words

Thematic congruence displayed in translations by Pickthall (10a), Bell (10b) and Arberry (10c) is lacking in Ali's (10d):<sup>229</sup>

ولله يسجد من في السماوات والأرض (القرآن ١٣:١٥)  
and-to-god he-does-obeisance who in heavens and-earth

- (10a) And unto Allah falleth prostrate whosoever is in the heavens and the earth.  
(10b) To Allah do obeisance all who are in the heavens and the earth.  
(10c) To God bow all who are in the heavens and the earth.  
(10d) And whoever is in the heavens and the earth makes obeisance to Allah only.

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Discourses', *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics*, 30 (1995), 119-130; Mohammed Farghal, 'Theory of *Pro* and Arabic Empty Categories', *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics*, 28 (1993), 99-108; and Abdulfattah Mohammad Al-Jabr, 'Cohesion in Text Differentiation: A Study of English and Arabic' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Aston in Birmingham, 1987), pp. 202-227.

<sup>227</sup> Shamaa, p. 50; from يحيى حقي، « قنديل... »، ص ٢٢، *Saint's Lamp*, trans. by Badawi, p. 20.

<sup>228</sup> El-Sheikh, pp. 287-288.

<sup>229</sup> Al-Najjar, pp. 296-297.

Congruent end focus achieved by Bell (11a) and Arberry (11b) eludes Pickthall (11c) and Ali (11d):<sup>230</sup>

ولم يكن له كفوّاً أحد (القرآن ٤: ١١٢)  
and-not he-is to-him equal one(NOM)

- (11a) Co-equal with Him hath never been any one.
- (11b) And equal to Him is not any one.
- (11c) And there is none comparable unto Him.
- (11d) And none is like Him.

Meaningfulness attributable to information structure in this instance is suggested by the contrasting unmarked construction in (11\*):

(11\*) ولم يكن أحد كفوّاً له  
and-not he-is one(NOM) to-him equal

Meaningfulness implicated in theme and focus variation is brought to light in Moutaouakil's account of constituent sequencing in Arabic.<sup>231</sup> Drawing on traditional Arabic rhetoricians' notions of *utterance* مقال and *discourse environment* مقام, Moutaouakil examines how constituent sequencing links utterance situation with described situation insofar as the ordering of expressions relates information shared by interlocutors with unshared information. He adopts Dik's framework which is built around three levels of organization: predicational structure (agent, goal etc.), constituent structure (NOM, ACC), and functional structure (theme, topic, new focus, contrastive focus, and tail). Situational conditions relate to speakers' hypotheses or beliefs about addressees' knowledge and beliefs. Preferential assignment of function is linked to markedness through a hierarchy of semantic functions. Function assignment is also linked to language-specific constraints on constituent placement. Moutaouakil's analysis unifies a number of construction-types traditionally characterized by a range of notions: *importance* الإهتمام, *care* العناية, *restriction* الحصر, *reinforcement* التقوية, and *specification* التخصيص. He takes issue with Jurjani's analysis that the post-verbal position is pragmatically marked (having more 'importance' and receiving more 'care'). Moutaouakil argues that differences in meaningfulness

<sup>230</sup> Al-Najjar, pp. 150-152.

<sup>231</sup> Ahmed Moutaouakil, *Pragmatic Functions in a Functional Grammar of Arabic*, trans. by J. L. Mackenzie, Functional Grammar Series: 8 (Dordrecht: Foris, 1988), pp. 1-6, 18-19, 32-33, 39-45, 56-61, 66.

between (12a) and (12b)—equivalent to Jurjani’s (5a) and (5b) above—reside in the unmarkedness of the VSO predicate frame:

- (a) قابل خالد المدير  
met-he khalid(NOM) manager(ACC)
- (b) قابل المدير خالد  
met-he manager(ACC) khalid(NOM)

(12) Khalid met the manager.<sup>232</sup>

Statement (12a) is unmarked. Rather than occupying a pragmatically marked position, خالد in (12a) occupies post-verbal position by virtue of its syntactic status of subject. However, new focus may be assigned to the subject in this position when realized with stress.

Statement (12b) may indicate new focus assignment on the object المدير *the manager* (as an answer to the question من قابل خالد؟ *Who did Khalid meet?*). Alternatively, statement (12b) could indicate new focus assignment on the subject خالد *Khalid* (as an answer to the question من قابل المدير؟ *Who met the manager?*). In contrast to the new focus which may be assigned in (12b), participant initial syntax in statement (12c) necessarily illustrates contrastive focus (in which المدير *the manager* is contrasted with some other presupposed entity):

- المدير قابل خالد  
manager(ACC/C-FOC) met-he khalid(NOM)

(12c) It was the manager who Khalid met.

Focus assignment is determined by the class of situations specifying information not shared by speaker and addressee—the most important or salient information in a given setting. Like Hatim, Moutaouakil draws on Sakkaki’s tripartite typology of situational contexts (خالي الذهن *open-minded*, متردد *uncertain*, and منكر *denier*). Moutaouakil distinguishes two broad types of utterance situation describing various informational relationships that may arise between interlocutors. In this way, new focus (referring to information not possessed by the addressee) is distinguished from contrastive focus (involving selection of relevant information).<sup>233</sup>

<sup>232</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 39.

<sup>233</sup> Moutaouakil, pp. 18-20.

In contrast to focus assignment, topic and theme are specified according to information shared by speaker and addressee.<sup>234</sup> The topic presents an entity ‘about which the predicate predicates something’ (p. 71). The theme (being predicate external) specifies ‘the universe of discourse with respect to which the subsequent predication is presented as relevant’ (p. 102).

Assignment of topic function to زيد *Zaid* in post-verbal position in (13a) is contrasted with its function as theme in preposed, predicate external position in (13b). Topic assignment in (13b) is specified in the third person subject pronoun implicit in the verb رجع (lit.) *returned-he*:

(a) رجع زيد البارحة  
returned-he zaid(TOP) yesterday  
(b) زيد رجع البارحة  
zaid(THEME) returned-he(TOP) yesterday

(13) Zaid returned yesterday.<sup>235</sup>

Topic function is compared with contrastive focus function in sentences (14) to (17). For non-verbal sentences, topic assignment of sentence initial indefinite رجل *a man* in (14a) is ungrammatical. A contrastive focus reading of sentence initial رجل *a man* is illustrated in (15):

(a) \*رجل في الدار  
a-man in the-house  
(b) في الدار رجل  
in the-house a-man

(14) There is a man in the house.<sup>236</sup>

رجل في الدار لا امرأة  
a-man(C-FOC) in the-house not a-woman

(15) There is *a man* in the house, *not a woman*.<sup>237</sup>

<sup>234</sup> Moutaouakil, pp. 69-71, 76, 103-104, 107, 111.

<sup>235</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 79.

<sup>236</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 87.

<sup>237</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 87.

Verbal sentences are illustrated in (16) and (17). A topic reading for sentence initial *زيداً* *Zaid* in (16) is highly marked or ungrammatical. In (17), sentence initial *زيداً* *Zaid* illustrates contrastive focus:

زيداً رأى عمرُ [??]  
zaid(ACC) he-saw amr(NOM)

- (16) Amr saw Zaid.<sup>238</sup>  
[Zaid was seen by Amr.]

زيداً رأى عمرُ لا خالداً  
zaid(ACC/C-FOC) he-saw amr(NOM) not khalid(ACC)

- (17) It is *Zaid* that Amr saw, *not Khalid*.<sup>239</sup>

Topic assignment is distinguished from new focus in (18) and (19). While topic function is assigned to *غداً* *tomorrow* and new focus to *السفر* *the journey* in (18), contrastive focus is assigned to *غداً* *tomorrow* and topic function to *السفر* *the journey* in (19):

غداً السفر  
tomorrow(TOP) the-journey(N-FOC)

- (18) Tomorrow the journey will take place.<sup>240</sup>

غداً السفر لا اليوم  
tomorrow(C-FOC) the-journey(TOP) not today

- (19) It is *tomorrow* the journey will take place, *not today*.<sup>241</sup>

Theme functions referentially and is linked to shared knowledge of the real world. As a predicate external function, theme assignment is illustrated by *زيداً* *zaid* in (20). The relationship of relevance which links a theme and predication is evidenced in the third person possessive suffix in the topic *ابوه* (lit.) *father-his*:

زيداً ابوه مسافر  
zaid(THEME) father(TOP)-his travelling

- (20) Zayd, his father is travelling.<sup>242</sup>

<sup>238</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 80.

<sup>239</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 81.

<sup>240</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 88.

<sup>241</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 88.

<sup>242</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 115.

This sample parallels (13b) in which the pre-posed predicate external position of زيدٌ *zaid* constitutes theme function:

زيدٌ رجع البارحة  
zaid(THEME) returned-he(TOP) yesterday

(13b) Zaid returned yesterday.

Theme and contrastive focus assignment are contrasted in (21) and (22). Both functions occur in the pre-predicate zone of the sentence. Predicate external خالدٌ *Khalid*(NOM) in (21) is bound to the resumptive object pronoun in قابلته (lit.) *met-I-him*. It specifies the universe of discourse with respect to which the subsequent predication is presented as relevant:

خالدٌ قابلته اليوم  
khalid(NOM/THEME) met-I-him today

(21) Khalid, I met him today.<sup>243</sup>

By contrast, خالداً *Khalid*(ACC) in (22) conveys information not shared by the speaker and addressee. Its informational status as contrastive focus is assigned in utterance situations where reference is contested or denied by the addressee (as an answer to the question قابلتَ اليومَ عمراً؟ *Did you meet Amr today?*):

خالداً قابلتَ اليوم  
khalid(ACC/C-FOC) met-I-him today

(22) It was Khalid I met today.<sup>244</sup>

Sentence (23) illustrates contiguous theme and contrastive focus assignment:

زيدٌ خالداً قابل لا عمراً  
zaid(NOM/THEME) khalid(ACC/C-FOC) met-he not amr(ACC)

(23) As for Zayd, it was Khalid he met—not Amr.<sup>245</sup>

Moutaouakil's typological account of theme and information systems in Arabic makes amenable the congruence that translators may choose to maintain during translation.

Contrasting syntactic constraints on constituent sequencing have been noted in relation to

<sup>243</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 117.

<sup>244</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 118.

<sup>245</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 119 [adapted].

passivization and transitivity (ref. sentences (16a), (16b) and (17) in Section 2.5). Like El-Sheikh, Moutaouakil observes the markedness of intransitive passives illustrated in (24) and (25):

صيم يوم الجمعة  
was-fasted day friday

(24) One fasted on Friday.<sup>246</sup>

مكث في الدار  
was-stayed in house

(25) One/They (etc.) stayed at home.<sup>247</sup>

Unmarked passivization of a transitive verb is illustrated with agentless sentence (26):

دُعِيَ زيدٌ  
was-invited zaid

(26) Zayd was invited.<sup>248</sup>

Congruence in the contrastive focus assignment achieved in (27) through passivization in English is precluded among Arabic transitives. In Arabic, contrastive focus is maintained by preposing *Salim*(ACC) in an active construction:

(27) Ali was arrested by the police, but *Salim* was arrested by the FBI.<sup>249</sup>

اعتقلت الشرطة علياً لكن سالماً اعتقلته الايبياي  
arrested-she police(NOM) ali(ACC) but salim(ACC/C-FOC) arrested-she-him fbi

Congruence in embedded thematization in (28) is likewise maintained through passivization in English (which precludes contiguous constituents *Zaid*, *Amr* indicated in a literal translation *\*I believe that Zaid, Amr saw him*):

أظن أن زيداً رآه عمرٌ  
I-believe that zaid(THEME) saw-he-him amr(NOM)

(28) I believe that Zaid was seen by Amr.<sup>250</sup>

<sup>246</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 14 n. 14.

<sup>247</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 14 n. 14.

<sup>248</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 14 n. 14.

<sup>249</sup> Farghal, Mohammed, 'Evaluativeness Parameter and the Translator from English into Arabic and vice-versa', *Babel*, 37 (1991), 138-151 (p. 145).

<sup>250</sup> Moutaouakil, p. 111.

