LANGUAGE , DISCOURSE AND TRANSLATION IN THE WEST AND MIDDLE EAST

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Volume 7

Robert de Beaugrande, Abdulla Shunnaq and Mohamed H. Heliel

Language, Discourse and Translation in the West and Middle East

LANGUAGE, DISCOURSE AND TRANSLATION
IN THE WEST AND MIDDLE EAST

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Foreword

The papers contained in this volume started out as presentations at an International Conference on Language and Translation held at Yarmouk University in Irbid, Jordan, in April 1992, and attended by representatives from some forty countries. In tribute to the interest in promoting international communication, as vigorously advocated at the conference, we have worked over the written contributions submitted to us some months after, seeking to enhance their clarity, unity, and readability for a wide audience of students, teachers, and other professionals, such as had come to Irbid: translators, translator trainers, newspaper editors, broadcasters, military personnel, language academicians and professors, dictionary compilers, teachers of English as a foreign language, and teachers of subjects taught in English in schools and universities within the Arab world. Correlating our efforts was made somewhat easier during the times when Robert de Beaugrande was visiting professor at Yarmouk University in Irbid, and later at the University of Alexandria, Egypt.

Several steps seemed important for this work. For the convenience of readers unfamiliar with the Arabic language or with other languages from which samples were drawn, we have given idiomatic English translations and, where appropriate, concise interlinear translations. For the readers unfamiliar with the Arabic script, we have also carefully transcribed Arabic examples into the Roman alphabet according to the usual standard, shown on the table on the next page. The terminology of the contributions was also unified, and care was taken to provide technical terms with explanations in plain language. Finally, we worked to ensure that all contributions would be in a uniform and idiomatic English style designed for convenient reading, both in academic settings and in language-related professions.

This unity might offer a useful background against which the issues and their intricate relationships can stand out more clearly.The opening section of the volume weighs some overarching frameworks for approaching issues bearing on discourse and translation. Robert de Beaugrande suggests that the old dichotomy in linguistics between 'language by itself' and 'language in use', and the 'formalism' this dichotomy has encouraged, are now yielding to a dialectical unity between language and use ('discourse') and encouraging a 'functionalism' that is much more conducive to dealing with issues and problems in real-life discourse, such as the modes of 'control' applying to discursive transactions including translation. Ian Mason explores the pervasive influences of ideology and culture on translating, even when it is done by professionals and sponsored by prestigious international organizations, e.g., when documentation of a 'primitive' non-European culture in Mexico is translated and shifted to a European perspective. Wolfram Wilss propounds a 'knowledge-based' cognitive ambience, which he considers essential for modern translation theory and practice. Asim I. Ilyas proposes to replace the usual typologies that have just two or three supposedly opposite types with a typology that recognizes multiple parameters and that can be used to situate actual translated texts.

The second section addresses several aspects for making comparisons among translations and their cultural contexts. Adapting a term from Halliday's work, Mohammed Farghal proposes to delimit 'ideational equivalence' as a correspondence between 'ideas', alongside the more familiar criteria of 'formal equivalence' depending on whether linguistic forms are correspondingly arranged, and 'functional equivalence' depending on whether corresponding communicative actions are performed. Adnan Abdulla examines some fine points of style that arise most vitally in literary translating, where the effects of stylistic choices, e.g., an Arabic term echoing the Holy Quran, can be extremely significant. Said El-Shiyab airs some conventions of paragraphing, regarding which the sensibilities of English speakers differ from those of Arabic speakers.

The third section features the many-sided implications of the contact between Arabic and English. Muhammad Saraireh castigates the non-strategic practice of using inconsistent terminologies when moving between English and Arabic, notably in textbooks for technical areas such as astronomy or medicine. Hosny A. Wahab A. Aal, himself an editor at the Middle East News Agency in Cairo, and Yousef Bader both explore the repercussions of English upon Arabic news media and upon the practices of journalists, most noticeably in the welter of quasi-literal coinages or transliterations that seem odd in the cultural contexts of Arabic (e.g. 'jumhuuriyyaatu ʔalmawz' for 'banana republics'), but also in more subtle factors as the structures of clauses and sentences. Wahab A. Aal sets down a set of concrete recommendations for sweeping reforms. Abdulla Shunnaq examines the role of newscasts in explicitly 'monitoring' events by just telling what happened while implicitly 'managing' the events by staging them to suit political or institutional policies, especially when major conflicts such as the Gulf War are at stake. Ibrahim Khidhir Sallo escorts us into a university setting with his scrupulous presentation of data on Arabic-English code-switching in Iraq, where some of the more prestigious faculties, such as medicine, are still taught in English despite government initiatives to encourage wider uses of Arabic.

The fourth section deals with some problems in lexicology and grammar, which are more familiar terrain for many linguists. Tying into the concerns of the previous section, Showqi Ali Bahumaid expresses deep concern for the pervasive problems facing Arabic terminology on the contemporary scene, using examples from linguistics. Mohamed Helmy Heliel focuses on the thorny problems of handling verb-particle combinations, which may differ in a wealth of details that arise during idiomatic translating between English and Arabic. Bassam Frangieh and Solomon Sara tackle the imposing 'semantic diversity' of 'faʕʕala' forms, which are Arabic verb forms derived from basic forms by doubling a consonant 'radical', sometimes with a predictably corresponding meaning, e.g., to make an action transitive or ergative (for 'ḥafiẓa', 'memorize' versus 'ḥaffaẓa', 'make someone memorize'), and sometimes with less predictable meanings (for 'dabiqa', 'stick, adhere' versus 'dabbaqa', 'catch with bird lime'). Clive Holes takes the usual English-Arabic dictionaries to task for their unthinking adherence to traditions, some of them obscure or literary, instead of to the needs of dictionary users and to the conventions of contemporary discourse. He heralds a new approach made feasible by the language data assembled and displayed in enormous computer corpuses of actual spoken and written texts, and sets forth a project for extending this approach, which has already led to highly successful monolingual dictionaries, over to bilingual dictionaries.

Following up on Holes' practical concerns, the fifth section turns to issues of interest to language teachers, including proposals and demonstrations from two quite different settings in the Middle East: Iran and the 'Gaza Strip' (soon, we hope, to be Palestine). It is intriguing to see that both settings share similar problems, such as a general uncertainty among English teachers about whether translation should be a major pedagogical tool and how far literature should be a dominant discourse domain for studying or translating. Both papers present a case for more active, realistic, and student-controlled uses of translation in the language class, such as compiling a translated version of a video play for joint class performance (Ziba Zohrevandi) or constructing dialogues about everyday situations like shopping for shoes (Hassan Ali Abu-Jarad).

In the final section, some geopolitical outlooks are brought to bear once again. Brigadier General Mustafa Jalabneh, formerly head of the translation division of the Royal Jordanian Armed Forces and now its Director of Education and Military Culture, describes the needs of the military and the qualifications its translators should have. René Haeseryn, editor in chief of the publications of the International Federation of Translators, provides a useful overview of the work of the Federation, and highlights some recent initiatives in the Arabic-speaking world. Finally, Robert de Beaugrande deliberates on the 'discursive practices' of consultations, conferences, and proceedings, and proposes some ways to make them more appropriate to the needs of host environments and of the professionals who are likely to be the audience of listeners, readers, or discussants. He suggests that conventional academic decorum is too stratified, and that active efforts are called for to develop discourse strategies that favour more equal and constructive participation.

This volume has undergone a rather lengthy gestation, during which its countenance has been much transformed. It has impelled us to think and rethink as we sought to reflect on the role of conferences and proceedings. Some fruits of our reflections are offered here, but we have become keenly aware how far we still have to go, and how often we are still obliged to content ourselves with brief signals and hopeful signposts planted across a vast terrain.

Robert de Beaugrande
Abdulla Shunnaq
Mohamed Helmy Heliel

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The following table shows the transliteration used for Arabic consonants.

Arabic letter	Arabic letter name	Transliteration
ا	alif	a
ب	baaʔ	b
ت	taaʔ	t
ث	thaaʔ	th
ج	jiim	j
ح	ḥaaʔ	ḥ
خ	khaaʔ	kh
د	daal	d
ذ	dhaal	dh
ر	raaʔ	r
ز	zaay	z
س	siin	s
ش	shiin	sh
ص	ṣaad	ṣ
ض	ḍaad	ḍ
ط	ṭaaʔ	ṭ
ظ	ẓaaʔ	ẓ
ع	ʕayn	ʕ
غ	ghayn	gh
ف	faaʔ	f
ق	qaaf	q
ك	kaaf	k
ل	laam	l
م	miim	m
ن	nuun	n
ه	haaʔ	h
و	waaw	w
ي	yaaʔ	y
ء	hamza	ʔ

The vowels in Arabic are written as dots or strokes above or below the consonants. As identified by their Arabic names, we transcribed fatḥa as 'a', fatḥa ṭawiila as 'aa', kasra as 'i', kasra ṭawiila as 'ii', ḍamma as 'u', and ḍamma ṭawiila as 'uu'.

Part I. Theory, Cognition, Ideology

Cognition, Communication, Translation, Instruction: The Geopolitics of Discourse

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Abstract

The critically unequal distributions of resources in the world today are found not just in industries and raw materials, but also in access to knowledge through discourse. To promote human equality, the goal of supporting free access should be expressly recognised as a major concern in the design of international language policies and programmes.

A. Translation versus the 'science of language'

Translation has long held the uneasy status of a conspicuous and widespread practice with no explicit consensual theory (cf. Vermeer, 1994; Wilss, this volume). The same activity seems at once utterly commonplace and utterly inscrutable. People have been translating since the earliest contacts among cultures, but, aside from a few aphoristic or programmatic statements, the nature and methods of translating have received little attention until modern times. Doubtless, the pervasive presence of translation has helped to render it inconspicuous; and the recognition of its full importance could raise uncomfortable questions about the general theories and proceedings in the study and instruction of language.

Still, the practice of translation was surely a seminal experience that originally motivated people to study language. As long as you remain within the bounds of your native language, you are unlikely to see anything curious or noteworthy about it. Its organisation seems 'natural' and obvious, as if language could be no other way, and the relation between the 'message' or 'meaning' and the language resources for 'expressing' it seems transparent. But when you have to move between your own language and another one, this relation becomes problematic, and has challenged language scholars to grasp and define it since ancient times.

It might be thus expected that studies of language would centre on translation, but, for various reasons, this has seldom been the case. Since its inception in this century, much of modern linguistics has counselled scholars to envision the individual language as a separate, abstract system of forms organised in its own terms, with each form standing in an 'arbitrary' relation to its meaning. The active confrontation of two or more languages is not congenial to this vision, which might well imply that translating is a doubly 'arbitrary' activity: taking a set of forms, going to their meanings, and then fitting the latter to an apparently quite disparate set of forms.

Moreover, modern linguistics vowed to study 'language in and for itself' (Saussure's 'langue') apart from language use ('parole'). In retrospect, this decision is increasingly regarded today as premature, and its implications have certainly been problematic. One implication was that this abstract language system was most essentially and distinctly embodied in its **forms** (what units there are and how they are shaped and arranged in structures) rather than in its **functions** (what people do with language and its units or structures). Since translating is a way of doing things, it tended to be envisioned on the margins of linguistic theories conceived mainly along formal lines.

Conversely, translation could be envisioned at the very centre of linguistic theory: in the problematic relation between language and meaning, or, as is often said, between **form** and **content**. In this vision, translation could be seen to occur not merely when a person 'transposes' a 'source language text' into a 'target language text', but in the far broader sense of when a person *transposes any content either into any form, or from one form into another form.* Here, the familiar term 'translating' for an ordinary discourse practice would be appropriated to label a complex of relational processes, but the gain in genuine insight is uncertain. The entire interface between cognition and communication would be a process of 'translation' between a 'cognitive code' and a 'linguistic code', and further 'translation' would occur whenever one way of 'saying something' is adopted to replace any other. We do encounter this broadened sense episodically in modern linguistics, e.g. in Sapir's (1921: 138) 'conceptual classification of languages' by 'the translation of concepts into linguistic symbols'; or in J.R. Firth's (1968: 77f, 198) comment that people perform 'translation within the same language whenever we enter into the speech of someone else or our own past speech'; or in Jakobson's (1971: 261) conjecture that 'the meaning of any sign is its translation into a further alternative sign'.

Evidently, the admission of 'translation' as a domain for study can bring up thorny questions about scope and method. If we limit the term to its everyday sense, we may see it as a specialised and sporadic activity, a marginal or parasitic phenomenon in comparison to the total timeless, abstract system of the single language; and studying it seems a trifle narrow. If we broaden the term to include all mediation between alternative formal systems or structures via sharable 'meanings', we may see it as omnipresent in the design both of a single language and of several languages; and studying it seems dauntingly broad.

It is thus not unduly surprising that a 'science of translation' long remained on the borders of modern linguistics, the 'science of language'. Dramatic advances have had to wait until the dichotomy was relaxed between abstract language ('langue') versus language use ('parole'), and until functionalism could consolidate its position vis-a-vis formalism and become a dominant trend, witness for instance new journals like *Functions of Language* at Benjamins Press (cf. Beaugrande, in press; in preparation). A host of unproductive theses have needed to be cleared away, e.g., that all study should be confined to 'purely linguistic' phenomena; that the 'levels' of language should be described in strict separation; that formal or 'distributional' studies should make no appeals to meaning; that a firm distinction should be maintained between 'linguistic' versus 'extra-linguistic meaning'; and so forth (cf. survey in Beaugrande 1991).

Today, the term 'translation science' no longer sounds quixotic or paradoxical. Its academic ambience is not confined to linguistics, but encompasses neighbouring disciplines, such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, ethnography, and computer science (cf. Snell-Hornby et al. [eds.] 1994). Even so, our 'science' is perhaps still a bit too language-centred to navigate some of the wider aspects of translation as a human activity. I shall accordingly suggest an alternative outlook based on a more general model of cognition and communication (fully developed in Beaugrande, in preparation).

B. Language and discourse as control systems

My proposal is to regard human cognition and communication as control processes. This concept of 'control' is broadened to explore the issue of how the human mind relates to the 'real world' of experience. The 'classical realism' in Western thought has assumed that the world is simply 'out there' and that its traces are faithfully collected by perception and stored in cognition. In this outlook, the mind is directly 'driven' by the sensory data of experience, and the 'subject' confronts the 'object' in a direct two-way control relay (Fig. 1). Since

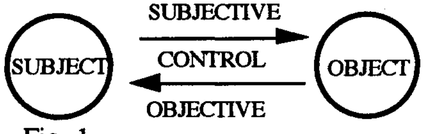


Fig. 1

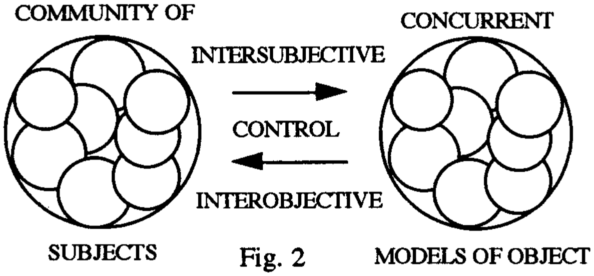
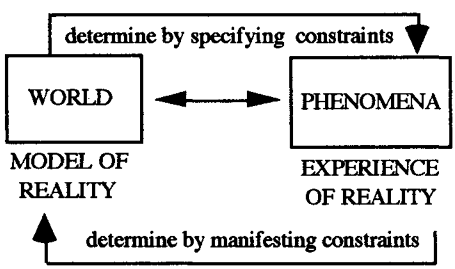


Fig. 2

this outlook projects reality as a constant for everybody, different versions of the world can only be accounted for as deviations from the one 'correct' or 'true' version. In the 'post-classical' outlook gaining adherence today, however, the human mind addresses not reality but a **model** of reality it actively constructs. Instead of taking it for granted that everyone has the 'same reality', we now address the problem of how and how far different people's models of reality may converge or diverge. Instead of envisioning the subject confronted and 'driven' by a world of free-standing objects, we envision the complex interaction of 'subjective' and 'objective' processes leading to the **intersubjectivity** among the world-models within a community of subjects, and to the **interobjectivity** among experiences with concurrent models of the object on separate occasions (Fig. 2); the fact that only 'intersubjectivity' is a current term so far points up the persistence of the 'realistic' notion that objects are single-natured and self-evident. In place of the traditional notion of the mind 'reflecting reality', we now assume the mind to build a model that both 'controls' reality and is 'controlled' by it. The model of reality (the 'world') controls by *specifying constraints*, i.e. suggesting what sorts of objects and events are the ones more likely to be encountered; the experience of reality (the 'phenomena') controls by *manifesting constraints*, i.e., by supplying the concrete details for each occasion (Fig.3). Logically, this process may appear circular in that the model and the experience presuppose each other. But operationally, the process is properly **dialectical** in the sense that each side is actively defined and constituted by the other.

Fig. 3



Another heritage of 'Western realism' has been to conceive knowledge in terms of **content**. And the outlook just depicted - implies that the content of reality is the set of objects and the set of facts about these objects, which the subject is supposed to 'learn'. Hence, Western schooling widely treats each 'subject matter' as a block of content to be steadily absorbed with complete accuracy. Focus is routinely given to 'facts' and 'truths' and to their absolute opposition to 'fictions' and 'falsehoods', rather than to the human activities and performances of constructing knowledge and believing or disbelieving it. After such an education, many adults go through life with a jumbled mosaic of bits of knowledge rather than with a coherent picture of how it all fits together.

My proposal here, in contrast, would be to '**bracket**' content and focus on **design**, i.e., on the strategic organisation of a given domain. Design does not merely represent the 'form' as opposed to the 'content' (as in the conventional dichotomy), but addresses the general dynamic organisation of a domain in terms of how complicated, clear-cut, and so on it might be, whatever contents or forms may be implicated on specific occasions.

Here, the activity of 'knowing' consists in 'exerting control': by using experiences as occasions to delimit, assign, and store significances that can later be re-used or modified. This process correlates perception with stored knowledge by determining what aspects are the relevant ones. To decide that something is a 'true fact' is not just to accredit a snapshot of reality, but to assign to a complex experience the role of a '**control centre**' in one's model of reality, a vantage point for seeking consensus with other people's models.

Undeniably, the most decisive means for assisting and steering the mutual control between mind and reality is **discourse**. Some authorities have indeed suggested that language is the only means of 'thinking' — that you don't have a 'thought' until you say it (cf. Sapir 1921). It might be more insightful to propose that the control which can be exerted by discourse is *more active, deliberate, and detailed* than could be exerted by cognition apart from language. Whether cognition can 'exist' at all apart from language is an artificial question if the functional interface of the two is the normal condition of both knowledge and expression; the vital question is how much control discourse can exert and whether it can do so to support free access to knowledge. And, as I have argued in some detail, there is good evidence from both theory and practice that this access is not usually served to any degree approaching the full potential of discourse (Beaugrande, in preparation).

In my most recent model, translation can be defined as the exertion of control through discourse in two or more languages for accessing the knowledge selected by the original text producer. The notion of 'control' requires careful differentiation here, however, according to its sources and applications; many practising translators may well feel various pressures over which they wish they had more 'control' in the everyday sense (cf. section D).

We can cite four 'orders' of control (Fig. 4). First, a total language is a 'coded system' with an advanced degree of **'antecedent' control** built in to its organisation. The baseline of this first order is **phonetics** and **grammar**, these repertories making up the 'ground plan' of sounds, forms and patterns in the design of the language; linguistics conventionally studies these in 'phonology' for sounds, 'morphology' for word-forms, and 'syntax' for word-patterns. Each subsystem stipulates the options among which the speaker must select. For example, the Tense system for Verbs does not provide elaborate formal 'conjugation' in Chinese, and only modest ones in English; in Sabaot, spoken along the southern Nile in Sudan, formal prefixes signal distant past ('ki -') before yesterday, middle past ('ko-') for yesterday, and recent past for earlier today ('ka-'), all three also having a more emphatic form marked by a lengthened vowel ('kii-, koo-, kaa-') (Longacre et al. 1989: 70). Paradoxically, the more alternatives the repertory supplies, the more alternatives you are obliged to discard in discourse; higher degrees of 'virtual' freedom entail stronger obligations to exert this antecedent control while using the language.

ANTECEDENT CONTROL ⟷ CONSEQUENT CONTROL

PHONETICS AND GRAMMAR — VOCABULARY — BASELINE CHOICE — DELIBERATE CHOICE

Fig. 4

The second order is the **vocabulary** (or 'lexicon') of the language, which exerts antecedent control by providing a set of selective designations. Against the 'realistic' notion that words are mere labels for objects and events, we can stipulate that word meanings entail predispositions about which aspects of objects and events deserve consideration. Hence, a *meaning is a set of instructions for performing characteristic processing actions* when the word is used in discourse; but those actions must be closely correlated with the ones performed for the other meanings that are activated in the same discourse, including ones merely implied and inferred (cf. Beaugrande 1980, 1984).

Instead of saying that words in a language are 'synonyms', and that words in different languages are 'equivalents', we might say that *they instruct similar though not identical processing actions*. The English term 'mind', for instance, would be associated with the overall 'mental faculties' whereby a person 'feels, perceives, thinks, and wills', whilst the term 'intellect' emphasises the 'rational and intelligent' aspects over those concerned with 'emotion or experience' (cf. Webster's *Seventh Collegiate Dictionary*, pp. 538 and 440); German 'Geist' and French 'ésprit' can cover for both. These 'meanings' constitute 'antecedent control' by indicating what people are likely to do when communicating or translating a discourse about 'mental faculties'; but what people actually do depends on the other guidelines of the context as well (cf. Wilss, this volume).

These first two 'orders of control' are thus 'antecedent' in the sense that they constitute the conditions speakers implicitly accept by deciding to use the language, before efforts are made to produce actual formulations. The phonetics, grammar, and vocabulary of the language are more or less 'ready-made', although each speaker realises them with concrete distinctness, e.g. tone of voice and personal 'style'. Modifications of the vocabulary are possible through explicit control actions, notably when a new technical term is created for a specialised field (e.g. 'ROM chip' in the computer industry); the creation is announced and defined, and enters the language to the degree that it is accepted by the relevant community of speakers. Modifications of phonetics and grammar, in contrast, are much more effortful, as puristic language teachers readily discover when they try to impose 'correctness' on speakers of other dialects. However, sporadic drifts can be occasionally detected, e.g., when the discourse of English bureaucracy and administration encourages a general creeping conversion of Nouns into Verbs (e.g., giving us to 'input', to 'impact', to 'conference').

The third and fourth orders count as **consequent control** which participants exert in their own behalf when they make decisions during discourse. Here too, freedom entails obligation: the more ways you have for saying something, the more of these you have to reject. The heritage of 'realism' suggests that you need merely report what is 'actually there'. But like perception itself, discourse is necessarily selective and constructive and derives from this factor its most decisive power for providing access to knowledge.

The third order of control includes the **baseline choices** which are made merely to assemble the 'wherewithal' for a discourse, without calculated planning. These choices typically favour the **unmarked** options, i.e. the routine ways of saying things in absence of contrary indications. In English, Subject-Verb-Complement is the unmarked clause order, while in Arabic, it is Verb-Subject-Complement (Farghal, this volume); intriguingly, English seems to be influencing Arabic on this point, as reported by Bader (this volume) for written Jordanian news media.

The degrees of unmarkedness are not merely set by the language but easily adapted to context. In one well-known set of experiments (Osgood 1963), speakers of English were asked to 'simply describe' the events they witnessed among billiard balls on a table. People showed a distinct preference for taking the perspective of the moving object over the stationary one, so that the sentences usually had a ball in motion as the Subject of an Active Verb (e.g. 'the black ball strikes the orange one' rather than, say, 'the orange ball gets hit by the black one'). In the discourse of bureaucracy and administration, in contrast, clauses typically have static Subjects and Intransitive or Passive Verbs, which conveys the impression of a complex world of self-sufficient processes whose agents have no specific identity (e.g. 'an initiative was implemented for a detailed inquiry'; 'late fees will be in effect').

The fourth order of control includes the **deliberate choices** that do conform to calculated planning and strategic motivations. Being the most conscious and conspicuous, this order is the one most readily and frequently regarded as a means of 'control' in the everyday sense, e.g., when discourse is deployed to indicate solidarity or confrontation. This control can be applied to any aspects of language, including the grammar. If I am writing about a particular trend in linguistics, for example, I can use the 'present perfect' to suggest that a given view or method may still be in use [1], and the 'simple past' to suggest that it has been discontinued [1a]; or a 'completive' like 'used to' can emphatically signal that it is definitely over [1b]:

[1] linguistics has drawn an influential distinction between competence and performance
[1a] linguistics drew an influential distinction between competence and performance
[1b] linguistics used to draw an influential distinction between competence and performance

I can also deploy vocabulary, e.g. by replacing 'influential' with a confrontational term like 'unfortunate' or 'misguided'. But I may find it more strategic to mount detailed line of argument encouraging readers to make this evaluation on their own (e.g. in Beaugrande, in press).

These four orders of control together constitute what I propose to call the **politics** of language and discourse, again in a much broadened sense: the management of concurrent alternatives to suit the speaker's interests. Once we have agreed that reality does not present itself as a single-natured and constant phenomenon to everybody but is actively constructed and controlled by human cognition and communication, it follows that discourse involves the participants in enhancing this construction and control, whether or not they are able or willing to acknowledge it. When discourse takes on a broad scale extending far beyond the immediate group, its politics become **geopolitics**.

The narrow, often pejorative sense of 'politics' being an active pursuit of personal or partisan goals should not lead us to overlook or underestimate the more basic senses in which discourse is necessarily political (cf. Mason, this volume). Thanks to the pejorative sense, politics work best when they are kept out of sight. Both the professional politician and the avowed realist claim their own view to be an exact reflection of 'things as they are', albeit the realist commands more respect in Western culture, especially nowadays. The respect enjoyed by realism is enhanced by its apparently 'data-friendly' stance: it allows people to organise their experiences and to orient themselves without facing disturbing existential complexities, and, supported by technology, to intervene in the environment. But like the 'political platform', this orientation and intervention always reflect someone's interests. One vital question today for the study of discourse is how much control is already exerted in the 'realistic' uses of language that linguists, semanticists, and psychologists routinely select as examples; and how far such control influences the way such researchers view translation.

C. The politics of language science

The broadened 'control' framework just proposed can be deployed for a brief examination of 'the politics of language science'. In general, modern linguistics has been heavily preoccupied with antecedent control, especially the first order control in 'phonetics' or 'phonology' and in 'grammar', the latter sometimes divided into 'morphology' versus 'syntax'. The implications of this preoccupation have pulled in contradictory directions (cf. section A). The famous opposition between language' versus 'use', ('langue' versus 'parole' or 'competence' versus 'performance') committed linguistics to the official position that consequent control in the active choice procedures of language use was an issue of lesser interest. Yet if language were a system running only on antecedent control, we could not illustrate it with actual samples of data, because every sample represents certain consequent choices. What routinely happens in linguistic studies is that an unspecified degree of consequent control is exerted either by the linguists or by their informants, and 'smuggled' into the description through the specific properties of the data selection.

This dilemma is no accident, but a direct consequence of the programmatic dichotomy between 'language' versus 'use', which in effect asserts that antecedent control can be fully captured in a description which is essentially *formal*, and without respect to consequent control, which is essentially *functional*. This stance obliged linguists to present data samples with the implicit claim: 'this sentence represents only the language (or "abstract competence") and not my personal activities (or concrete "performance") as a language user'. When openly stated like this, the claim sounds problematic and vulnerable, because it's hard to see how real speakers of a language can generate language data without making some choices that the language itself offers but does not dictate. Yet the evolution of modern linguistics, especially the shift from descriptive toward generative method, can be grasped in part as a steady inflation of antecedent control to fill in for the consequent control renounced through the original dichotomy. Recourses to symbols, formulas, matrices, trees, and other 'formalisations' constitute faceless appropriations of control which purport to detach the data both from the linguist as chooser and constructor, and from the situation of real or prospective utterance. In retrospect, the failure to produce a complete 'formal grammar' of any natural language by this method is readily understandable, because the investigator is entrained in the endless dilemma of trying to impose all needed controls upon data at the level of the abstract system — to anticipate consequent control and formalise it as antecedent control (cf. Beaugrande, in preparation, Ch. I).

The 'politics of language science' lie both in our selection of data, and in our decision to apply certain methods for investigating data. The difference between an isolated sentence singled out for linguistic analysis and a real utterance is not that the sentence is freed from consequent control, but that it is subjected to specialised control serving the goal of 'typification'. A clear trace of this goal can be seen in the common preference for trivial content, e.g., in such evergreens as 'the man hit the ball' or 'John is easy to please', where the banality enhances the impression that we are dealing directly with the 'language in and for itself'.

If, as I suggested, politics work well when they keep out of sight, professing to be nonpolitical is likely to reflect political motives. A linguistic approach which prescribes a formalist analysis of isolated English sentences reduces the 'politics' of language choice to a rudimentary outline and prefigures a whole constellation of choices about which issues and methods linguistics should accredit. Choosing formalism provides a rationale not merely for disregarding functional data, which are seldom strictly 'rule-governed', but for turning a deaf ear to the people facing a host of urgent language problems literally all around the world (cf. my closing paper in this volume).

Even so, the hidden politics of formalism simmer near the surface in the persistent stream of disputes over examples and counter-examples. Given the official disinterest in consequent control, the disputants could only present all their respective sample sentences as valid instantiations of the 'abstract grammar', and diverging judgements or analyses had to be treated as competing statements of the 'real facts' rather than complementary views reflecting the different kinds of control the disputants or their informants were exerting. Paradoxically, the failure to recognise the 'politics of language science', in the broadened sense I propose, eventually made linguistics substantially more political in the narrow sense of polemics and conflict.

The politics of data choice have applied to the stance of demonstration as well. In the generative method, it was accepted on principle that the complete, 'well-formed grammatical sentence' is the accredited data framework, regardless of where it might come from. So a sentence invented by the investigator would be just as valid data as one attested in the actual speech of a broad community. In place of comprehensive tests of the invented sentences against the attested sentences, the main operational question was how a framework or 'grammar' might be formally reconstructed to accommodate as many invented sentences as possible with the most elegant and powerful 'rules'. And, perhaps inevitably, the leading answer was that the 'rules' themselves would be grasped as data-converting operations whereby a large range of sentence types could be 'transformed' into a modest range; hence, every sample sentence was authorised to stand for a whole arsenal of sentences that could be 'derived' from it in this fashion. The politics of data choice were accordingly consigned to an intuitive (though ostensibly formal) rating of 'typicalness', whence the already noted preference for trivial content.

In return, the sentences implicitly lost their straightforward, matter-of-fact quality that made them convincing as data. It was only to be expected that focus would shift to a more abstract plane, duly labelled 'deep structure' to signal that we should not expect to 'see' it in English sentences. The task of mediating between this plane and the chosen data was naturally handed to the 'rules' and 'transformations', which were thereby empowered not merely to convert one batch of data into another batch but also to fit the data to the formalised claims one wished to make about them. The question of what sources and modes of control were involved in the production or comprehension of language data was now obscured by a mushrooming technical apparatus which renounced all claims to be a model of a human discourse participant (Chomsky 1965).

But this renunciation was half-hearted, since the grammar was after all supposed to be a model of the 'competence' of the 'speaker-hearer'; and Chomsky's strenuous challenge to behaviourism required some alternative account that referred, however guardedly, to what people do. Moreover, psycholinguistics had taken on the task of exploring the 'psychological reality' of linguistic theories and claims (e.g. H. Clark & E. Clark 1977). So an extensive body of research arose on the assumption that what people do when they speak and hear is to construct and transform sentence structures according to an 'internalised' rule-set (e.g. Bever, Lackner & Kirk 1969).