#### 4.2.2 Text Type

Text type analysis (as a tool for determining meaningfulness at the nexus of translation) finds its proponent in Hatim. Text analysis involves the mapping of text forms (rather than external criteria like social relationships, speaker's purpose and topic, which are expressed through categories of genre and discourse). Campbell distinguishes a translator's competence in 'the mechanics' of language (which he calls pretextual), from the translator's attunement to authenticity displayed by texts of a similar type in the receiving language. Text type norms are shown by Biber to be accessible to empirical measurement (Section 2.3). Indeed Biber calls for cross-linguistic research into universal dimensions of variation among texts, mentioning information structure and cohesion (Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.3). The mechanical application to linguistic features of multivariate statistical techniques (such as cluster analysis) is identical from one language to the next. But analysis requires attunement to situational characterizations and functions which languages determine independently.<sup>251</sup>

Hatim concedes the idealism of typologies with the notion of hybridization. Translational meaningfulness is set against a background of expectations referenced to text norms. Consistent with Campbell, Hatim suggests text type frameworks inform the process of generating translation. Meaningfulness associated with text type has reflexes in the choice of paragraph structure, sentence type, linking and even lexis—as indicated in the item *formally* which may occur in an argumentative context as شكلياً (lit.) *to do with mere formalities*, or in expository contexts as رسمياً (lit.) *officially*. Attitudes linked to purpose may be indicated by variation in linking devices such as *whether...or* (سواء...أو has a rhetorical force in argumentative texts, and سواء...أم) functions to set the scene in expository texts). Qualitative analyses such as Hatim's seek to evaluate text

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<sup>251</sup> Hatim, 'Text Linguistics and Translation', p. 262; Campbell, *Translation into the Second Language*, pp. 72-73; and Biber, pp. 70-73, 170, 204-207.

development preferences in order to demonstrate underlying motivations. Hatim and Mason stress that:<sup>252</sup>

beyond the neat categories of any text typology, interaction is necessarily open-ended. To cope with this open-endedness, translators or interpreters need to be able constantly to relate actual words in texts to underlying motivations. (p. 133)

Holes demonstrates that code switching is an important reflex of meaningfulness in Arabic oral rhetoric (Section 3.2.1).

Sa'adeddin examines text development strategies in Arabic and English editorials.

Maintaining persuasiveness in translation suggests congruence in evoked cultural

values—conventionalized in organizing schemata. Sa'adeddin segments editorial (29) into

three functionally characterized paragraphs (PAR.1–PAR.3). He proposes resequencing in

(29a) to conform to expectations in the receiving language:

يشكّل الاعتداء الجوي على الناقلات الكويتية مؤشراً على أمرين: أولاً تصميم إيران على تصعيد الحرب وتوسيع رقعتها ليعم الخراب كل الخليج العربي وثانياً استدراج دول الخليج العربي إلى الوقوع في فخ البحث عن مخرج يضمن أمن ناقلاتها واستمرار سلامة شرعية حياتها. وإيران حين تفعل ذلك أننا ندرك أن في فم الخليج العربي وحول كتفيه تحتشد الأساطيل الأجنبية التي تتسنى لو تستمر الحرب ويزداد التصعيد للتظاهر بمظهر المدافع عن سلامة الدول الخليجية وعن حق استخدام مضيق هورمز. بوضوح شديد: إن إيران تريد لنار الحرب أن تشعل المنطقة بأسرها وهو أمر يدرك كل العارفين أو المراقبين أنه سوف يؤدي إلى تحويل هذه المنطقة الهامة من العالم إلى بحيرة لتناسيح التدخل الأمريكي والتي بدورها سوف تجتذب كل الأسماك الناهمة التي تطمع في الوصول إلى منابع النفط والسيطرة على حركة تصديره وحرية الشعوب العربية في التصرف به. لقد كانت الكويت تسعى منذ اندلاع الحرب المدمرة بين العراق الشقيق وبين إيران تسعى إلى وضع حد لها يجنب شعبينا وبلدنا عواقبها القاسية. وقد تحركت الكويت مؤخراً، وضمن قرارات عربية واضحة للعمل من أجل ايجاد واقع يوقف هذه الحرب وينهي الخسائر البشرية والاقتصادية التي تنشأ بسببها. فاذا بالجواب على هذا التحرك المخلص يتمثل في قصف الناقلات التي تحمل علم الكويت ونفطها. والإقدام على هذا العمل العدواني واضح الأهداف كما هو واضح لنا. إن ارتكابه لن يوقف المسعى العربي لإنهاء الحرب. وسوف يستمر هذا السعي العربي الجاد والذي يجد في السلام طريق حياة لجميع شعوب المنطقة وتقدمها وازدهارها ضمن إطار من التعاون واحترام ارادة هذه الشعوب وحقها في الحياة. إن العدوان والتهديد به لن يشني عرب الخليج عن موقفهم القومي ولن يكونوا بالتاكيد الخاسر الأكبر أو الأول في [..] النار الهدامة.<sup>253</sup>

<sup>252</sup> Hatim, 'Text Linguistics and Translation', pp. 263-265; Basil Hatim, 'The Missing Text: an Exercise in Discourse Error Analysis', *Nouvelles de la Federation Internationale des Traducteurs - FIT Newsletter*, n.s. 9 (1990), 272-275; Hatim, *Communication Across Cultures*, pp. 35-75, 98-125; and Hatim and Mason, *Translator as Communicator*, pp. 127-142.

<sup>253</sup> Mohammed Akram A. M. Sa'adeddin, 'Target-World Experiential Matching: The Case of Arabic/English Translating', *Quinquereme*, 10 (1987), 137-164 (pp. 152-153); from

« الأنباء » ، ١٦ / ٥ / ١٩٨٤

- (29) The air attack on the Kuwait vessels indicates two things: first, Iran's determination to expand the war to include the whole Arabian Gulf; and second, its attempt to lure the Gulf States into seeking a solution that will secure the safety of their tankers and trade routes. Iran is well aware of the presence in and around the Gulf of foreign fleets whose hope is that war will continue and escalate, thus giving them the opportunity to appear as defenders of the Gulf States' security and the right to use the Hormuz Strait. Clearly, Iran wants to set the region ablaze, a development that everyone knows will reduce this important part of the world to an arena for the interference of American forces, which in turn will attract other forces intent on controlling the oil wells, the export of oil, and Arabs' freedom in disposing of it.

Ever since the war between Iraq and Iran broke out, Kuwait has tried to bring it to an end in order to spare the two peoples and two countries its dire consequences. In line with clear Arab resolutions, Kuwait recently moved towards creating a situation which would help terminate the conflict with its economic and human costs. Then, out of the blue, by way of reply to this sincere move, Kuwait's tankers are shelled.

This attack, however, will not halt the Arab effort to end the war, since peace within the context of cooperation between, and respect for the will of, the Gulf peoples and their right to live is essential to the progress and prosperity of the region. Such aggression and threats, therefore, will not make the Gulf Arabs renounce their stance, nor, if the war does spread, will the Gulf Arabs turn out to be the major losers.<sup>254</sup>

(29a) PAR.2 Ever since the war between Iraq and Iran broke out...

PAR.1 The air attack on the Kuwait vessels indicates...

PAR.3 This attack, however, will not halt...

Restructuring of the text follows Sa'adeddin's assertion of underlying functions consistent with the organization of editorials in English—paragraph (PAR.2) functions to present a pre-argument factual proposition, paragraph (PAR.1) presents an argument, and paragraph (PAR.3) provides a conclusion.

A range of cooccurring features is indicated in the analyses of legal texts and their translations by Emery, and Farghal and Shunnaq.<sup>255</sup> Translation of legalistic binomials (such as *الشروط والاوزاع* *conditions and regulations*) may call for reordering (viz. *الامن والسلام* *peace and security* (lit.) *security and peace*) or compression (viz. *لا تلزم ولا تقيد* *not binding on* (lit.) *not necessary and not binding*). Other structural

<sup>254</sup> Sa'adeddin, 'Target-World Matching...', pp. 153-154.

<sup>255</sup> Peter G. Emery, 'Legal Arabic Texts: Implications for Translation', *Babel*, 35 (1989), 1-11; and Mohammed Farghal and Abdullah T. Shunnaq, 'Major Problems in Students' Translations of English Legal Texts into Arabic', *Babel*, 38 (1992), 203-210.

parallels typical of legal texts are observed. In fragment (30), Arabic VN + قد /qad/ parallels an English gerund + present perfect construction:

إن حكومات ... ادراكا منها ... رغبة منها ... قد عينت ...  
EMPH governments...aware(VN) from-it...desiring(VN) from-it.../qad/ appointed-she...

- (30) The Governments, ...being aware of...and in their desire to..., have appointed...<sup>256</sup>

Fragment (31) illustrates adverbial fronting which also characterizes legal texts. In the context of the joint Anglo-Jordanian drafting of the bilingual source, Emery suggests forced adverbial fronting—where ‘it is possible that the Arabic text is being influenced by the “translation”’ (p. 3). This follows on from a potential for cataphoric referencing in English which is not met in Arabic (ref. fragment (20) in Section 3.1.1):

الى ان يتم جلاء القوات البريطانية عن الاردن تظل هذه القوات متمتعة ب...  
until he-completes evacuation forces british from jordan she-continues these forces enjoyers

- (31) Until their evacuation from Jordan is complete, the British forces shall continue to enjoy...<sup>257</sup>

Modality is evidenced in contrasting use of prepositions in Arabic and auxiliary verbs or verb phrases in English. Fragment (32) expresses legal right and obligation with the Arabic particle ل (lit.) *belonging to* in contrast to the English expression *has the right to*. In (33), the construction على...ان (lit.) *upon...to* contrasts with *must*:

للحكومة انهاء هذا العقد بدون انذار  
belonging-to-government end this contract without warning

- (32) The government has the right to terminate the contract without warning.<sup>258</sup>

على الموظف كجزء من مهام وظيفته ان يبذل قصارى جهده  
upon employee as-part of conditions employment-his to he-expends utmost effort-his

- (33) As part of the conditions of his employment, the employee must exert his utmost efforts.<sup>259</sup>

<sup>256</sup> Emery, ‘Legal Arabic Texts...’, p. 3; from M. Mansoor, *Legal and Documentary Arabic Reader*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1965), I, p. 41, and II, p. 19; ‘Arab Solidarity Accord’.

<sup>257</sup> Emery, ‘Legal Arabic Texts...’, p. 3; from Mansoor, I, p. 277, and II, p. 118; ‘Notes Between Jordan and Britain’.

<sup>258</sup> Emery, ‘Legal Arabic Texts...’, p. 7; from Libyan Government Services Contract, p. 7.

<sup>259</sup> Emery, ‘Legal Arabic Texts...’, p. 7; from Libyan Government Services Contract, p. 7.

Preclusion of agentive passives indicates heavier nominalization in Arabic in (34).

Cooccurring modality with postposed agent thus forces raising of the modal constituent to the status of predicate in Arabic, viz. ويجوز...انتهاء هذا العقد (lit.) *he-permits termination(NOM) this contract* in (35). This is achieved in English through passivization with explicit agent:

إذا كان انتهاء العقد من جانب الحكومة  
if he-was ending(NOM) contract from side government

(34) If the contract is terminated by the government <sup>260</sup>

ويجوز في خلال مدة الاختبار انتهاء هذا العقد من احد الطرفين المتعاقدين  
he-permits during period probation ending(NOM) this contract from one sides(DUAL)

(35) During the period of probation, the contract may be terminated by either of the contracting parties.<sup>261</sup>

Abu-Ssaydeh illustrates domain-specific neologism in business texts. He observes significant variation in the process of *Arabization* تعريب. Three citations are provided for *liability* (viz. مطلوبة؛ التزامات؛ خصوم) and six for *liquid assets* (viz. موجودة؛ سائلة؛ أصول). A further process—defining foreign lexis in Arabic business texts—is evidenced in *electronic banking* and *privatization*:<sup>262</sup>

*electronic banking/ATM* ... استعمال الآلات الإلكترونية في النشاطات المصرفية  
use-of-machines-electronic in activities banking  
*privatization* ... نقل ملكية شركات القطاع العام إلى القطاع الخاص  
transferring ownership of public sector companies to the private sector

Various unitary equivalents are cited for *privatization*, viz. التخصيص (Gulf Arabic), الخصخصة (Egyptian), التخاصية (Jordanian), and الخوصصة (US Arabic).