The politics of data thus shifted to meet the new problem of getting people to perform in experiments which would reveal their competence and not (or not just) their performance. In my terms, this would again require the exertion of pure antecedent control with no consequent control, which is humanly impractical. So the researchers toiled to design experiments that would drastically cut back on consequent control by limiting the test persons' choices, e.g., by making them memorise whole sentences to be uttered (Lackner & Levine 1975), or by providing clauses the test persons would combine to make sentences (Opacic 1973; Osgood & Bock 1977). Or, the same task could be done on two sentence sets that differ in just one grammatical feature identified by the grammar to be influential, e.g., Active versus Passive (cf. Coleman 1964).

The politics of seeking to reconstruct all control in formal grammar invited the enthronement of English as the model language. It has a 'layer' of 'frozen structure' well-suited to the formalist grammars that construct and transform sentences, and has fairly few formal features that seem to need describing beyond the boundaries of the sentence. So other languages tended to be approached as if their 'underlying' (or even 'universal') structure worked on the same principles, even when the data suggest otherwise. For example, an Arab scholar who completed a dissertation in linguistics at an American university department favouring formal grammars, accounted for the absence of the Pronoun Subject in an Egyptian Arabic sentence like [2]

[2] biyilʕab fi g-gineena
playing in the-garden
'he is playing in the garden'

by devising a 'Subject Pronoun Deletion Rule', which can apply when 'the form of the verb' 'is inflected for person, number, and gender' (Farghali 1982: 61ff). To me this sounds both roundabout and Anglocentric, since the expectation that every sentence must have at least a Pronoun Subject is much stronger for English than for many other languages. I would prefer to say that the antecedent control over Subject-Verb relations in Egyptian Arabic centres on Verb inflections, so that the Subject Pronoun is not an obligatory category first supplied and then deleted but an optional and occasional category supplied only when clarity seems to call for it. It would be highly ironic if the high-minded concern for 'language universals' merely licensed a recidivist Anglophile chauvinism in the guise of formal science and imposed it upon the Arabic language, which has a more ancient history of analysis and commentary than does English, witness the remarkably accurate linguistic description provided a full thousand years ago by the scholars of Basra.

In sum, I would argue that the dichotomy between abstract language versus language use or between 'competence' versus 'performance' entrained linguistics in a 'politics of idealisation' that paradoxically laboured to reconstruct formal controls on data while largely discounting the empirical and functional controls that apply to real discourse. In retrospect, the labours appear fruitless because control was being sought at one end yet simultaneously denied at the other; and when functional control is reconstructed as formal control, the results not compact and precise, but bulky and ambiguous. The abstract formal system becomes radically overloaded with features, matrices, and rules that do not operate on the functional patterns and criteria real speakers use but on the formal 'shell' or accompaniment that the data may assume in some samples of languages but by no means in all. The authorisation to invent one's own data samples and to postulate purely hypothetical form (say, 'deep structure') was merely a cosmetic solution that concealed rather than resolved the 'crisis of control' between theory and data.

Evidently, the hypothesis that a language can be scientifically described as system rather than use, and through form rather than function, has been thoroughly tested and has not been confirmed. It is time to move on and reopen the issues which, like translation, could not be adequately addressed as long as the hypothesis was held to be valid and absolute.

D. The geopolitics of discourse and translation

The foregoing sections might clarify what I want to cover with the term 'geopolitics' in my title. The term should not merely designate the ordinary narrow sense of politicians communicating after the customary fashion in steadily more global contexts, though this domain is undeniably crucial, e.g., when governments call themselves 'conservative' and actually mean 'selfish and wasteful', and when they speak of 'options for protecting their vital overseas interests' and mean 'battleships and air strikes'. Nor should the term be restricted to clearly political choices of words and phrases, e.g. whether to call the city of Jerusalem 'Yerushalayim' or 'Al-Quds Al-Shariif'.

Instead, the term should designate the much broader and subtler 'geopolitics' whereby the several orders of control are exerted to construct a reality through discourse and communication to suit one participant, group, or culture more than some other, on an international scale. And we must look beyond current modes of discourse to consider which ones might enable a more general free access to knowledge and a more equal participation in the construction of reality, because the present version of 'reality' visibly dooms a large portion of the human race to misery and destruction within the next century or so.

The 'new geopolitics' would thus be an integrative perspective that does not take 'reality' as a neutral given, nor language as an abstract system, but seeks to gauge the functions and interfaces of discourse in constituting and negotiating 'real' or possible worlds, extending all the way from wide social contexts, such as the emergent global rhetoric of 'ethnic autonomy', over to minute discursive choices, e.g. the use of Active or Passive in a clause.

This vision of 'geopolitics' implies a central, indeed daunting role for translation, which has hitherto been restricted in both theory and practice by rigid realism or sparse formalism. We must set aside the 'realistic' notion that the source-language text is a 'literal' and 'true' statement reflecting 'reality' and embodying the essence of phonetics, grammar, and vocabulary. This notion has set implausible standards for the act of translation, which was unjustly suspected of 'liberties', 'biases', and 'distortions'. The translator would be regarded as an agent who takes something authentic and gives back something inauthentic, a 'reality' that has been somehow transformed.

In the framework I propose, the theory and practice of translation call for a crucial distinction among *orders of control*. We need to work against views of translation that project the translator in the uneasy role of an assiduous expropriator of control who is constitutionally prone to 'go too far'. The fact that the translator is necessarily implicated in the antecedent control of both languages and must attempt to mediate between them is not adequately recognised as the essential precondition of translation rather than an unfortunate breeding-ground of vagaries and arrogations. Thus, the lack of formal correspondence required by this mediation is wrongly blamed on some self-centred or perverse manipulations by the translator.

The situation is especially precarious when the modalities of antecedent control vary quite widely between source and target language, so that the translator must make extensive compensations in the design of the message. One language may foresee elaborate resources for indicating attitudes in its grammar, e.g., a range of honorifics and forms of address for the second person, or a wealth of diminutives and augmentatives. A translator moving from English into such a language needs to estimate the speaker's attitude from non-grammatical cues and adopt the commensurate grammatical resources of the target language; moving back into English, the translator needs to notice the speaker's attitudes and convey them with diffuse lexical resources, some of which may sound 'stilted' to the monolingual speaker of English (e.g., when I was repeatedly addressed in a letter from Iraq as 'your goodself').

Whereas the hypothesis of 'linguistic universals' raised the prospect of ultimate commonalities and commensurabilities uniting all languages, the 'Sapir-Whorf hypothesis' undercut that prospect by suggesting that each language creates its own 'reality' for the community of speakers (cf. Wilss, this volume; El-Shiyab, this volume). Paradoxically, these two polemically opposed hypotheses converge in overestimating the role of antecedent control at the expense of consequent control. Both hypotheses portray the speaker of language under the power of predecided systems that largely determine what can be said or even what can be meant. Surely it would be more constructive and more conducive to human freedom to acknowledge that each language represents a selection of relevant aspects of reality and recommends them to the attention of speakers; but speakers are free, whether or not they realise it, to actively participate in the construction and negotiation of reality through their own voluntary control. And in contrast to many scholars, I submit that language science and linguistics have the urgent task of helping to explore how this freedom may be exercised and enhanced.

The 'world-view' a language projects is often more built on *complementarities* than on genuine *biases*. What is discounted at one point in the system is taken into account somewhere else. For example, the languages of Western cultures offer elaborate vocabulary options for expressing or projecting the viewpoint of the individual personality, whereas those of Eastern cultures project more from the viewpoint of the family and community. In return, Western cultures have also taken the lead in developing 'sub-languages' of bureaucracy and administration which level the individual into a faceless vehicle of specific rights and obligations, whereas Eastern cultures excel in developing registers and strategies of address to indicate exquisite distinctions in status and respect.

Insofar as translation studies have not been concerned with the notion of control, they tend to fall back classifying translations into types (cf. Ilyas, this volume). The best known of these, namely 'free' versus 'literal' translation, can readily be grasped as a disparity in orders of control. The extreme of 'literal translation' is a strong emphasis on strictly relaying the antecedent control of the source language onto the formulation of the target-language text. The extreme of the 'free translation' is a strong emphasis on the consequent control exerted by the translator. Like many classifications in translation theory, this one exaggerates, as a forced yes-or-no choice or dichotomy, a parameter ranging between aspects or approaches which the skilled translator balances and reconciles in practice.

The same reservation applies to some more recent classifications, which vary in their terms but share the idea of dividing translation or translating up along much the same lines that linguistics has used to carve up its descriptions of language. The 'segmental' approach foreseeing separate 'levels' such as 'phoneme' (minimal sound), 'morpheme' (minimal form), and so on, was transposed by John Catford (1965) into a highly impractical scheme of 'level-based' translating, which by far exceeds even the 'literal' method in overstressing the pressure of the antecedent control from the source language. Or, the tripartite scheme of aspects popularised by Charles Morris was rendered by Henry Widdowson (1979) in a scheme of three types of 'equivalence', wherein 'structural' (like 'syntactic') would stress antecedent control, 'pragmatic' would stress consequent control, and 'semantic' would land somewhere in between with the mysterious entity he too called 'deep structure' — a construct from the formalist theorising about language depicted in section

C. Trying to estimate the semantic and the pragmatic independently of each other is a rather artificial problem and works best when translations are not very successful, i.e. when the 'meaning' is conveyed but the purpose is distorted (cf. Ayad 1982; el Menoufy 1982).

Such schemes are typically unhelpful not merely because they dismantle the translation process and leave it in pieces but because, as I noted above, linguistics has been so heavily preoccupied with the antecedent control built into phonology, grammar, and vocabulary. Even pragmatics has often remained fairly abstract, notably when (as Widdowson proposed) it was centred on 'speech act theory', which likes to argue from invented brief examples rather than from real extended conversations and thus misses some significant empirical regularities (Schegloff 1992). I would favour instead a model of the theory and practice of translation in terms of the 'geopolitics' of balances among the orders of control (Fig. 5). The channel of communication from original speaker to final addressee (shown by arrows) first combines the antecedent control of the source language with the original speaker's exercise of consequent control. The translator intervenes and tries to reconcile the channel with the antecedent control of the target language though his or her own exertion of consequent control, and here is where disputes tend to arise, especially when the translator is not respected as a fully authorised participant in the transaction. If the communication does not function flawlessly, the original speaker and the final addressee can both blame the translator for going too far or not far enough in the act of control. Unsatisfactory formulations at one end or fuzzy understandings at the other can be freely laid at the translator's door, who can only adduce only his or her own personal estimation. The translator will do well to be overly attentive and try to head off potential problems caused by others. Technical faithfulness may well be less desirable than discreet improvements of the message.

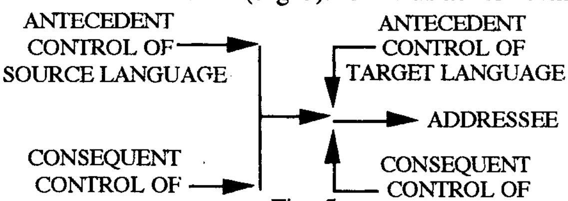


Fig. 5

Fig. 5

The geopolitics of discourse and translation must reflect upon the interactional framework that applies the intersubjective and interobjective controls needed for consensus (cf. section B; Al-Sheikh 1981). Setting standards for translation cannot stop with sparse, inflexible notions of 'equivalence' but should consider the cultural and ideological scope of geopolitical discourse as a global mode of control (Mason, this volume). During the relentless expansion and internationalisation of English today (Phillipson 1992), the chief result has not been an increase in free access to knowledge for overseas populations, but the distillation of new indigenous elites of English speakers who can contrive to be educated abroad and may find that, like Ismail in the poignant short story *Qandiil Umm Haashim (The Saint's Lamp)* by Yaḥya Ḥaqqii, when they return filled with 'English' knowledge and science they no longer understand their home, family, and culture. Even his native language seems estranged:

> When Ismail came to the square he found it as usual crowded with people [...] what were these animal noises they made? [...] if only he could, Ismail would have stopped every man and rudely shaken his arm, saying: 'Wake up! Wake up from your sleep and open your eyes. What is all this pointless and useless arguing, this gibberish and chattering about trivial matters?' (Ḥaqqii 1973: 27ff)

We feel the bitter truth in the words Mahatma Ghandi once spoke to the nation of India: you will not find fulfilment by importing the unhappiness of the West.

The lesson for us would surely be that international communication and translation must not provide further occasions to develop subtler means of foreign control under the guise of imported scientific and pedagogical methods geared to English. From the standpoint of the present volume, that recourse can only alienate the Arabic language from itself by encouraging it to see itself in terms of English or simply to borrow or mimic English terms and patterns (cf. Bahumaid, Bader, Saraireh, Aal, all this volume). Instead, we should seek occasions to tap and cultivate the rich native resources of Arabic so as to provide the widest freedom of access to the expanding knowledge of civilisation and technology throughout the Arab world.

Within an educational setting, translation is an activity well-suited to reflecting upon the organisation of one's native language in contact with that of a second one. We get glimpses of the concrete impact of antecedent control from the native language on the students' performance in the foreign or target language. Here are some typical English formulations from students at the University of Alexandria, Egypt, along with Arabic parallels that may well have encouraged them (cf. also Emery 1991):

[3] He recommended me with a restaurant in where I could take my lunch.

[3a] qaal lil ʕala matʕam ʔaqdar ʔaakul fiih

[4] we heard from the people next door to our table

[4a] simiʕna min il-ṭarabeeza ilii ganbina

[5] and thanks to God she liked the food

[5a] ʔaḥmid rabbina ʔinn ʔil ʔakl ʕagabha

[6] its bad reputation will dominate on it

[6a] sumʕit-ha ḥatifḍal dayman lazqa fiiha

Such messages may appear to be *out of control*' but are in fact subject to the *misdirected orders of control.* Instead of just spurning them as 'errors', we need to appreciate how and how far fluent speakers of English can still understand them by drawing on social knowledge about situations. The notice [7] in a Cairo student hostel computer room would be plain enough, even though a native speaker of English probably would have written [7a] or [7b].

[7] This lab is strictly allowed for residents. Please declare your ID card.
[7a] This lab is strictly reserved for residents. Please show your ID card.
[7b] This lab is strictly forbidden to non-residents. You must show your ID card.

You need to know the 'politics' of property and machinery in 'modernised' cultures, where premises and equipment are either owned by single individuals or shared under legally sanctioned conditions. A person who fails to understand these 'politics' soon encounters social problems, not just linguistic ones, and may eventually land in a jail rather than in a school for translators.

E. Language instruction as a control process

If language is indeed a control system and discourse a control process, it should follow that not only translation but also language instruction would be significantly implicated in control. However, traditional instruction shows a severe split. Like linguistics, most 'language teaching' is heavily focused on formal aspects of antecedent control, whereas only 'discourse teaching', which is still comparatively rare under labels like 'speech' or 'rhetoric', can directly come to terms with consequent control. The disappointing results of foreign language programmes are therefore only to be expected, since when the learners try to engage in discourse, they lack the third and fourth orders of control needed to manage communicative decisions and selections, e.g. what should be given special focus (see Gamal 1982 for further Arabic examples). The heavy investment in the first and second order antecedent control of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary does not pay off if it cannot be productively applied. Indeed, recent cognitive research suggests that disparate types of learning and memory storage are involved, namely 'episodic memory' for exercises like pattern drills versus 'conceptual memory' for natural discourse (cf. Kintsch 1977), and that the interface or transfer is by no means simple, let alone automatic. Moreover, at least in early stages, most learners proceed as 'silent translators' strongly steered by the antecedent control of the first language, which adds further impediments even for managing the first and second orders so prominently addressed in classroom routines.

Evidently, successful instruction requires far more explicit attention to self-reliant decision-making procedures than has traditionally been expended. If this requirement is to be feasible at early stages, we need to reduce the formalist demands for first and second order control by using a strategically designed '*mini-language*' whose repertory of options is compact enough that the third and fourth orders can reasonably be managed by typical students and not just highly talented ones. This idea was pursued by Charles K. Ogden (1932) over 60 years ago, whose 'Basic English' needed only a working vocabulary of 850 words; but we must go further to design an 'early control system' expressly respecting the native language and culture of each learner group instead of constantly insisting on 'formal correctness' from the standpoint of native speakers of English (a tendency Ogden's method proved unable to escape). I was startled to find that in Southeast Asia, the learning of English officially, at times vehemently, ignores the existence of already established and easily engaged varieties of Asian English, which have a distinctive and fully functional grammar and vocabulary. Asian children are plunged into BBC pronunciation and Oxbridge grammar and made to envision the world of English Romantic poets and Victorian novelists. The typical result is an alienation both against the native culture and against an educational enterprise that sees nothing odd in compelling pupils in Singapore to sit for exams that were written in Cambridge, England.

The task for instructional design in Arabic-speaking countries would accordingly be to develop a 'mini-model' of the target language, e.g. English, that is specifically attuned to the sensibilities of Arabic culture, so that the consequent control strategies already commanded by the learners for their source language can be applied to supplement the relatively sparse antecedent control over the target language. There will be plenty of time later on to expand the range of options and to address the characteristic aspects of British or American culture, or for that matter Canadian, Australian, or Indian culture; and to work out the formal refinements of 'idiomatic native-speaker' usage.

At no time should Arabic-speaking students be left with the alienating notion that success in their education and career depends so crucially on fluency in English (or any other 'Western' language) that they underrate or even reject their native Arabic culture. Instead, success must be measured by their power to actualise and develop their cultural identity with broader means and to gain access to the knowledge which will support that ability.

F. One world of knowledge and discourse?

If we can agree to regard the topmost goal of discourse as **freedom of**

access to knowledge, we can perhaps assess the 'geopolitics' both in the potential of translation and instruction and in the design of actual programmes and methods. This freedom is growing steadily more urgent in the wake of the global 'information explosion', which at present is merely shifting the imbalance even further in the favour of a handful of highly industrialised nations and their scattered representatives and trainees elsewhere around the world. And fluency in English remains a powerful filter for those who would participate (Phillipson 1992), even though Arabic is a language no less important than English in the overall history of ideas, culture, and science, reaching into the distant past when Cambridge and Oxford were crude villages on riverbanks.

Against the tough wisdom of Western materialistic 'freedom' — usually meaning freedom to acquire and possess if and only if your social circumstances allow it (as in the disingenuous mantra 'free market economy') — we must insist that freedom arises only where the highest 'meaning' of possession is the freedom not just to own, but to give, and all the more so for knowledge, where the givers lose nothing but their isolation, and the knowledge itself grows through the giving. As remarked in the 'foreword', a 'modernised' world running on short-term, confrontational, and destructive strategies is closed to 'genuine social progress' and cannot live at peace. And if such 'progress' can only be generated by moving toward long-term, collaborative, and constructive strategies, discourse is surely our major resource. If, as asserted in the well-known 'paradox', we are both 'slaves and masters of language' (cf. Barthes 1982; Billig 1991), then strong actualising strategies of discourse, developed from the schoolroom up through the university and onward into the practices of global communication and interaction, may yet help us to be at least masters of ourselves and of our futures.

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Discourse, Ideology and Translation

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Abstract

Using as a framework for analysis the categories of Genre, Discourse, and Text proposed by Hatim and Mason (1990), this paper seeks to show how ideology impinges on the translation process in subtle ways. Consciously or subconsciously, text users bring their own assumptions, predispositions, and general world-view to bear on their processing of text at all levels. Individual lexical choices, cohesive relations, syntactic organisation and theme/rheme progression, text structure and text type are all involved. The translator, as both receiver and producer of text, has the double duty of perceiving the meaning potential of particular choices within the cultural and linguistic community of the source text and relaying that same potential, by suitable linguistic means, to a target readership. This process and the ways it may be affected by systematic ideological shifts, are illustrated by reference to a source and target text produced to propagate the ideals of a large international organisation.

1. Introduction

In a fascinating work of translation criticism, Bruno Bettelheim (1983) describes how the official English translators of Freud distorted the language — and hence the meaning — of their source text, principally through systematic lexical selections that had the effect of rendering their target text more clinical, more scientific, and less subjective than Freud's original. Whereas Freud had nominalised German personal pronouns ('das Ich', 'das Es', 'das Über-Ich') to represent central concepts of his work, his translators preferred Latin forms ('Ego', 'Id', 'Super-Ego') appropriate — they no doubt reasoned — to a scientific treatise in English. The Graeco-Latin influence did not stop there; 'Besetzung' ('occupation') became in translation 'cathexis', 'Fehlleistung' ('erroneous performance') became 'parapraxis', 'die Seele' ('soul') and the corresponding adjective 'seelisch' became 'mind' and 'mental'; and many more examples could be given.

The choices made by Freud's official translators were strongly motivated. In line with the best practice of context-sensitive translators, they kept the target readership constantly in mind (the 'tenor') and had a clear sense of the language appropriate to a particular area of social activity (the 'field') (on these terms from Halliday, see Farghal, this volume). They strove to render the target text more abstract, more learned, and more scientific in order that it would appeal to the Anglo-American medical/scientific community and thus win acceptance for a set of ideas which, in the original, stemmed from a somewhat different European humanist tradition.

Thus, the translation gave rise to a perception of Freud — based on the *Standard Edition* of his works in English, through which he achieved world-wide renown — which is quite different from that of readers of the source text. In Joyce Crick's words, these translations made of Freud 'the anatomist of the mind rather than the doctor of souls'. Underlying the source text and the target text are two distinct ideologies, which Bettelheim identifies as humanism and behaviourism. For Peter Newmark (1991: 59), Bettelheim 'goes beyond neutrality when he insists on the translator's respect for the original, on values beyond culturally and socially-bound translation norms, on a respect for the "literal truth"'. Such an objection is unfortunate in implying that there can be a single, objectively defined meaning of a text, independent of both producer and receiver — a view rebutted by Beaugrande ('Cognition', this volume) and criticised by Newmark in respect to Bettelheim (see also Shunnaq, this volume). But behind this issue lurks another more familiar one: where do the translator's loyalties lie? With the letter of the source text or with the expectations of the readers of the target text?

As Sian Reynolds (1991) relates, the controversy continues to rage in the preparation of the complete edition of Freud in French. While Jean Laplanche, co-editor and president of the terminology committee for the translation, speaks of 'restoring Freud to Freud' by stripping away all of the accretions which have obscured the original text and by standardising the vocabulary, others regret the terminological strait-jacket in which they feel the translation is being imprisoned. The end result, they fear, will be more the language of Laplanche than that of Freud. Moreover, the work may be posited on the outmoded notion of the attainability of a 'pure' translation carrying over a single definable body of meaning from source text to target text.

That such a monolithic view of meaning is erroneous is a sub-theme to my own study, but one which has been ably argued elsewhere (e.g. Prince 1981) and cannot, for reasons of space, be elaborated here. Rather, our preoccupation in what follows will be with some of the questions raised by the issue of ideology in translation. How are ideologies to be objectively identified? Can they be pinned down in the use of discrete items of language? What should the translator's attitude be towards whatever is perceived to be the ideology of the source text? How far will the perceptions of the readers of the target text match those of the readers of the source text?

Tentative answers to questions like these can properly be attained only through systematic analysis of what goes on in the process of text production and reception. As will be argued here, words are invested with meaning by virtue of their use within a context and their exchange between users (cf. the notion of 'consequent control' proposed by Beaugrande in 'Cognition', this volume). In the multiple processes involved in translation (source text production ⇒ source text reception ⇒ target text production ⇒ target text reception), the **meaning potential** of items within the language system (Halliday 1978 — cf. also Beaugrande's 'antecedent control') is exploited by a variety of users, each within their own context and for their own purposes. In the particular case which we shall consider, alternative world-views and discursive histories create divergent discourses and texts in a situation in which equivalence is normally assumed.

2. Terminology

Before outlining a model for analysis and then applying it to a text sample, it will be necessary to define certain of our terms — namely, discourse, text, and ideology. The terms 'discourse' and 'text' are frequently used to refer to any undifferentiated stretch of language performance, spoken or written, as for example in the expressions 'text linguistics' or 'discourse analysis'. This usage is standard and unproblematic. But the terms will be used here in narrower senses which require definition. The term **text** in the sense of Hatim & Mason (1990) refers to a unit of structure which is deployed in the service of an overall rhetorical purpose — e.g. to expound or to argue. Kress (1985), following Foucault, uses the term **discourse** to refer to systematically organised sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution.

Language users have their own **discursive history**: their previous experience of discourse which, in turn, shapes their own perception and use of discoursal features. Discourse in this sense is both institutional and individual and gives expression to users' attitudes towards any particular state of affairs. It is in this sense that the term is used here. As such, it is of course closely bound up with **ideology** — not in the commonly used sense of a political doctrine but rather as the set of beliefs and values which inform an individual's or institution's view of the world and assist their interpretation of events, facts, etc.

3. A model for analysis

In examining ideology in translation, we shall be concerned with the constraints governing the production and reception of texts and the rhetorical conventions of the cultural communities of source and target language. The constraints may be considered as belonging to three categories: **genre**, **discourse**, and **text**. As semiotic categories, these are culture-specific in the sense that different cultural communities may have evolved their own intertextual conventions governing what constitutes a given genre, discourse, or text. My colleague Basil Hatim (e.g. 1991), whose work underlies this analysis, has convincingly argued that there are cross-cultural differences in the utilisation of persuasive strategies, giving rise, for example, to a preference in Modern Standard Arabic for 'through-argumentation' and in English for 'counter-argumentation'. Further, in an analysis of a translation into English of a speech given by the late Ayatollah Khomeini (Hatim & Mason 1991), we sought to show how systematic differences in Western and non-Western generic, discoursal, and textual conventions create considerable difficulties for translators; and that whereas the strategy of relaying the unfamiliar signals of genre and discourse in unmediated form to the target text reader affords the latter the possibility of real insight into an unfamiliar text-world, the translator's options are more constrained in the case of signals of text structure. For example, a text-initial item such as English 'Of course' or French 'Certes' is a clear signal of a concession within a counter-argumentative text structure. In such a case, the translator's decision will be determined not by some elementary lexical equivalence between source and target language but rather by the need to relay the appropriate structural signal to users of the target text.

Above all, it is our contention that these — genre, discourse, and text — are the semiotic systems within which the expression of ideology occurs, and that the investigation of ideology in translation is best handled within such a framework.

4. Application: Ideology in translation

4.1 *The data*

The text sample reproduced below (pages 27-28) comes from the *UNESCO Courier*, a monthly publication produced simultaneously in several different language versions. We may characterise the institution, UNESCO, and its official organ, the Courier, as being dedicated to the promotion of the cultures of

Tiene la Historia un Destino?

por MIGUEL LEON-PORTILLA

Antiguos y prolongados esfuerzos por conservar la memoria de sucesos que afectaron a la comunidad integran el primer gran capítulo de la búsqueda del ser y del destino mexicanos. Así, ya en la época prehispánica se afirma una forma característica de interesarse por preservar la memoria de sí mismo y luchar contra el olvido. Esa memoria era indispensable a los viejos sacerdotes y sabios para prever los destinos en relación con sus cálculos calendáricos. Tal quehacer de elaboración y registro de una historia divina y humana perdura en miles de vestigios arqueológicos que abarcan más de veinte siglos antes de la llegada de los españoles en 1519. Así, por ejemplo, las estelas de 'Los Danzantes' en Monte Albán, Oaxaca, fechadas entre 600 y 300 a.C., constituyen en el Nuevo Mundo el más antiguo registro de aconteceres, con sus años y días, nombres de lugares, de reyes y señores.

El destino — o los destinos — de los muchos pueblos que han vivido y viven en tierras mexicanas tuvo tiempos propicios y tiempos funestos. Hubo épocas de gran creatividad y otras de crisis y enfrentamientos, que llevaron a dramáticas desapariciones de hombres y de formas de existir. Los mitos y leyendas, la tradición oral y el gran conjunto de inscripciones perpetuaron la memoria de tales aconteceres.

Del más grande y trágico de los encuentros que experimentó el hombre indígena habrían de escribir personajes como el propio conquistador Hernán Cortés en sus *Cartas de Relación* y el soldado cronista Bernal Díaz del Castillo en su *Historia verdadera de la Nueva España*. Pero también los vencidos dejaron sus testimonios. Entre otros, un viejo manuscrito fechado en 1528, que se conserva ahora en la Biblioteca Nacional de París, consigna en lengua náhuatl (azteca) la memoria de lo que fue para los antiguos mexicanos el más grande de los traumas:

'Todo esto pasó con nosotros, nosotros lo vimos, nosotros lo admiramos, con esta

History or Destiny?

by MIGUEL LEON-PORTILLA

Mexicans have always exhibited an obstinate determination to safeguard the memory of the major events that have marked their society and this has coloured the way in which they view their identity and destiny. From pre-Columbian times they have been engaged in a continuous battle to save their history from oblivion. Knowledge of the past was the foundation on which their priests and diviners based their astronomic calculations and their predictions of the future. Countless archaeological remains from the two thousand years before the arrival of the Spaniards in 1519 bear witness to the Mexican desire to interpret and record the history of gods and man. The stelae known as danzantes ('dancers') at Monte Albán in the Oaxaca valley, on which are inscribed a record of the passing days and years, place-names and the names of kings and other notables, constitute the oldest known chronicle (600 to 300 BC) of the New World.

The people, or rather peoples, who succeeded one another on Mexican soil met with mixed fortunes. Bursts of creativity were punctuated by times of crisis and war which even led to the abrupt disappearance of entire populations and civilizations. The memory of these events lives on in the thousands of inscriptions and the legends of oral tradition.

The greatest and most tragic clash of cultures in pre-Colombian civilization was recorded by some of those who took part in the conquest of Mexico. Hernán Cortés himself sent five remarkable letters (*Cartas de Relación*) back to Spain between 1519 and 1526; and the soldier-chronicler Bernal Díaz del Castillo (c. 1492-1580), who served under Cortés, fifty years after the event wrote his *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* ('True History of the Conquest of New Spain'). The vanquished peoples also left written records. A manuscript dated 1528, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, recounts in Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs, the traumatic fate of the Indians:

'All this happened literally before our eyes; we were aghast and filled with anguish at the lamentosa y triste suerte nos vimos angustiados. En los caminos yacen dardos rotos, los cabellos están esparcidos, destechadas están las casas, enrojecidos tienen sus muros. Rojas están las aguas, están como teñidas, y cuando las bebíamos era como si hubiéramos bebido agua de salitre. Golpeábamos los muros de adobe y era nuestra herencia una red de agujeros. Con los escudos se hizo el resguardo pero ni con escudos pudo ser sostenida nuestra soledad...'

piteous fate which was ours. Broken spears lay strewn about the ground, men on horseback were everywhere, our houses were roofless and their walls were red [with blood]. The water was red also, as if it had been dyed, and when we drank it, it had a brackish taste. We beat our fists against the mud walls at the sight of our heritage lying in tatters. We sought protection behind our shields but no shield could protect us in our isolation...'

the world, and to the dissemination of knowledge and understanding about them. Following Kress (1985), we have defined **genres** as conventionalised forms of texts appropriate to given types of social occasion. In this sense, the social occasion is the international dissemination of understanding, in the form of social history, of the peoples of Mexico. Unlike the case of Freud, discussed earlier, in which genre is modified in translation to meet different cultural conventions, source text (ST) and target text (TT) here belong to an identical generic specification: they both have the same starting point, are aimed at similar international readers and have the same moderately didactic role. Given this specification, we can expect that the primary rhetorical purposes of the article will be to expound (describe, narrate) but also to present a case and pass judgement (present argumentation and evaluation).