#### 4.2.3 Cohesion

As with theme and focus, and text type analyses, meaningfulness associated with cohesion relations lends itself to quantitative methodology. Cohesion refers to a class of dependence relations (in which one textual item depends on another textual item for

<sup>260</sup> Emery, 'Legal Arabic Texts...', p. 8; from Libyan Government Services Contract, p. 3.

<sup>261</sup> Emery, 'Legal Arabic Texts...', p. 8; from Libyan Government Services Contract, p. 3.

<sup>262</sup> A. F. Abu-Ssaydeh, 'Business Translation: a Personal Perspective', *Babel*, 39 (1993), 1-10.

interpretation). Cohesion relations establish unity in text. They span sentences and paragraphs and typically involve elements that are structurally unrelated to one another. Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson observe that while relations between textual entities may be signalled explicitly, interpretation is achieved mostly as a result of inferences about the abundance of unsignalled or implicit relations. They also note that recognizing relations requires that judgements be made about speakers and about the plausibility of intentions.<sup>263</sup>

Studies of cohesion in Arabic generally adapt the framework developed by Halliday and Hasan, whose typology includes the cohesive function of reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexis.<sup>264</sup> Criticisms of the framework relate to its applicability to languages other than English. Baker notes that much larger segments of Arabic text may constitute a single sentence than in English. Hatim argues that punctuation in Arabic is virtually redundant, and well-formed Arabic texts remain cohesive even when all punctuation is removed. Al-Jabr adopts the level of clause (rather than sentence) for establishing cohesive ties in Arabic. Said observes the absence of agreement relations in systemic accounts (Sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3). Following de Beaugrande, Al-Jabr includes exophoric reference in his account of cohesion. Consistent with this direction, Elshershabi illustrates the cohesive function of first and second person pronominal reference chains in Arabic. Edwards' analysis draws attention to meaningfulness in the utterance situation, where empathy and speaker attitude have reflexes in the cohesive function of theme progression and underspecified conjunction (Section 3.1.1).<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> M. A. K. Halliday and R. Hasan, *Cohesion in English* (London: Longman, 1976), pp. 11, 27; Al-Jabr, p. 10; and William C. Mann, Christian M. I. M. Mathiessen and Sandra A. Thompson, 'Rhetorical Structure Theory and Text Analysis', in *Discourse Description: Diverse Linguistic Analyses of a Fund-Raising Text*, ed. by W. C. Mann and S. A. Thompson (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1992), pp. 40-71 (pp. 63-66).

<sup>264</sup> Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion in English*; cited in Al-Jabr, pp. 19-20, 48; Hanan Asad Abdel-Karim Said, 'Cohesive Roles of Reference, Substitution and Ellipsis in Two Genres of Modern Literary Arabic' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Texas A & M University, 1988), pp. 156-163; and Muhammad Attia Hasan Elshershabi, 'Substitution and Lexical Cohesion in the Editorial Argumentative Discourse of Arabic and American English' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1988), pp. 6-7, 76.

<sup>265</sup> Baker, *In Other Words*, p. 193; Hatim, *Communication Across Cultures*, p. 136; Al-Jabr, pp. 12, 19, 48, 52-53, 111-115; Said, p. 161; Elshershabi, p. 76; and Robert de Beaugrande, *Text, Discourse and Process: Toward a Multidisciplinary Science of Texts* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1980), pp. 151-152.

The contrastive analysis of cohesion in Arabic and English is well established in the literature. Batal's study examines the semantic properties of connectives in the process of text building. Manual frequency counts of explicit connectives are provided from readings of Egyptian author Abbas Mahmud Al-Aqqad (1889-1964). In an effort to identify underlying semantic relationships in text, Batal proposes 14 semantic categories ranging in scope from the level of phrase to paragraph to text.<sup>266</sup> A pedagogical account of conjunction in Arabic is provided by Hassanein and Al-Warraki.<sup>267</sup> Cross-language variability in cohesive devices is illustrated by Al-Jabr over a range of text types: literary narrative, newspaper editorial and undergraduate science textbooks. Marked differences in the frequency of cohesive devices are noted in the non-parallel corpus: Arabic shows a preference for pronominal and demonstrative coreference, lexical repetition, parallelism, and additive conjunction; and English indicates comparative coreference, and lexical collocation. In a very modest monolingual corpus of Arabic short stories and essays, Said contrasts verbal substitution available in Arabic with nominal, verbal and clausal substitution in English. Cohesive reference and ellipsis in Arabic and English are observed to accomplish similar goals in different ways. Elshershahi's findings on substitution and ellipsis in Arabic and English editorial argumentation are consistent with other research. He notes the ambiguity which may be associated with Arabic pronominal reference (ref. fragments (20) and (21) in Section 1.2.4). Baker illustrates the tendency in English for relatively small chunks of text to be explicitly conjoined in unambiguous ways using a wide variety of conjunctions and a highly developed system of punctuation. In contrast, Arabic tends to use a relatively small number of conjunctions which must be interpreted according to the addressee's ability to infer relationships according to context.<sup>268</sup> A number of researchers illustrate the meaningfulness of lexical repetition and parallel

<sup>266</sup> Mahmoud Al-Batal, 'Connectives as Cohesive Elements in a Modern Expository Arabic Text', in *Perspectives in Arabic Linguistics II: Papers from the Second Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*, ed. by Mushira Eid and John McCarthy, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science Series IV: Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 72 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1990), pp. 234-268; and (١٩٦٦

عباس محمود العقاد، "التقديم والجديد"، «مطالعات في الأدب والحياة»، بيروت: دار الكتاب العربي،  
<sup>267</sup> احمد طاهر حسنين وناريمان ناظلي الوراقى، «ادوات الربط العربية المعاصرة»، (القاهرة: قسم الدراسات العربية  
 الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة، ١٩٨٤)

<sup>268</sup> Al-Jabr, pp. 10-15, 19-22, 169-172, 244-247; Said, 1-12; Elshershahi, pp. 67-72; and Baker, *In Other Words*, pp. 192-197.

syntactic structures in the construction of a wide range of cohesive Arabic texts (Section 3.1.1).

In translation, cohesion relations are considered an important indicator of the inherent process of introducing information during translation (explicitation) according to Klaudy. Baker observes that language-specific selection restrictions make it impossible to reproduce networks of lexical cohesion in translation which are identical to those in an original. This results in subtle or significant shifts in the associations created by cohesive lexical chains. The rhetorical force of conjunction (in signalling relations between propositions) suggests that incongruences in translation will affect both the content and the line of argumentation. Hatim and Mason illustrate incongruence in the rhetorical force of conjunctions *however* and *of course* in English, Arabic and Farsi argumentation.<sup>269</sup>

The effect of language-specific (naturalness) constraints on conjunction is illustrated in (36). This fragment shows the flexibility of Arabic conjunction *و* *and*, as well as the stylistic markedness of a literal translation:

ذهب في ذلك اليوم وصعد في المنارة واشترك في الآذان وصلى وأراد أن يعود إلى البيت

(36) (lit.) He left on that day *and* he went up the minaret *and* he took part in the call for prayer *and* he prayed *and* he wanted to return home.<sup>270</sup>

A naturalizing strategy of variant English conjunction is illustrated in (37b), with Arabic *و* *and* translated variously with utterance initial omission (Ø-), conjunction (*as*), gerund (-*ing*), and conjunction (*and then*):

<sup>269</sup> Kinga Klaudy, 'Explicitation', in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, pp. 80-84; Hatim and Mason, *Translator as Communicator*, pp. 31-34, 37, 39, 151; and Baker, *In Other Words*, pp. 197, 206, 211.

<sup>270</sup> Mohamed Menacere, 'Arabic Discourse: Overcoming Stylistic Difficulties in Translation', *Babel*, 38 (1992), 28-37 (p. 29), from طه حسين، « الأيام »، (بيروت: دار الكتاب، ١٩٧٢)، ص ٥٦

وسكن كل شيء وشمل هدوء الليل كل شيء وجعل هذا الصوت

(37a) (lit.) *And* everything calmed down, *and* the silence of the night engulfed everything, *and* this voice started.

(37b) All was quiet *as* the stillness of the night descended, *engulfing* everything, *and then* a voice started.<sup>271</sup>

Grammaticalization in English of Arabic conjunction is also evidenced. The Arabic حال *circumstantial* clause is formed on *و* *and* with following subject pronoun. It may be grammaticalized in English as an adverbial phrase *when I was nine years old* in (38), or as a subordinate clause *which is that...* in (39):

فقد وقعت وأنا في التاسعة من على ظهر الحصان  
fell-I and-I in the-nine from on back horse

(38) When I was nine years old, I fell off a horse.<sup>272</sup>

وتتقبل الواقع وهو أن...  
she-accepts the-reality and-he [is] that

(39) She will accept the reality (which is) that...<sup>273</sup>

Lexical cohesion in Arabic and English is compared by Baker. Language-specific tolerances for lexical repetition are evidenced in the singular instance of *company* in an English text against eight occurrences of its equivalent الشركة in translation.<sup>274</sup> Lexical cohesion is illustrated in (40). Arabic lexical repetition appears in English translation as a superordinate-hyponym relation in الطين من الطير *a clay figure of a bird* and طيرا حيا *a living creature* (lit.) *a living bird*:

ويعلن لهم أنه يصنع تمثالا للطير من الطين وينفخ فيه فيصبح بإذن الله الذي أرسله وأيده  
طيرا حيا

(40) He announced to them that he could make a clay figure of a *bird*, breathe on it and, by the will of God who sent him and aided him, it would become a living *creature*.<sup>275</sup>

<sup>271</sup> Menacere, p. 30 [no source].

<sup>272</sup> M. P. Williams, 'A Problem of Cohesion', in *English for Specific Purposes in the Arab World...*, pp. 118-128 (p. 120), [no source].

<sup>273</sup> Williams, p. 120 [no source].

<sup>274</sup> Baker, *In Other Words*, pp. 207-209, 282-283.

<sup>275</sup> Peter G. Emery, 'Lexical Incongruence in Arabic-English Translation', *Babel*, 37 (1991), 129-137 (p. 130), [source not individually identified].

World knowledge required to interpret lexical cohesion is illustrated in (41). The cohesive tie linking *the flagship Harrods* and *the Knightsbridge store* is made more explicit in Arabic with the insertion of المتجر الرئيسي *the store* in the first mention, viz. المتجر الرئيسي هارودز (lit.) *the main store Harrods*:

- (41) The *flagship, Harrods*, had never been integrated with the rest and would...  
[It is often written...] that I suffered from an obsession to control the splendid *Knightsbridge store*.<sup>276</sup>

أما المتجر الرئيسي هارودز فلا يضم الي بقية المتاجر و...  
[...] أنني أعاني من الحاح مرضي يدفعني دفعاً إلي محاولة السيطرة علي متجر نايتسبريدج الفاخر

The utilization of world knowledge to establish lexical cohesion is noted in the natural language processing literature (Section 2.3).

The semantic complexity of explicitly marked cohesive ties is illustrated in fragment (42). A conglomeration of five predicates is formed on four different explicit cohesive devices, which constitutes a move in counter-argumentation:

وإنما نريد أن نستدلّ بالمسيحيين على المسيحية وإن لم نقف على حقيقتها كما فعلت أنت في استدلالك بالمسلمين على الإسلام وإن لم تعرف حقيقته وجوهه، على أن استدلالنا صحيح وإستدلالك باطل.

- (42) *But rather we wish to draw conclusions from Christians about Christianity, even though we do not know exactly the truth of it, as you yourself did when you drew conclusions from Muslims about Islam even though you do not know its truth or its essence, although our conclusions are right and your conclusions are wrong.*<sup>277</sup>

Explicit cohesive markers used in (42) are listed below:

*But rather we wish to ...* وإنما نريد أن  
*even though we do not know ...* وإن لم نقف على  
*as you yourself did when you ...* كما فعلت أنت في  
*even though you do not know ...* وإن لم تعرف  
*although our conclusions are ...* على أن إستدلالنا

<sup>276</sup> Baker, *In Other Words*, pp. 220-221; from *A Hero from Zero*, p. i, [Arabic text, no details].

<sup>277</sup> Williams, p. 120-121; quoted in T. J. Le Gassick, *Major Themes in Modern Arabic Thought: An Anthology* ([n.p.]: University of Michigan, 1979), p. 100; from المنغلوطي [no details].

The cohesive function of substitution is illustrated in (43), with Arabic predicate تزوير *a fake* substituted in English with *so*:

زواجه تزوير وحياته تزوير  
marriage-his [is] fake and-life-his [is] fake

(43) His marriage was a fake, and *so* was his life.<sup>278</sup>

Ellipsis in Arabic is illustrated in Quranic fragment (44), where the predicate *he has made it* is supplied in English translation:

ولم يجعل له عوجاً قِيماً (القرآن ١٨: ١-٢)  
and-not he-assigns to-it crookedness right

(44) and he has not assigned unto it any crookedness; [he has made it] right.<sup>279</sup>

Given current knowledge, automatic retrieval with corpus methodology of certain high level relations classed as cohesion appears challenging.

#### 4.2.4 Collocation

Collocation and idiom are determined by the frequency of cooccurrence of constituent lexical items. Any distinction between the two types of relation remains unclear. However, Sinclair indicates as one criterion the relative meaningfulness of constituents in determining an interpretation of cooccurring items: idioms are interpreted as ‘a single unit of meaning’ independent of the meanings of constituents, while collocation relations involve retention of ‘some meaning’ of constituent items (p. 172). Sinclair includes collocation under the rubric of structure (which also incorporates lexis and grammar). Cooccurrence relations are probabilistic in that they show strong tendencies in behaviour rather than clear-cut alternatives. The statistical significance of collocation relations is also indicated in the effect of unexpected cooccurrences. Sinclair recognizes collocations as the lexical cooccurrence of words independently of grammar. Alternatively, specification of

<sup>278</sup> Menacere, p. 34 [no source].

<sup>279</sup> Abdul-Baki As-Safi and In‘am Sahib Ash-Sharifi, ‘Naturalness in Literary Translation’, *Babel*, 43 (1997), 60-75 (p. 69).

collocations may include grammatical choices and positional relationships (to the left or right of a given node across a span). The mutually constraining power of lexis is argued by Sinclair to be at least as important as grammar in determining meaningfulness in text. Collocation relations exist as an area of meaningfulness that is neither independent (as open-choice word-meaning) nor dependent (as a single multi-word unit of meaning). Collocation also hints at the partiality of interpretation insofar as novel collocations may yield ambiguous, vague or indeterminate readings.<sup>280</sup>

Cruse distinguishes collocation, idiom and metaphor in terms of the transparency of constituents in their contribution to meaningfulness. He notes the impact of paraphrase on translation, and that effects such as speaker attitude and perspective have reflexes in the choice of lexis. Restrictions on coselection are also illustrated. Allerton makes a distinction between restrictions on lexical coselection (which is a relatively independent level of linguistic description) and the motivated choice by a speaker of a given configuration (where a range of synonymous alternatives is theoretically available). Gazdar illustrates syntactic mobility of certain idioms, where extensions may be quantified, topicalized, modified or elided. It is argued that such mobility suggests interpretation is being assigned to parts of idioms, though restrictions on the processes are not well understood.<sup>281</sup>

The association of collocation with frequency of cooccurrence dates back to Firth, as does the term collocation itself. Firth describes collocation in terms of the mutual expectancy of cooccurring words: the 'other-word material' in which words are most commonly or most characteristically embedded (p. 180). Halliday notes the probabilistic nature of lexical relations, describing the terms lexical item, lexical set and collocation as mutually defining. Clear illustrates the use of two statistical tools for measuring the significance of lexical cooccurrence: mutual information and t-score. Smadja demonstrates the automatic retrieval of collocations in English from large corpora (Section 2.3) and makes cross-linguistic comparisons. Automatic word class labelling of collocates achieved

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<sup>280</sup> Sinclair, *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*, pp. 65, 71, 78, 108-121, 172.

<sup>281</sup> D. A. Cruse, *Lexical Semantics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1987), pp. 29-31, 35-44, 270-285; D. J. Allerton, 'Three (or Four) Levels of Word Cooccurrence Restriction', *Lingua*, 63 (1984), 17-39; and Gerald Gazdar and others, *Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 236-242.

with Smadja's application produces a useable and functional type of knowledge about complex structures. Smadja's view of cooccurrence knowledge as purely lexical is claimed to overcome the arbitrary judgement associated with non-statistical methodologies. But Sinclair argues that grammatical labelling by the analyst also involves an element of value judgement. Compiling collocates characterizes the significant translation problem of structural mismatch.<sup>282</sup>

Benson, Benson and Ilson draw attention to the importance of collocation in bilingual contexts due to the arbitrary nature of such relations. They believe that even in learners' dictionaries such as *Cobuild*, the treatment of collocations is inconsistent and insufficient. They note various types of lexical combination including idioms, collocations, compounds and free combinations. Collocation is associated with psychological salience in that their higher frequency causes cooccurring constituents to spring readily to mind. Grammatical and lexical collocations are distinguished: grammatical collocations are formed on grammatical frames determined by the word class of the dominant item (node) and word class of other cooccurring constituents; and lexical collocations are formed on frequently cooccurring open class words exhibiting various affinities.<sup>283</sup>

A number of researchers note the significance of collocation relations to translation. Malmkjær calls for native-speaker attunement to nuances implicated by collocation relations in an original. Following Sinclair, intuitions about meaningfulness are distinguished from empirical evidence about frequencies of actual use. Translation requires invariance in the markedness of collocates, rather than replacing abnormal usage in an original with normal usage in translation. Malmkjær argues that the translator whose

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<sup>282</sup> J. R. Firth, 'A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, 1930-1955', in *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth...*, pp. 168-209 (pp. 179-181), first publ. in *Studies in Linguistic Analysis* (Oxford: Philological Society, 1957) pp. 1-31; M. A. K. Halliday, 'Lexis as a Linguistic Level', in *In Memory of J. R. Firth*, pp. 148-162; Jeremy Clear, 'From Firth Principles: Computational Tools for the Study of Collocation, in *Text and Technology...*, pp. 271-292; Smadja, 'Macrocoding the Lexicon with Co-occurrence Knowledge'; Smadja, 'Retrieving Collocations from Text: Xtract'; and Arnold and others, pp. 122-128.

<sup>283</sup> M. Benson, 'Collocations and General-Purpose Dictionaries', *International Journal of Lexicography*, 3 (1990), 23-34; COLLINS COBUILD ENGLISH DICTIONARY, ed. by J. Sinclair and others (London: Collins, 1987); Morton Benson, Evelyn Benson and Robert Ilson, *The BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English: A Guide to Word Combinations* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1986), pp. ix-xxix; and Morton Benson, Evelyn Benson and Robert Ilson, *Lexicographical Description of English*, Studies in Language Companion Series, 14 (London: Benjamins, 1986), pp. 231-235, 252-261.

native language is that of the original is more likely to be sensitive to the significance of linguistic choices in an original—including functional aspects of use, like the markedness of collocations. Other writers like Roos and Emery observe the need to maintain congruence in idiomaticity during translation, indicating the pervasiveness, arbitrariness and unpredictability of lexical cooccurrence. Emery illustrates a range of cooccurrence relations: from open or freely recombinable elements (viz. بدأت الحرب *the war began*), to restricted collocations (viz. اندلعت الحرب *the war broke out*), to bound collocations (viz. الحرب الضروس *the fierce war*), to idioms (viz. الحرب الباردة *the Cold War*). Typologies and analyses contrasting Arabic/English collocates abound in the literature.<sup>284</sup>

The meaningfulness of collocation is illustrated in phrases like معسول اللسان *smooth tongued* (lit.) *honeyed tongue*.<sup>285</sup> According to Abu-Ssaydeh, neither idiomatic collocations (like *foot the bill*) nor the non-idiomatic (like *clench fisted*) exhibit the incongruence of lexical (or free) collocations in translation. This would appear due to the lower mutual expectancy of lexical collocates within the language system, and to the higher degree of substitutability of open-class words at the nexus of translation. Translation of lexical collocates is illustrated in *crisper writer* أحَدٌ قَلَمًا (lit.) *sharper of pen* in fragment (45), and *oily charm* السحر الزائف (lit.) *spurious charm* in (46). The metaphor *he pushed another pony past the post* is paraphrased in (47):

<sup>284</sup> Kirsten Malmkjær, 'Who Can Make *Nice* a Better Word Than *Pretty*?: Collocation, Translation and Psycholinguistics', in *Text and Technology...*, pp. 213-232; Eckhard Roos, 'Contrastive Analysis and the Translation of Idioms: Some Remarks on Contrasting Idioms', in *Kontrastive Linguistik und Übersetzungswissenschaft: Papers from an International Colloquium, Trier/Saarbrücken, 25-30 September 1978*, ed. by Wolfgang Kühlwein, Gisela Thome and Wolfram Wilss (Munich: Fink, 1981), pp. 230-238; Peter G. Emery, 'Collocation in Modern Standard Arabic', *Journal of Arabic Linguistics*, 23 (1991), 56-65; Mohamed Helmy Heliel, 'Verb-Particle Combinations in English and Arabic: Problems for Arab Lexicographers and Translators', in *Language, Discourse and Translation...*, pp. 141-151; Hosny A. Wahab A. Aal, 'The Role and Future of Journalistic Translation', in *Language, Discourse and Translation...*, pp. 83-89; Leon Y. Barkho, 'Cultural Problems of Arabic-English Political Translating', *Babel*, 33 (1987), 143-151; and

محمد حلمي هليل، « المتلازمات اللفظية والترجمة » (مائدة مستديرة - الترجمة المهنية العربية والتكنولوجيا الحديثة، طنجة: جامعة محمد الخامس مدرسة الملك فهد العليا للترجمة، ١-٣ يونيو ١٩٨٩)

Mohamed Helmy Heliel, 'Collocations and Translation' (in Arabic), in *Nouvelles de la Federation Internationale des Traducteurs-FIT Newsletter*, n.s. 9 (1990), 30-50.

<sup>285</sup> A. F. Abu-Ssaydeh, 'Contrastive Collocational Analysis: Its Place in a Translator's Bilingual Dictionary' (unpublished paper presented at the International Translation Congress, Vienna in September, 1992), p. 8.

- (45) Tiny Rowland is a crisper writer than Peter Wright and has an even stranger story to tell.<sup>286</sup>

وتاييني رولاند أحدَ قلماً من بيتر رايت ، كما أن الحكاية التي يرويها أغرب بكثير.

- (46) In fact, the money came from the Sultan of Brunei, a naive individual, easily romanced and seduced by the oily charm of Mohamed Fayed.<sup>287</sup>

ولكن الواقع أن هذه الاموال قد جاءت من سلطان بروناي وهو انسان ساذج يصدق القصص الخيالية الملفقة، وأغراء السحر الزائف لمحمد فايد.

- (47) [It was subsequently used by Norman Tebbit, as Secretary of State at the Department of Trade and Industry, to restrain a Lonrho bid] while he pushed another pony past the post.<sup>288</sup>

[...] بينما أعان متسابقاً آخر علي بلوغ نهاية السباق .  
helped-he competitor another to reaching end race

Congruence in the translation of collocations is evidenced in phrases like *he ذرف الدمع shed tears*.<sup>289</sup> However divergence has been observed under the constraining influence of word class, word order, lexicalization, coselection and metaphorical association.

Singular *الدم the blood* collocates with verb *أراق الدم he shed blood*, in contrast to plural *الدماء* in the noun *إراقة الدماء bloodshed*.<sup>290</sup> Further word class divergence is illustrated in contiguous Arabic finite verbs contrasted with unitary English multi-word verb in (48):

ومضى يتقافز  
and-left-he he-skipping

- (48) He skipped off.<sup>291</sup>

<sup>286</sup> Baker, *In Other Words...*, p. 58; from *The Independent*, [no details].

<sup>287</sup> Baker, *In Other Words...*, p. 59; from *A Hero from Zero*, [no details] p. 13; Arabic trans., [no details] p. 27.

<sup>288</sup> Baker, *In Other Words...*, p. 76; from *A Hero from Zero*, p. iii; Arabic trans., p. 9.

<sup>289</sup> Abu-Ssaydeh, 'Contrastive Collocational Analysis...', p. 2.

<sup>290</sup> Abu-Ssaydeh, 'Contrastive Collocational Analysis...', p. 9.

<sup>291</sup> Emery, 'Lexical Incongruence', p. 131 [source not specified].