4.2 Lexical cohesion

The first and most obvious way in which ST and TT diverge from each other is at the level of individual lexical choice. Some changes seem innocuous or due to mere carelessness: 'en los caminos' (ST [source text, line] 48) (literally, 'on the roads') becomes 'about the ground' (TT [target text, line] 48); 'pudo ser sostenida nuestra soledad' (ST 57) ('could our isolation be defended') is deformed to 'protect us in our isolation' (TT 56f); and 'mitos' (ST 28) ('myths') is simply ignored. But many are more suggestive in manipulatinvalues, either by flattening them, e.g. by making 'testimonios' (ST 39) ('testimonies') into 'written records' (TT 41) or 'formas de existir' (ST 28) ('forms of existence') into 'civilisations' (TT 27); or by slanting them, e.g., by making 'Prolongados esfuerzos' (ST 1) ('Prolonged efforts') into 'obstinate determination' (TT 1f), and 'antiguos mexicanos' (ST 44) ('ancient Mexicans') into 'Indians' (TT 45), or by sharpening 'enfrentamientos' and 'encuentros' (ST 26, 32) ('confrontations' and 'encounters') into 'war' and 'clash' (TT 25, 30). The worst slanting occurs when 'sabios' (ST 10) ('wise men') become 'diviners' (TT 9): whereas the meaning potential of 'sabios' covers both Western (i.e. purely rational) and non-Western forms of wisdom, the use of 'diviners' tends to exclude the form of wisdom which is currently valued in the West.

Yet something even more systematic is at work in the realisation of these two texts. The Spanish terms 'esfuerzos' ('efforts') and 'memoria' ('memory') are announced as themes in the opening sentence of the source text and form **cohesive networks** throughout. In the case of 'memoria', there is multiple **recurrence** (ST 2, 7, 9, 30, 43); Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 55) note that recurrence is 'prominently used to assert and reaffirm one's viewpoint' and it is this discoursal value which is important here. 'Memoria' — a term which takes on added meaning in societies where oral tradition is valued — is clearly a keyword in the discourse; its recurrence is motivated by a rhetorical purpose which emerges in conjunction with other features we shall describe. 'Esfuerzos' ('efforts') is echoed in co-referring items such as 'búsqueda' ('search'), 'luchar' ('struggle'), 'quehacer' ('task' — with the added connotation of 'duty'), 'creatividad' ('creativity'), to form what Halliday & Hasan (1976: 287) call a chain of **collocational cohesion** ('the cohesion that results from the co-occurrence of lexical items that are in some way or other typically associated with one another'). We can now make an initial comparison of source text versus target text at the level of networks of lexical cohesion (Table 1). It is immediately apparent that neither the multiple recurrence of 'memoria' nor the collocational chain of 'effort' has been adequately maintained. Moreover, the first signs of a fundamentally different discourse emerge. When memory becomes 'history' (TT 7) and 'knowledge of the past' (TT 8), the direct links between past and present are severed. Memory as such is down-played, and the active search for the past and the task of recording it turn into a passive 'view' of the past and a and a 'desire' to interpret it. 'Creativity', meanwhile, has been reduced from whole

SOURCE TEXT	TARGET TEXT
memoria (2)	memory (2)
memoria (7)	history (7)
memoria (9)	knowledge of the past (8)
memoria (30)	memory (27)
memoria (43)	—
esfuerzos (1)	obstinate determination (1f)
búsqueda (4)	the way in which they view (4)
luchar contra (8)	to save ... from (7)
quehacer (12)	desire (14)
épocas de gran creatividad (25)	bursts of creativity (24)

Table 1

'epochs' to brief occasional 'bursts', and the neutral 'Hubo' ('there were', ST 25) was correspondingly transformed into 'were punctuated by' (TT 24).

4.3 *Discourse indicators*

At this point, we must address a procedural matter. Translation criticism as an activity has been censured for concentrating on the written text as a product divorced from the circumstances of its production and reception, and for ignoring the translation process. The cross-textual comparison of individual lexical items a moment ago may seem open to such censure. But our interest in these items resides in their value as signs, and in the clues they provide to the construction of a text-world by text users. It is in this semiotic dimension that divergences become significant, rather than at the level of discrepancies between individual lexical items. A further example may serve to illustrate this point. 'Más de veinte siglos' ('More than twenty centuries', ST 14f) is relayed in translation as 'two thousand years' (12). Referentially, twenty centuries and two thousand years are equivalent; in traditional forms of analysis, the difference of expression would be put down to (presumably unmotivated) stylistic variation. Yet there is evidence here of a discourse of emphatic appeal in the use of hyperbolic expressions (literal translations shown in parentheses):

miles de vestigios (13f)	(thousands of remains)
más de veinte siglos (14f)	(more than twenty centuries)
los muchos pueblos (22f)	(the many peoples)
el más grande de los traumas (44)	(the greatest of the traumas)

Equivalence of referential meaning between items in the source text and target text is much less important here than relaying discoursal indices contributing to an overall discourse of epic narration in which history, memory, and destiny are seen as subject to human will and effort.

4.4 *Theme/rheme arrangement*

It was mentioned above that 'effort' and 'memory' constitute the 'themes' of the initial sentence of the source text. In 'functional' language research, such as the Prague school and British work associated with Halliday, the **'theme'** of a sentence is held to be the opening point of orientation, usually known or easily accessible content, whereas the **'rheme'** is held to be the new or focused content typically expressed in the later positions.[1] A cursory glance at the developing

[1] In contrast to the Prague school, Halliday defines 'theme' and 'rheme' in terms of earlier and

text shows that these form a kind of **hyper-theme** spanning the 'themes' of various sentences (literal translations again shown in parentheses) (Table 2).

	THEME	RHEME
ST 1ff:	(Ancient ....efforts to preserve the memory)	(constitute the first great chapter)
ST 8f:	(That memory)	(was indispensable)
ST 11ff:	(Such a task)	(lives on in thousands of remains)
ST 22ff:	(The destiny — or destinies)	experienced propitious times and fatal times)

Table 2

Thus, 'effort'/'memory'/'destiny' are the featured themes in this discourse. In contrast, the target text tends to put people(s) in theme position (Table 3):

	THEME	RHEME
TT 1:	Mexicans	have always exhibited
TT 6f:	they)	have been engaged
TT 22f:	The people, or rather peoples	met with mixed fortunes

Table 3

And the dramatic 'prever los destinos' (ST 10) becomes the prosaic 'predictions of the future' (TT 10f). But even within this thematic structure, the choice of verb in the rheme does not portray humans in a particularly pro-active role. Contrast, for example, 'interesarse por' (ST 7) 'to take an active interest in' with 'have been engaged' (TT 6).

This theme/rheme arrangement is closely associated with the expression of discourse. Admittedly, word order and theme/rheme arrangement correspond to different textual norms in Spanish and in English, and one cannot be prescriptive about the translator's choices in this respect. Nevertheless, all of these textural devices of the source text combine in the expression of a discourse which relays an ideology: destiny as personal commitment rather than as passive observation. Our last category, text structure, provides further evidence of this.

4.5 Text structure

The dominant text-type focus of the source text is expository, although there is a substantial element of evaluation which gives rise, in the third paragraph, to an argumentative text structure. A concession is made, followed by a counter-argument. A formal ('literal') translation of the source text (ST 32-39) at this

later positions, which may but need not correspond to the distinction between given and new content. On the various sets of terms for these phenomena, see Beaugrande (1992). (Editors' note).

point might read:

> [1] About the greatest and most tragic encounters experienced by indigenous man persons would have to write such as the conquistador himself, Hernán Cortés in his *Letters of Account* and the soldier-chronicler, Bernal Díaz del Castillo in his *True History of New Spain*. But also the vanquished left their testimonies [...]

The effect of this source text structure is to downgrade the concession (the Spaniards were the official chroniclers of these events), relative to the counter-argument (*but* ['pero'] the indigenous people did write their own account); here, the second text element has a higher rhetorical status. In the target text, however, the first element is upgraded by the term 'pre-Colombian' (TT 31) making the arrival of a European the main historical milestone and by more detailed and at times laudatory rendering in 'sent five remarkable letters [...] back to Spain between 1519 and 1526' (TT 33f) and 'who served under Cortés, fifty years after the event wrote' (TT 37f), which foregrounds the Spanish over the 'indigenous' documentation — a clear rhetorical reversal in the achievement of a subtly different purpose.

The evidence for my claim might be judged insufficient: at first glance, there appears to be no overt concessive in the source text (equivalent to 'Certainly...' 'Of course...', 'Although...') and the item 'pero' might not, for all readers, carry the rhetorical weight I am attributing to it. Such a view, however, would overlook the modality of the verb form 'habián de escribir', with its clear implied value of: 'it was natural that...' or: 'were bound to...'.[2] Thus, the concessive is indeed present (though not expressed in the conventional adverbial manner of English) and the counter-argumentative structure is beyond doubt. Moreover, an identical structure occurs in a later portion of the text excluded from the excerpt displayed above and rendered in my formal translation as [2], making a strikingly similar point with its contrastive 'but', which appears in the actual target text [2a] as a mere time-adverbial 'meanwhile', and the volume of writings suggested by 'continued to write' gets lost in the simple 'were writing':

> [2] To an extraordinary Franciscan monk, Bernardino de Sahagún [...] was owed the recovery of a great treasure of testimonies of the pre-Hispanic age. But there were also indigenous people who continued to write in their own language
>
> [2a] An extraordinary man, the Spanish Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún, [...] gathered invaluable, first-hand information on the pre-Columbian era. Meanwhile, indigenous chroniclers were writing in their own

[2] For this and other insights I am indebted to Miranda Stewart, whose comments on an earlier draft of this paper have proven invaluable.

languages

Overall, these divergent structures relay two different world-views or ideologies. Within a humanist discourse of people striving to forge their own destiny, and within an institutional framework (i.e., UNESCO) for the promotion of indigenous cultures, the rhetorical purpose of the source text structure is clear: in conceding that the Spanish Conquistadors were the official chroniclers of Mexican history, the text strongly counter-argues that there are indigenous voices, under-represented hitherto, which are equally worth listening to and which have preserved the precious legacy of 'memory'.

In sum, genre, discourse, and text are found to be mutually supporting entities within the producer's plan towards an overarching communicative goal. We can see how the sets of constraints imposed by genre, discourse and text are important variables in the translator's search for translational adequacy and how, as superordinate factors, they take precedence over incidental equivalences at the level of the referential meaning of individual lexical items.

5. A text-linguistic approach to descriptive translation studies

When I first discussed these two text samples with a group of Spanish linguists and English-language Hispanists, they were outraged at what they saw as a deliberate skewing by the translator of the intended meaning of the source text. Without access to the inner motivations and thought processes of the translator, we cannot state with any certainty what the intentions were. But I would suggest that there is no need to attribute the divergent discourse of the target text to any deliberate intention of the translator. Mediation, as 'the extent to which one feeds one's current beliefs and goals' into processing a text (Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: 182), may largely be an unconscious process. And, as noted earlier, an individual's discursive history will shape his or her perception and use of discoursal features. As James Paul Gee (1990: 174ff) notes, text users 'serve apprenticeships in social settings where people characteristically read, write, speak and listen in [certain] ways'; 'thus I am at one and the same time an active subject (agent) in the Discourse and passively subjected to its authority' (compare the 'master-slave' paradox of Barthes, cited by Beaugrande, 'Cognition').

In this sense, the discourse belongs to the user, who also belongs to it. If such an account of discourse is well-founded, then it would suffice to explain our two divergent text samples. The reception and production of texts have been mediated through variant discursive histories. The results reveal two distinct ideologies, only one of which is entirely consistent with the conventional norms of the institutional setting of the texts.

Our analysis has been far from exhaustive. A comparison of the titles of the two texts would, for example, reveal further corroborative evidence of the divergent discourses we have described. But our aim here has been to show that there are implications both for descriptive translation studies and for translator training. Empirical studies must seek not to contrast disembodied entities or isolated phrases from the source text and target text but to trace generic, discoursal, and textual developments which reveal ideologies and highlight the mediating role of the translator. If training programmes consider these important dimensions of text production and reception, the discussion of translators' techniques and strategies can be greatly enriched.

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Translation as a Knowledge-Based Activity: Context, Culture, and Cognition

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Abstract

This paper presents a knowledge-based framework, merging context, culture, and cognition, for assessing the theory, practice, and teaching of translation.

Introduction

The relevant features of the translator's modes of behaviour have not been compiled in any universally accepted list, but few authorities would contest today that they are closely related to human mental processing, of which translation is a complex instance. In this sense, translation is a goal-directed intertextual information-processing activity with a decoding and an encoding phase, which have been variously termed 'decomposition' and 'recomposition', or 'comprehension' and 'reconstruction', or 'deverbalisation' and 'reverbalisation'. This final pair is the least helpful, obscurely suggesting that going from source text to target text can be done without language ('non-verbally'), which contradicts empirical evidence, such as that provided by think-aloud-protocols.[1]

Under close scrutiny, the activities of decoding and encoding reveal a mix of universal and individual, and of objective and subjective factors, all of which we can subsume under three headings: context, culture, and cognition. The last of these three covers such fundamental activities as problem-solving, planning, inferencing, schematising, mapping, comparing, evaluating, decision-making, intuiting, forming rules and strategies and so on, as well as such performance aspects as speed, automatisation, adaptation, and originality.

The concept of translation as purposive behaviour ties in with the concept of

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[1] For evidence of this kind, see Hans Krings, *Was in den Köpfen von Übersetzern vorgeht*, Tübingen: Narr, 1986 (editors' note).

translation as a complex of interrelated adaptive strategies designed to establish a functional equilibrium between source text and target text. Viewing translation as a manifestation of adaptive strategies precludes a model-theoretic approach leading to a quantifiable and formalisable model of task performance. Instead, we seek to specify the information-processing factors that are instrumental in:

(a) learning how to behave intelligently when one is confronted with a familiar or a novel situation;

(b) planning what operations should be executed in a specific environmental context;

(c) executing these operations through a repertory of knowledge and skills whereby behaviour-in-context is nearly always an organised interaction of both cognitive and non-cognitive processes.

Context

When considering how narrowly or how broadly to define the concept of **context**, we should be wary of a disquieting trade-off. If we select a more narrow definition, we may be able to make a fairly good prediction of the scope and volume of cognitive activity required for adequately mastering a specific translation situation, but not for a wider range of situations. To a contextualist, the translator's behaviour is captured not by enumerating personal translational abilities per se, but by describing mental performance in a particular translation situation. Since contextual approaches are closely situation-related, they often appear indefinite and unstable across times, task specifications, and sociocultural settings, and thereby not suitable for empirical verification and stringent generalisation.

Each context brings a fresh occasion for an interface between the individual translator's relation of his or her internal world and the relation to the external world. Empirically determining this interface is a particularly thorny issue, because contextualism tends to be overinclusive in placing within the realm of translator behaviour, aspects that might be subsumed under the categories of individuality and motivation. Lacking universally applicable criteria to decide what does and does not belong to context, translation research must combine a range of relevance criteria, none of which is fully adequate and comprehensive by itself. Contextualism is further complicated by the capacity of the individual translator to draw upon highly personal skills and strategies to solve ongoing problems. One translator may have brilliant ideas that are difficult or impossible for other translators to operationalise or follow through.

Still, contextual sensitivity does constitute one of the highest criteria for assessing intelligent translator behaviour and must be accordingly recognised in order for translation research to set up a proper framework for the study of translation problems. We must accept context as a complex, multi-dimensional phenomenon, influenced and modified by multiple situational perspectives.

From a scientific standpoint, the principle of **economy** holds that a concept such as context becomes less interesting and more demanding as the number of theoretical parameters or intervening variables increases beyond a critical threshold. Complex theories are substantially harder to apply and verify than simple theories incorporating only a small number of interrelated underlying assumptions. But a human activity as complex as translation cannot allow the principle of economy to confine its research. Even concrete performance in successful translation work and solving practical translation problems is based on multiple factors, such as learning, knowledge, personality, discourse community, social behaviour, participatory conventions, and so on.

Generally speaking, translation research is confronted with two paradigms, a **parsimonious** one that is more scientifically stringent, and an **encompassing** one that is closer to the realities of translation. If I am not mistaken, the overall spectrum of translation research has preferred the encompassing paradigm, so that, for practical purposes, the investigation of concerted translation problems and translation methods has been much more successful than the strictly theoretical study of translation. This probably helps explain why translation research has had difficulties establishing an independent, self-sustained field of endeavour that can claim to constitute a legitimate science of translation.

The principle of economy needs to be weighed for its practical usefulness and validity. The number and diversity of concepts upon which translation research operates, depends on the tasks it sets out to accomplish. In translator behaviour, the concept of context comprises purposive adaptation and reshaping of textual environments relevant to the translator's activities. Admittedly, this definition is an extremely general starting point, and needs further specifications if we are to account for the efficiency of translational performance and to show how translators capitalise upon their pattern of skills.

Culture

An implication of the contextual view is that translation can be properly understood only within a sociocultural frame of reference which may well differ among languages, text-types, or cultures. Yet like the concept of context, the concept of **culture** is open to many assessments. An extreme assessment is the radical relativism between language and culture, which asserts that no two languages are culturally compatible. This relativism, which can cite such sources as Wilhelm von Humboldt, Leo Weisgerber, Edward Sapir, and Benjamin Lee Whorf (the latter two with their 'hypothesis' of linguistic relativity, cf.

Beaugrande, 'Cognition', this volume), ultimately threatens to deny translatability in principle, and as far as I can see, is not seriously endorsed by anyone in translation research today.

However, a good deal of research has shown the importance of defining the possibilities and limitations of translation in respect to cultural environments of both of speakers and of translators. Research has also inquired how various members of the translation research community conceptualise, define, and express their own notion of translation. The main point of this work, in my view, is that no exclusively culture-based concept of translation has been expounded anywhere in the world (except possibly at the Institutes of Translation at the Universities of Heidelberg and Vienna). In addition, no unanimity has emerged about the relativism mentioned above. Modern translational concepts frequently incorporate transcultural dimensions, particularly those involving epistemic knowledge and practical daily activities.

Yet language is obviously to some degree relative to culture, which underlines the importance of regional studies in the training of translators and interpreters. Far too few comprehensive studies have been made of diverse communities of language, culture, and communication; and even fewer proposals for operational methods have been made, presumably in lack of systematic frameworks for making comparisons between cultural settings.

On the other hand, I do not believe that everything is determined by the relation of language to culture; many aspects of translation, in particular in the field of LSP, transcend cultural boundaries and are, in some sense, universal. Simplifying somewhat, translation can be depicted as a domain of socioculturally determined linguistic behaviour with both culture-specific and universal components. Mental processes related to translational performance, such as source-text decoding, transfer, and target-text encoding, are observable in all cultures, no matter how proximate or remote. But to attain in the target culture the same impact and appeal as the original text had in the source culture, a translator may have to adopt rather intricate and mediated adaptive or compensatory strategies.

One need not go to 'exotic' languages and culture communities to find hosts of examples showing the urgent need for such strategies to shape the translation so as to achieve an acceptable degree of functional equivalence with the source text. Straightforward, direct transfer through one-to-one correspondences often fails, and the translator has to deploy knowledge-based reshaping operations

Cognition

Because individual translators can adjust the environment of the source text to that of the target text in ways that differ in type and complexity, we should not expect to find just one set of adaptive behaviours for everyone. Whereas the general process components in translator behaviour are universal, their concrete manifestations in the construction of textually appropriate transfer strategies, methods, and techniques will vary from one individual to another. Yet translators trying to become masters in their performance do share the ability to adapt to interlingual and intercultural differences, whatever specific skills they may use to do so.

In general, it is difficult to specify at what point and by what criteria we can conclude that a translator's adaptive strategies are sufficient in a particular situation. It is even more so to specify how and how far adaptive strategies can be made operational. Understanding how these strategies are acquired and successfully applied entails a high degree of textual specificity and evaluative effort but is essential for assessing the appropriateness of the strategies in the sociocultural and environmental settings wherein they can function efficiently. They cannot aim merely at a maximum of adjustment, because the source text is a situationally determined factor at the base of the translation process and not just freely modifiable 'playing materials' in the Ciceronean tradition. In sociocultural terms, our major problem is to explain how the adaptation of the translator to the respective translational environment evolves in response to the pressures exerted by the source text. Yet this problem for the theory of translation has scarcely been dealt with even from a heuristic standpoint, which may account for the rather deplorable degree to which some linguistic circles have disregarded, misrepresented, or misprized the results of translation theory.

The broadness of the concept of adaptation has both fortunate and unfortunate consequences. On the fortunate side, it suggests an openness and richness of perspectives with more room for creativity than other concepts might offer. Adaptation is indeed a core parameter of translation theory and practice, being manifested in all skilful translational performances among the fairly large number of other parameters employed in the execution of a task. On the unfortunate side, adaptation might seem so broad and empty as to cover virtually all cognitive activities in translation. The concept would then be too broad to be useful. Therefore, it would be helpful to determine whether adaptation is a high-priority concept in attaining self-directed or other-directed targets, or else a mode of knowledge about strategies and their textual consequences and particular translational goals, e.g., in the field of literary, biblical, or LSP translation.

The sparsest theoretical framework would be a strict behaviourism that postulates **automatic** operation without the information-processing that is characteristic, say, of analytical translation. Here, we could envision the responses the translator habitually produces through more or less internalised configurations of lexical and syntactic cues. The seasoned translator may perceive a specific textual configuration very briefly and then select a translational move without analysing his procedures. At high speeds, elaborate analytic information-processing is rather unlikely.

We might distinguish this automatic from **attentional** operation that requires resource allotments and works with higher-level information. This modality was not well-studied during the ascendancy of strict behaviourism, but its significance has been well established since then.

A similar complementarity would obtain between **routine** versus **original** translational performance. As experience with translational tasks increases, the demand for cognitive expenditure decreases. If so, the most interesting stage for teaching translation would be when novelty levels off and performance grows routine. Cognitive resources are then freed for the exercise of translational creativity.

The notion that translation involves the **transfer** of skills for familiar situations to novel situations is implicitly or explicitly present in many publications of translation research but has not contributed enough to progress in translation pedagogy. Intelligence itself is best measured by tasks that are not 'entrenched' but require information-processing outside one's everyday experience. Similarly, a translator's skills are not shown at their best in routine situations, but in extraordinary ones demanding adaptation to new textual material within the notoriously brief time spans allowed on the job.

The notion that translational knowledge and skills are aptly assessed in transfer leads to the familiar concepts of Piaget. **Assimilation** consists of subsuming an action under a previously developed schema, whereas **accommodation** differentiates the action according to the objects to which it is applied; 'equilibrium' between the two is 'the result of an act of intelligence'.[2] In a task as complex as translation, both processes are undoubtedly implicated on many levels, the more so when originality is required. To support the efficacy of translational work, translators will need to invest much time and mental effort to achieve a translational result acceptable to the source-language producer, to the target-language recipient, and of course to the translators themselves. But when a translational situation is too novel, translators will fail to apply appropriate cognitive structures to it, and in consequence, the task will fall outside the range of their translational skills.

In respect to the choices needed to maintain an equilibrium, these skills can be classed into two categories. **Selective decoding** involves recognising

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[2] Piaget, Jean, *The Child and Reality: Problems of Genetic Psychology*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976, pp. 70, 82 (editors' note).

which elements of a translational situation are relevant for adequate task solution. Experience shows that some factors in situational contexts may escape a translator's notice (occasionally even of one with a long record of practice). **Selective encoding** involves figuring out how to reorganise textual materials that have been selectively decoded. Such materials can, in accordance with the principle of stylistic variation, be shaped in many ways, several of which may be of equal quality. The degree to which a translator is able to correlate the two categories is a good indicator of efficiency in handling of novel translational problems.

Machine-translation research has taught us that, apart from standardised transfer operations in the routine translation of strictly formatted texts, translation problems cannot be solved by conventional algorithms in any encompassing way. Translation problems typically call for cognitive insights, heuristic procedures, and multiple stages, that do not operate by predetermined standards and algorithms.

In dealing with interlingually standardised text configurations, the translator's performance can be limited to **local** (lower-order) processing identified in artificial intelligence research, which offers the closest parallel between routine translator behaviour and the algorithmic procedures of machine translation. But more ambitious textual materials require **global** (higher-order) processing that is much less machine-like. A knowledge domain in which a translator has only slight expertise is naturally characterised by local processing of information, gathering bits of data without anticipating how they will all fit together. Rising expertise combines breadth and depth of knowledge and allows more global and efficient processing for a progressively widening range of situations, supported by a secure sense of how topics are likely to be organised. Local processes can be handed off to automatic packages that run without consuming processing resources, which brings significant advantages in speed; a good illustration is the articulation of the sounds of a language once an oral translator has mastered it. For the novice, however, local processing is disadvantageous because each process can address only a limited scope of data and cannot utilise the more powerful patterns of control.

Whereas skilled translators can fully exploit their processing resources and problem-solving strategies in novel situations, novices are easily overwhelmed by such novelty. The latter are obliged to rely on familiar, methodically controlled step-by-step procedures so frequently that the process of building up automatic processing resources with speedy access advances very slowly and demands intense **feedback** between actual translation performance and stored knowledge bases.

This demand for feedback is a challenge to translation pedagogy. Translation performance requires sets of skills both for automatisation of performance and for adaptation to novel tasks. Both types need to be developed so that they can be implemented with rapid **speed** during the reception stage. Every professional translator knows that rapidity in performance, search, and decision-making are absolutely imperative to efficiently cope with routine duties under multifarious situational conditions demanding quick delivery of the translation product. Virtually all translation situations put the translator under time pressure, sometimes to the brink of cognitive overload, where high quality has to be sacrificed. Therefore, translation teachers should devote more time than they have so far to exploring how the trade-off between speed and quality might be navigated so that a translator can uphold a consistent level over a lifetime of translational activity. The potential for overload and for the degradation of performance leading to serious translation errors should be identified in terms of various sources, such as the bottleneck of short-term memory holding only about seven items or 'chunks' as compared to the seemingly unlimited long-term memory. If overload occurs at specified grades of complexity for various translators or interpreters, we might be able to design suitable tasks to reduce the danger for beginners and for advanced translators. Also, we could distinguish between rapidity at the level of elementary or literal translation procedures, versus deliberateness at the level of complex or non-literal ones where added time could be most strategically invested.

The development of translation skills progresses through a hierarchy of complexity, so that what seems intricate at an elementary level will come to seem perspicuous at an advanced level, thereby alleviating the pressures exerted by the environment and its demands for speed. The development of linguistic, extralinguistic, situational, and pragmatic knowledge bases can be grasped as a special case of this progress.

Modern society's reverence (if not obsession) regarding speed places high hopes in the computer. This hope has aided the revival of machine translation and machine-aided translation in the last decade. But the speed gained through computer translating tends to be lost again in pre-editing to simplify the input and post-editing to improve the low-quality output. So far, human translator easily outperforms the computer and, I believe, will continue to do so in the future, no matter how sophisticated the programmes may become.

In sum, a cognitive orientation enables us to appreciate that translation skills are not a static array, but a dynamic system whose confines are always capable of reaching beyond the routines of 'language for general purposes' into new domains of 'language for special purposes' (LSP) of science and technology and their increasingly popularised discourse, but also literature or religion, children's books, theatre plays, and so forth.

Conclusion

Looking back at the latest publications in the field of translation research, I feel that the time is opportune for a merger of translation theory, translation practice, and translation teaching, whereby we can work to integrate contextual, cultural, and cognitive aspects. We can then contemplate how to balance the complementarities, aired above, such as narrow versus broad concepts of context; complex versus simple theories; parsimonious versus encompassing paradigms; cultural relativism versus universalism; open, rich notions of adaptation versus broad, empty ones; automatic versus attentional operation; routine versus original performance; assimilation versus accommodation; local versus global processing; familiar procedures versus ones for handling novelty; rapidity versus deliberateness; elementary versus advanced levels; computerised versus human operations; and 'language for general purposes' versus 'language for special purposes'. We can thereby explore how translation can engage with the diverse demands of context-sensitivity, economy, practical usefulness, validity, feedback, and timing.

At all events, a knowledge-based approach is required that can reach from the beginning all the way to the end of the learning and development processes in a real-world translational scenario. For teaching translation, this approach is not unduly intractable in principle but is still in a preliminary or pilot phase. Further consideration of knowledge-based aspects are needed to open new vistas for an empirical, multi-level concept of translation pedagogy. Under the tutelage of experienced teachers, the translator-apprentice can learn how to actualise his or her intelligence potential and, free of premature prescriptivism, to face the variegated tasks waiting in the world of practical translation work.

A Typology for Translation*

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Abstract

The prospects for a typology of translation have been a preoccupation of language scholars and philosophers since ancient times. Most proposals have been limited to a handful or just a pair of supposedly opposite types. It is argued here that a successful typology will need instead to recognise multiple parameters, each with its own set of types. Such typology can be used to situate actual translated texts.

A. Pre-modern classifications

Classifying of translation into types is a ancient and venerable endeavour. The Romans Horace and Cicero, who translated Greek literature, were most familiar with two types: *word for word* and *sense for sense*. Their practice followed the second type ('non verbum de verbo, sed sensum de sensu'). These two types were also known to the Baghdad school, where translators like Yuḥanna bin al-Biṭriiq and Ibn Naʕimah al-Ḥumṣii favoured 'word for word', and other translators like Ḥunayn bin Isḥaaq and al-Jawharii favoured 'sense for sense' (Khulousi 1982; cf. Bahumaid, this volume).

In medieval Europe, two further types of translation were recognised by such scholars as Dante, Bacon, and Folena, through the criterion of cultural prestige and value: *vertical* translation from a language of higher prestige into one of lower value; and *horizontal* translation between two languages of equal or similar status (cf. McGuire 1980).

In the 17th century, John Dryden suggested three types of translation, two of

* I am indebted to Robert de Beaugrande for discussion and for suggestions about examples.

which overlap with the ancient types: *metaphrase* (like word for word), *paraphrase* (like sense for sense), and *imitation* (a general resemblance between the two texts).

B. Modern classifications

In modern times, many new varieties have been suggested. John Rupert Firth (1956) identified four types: *creative* translation (e.g. for literature), *official* translation (e.g. for treaties), translation as a *technique in linguistics*, (e.g. for an 'interlinear' piece by piece commentary on language samples, a used in this book for Arabic) and *machine* translation. Roman Jakobson (1971) named three types: *intra-lingual* translation (within the same language), *inter-lingual* translation (between different languages), and *inter-semiotic* translation (between different semiotic systems, e.g. language, visual images, painting, music). Further schemes with just two broad types were proposed by Theo Savory (1969), with *literary* translation (in which form is just as important as content) versus *non-literary* translation (in which content takes priority over form); by Eugene Nida (1974), with *formal equivalence* translation (emphasis on parallelism with source language features) versus *dynamic equivalence* translation (emphasis on the target language style and its effects on the target language receiver); and by Peter Newmark (1982), with *semantic* translation (emphasis on the message itself) versus *communicative* translation (emphasis on the force and effects of the message).

John Catford (1965) offered a more complex scheme with three parameters:

(a) by *extent: full* translation (all source language text material is replaced by equivalent target language material); versus *partial* translation (part of the source language material cannot be expressed in the target language and may be simply taken over as is, e.g., due to cultural untranslatability);
(b) by *level: total* translation (all the source language formal levels are replaced by target language levels) versus *restricted* translation (on one level only), the latter yielding the subtypes of *phonological* translation (only source language phonology is replaced by target language phonology), *graphological* translation (only graphology replaced), *lexical* translation (lexical items replaced), and *grammatical* translation (grammatical items and patterns replaced).
(c) by *rank: word-for-word* translation (rank-bound and closely tied to the source language grammatical structures); *literal* translation (rank-bound but following the target language grammatical structures); and *free* translation (not restricted to any rank but adapted to the target language requirements).

Aside from Catford's, these various schemes suffer from being limited to a handful or just a pair of supposedly opposite types. The translator appears to confront large and inescapable decisions to proceed in *either* one way *or* another. In practice however, translators actually move about continually along multiple parameters, e.g. being more 'literal' in some passages and more 'free' in others, as befits the context and the resources of the two languages involved.

C. Multiple parameters

I would accordingly propose that a successful typology will need instead to recognise five of these multiple parameters, each of which subsumes its own set of types. I shall illustrate the proposal with examples from several languages.

1. One parameter would be *agent.* The *human* translator was until recently the only agent, and one capable of extremely skilful work, such as the translation of poetry. The key advantage of humans is their enormous range and flexibility in making the decisions translation demands. For the famous lines in Baudelaire's sonnet 'Recueillement' [1], we see four English translators, all poets in their own right, obtaining highly diverse results [1a-d], even though aside from Bly's prosaic rendering they all sought 'poetic' metre.

[1] Pendant que des mortels la multitude vile
while that of-the mortals the multitude vile
Sous le fouet du Plaisir, ce bourreau sans merci,
under the whip of-the pleasure, this executioner without mercy
Va cueillir des remords dans la fête servile (1866)
goes to-gather of-the remorse in the festival servile
[1a] Now while the heedless throng makes haste to press
Where pleasure drives them, ruthless charioteer,
To pluck the fruits of sick remorse and fear (Alfred Douglas, 1919)
[1b] Now while the common multitude strips bare,
feels pleasure's cat o' nine tails on its back,
and fights off anguish at the great bazaar (Robert Lowell, 1961)
[1c] Now while the rotten herds of mankind,
Flogged by pleasure, that lyncher without touch,
Go picking remorse in their filthy holidays (Robert Bly, 1961)
[1d] Now while humanity racks up remorse
in low distractions under Pleasure's lash
grovelling for a ruthless master (Richard Howard, 1982)

Most importantly, they differed emphatically in their metaphors. The original 'bourreau' [1], which suggests a state-sponsored executioner but, being equipped with a whip ('fouet'), might be a torturer, becomes a 'charioteer' [1a] (has a different profession but still uses a whip), a master' [1b] (is defined only by power over servants), or a 'lyncher' [1c] (executes with a rope and illegally), or just disappears [1d] (is the implied user of the 'cat o' nine tails', an old-fashioned instrument of punishment). Such arbitrary choices may lead to incongruous combinations. If 'fruit-pluckers' were indeed 'driven' by a 'charioteer', they would logically be riding inside and not running along under the whip in front. 'Stripping bare' might be done prior to a whipping, but is a peculiar action at a 'great bazaar'. A 'lyncher' would not hang a 'herd' of animals like cattle, who would already be dead anyway if they were 'rotten'. And 'grovelling' hardly makes sense as a 'distraction'. Evidently, the famed 'freedom' of human translators can bring liabilities.

The other agent, the *machine*, was only recently developed and has little of this 'freedom'. Early machine systems failed because they had only a grammar and a dictionary, but no sense of context (cf. Bar-Hillel 1964). Some more recent ones take account of context by applying high-level patterns of knowledge called 'schemas' or 'scripts', e.g., about what happens when people ride on a bus (Schank & Abelson 1977). The system converts text into a supposedly language-independent representation with primitive concepts like 'P-TRANS' for when a person goes to another location This representation can then be used to produce output for several languages, e.g. English [2] and Chinese [2a] (in the Harvard Romanisation) (Cullingford 1978: 196).

[2] John went to new York by bus...
[2a] John tzuoh charng twu chih che daw Neou Lue chiuh le...

These systems embody claims about how humans process language, but the simplicity both of the knowledge patterns and of the language used hardly provide sound evidence. Certainly no such programs could translate poetry.

2. A second parameter would be *medium*. We are most familiar with *written* translations such as [1a-d], where translators can ponder and possibly change their decisions over an extended period of time. Much less attention has been given to *oral* translation, the latter further classified into *simultaneous* versus *consecutive* translation. Of these classes, the simultaneous requires by far the most intensive training, so as to listen and then speak with very brief delays in time. [3] shows two such German translators ('interpreters') in a sample kindly transcribed and provided by Dr. Birgit Strolz of the Institute for Translation and the Vienna (see analysis in Beaugrande, in prep.) (the 'I' marks where each of the speakers was at the respective points).

[3] Mister President ....Mister Chan- I

Herr Bundespräsident

Herr Bundespräsiden- I

cellor......... your Excellencies Ladies and gentlemen......................I
........Herr Bundeskanzler........ Exzellenzen meine Damen und Herren I
t ....Herr Bundeskanzler ... . Exzellenzen meine Damen und Herren I

we are here to celebrate a great success........................
wir sind hier versammelt .. .um eine großen Erfolg zu feiern- I
wir sind hier zusammengekommen und-m den großen Erfolg z u f e i e r n - I

The simultaneous translator must exploit the constraints of the discourse domain, here of 'diplomatic discourse', with its familiar text type 'celebratory speech'. The translators knew how such speeches begin by addressing high dignitaries first and then any remaining 'ladies and gentlemen', and which collocations are to be expected, e.g. 'celebrate a great success'. Typical too is the First Person Plural ostensibly including everybody 'here'.

At-sight translation crosses the two modalities by reading the source language textual material and then interpreting it orally. This type is largely limited to exercises in translation training programmes or informal occasions where someone needs to understand a foreign signpost, document, set of instructions, and so on. Least common would be *'at-hearing'* translation when an oral source text is given a written translation. This would be quite rare, e.g. when pupils practice a 'foreign language' in a classroom or when foreign journalists make notes of a native politician's speech.

3. A third parameter would be *register* and *sub-register.* The 'poetic' register of [1a-d] with its metric patterns and elaborate metaphors is clearly distinct from *scientific, technical, commercial, political, diplomatic, legal, journalistic, religious,* and so forth (cf. Ghadessy ed. 1993). But we see from the four samples that even within a register, we encounter major fluctuations, e.g., Bly's ordinary language compared to Douglas's.

4. A fourth parameter would be *system.* Here, we would distinguish *inter-lingual* translation between languages, e.g. [1] versus [1a], versus *intra-lingual* translation inside a language, e.g. when a translator revises the translated version, as in these renderings of Omar Khayyám by Edward Fitzgerald:

[4] For in and out, above, about, below,
'Tis nothing but a Magic Shadow-show
Play'd in a Box whose Candle is the Sun
Round which we Phantom Figures come and go. (1859)
[4a] We are no other than a moving row
Of Magic Shadow-shapes that come and go
Round with the Sun-illumined Lantern held
In Midnight by the Master of the Show; (1889)

The mildly tedious list of prepositions was removed, and the space gained in [4a] was used to introduce the 'showmaster' who was merely implied as the agent running everything in [4], and to place the scene in an ominous 'Midnight' setting.

We might also recognise *inter-semiotic* translation along with Jakobson's scheme cited above. We might include the switch between words and pictures, e.g. as a game for children to guess this rhyme-words in a poem like Joyce Kilmer's [5] converted into [5a]

[5] I think that I shall never see
A thing as lovely as a tree.

[5a] I think that I shall never 
A thing as lovely as a 

More typical uses would be public signposts showing words, e.g. 'Post Office' and 'Railroad Crossing' along with images like  and .

5. A fifth parameter subsuming much of the earlier schemes would be *orientation.* The *source-language-oriented* types include the *interlinear* piece by piece translation, such as that provided for the Baudelaire passage in [1] versus the so called *literal* translation such as that provided by a textbook author [1e] for the same passage (Kennedy 1986: 232):

[1e] While the multitude of mortals under the whip of Pleasure, that merciless executioner, go to gather remorse in the servile festival

Other types would include the time-honoured *word-for-word* translation, and, in modern schemes of section B, Newmark's *semantic* translation, Catford's various types of *restricted* translation (phonological, graphological, lexical, grammatical), and the *formal* translation in Nida's scheme a concept also expounded by Farghal (this volume). In contrast, *target-language-oriented* types include the time-honoured *free* translation, Firth's *creative* translation, Nida's *dynamic* translation, and Newmark's *communicative* translation. These types would apply in varying degrees to texts like [1a-d], though with a certain lack of discipline.

Table 1 (next [page) shows the whole scheme. What uses could such a typology with multiple parameters have as compared to earlier schemes? A main advantage would be offered if we could use these five parameters to *situate* a given text appearing in such areas as scientific, literary, or cultural translation. We could for instance, situate version [1f], kindly provided by Robert de Beaugrande and shown below table 1, in respect to the others shown above.

- Agent
    - Human translation
    - Machine translation
- Medium
    - Written translation
    - Oral translation
        - Simultaneous translation
        - Consecutive translation
        - At-sight translation
        - At-hearing translation
- Register
    - Poetic translation
    - Scientific translation
    - Technical translation
    - Commercial translation
    - Political translation
    - Diplomatic translation
    - Religious translation
    - (etc.)
- System
    - Intra-lingual translation
    - Inter-semiotic translation
- Orientation
    - Source-language-oriented translation
        - Interlinear translation
        - Literal translating
        - Word-for-word translation
        - Semantic translation
        - Restricted translation
            - Phonological translating
            - Graphological translating
            - Lexical translating
            - Grammatical translating
        - Formal translating
    - Target-language-oriented translation
        - Creative translation
        - Dynamic translation
        - Communicative translation

[1f] While mortal multitudes with vile intents
By ruthless hangman Pleasure are whipped hence
To cull remorse in servile revelments

[1f] is of course 'human', 'written', and 'inter-lingual' translation, though it

went though some 'intra-lingual' revision. It is plainly more 'literal' and 'source-language-oriented' than [1a-d], supplying a straightforward equivalent for all important content words of the original and allowing no sudden intrusions of fruit-pluckers or charioteers. [1f] is also more in line with 'literary register' than the (also quite 'literal') version [1f] and well as Bly's slangy version [1c] with its 'rotten', 'lyncher', and 'filthy holidays'. In return, [1f] is less 'formal' than [1e] in rearranging the grammar (e.g. the noun 'mortels' goes to the adjective 'mortal', the adjective 'vile' to the noun phrase 'with vile intents', the noun 'fouet' to the verb 'whipped on', and the appositive being moved in front, 'Plaisir, ce bourreau sans merci,' going to 'ruthless hangman Pleasure'. Nonetheless, we could plausibly argue that [1f] is in some measure more 'communicative' of Baudelaire's work than [1a-d], and is 'free', creative', and 'dynamic' in a more disciplined way.

This brief demonstration may indicate how a typology with multiple parameters cold be helpful in situating actual translations. It does not simply turn out general judgements like 'good' or 'bad' but takes into account the several factors upon which any such judgement should be explicitly founded by the young but already flourishing 'science of translation'.

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Part II. Aspects for Comparison

Ideational Equivalence in Translation

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Abstract

This paper uses data from English and Arabic to delimit 'ideational equivalence' as a correspondence between 'ideas', alongside the more usual criteria of 'formal equivalence' measured in terms of whether linguistic forms are correspondingly arranged, and 'functional equivalence' in terms of whether corresponding communicative actions are performed. The translator's sensitivity to ideational equivalence can enhance the choice of options during the process of translating.

Formal, functional, and ideational equivalence

The familiar maxim that what can be said in one language can be said equally well in another language (cf. Kachru 1984: 84), is less a statement about the exigencies and adventitiousness of the natural organisation of languages than a statement about the relational dynamics in specific communicative acts. What might seem far from equivalent viewed in isolation can seem quite sufficiently equivalent in an ongoing context of translation (cf. Ivir 1981; Farghal 1994).

The two standard views of equivalence reflect the two dominant views on the organisation of natural languages. On the one hand, the *formalists* like Chomsky (1965, 1977, 1981, etc.) and his followers view this organisation as a system of finite rules for generating an infinite number of abstract sentences, and they relegate lexical items to movable syntactic pieces or counters to be selected and manipulated by the principle of open choice: any word can serve if it fits the syntactic constraints. On the other hand, the *functionalists* like Peters (1983), Newman (1988), and Sinclair (1991), among others, see human language as a means for achieving communicative acts and moves, and they oppose the '*open choice principle*' with the '*idiom principle*' whereby the choice of specific words mutually determine each other quite strictly (cf. Sinclair 1991:109ff). In between these two poles we could envision the Firthian principle of collocation: words are often selected in terms of 'the company they usually keep' within concrete social contexts of situation. Influenced by his recent work with large computer corpuses of actual English discourse, Sinclair (1991) highlights the importance of recurrent collocations and of 'collocational frameworks', a term going back to Firth (1968 [original 1957]) and designating the set of contexts in which specific word or word-type combinations frequently appear (see also Renouf and Sinclair 1991; Holes, this volume).[1] This outlook is rapidly gaining influence as corpus data show that lexical and grammatical specifications are often much more closely and richly related than has been suggested by the conventional dichotomy between lexicon and grammar (see now Baker et al. [eds.] 1993).

Translation is a mode of communication where choices are further subjected to a *principle of equivalence* between a source text in one language and a target text in another. Here, the term 'equivalence' most essentially designates the correspondence of effects: those of the original on the source language audience versus those of the translation on the target language audience. To be sure, this is usually a relative desideratum rather than a full achievement, due to the wide range of factors involved, e.g. informativity, creativity, and expressivity, and due to the relative closeness or remoteness between the two language cultures (Farghal 1994). But the relative equivalence can prevail for the overall communication; a speaker who reports what he or she 'thinks' or 'means', or what someone else has said or written, has to decide what is 'close enough' for the purpose. 'Total translation' may be impossible, but so is 'total communication' (Garcia-Landa 1990: 478); there will always be room for multiple 'interpretations' (cf. Lewis 1985).

This state of affairs puts translation theorists and practitioners in an uneasy position of continually seeking to define and describe 'equivalence'. They tend to make their task easier by focusing on specific types of equivalence: formal (Catford 1965), functional (Kachru 1984; de Waard & Nida 1986), dynamic (Nida 1964), textual (van Dijk 1972), situational (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958), cultural (Casagrande 1954), and so on. Among these types, formal equivalence stands out against all the rest, which are essentially functional. Yet formal equivalence has been favoured by some authorities so heavily that the term

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[1] Compare also Halliday's (1985: 312ff) definition of 'collocation' as a 'co-occurrence tendency' having a 'semantic basis' and a 'considerably greater probability' than is implied by the 'overall frequency in the language'. For another application of the notion of 'collocation' to our present concerns, see Heliel (1990).

'equivalence' has been used in narrow senses, and other authorities have criticised these for being overly demanding and idealised and for advocating an unreasonably literal ('word for word') approach. The attraction of formal equivalence is perhaps strongest for linguists who hold it to be more objective and readily describable in 'purely linguistic' categories, whereas functional equivalence seems more subjective and needs to be described in social and cognitive categories. For de Waard & Nida (1986: 36), crucial problems of translation are often stated in terms of a conflict between formal correspondence and functional equivalence; but this conflict is to a large extent a product of the same conflict at the heart of linguistic method (cf. Beaugrande 'Cognition', 'Consultation', both this volume). Every practitioner of translation knows that dynamic, textual, situational, and cultural equivalences are supremely important, but few theorists of translation are confident that they can all be accounted for. Comparing words or grammatical forms between languages looks simpler than comparing metaphors or proverbs, which is still simpler than comparing condolences at funerals or festivities at weddings. Moving from 'micro-levels' like words and phrases to 'macro-levels' like whole discourse transactions is always complicated, and soon spills beyond the borders of the 'purely linguistic'.

The present paper suggests that the dichotomy of formal versus functional equivalence might be mediated by the notion of *ideational equivalence*, which has received less consideration from translation theorists (but compare Mason, this volume). This notion defines utterances as conveying the 'ideas' that comprise the communicative sense, as compared to utterances formally defined as patterns of words in clauses or functionally defined as actions like 'welcoming' or 'promising'. We might recall here Halliday's (1970, 1973: 42; 1985: xiii, 36f, 53, 158) scheme of three 'metafunctions', wherein the 'ideational' was for 'representation' ('meaning in the sense of "content"'), juxtaposed with 'textual' for the 'message' ('meaning' as 'relevance to the context') and the 'interpersonal' for the 'exchange' ('meaning as a form of action'). But our term 'ideational' will be used in a somewhat modified sense, especially since Halliday's 'textual' and 'interpersonal' are both functional and he accords no separate metafunction to the formal.

Arabic and English data

To get started, let us consider the Arabic depiction of priding oneself on something through the 'metaphoric' option 'yarfaʔu raʔsahu', 'to lift up one's head', alongside the more 'literal' option 'yaftakhiru bi', 'to pride oneself on'.

Interestingly, English parallels Arabic in also having a metaphorical and a lexical option, viz.:[2]

[1a] ʔijtaaza zayd-un ʔal-ʔimtiḥaan-a wa rafaʕa raʔsa-hu bayna ʔaṣdiqaaʔi-h
passed Zayd-NOM the-exam-ACC and lifted up head-his between friends-his
[1b] Zayd passed the exam and held his head high among his friends.
[2a] ʔijtaaza zayd-un ʔal-ʔimtiḥaan-a wa ʔiftakhara bi-dhaalik bayna ʔaṣdiqaaʔi-h
passed Zayd-NOM the-exam-ACC and prided in-this between friends-his
[2b] Zayd passed the exam and prided himself on this among his friends.

Whereas the equivalence between [1a] and [1b] or between [2a] and [2b] can be captured in formal and functional terms, the equivalence between [1a] and [2b], or between [1b] and [2a], is only ideational, i.e. the 'same ideas' are conveyed but with divergent linguistic and transactional means. In practice, the role of ideational equivalence is most prominent when translators have to deal with idioms, metaphors, proverbs, and other formulaic expressions, that, unlike [1-2], do not correspond between languages, as we shall see in a moment. In theory, ideational equivalence tends to be discounted because it seems to rest on heavily intuitive, subjective criteria and the concepts of 'ideas' and their relative 'sameness' (or lack of it) are hard to define precisely. Also, it may be hard to distinguish between literal versus metaphoric, and between merely decorative metaphors that are standing idioms versus ones that are more creative on the speaker's part (cf. Broeck 1981: 76), especially when we are attempting to capture aspects of equivalence in poetic texts (Beaugrande 1978) or sacred texts (de Waard & Nida 1986).

Formal equivalence is highest for the so-called 'interlinear' translation shown under the Arabic in [1a] and [2a]. But it is solely intended for purposes of analysis and description, and hence for very specialised communication. Less formal are the English renderings in [1b] and [2b], which adjust the word order, e.g. English Subject-Verb-Object vs. Arabic Verb-Subject-Object, and the case-markings like NOM (nominative) and ACC (accusative), and also the lexicalisation of images, e.g. English 'held his head high' versus Arabic 'rafaʕa raʔsa-hu, 'lifted up his head'.

An optimal translation would unite formal, functional, and ideational equivalence. But the discrepancies between two languages and their cultures only occasionally allow this, as in exchanges like [3] and [4]:

[3a] A: Are you listening to what I am saying?

[2] The key for interlinear indicators is: ACC: accusative; COMP: complementizer; GEN: genitive; NOM: nominative; PAS: passive; QUES: question signal.

B: Yes, I am all ears.
[3b] A: Are you listening to what I am saying?
B: Yes, I am paying close attention.
[4a] A: hal ʔanta ṣaaghin li-maa ʔaquul?
QUES you listening to-what say-I

B: naʕam kul-lii ʔaadhaan
yes all-I ears
[4b] A: hal ʔanta ṣaaghin li-maa ʔaquul?
QUES you listening to-what say-I

B: naʕam ʔanaa muntabihun jiddan
yes I attentive very

Of the two options for B's answer, each one has corresponding English and Arabic version, the [a] versions colloquial and the [b] versions neutral. But if we want to capture the equivalence between either [a] and [b] pair, we must fall back on the ideational alone.

To illustrate how formal and functional equivalence can diverge and ideational equivalence can mediate, we can consider these:

[5a] Zayd added insult to injury instead of solving the problem.
[5b] Zayd made things worse instead of solving the problem.
[6a] zaada Zayd ʔaṭ-ṭiin-a billat-an badala ʔan yaḥulla-l-mushkilat-a
increased Zayd the-clay-ACC wetness-ACC instead COMP solve-the-problem-ACC
[6b] ʕaqqada Zayd ʔal-ʔumuur-a badala ʔan yaḥulla-l-mushkilat-a
complicated Zayd the-things-ACC instead COMP solve-the-problem-ACC

[5a] and [5b] are ideationally equivalent, though they differ formally in their patterns and functionally in the situations they would probably be used (colloquial versus neutral). To render [5a] in Arabic, we could use a culture-specific image that would not make literal sense to an English speaker, i.e. 'add wetness to the clay' [6a]. To render [5b], in contrast, we could come much closer, i.e. 'complicate things' [6b], which a translator might well pick when working under time pressure. Again, ideational equivalence holds across all four examples, and proves more general than formal or functional.

Ideational equivalence is very useful for handling deficits in **register**, particularly in relation to what Halliday (1978: 62, 125) calls **field**, 'the institutional setting in which a piece of language occurs', **tenor**, 'the relationship between participants', and **mode**, 'the channel of communication adopted'.[3] Compare examples like these:

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[3] Halliday has given other definitions too, but these seem most useful here. See Beaugrande

[7a] The manager passed away yesterday.
[7b] The manager died yesterday.
[7c] The manager croaked yesterday.
[8a] tuwuffiya-l-mudiir-u ʔamsi
passed away-the-manager-NOM yesterday
[8b] maata-l-mudiir-u ʔamsi
died-the-manager-NOM yesterday
[8c] faṭraz-l-mudiir ʔams[4]
fell-the-manager[-NOM] yesterday

The respective examples in [7] and [8] all show ideational equivalence despite fluctuating degrees of formal and functional equivalence. But regarding register, they can differ widely in field (e.g. the company office versus the bar downstairs), tenor (e.g. members at a board meeting versus copy boys), and mode (e.g. printed notice versus spoken joke). The choice could have major social consequences in displaying piety or disrespect towards the deceased.

Ideational equivalence may be the only convenient option to the translator if formal and functional equivalence would sound odd or awkward, witness these examples ([10] is taken from Farghal 1993):

[9a] ʔintaqala-l-mudiir-u ʔilaa jiwaar-i rabb-i-hi ʔamsi
transferred-the-manager-NOM to neighborhood-GEN Lord-GEN-his yesterday
[9b] The manager went nearer to God yesterday.
[9c] The manager transferred to the neighborhood of his Lord yesterday.
[9d] The manager $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{died}\\ \text{passed away}\end{array}\right\}$ yesterday.
[10a] ʔistushhida thalaathat-u falaṣṭiiniyy-iina fi-ḍ-ḍiffat-i-l-gharbiyyat-i ʔamsi
fell-martyr three-NOM Palestinian-GEN in-the-bank-GEN-the-west-GEN yesterday
[10b] Three Palestinians fell as martyrs in the West Bank yesterday.
[10c] Three Palestinians were killed in the West Bank yesterday.

[9a] uses a metaphoric death euphemism in Arabic; in English, a formal equivalent like [9b] merely sounds strange and a functional equivalent like [9c] sounds stilted. The ideational equivalent [9d] seems the least problematic. Similarly, the intransitive passive Arabic verb 'ʔistushhida' in [10a] has the religious connotation that the killed persons' soul will go to heaven, which may be functionally rendered in English with 'fell as martyrs' [10b]. But in the

(1993) for discussion. (Editors' note)

4 In colloquial Arabic, the nominative (NOM) marker and the final vowel of 'ʔamsi' would be dropped (editors' note).

register of modern political English, religious connotations may seem out of place, especially if they involve taking moral sides. An English news commentator, who is supposed to 'monitor' (merely report the situation) rather than 'manage' (steer the situation) (cf. Shunnaq, this volume; Farghal 1993) would be more likely to say something like [10c], which is only ideationally equivalent to [10a]. The back-translation of [10c] in Arabic would be [11] with a transitive verb and a more ordinary concept, thus being formally and functionally equivalent:

[11] qutila thalaathat-u falasṭiiniyy-iina fi-ḍ-ḍiffat-i-l-gharbiyyat-i ʔamsi
killed-PAS three-NOM Palestinians-GEN in-the-bank-GEN-the-west-GEN yesterday

Finally, if formal and ideational equivalence falter, the translator can fall back on functional equivalence, viz.:

[12a] ʔaṣdarat wazaarat-u-d-daakhiliyyat-i-l-biriṭaaniyyat-i taʕliimaat-in
issued ministry-NOM-the-interior-GEN-the-British-GEN instructions-GEN
jadiidat-in bishaʔn-i-r-raʕaayaa-l-ʔajaanib
new-GEN regarding-GEN-the-nationals-the-foreign

[12b] The British Ministry of Interior issued new instructions regarding foreign nationals.

[12c] The British Ministry of Local Affairs issued new instructions regarding foreign nationals.

[12d] The British Home Office issued new instructions regarding foreign nationals.

Formal equivalence [12b] and ideational equivalence [12c] falter in English, because the British political institution in charge of domestic affairs doesn't have a name corresponding to the same institution in Jordan. Consequently, the translator can adopt [12d] as a culturally and politically functional equivalent.

Conclusion

As I hope to have shown, the concept of ideational equivalence can be a helpful third counterpart to formal and functional equivalence for several reasons. First, the translator's sensitivity for this concept can enrich the choice of options during the process of translating. Second, the concept can relieve the translator from advancing awkward or odd expressions. Finally, some expressions and registers will favour one type of equivalence over the others, e.g. when poetic or sacred texts call for preserving a creative image or metaphor.

By grasping the notion of equivalence as a balance of three counterparts, we may be able to mediate between the seemingly polar opposites of formal versus functional equivalence. Doing so could help to reconcile theories of translation with the practices of skilled translators.

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The Translation of Style

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Abstract

Among the many definitions of style, this paper addresses the concept of 'style' as a writer's vision of the world as it is expressed through his language. Translators who fail to take account of style in this sense can misrepresent the author and compromise his world view. Examples from different languages serve to make the point.

The concept of **style** has been the subject of endless controversy, and its essence is still hotly debated (see for instance Enkvist, Spencer & Gregory 1967; papers in Sebeok [ed.] 1960 and Chatman [ed.] 1971). Some of the competing views are:

(a) style designates personal expression whereby we recognise a writer (cf. Murry 1960: 4f);
(b) style arises from the deliberate choice of words, patterns, and sentence lengths, so that 'two utterances in the same language which convey approximately the same information, but which are different in their linguistic structure, can be said to differ in style' (Hockett 1958: 556);
(c) style is deviation from a norm (e.g. Mukařovský 1964);
(d) style is not a 'matter of technique, but a mode of vision' (Proust 1909: 895);
(e) style is not an embellishment, deviation, technique, or choice but the highest achievement of literature when passages 'transport' the reader into a state of 'ecstasy' or 'exultation' (following Longinus' *On the Sublime*) (see now Guerlac 1985).

Translation could be provisionally defined as an 'operation performed on languages: a process of substituting a text in one language for a text in another' (Catford 1965: 1). Here also, many types and schemes have been presented (see Ilyas, this volume); the one I shall use should suffice for the purposes of this paper. Here, **rewording** occurs within the same language when, for instance, a poem is paraphrased into a piece of prose. **Translation proper** is the interpretation of verbal signs from one language into the verbal signs of another. **Transmutation** is the interpretation of verbal signs by non-verbal signs (such as a ballet version of a play, or a poem based on a painting).

We might combine the concept of *style* as the writer's personal vision finding its highest expression in his verbal signs, and *translation* as the interpretation of the verbal signs from a source language by means of verbal signs in a target language. Yet a direct correspondence of signs is seldom possible, and every act of translation introduces important differences that may be seen as a 'change' or even a 'loss' in meaning, import, flavour, etc. Scholars often lament the 'unfaithfulness', 'inadequacy', or 'infidelity' of a translator who has not captured the 'context' of the work, its 'register', or the 'matrix' of the language (cf. Sapir 1949: 222; Gress 1971: 61; Newmark 1988: 121). 'The loss is felt not on the level of "mere sense" but in the higher categories of Richards' levels of meaning, or in what is sometimes called, in modern linguistics, "delicacy"' (Lodge 1966: 23). For some critics, the loss in translation entails downright misrepresentation (cf. Widdowson 1975: 31, 8).

These descriptions point to a basic weakness in translation practice, but are largely impressionistic and do not specify how and why the translation was not successful or how the change or loss affects the reader's response. Especially in literature, style assumes supreme importance and becomes a major vehicle whereby the author strives to express his personal mode of existence or vision of the world. Modern literature, whose styles have not yet been extensively analysed, may raise severe problems for being translated into different languages or cultures, lest the author's vision be compromised or the text assume a subtly different meaning and effect.

We can trace these problems by examining some narrative texts. Our first example is an Australian Aboriginal oral narrative [1] (recorded by Stephen Muecka of the Department of Anthropology, University of Western Australia), plus the same material 'translated' into a 'standard English' narrative in *Journey among Men* [2] (Marshall and Drysdale 1962: 126, quoted in Ruthrof 1981: 189f). It is the story of Pigeon, an Aboriginal outlaw who tried to enlist the natives to fight the whites.

[1] alright he took all the ammunition...take-im down the cave...put it all his ammunition there, guns and all...he might a been train [laughs] oh yes he was still fighting...oh no chance...he was keep fighting...Pigeon was still

fighting...he had a ostrich inside his paddock [laughs] he had his lil' paddock you know...you know and er Pigeon home...oh he was a real bushman that fella...real real bushman...used to be on a mountain...they can't hardly find 'cos they can't see-im...he's having the leaves front him end all the long leaf an' he right behind the leaf...used to be in the rock you know...had a few tricks that fella [laughs] [listener asks: how'd he finish up?] eh? [How'd he finish up?] he was finished ah un ah...that was good while he keep that fighting goin...till um places were getting more bigger...and bigger see? then he finished them...but we was still frightened of him you know [laughs] [they killed him in the end didn't they?] yeah killed him after

[2] [Tunnel Creek] was once the hiding-place, and the last ditch stand, of Sandemara, also called Pigeon. In one way, Pigeon was a kind of black William Wallace. He tried to drive the white invader from the land. Pigeon was a 'black-tracker' in the employ of the Western Australian police in the 'nineties of the last century. On patrol with Constable Richardson he personally captured the notorious Ellemara, a tribal outlaw and cattle spearer of the Kimberleys. But before Pigeon got Ellemara back to Richardson's camp, the captive had persuaded him that black should not be in league with white, and that Pigeon should join Ellemara in a struggle against all Europeans. That night, Pigeon, and another tracker, Captain, murdered the sleeping Richardson. They liberated the prisoners and took to the bush with the guns and ammunition that the white men had taught them to use. They hoped that every aboriginal in the territory would join the movement, and that the white man would be erased from the landscape.

Of course it did not happen that way. By and large, the white men who settled in the area had treated the natives fairly. Pigeon found relatively few volunteers. Worse, other aborigines who were smarting under injustices inflicted by Pigeon (concerned, as usual, with women) joined the whites. Soon, however, Pigeon, Captain and Ellemara ambushed and slaughtered two more white men in Winjana Gorge. These were Burke and Gibbs, who, confident in their long friendship with the local tribes, had refused to arm themselves even after hearing of the death of Richardson.

Today this country breathes peace and serenity.