Divergence in the sequence of collocates is illustrated by Shamaa in expressions like *pins and needles* (lit.) *needles and pins*, and *بالماء والصابون* *with soap and water* (lit.) *with water and soap* (p. 49). Emery cites fragment (49):

في هذا المكان الموحش حيث لا ماء ولا زاد  
in this place desolate where no water no provisions

(49) in this desolate place with no food and water.<sup>292</sup>

Divergent lexicalization is illustrated in (50), with Arabic binomial *بلا لبس أو غموض* (lit.) *without ambiguity or vagueness* lexicalized as *explicitly*:

قرر القرآن الكريم [...] بلا لبس أو غموض  
stated-it quran noble...without ambiguity or vagueness

(50) the Quran explicitly states that...<sup>293</sup>

In fragment (51), *صرير الأسنان* finds congruent lexicalization in *gnashing of teeth*, while *كقضضة العظام* is paraphrased as *the sound of lions breaking the bones of its prey*:

فدخل صوته في أذني كصرير الأسنان أو كقضضة العظام

(51) and the sound penetrated my ears like the gnashing of teeth or the [sound of lions breaking the] bones [of their prey].<sup>294</sup>

There exists a number of references citing epithets and other collocational information.<sup>295</sup>

Divergent coselection of collocates is sampled in Table 5.

<sup>292</sup> Emery, 'Lexical Incongruence', p. 132 [source not specified].

<sup>293</sup> Emery, 'Lexical Incongruence', p. 131 [source not specified].

<sup>294</sup> Emery, 'Collocation—A Problem...', p. 181 from ص ١٢٣ (١٩٧٣)، « كان ما كان »، نعيمة، both cited in Emery, 'Collocation—A Problem...', p.178; and

<sup>295</sup> محمد العدناني، « معجم الأغلط اللغوية المعاصرة »، (بيروت: مكتبة لبنان، ١٩٨٤)

TABLE 5 *Divergent Collocations (after Heliel, Abu-Ssaydeh, and Emery)*<sup>296</sup>

horse's	hoof	الحصان	حافر
cow's		البقرة	ظلف
camel's		البعير	خف
tall	buildings	شاهقة	مباني
	mountains	شامخة	جبال
	trees	باسقة	نخلة
great	distances	شاسعة	مسافات
	speed	خارقة	سرعة
	wealth	طائلة	ثروة
	hopes	الواسعة	الآمال
heavy	rainfall	غزير	مطر
	seas	هائجة	بحار
	meal	دسمة	وجبة
	smoker	مفرط	مدخن
	industry	ثقيلة	صناعة

The metaphorical force of collocations is illustrated in (52). Shamaa distinguishes *ربض* *he sat* from synonyms (جثم؛ جلس؛ قعد) by its association with strong, heavy animals, in particular the lion. The verb indicates sitting with chest on the ground and carries the connotation of heaviness, strength and steadfastness. Noting the metaphorical extension in *الابطال الرابضون على الحدود* *the heroes lurched toward the border*, Shamaa takes issue with the neutral translation of *ربض* as *descended* in (52):

سحابة داكنة ربضت على البلد

(52) a dark cloud descended over the village.<sup>297</sup>

<sup>296</sup> Abu-Ssaydeh, 'Contrastive Collocational Analysis...', pp. 3-4; Peter G. Emery, 'Collocation—A Problem in Arabic/English Translation?', *Quinquereme*, 11 (1988), 178-184 (p. 180); and

٢٤ ص 34. Heliel, 'Collocations and Translation' (in Arabic), p. 34.

<sup>297</sup> Shamaa, p. 83; from « عرس الزين », (بيروت: ١٩٦٧)، ص ٢٦

T. Salih, 'The Doum', in *Wedding of Zein*, trans. by Denys Johnson-Davies (London: [n.pub.], 1968), p. 1.

The translation of idiomatic and metaphorical collocation is well documented.

Menacere observes language-specific naturalness constraints on repetition (Section 3.1.1) with constructions like the following:<sup>298</sup>

*after much effort* (lit.) *after effort*(N) *effort*(ADJ) ... بعد جهد جهيد  
*he did his best* (lit.) *he [made an] effort*(V) *his effort*(N) ... جهد جهده  
*without a shadow of a doubt* (lit.) *without doubt or doubt* ... بدون ريب أو شكّ

Congruent usage is displayed in the following set of expressions:

*he shed crocodile tears* ... ذرف دموع التماسيح  
*he played with fire* ... لعب بالنار  
*the cradle of civilization* ... مهد الحضارة  
*the winds of change* ... رياح التغيير  
*channels of information* ... قنوات المعلومات

Divergence in the metaphorical extension of collocates is illustrated in the following

sample:

*the political climate* (lit.) *the political atmosphere* ... الجو السياسي  
*warm the heart* (lit.) *cool the chest* ... أثلج الصدر  
*move heaven and earth* (lit.) *make the world stand up and sit down* ... أقام الدنيا وأقعدها  
*go throw yourself in the lake* (lit.) *drink the sea* ... إشرب البحر

While metaphorical extensions of an expression may exhibit congruence (كذبة بيضاء *a*

*white lie*), divergence is equally attested (إبتسامة صفراء) *a forced smile* (lit.) *a yellow smile*).

Indeed, the range of extensions associated with an expression may indicate little common ground:

*a bloodless coup* (lit.) *a white coup* ... إنقلاب أبيض  
*a sudden death* (lit.) *a white death* ... موت أبيض

Cultural associations constraining symbolic usage are illustrated in لطحّة/وصمة عار في جبينه

*a blemish/blot on one's character* (lit.) *a blemish/blot on one's forehead*. This follows

association of the forehead with pride and dignity. The term حب عذري *Platonic love* (lit.)

*Uthra'ite love* refers to that attributed to the Arab tribe of Uthra. Similarly, كرم حاتمي

*lavish generosity* (lit.) *the generosity of Hatim* refers to Hatim whose generosity is

<sup>298</sup> Menacere, 'Arabic Discourse...', pp. 34-35.

legendary, and ليلة نابغية *a long hard night waiting for the dawn to come* (lit.) *a night of Nabigha* refers to a poet who described such a night.<sup>299</sup>

Automatic retrieval of collocation relations in English is well established in the literature (Section 2.3). Qualitative accounts of Arabic collocation phenomena are also well represented. This suggests that lexical cooccurrence is amenable to parallel corpus methodologies.

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<sup>299</sup> Abu-Ssaydeh, 'Contrastive Collocational Analysis...', pp. 5-7.

## Conclusion

Utterances are meaningful because of their significance to receivers as well as the intentions of communicators. Translation implicates a further indeterminacy involving coordination of meaningfulness across language systems. Equivalence refers to this dependence relation, holding between meaningfulness in a translation and in an original communication.

It has been noted that in the process of illuminating solutions, theoretical models inevitably create new problems and obscure aspects of the reality they hope to explain. A linguistic model of translation draws criticism from those who do not view translation as primarily a linguistic operation. However, the human capacity for language suggests that communication is universally rational behaviour. The evaluativeness entailed in rationality is bound up in meaningful choices fixed by the optimal use of expressions. Utterances link reality to the states of mind of communicators through shared experience and shared access to communication resources. Translation salience captures the mutual intentions of communicators during successful communication—correspondence in the states of mind of communicators as they hook up communication devices with reality.

The Translation Salience model construes equivalence as a partial relation involving the translator's cross-language attunement to communication resources. The translator's attunement to meaningfulness is uniquely and simultaneously anchored in two communication events. Correspondence is achieved by coordinating information about the states of mind of communicators, situations of utterance and described situations. Expressions and other resources enable communication of salient information about these states of being and about situations. Translation salience postulates three fundamental notions: markedness, implicitness and localness. Markedness attributes value in the process of interpretation, balancing the singularity of an instance against convention. Implicitness attributes value by capturing language-specific naturalness constraints on

backgroundedness. Localness anchors meaningfulness in one or another of the interfacing languages.

Arabic and English data (predominantly parallel published text) support the Translation Saliency model. The kinds of usage identified by the model are specified. Qualitative analysis identifies Arabic repetition phenomena, code switching strategies, meaningful variation in agreement relations, and structural ambiguity. Prospective quantitative validation of the model is also specified. Quantification is required to resolve outstanding issues like the relative importance of the saliency postulates as well as the conflicting demands of deterministic transfer strategies and salient information.

## Appendix

### Luckhardt's *Transfer in Machine Translation*

This appendix contains an unpublished draft translation of extracts from Luckhardt's work on the notion of transfer in machine translation—*Der Transfer in der maschinellen Sprachübersetzung*—commissioned to Fredericka van der Lubbe in September 1993 and for which acknowledgment is duly extended.<sup>300</sup>

pp. i-ii	Table of Contents
pp. 17-20	Some Notions of the Concept of Transfer
pp. 41-2	Summary (3.5)
pp. 43-9	More Analysis or More Transfer?
p. 50	Valence and Case Theory as Bases for Determining Interface Structures
p. 54-55	Distribution
pp. 55	The Concept of Valence in MT
pp. 74-5	Summary (4.2.4)
pp. 81-82	Properties and Values
p. 84	Summary (4.6)
pp. 85-6	Transfer Problems in MT: Suggestions and Solutions
pp. 88-9	Lexical Transfer
p. 104	Structural Transfer
p. 119	Transfer of Properties
p. 143	Implicit Transfer
p. 162	Transfer Parameters
p. 164	Obligatory Parameters
pp. 166-71	Summary (Chapter 8)

pp. i-ii

#### Contents:

<b>1</b>	<b>Transfer in MT: an Historical Overview</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Some Notions of the Concept of Transfer</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Preliminaries, Foundations and Background for a Comprehensive Definition of Transfer in MT</b>
<b>3.1</b>	<b>Multilingualism and Interface Structure</b>
<b>3.2</b>	<b>The Problem of Task Definition</b>
<b>3.3</b>	<b>An Example: Translation of Prepositions</b>
<b>3.3.1</b>	<b>Dependence of Translation on N-sisternodes</b>
<b>3.3.2</b>	<b>Dependence of Translation on dominant nodes</b>
<b>3.4</b>	<b>Transfer at Sentence or Clause Level?</b>
<b>3.5</b>	<b>Summary</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Theoretical Basics</b>
<b>4.1</b>	<b>More Analysis or More Transfer?</b>
<b>4.2</b>	<b>Valency and Case as a Basis for Transmission of Interface Structures</b>
<b>4.2.1</b>	<b>On Valency</b>
<b>4.2.1.1</b>	<b>Obligatory/Optional</b>
<b>4.2.1.2</b>	<b>Distribution</b>
<b>4.2.1.3</b>	<b>Valency in MT (SUSY)</b>
<b>4.2.2</b>	<b>On Case Theory</b>

<sup>300</sup> Heinz-Dirk Luckhardt, *Der Transfer in der maschinellen Sprachübersetzung*, Sprache und Information, 18 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1987).

4.2.3	<b>Syntactic Function and Deep Case</b>
4.2.4	<b>Summary</b>
4.3	<b>Form and Representation</b>
4.4	<b>Attributes and Values</b>
4.5	<b>Lexicon</b>
4.6	<b>Summary</b>
5	<b>Transfer Problems in MT: Suggestions and Solutions</b>
5.1	<b>Lexical Transfer</b>
5.1.1	<b>Simple Lexical Transfer</b>
5.1.2	<b>Conditional Lexical Transfer</b>
5.2	<b>Structural Transfer</b>
5.2.1	<b>Resolution through Nouns</b>
5.2.2	<b>Resolution through Adjectives</b>
5.2.3	<b>Resolution through Verbs</b>
5.2.4	<b>Resolution through Adverbial Clauses</b>
5.2.5	<b>Pronouns</b>
5.2.6	<b>Further Examples of Structural Transfer</b>
5.3	<b>Transfer of Properties</b>
5.3.1	<b>Deep Syntactic Function</b>
5.3.2	<b>Reflexivity</b>
5.3.3	<b>Number</b>
5.4	<b>Strategic Conditions</b>
6	<b>Implicit Transfer</b>
6.1	<b>Word Order</b>
6.2	<b>Transfer of Prepositions</b>
6.3	<b>Genus</b>
6.4	<b>Prenominal Adjective-Participle Constructions</b>
6.5	<b>Adverbial Clauses</b>
6.6	<b>Modality</b>
6.7	<b>Time/Tense</b>
6.8	<b>Realization of Complement Clauses</b>
6.9	<b>Correlations</b>
6.10	<b>Translation of Pronominals</b>
6.11	<b>Verb Forms</b>
7	<b>Transfer Parameters</b>
7.1	<b>Optional Parameters</b>
7.2	<b>Obligatory Parameters</b>

*pp. 17 - 20*

## **2. Some Notions of the Concept of Transfer**

A general definition of the concept of transfer is to be found in Reiß/Vermeer 1984, 88:

Transfer is generally to be understood as the transmutation of a symbol, an element of a framework of symbols and a carrier of potential form and function, into another symbol, an element of another framework.