Unmistakably, [1] in Pidgin English better reflects the Aboriginal world-view, dramatic and intense, portraying the 'bushman fella' as a keen trickster, hunter and survivor. [2], in a 'civilising' rendition, reflects the white man's world-view: prosaic, matter-of-fact, and logical, ending with the white man's supremacy represented as 'a country breathing peace and serenity', with no mention of how many bushmen were killed or displaced to bring this about. What is counted heroic ('fighting') by the Aboriginals is counted illegal and barbaric by the white man' ('murder', 'slaughter'). In sum, the shift in style profoundly alters the *ideology* (Mason, this volume).

Our next example [3] is the opening of William Faulkner's *The Sound and* *the Fury*, where the scenes and events are filtered through the mind of Benji Compson, a thirty-three year old idiot observing a game of golf; the style betrays a limited childish and visual world-view. [3a] is the Arabic translation by Jabra Ibrahim Jabra.

> [3] Through the fence, between the curling flower spaces, I could see them hitting. They were coming toward where the flag was and I went along the fence. Luster was hunting in the grass by the flower tree.
>
> [3a] Min khilaali as-siyaaj, bayna fusḥaati az-zuhuur ʾal-mutathanniyya, kuntu ʾaraahum yaḍribuun. Kaanu yaqtaribuuna minal ʿalam wa mashaytu ʾanaa bimuḥaadhaati as-siyaaj. Kaana lustar yabḥathu fi al-ʿushbi qurba shajarati al-ward. (trans. by Jabra Ibrahim)

The translation [3a] conveys the simplicity of Benji's vocabulary but misses his mental limitedness, e.g., when the second sentence, 'they were coming toward where the flag was', was rendered as 'kaanu yaqtaribuuna mina al-ʿalam', which can be back-translated as 'they were approaching the flag'. Benji's 'mind-style'[1] works with approximations, visual memory, and with things as he imagines them; 'primacy seems to be given to the visual field in which objects reside rather than the objects themselves' (cf. Leech & Short 1981: 206). But the translation suggests a person whose mind perceives more definite things and locations.

Another infelicity appears when the third sentence, 'Luster was hunting in the grass by the flower tree' was translated as 'kaana lustar yabḥathu fii al-ʿushbi qurba shajarati al-ward', back-translated as 'Luster was searching in the grass near the flower tree.' The verb 'hunt' suggests Benji's misunderstanding of the players and the course of the game. Benji haunts the golf course simply to hear his sister's name, 'Caddy,' being often called as 'Caddie!'. The translation misrepresents Benji's simple, primitive world by normalising the style of his stream of consciousness.

In Camus's famous novella *L'Étranger*, Camus's style expresses an Existentialist vision of straightforwardness and clarity. The protagonist Meursault prefers clear-cut choices, and avoids hesitation and vacillation; his language is 'direct, laconic, and stripped of structural complexities' (Gale 1974: 145). Yet sample [4] (1957: 9) was translated into English as [4a] by Stuart Gilbert (in *The Outsider*, 1971:11).[2]

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[1] The term 'mind style', which was coined by Roger Fowler (1977:103), may 'refer to any distinctive linguistic presentation of an individual mental self'.

[2] For critiques of the translation of Camus, see Carruth (1965); Gale (1974).

[4] Ainsi, je pourrai veiller et je rentrerai demain soir.
[4a] Then I can spend the night there, keeping the usual vigil beside the body, and be back by tomorrow evening.

The 'laconic' French quotation consists of a compound sentence with two co-ordinated clauses, whereas the 'non-laconic' English version has a compound verb phrase depending on the modal 'can', plus a wordy participial expansion. Similarly, when Meursault is asked about Paris and answers 'C'est sale' (p. 70), the English gives 'A dingy sort of town, to my mind', (p. 51), with two unjustified hedges ('sort of', 'to my mind') of his pronouncement.

Hemingway's novella *The Old Man and the Sea* has an objective, downbeat, and slightly ironic style, to offset the old man's painful, heroic experiences. Hemingway's style was designed to *show* rather than *tell*, and to leave the readers to reach their own conclusions (cf. Heaton 1970: 11; Levin 1971: 329ff; Philips 1984: 27, 30). He avoided abstraction in favour of the concrete, as if to offer reality without comment, viz.:

[5] He was an old man who fished alone in a skiff in the Gulf stream and he had gone eighty-four days now without taking a fish.
[5a] Kaana al-rajulu qad balagha mina al-ʕumri ʕitiyyaa. Wa laakinnahu laa yazaalu raabiḍan fii zawraqihi waḥiidan yaṭlubu aṣ-ṣayḍ fi khaliiji 'gulf striim' wa qad ʕabarat bihi ḥatta as-saaʕati ʔarbaʕatun wa thamaanuuna yawman lam yajud ʕalayhi al-baḥru khilaalahaa bishayʔin mina ar-rizq.
[5b] Kaana rajulan ʕajuuzan yaṣiidu as-samaka waḥdahu fii qaaribin ʕariiḍi al-qaʕri fii tayyaari al-khaliij, wa kaana qad salakha ʔarbaʕatan wa thamaaniina yawman min ghayri ʔan yafuuza bisamakatin waaḥida.

Excerpt [5a] is by Ṣaliḥ Jawdat, a contemporary Arab Romantic poet who transports the text into a much more poetic style than Hemingway would use. A noteworthy indicator is his choice of the term 'ʕitiyyaa' ('decrepit'), an echo from the Quran when Zacharia, addressing God, asked how he could beget a son when he has grown decrepit from old age ('qad balaghtu mina al-kibari ʕitiyyaa').[3] The translator's grandiloquence hardly befits Hemingway's simple,

[3] See Pickthall (1939: 309). Compare the following translations of the passage: 'and I am now arrived at a great age, and am decrepit?' (George Sale, *The Koran*, London: Frederick Warne [1734], p. 297); 'and I have attained to the declining of old age' (A.J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1955, p. 330); 'and I have grown quite decrepit from old age' (Abdulla Y. Ali, *Translation of the Meanings of the Holy Quran*. Vol. I, Beirut: Printing Production, 1946, p. 788).

direct, and secular style. A whole sentence was added, which could be back-translated as 'but he is still crouching alone in his boat', injecting an element of sentimental suspense by likening the old man to an animal waiting for prey. The last sentence, back-translated as 'The sea has not endowed him with any sustenance' is too general and abstract to match Hemingway's preference for the concrete (e.g. 'fish' rather than 'sustenance'). In sum, the translator has presented Hemingway, who had established his literary career as a master of an objective, unadorned style, to his Arab readers as a more romantic writer prone to religious allusions, high abstractions, and verbal redundancy. Again, the translation has shifted the ideology.

[5b] was made by Muniir al Baʕalbaki, the compiler of the well-known English-Arabic dictionary *Al-Mawrid* (cited in Heliel, Bahumaid, and Saraireh, all in this volume), and offers a decidedly less romantic version than [5a]. In place of the Koranic 'ʕitiyyaa' we have the Standard Arabic term 'ʕajuuzan' ('old'), which however in Classical Arabic was reserved for women;[4] later in the passage, the translator shifted inconsistently to the Classical quasi-synonym 'sheikh'. The verb 'salakha' for becoming weary through the passage of time (literally, 'take the skin off the body') also sticks out as grand Classical style in the otherwise prosaic rendering that comes fairly close to the original, even in having the same number of words (as compared to [5a] with 37 words).

We thus have a choice between the frankly and consistently high style of [5a] versus the more neutral but inconsistent style [5b]. While the latter is closer to Hemingway, the former serves to mediate cultural differences by linking up to the high tradition of Arabic narrative, which is much more alive today than the corresponding English high style that Hemingway so roundly repudiated. The translator's stylistic decisions are therefore plainly crucial and should be carefully weighed throughout the process of translating.

Conclusion

Literary translation requires a viable theory to account for the demands of style. Merely opposing 'faithfulness' against 'unfaithfulness', or 'accuracy' against 'inaccuracy' is too simplistic. Literary translation should accord primacy to preserving the style of the writer and the vision or world-view projected by the work, since every 'writer slants towards a particular mental set' (Leech & Short 1981: 188), whether cultural, literary, or ideological. A successful

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4 We are indebted to Ahmed el-Sheikh of the University of Alexandria, who has distinguished himself as both a linguist and a Quranic scholar, for these comments (editors' note).

translation is one that does not merely select corresponding words or phrases, but takes sides to preserve this 'slant' with the appropriate stylistic resources of the target language.

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The Rhetoric of Paragraphing across Cultures:
Some Effects on Translation

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Abstract

Translators need to be aware of how cultures deploy different rhetorical devices for various purposes. This article investigates how the rhetorical strategies for paragraphing in written discourse give rise to certain communicative and textual problems in translating from Arabic. For demonstration, samples are taken from Arabic newspapers with differing political views and perspectives, namely from *Al-Waṭan* in Kuwait and *Al-Raʔiy* in Jordan.

Ideally, translation tries to account for the total information conveyed in a particular message (cf. El-Shiyab 1990). It considers linguistic aspects such as the lexical, grammatical and phonological, as well as non-linguistic aspects such as the use of language to convey or express thoughts, knowledge, intentions, and situations. Translation also considers rhetorical aspects of texts that reflect the choices made by a person or social group in using language. The present paper will explore the rhetorical uses of paragraphing in written discourse.

Paragraphing can be defined here as the way in which a written text is divided into intermediate segments, each usually having several sentences and sharing a topic (cf. Seale 1979). For Duff (1981), a paragraph tends to be an independent unit of meaning corresponding to a complete body of thought. For Brooks and Warren (1952: 1970), the paragraph is a 'convenience to the reader', a 'division of composition setting off a unit of thought and making the divisions of the writer's thoughts visible'.

As a psychological unit, the paragraph helps reduce memory load by providing convenient stretches for which content can be organised and then removed from active memory, retaining only the gist (Kieras 1978). This function helps the reader to digest the contents of the text in manageable stages.

One of the most disputatious issues in the study of language is whether each language shapes and moulds the reality of its users. Edward Sapir (1951, 1956) and Eugene Nida (1964) for example have argued that in different cultures, the respective languages influence patterns of thinking (cf. Beaugrande, 'Cognition', this volume; Wilss, this volume); this claim might hold for paragraphing as well (see also Longacre 1970; Grimes 1975). The argument plainly raises problems for the concept of rhetorical equivalence in the theory and practice of translation.

The question to be explored here is whether the unity and coherence of the paragraph might be differently organised across cultures. I shall offer a brief demonstration, identifying each paragraph by a number (e.g. [1.1], [1.2] and so on) (from *Al-Waṭan,* 22 Nov. 1988):

[1.1] ʔInna al-ʔidaarata al-qawiyyah yajibu ʔan tasiira fi khaṭṭin
EMPH the-administration the-strong must to go in line
mutawaazin maʕa binaaʔi al-quwwaati al-musallaḥah, fa kilaa-humaa
balanced with building the-forces the-armed as each-them
min shaʔni-hi ʔan yaḥmiya al-bilaad wa yaṣuuna ʔamnahaa
from sake-its to protect the-country and maintain security-its
wa yaḥfaẓa istiqraara-haa.
and keep stability-its.

[1.2] Wa fi ḍuuʔi haadha al-fahm fa ʔinna Jaabira al-Aḥmad kanna
And in light this the-understanding then that Jabir al-Ahmad was
waaḍiḥan ʕindamaa akkada ahammiyyata taʕziizi al-quwwaati
clear when confirmed importance enhancing the-forces
al-musallaḥah, wa ʔahammiyyata ʔiʕaadati al-naẓari fii imkaaniyyaati
the-armed and importance repeat the-look in capabilities
haadhihi al-quwwaat al-musallaḥah, bi ḥaythu takuunu al-dirʕa
these the-forces the-armed in way be the-armour
al-waaqii. li al-Kuwayt.
the-protective to the-Kuwait

[1.3] Wa al-taʔkiida fi al-waqti nafsi-h ʕalaa iltizaam al-kuwayt
And the-assurance in the-time self-it on adherence the-Kuwait
tijaaha shaqiiqaati-haa ʔal-ʕarabiyyaat.
towards sisters-its the-Arab.

[1.4] Laakinna haadha laysa siwaa juzʔin ṣagiir min humuumi al-kuwayt
But this not except part small from worries the-Kuwait
al-kabiirah, wa hiya humuumun tashmalu al-ʕaalam al-thaalith wa
the-large and are-they worries include the-world the-third and
duwala ʕadami al-inḥiyaaz wa duwala al-ʕaalami al-Islaamiyy wa
countries non the-aligned and countries the-world the-Islamic and

al-waṭan al-ʕArabiyy al-kabiir. Wa fi al-qalbi min-hu Filisṭiin.
the-country the-Arab the-large. And in the-heart from-it Palestine.

[1a.1] A strong administration of this country must go in a parallel line with the armed forces, as each of them will contribute to protecting the country and maintaining its security and keeping its stability.

[1a.2] In light of this understanding, Jabir Al-Ahmad was clear when he confirmed the importance of strengthening the armed forces, and re-examining the capabilities of these forces in such a way that they be the protecting armour of Kuwait.

[1a.3] And at the same time, (he was clear) in the assurance of Kuwait's commitment to its sister Arab (countries).

[1a.4] But this is not but a small part of the great worries of Kuwait, and the worries include third world countries, the non-aligned states, the Islamic and Arab countries at large and Palestine at the heart of all this.

[1b.1] A strong administration of this country must go in a parallel line with the armed forces, as each of them will contribute to protecting the country and maintaining its security and keeping its stability.

[1b.2] In light of this understanding, Jabir Al-Ahmad was clear when he confirmed the importance of strengthening the armed forces, and re-examining the capabilities of these forces in such a way that they will be the protecting armour of Kuwait, and at the same time, in the assuring Kuwait's commitment to its sister Arab (countries).

[1b.3] But this is not but a small part of the great worries of Kuwait, and the worries include third world countries, the non-aligned states, the Islamic and Arab countries at large and Palestine at the heart of all this.

The Arabic original [1] had a short paragraph [1.3] set off for emphasis. In English [1a], this seems choppy. Merging the short paragraph with the next in [1b] seems to yield a smoother flow and more unified paragraphs.

Evidently, the rhetorical device of paragraphing may be used by Arab newspapers in ways that would seem idiosyncratic to an English reader. The translator should note potential problems in this area. Another text will further show what I mean (from *Al-Raʔiy*, 25 Sept. 1988):

[2.1] Wa qad ʔaathara al-sayyid raʔiis al-wuzaraaʔ, ʔan yuʕabbira
And verily chose the-Mr. president the-ministers to express
mujaddadan, ʕan taʔyiidi al-Urdunn li al-ʕIraaqi, fii mawqifi-hi, fi
renewing about support the-Jordan to the-Iraq, in stand-its in
mufaawaḍaati Jinayv. Wa ʔan yuʔakkida, ʔanna maa ḥaqqaqa-hu
negotiations Geneva. And to confirm that what achieved-they
ʔal-ʕiraaqiyyuuna min intiṣaaraatin majiidah, huwa mawdiʕu al-iʕtizaazi,
the-Iraqis from victories glorious is place the-honor

min kulli ʕarabiyy. Kamaa ʔashaada bi ḥirṣi, al-masʔuuliina fi
from all Arab. And cry-up in cupidity the-responsibilities in

al-baladayn, ʕalaa ʔiijaadi majaalaatin jadiidah li muwaaṣalati
the-two-countries on finding fields new to follow-up

al-taʕaawuni al-thunaaʔiy, tanfiidhan li tawjiihaati jalaalati al-malik
the-cooperation the-bilateral carrying out directions Majesty the-King
al-ḥusayn, wa siyaadati al-raʔiis Ṣaddaam Ḥusayn.
the-Hussein and Mr. the-president Saddaam Hussein.

[2.2] Wa haakadhaa, yutarjimu al-Urdunnu wa al-ʕIraaqu, al-iltizaama
And therefore translate the-Jordan and the-Iraq the-commitment

al-qawmiyy, alladhii yaḥkumu ʕalaaqatay-himaa, ilaa mumaarasatin
the-national which control relations-their to exercise

qawmiyyatin mustamirrah, taḥtallu makaana-haa ka namuudhajin
national continuous occupy place-its as model

mushriqin wa musharrif, limaa yanbaghii ʔan takuuna ʕalay-hi
promising and honorable to what must be on-it

al-ʕalaaqaatu al-ʕarabiyyah.
the-relations the-Arab.

[2a.1] The Prime Minister indeed chose to express once again Jordan's support for Iraq in its stand in the Geneva negotiations. And he reaffirmed that the glorious Iraqi victories are a source of honour to all Arabs. He also praised the determination of the officials in both countries to find new fields of co-operation, following the directives of His Majesty King Hussein and President Saddaam Hussein.

[2a.2] In this way, Jordan and Iraq are translating the national commitment that governs their relations into a continuous national practice which takes it as a promising model of how Arab relations should be.

Again the English reader could be better served by combining these paragraphs, since the second one is rhetorically quite close to the first.

Special notice should also be made of frequent use of Arabic 'wa' ('and') at the start of a paragraph unless there is another connective such as 'laakinna' ('but'). This usage may well reflect the oral traditions of Arabic, but it goes quite against the grain of written English style. In the latter, if the rhetorical connection is close enough to merit an introductory 'and', the writer might well not want to make a paragraph break after all. Students whose native language is Arabic and who are learning English have been observed to overuse 'and' as a connector, and to be quite uncertain about using the more nuanced English connectors, such as 'moreover', 'besides', 'however', and so on.

Conclusion

I would conclude that traditional language instruction which does not go beyond the sentence level fails to provide the learners with adequate awareness of the different rhetorical strategies between languages or cultures. In terms of paragraphing, we have seen that English tends to proceed more in terms of thematic unity, whereas Arabic might make more frequent divisions for rhetorical emphasis; and that English is much less prone to open a paragraph with a connective 'and', because such a signal would suggest that the point is not opportune for changing paragraphs. Interestingly, Bader (this volume) reports that Arabic newspapers are showing some signs of imitating English journalistic paragraphing. In the future, the training of translators, especially those working with written news media, should address these issues in order to sharpen the trainee's sensitivity for the unfamiliar ways whereby rhetorical patterns help shape patterns of thought.

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Part III. Arabic-English Contacts

Terminological Inconsistencies in English-Arabic Translation

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Abstract

In English-Arabic translation, serious inconsistencies commonly occur when a specific expression in the target language is chosen for a new or borrowed concept, and later used interchangeably with one or more synonyms. Readers may be disoriented by assuming that each synonym has a somewhat different meaning, especially where technical terms are involved.

Introduction

In line with the detailed discussions in Al-Najjar (1982) and Saraireh (1990), we can distinguish three classes of lexical items that are important for English-Arabic translation. The first includes lexical items of the source language which have straightforward equivalents in the target language; the second includes items which have only partial equivalents; and the third includes items which do not have equivalents, so that the translator must coin or borrow terms (cf. Bahumaid, this volume).

Choosing an expression in the target language is fairly easy for the first class, and inconsistencies would arise from mere carelessness or inadequate knowledge of the field under discussion. More effort is needed for the second class, but partial equivalence at least helps to keep matters under control. The real problems come from the third class. If the new term is to be clearly understood and to become current in the active vocabulary, the translator must use it consistently. But the evidence presented below indicates that inconsistencies are rife, even in a translated textbook, where extra caution should be called for. They may appear in one given work of a single translator or across several works of various translators and lexicographers.

Many factors probably contribute: the lack of standardisation across different Arab countries or even inside one country; the translator's inattention or unfamiliarity with a technical field; or even the mistaken idea that 'stylistic variation' should be achieved through 'the use of different terms for the same referent' by means of 'purposeful verbal avoidance' (cf. de Waard & Nida 1986: 94).

Data from translated works (Baʕalbaki 1967; Bloom 1971; Mufti et al. 1983) indicate that inconsistencies between English and Arabic also fall into three types. In the first type, Arabic synonyms alternate to render a concept for which a specific term has already been introduced into the target language, e.g.:

English text	Arabic text
heavenly bodies	ʔajraam ʕulwiyya [bodies high] ʔajraam samaawiyya [bodies heavenly] jism samaawiyy [body heavenly]
serum	liqaaḥ [sperm/pollen/serum] maṣl [serum]
vaccination	taṭʕiim [inoculation/vaccination] talqiiḥ [impregnation/ pollination]

As we see, the translator was repeatedly inconsistent, alternating both with modifiers like 'heavenly', for which 'samaawiyy' is the established term, and with nouns like 'body', where 'jirm' ('body') and its plural 'ʔajraam' ('bodies') are the established term for planets and stars. For 'serum', the word 'maṣl' is standard and 'liqaah' isn't needed, especially within the same text. For 'vaccination', the term 'taṭʕiim' is standard, whereas 'talqiiḥ' means 'pollination' or 'impregnation' and should not be used here at all.

In the second type of inconsistency, native Arabic terms alternate with Arabicised borrowed terms (see again Bahumaid, this volume), e.g.:

English	native Arabic	Arabicised borrowing
telephone	haatif	tilifoon
radio	midhyaaʕ	raadyuu
camera	ʔaalat taṣwiir	kamiraa
microscope	mijhar	mikruskuub
capsule	birshaama	kabsuula
toxins	sumuum	tuuksiinaat
zinc	xaarṣiin	zink

Again, the reader may wonder if different meanings are involved and what they might be. At most, the translator should give the Arabicised borrowed term only in company with the native term when introducing the concept for the first time, e.g., 'mijhar (mikruskuub)'.

In the third type, different derivations from the same Arabic stem alternate for the same English concept, e.g.:

chemical	{ kiimaawiyy / kimiyy }
chelation	{ raabiṭa kullaabiyya [bond claw] / raabiṭah takaalubiyya [bond avidity] }

To estimate the effects of such inconsistencies, we asked some students in a translation course to back-translate into English selected parts from Mufti (1983) that had the alteration between 'kiimiyy' and 'kiimaawiyy'. Some students did indeed give different terms for these two, and were surprised to see that they had the same correlate in the original English text.

Some coinages adapt Arabic expressions in altered meanings, as when 'mawja' ('wave') was adopted to signify electromagnetic transmission. The translator should be wary about going back to use such a term in its everyday meaning and expecting that the new technical meaning will not be assumed.

Conclusion

Such inconsistencies in English-Arabic translation are harmful because they can make a clear source-language text into an ambiguous target-language text and thereby damage the usefulness and reliability of the whole textbook for the native Arabic learner. The spread of technical knowledge from the West to the Arab world is an urgent concern today and must not be impeded by 'psychological noise' of this kind.

Many people may believe that 'completely synonymous expressions' are possible, although translation scientists tell us otherwise (e.g., de Waard & Nida 1986: 140). But this belief applies largely to familiar ordinary terms and not to novel or technical terms. For the latter, readers will be prone to wrongly assume different meanings for each alternative term.

It would be especially ironic if the inconsistencies are due to the translator's attempts at stylistic variation. Such 'a pointless variety of style' (Turner 1976: 76) would clearly conflict with the translator's duty to produce clear and reliable texts. How well this duty was fulfilled can be tested by back-translating into the original source language.

Maintaining full consistency is, to be sure, a laborious duty, and we can well appreciate why authors, translators, and publishers might neglect to do so. But surely the extra labour is worthwhile when producing textbooks that may be the only source of specialised knowledge that Arabic-speaking learners can consult.

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The Role and Future of Journalistic Translation

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Abstract

Undoubtedly, journalists have been the most active social group in introducing coinages into Modern Standard Arabic. Given this influence, they should consider carefully how they can contribute to protecting Arabic against negative foreign influences and to setting a model for high quality translation practices in the Arab world. Several concrete recommendations are advanced toward this goal.

1. Translation in theory and practice

The term 'translation' has been a subject for many more or less theoretical discussions and definitions. Dictionaries usually define it in such terms as 'the action or process of turning from one language to another' as well as 'the product of this', i.e., the text 'version in a different language' (*Shorter Oxford English Dictionary,* 1980). Some give the broader sense of 'change into a different substance, form, or appearance; conversion' (*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, 1981), or 'put in plainer terms, explain' or even 'remove to another place' (*Chambers 20th Century Dictionary*, 1983). Such a wide range might turn us from the familiar question 'what is translation?' to the more disturbing question 'what is not translation?' The common sense views reflected in dictionaries suggest that all manner of changes and conversions may be 'translations' of some type. The routine concept of 'translating' between two languages like Arabic and English is thus placed in a broader context along with 'translating' within one language like Arabic, e.g. to 'express in less technical language' (*Collins Dictionary of the English Language*, 1979), or without language at all, e.g. 'to express in another artistic medium' (*Chambers 20th Century Dictionary*, 1983).

In contrast, linguists prefer more constrained and technical definitions, such as 'reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source language message, first in terms of meaning and, secondly in terms of style' (Nida 1969: 12). But as Nida adds, 'reproducing the message' demands 'a good many grammatical and lexical adjustments':

> For example the Hebrew idiom 'bowels of mercies' [*Holy Bible*, Book of Colossians 3:12 (editors' note)] cannot be literally rendered into English if one really wants to communicate the message of the source language, for though we have the words 'bowels' and 'mercies' in English, we simply do not employ this combination. A meaningful equivalent is 'tender compassion', and it is precisely in this manner that many translations attempt to reproduce the significance of this source language expression.

Wilss (1982: 11) finds it 'only logical that translation should have moved into the forefront of linguistics, especially synchronic descriptive comparative linguistics, text linguistics, sociolinguistics, and psycholinguistics'. But his optimism that 'translation' would be 'a science or a branch discipline in synchronic-descriptive linguistics' seems premature, given the much broader senses suggested by the dictionaries. A very broad scope is also adopted by Hatim and Mason (1990: 1):

> Translation is a useful test case for examining the whole issue of the role of language in social life. In creating a new act of communication out of a previously existing one, translators are inevitably acting under the pressure of their own social conditioning while at the same time trying to assist in the negotiation of meaning between the producer of the source language text and the reader of the target language text, both of whom exist within their own, different social framework.

Nida (1986) too has now adopted a social perspective.

For McGuire (1980: 13), translation belongs not just to linguistics but more properly to semiotics, the science of sign systems or structures, sign processes, and sign functions, involving a whole set of extra-linguistic aspects. For Pinchuck (1977: 9), translation is 'an integral part of modern international technology'. For Duff (1989: 7), without translators 'there would be no summit talks, no "glasnost" or "perestroika", no Cannes Film Festival, no Nobel Prizes, no advances in medicine, science or engineering, no international law, no Olympic Games, no *Hamlet*, no *War and Peace*'.

All these pronouncements show that trying to grasp translation from a theoretical viewpoint is an elusive quest. The practical side is much more concrete, bringing translation into close contact with other disciplines such as mathematics, chemistry, physics, psychology, and of course journalism. The journalistic translator may have occasion to deal with material in arts and sciences, politics and economy, all of which may demand an almost encyclopaedic knowledge, not just of the subject matter but also of intellectual and aesthetic values in different language cultures.

In the nineteenth century, translation was typically a one-sided communication between men of letters, philosophers, or scientists and their educated readerships abroad, whilst trade and diplomacy were conducted in the languages of the dominant colonial nations, such as French and English. In the twentieth century, which has been called the 'age of translation', many-sided communication is carried out using the native languages of all interested parties in international dealings and agreements between state, public, or private organisations (Newmark 1982: 3). The need for translation activities is accelerating and steadily gaining political and economic importance in step with the broadening of world-wide communication, the exponential increase in technology (e.g., patents, specifications, and documentation), and the advances in the developing countries. By 1970, the *Index Translationum* published by UNESCO, showed an increase of four and half times since 1948; by 1967, 80,000 scientific journals were being translated annually; and by 1982, the administration of the European Economic Community employed 1600 translators.

The Influence of Journalistic Translation on Arabic

In the Arab World, translation is older than the Arabic language itself, reaching far back into pre-Islamic times. However, translation activity was unsteady. It flourished in some epochs and deteriorated or completely vanished in others. The greatest flowering came in the Abbasid period in Baghdad from the eighth to the tenth centuries, and later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Cairo.

With the advent of Islam, the Prophet Mohammed encouraged his followers to learn foreign languages (cf. Jalabneh, this volume). He is reported to have said: 'Whoever learns the language of a people is deemed safe from their wiliness'; and also, 'the importance of a man is doubled or trebled according to the languages he knows'. He had some of his scribes learn Hebrew and Syriac, and is said to have known Persian himself (Qalqashandi 1983: 166).

Today, journalistic translation, mainly from English, is a powerful force and pervades many aspects of the Arabic press. To date, no comprehensive surveys have been made, although the Arab Academies and Arabic linguists have drawn attention to this issue, e.g.:

> The press has played a major role in changing the Arabic language, and we do not exaggerate if we say that modern Arabic is much indebted to the language of journalism for flexibility and simplicity. It is the language which all people understand and may imitate when they write or speak. And the style [of journalism] has made its way throughout the whole of the Arab world. (ʕAbd-al-ʕAziiz 1978: 4f, my translation)

Some linguists have even gone so far as to suggest that the relation between Arabic and the European languages has become close enough to make contemporary Arabic a member of the European community of languages within one or two generations (ibid., 8f). However, this judgement seems far-fetched. Surely Arabic can hold its own while absorbing and hosting foreign terms and structures and subjecting them to its own patterns and moulds, as it has already done for a long time.

At all events, journalists have been the most active group in introducing coinages into Modern Standard Arabic. By appearing in daily publications, these coinages readily enter into wide circulation, and may gain acceptance in many parts of the Arab World beyond the country where they first arose (El-Sheikh 1977: 445). Moreover, journalists address the mass of population and not, as in many other disciplines, only an intellectual or specialised elite. Here are just a few examples of political coinages recurrently used in the Arabic press:

jawla makkuukiyya = shuttle tour

safiir fawqa al ʕaada = ambassador at large
safiir mutajawwil = roving ambassador
waziir bilaa wazaara = minister without portfolio
bil ṭuruq ʔal-dibluumaasiyya = through diplomatic channels

ʕamaliyyaat ʔistiqṭaab = polarisation processes
kutla sharqiyya = Eastern Bloc
kutla gharbiyya = Western Bloc
waraaʔ ʔal-kawaaliis = behind the scenes
siyaasat ʔal-wifaaq = policy of detente

siyaasat ʔal-tawassuʕ = policy of expansion
kasr (ʔidhaabat) ʔal-jaliid = breaking (melting) the ice

taṣʕiid ʔal-ḥarb = escalation of war

yuṣaʕʕid ʔal-mawqif = to aggravate the situation
yaksar ʔal-jumuud = to break the deadlock

ʔal-kura fii marmaa al-ṭaraf ʔal-ʔaakhar = the ball is in the other side's (party's) court
yaqṭaʕ ʔal-muḥaadathaat = to break/cut off talks
dibluumaasiyyat ʔal-tilifoon = telephone diplomacy
ʔal-ʔajwaaʔ ʔal-maftuuḥa/ ʔal-samaawaat ʔal-maftuuḥa = open skies
yawm kawkab ʔal-ʔarḍ = Earth Day

Because journalistic translation exerts such a strong influence on Arabic, its practitioners should consider carefully how they can contribute to protecting Arabic against negative foreign influences and to setting a model for high quality translation practices in the Arab world. I shall accordingly advance ten recommendations we might contemplate in the coming years.

1. *Bilingual and multilingual journalistic dictionaries*, along with *glossaries* for the 'special purpose language' of journalism and *guides* for writing specific types of press materials should be compiled and regularly updated by seasoned professional journalists and press faculties, in collaboration with Arab linguists in scholarly institutions and the Academies. Major terms and expressions used in the British and American press professions would be listed with their standardised Arabic equivalents. Also, the typical lexical collocations and standing phrases and utterances used by the press would be collected and classified (Heliel 1988; Aal 1989), along with neologisms and newly adopted terms for social, political, diplomatic, economic, or scientific issues. Translators, especially less experienced ones, would greatly benefit, since they may not be able to search through large general dictionaries, which would rarely be sufficiently up-to-date in any case.

2. *Specialised training for journalistic translators* is now essential. A university degree in a foreign language or in journalism is not sufficient; further orientation courses should be organised for translators and sub-editors entering jobs in the press.

3. *In-service training* in the English and Arabic languages should develop the translators' linguistic skills and their sensitivity for the structures of phrases and sentences. Such training should cover word formation, morphology, and syntax on both sentence and paragraph levels, and the structural changes that living languages are constantly undergoing. This training would help translation practitioners who are not graduates of language departments.

4. *Linguistic revisers* should oversee the final drafting of translated materials to ensure that the use of Arabic is 'acceptable' and that foreign structures or terminology are not included unless they are absolutely necessary and have no Arabic equivalents.

5. *A league of Arab journalistic editors and writers* should be founded to

delimit the foreign influence on Arabic brought about by journalistic translation, which has already left its impact on terminology, syntax, sentence structure, and cohesion. This league would supplement the efforts of Arab Academies and the Bureau of Co-ordination of Arabicisation in Rabat, and would include in its membership prominent writers and editors, plus Arab linguists and academics from a range of specialised faculties and institutes.

6. Press establishments should set up an *information exchange about technical terms* throughout the Arab countries, including the translation and transliteration of foreign terms. The Bureau of Arabicisation could also participate here (Aal 1989).

7. *Translation colleges and institutes* should be opened in the Arab World besides the four now existing in Alexandria, Tunis, Khartoum, and Tangier. They would meet the rising demand for translation activities in many branches of knowledge and walks of life, both in the Arab countries and in international organisations.

8. Higher education in language should offer *contrastive linguistic programmes* to make translators sensitive to systematic similarities and differences in the organisation of pairs or types of languages.

9. *Intensive courses in Modern Standard Arabic* should be provided to ensure that Arab graduates from schools and faculties of foreign languages in the Arab World or abroad have a firm oral and written command of their mother tongue before becoming translators.

10. A *full-fledged Arabic theory of translation* should be formulated, drawing together the eminent translators in the past and present of the Arab world. This theory would provide the encompassing framework to delimit the foreign influences on the Arabic language brought about by the process of translation, and to guide Arab translators, especially those having no linguistic background, in their daily work.

These ten recommendations may sound quite ambitious, but partial, sporadic measures simply cannot cope with the issues I have outlined. We must look ahead to the day when the responsible governments and institutions of the Arab countries will finally devote to their language the same order of concern and resources they devote to other issues of national and international importance.

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Loan Translations in Written Jordanian News Media

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Abstract

The influence of foreign languages, mainly English, on written Standard Arabic is explored from the standpoint of loan translations in written news media. While some of these loans enrich Arabic, others are arbitrary, inconsistent, or obscure. More serious attempts should be made to find and use appropriate Arabic equivalents in place of loans.

During the last thirty years or more, much has been written about how the native or source language of multilingual speakers influences or interferes with their second or target language. Much has also been written on the organisation of the emergent 'interlanguage' (Selinker 1972) of second language learners. But in comparison to straightforward borrowing, code-switching, and code-mixing (e.g. Weinreich 1968; Hasselmo 1972; Shaffer 1976; Bokamba 1986), fairly little has been said about the effects of the foreign language on the speech and writing in the native language once the foreign language has been learned.

In the Arab World, this problem has been sorely neglected despite the heavy influence of certain foreign languages, mainly English and less often French, on the spoken and written discourse of Arabs, especially the more educated ones. An observer fluent in both Arabic and English will readily notice that this discourse is full not only of English loanwords but also of English expressions inserted directly through code-switching, or translated literally through loan translations (in the sense of Weinreich 1968: 51). The latter phenomenon has been especially conspicuous in the news media, where countless arbitrary, conscious or unconscious loan translations have contributed to transforming or even deforming (as critics would say) written Standard Arabic (cf. Bahumaid, Saraireh, Aal, this volume).

This paper will investigate one aspect of the impact of English, which is the foreign language of many Jordanians, on the writing styles of a specific group of Jordanians using their native Arabic. In speech, Jordanians mostly use the colloquial variety, often referred to as Jordanian Arabic; in writing, they commonly use Modern Standard Arabic.

We shall not discuss the hundreds, or even thousands of words and phrases borrowed from English and actively used on a daily basis (cf. Abu-Absi 1986) nor the problems they pose for Arabic, since several works (e.g. Butros 1963; Zughoul 1978; Suleiman 1981) have already dealt with these issues and provided voluminous examples of loanwords adopted from English, either in their original phonetic form or modified to conform to Arabic phonological norms (cf. also Saraireh, Bahumaid, this volume). The bulk of these are words referring to scientific discoveries, modern technology, mechanical equipment, and instruments (cf. Zughoul 1978: 215).

Instead, we shall focus on **loan translations** (or 'calques'), i.e., phrases and idioms 'literally' translated from English (Stetkevych 1970), which abound in the writings of some Jordanians working in the news media; and we shall explore the sociolinguistic factors, such as needs and prestige, that motivate this trend. Although loan translations are naturally used by educated Jordanians to designate new things and concepts (Weinreich 1968: 56), the variation, inconsistency, and arbitrariness of these loans must be counteracted by concerted efforts to establish a unified policy concerning Arabic equivalents of modern English terms and idioms, both for individuals and for institutions, e.g., through the Arab Language Academies (cf. Bahumaid, Aal, this volume).

The paper will first offer a brief sketch of the history and status of English as a foreign language in Jordan, and then consider the impact of English upon the written Arabic of one news medium, namely daily newspapers, which were found to rely heavily on loan translations for new concepts.

History and status of English in Jordan

Even though some Jordanians had been previously exposed to English, the British 'Mandate' over Jordan and Palestine in 1917 established the first serious contact with English for the wider population. Since then, English has gained in importance through formal instruction as a second language. Public schools opened during the second quarter of this century made the learning of English extensive or even compulsory. The policies adopted by the Ministry of Education required all students to learn English from the fifth grade up to secondary school graduation. Some private schools began teaching the language even in the first grade.

In higher education, English Departments have become 'milestones' in the

Arab university system (Abu-Hamdia 1984: 21), being among the biggest departments in Jordanian universities and community colleges; and the number of applications submitted by high school graduates to study English far exceeds the number of students who can actually enroll. In a country having only about 3.5 million people, seven universities and about two dozen community colleges offer majors in English, and some have programmes leading to an M.A. in English literature, linguistics, or teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL).

Evidently, the widespread negative attitudes towards English as a legacy of colonialism and imperialism (Fellman 1973) have not stopped Jordanian students from literally flooding the English Departments. In the Yarmouk University English programme, the number of students in the Department of English Language and Literature swelled from a few dozens in the year the University was founded in 1976 to around 1600 enrolled in 1984. Since 1984, however, the number has gradually decreased, due to a new policy of Arabicising encouraged by the central government of Jordan; at the start of the 1992 spring semester, it was around 950 students.

What has motivated the rush to study English and to use it in daily conversations? Three concurrent factors seem responsible, one of them 'integrative' and the other two 'instrumental' (in the sense of Kachru 1986). The first is social status and prestige, as identified by Weinreich (1968: 59f) for 'languages in contact': 'if one language is endowed with prestige, the bilingual is likely to use what are identifiable loanwords from it as a means of displaying the social status which its knowledge symbolises'. In Jordan, most echelons of society do assign a prestige value to the knowledge of English (cf. Stanlaw 1987: 98 for a similar situation in Japan). Undoubtedly, this attitude reflects the world-wide cultural, military, and economic dominance of English-speaking nations. Many Jordanians are thus motivated to learn English and to indulge in code-switching.

The second factor is education. In spite of all the efforts to Arabicise higher instruction, many fields of knowledge in universities and colleges in Jordan (and some other Arab countries) are still taught in English: medicine, nursing, pharmacy, engineering, agriculture, physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics, economics, and administrative sciences (cf. Sallo, this volume, on Iraq). Secondary school graduates who want to pursue their education in these fields must have a fairly good command of English. Moreover, hundreds of Jordanian students leave the country every year for undergraduate and postgraduate education in the U.S., the U.K., and other English-speaking countries, where proficiency in English is strictly required for admission.

The third factor is the job market. Proficiency and fluency in English open up respectable jobs in banks, corporations, administrative posts, and teaching institutions. This is true both inside Jordan and in the better-paying oil-rich Arab countries of the Gulf.

These three factors converge to make English the dominant foreign language in Jordan, just as in many other countries (Abu-Hamdia 1984: 21). Aside from French, which is taught only in some schools, English is the sole non-native language in the public school system. The influence of English on the writing styles of the more educated Jordanians is correspondingly great.

Loan Translations

Due to language contact and the international exchange of knowledge, science, and technology, loan translations are a common phenomenon in many languages. According to Dubey (1991: 22), the loan of lexical items is likely when (1) a language is unable to convey 'aspects or messages from a culture alien to it'; (2) 'the language suffers from limitations in meeting the surging demands of specific communications' in the fields of science, technology, etc.; or (3) a deficiency in the individual's linguistic repertoire prevents him or her from exploiting 'the available lexical resources of the language'. English, for example, borrowed 'world view' from German 'Weltanschauung', while French 'gratte-ciel' and German 'Wolkenkratzer' were borrowed from English 'skyscraper' (cf. Hock 1980: 180). In contrast to loan words, loan translations are easier to understand because they use existing elements in the borrowing language, whose expressive capacity is thereby enriched.

Loan translations have been strongly encouraged by extensive translation from English into Arabic, starting in the last century and greatly expanding today. When a translator is faced with a gap in the target language, outright borrowing or loan translations are prone to occur. Yet despite making useful contributions to the enrichment of Arabic, loan translations may well be arbitrary and subject to the translator's personal whims.

Loan translations are found in many Arabic books, periodicals, journals, magazines, and newspapers dealing with various branches of science, politics, military activities, economics, sports, and so on. To assemble and classify all loan translations in these publications would be a formidable task requiring the conjoined efforts of many scholars.

To conduct a more modest descriptive and comparative study, loan translations into Jordanian Arabic in the issues of three Jordanian daily newspapers were scanned over a period of four months. Scores of Arabic expressions corresponding almost word for word to English expressions were compiled. It was found that the influence of English on the Arabic of Jordanian newspapers is not limited to vocabulary but also extends to some grammatical and stylistic aspects of Modern Standard Arabic (e.g. word-order and compound adjectives) (cf. Aal, this volume). Many of the loan translations are characterised by considerable variation and arbitrariness.

The sheer quantity of phrases and idioms that appear to have been literally translated from English into Arabic is striking. Sometimes, mere coincidence can be assumed, especially between phrases or idioms that have been used in either language for a long time. Modern terminology is more likely to pass through loan translation through 'calquing', whereby 'the model is reproduced exactly, element by element' (Weinreich 1968: 51) or 'morphologically complex foreign words (or even larger expressions) are replaced by novel combinations of native morphological material which match the meanings of the component part of the foreign words' (Hock 1980: 179f). This process is most likely where English preceded Modern Standard Arabic in developing expressions relative to the sciences, economics, politics, war, sports, and so on.

My samples came from the written Jordanian news media represented by the three daily newspapers: *Al Raʔi, Ad-Dustour*, and *Ṣawt Al-Shaʕb*.[1] Numerous editions were scanned for a period from November 1991 to March 1992. The findings were indeed amazingly numerous and covered vocabulary as well as grammatical and stylistic traits, strengthening our contention that contact with English is transforming Modern Standard Arabic.

Here are some of the ways in which English seems to have affected Arabic:

(a) common use of the sentence word-order Subject-Verb-Complement, instead of the usual Arabic order Verb-Subject-Complement;
(b) use of the compound adjectives like 'ʔafru-ʔasyawi', 'Afro-Asian' by analogy to English;
(c) common use of the present tense to refer to past or future events;
(d) use of the English way of expressing co-ordinated genitives, e.g. 'the dreams and aspirations of peoples', which is normally rendered in Arabic as 'ʔaḥlaamu ʔashshuʕuubi wataṭalluʕaatuha' (cf. Abboud et al. 1983: 316f), literally corresponding to 'dreams of peoples and their aspirations', was found to be 'ʔaḥlaamu wataṭalluʕaatu ʔashshuʕuub', corresponding word for word (except for the definite article, which is not required in Arabic genitives) to the English structure;
(e) adoption of English journalistic punctuation systems and paragraphing (e.g. one-sentence paragraphs) (cf. El-Shiyab, this volume).

Still, the main influence was found to come from loan translations. As befit my

[1] These are the newspapers' own English transcriptions of their Arabic names.

sources, most of these had to do with topics that were (1) political or diplomatic, (2) military, (3) economic, and (4) scientific. Some expressions or idioms whose use is not restricted to one specific activity were gathered under the heading ‘unspecific domains’ (5). Some of the more noteworthy examples in each of the categories were:

(1) *Political or diplomatic*

ʔalmaktabu ʔalbayḍaawiyy[2]	the oval office
ʔassayyidatu ʔalʔuula	the First Lady
dawaaʔiru ḥukuumiyyah	government circles
ṣunʕu ʔalqaraar	decision making
taghṭiyatu ʔal ʔaḥdaath	coverage of the events
ḥamlatun ʔiʕlaamiyyah	publicity campaign
kalaamun muzdawaj	double talk
misdaaqiyyah	credibility
baṭṭatun ʕarjaaʔ	lame duck
muʕaadalatun siḥriiyyah	magic formula
baluunu ʔikhtibaar	test balloon
ʔaṣwaatun ʔintikhaabiyyah	electoral votes
maaʔidatu ʔalmufaawaḍaat	table of negotiations
ʔijtimaaʕun fawqa ʔalʕaadah	extraordinary meeting
tatbiiʕu ʔalʕalaaqaat	normalisation of relations
ʔiṭaaru taswiyah	settlement framework
tamattaʕa bitaaqaddumin waaḍiḥ	enjoy a clear advantage
ʕalaa haamishi ʔalʔijtimaaʕ	on the margin of the meeting
waraqatu ʕamal	working paper
risaalatun maftuuḥah	open letter
muʔtamaru qimmah	summit conference
safiirun muqiim	resident ambassador
safiirun mutajawwil	travelling ambassador
maarasa ḍabṭa ʔannafs	exercise self-control
maẓallatun dawliyyah	international umbrella
ʕamaliyyatu ṣunʕi ʔassalaam	the process of peace-making

[2] At a normal speech rate, if a word ends in a vowel and is followed by another word beginning with a glottal stop followed by a vowel, liaison triggers the deletion of the glottal stop and the following vowel. Thus, the following rule applies: $\text{vowel}^1 + ʔ + \text{vowel}^2 + \text{consonant} \Rightarrow \text{vowel}^1 + \text{consonant}$, causing a phrase like ‘ʔalmaktabu ʔalbayḍaawiyy’ to be actually pronounced as ‘ʔalmaktabulbayḍaawiyy’.

mubaadaratu salaam	peace initiative
ḥifẓu ʔassalaam	peace keeping
ṣiyaanatu ʔassalaam	preservation of peace
khiṭṭatu salaam	peace plan
khiṭṭatu taswiyah	settlement plan
ḥukmun dhaatiyy	self-rule
ḥarbun baaridah	cold war
ʔarrajulu ʔalqawiyy	the strongman
baladun muḍiif	host country
ʔalʕaalamu ʔath-thaalith	the Third World
jumhuriyyaatu ʔalmawz	banana republics
siyaasatu ʔalʕaṣaa waljazarah	policy of the stick and the carrot
ʕiṣyaanun madaniyy	civil disobedience
saada ʔiḍraabun kaamil	a total strike prevailed

(2) *Military*

sibaaqu ʔattasalluḥ	arms race
ʔasliḥatun mutawassiṭatu ʔalmadaa	medium-range weapons
ḥarbun nafsiyyah	psychological war
ḥarbu ʔalmudun	war of the cities
ḥarbu nujuum	Star wars
kasbu ʔal-ḥarb	win the war
min mawqiʕi quwwah	from a position of strength
rajulu khidmatin ʔamriikiyy	American serviceman
ʕarḍun lilquwwah	show of force
ṣayfun saakhin	hot summer
ghaaratun wahmiyya	mock raids
ʔaḍḍarbu walfiraar	hit and run
mumaarasaatun qamʕiyyah	repressive practices
quwwatun shibhu ʕaskariyyah	paramilitary forces
shanna ḥamlata ʔiʕtiqaalaat	launch a campaign of arrests
ʔikhmaadu ʔattamarrud	put down the rebellion
qabḍatun ḥadiidiyyah	iron fist
raṣaaṣun maṭṭaaṭiyy	rubber bullets
ḥammaamu damm	blood bath
khanqu ʔal-ʔintifaaḍah	stifle the intifada
ḥarbu shawaariʕ	street war
qunbulatun mawquutah	time bomb

(3) *Economic*

ʔalmarḥalatu ʔalʕamaliyyatu lilbarnaamaj	the program's operational stage
taḍakhkhum	inflation
ʕajzun ṣiḥḥiyy	healthy deficit
sabaḥa fii ʔaththaraaʔ	swim in money
dhahabun ʔaswad	black gold
ʔinhiyaaru ʔaswaaqi ʔalmaal	collapse of money markets
qafaza muʔashshiru faynaanshal tayimz	Financial Times indicator jumped
saqfu ʔalʔintaaj	production ceiling
mawsimun siyaaḥiyy	tourist season
suuʔu taghdhiyah	malnutriton

(4) *Scientific*

ʔaalaatun dhakiyyah	smart machines
khayaalun ʕilmiyy	science fiction
sanatun ḍawʔ iyya	light year
ʔal-ʔinfijaaru ʔal-ʕaẓiim	the big bang
ʔal ʔinsiḥaaqu ʔal-ʕaẓiim	the big crunch
ʔal bayḍatu ʔalkawniyyah	the cosmic egg
(ʔannajmu) ʔal-mustaʕiru ʔal-ʔaʕẓam	supernova
ʔaqzaamun bayḍaaʔ	white dwarfs
ʔaththuquubu ʔalsawdaaʔ	black holes
makkuukun faḍaaʔiyy	space shuttle
fawq ṣawtiyy	ultra-sonic
mikhaddatun hawaaʔiyyah	air cushion
wisaadatun maghnaaṭiisiyyah	magnetic cushion
ʔawraamun khabiithah	malignant tumors
banku ʔaddamm	blood bank

(5) *Miscellaneous domains*

ʔaafaaqun waaʕidatun jadiidah	new promising horizons
ʔaʕṭa ʔalʔawlawiyyah	give the priority
ʔittakhadha buʕdan jadiidan	take a new dimension
dumuuʕu ʔattamaasiiḥ	crocodile tears
fataḥa ṣafḥatan jadiidah	open a new page
haadhihi ʔakhbaarun sayyiʔatun lahum	this is bad news for them

laʕiqa jiraaḥahu	lick one's wounds
laʕiba dawran	play a role
masḥun littaariikhi ʔalmuʕaaṣir	survey of contemporary history
naafidhatun ʕalaa ʔalʕaalam	window on the world
najmun siinamaaʔiyy	movie star
qafzatun fii ʔalmajhuul	leap into the unknown
qalbu ʔaẓẓalaam	Heart of Darkness
saḥaba ʔalbisaaṭa min taḥti qadamayh	pull the carpet out from under one's feet
ṣuuratun ḥayyah	live picture
wajada ṭariiqahu ʔilaa ʔalḥall	find its way to a solution
ʕalaa ṭabaqin min fiḍḍah	on a silver plate

In many cases, arbitrary calquing could foster confusion and obscurity, leaving the reader in the dark about the intended meaning, e.g., the expression 'baṭṭatun ʕarjaaʔ' to render 'lame duck', used for U.S. President Ronald Reagan facing the American Congress, where an expression 'mukabbalu ʔalyadayn', 'hand-cuffed' would have been more appropriate. Other potentially obscure literal translations on the above listings included:

ʔaafaaqun waaʕidatun jadiidah	new promising horizons
ʔalmaktabu ʔalbayḍaawiyy	the oval office
ʔalmarḥalatu ʔalʕamaliyyatu lilbarnaamaj	the program's operational stage
jumhuuriyyaatu ʔalmawz	banana republics
laʕiqa jiraaḥahu	lick one's wounds
rajulu khidmatin ʔamriikiyy	American serviceman
sabaḥa fii ʔaththaraaʔ	swim in money
saḥaba ʔalbiṣaata min taḥti qadamayh	pull the carpet out from under one's feet
siyaasatu ʔalʕaṣaa waljazarah	policy of the stick and the carrot
wisaadatun maghnaaṭiisiyyah	magnetic cushion

The arbitrariness of choice and the lack of widely accepted Arabic correlates was also revealed by rendering the same English expression into two different Arabic forms, sometimes within the same article. The term 'superconductivity' was once rendered as 'farṭu ʔalmuuṣiliyyah' and another time as 'naaqiliyyatun ʕuẓmaa'. The unsuspecting average reader may be misled to imagine that two different things are involved (cf. Saraireh, this volume).

Conclusion

This paper has sketched the impact of English on Jordanian Arabic through examples drawn from written news media. While some loan translations usefully enrich the semantic repertoire and the expressive capacity of the borrowing language, others betray arbitrariness, inconsistency, and obscurity. Clearly, both individuals and language institutions should make more serious attempts to find and use appropriate, widely acceptable Arabic equivalents.

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'Monitoring' and 'Managing' in Radio News Reports

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Abstract

This paper explores some implications and applications of the two text-linguistic notions of 'monitoring' and 'managing' with respect to Arabic and English versions of a specific text type, namely news reports broadcast by different radio stations during the Gulf War.

1. Monitoring and managing

The most disputatious issues in translation theory concern fidelity, translatability, and the choice of words and linguistic structures when rendering from source language to target language, particularly in regard to the demands for lexical, syntactic, semantic, rhetorical, ideological, and cultural 'equivalence' (see papers by Beaugrande, Mason, Wilss, Ilyas, El-Shiyab, Farghal, or Holes, all this volume). A 'dynamic' model such as the one proposed by (Nida 1964) seems well-suited to considering the roles of 'monitoring' and 'managing', two notions introduced into text linguistics by Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 163; see also Beaugrande 1984: 39):

> If the dominant function of a text is to provide a reasonably unmediated account of the situation model, **situation monitoring** is being performed. If the dominant function is to guide the situation in a manner favourable to the text producer's goals, **situation management** is being carried out.

Beaugrande (personal communication) reports having adapted these terms from computer science and artificial intelligence, but they have not been widely applied in linguistics since then, partly because they appear elsewhere in linguistic theory, albeit in disguised forms: monitoring in the behaviouristic and the 'truth-conditional' semantics that equates the meaning of an utterance with making a statement about the situation (e.g. Bloomfield); and management in the pragmatics of 'speech acts' in their 'illocutionary' and 'perlocutionary' modes (e.g. Searle). I have, however, found them useful for describing the process of translating the discourses of broadcasting and newspapers (Shunnaq 1986, 1992), the basic thesis being: 'if the translator intervenes in the message of the source language text, he will be managing, whereas if he renders it neutrally, then he will be monitoring' (1992: 36). Farghal (1993: 2) tightened up the notion of 'managing' in translation by distinguishing between 'intrinsic managing', which makes 'alterations' to compensate for 'mismatches' 'between the source language and the target language', versus 'extrinsic managing', which pursues the translator's ideological intervention in the text' to adjust the 'message' to fit his or her 'own goals' (cf. also Mason, this volume). Farghal's 'extrinsic' type is closer to the notion of managing envisioned by Beaugrande and Dressler and by myself, as we shall see in this paper.

A commonsense view of 'the translator's task' is 'to render the original as objectively as he can, rigorously suppressing his own natural feelings; a text with which he passionately agrees must be treated similarly to a text with which he passionately disagrees' (Newmark 1982: 389f). Like much advice for translators, this statement severely oversimplifies, in this case by assuming that it is in principle possible to be 'objective', even though the participation in discourse is richly subjective; and that the 'suppression of natural feelings' is both feasible and desirable.

We also need to take account of different text types with their respective communicative goals. The typology of texts has been considered for translation by Beaugrande (1980a, 1984), Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), Hatim (1984, 1989, 1991), and Hatim and Mason (1990), among others. Hatim's research (1984) was carried out on three text types in both English and Arabic: exposition, argumentation, and instruction. Monitoring dominates in expository texts, and managing in argumentative texts, but all texts combine both monitoring and managing. Hatim (1991: 191) noted 'a striking similarity between argumentative texts and texts belonging to another "operative" type, namely the "instructional"'; 'both set out to "manage" and thus focus on the shaping of future behaviour', but 'the means of achieving such a goal can be different. Instructional texts attempt to "regulate" through instruction (as in contracts, treaties); argumentative texts "evaluate" through persuasion (as in advertising, propaganda)'.

In journalism, news reports typically stress exposition and narration of sequences of actions and events. Instructive texts do appear but deal more with informing the public of what to do, e.g., emergency measures to take in an approaching storm. Argumentation is central to special journalistic types, being more covert in editorials or political cartoons and more overt in advertisements and letters to the editor; people and events are cast in expressions that encourage the addressee to take sides and be 'evaluative' (cf. Farghal 1991). The significance of such text types, shown by Hatim for translation from Arabic into English, suggests that they should be addressed during the training of Arabic translators (cf. Aal, this volume).

2. Emotive connotations and the translation of news reports

As noted by Crystal and Davy (1985: 246), reports transmitted over the radio are subject to important constraints. Normally, they are written discourse being read aloud, and must be easily understandable since listeners cannot ask for clarification. In the 'West', the news reader is expected to be in a 'neutral position' and primarily committed to monitoring, which implies tight (Newmarkian) control over one's attitudes and emotions.

A translator must be aware that this 'Western' commitment may not hold in other cultures. Arabic political discourse is charged with highly emotive connotations that English broadcasters would shun. Indeed, it is easy to infer the line of policy pursued by a given Arab government from the political terms common in the discourse of broadcasting in that country.

The key role of politics in the life of Arabs has influenced their language. Arabic has many political terms without English counterparts such as 'mukhtaar' (village chief in Syria, Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon and Iraq) and 'maʕaalii' (title of cabinet ministers only, whereas 'Excellency' in English is for high officials and ambassadors). Other lexical items have taken on connotations from their use in political discourse, such as 'laajiʔ' ('a refugee'), 'raaḥil' ('setting out' or 'moving away') and, more recently, 'al-ḥijaara' ('the stones'). The latter term serves as a symbol of challenge, resistance, sacrifice, heroism, and so on, e.g., when Arabic commentators on the 'intifaaḍa' ('uprising') in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip would refer to 'jiil ʔal-ḥijaarra' ('generation of stones') or 'maʕrakat al-ḥijaara' ('battle of stones).

Hence, the Arabic-English news translator often encounters problems with emotionally charged political terms: 'ʕarabu l-lisaan' ('Arabs by tongue'), 'ṣuquur ʔal-jaww' ('falcons of the air' for pilots), 'ʔal-waṭan ʔal-saliib' ('usurped homeland'), 'qaadisiyyatu Ṣaddaam' ('Saddaam's qaadisiyya', an ancient battle wherein the Arabs defeated the Persians), 'umm ʔal-maʕaarik' ('the Mother of Battles' between Iraq and the U.S.), etc. As remarked by El-Hassan (1984: 33): 'eloquent politicians know that their fluency in language remarkably facilitates their task'. But it can make the task of the news translators quite hard.

At the very least, the translator needs to be aware of the denotative versus the connotative meanings of lexical items and of the emotive effects the latter aspect can have on the target audience for managing communicative situations and imposing viewpoints. Both aspects of meaning may be respected, e.g., by rendering the Arabic expression 'wa ʔin ʔikfaharrat al-ʔaafaaqu kulluhaa' with 'however sombre the horizons may be', or 'shamʕatun naḥiila' with 'a meagre candle', where 'ʔikfaharrat' is emotionally charged with connotations of darkness, colour, gloom, sadness, dismalness, etc., and 'naḥiila' with those of poverty, lack of flesh, insufficient quantity and quality, etc. But often, the translator retains the denotative aspect and loses the connotative, or vice versa.

3. Monitoring and managing in radio news reports

In action theory, an **action** is defined as an event performed with an intention to change a situation. The term **situationality** covers all the ways in which a text is connected with a real or recoverable situation, including the spoken 'utterance actions' or written 'inscription actions' performed in it (cf. Beaugrande 1984: 39; Shunnaq 1992: 40). As noted above, discourse participants have the options of either monitoring the situation (saying what's happening) or else managing it (saying what fits their wishes about what should happen). To appear disinterested, people often disguise their managings as monitorings by talking as if the things they want are happening in the natural course of events.

The discourse of broadcasting news reports on the radio ought to be a text type straightforwardly devoted to monitoring over managing. However, the genuine state of affairs is more complicated. For one thing, a news report often presents the discourse of other speakers, such as politicians, and can use various techniques of **framing** (Beaugrande 1994). A 'direct quote' is more restricted to monitoring, whereas an 'indirect quote' is less so, e.g. in the form of a 'that'-clause, viz:

[1] qaalat wizaartu al-difaaʕ al-faransiyya ʔinna ṭaaʔiraati l-jaagwaar al-qaadhifati al-muqaatila qad qaṣafat mawaaqiʕa ḥaṣiina bil midfaʕiyyati al-ʕiraaqiyya fi al-Kuwait waʕaadat ʔilaa qawaaʕidi-haa saalima. (BBC, 23 Jan. 1991, 16:00 hrs.)

[1a] The French Defence Ministry said that its jaguar jet fighters had bombed well-fortified positions of the Iraqi artillery in Kuwait and they safely returned to their bases.

Still, the reporter appears to be neutral here also, merely monitoring someone else's discourse without making a commitment to believe it. In Hatim's terms, the report tries to stay within the 'expository' type and to eschew any comment or editorialising that would be clearly 'argumentative'. These distinctions are anchored in the organisation of discourse participation prior to any act of translating (Farghal 1992: 1), but the act needs to engage with them. If we changed 'said' in [1a] to 'alleged' or 'admitted', the effect is quite different, suggesting that the 'French Defence Ministry' is not fully trustworthy.

My claim is therefore that monitoring and managing are essential for appreciating the effects of certain text types and their translations (cf. Shunnaq 1992). I shall illustrate this claim by examining how news editors in various radio stations strategically manage their items to forward the goals and the policies of their station.

I have selected nine samples from news bulletins broadcast from such radio stations as Radio Monte Carlo, Voice of America, BBC, Radio Israel, Radio Tunis, and Radio Baghdad. They all deal with the American bombing of Al-ʕAamiriyyah Shelter in Baghdad on 13 February 1991. This incident had a highly emotive impact on the consciousness of the Arabs and indeed of humanitarians throughout the world. The evidence for my claim should thus be clearer here than it might be in Arabic news reports in general.

On that same day, at 14.00 hours, Radio Monte Carlo reported [2], for which [2a] would be my own close translation:

[2] ʔinna ʔaḥad al-malaajiʔ al-ḍakhma fii ḍawaaḥi Baghdaad qad ʔuṣiiba l-yawm biʕadadin min al-qadhaaʔif mimmaa ʔaddaa ʔilaa maqtali wa-jarḥi miʔaati al-ashkhaaṣ.

[2a] indeed, one of the big shelters in Baghdad's suburbs was hit today by a number of bombs which caused the killing and wounding of hundreds of people

Here, the discourse seems to be neutrally monitoring without managing. But the lack of explicit detail such as names of places and exact number of victims could be intended to enshroud the impact of the tragedy in abstractness.