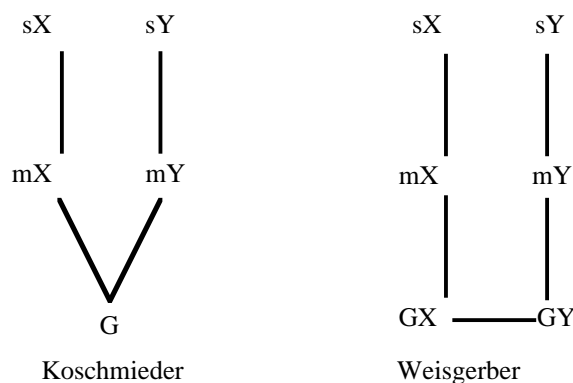
As examples of this, they provide the following: the dramatization of a novel; the transcription of a conversation; the painting of a landscape; the filming of a plot. In their view the following kinds of transfer "types" exist: action => action, actional proceedings => verbal proceedings, verbal proceedings => verbal proceedings. Translation, according to this, is a special kind of verbal transfer.

If we compare this definition with the one provided in the introduction, we come to the recognition which Wilss (1977, 73) formulated in this way:

The science of translation uses the concept of transfer in a double sense; it functions on the one hand as a synonym for the process of translation, while on the other hand it serves as an expression for a partial phase in translation.

It should be our main goal to elucidate or expound upon this terminological overlapping. It does not concern a contradiction. Rather, it indicates differing yet compatible points of view of parts of the translation process.

<1> CHART: Two Transfer Models (after Koschmieder and Weisgerber)



s = symbol/sign/expression (Zeichen); m = meaning (Bedeutung); G = universal/intended (Gemeintes)

First of all we want to go more deeply into the consideration presented in the introduction, in which we presented two antithetical models of the translation process according to Koschmieder and Weisgerber (quoted in Wilss 1977, 49-50) at <1>.

These models make it clear that Koschmieder and Weisgerber are of fundamentally varying opinions regarding the problems of translatability:

(a) "With the coordination of the same commonalities with the source and the target language it is.....implied that every text is translatable."

(Koschmieder, quoted from Wilss 1977, 49)

(b) "...in Weisgerber every language represents a relatively closed system of syntactic and lexical structures. Each translation accordingly amounts to a transgression of the system and is problematic from the start, if not completely impossible."

(Wilss 1977, 51)

The polarity of both of these interpretations does not do justice to the problem of translatability in as far as other theories can be established between the two extremes (Wilss 1977, 55 ff.). Their tenor can be paraphrased in this way: in principle translations into another language are possible; however the translator is confronted with lexemes and syntactic constructions which are "untranslatable", in the sense of lexical or idiomatic "holes", for example

1) lexemes: esprit, gentleman, Sauerkraut (Wilss 1977, 44)

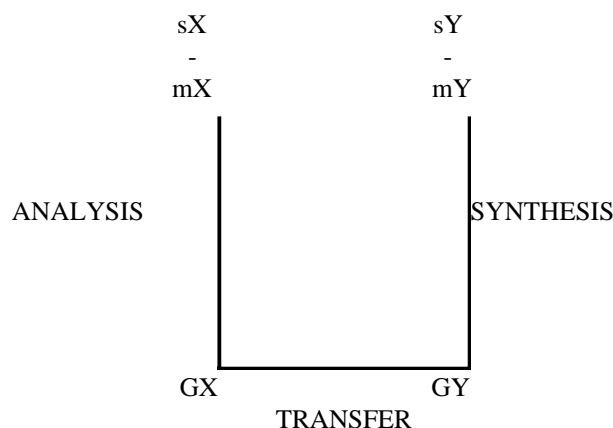
2) nominal constructions: an den schönen grauen Donau (Wilss 1977, 56)

3) proverbs: Morgenstund hat Gold im Mund.

The problem of untranslatability and the question of a two or three level translation process bound with this (see <1>) is therefore significant because the definition of the actual task of the analysis depends on answering this question, i.e., the definition of the process which G or GX ascertains. Should the analysis represent the intended expression in categories of the source language X (GX) or in universal categories independent of language (G), however these might appear, or at least partially in categories of the target language?

The question of "universal" categories shows that the matter at hand here is partly one of a theoretical problem; for what should these "universal categories" be, when you think particularly that lexemes like "esprit" or "gentleman" have to be represented in such categories as well? If need be, you could consider, for example, semantic deep cases such as AGENT, PATIENT, EXPERIENCER, etc., as universal, and therefore the same categories for all languages. However, only a few of such semantic categories can be defined, possibly in representation of modality or temporal relations (see Chapter 6). In the analysis within the framework of the translation process under discussion below, we will assume that the GX ascertains the intended expression, which is expressed in source language or precisely definable universal categories or units. (We understand "units" to be, for example, lexical units like "esprit", that is, atomic elements which can and should not be subdivided further.)

## &lt;1&gt; CHART: Transfer Model



s = symbol/sign/expression (Zeichen); m = meaning (Bedeutung); G = universal/intended (Gemeintes)

For <1> the following will be valid:

GX should contain:

1. lexemes of language X
2. categories of language X
3. universal categories

GY should contain:

1. lexemes of language Y
2. categories of language Y
3. universal categories

According to this, tasks of the transfer would therefore be the transference of X-specific lexemes and categories into Y-specific ones.

If we turn to both of the concepts of transfer cited at the beginning of this chapter, we can tender the following definitions:

- i) the total view: transfer as effect; that is, if a text  $T_a$  is translated into a text  $T_z$ , meanings of symbols from system A are transferred to system Z.
- ii) the partial view: transfer as procedure; that is, if a symbol/structure of A is not part of Z, the meaning of the symbol/ structure must be transferred by means of a transfer procedure.

In the first case "transfer" characterizes the complete path from  $sX$  to  $sY$ ; in the second, only the path from  $GX$  to  $GY$ . Both points of view will play a part in the discussion of transfer in computer translation, which will particularly address which transfer tasks are *implicitly* covered by corresponding definition of analysis and synthesis and which tasks one will *explicitly* allocate to the transfer phase.

pp. 41-2

### 3.5 Summary

In this chapter we have come to know a selection of transfer problems which should clarify a general definition of transfer and its tasks. In particular, with the aid of preposition translation, it is demonstrated how important it is to shape the formalization of linguistic knowledge, the representation of linguistic structures and the mechanisms used in transfer between languages (and not just in a multilingual project like EUROTRA), so that the individual tasks of each step of computer translation are outlined exactly.

If we select the most important aspects of the previous discussion, then it could be claimed that the definition of the transfer depends on:

1. the declaration of the computer translation as bilingual or multilingual;
  2. the division of tasks between analysis, transfer and synthesis;
  3. the determination of the point of intersection between analysis and transfer or transfer and synthesis, that is, the depth of the description of the structure;
  4. the definition of the categories used and the linguistic bases;
  5. the possibility of access to lexical knowledge;
  6. the given computer-linguistic facts, ie. the type of data structure, the operations possible with it, etc.
- These aspects will play a part in the following discussion about the theoretical bases of transfer.

pp. 43-49

#### 4.1 More Analysis or More Transfer?

We want to distinguish between *implicit transfer* (when a text  $T_a$  from the source language is translated into a text  $T_z$  in the target language, an initially imprecisely described transfer with various implicit transfer operations has taken place) and *explicit transfer* (by this is meant the express and conscious bridging of differences between source and target language). In all computer translation systems both play a role in which the relationship of both varies. Conceivable extreme cases are the following:

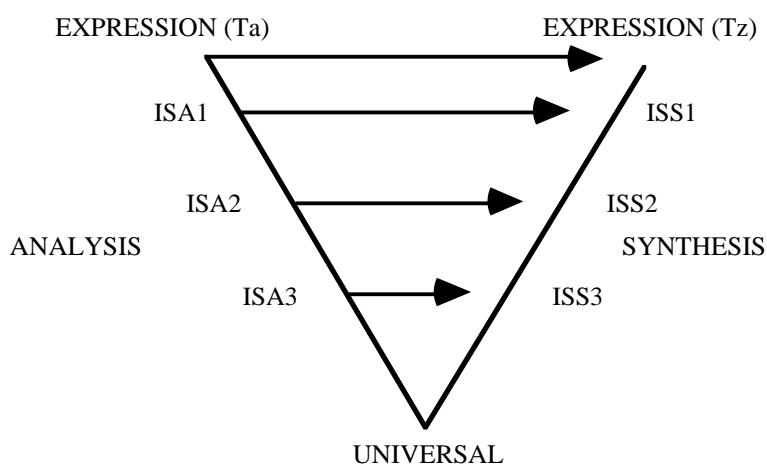
- i) an explicit transfer, in which each category of the source language is converted into one in the target language;
- ii) a translation without explicit transfer (i.e., two level translation model on the basis of an interlanguage).

Neither of these cases will ever be realized. The first one would be uneconomical; the second one could hardly be formalized. In 1960 Oettinger had already stated that in relation to interlanguage models, there was "little chance of their prompt realization" (see Oettinger 1960, 120). This statement is as true today as it was then. In addition, Hauenschild sees the disadvantage of interlanguage models in the fact that:

in every case, the analysis must be advanced with so far that one is prepared for all eventualities in any target language. That means that in general the expenditure of analysis is essentially higher than would be necessary for the demands of the actual target language which is being aimed for. (Hauenschild 1986, 169)

All known [cognitively plausible] computer translation systems are conceived within the range of (i) and (ii) above. Modelling may be visualized with the help of diagram <32>:

<32> CHART: Depth and Transfer



ISAn = interface structure after analysis  
 ISSn = interface structure before synthesis  
 G = Gemeintes (intended/universal)  
 T(a) = original text; T(z) = translation

The less work one wants to leave to analysis and synthesis, the more comprehensive is the transfer. Early systems looked for the shortest possible way from  $T_a$  to  $T_z$ , more or less directly from  $T_a$  to  $T_z$ , or through ISA1/ISS1 - and the way through the transfer was correspondingly "long". Little by little, the syntactic analysis was refined, by this the way from  $T_a$  to ISA(n) was lengthened, and the way from ISA(n) to ISS(n) shortened. Logically the next step would be a semantic analysis which would complete the connection of  $T_a$  and G and take the length of the transfer (from ISA(n) to ISS(n)) to zero.

In reality, almost all machine translation systems are far removed from this and at present most Artificial Intelligence (AI) researchers do not intend to point the way for machine translation, since they consider it premature to concern themselves with machine translation, or show no interest in machine translation at all. In the literature there is little work which draws comparisons between AI and machine translation (as Wilks

1977 does, for example). In 'Strategies for Natural Language Processing' (cf. Lehnert/Ringle 1982) machine translation is dealt with in a review under the heading of 'Ancient History' of natural language understanding (cf. Waltz 1982, 5). Other attempts are referred to in an aside.

Batori (1986) who discusses attempts at an AI-oriented model, sees three characteristic traits in such a model:

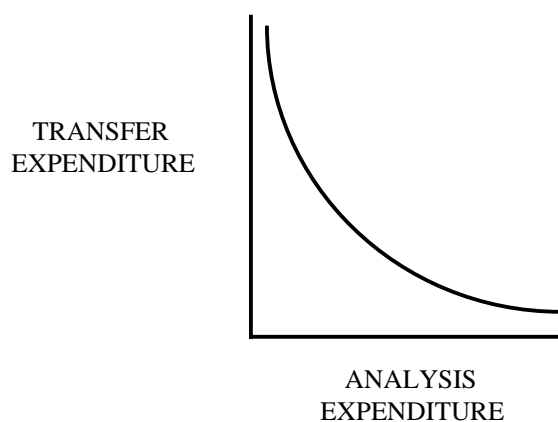
1. professional foundations of computer science;
2. a translation which is guided by understanding;
3. a holistic procedure in problem-solving.