At 19.00 hours, the Voice of America said:

[3] nuqila ṣaḥafiyyuun ajaanib fii Baghdaad ʔilaa al-mawqiʕ alladhii qaalat al-sulṭaat al-ʕiraaqiyya ʔinna-hu maljaʔ lil-madaniyyiin taʕarraḍa lil-qaṣf.

[3a] foreign journalists in Baghdad were transferred to the position which the Iraqi authorities said was a shelter for civilians exposed to bombing

Using the relative clause 'ʔalladhii qaalat al-sulṭaat al-ʕiraaqiyya bi-ʔanna-hu maljaʔ lil-madaniyyiin' ('which the Iraqi authorities said [that it] was a shelter for civilians exposed to bombing') suggests neutrality in citing reported speech. But a deeper intent to invite scepticism hinges on the value assigned to 'qaalat' as 'said', 'claimed', 'alleged', and so on. Similarly, a choice must be made for 'maqtal' as 'kill', 'slaughter' or 'massacre', and so on, possibly connoting a crime that brutally killed large numbers of people. So, a translator has to manage by deciding the inferred intention of the original news editor at the Voice of America — which in this case wouldn't be difficult.

The same radio station went on to report:

[4] qaala masʔuuluuna ʕaskariyyuun ʔAmriikiyyuun ʔinna al-mabnaa alladhii ʔuṣiiba fii al-ghaarati ʕalaa Baghdaad al-layla al-maaḍiya mimmaa ʔasfara ʕammaa yabduu ʕan khasaaʔira faadiḥa fii al-ʔarwaaḥ kaana markaz lil-qiyaada ʕaskariyya laa kamaljaʔ madanii kamaa yaquul al-ʕIraaq.

[4a] American officials said that the building hit by attacks on Baghdad yesterday, which apparently resulted in human losses, was a military command base, not a shelter for civilians, as Iraq said.

Here, the quoted persons (American officials) chose the general and neutral lexical item 'the building' ('ʔal-mabnaa') in order to prepare for a denial that it was a 'shelter' ('maljaʔ'), which is a more emotive lexical item designating the function of protecting people who are threatened. The claim is then made that it was 'a military command position' ('markaz li-qiyaada ʕaskariyya laa ka-maljaʔ') and hence a fair target for bombing. The 'killing and wounding hundreds of people' reported by Radio Monte Carlo is toned down into 'mimmaa ʔasfara ʕammaa yabduu ʕan khasaaʔira faadiḥa fii al-ʔarwaaḥ' ('apparently resulted in human losses'), as if it might have been a false 'appearance', or a just few 'humans' got 'lost' like mislaid luggage. 'As Iraq says' ('kamaa yaquul al-ʕIraaq') is intended to undercut both the classification of 'shelter' and the credibility of the Iraqis. The thrust of the 'officials' to manage the situation and contain the damage to America's image in world-wide opinion could easily be reframed by rendering the opening 'qaala' with 'alleged'.

That same evening at 18:00 hours, the BBC reported:

[5] qaala mutaḥadith ʕaskariyy fi al-mamlaka al-ʕArabiyya al-Saʕuudiyya ʔinna al-maljaʔ kaana fi al-ḥaqiiqa ghurfat ʕamaliyyaat ʕaskariyya muḥaṣṣanah wa-maqarr lil-qiyaada wa-ʔidaarat al-ʕamaliyyaat.

[5a] an American military spokesman in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia said that the shelter was indeed a well-fortified military operation theatre, the premises for command and operation management

Since the British were fighting alongside the Americans, it is not surprising that the BBC would invite its listeners to accept the American story, which is fleshed out here to make the shelter into not just a legitimate target but an absolutely essential one: 'wa-maqaar lil-qiyaada wa-idaarat al-ʕamaliyyaat' ('a military operation theatre, premises for command and operation management'). The clausal modifier 'fi al-ḥaqiiqa' ('indeed') adds to the certainty of this version.

The Voice of America did cite a non-American source, however:

[6] ʔaʕlana naaṭiq ʕaskarii Briiṭaanii ʔanna-hu ʔidhaa taʔakkada ʔanna quwwaat al-taḥaaluf qaṣafat al-yawm maljaʔan madaniyyan fii Baghdaad fa ʔinna dhaalika yushakkil khaṭaʔan maʔsaawiyyan

[6a] a British military spokesman said that if it would be proved that the Allied Forces bombed a civilian shelter in Baghdad today, this would constitute a tragic mistake

The conditional 'ʔinna-hu ʔidhaa taʔakkada ʔanna' ('if it is proved that') seems to hold open the prospect of bringing forward decisive evidence, but surely this is hard to do in a badly damaged building in the heart of enemy territory, the more so if Iraqi sources are disqualified, as in [4]. The phase 'khaṭaʔan maʔsaawiyyan' ('tragic mistake') is at once emotively intense ('tragic', i.e. like a sublime history play) and pale ('mistake', i.e. like a minor miscalculation anybody could make). Some days later, American National Public Radio, which is normally independent, was still asserting in its own name (not just through quoted sources) that the military status of the building could be 'proved', whereas even the press in Germany (which was on the Allied side) conjectured that the real goal of bombing the shelter (which was not a 'military operation theatre') was to kill the families of Saddaam or his senior officers (e.g. *Der Spiegel*).

Radio Israel was of course even more pro-American and reported at 21.30 hours:

[7] qaala waziir ʔaddifaaʕ al-ʔAmriikiyy Dick Cheney ʔinna al-ṭayaraan al-ʔAmriikiyy qaṣafa al-yawm al-maljaʔa fii Baghdaad li-ʔanna-hu kaana maljaʔan muaḥaṣṣan lil qiyaada al-ʕIraaqiyyah wa-bi-ʕtibaari-h ʔaḥada al-munshaʔaat al-ʕaskariyyah kaana hadafan ʕaskariyyan faqad ʔaṭlaqa ʕalayhi al-ṭayyaaruun al-ʔamriikiyyuun qunbulatayn bi-muntahaa addiqqa.

[7a] The U.S. Secretary of Defence Dick Cheney said that the American fighters bombed today a shelter in Baghdad because it was a well-fortified shelter for the Iraqi command, and, as it is a military installation, it is therefore a military goal. That is why the American pilots precisely hit it with two bombs.

This commentator cited not just unnamed 'officials', but the highest civilian official within the U.S. military, the Secretary of Defence ('waziir ʔaddifaaʕ' — a post that until 1947 was more honestly called the 'Secretary of War'). The argumentative intent to justify the bombing becomes clearer in the insistently frequent linking expressions 'li-ʔanna-hu' ('because'), 'wa-bi-ʕtibaari-h' ('as it is'), 'kaana...faqad' ('therefore...that is why'), to make sure the audience draws the desired conclusions, slyly moving us from 'maljaʔan' ('shelter') to 'al-munshaʔaat al-ʕaskariyyah' ('military installation') to 'hadafan ʕaskariyyan' ('military goal'). The phrase 'muḥaṣṣan' ('well-fortified') insidiously suggests that the shelter could have defended itself or that it was openly inviting attack by fortifying itself. The phrase 'qunbulatayn bi-muntahaa addiqqa' ('precise hit with two bombs') converts a murderous act into a merciful one by suggesting that the pilots exerted all their skill in order not to harm any non-'military goals' nearby.

The crowning step of the 'American officials' to blame the whole incident on Saddaam was relayed by Radio Monte Carlo at 19.00 hours:

[8] qaala al-masʔuuluuna ʔAmriikiyyuun al-yawm ʔinna al-maljaʔ ʔalladhii qaṣafathu al-ṭaaʔiraat al-ʔAmriikiyya fii Baghdaad wa-qutila fii-hi ʕadad kabiir min al-madaniyyiin huwa mawqiʕ ʕaskariyy muḥaṣṣan yustakhdam kamarkaz lil ittiṣaal wal-ḍabṭ, wa-ḥammaluu al-raʔiis Ṣaddaam masʔuuliyat al-khasaaʔir al-madaniyyah.

[8a] American officials said today that the shelter which was bombed by the American fighters in Baghdad and in which a number of civilians were killed is a fortified military position used as a centre for communication and control. They charged president Saddaam Hussein with being responsible for the civilian losses.

'Al-munshaʔaat ('the installation') is now 'markaz' (a 'centre'), and hence even more deserving to be utterly destroyed. Intriguingly, the 'American officials' flatly contradicted themselves in their 'charge' against Saddaam, because if it was really a military position, then how can there have been major 'civilian losses' ('ʔal-khasaaʔir al-madaniyyah')!?

On the Arab side, Radio Tunis reported at 14.00 hours:

[9] Ḥammala ʕadad min ruʔasaaʔ al-ʔaḥzaab al-Tuunisiyya majlisa al-ʔamn al-dawlii wa-munaẓẓamaat al-ʔumam al-muttaḥida masʔuuliyyata al-jariimata an-nakraaʔ allatii iqtarafathaa quwwaat al-taḥaaluf al-ʔAmriikiyy al-Aṭlasii al-ghaadir bi-qaṣfihaa ʔaḥad malaajiʔ al-sukkaan al-madaniyyiin fii Baghdaad.

[9a] A number of the leaders of the Tunisian parties considered the Security Council and the United Nations Organisation responsible for the abominable crime committed by the treacherous American-Atlantic Alliance's bombing of a civilian shelter in Baghdad.

The emotiveness is now given free reign in expressions like 'al-jariima an-nakraaʔ' ('the abominable crime'), which far overshoots the 'tragic mistake' that was the limit of what the British would admit to in [6a] and then only in a 'if'-conditional. It is hard to imagine the BBC using such a phrase even if the 'military operation theatre' alibi were officially dropped. The phrase 'ḥammala al-masʔuuliyya' ('considered as responsible') ensures that the blame goes not to some 'mistaken' pilot, but to the entire 'Security Council' that approved the Gulf War for the Alliance who are 'treacherous' ('al-ghaadir') in violating the basic human conventions of warfare.

Not surprisingly, the tone of Radio Baghdad at 14:00 hours was even stronger:

[10] ʔadaanat al-ʔawsaaṭ al-dawliyya al-yawm al-jariima al-ʔAmariikiyya al-bashiʕa bi-qaṣfi-haa maljaʔ al-madaniyyiin fii Baghdaad bi-ṣawaariikh al-ṭaaʔiraat wa-qatl miʔaat an-nisaaʔ wal-ʔaṭfaal.

[10a] international spheres condemned today the American ugly crime of bombing the civilian shelter in Baghdad with jet fighters' rockets, killing hundreds of women and children.

Here, 'ʔadaanat al-ʔawsaaṭ' ('international spheres [i.e. circles]') goes well beyond merely Arab parties in Tunisia [9], and the framing device 'ʔadaanat' ('condemned') stands out against others like 'qaala' ('said') by connoting the severe and definitive disapproval that 'ʔal-jariima al-bashiʕa' ('the ugly crime') would merit in the eyes of the world. Another key emotive point is the choice of 'ʔan-nisaaʔ wal-ʔaṭfaal' ('women and children') rather than just 'civilians', since they are the most helpless and innocent groups.

4. Managing at radio stations

The evidence from the news reports discussed in the preceding section suggests that a news editor or a translator at a radio station can manage through the following strategies:

(a) From among the wide range of possible news items, they can carefully select only those which serve their intents and purposes and neglect those that do not. The selection is carried out within the framework set by the broadcasting policy of the radio station. Hence, we can readily infer the policy by listening to news reports of highly charged events, as we have seen.
(b) They can choose general, vague descriptions to cushion the impact. e.g. 'resulting in human losses' [4a], or else specific, concrete ones to intensify it, e.g. 'killing and wounding of hundreds of people' [2a]. Paradoxically, though, detailed close-ups such as 'precisely hit it with two bombs' can also encourage detachment, e.g. implying that the damage was after all carefully contained.
(c) They can omit mentioning the agents of reported actions, e.g. 'was hit today' [2a] or 'hit by attacks' [4a] instead of saying just who did the 'hitting' and who ordered them to. The American 'pilots' were mentioned only after an express argument had been mounted to justify what they did [7a]. 'Well-fortified' [7a, 8a] could be merely an architectural term but here it may also invoke images of troops standing defiantly ready, which would 'prove' the military purpose of the shelter — although a civilian shelter for withstanding heavy bombing would certainly have to be 'well-fortified' too!
(d) They can frame the report by citing sources with expressions like 'said', 'claimed', 'alleged', 'admitted', and so on, thus suggesting how truthful or reliable some material might be.
(e) They can intervene in the original text of a news report to manage its impact. What for one source was a fully necessary attack on a 'military goal' [7a] was for another an 'abominable crime' [9a].
(f) They can heighten the emotiveness by using expressions with suitable connotations, such as 'killing and wounding people' instead of 'human losses', or 'women and children' instead of 'civilians'. This tactic can be applied to framing as well, e.g., that somebody 'hotly denied' or 'stubbornly insisted', taking advantage of the commonsense belief that sources who speak under emotional stress are not very reliable.

Newscasters and their translators must be keenly sensitive to these strategies in order to appreciate how many of the available lexical and grammatical choices have political overtones. In such contexts, being 'neutral' and objective' by no means consists in a (Newmarkian) 'suppression of human emotions' but in a conscientious attempt to take sides and display emotions to the same degree that the producers of the source texts had done.

The basic 'daily politics' of discourse results from the continual options of whether and how strongly to monitor or to manage the situation you are talking about. Even ostensibly factual reports such as news broadcasts do not escape these options, though they do demand careful consideration of the policies of radio stations and governments. News translators must also choose, following the original but making allowances for cultural differences, such as the more emotive tone of Arabic political discourse as compared to English. Doing so requires a 'higher level' for monitoring and managing not just the situation being reported but also the situation of the radio station and its announcers. It follows that the training of translators for work in news media should refine their awareness of these issues in respect to the dominant strategies for the text types they will be likely to encounter.

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Arabic-English Code-Switching at the University: A Sociolinguistic Study

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Abstract

This study investigates code-switching observed between Arabic and English at the university level in Iraq. The hypotheses and objectives of the empirical data collection are presented along with a linguistic analysis on the phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic levels. Suggestions are advanced about when, how and why code-switching occurs, emphasising the social variables of topic, participants, and situation, as well as psychological and academic constraints. Finally, some conclusions are drawn and some recommendations made for further studies in this area.

1. Code-switching in Iraq

Although Arabic is the mother tongue of the majority of the Iraqi people, it has suffered from a long history of colonial repression through the Ottoman Empire and later the British Empire. After the end of colonial rule, the task of '**Arabicisation**' remained, i.e. of developing and institutionalising Arabic in all walks of life (cf. Bader, this volume). In this task, Iraq has been one of the pioneer countries in the Arab world. In the year 2000, the Arab League's Education, Culture and Science Organisation (ALECSO) hopes to declare Arabic the lingua franca of science and technology throughout the entire Arab world (cf. Bahumaid, this volume).

In Iraq, English has been a subject of study since 1873. Under British rule, it became a medium of instruction and even after independence retained this role in some university departments. Its use is slowly yielding now to Arabicisation, notably through a 1977 law mandating Arabic as the medium of instruction at the university level. At present, Arabic is used in colleges of Science, Engineering, Pharmacy, Dentistry, Agriculture, and Veterinary Medicine.

Yet Arabicisation must contend with the fact that English still plays a leading role in such subject areas, the more so as 90% of the world's scientific and technical literature is published in English. A conspicuous result is the persistent **code-switching** between Arabic and English among Iraqi university students and staff, who shift, mix, or insert English lexical items into lexical slots within Arabic contexts. This paper will explore these phenomena in terms of their motivations and linguistic constraints.

The term 'code-switching' has had an extensive history in studies of sociolinguistics and has accumulated a range of roughly similar descriptions or definitions. For Haugen (1964: 40), code-switching occurs when a bilingual introduces an unassimilated word from another language into his speech. For Diebold (1968: 84f) it is 'the successive alternative use of two different languages, a standard language and a dialect, or sociolects of the same language and different written codes', while for Blom and Gumperz (1972: 411) it is 'a shift between distinct entities which are never mixed'. For Scotton and Ury (1977: 170), 'the varieties (i.e. codes) can be anything from genetically unrelated languages to two styles of the same language'. For Halliday et al. (1972: 162) 'lacing of native language utterances with foreign language items is' 'likely to happen whenever a foreign language is a mark of social distinction and the sole medium of language activity in certain registers'.

Studies of code-switching lend support to sociolinguists who (unlike 'generative grammarians') do not believe that we can find any 'homogeneous speech community' in the real world. For Bell (1976: 110), who rejects the monolithic view of a language and of its 'ideal speaker-hearers' (another favoured 'generative' term), a code is a bundle of sub-codes which can be styles, dialects, or even autonomous languages.

For our study, the working definition of 'code-switching' will be: the alternation between Arabic and English, whether for one word or more. We hope to shed light on the nature, types, causes, of code-switching, and on its linguistic and non-linguistic motivations and constraints. We also hope to probe the effects of bilingualism on choosing one language over another so as to deal with specific topics in certain situations, and the correlation between such choices and the academic level of the speakers. Finally, we shall examine the role of some psychological factors.

Our specific questions can be stated as follows:

(a) whether switching occurs systematically, and by what system;
(b) which linguistic categories are functionally important for switching;
(c) how far the units of switching are words or whole sentences;
(d) what extra-linguistic motives canalise code-switching.

If code-switching is correlated with sociolinguistic constraints such as topic, participants, and situation, the proportions of English used within Arabic should reflect the informants' educational levels and field of study, so that constraints are also partly psychological and academic. **Topic** is the content or 'subject matter' of speech and regulates language choice insofar as some topics are more appropriately discussed in one language than in another (Ervin-Tripp 1973: 244). **Participants** are the persons sharing the speech act and can be described in terms of age, sex, socioeconomic background, ethnic membership, and residence. **Situation** is the 'setting', including the roles and rights of the interlocutors and the suitability of place and time (Jacobson 1976: 413).

2. Data on Arabic-English code-switching

The data for this study were collected from personal observations and from tape recordings of conversations, scientific discussions, and lectures. The latitude of the data covers the following specialisations at Mosul University: Medicine (Med), Dentistry (Den), Veterinary Medicine (Vet), Geology (Geo), Physics (Phys), Chemistry (Chem), Biology (Bio), Mechanical Engineering (Mech), Electrical Engineering (Elec), Food Industry (Food), and Soil Science (Soil). The longitude covers three educational levels: undergraduate students (UGs), postgraduate students (PGs), and staff members (SMs). The data collected from each level totalled about half an hour, amounting to roughly 2600 English and Arabic items for each set of recordings.

We shall now categorise the actual speech of the informants. Table 1 shows,

Specialisation	Educational level	% English nouns	% English words
Medicine	UG	68.33	25
	PG	65.19	15.45
	SM	43.99	18.18
Dentistry	UG	74.46	21.21
	PG	72.57	20.72
	SM	34.43	40.98
Veterinary Medicine	UG	80.52	23.14
	PG	63.33	25.23
	SM	47.97	36.48
Geology	UG	81.38	10.38
	PG	73.86	14.92
	SM	63.78	9.62
Physics	UG	94.89	5.19
	PG	85.55	13.11
	SM	61.64	11.55

Chemistry	UG	88.96	5.83
	PG	74.22	14.54
	SM	74.42	14.66
Biology	UG	85.79	7.46
	PG	69.43	9.69
	SM	74.51	5.79
Electrical Engineering	UG	75.39	9.69
	PG	86.94	20.30
	SM	93.29	5.64
Mechanical Engineering	UG	97.44	16.29
	PG	82.46	15.98
	SM	56.69	8.48
Food Industry	UG	91.67	2.27
	PG	80.82	2.76
	SM	92.31	1.97
Soil Science	UG	88.13	4.47
	PG	94.23	5.91
	SM	84	1.89

by specialisation and educational level, the proportion of nouns among the English words used, and the proportion of English words to the total of all words used. The table shows that nouns by far outnumbered the other English parts of speech, the highest percentage (97.44) being among UGs in Mechanical Engineering, and the lowest percentage (34.43) among SMs in Dentistry. For the total English words, the highest (40.98) percentage came from SMs in Dentistry, and the lowest (1.89) from the SMs in Soil Science. Hence, the respective 'topics' of the fields, as well as the educational levels of the participants were clearly influential regulators of language choice, as we had predicted. Intriguingly, the UGs proved much more likely than PGs and SMs to switch words rather than whole sentences. The amount of English was noticeably low in the Colleges of Agriculture, Science, and Engineering, where Arabicisation has been extensively implemented to make Arabic the medium of instruction. Conversely, the amount of English was high in the Colleges of Medicine and Dentistry, where Arabicisation has not yet been adopted.

2.1. *Linguistic analysis of the data*

We can now analyse the phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic aspects of the data. We shall attempt to identify some rules governing Arabic-English code-switched utterances and some norms of lexical selection and sequence in both languages.

The **phonological changes** of English items occurring in the data were quite diverse. Voiced stops were devoiced and vice-versa. Changes of /p/ ⇒ /b/, as in 'microscope' ⇒ /mikrosko:b/ (Bio/UG) and /b/ ⇒ /p/, as in 'test-tube' ⇒ /test tju:p/ (Chem/UG), indicate that these two sounds could be treated as allophones of the same phoneme /b/ in Iraqi Arabic. Similarly, changes of /k/ ⇒ /g/, as in 'bank' ⇒ /ba:ng/, and /g/ ⇒ /k/, as in 'plug' ⇒ /plak/ (Chem/PG), indicate that these two sounds could be treated as allophones of the same phoneme /k/ in Iraqi Arabic. Voicing and devoicing also appeared for /t/ ⇒ /d/, as in 'bonnet' ⇒ /boni:d/ (Mech/UG), and for /d/ ⇒ /t/, as in 'card' ⇒ /kaart/ (Den/UG) or 'feed-back' ⇒ /fe:t-ba:k/ (Elec/SM), plus for /t/ ⇒ /ṭ/ as in 'battery' ⇒ /baṭṭa:riyya/ (Mech/UG) and for /v/ ⇒ /f/, as in 'vitamin' ⇒ /fi:taami:n/ (Bio/PG) (cf. Bahumaid, this volume). Other modifications of consonants included: /s/ ⇒ /ṣ/, as in 'sample' ⇒ /ṣa:mpl/ (Mech/PG), or 'slide' ⇒ /ṣla:yd/ (Bio/PG).

Short vowels underwent lengthening: /a/ ⇒ /a:/ as in 'carbon' ⇒ /ka:rbo:n/ (very common); /e/ ⇒ /e:/ as in 'centre' ⇒ /se:ntar/ (Phys/UG), 'set' ⇒ /se:t/ (Elec/UG), or 'test' ⇒ /te:st/ (Med/PG); /o/ ⇒ /o:/ as in 'wrong' ⇒ /ro:ng/ (Mech/UG) or 'problem' ⇒ /pro:blam/ (Med/UG); /u/ ⇒ /u:/ as in 'full light' ⇒ /fu:l la:yat/ (Mech/UG), or 'good' ⇒ /gu:d/ (Food/PG); /i/ ⇒ /i:/, as in 'switch' ⇒ /swi:tʃ/ (Phys/UG). Also, the diphthong /ei/ went to /e:/, as in 'case' ⇒ /ke:s/ (Den/ UG), or 'patient' ⇒ /pe:ʃant/ (Med/UG).

Sometimes, greater modifications occurred. Two successive consonants underwent epenthetic separation by a vowel, as in 'spring' ⇒ /sipring/ (Mech/PG) or 'film' ⇒ /filim/ (Med/PG). Or, an entire phoneme was substituted for another, as in 'flywheel' ⇒ /fla:y wi:n/, 'handle' ⇒ /hindir/, 'pin' ⇒ /pi:m/ (Mech/UG).

The **morphological changes** in the code-switched items showed many English items being adapted to Arabic morphological rules (most often for nouns). A few Arabic **verbs** were derived from English verbs, as in 'cancel' ⇒ /kansal/, 'check' ⇒ /chayyak/ (Den/SM), 'fill' ⇒ /fawwal/, and 'gauge' ⇒ /gayyaj/ (quite common). Some **adjectives** were derived from English nouns by adding the Arabic ending '-yy' and the feminine suffix '-a' to form the 'an-nisba' (relative) adjectives, e.g. [1] and [2]. In [3], the relative adjective modifies a grammatically masculine noun.

[1] ʔaakuu fadd khuṭuuṭ kontooriyya (Geo/UG)
[there are contour lines]
[2] taḥliilaat minoroolooјiyya (Soil/PG)
[mineralogical analyses]
[3] shakal moorfooloojii (Food/PG)
[a morphological shape]

Also, the Iraqi Arabic negation particle 'muu' preceded English adjectives, e.g.:

[4] ʔidhan <u>muu</u> NECESSARY titkawwan haay al-ʕaaṣira (Chem/SM)
[it is <u>un</u>necessary for this bond to be formed]

The treatment of **nouns** was especially complex, as would be expected from Arabic morphology. To make the dual number, English nouns got the Iraqi Arabic ending /-e:n/ (rather than the Standard Arabic '-aan' in nominative and '-ayn' in accusative and dative) (cf. Erwin 1963: 187; McCarthy & Faraj 1964: 127), viz. /ṣala:yde:n/ (i.e. two slides) (Vet/PG), /simina:re:n/ (i.e. two seminars) (Med/PG) and /ṣa:mple:n/ (i.e. two samples) (Phys/UG). For the plural, the choice was whether to follow Arabic either by adding inflectional suffixes (the 'sound' or 'external' plural, which usually adds '-iin' to the masculine and '-aat' to the feminine in Spoken Iraqi Arabic), or by rearranging and modifying the form (the 'broken' or 'internal' plural) (cf. Hayes 1956: 4; Erwin 1963: 185, 190).

Like most nouns borrowed into Arabic from foreign languages, the majority of the English nouns in our data were suffixed with the Arabic feminine plural ending '-aat', viz., /mu:de:la:t/ (i.e. models), /shiitaatt/ (i.e. sheets), /ke:rva:t/ (i.e. curves), /ringa:t/ (i.e. rings), /sto:ra:t/ (i.e. stores). Some followed the broken plural patterns, e.g. /goal/ - /gwa:la/ (goal - goals) /kali:sh/ - /kala:yish/ (cliché - clichés) /dakto:r/ - /daka:tra/ (doctor - doctors). A few got either the sound feminine plural or the broken plural, e.g. /pistina:t/ or pasa:tin / (i.e. pistons), and /spaa:na:t/ or /spa:yin/ (i.e. spanners). Not a single example followed the sound masculine plural.

English nouns inserted into the Arabic contexts were not affixed with the Arabic case endings of the nominative, accusative, or dative (ḍamma/=/u/; /fatḥa/=/a/; /kasra/=/i/), which are not commonly used in Iraqi Arabic. Instead, the nouns remained unchanged, e.g.:

[5] ʔidmaa yiṣʕad ʔal-PISTON (Mech/UG)
[when the piston goes up]

[6] naḍaʕ RESISTANCE (Phys/UG)
[we put resistance]

[7] nakhallii ʕala as-SLIDE (Bio/UG)
[we put it on the slide]

Even the English plural '-s' was often omitted, as were, for verbs, the present tense marker '-s', the past tense marker '-ed', and the verb 'be', e.g.:

[8] naakhudh khamasṭaʕish RAT [Med/PG]
[we will take fifteen rats]

[9] kulma kaan as-SOLVENT POLAR (Chem/SM)
[whenever the solvent is polar]

From a **lexical** standpoint, our data showed an inclination to prefer English **content words**, such as nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and notional verbs.[1]

[10] ʔal -OVEN ʕala 80° (Bio)
[the temperature of the oven is 80°]
[11] jadwal at-tyootooriyal (Med)
[the timetable of tutorials]
[12] yakuun mawʕid QUIZ ʔal-ʕaḍwiiya (Chem)
[the quiz in Organic Chemistry will be]

In contrast, the percentages of **function** words were small: articles (5%), pronouns (1.45%), prepositions (4.47%), and conjunctions (1.5%). Presumably, function words can hardly be assimilated when the two languages are so different as Arabic and English. But more research is needed here in studies of code-switching that give equal consideration to both the psychological and social motivations and to the proportions of parts of speech.

Our data also showed some semantic concepts being repeated in Arabic and English, e.g. [13-14]. The repetition occurred both for function words [15] and for content words [16].

[13] THE ATTACK MAY LAST FOR FEW SECONDS qad yaduum al-hujuum li-biḍʕ thawaanii (Med/PG)
[14] taḥtawii jamiiʕ ʔal-ʕanaaṣir maaʕada ʔal-UNKNOWN ʔal-maadda ʔal-majhuula (Chem/UG)
[it contains all the elements except the unknown]
[15] ḥatta TO FIX (Den/SM) [in order to fix]
[16] ʔakhadhat ad-dawaa ʕan ṭariiq ʔal-fam ORALLY (Med/UG)
[I took the drug orally]

For **prepositions**, the Arabic ones occurred within Arabic or English contexts, while the English ones occurred only within English contexts, except in two cases:

[17] ʔal-CONCENTRATION BELOW miya wa thamaaniin (Chem/UG)
[the concentration is below 180]

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1 These data came from the notebooks of students, personal notes of the teachers, or official notices.

[18] ʔal-RANGE yikuun WITHIN miya wa khamsiin (Geo/SM)
[the range will be between 100 and 50]

From a **syntactic** perspective, the data showed that the word order of code-switching chiefly follows that of the host language, which in most of our data were patterns of positive and declarative sentences, with only a few negatives and interrogatives. We shall give examples relating to definite and indefinite articles, genitive particles, relative particles, noun-adjective agreement, subject-verb agreement, and the formats of clauses and sentences.

In regard to **articles**, English and Arabic do share the concepts of definite versus indefinite. In Iraqi Arabic, the definite article corresponding to English 'the', is usually 'ʔal', which has several allomorphs like /el/ or /ill/ or /al/ and whose 'l' assimilates to initial 'shams' ('sun') consonants like /l/, /n/, /r/, /s/, /ʃ/, /z/, etc. but is not declined for all genders and numbers (cf. Hayes 1956: 16; Erwin 1963: 182; McCarthy & Faraj 1964: 132). Indefiniteness can be indicated by using 'faad' or 'fard' before nouns, meaning 'one' and corresponding to the English articles 'a' and 'an'; 'fadd' may also be used with plural nouns in the sense of 'some'.

The following examples show the use of English nouns with the Arabic **definite article**, which underwent assimilation to 'as-' in [19].

[19] yiʔaththir ʕala as-STRUCTURE wa l-FUNCTION maalt wal-LIVER (Vet /SM)
[influences the structure and the function of the liver]

[20] haadha huwa al-OVEN illi yustaʕmil litaʕqiim ʔal-beekaraat wal-piitardishaat
[this is the oven which is used for sterilising the beakers and the petri dishes]

The data also showed the use of /ʔal/ before a noun, an agent, an adverb, and a verbal noun, e.g. 'ʔal-FROG', 'ʔal-OPERATOR', 'ʔal-INSIDE', 'ʔal-WAXING' (Den/SM). The definite article /ʔal/ could also precede the modifier, e.g. 'ʔal-POSITIVE FEED-BACK', 'aj-GEOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION'. Sometimes /ʔal/ occurred where English uses no definite article because the noun is generic, e.g. 'ʔal-LIFE' or 'ʔal-WATER'.