It is still unclear in which manner the development of modern linguistics, which has been pushing forward the revival of context-free grammars since the end of the 70s, will contribute to the solution of the problems of machine translation, in particular the definition of transfer and synthesis. The few articles which draw a link between more modern linguistics and machine translation do not lay this impression to rest, either (cf., for example, Kay 1984, Rohrer 1986). More recent overviews of the state of machine translation (such as Nagao 1985) point to more modern linguistic developments like Lexical Functional Grammar (see Bresnan 1982), Functional Unification Grammar (see Kay 1984) etc., without, however, making it clear what profit computer translation systems could gain by taking such theories as a basis.

A relatively strong resemblance to G in <32> is attempted in the development of a prototype for a synthesis component inside a Japanese-German machine translation system in Project SEMSYN (1983-85, see Rosner 1985). The task of the SEMSYN synthesis component was to generate German sentences from the semantic representations of Japanese sentences created by the Fujitsu company's System ATLAS/U (see also Section 4.3). This task seems fitting for the SEMSYN system. Nevertheless, too little is known about the establishment of Japanese semantic representation for one to talk entirely of a computer translation system. In particular the effects of replacement of Japanese lexemes by English ones is unclear. A few techniques which are interesting are those for ascertainment of information which are not explicitly present in the representation, eg. for the generation of German articles and the determination of the correct number.

For more than twenty years, all articles which are concerned with the future development of computer translation have demanded that what we call ISA must be a representation which comes as close as possible to the level called the "intended". Is that really the case? The first paradoxical-sounding hypothesis which may be advanced is that from a certain point on the axis Ta-G onwards (see <32>), the expenditure of analysis is in an inversely proportional relationship to the simplification of the transfer; that means that under certain circumstances it is not worthwhile reaching a deeper level of analysis, since the expenditure is not in proportion to the gain. An example of this is the highly necessary ascertainment of semantic relations for valency-bound complements, mentioned previously, which can be dispensed with if the deep syntactic function, which must be ascertained in any case, is used for translation in transfer. Diagram <33> represents the relationship between analysis and transfer expenditure.

<33> CHART: Transfer expenditure and analysis expenditure



The analysis expenditure here corresponds to the synthesis expenditure which costs just as much work in producing surface structures from deep structures as deriving deep structures from surface structures. It appears sensible to ascertain Point X, from which point on a further analysis expenditure will not simplify the transfer.

<32> is neutral in light of the bi-/multilinguality of the system. We want to investigate if mono-, bi- or multilinguality change according to certain aspects. We describe a system as *monolingual*, if the analysis relates exclusively to the source language and the synthesis relates exclusively to the target language. It is *bilingual* if it is initially adjusted to one language pair. The transfer is bilingual in all systems in any case. A system is *multilingual* if it can process more than one language pair, if it also has more than one transfer component (and correspondingly more analysis and synthesis components) at its disposal. The relationship of these concepts to each other can be represented in the following way (see table 1):

<Tab.1>

	MONOLINGUAL	NOT MONOLINGUAL
BILINGUAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• one language pair;</li> <li>• analysis and synthesis adjusted to only one language.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• one language pair;</li> <li>• analysis and synthesis account for source and target language at any given time.</li> </ul>
MULTILINGUAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• more than one language pair;</li> <li>• each analysis and synthesis component only adjusted to one language at any given time.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• more than one language pair;</li> <li>• analysis components account for target languages and synthesis components account for source languages.</li> </ul>

A "monolingual multilingual" system is accordingly not a paradox, but a system which can process more than one language pair and whose analysis and synthesis components are only adjusted to one language at any given time.

We now want to investigate what significance it has for <32> and <33> if the analysis is monolingual; that is, independent of the target language or not; therefore we will consider <34> and <35>.

<34> Peter schwimmt gerne.

<35> Peter likes to swim.

<36> CHART [dependency tree-structure of <34>]

<37> CHART [dependency tree-structure of <35>]

In order to translate <34> into <35>, <36> presents itself as an IS. <37> must come from this in the transfer. However, in Dutch, <38> corresponds to the sentence <34>.

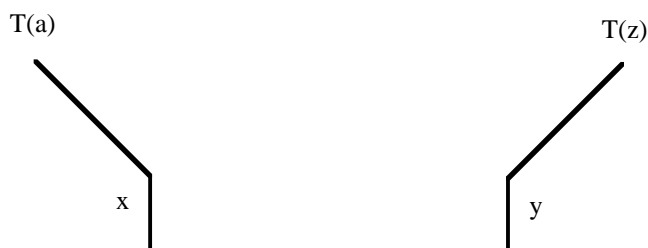
<38> Peter zwemt graag.

For this, the IS <36'> would be sufficient:

<36'> CHART [identical tree-structures for <34> and <38>]

If the analysis produces <36'> for the sake of English, this is an unnecessary "detour", so to speak, for the Dutch; analysis and synthesis require more outlay than necessary; the transfer is not simplified by this. Graphically this can be represented in this way (see <39>):

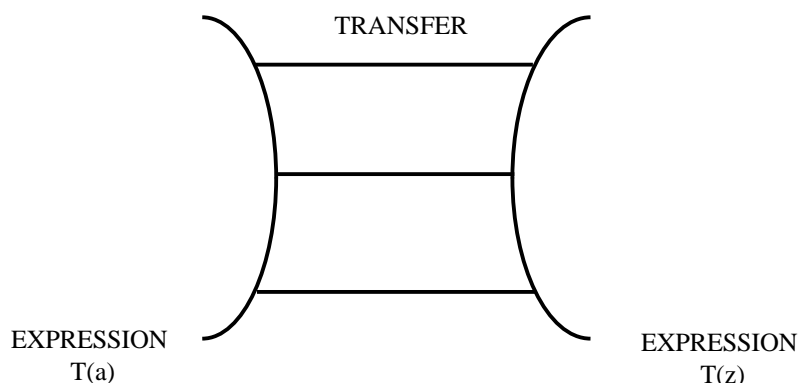
<39> CHART: Superfluous Analysis (x) and Synthesis (y) in a Multilingual System



T(a) = original text; T(z) = translation

X and Y are superfluous in this case. This conceptual game may be continued in this way (see <40>):

<40> CHART: Optimal Transfer



T(a) = original text; T(z) = translation

It would be conceivable for the transfer in multilingual systems to have already reached a certain level of analysis, not to be able to be simplified with increasing expenditure of analysis and from a particular point onwards to not represent itself as being more difficult than before this point. This is not just pure fiction but a concrete danger, which particularly concerns EUROTRA with its many different language (pairs), especially if you keep in mind that very high demands are placed on an analysis component (or the ISA produced by it), so that a translation will have to be made from one language into eight other languages with the same analysis components.

From the above, the following propositions may be deduced:

<41> The easier the analysis, the more complicated the transfer.

<42> From a particular level of complexity onwards, increased expenditure of analysis will not lead to a simplification of transfer.

<43> The multilinguality of a system leads to the risk that a greater depth of analysis may be advantageous for one target language, but may bring disadvantages for another.

*p. 50*

## 4.2 Valence and Case Theory as Bases for Determining Interface Structures

This chapter introduces both starting points as possible bases for the definition of semantico-syntactic representation, and makes them the basis for theoretical considerations with respect to the determination of the interface structure.

*p. 54-55*

### 4.2.1.2 Distribution

In MT the semantic differentiation should have the purpose of making possible the sequencing of the correct target language equivalents to the individual verb meanings in transfer. Since one cannot deal with the semantic differentiations which one requires for the various target languages in the source language analysis dictionary, one should dispense with semantic differentiation here in the broadest way, and determine them where they are used, i.e. in the various bilingual transfer domains.

*p. 55*

### 4.2.1.3 The Concept of Valence in MT

The concept of valence in MT comes to bear in the following contexts:

1. in semantico-syntactic analysis dictionary and during semantico-syntactic analysis;
2. in the analysis structure (interface structure);
3. in transfer.

In other words, valence is used for the determination and representation of analysis structures of sentences of natural language, for semantic disambiguation of verb meanings and for sequencing of the case of the arguments in the target language.

*pp. 74 - 75*

#### 4.2.4. Summary

The observations described in this chapter may be summed up in the following hypotheses:

On valency theory:

- valency theory is appropriate as a basis for the provision of syntactic representations of sentences;
- the dichotomy of obligatory and optional valency is problematic for machine translation, if comprehensive lexicons are made available and large quantities of text are to be analysed;
- varying distributions should only be drawn upon for meaning differentiation in transfer.

On case theory:

- there is no generally accepted definition of case roles;
- deep case exclusively doubles a part of the meaning of the predicate;
- making deep case explicit often has to be forced; ie., the assignment of case roles to sentence elements is often intuitive and difficult to formalize;
- semantic deep case is only easily determined for constituents which are not valency-bound, in other words, those which do not belong to the meaning of a verb.

On syntactic representation:

- with reference to syntactic representation, surface and deep syntactic function of constituents (SF and DSF respectively) can be distinguished. SF is a result of surface case or valency, which becomes DSF—if, for example, it deviates from SF in the passive (SF=OBJECT => DSF=SUBJECT)—allocated by a general rule (cf. also 5.3.1).

*pp. 81-82*

#### 4.4 Properties and Values

We want to distinguish between universal and transferable properties, the last of these we divide into obligatory and optional. The concepts 'property', 'attribute' and 'characteristic' are treated as synonyms. The following definitions apply:

*Universal Properties* are those which belong to a syntactico-semantic description independent of language and which don't underlie differences which belong to a language pair. These are for example expressions of an interlingua and categories like tense, voice etc.

*Obligatorily transferable properties* are those which must be transferred in the transmission from one language to another. They are those like lexical units, and gender of nouns. It can occur that a source language property X<sub>q</sub> is identical to the target language property X<sub>z</sub>, for example, if 'Haus' and 'house' have the same gender or if the German noun 'wind' is translated by the English noun 'wind'. This co-incident equivalence cannot be summarized in rules and has no further significance. 'Transferable' means that a source language property can be changed into a target language one or can be replaced by one. These replacements need not happen in the transfer process if they are not bound to a language pair. Therefore the property 'gender' is 'obligatorily transferable', but a noun phrase can be allocated in the synthesis process since the target language gender does not depend on the source language. That is 'house' always has the gender 'neuter' whether one is translating from French or German into English. 'Transferability' is therefore not bound to any process, and particularly not to the transfer process.

*Optionally transferable properties* are those which go over from the source language analysis to the target language synthesis unchanged. That is, they have to be changed in the translation of particular lexical units. Such transfer results are related to language pairs and words and are therefore furnished by the transfer process. Examples of such properties are: number ('Hose' [*sing.*] - 'trousers' [*pl.*]), reflexivity ('apologize' [*0-reflex.*] - 'sich entschuldigen' [*reflex.*]), or valence ('I like her' - 'Sie gefällt mir').

Properties and structures underly explicit or implicit transfer. Lexical units must be transferred. With syntactic and semantic properties or with structures, explicit or implicit transfer is possible depending on the case (see Section 5.3 [p. 119 below]).

*p. 84*

#### 4.6 Summary

Further hypotheses can be extracted from the previous discussion, which are summarized as follows:

<49> The interface structure depends on the task distribution between analysis, transfer and synthesis.

<50> The transfer occurs implicitly or explicitly. A property or structure of the target language IS is transferred implicitly if it is not produced by an operation of the transfer process. The same is true for the surface structures. Explicit transfer is under consideration if a property or structure is changed or replaced by an operation during the transfer process.

<51> The transfer operates on tree structures, charts, f-structures or semantic nets.

<52> Structures can be transferred implicitly or explicitly.

<53> Properties are transferred implicitly if they are universal, or explicitly if they are obligatorily transferable. Optionally transferable properties can be implicitly or explicitly transferred, according to the circumstances.

<54> Explicit transfer operations are adjoined by terminal nodes of the IS. Such operations can change or replace properties of a node or several nodes or structures.

<55> For the choice between translation equivalents there are syntactic, semantic, stylistic, text-related and pragmatic criteria.

The hypotheses <41>-<43> and <49>-<55> will be discussed systematically in Chapters 5 and 6 with the help of examples which represent the paradigm for transfer problems for machine translation.

*pp. 85-6*

#### 5. Transfer problems in computer translation and suggestions for their solution

Below we will be concerned with problems of transfer of lexemes, structures and properties. This arrangement is not quite exact, in that structural transfer, for example, always also includes lexical transfer and certain properties derive from surface structures, and so an implicit structural transfer takes place in the transfer of properties. The following definitions, however, initially appear useable for our purposes:

*Lexical transfer* exists if one or several wordings in the source language are replaced by the target language one(s).

*Structural transfer* exists if a part-tree (one or several nodes) is replaced by another part-tree.

*Transfer of properties* exists if a source language property is replaced by a target language property (or more exactly, the source language value of a property is replaced by a target language value).

Particular problems can be treated in different ways according to the definition of the IS. The translation of "kalte Ente" into English can happen by:

-lexical transfer, if this adjective/noun combination is reflected in the analysis in one node, whose lexical unit is "kalte Ente". This would be justified by the fact that it concerns a fixed concept, whose morphological parts cannot appear separately without the concept ceasing to exist ("Die Ente war schon kalt.");

-structural transfer, if the adjective/noun combination is maintained in the ISA and is conveyed in one noun in transfer (roughly, "punch"), or in a periphrastic structure ("punch with wine and champagne").

The representation of the suggestions for solution are not confined to a special system. We would like to approach the various problems, if necessary, from various perspectives, i.e. proceeding from various pieces of data. Rules are formulated according to the FUSL formalism (see Licher et al. 1986, Luckhardt 1985a), a functional language developed in the special research field 100, upon which the SAFRAN parser is also based (see Licher/ Luckhardt/ Thiel 1986).

*pp. 88-9*

##### 5.1.1 Simple lexical transfer

Simple lexical transfer can be represented in many ways. In SUSY it exists in the call of the FORTRAN function IFSED (WL1, WL2, INFO1, INFO2), whereby WL1 corresponds to the source wording and WL2 corresponds to the target wording, and [?INFO1 corresponds] to the paraphrasing of the wording of the processed node in the data structure through WL2. INFO2 contains information about conveying transfer operations like valency or number translation (see below) for those which are available to sub-programs.

Using the above formalisms, rule <61> can be formulated.

```
<61> rule WORD TRANSLATION
      lhs X
      conditions lex (LU of X)
      assignments assign (LU2 of X, LU2 of ENTRY)
                  copydec (X, ENTRY)
      end
```

The function lex will search the translation lexicon for the terminal node X, ie. whose wording (LU = lexical unit), and bring back the information of the located lexicon entry ENTRY, including the target language wording LU2. The lex function is a "condition" because its successful conclusion is a prerequisite of allocation.

### 5.1.2 Conditional lexical transfer

Below we consider cases of lexical transfer in which the allocation of a target language wording is made dependent on inherent or structural conditions.

*Inherent conditions* are those which are characteristic of the word to be translated; see for example the translation of participles.

If attributive participles are classified under infinitives, in most cases the target language equivalents can be generated by deduction:

	"lachenden"	"zerstörten"
Analysis:	PTZI* of "lachen"	PTZII of "zerstören"
Transfer:	PTZI of "laugh"	PTZII of "destroy"
Synthesis:	"laughing"	"destroyed"

\*PTZI stands for *Partizipien zu Infinitiven*, participles to infinitives.

pp. 90-1

*Structurally conditioned transfer* is substantially more frequent and diverse than that which is conditioned by inherent characteristics. Generally lexical transfer is included here, in which information from other nodes of the structure is used, without the structure itself being changed. In this way the translation of the LU of node X in <63> can depend on the LU or on other information in node Y.

p. 104

### 5.2 Structural Transfer

In my opinion, the concept "structural transfer" (ST) can be expressed more precisely than for example Rohrer (1986) and Hauenschild (1986) do. Not every structural change in the conveyance between source language and target language conditions a structural transfer. This has to do with the principle of simple transfer, amongst others, and with the extent to which transfer operations are oriented to the lexicon. In this context attention is called to the difference between explicit transfer (in this chapter) and implicit structural transfer (Chapter 6).

Even though according to our definition structural transfer means the changing of trees or part-trees, as a rule it is brought about by individual terminal elements, ie. by nouns, adjectives, verbs, and in special cases by

sentence adverbs and pronouns. Rule-governed structural transfer is demonstrated in the example of the translation of data.

*p. 119*

### **5.3 Transfer of Properties**

"Transfer of properties (characteristics, attributes)" can be understood as explicit or implicit allocation or change of characteristics; that is, the allocation of a pair "characteristic X/value Y", whereby the affected node either does not have this characteristic X encoded in its repertoire or has had another value allotted to X in the analysis. Other phenomena which may be represented by the characteristic/ value pair could fall into the same spectrum; eg. these are the properties SF (syntactic function), reflexivity and number, which will be described in this section.

*p. 143*

## **6. Implicit Transfer**

In this chapter a few cases of implicit transfer are described. In contrast to the explicit operations in Chapter 5, amongst these cases are those operations which are not conditioned by contrast, but are produced on the basis of the grammars of individual languages, through which the indirect change of a structure, a lexeme or a property is achieved, by comparison with the source language.

This presupposes that:

- the analysis structure of the text in the source language contains all the important information;
- the synthesis rules are formulated in accordance with the target language.

*p. 162*

## **7. Transfer Parameters**

The boundaries of transfer will very quickly become clear to whoever examines an original text and the translation prepared by their translator, to see which of the transfer procedures which were carried out can be executed by the machine. There can be obligatory and optional boundaries in the sense that either there is no current theory or system with which a particular transfer procedure is formally describable or can be dispensed with, while there are others which lead to an acceptable result. Both of these categories will be illustrated with some examples below.

### **7.1 Optionally drawn boundaries**

Transfer procedures depend on the quality of the sought-after translation, whether this is an ominous, never-quite-defined 'fully automatic high quality translation' (FAQHT) or a 'good-enough translation', or an 'informative translation'. A definition cannot be offered here, because these vary, depending on circumstances, from user to user. To put it succinctly: a transfer procedure can be dispensed with if the system produces a translation acceptable to the user without the procedure.

*p. 164*

### **7.2 Obligatory Boundaries**

There would not be obligatory boundaries if it were useful and effective generally to include such constructions for which obligatory transfer procedures are not able to be formalized in the lexicon, and not only for specific purposes. Below are a few examples of constructions which can not be adequately translated with a justifiable expenditure.

pp. 166-71

## 8. Summary

A definition of transfer in computer translation is only possible in view of the following aspects:

- a. Declaration of the computer translation system as bi- or multi-lingual;
- b. Task division between analysis and transfer and transfer and synthesis respectively;
- c. Determination of the place of intersection between analysis and transfer and transfer and synthesis and transfer respectively;
- d. Definition of the categories employed and of the linguistic bases;
- e. Formulation and application of linguistic knowledge;
- f. Computer-linguistic facts: type of data structure and types of operations possible on them.

All aspects are closely bound together, especially a. with b. and c. The declaration of a system as bi- or multilingual has an effect on the task division and the determination of the places of intersection between the systems. The definition of the linguistic bases and the data structure determines the formulation of lexical knowledge. In this way the most variant connections between the individual aspects can be drawn.

As a conclusion the transfer must be redefined for each computer translation system.

The relationship between aspects a.-f. is represented in <185> in an approximate way; that is, neither finally nor completely. In such representations, nuances are not possible, but in this case would actually be obligatory. For example, "transfer-burden" ("Transferlastig") cannot be considered an absolute value. Further models of grammar must also be included, and according to the circumstances, other connections or further aspects. Altogether, <185> is to be understood as a suggestion which could be helpful in further discussion of the problem.

<185> CHART [Flow chart describing relationships discussed in the book]

Once again all the definitions contained in the previous chapter will be summarized below.

Generally there are two ways of viewing the concept of transfer:

1. Transfer as effect (the overall view): if a text  $T_a$  is translated into a text  $T_z$ , meanings of signs/structures from system A are transferred to system Z. This happens with the help of operations which are not conditioned by contrast but are produced on the basis of the grammars of individual languages, through which by comparison with the representation of the source language the indirect change of a structure, a lexeme or a property will be achieved. "Transfer as effect" was characterized as *implicit transfer*.
2. Transfer as procedure (the partial view): if a sign/structure of A is not a part of Z, the meaning of the sign/structure must be transferred by means of a transfer procedure. This was characterized as *explicit transfer*.

In Chapter 4 some theses concerning aspects a.-f. were put forward, which will be repeated here:

1. The easier the analysis, the more complicated the transfer.
2. From a certain level of complexity onwards, increased analysis expenditure will not lead to an easier transfer.
3. The multilinguality of a system leads to the risk that a greater depth of analysis may be advantageous for one target language, but disadvantageous for another.
4. The interface structure depends on the distribution of tasks between analysis, transfer and synthesis.
5. The transfer happens implicitly or explicitly. A property or structure of the target language interface structure is then implicitly transferred if it has not come about as a result of an operation of the transfer process. The same holds true for the surface structures. Explicit transfer exists when a property or structure is changed or replaced by an operation during the transfer process.
6. The transfer operates on (tree) structures.
7. Structures can be implicitly or explicitly transferred.
8. Properties are transferred implicitly when they are universal, or explicitly when they are obligatorily transferable. Optional transferable properties can be transferred implicitly or explicitly depending on the case.
9. Explicit transfer operations are adjoined by terminal nodes of the interface structure. Such operations can replace or alter properties of a node or several nodes or structures.

10. For the selection between equivalent translations there are syntactic, semantic, stylistic, text-related and pragmatic criteria.

The various tasks of the transfer can be divided into 3 main categories:

- I. Lexical transfer: because of a transfer rule one or more source language wordings are replaced by a target language wording.
- II. Structural transfer: because of a transfer rule, one part-tree (one or more nodes) is replaced by another part-tree (or several part-trees).
- III. Transfer of properties: the value of a property in the output language is replaced by that of the target language.

In lexical transfer we distinguish simple transfer from conditioned transfer. In simple transfer a terminal node is associated with a wording in the target language without the conditions being named (of course, without the condition that the node must have a particular wording in the source language at its disposal). This type of transfer can be chosen if an unambiguous association between the wording in the source language and the target language is possible. In conditional lexical transfer we differentiate inherent and structural conditions. Inherent conditions are those which are characteristic of the translated word itself. In structurally conditioned lexical transfer, information on other nodes of the structure is used without changing the structure itself.

Structural transfer is triggered by individual terminal elements, that is, by nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, sentence adverbials, and pronouns.

"Transfer of properties" can be understood as the allocation of a pair "property/ value" to a node, whereby the node either does not have this property in its repertoire or has brought another value from the analysis with it for the property. In the last case the value from the source language would be cancelled ("written over"). With this kind of transfer, all phenomena which can be described by property/ value pairs can be dealt with.

The definition of the strategy of the transfer must consider four components:

- the effect of the rules on data structure;
- the co-ordination of rules for the same wording or the same circumstances;
- the co-ordination of the various transfer types; and
- the working-out of the tree structure by the transfer algorithm.

The transfer strategy suggested in Section 5.4 is based on the idea of "governor-controlled" translation, which expounds the principle that the transfer process only processes the nodes with the description "syntactic function = governor". The strategy provides for the fact that the translation lexicon for every word to be translated contains a process which comprises all transfer rules for this word. The task of this kind of process is to activate the part of the data structure which contains the relevant information for the translation of the word. The rules inside a process are ordered in "grammars", so that:

- one can make statements about the kind of working-through-process which the rules have;
- the rules are worked through in the given sequence, and are thus ordered;
- a quite definite structure for processing which is defined at the beginning of the grammar is presented to the rules of a grammar.

It is safe to assume that grammars as a rule work *preferentially* in transfer; that is, in the case of a sequence of rules R1, R2, ..., Rn, where Ri is the successful rule, rules Ri+1 to Rn are no longer applied. That naturally presupposes that Ri is to be preferred amongst the rules Ri+1 to Rn until there are no more rules. The rules inside a grammar are also ordered so that the rules with the strongest restrictions are applied first and the ones with the weakest restrictions are applied last. The same goes for the ordering of the grammars.

The suggested strategy for transfer has the following appearance according to the above:

- a. The processing algorithm searches the tree structure top-down and left to right, according to the first terminal element.
- b. It searches for the appropriate process in the lexicon.
- c. It activates the partial structure described in the process in the parsing tree.
- d. It applies its grammars and rules to the structure of the part sequentially and preferentially.
- e. It looks for the next untranslated terminal element. It then returns to b., until all terminal elements are translated.

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