The following examples show the use of the **indefinite article** /fard/ or /fadd/ with English items:

[21] yijiina fard PATIENT (Med/UG)
[a patient came]

[22] aaku fadd khuṭuuṭ KONTOORIYYA (Geo/UG)
[there are some contour lines]

[23] yaakhudh ash-shakhaṣ fard DOSE ʔaw doozeen (Med/UG)
[the person takes one dose or two doses]

In English, the **genitive** chiefly uses '-s' for persons and for animals with person-like gender characteristics, and uses 'of' for other animals and for inanimates, although there is much overlap (Quirk et al. 1972: 199ff). In Iraqi Arabic, the genitive is expressed by using forms of 'maal' meaning 'possession', the form /maal/ being for masculine singular nouns, /maal (a)t/ for feminine singular nouns, and /maalaat/ mostly for plural nouns of impersonal objects (Hayes 1956: 26; McCarthy & Faraj 1964: 61). In our data, the /maal/ was used with English items either corresponding to 'of' [24] or in lieu of any possessive particle like 'my', 'its', 'his', etc. [25], viz.:

[24] ʔal POLARITY maal as-SOLVENT (Chem/SM)
[the polarity of the solvent]
[25] ar-RESULT maalti takuun NEGATIVE (Vet/UG)
[my result will be negative]

No English genitive particles like '-s' were used with Arabic items in our data.

In English, the **relative pronouns** or **adverbs** 'who', 'which', 'whose', 'when', and 'where' do not vary for number. In Standard Arabic, the relatives like /ʔalladhi/, /ʔallati/, /ʔalladhaan/, /ʔallataan/, /ʔalladhiina/ and ʔallaati/ do show gender and number. The Iraqi Arabic, /illi/ was the only relative particle we generally found, e.g.:

[26] 'ʔal-FACTORS illi taʔththir ʔala al-INTELLIGENCE (Med/UG)
[the factors which influence the intelligence]
[27] ʔal-GIRL illii tamaththillina ʔal-BEAUTY
[the girl who represents the beauty]

The data showed /illi/ in the code-switched sentences containing embedded relative clauses whether the antecedent was Arabic or English, whereas the English relative pronouns occurred only with English antecedents.

Whereas English shows **agreement** (or 'concord') between subject and verb in person and number, it does not show it between adjective and noun, e.g. for feminine versus masculine. In Iraqi Arabic, verbs, adjectives, and pronouns, all have inflectional affixes indicating such distinctions (cf. Erwin 1963: 318). Modifier agreement shows number and semantic gender for nouns referring to living beings but grammatical genders for other cases, a noun being usually masculine if it ends in a consonant and feminine if it ends in '-a' (e.g., 'taaʔ marbuuṭa') (cf. Hayes 1956: 17; McCarthy & Faraj 1964: 113, 175ff). This scheme was applied to English items as well, e.g.:

[28] at-TUBE aakhar (Vet/UG)
[another tube]
[29] ʔal-GROUP ʔal-ʔawal (Vet/UG)
[the first group]
[30] as-SENSITIVITY ʕaaliya (Phys/SM)
[the sensitivity is high]
[31] at-TEMPERATURE munkhafiḍa (Bio/PG)
[the temperature is low]

Here, the agreement was either between the Arabic modifier and the Arabic equivalent of the English noun as in [30] and [31], or between the modifier and the structural form of the noun as in [28] and [29]. Moreover, agreement showed gender where the Arabic adjective took the feminine marker '-a' when the noun seemed grammatically feminine in [30] and [31]. (The Arabic equivalents of the English nouns in [28-31] would be, respectively 'ʔunbuub', 'ʔal-majmuuʕa', 'ʔal-ḥasaasiyya', and 'ḥaraara'.) The data also had English adjectives modifying Arabic nouns, e.g.:

[32] ʔal-maḥluul THICK (Vet/SM)
[the solution is thick]
[33] ʔal-murakkabaat PURE (Vet/SM)
[the compounds are pure]

While in English the verb agrees with the subject in number, in Arabic it agrees in both number and gender, which creates confusion for code-switching. Since Arabic feminine nouns end with the feminising morpheme '-a', borrowed words like 'camera' and 'cinema' become feminine in Arabic as do words ending in '–er' or '–or' where the last syllable is pronounced as a schwa /ə/, e.g. 'silencer' ⇒ /ṣa:lansə/. But if the final syllable is clearly pronounced as 'er', they are masculine in Iraqi Arabic, e.g., 'locker' ⇒ /lo:kar/, 'poster' ⇒ /po:star/ (cf. Hayes 1956: 18; Erwin 1963: 194; McCarthy& Faraj 1964: 134). We see the outcome here, where the subject is English and the verb is Arabic, or vice versa:

[34] ʔal-PAIN yiziid (Med/UG)
[the pain increases]
[35] ʔal-PEPTIC ULCER tashmul (Med/UG)
[the Peptic Ulcer includes]
[36] ʔal-oil-pump yisḥab ʔal-oil (Mech/UG)
[the oil pump takes the oil]

The Arabic verbs agree with the Arabic equivalents of the English items, 'ʔalam' in [34] and 'qarḥa' in [35]. The gender markers for the verbs are 'ta-' for feminine and 'ya-' for masculine. The expression 'oil pump', which sounds masculine (compare 'mudhakkar lafḍii'), agrees with 'yisḥab'.

Although code-switching usually involves single lexical items, **phrases** and **clauses** did occur in our data, SMs using them more than UGs, and phrases being more frequent than clauses. The decisive factor was probably greater fluency in English, and the density was of course higher in the colleges which have not yet adopted Arabicisation. Some examples were:

[37] yinfijir BECAUSE IT IS VERY HOT (Phys/PG)
[it explodes...]
[38] naakhudh ʔal-inaath IN THE EARLY MORNING (Med/PG)
[we take the females...]
[39] y ijiina ʔal-mariiḍ TO EXTRACT THE TOOTH (Dent/UG)
[the patient came...]

The data also had many switches at sentence boundaries, which is 'cleaner' in mixing the two codes less promiscuously, viz:

[40] ʔaham shii ʔtʕawwad nafsak ʔala ʔal-qiraaʔa as-sariiʕa. THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS THAT YOU HAVE TO READ QUICKLY TO COVER WHAT YOU SHOULD READ. (Geo/SM)
[the most important thing is to be accustomed to fast reading...]

3. Linguistic versus extra-linguistic constraints on code-switching

The data surveyed in section 2 indicate that code-switching is subject to extensive linguistic constraints. We found that content words, mainly nouns and adjectives, were most frequently switched and were adapted to Arabic morphological rules, whereas function words were the least frequent and were not adapted. The high ratio of code-switched nouns over verbs would be due to the scientific register and to the difficulty of fitting English verbs to the Arabic conjugation (Sallo 1988: 75).

We also found a significant tendency for certain English parts of speech to be associated only with other English items in English contexts, whereas the Arabic equivalents were associated with either Arabic or English contexts. This finding held for verbs, adverbs, adjectives, prepositions, plural affixes, genitive particles, relative pronouns, and definite and indefinite articles. Non-relative pronouns, and conjunctions, however, occurred only in same-language contexts.

Code-switching most commonly occurred because Arabic equivalents for scientific and technical terms were either lacking or else diffuse and not standardised. For example, informants remarked on the difficulty of giving exact Arabic equivalents for 'bacteria', 'microbe', and 'germ'. Teachers face similar difficulties in lecturing in Arabic without recourse to Arabic dictionaries of scientific terms, and the problems get passed on to the students.

But code-switching also occurred apart from any lexical gaps or problems, e.g., when English numerical terms were used to accompany English terms for weights, prices, and measurements, probably by automatic association (Sallo 1987: 82). Nobody could complain that Arabic lacks numbers!

Such linguistic constraints as the ones we found ensure that code-switching remains meaningful; random switching would be funny, unacceptable, or meaningless. In general, the native language functioned as the 'host code' into which linguistic items from the non-native language got inserted (cf. Hasselmo 1980). Gumperz (1977: 2) and Verma (1976: 156, 158, 164) claim indeed that code-switching follows universal underlying restrictions similar to the grammatical rules and style shifts applied by monolinguals. Yet unlike pidginisation, code-switching does not produce 'a stable and intermediate language' (cf. Nash 1977).

The extra-linguistic aspects of the data need to be considered as well. We found that academic, psychological, and social motives were influential. Iraqi students commonly switch to English because it has until recently been the medium of instruction in Iraqi universities. It is still used as the language of teaching and expression at the postgraduate level in the colleges covered in this study.

Switching to English also depends on the ease of discussing a 'topic' in a particular language, and on the participants in the discourse. Iraqi students switch to English much more often when speaking with their colleagues in a university setting. Teachers were observed to switch from English to Arabic when clarifying, emphasising, or summarising, e.g. by giving an Arabic term as a gloss for an English term; this may reflect the 'translation method' commonly used for teaching English in Iraq. Some examples were:

[41] CERTAIN DRUGS baʕaḍ il-ʔadwiya CAUSE EPILEPSY (Med/SM)
[...certain drugs...]

[42] aṣ-ṣukhuur imma ʔan takuun rusuubiyya SEDIMENTARY, ʔaw mutaḥawwila METAMORPHIC, ʔaw naariyya ʔay IGNEOUS (Geo/SM)
[the rocks are either ...or...or...]

Some informants claimed that English is a 'better' language of instruction than Arabic at the university level. This claim reflects the misconception that some languages are intrinsically better than others (cf. Halliday 1972: 160), In fact, any language can be expanded to cope with new concepts (Sallo 1987: 81).

The use of English lexical items can also hinge on aesthetic factors. Some students asserted that certain English items sound more 'musical' while their Arabic equivalents sound 'funny', e.g., 'spatula' vs. /milwaqa/, or 'rubber bowl' vs. /kujja/, etc. This claim too has no objective linguistic grounds.

Switching from English to Arabic was sometimes done merely to relieve monotony and add colour, refreshment, or relaxation, e.g.:

[43] BETWEEN MY KNEES, MY FOREHEAD WAS WHAT IS THIS?
Waaḥid ghaasu[2] been ghijlee... yiʕnii weeḥd ḍaarb daalgha shii min hal qabiil (Elec/SM)
[my head was between my knees, that is, I was absent-minded or distracted, something of this sort]

Standing English idioms and proverbs could also add colour, e.g.:

[44] WE ARE NOT YET OUT OF THE WOODS ʔal-masʔala tkhawaf (Med/SM) [I have my fears, we still have some difficulties]

Or again, switching to English could be a way to show off and impress others with being 'educated' (cf. Nash 1977: 209). Our university students like to give the impression of being fashionable and fluent in English by saying 'hello', 'okay', 'see you', 'good luck', 'happy birthday', 'fantastic', 'perfect', etc. Moreover, staff members who have continued their studies abroad may use English to display their 'Westernisation' and their 'elite' knowledge.

As was observed by the author during the 1977 census in Iraq, the social prestige of English leads people to overstate their own proficiency and throw in English words, especially when their socioeconomic status is improving. While filling in the census forms, many individuals listed English as one of the languages they have mastered despite only being pupils on intermediate or secondary levels. Also, people may listen to English songs or wear sweaters with English embroidery, yet do not understand the meaning of the words (Annamalai 1978:24; Kachru 1982: 146; Sallo 1987: 88).

Medical doctors were found to be the extreme English users. Sometimes the situations were quite incongruent, e.g.:

[45] haadha al-CASE kullish DANGEROUS
[this case is very dangerous]

[46] aj-GENERAL CONDITIONS maal al-PATIENT
[the general conditions of the patient]

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2 Native speakers of Iraqi Arabic informed the editors that the sound /r/ is transposed to /gh/ in the dialect of Mosul, e.g. in 'ghaasu' and 'ghijlee' rather than 'raasu' and 'rijlee'.

Among the English items frequently uttered by doctors were 'needle', 'syringe', 'bandage', 'tablets', 'dose', 'gauze', 'syrup', and so on.

Whereas switching to shared vernaculars like Kurdish, Turkish, or Assyrian can make patients feel at ease, switching to English may be done to prevent understanding. Doctors consulting with each other may switch to English to conceal medical states or diseases from their patients, e.g. 'I suspect cancer', 'the case is very serious', 'he needs an operation'. Doctors may even have recourse to highly specialised terms, e.g. saying 'neoplasia' lest a patient understand 'cancer', or to abbreviations like 'CA' for 'cancer', 'SY' for 'syphilis', or 'TB' for 'tuberculosis'. On the other hand, they usually write medical prescriptions in English but give the doses in Arabic to make sure patients can understand what to do.

Switching to English can avoid socially 'tabooed' expressions that could be stressful to utter in the native language, e.g. saying 'W.C.' and /tuwaaleet/ despite having six Arabic equivalents (Annamalai 1978: 242). In our study, English words were popular in lectures dealing with the sexual organs, e.g.:

[47] biḥaala waḥda lamma nsawwii VAGINA LAVAGE nshuuf aakuu BLOOD bil-FLUID illii raaḥ nisḥaba min al-VAGINA, fabhaay al-ḥaala mumkin nshuk innahaa PREGNANT (Med/PG)
[when we carry out vaginal lavage, we see whether there is blood in the fluid which is taken from the vagina; in that case, we can suspect that she is pregnant]

Conversely, teachers teaching in English commonly switch to Arabic when they get excited or angry with their students, e.g.: /laa titḥarrak/ ['be quiet'], /itlaʕ barra/ ['get out'], /kaafii ḥakii/ ['enough talking'], /laa titlafat yimna ysra/ ['don't look right or left'], /baawaʕ ʕala warqtak/ ['look at your own paper']. This fits the assumption that people switch to the familiar language when they are extremely fatigued, excited, angry, hungry, tired, astonished, or fed up, and thus indisposed to make the conscious effort of using another language (Stanlaw 1972: 148). Or, people may prefer the familiar language to downplay the severity of the criticism or censure they have to make.

4. Conclusion

This study showed that code-switching obeys two types of constraints. The linguistic ones concern the phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax of the two languages. Future 'grammars' might try to incorporate such constraints upon code-switched language (cf. Romaine 1981: 102).

The extra-linguistic ones concern academic, psychological, and social motivations. Iraqi code-switching is correlated not just with the degree of fluency in English but with speakers' attitudes toward it, especially its prestige in a speech community (Kachru 1978: 78). Students will use English if they believe that it is essential for access to the scientific development and technological progress. This holds most strongly on educational levels and in specialisations wherein Arabicisation has not yet been implemented. Such code-switching should be distinguished from the use of the assimilated English loan-words by such professionals as mechanics, carpenters, oil and railway workers, custom officials, etc.

By showing that code-switching occurs systematically, we can refute the popular bias that mixing languages is utterly unsystematic, as implied by pejorative labels like as 'Tex-Mex', 'Spanglish', 'Franglais' etc. (Sallo 1988). Conservative Arabic grammarians reject the use of foreign items because they believe that language purity mirrors language loyalty, whereas language mixing leads to 'corruption', Europeanism, or elitism. Purists who would wipe out English items from Arabic should consider that most of the 'switched-to' English items are content words that can affect only the lexicon of Arabic, and are brought into conformity with the rules of Arabic. Also, technological progress advances faster than new vocabulary can be created from native resources (Bahumaid, this volume). English vocabulary can thus be regarded as an enrichment for Arabic (Sallo 1988: 80).

Written switches have been found to be less frequent than the oral ones. The notebooks of many students did show switching between Arabic and English or between Standard Arabic and Iraqi Arabic. Yet intriguingly, switching in writing may be unacceptable even to people who freely do it in speaking. When the transcript of the data was shown to the informants, they read it with uncontrollable laughter.

Code-switching clearly calls for further research. Among the outstanding questions to be addressed are whether code-switching has universal linguistic constraints; whether it is related more to competence or to performance; whether the native speakers and the foreign learners of English have a similar competence; and whether speakers of Arabic have a similar competence in the Standard and the Iraqi varieties (Sallo 1988: 78). The answers to such questions may profoundly reshape our views of languages in contact, whether in geographical, academic, or professional settings all around the world.

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Part IV. Lexicology and Grammar

Terminological Problems in Arabic

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Abstract

Though not new, terminological problems abound in Modern Standard Arabic. In this paper eight of these are described and emphatically recommended to the attention of all those who can contribute toward resolving them.

The terminological impasse

The ceaseless flow of foreign terms from the West has been a severe challenge to major Arabic institutions, such as the Arabic Language Academies founded in Syria in 1919, Egypt in 1932, Iraq in 1947, and Jordan in 1976, and the Coordination Bureau for Arabicisation affiliated with the Arab League's Education, Culture, and Science Organisation (ALECSO). These institutions, as well as independent scholars, have made strenuous efforts to supply appropriate translational equivalents in Arabicised forms.

I should note here that the term 'Arabicising' (or 'Arabicisation', 'Arabisation') has been used in three different main senses. In its broadest sense, Arabicisation refers to the utilisation of Arabic as a tool of expression in all fields; here the term may entail concrete initiatives to establish a firm foundation for those fields in Arab society (see for example the Introduction in Khaliifa 1987). For other scholars, 'Arabicisation' means only translating a term into Arabic, e.g. English 'terminology' into 'muṣṭalaḥaat' and French 'thématique' into 'mawḍuuʕii', a practice preferred, say, in as-Suyuuṭi's *al-Muzhir* (Cairo, 4th ed. 1958). The narrowest sense of the term involves, as Khuluuṣii (1982: 17) points out, merely transliterating a foreign term according to Arabic characters (e.g. English 'radar' is Arabicised as 'raadaar'; an early source for this meaning was aṣ-Ṣiḥaaḥ (Jawharii 1956: 179). In my paper, I shall distinguish between 'translation' in the second sense versus 'Arabicisation' in the third sense.[1]

The term 'Arabic' also needs clarification. In this paper, it refers to Modern Standard Arabic. This variety of Arabic is neither fully Classical nor fully colloquial: it is used in the press, on the radio and television, and orally in formal speeches and scholarly debates. The 'diglossia' situation of Arabic was first treated by Marcais (1930) but became prominent with the publication of Ferguson's (1959) much-quoted article describing an Arabic 'diglossia' between a 'high' Classical variety on the one hand, and a 'low' colloquial variety on the other. Modern Standard Arabic lies in between these poles.

Extensive scholarly efforts have been invested in the creation of Arabic terminology in various subject areas and in the publication of scores of specialised dictionaries, lexicons, and glossaries (see for example Abid 1990). These efforts have also greatly enhanced the Arabicising of teaching materials at both secondary and tertiary levels in several Arab countries. But it has not been possible to cope with the enormous flow of terms being created at the rate of a hundred or so every day in specialised fields world-wide (UNESCO report). Arab institutions in charge of coining Arabic equivalents for foreign terminology have only dealt with a small portion in the last sixty years — in the mid-1980s, it was estimated that around 50,000 Arabic terms had been proposed (aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaan & aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaan 1984: 213).

Besides, some of the terms coined turned out to be inaccurate, inadequate, or confusing. Others are unstable or are used in inconsistent ways, even by one and the same writer or translator. Still others have not entered into current circulation among Arab specialists. It could be therefore argued that, in many subject areas, Arab institutions are still lamentably far from evolving uniform, stable terminologies that are widely and consistently used throughout the Arab region.

This problem has been addressed in a modest amount of research literature in the last two decades, some of which is cited in the References. Most of these writings in Arabic, however, tend to dwell one-sidedly on the linguistic manifestations of the problem and to ignore or at best marginalise the wider non-linguistic issues. This tendency has inevitably impoverished the debates on terminological issues.

When non-linguistic facets are dealt with in passing, the discussions hardly go beyond merely recognising them without pursuing the problems or advancing concrete suggestions. Several articles in the journals published by the Arabic Language Academies, as well as *al-Lisaan al-ʕArabii*, the celebrated periodical of

[1] For the convenience of readers unfamiliar with Arabic script, which was used for the examples in Prof. Bahumaid's original text, we are obliged to use transliterations (editors' note).

the Coordination Bureau for Arabicisation, have merely touched upon the non-linguistic aspects of terminological issues but, to my knowledge, presented no thorough and systematic studies.

Historical roots of the situation

It is time for a critical assessment of the terminological situation, taking account of both linguistic and non-linguistic dimensions. I shall begin by briefly reviewing the major approaches adopted by Arab scholars in the past.

The terminological problem in Arabic is by no means new. As early as the Abbasid era, particularly during the caliphate of al-Maʔmuun, Muslim translators at the Bayt al-Ḥikma (House of Wisdom) in Baghdad confronted the intricacies and complexities of dealing with voluminous works of Persian, Indian, Greek, and Roman philosophers and scientists. A few distinguished translators like Yuḥanna bin al-Biṭriiq and Ibn Naʕimah al-Ḥumṣii favoured literal translation, whereas others like Ḥunayn bin Isḥaaq and al-Jawharii, favoured free translation (al-ʕAamilii 1961) (cf. Ilyas, this volume).

In coining terms, the Arab scholars utilised the native resources of the language, employing such means as derivation ('al-ishtiqaaq'), compounding ('at-tarkiib'), analogy ('al-qiyaas'), and metaphor ('al-majaaz'). They also Arabicised other foreign terms as well as proper names, and incorporated them into the language. Due to variations among the methodologies of translating and Arabicising, numerous discrepancies of forms and usages arose at the time, both in original Arabic works and in translations of foreign works (Hasan 1966: 219). With the proliferation of foreign terms over the years, especially from the 19th century onwards, discrepancies multiplied on a much larger scale. A few Arab scholars belatedly advocated the adoption of a 'pan-Arabic' terminology, especially in the natural sciences, but they went unheard.

Thus, the unsatisfactory state of Arabic terminology today, noted at the start of this paper, has historical roots. As recently as 1991, the 57th session of the Egyptian Language Academy acknowledged the problem and called upon all Arab scholars 'to unify the terms they use in all disciplines so that the existing confusion is eliminated and a uniform terminology is circulated in all Arab countries to consolidate our cultural unity' (Conference Recommendation No. 5, my translation).

Eight major problems today

I shall now critically examine eight major problems inherent in the common methods utilised for coining and choosing Arabic terms. The examples given in the following discussion are chiefly drawn from the terminology of linguistics, my main specialisation, although similar problems are encountered, in varying degrees, in the Arabic terminologies of other fields as well. The foreign terms come from the most widely used non-native languages in the Arab region, viz. English and French.

The first problem is the uncertainty over whether terms established in the venerable Classical traditions of Arab science should be reapplied to modern concepts. In linguistics, illustrations include the two Arabic terms 'ʕilm ʔaṣ-ṣarf' and 'naẓm ʔal-jumla', which some dictionaries list in English as 'morphology' and 'syntax', respectively. Several writers have objected to such reapplications on the grounds that the terms designate categories that are deeply rooted in different systems and therefore should not be confused. To mediate the controversy, fresh and perhaps more acceptable Arabic forms have been suggested viz. 'ʕilm ʔan-naḥw/ʔat-taraakiib' and 'ʔal-murfuuluujya' (cf. al-Khuuli 1982: 280; as-Saʕraan 1982: 28, 20).

A second problem is the lack of accepted principles about how to ensure that Arabicisation of the foreign term will be genuinely useful. In consequence, some writers have created Arabicised forms that can hardly be comprehended by average educated Arabs, e.g. 'finuumuuluujya' for 'phenomenology' and 'kuzmuubuliitii' for 'cosmopolite' (aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaan & aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaan 1984: 153; Bakhdu 1988: 13).

A third problem is the non-uniformity arising in translation due to the coexistence of several competing equivalents for the same term. From English to Arabic, we find, say (al-Khuulii 1982: 186, 232; Baakallaa et al. 1983: 54, 66; al-Fihrii 1984: 145):[2]

linguistics	ʕilm al-lugha ʕilm ʔal-lughawiyyaat ʔal-lisaaniyyaat ʔal-ʔalsuniyya
etymology	at-taʔthiil taṭawwur maʕaanii ʔal-mufradaat taariikh ʔal-kalimaat
metalanguage	maa waraaʔa al-lugha lugha waaṣifa

2 Some scholars have objected to the use of partial Arabicization in the coining of terms; see for example al-Malaaʔika (1986: 36f).

Variations in the Arabic equivalents for affixes are occasionally noticed too, e.g. the suffix '-eme' in 'morpheme' rendered as '-iyy' in 'ṣarfiyya' or '-im' in 'ṣarfiim' (al-Khuulii 1982: 174; al-Fihrii 1984: 142). Conversely, going from Arabic to English, we again find one term corresponding to two or more terms e.g. (al-Khuulii 1982: 222, 252):

$$\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{pragmatics}\\ \text{semiotics}\\ \text{semiology}\end{array}\right\}\ \text{ʕilm ar-rumuuz}$$

A fourth problem is non-uniformity in Arabicisation when using Arabic characters to approximate certain foreign sounds, even though clear guidelines have been set by the Arabic Language Academies (Hasan 1966: 223-26). Among consonants, one common discrepancy is the use of taaʔ versus ṭaaʔ to represent the English letter 't', as in 'volt' ⇒ 'fulṭ/vult' (Baʕalbaki 1987: 1035; 25; Khaṭiib 1987: 667). English 'g' is generally agreed to be representable by Arabic jiim or ghayn, but improvisations may occur, reproducing the English letter as kaaf, e.g. 'pragmatic' ⇒ 'braakmaatii' (Bakalla et al. 1983: 70). A more damaging discrepancy arises over the use of the Persian letters paaʔ, vaaʔ, and chaaʔ to symbolise English 'p', 'v', and 'g', e.g. 'panorama' ⇒ 'paanuuraamaa', 'vitamin' ⇒ 'viitaamiin' and gallium' ⇒ 'chaalyum' (Baʕalbaki 1987: 378, 655, 1034; Khaṭiib 1987: 245, 429, 666). For the English vowels 'a', 'i', 'e', 'o', and 'u', we find disagreement over how they should be represented in Arabic, and whether they would count as long or short ones — as my examples suggest, the preference goes to long ones irrespective of the English pronunciation. While some writers and dictionary compilers have resorted to a vowelled script, others have used the Arabic characters alif, yaaʔ, and waaw, to represent those letters, e.g. when rendering 'paraffin' as 'baraafiin' or 'baaraafiin' (Baʕalbaki 1987: 636; Khaṭiib 1987: 429).

A fifth problem is the indecision about whether to use translation or Arabicisation. Sometimes both are deployed, e.g. 'biology - ʕilm ʔal-ʔaḥyyaʔ' or 'bayuluujyaa', 'physiology - ʕilm waẓaaʔif ʔal-ʔaʕḍaaʔ' or 'fisyuluujyaa' (Faaruuqii 1990: 252).

A sixth problem is the inconsistent use by one and the same writer of Arabic forms designating a particular foreign term (Saraireh, this volume). A case in point is the utilisation, by Kharmaa and Ḥajjaaj (1988: 82, 88f) of Arabic 'muqaaran' on one occasion and 'tabaayun' on another, as equivalent to English 'contrastive'.

A seventh problem is the practice of recording the foreign term alongside its

Arabic equivalent, even in cases where the latter would be what Peter Newmark (1988: 76) would call 'transparent', e.g. 'kafaaʔa - efficiency' or 'tawẓiiʕ ʔal-mawaarid - resource allocation' (Faaruuqii 1990: 252); surely the use of either one ought to suffice; al-Rabbaa (1991: 82) warns here against a 'linguistic dependency' on the West.

The eighth and most disquieting problem is the failure of many terms proposed by the Arabic Language Academies to gain circulation. Unfortunately, this problem has received little systematic study despite its great significance. One factor may be that some of the terms proposed in certain subject areas have not appealed to the Arab specialists or educated non-specialists; the Academies should conduct regular, large-scale surveys to assess the traits that render terms more or less appealing. A further factor may be the low profile of the Academies in the Arab cultural scene.

But the most fundamental factor, I would submit, is the gaps in the 'infrastructure' of term circulation. We lack effective mechanisms whereby terms could be generally accepted and disseminated throughout the Arab region. The Academies are located only in a few Arab capitals, and most Arab countries have no similar bodies. We also lack active coordination between the Academies and those cultural, educational and information institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, which could greatly help to disseminate Arabic terminology through concerted activities. Specialists have as yet extremely limited representation in the various gatherings that discuss terminological issues. The recommendations made at conferences, seminars, and meetings of the Academies, the Coordination Bureau for Arabicisation, and other pertinent bodies, are often not implemented. Particularly relevant recommendations are those for collecting the terminologies approved by the Academies in special editions and circulating them widely in all Arab countries. The publications of these institutions (books, dictionaries, journals, etc.) must be made easily accessible to educated Arabs at affordable prices. These 'infrastructural' issues will demand our greatest concern in the coming years.

Conclusion

The great strength of the Arabic language and its continued vitality to meet the ever-increasing demands of the modern age have been undoubtedly demonstrated. Considerable advances have been made in proliferating specialist Arabic dictionaries and glossaries, and in Arabicising teaching materials at secondary and tertiary levels. Yet the Arabic terminologies proposed in numerous subject areas still suffer from such problems as I have sketched, and are far from being uniform, stable, and generally accepted across the Arab region. I have urged that we identify and explore these problems, relating their linguistic facets with their non-linguistic ones and drawing the full consequences for personal and institutional practices.

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Verb-Particle Combinations in English and Arabic: Problems for Arab Lexicographers and Translators

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Abstract

This paper examines verb-particle combinations in English and Arabic and probes the difficulties of classifying and translating them.

Typical attitudes

Many verbs followed by particles variously described as 'prepositions' or 'adverbs' or a combination of the two are used idiomatically in English. They constitute 12,000 entries in *Courtney's Dictionary* (1983), between 3000 to 4000 of them being established ones (Hook 1981). They are clearly important for a command of conversational English (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1983: 265), and have at times been labelled 'informal', 'colloquial', or 'slang'.

However, these combinations are typical and frequent in all types of English, even in the most formal writing (Seidl & McMordie 1988: 101), since many cannot be replaced (Gaist & Nuttal 1968: 2) or only by lengthy or awkward substitutes. A two-word lexical unit composed of a short, common, one-syllable verb and a particle ('in', 'out', 'on', 'off', 'over', 'up', 'down', etc.) may be preferred by Native speakers of English over more erudite single but longer words of Classical Latin or Greek origin, which may sound odd or too formal (e.g. in a friendly conversation you would say 'put out' for a cigarette rather than 'extinguish', which sounds like an airline steward). This preference fits the 'drift of English' cited by John Sinclair (1991: 68) 'towards the replacement of words by phrases, with word order acquiring greater significance' (compare Sinclair's notion of 'collocation' cited by Farghal, this volume).

These combinations are not merely an essential part of English vocabulary, but are a highly productive category in English. They are the most prolific source of new nouns, verbal nouns, and adjectives (Heaton 1965: 138-142; Rutherford 1968: 102; McArthur 1970; Adams 1973; Fraser 1974: 27ff; Allsop 1983: 31f), e.g., those used for technical or specialised writing in computer science, mass media, advertising, sociology, politics, economics, nautical and military English, and so on. Furthermore they are a leading dynamic source of 'new stereotypes' and a 'floodgate of metaphor' (Bolinger 1971: xii). As the changing attitudes of users of English towards levels of usage become more flexible, the combinations which were once labelled 'slang', 'informal', or 'colloquial' are now considered 'neutral' and thus have risen in social importance.

The choice of terms

To date, a variety of terms have been used for verb-particle combinations: 'phrasal verbs', 'composite verbs', 'compound verbs', 'two-word verbs', 'phrasal and prepositional verbs', or 'multi-word lexical units' (compare Zgusta 1971; Quirk et al. 1973; Sinclair et al. 1987; Summers 1987; Cowie 1989). To avoid confusion, we shall can use '*verb-particle combination*' for the cover term and distinguish between *phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs*, and *prepositional phrasal verbs* as the subtypes.

Among the prior studies devoted to these phenomena in English, we have consulted Heaton (1965), Bolinger (1971), and Fraser (1974), as well pedagogically-oriented studies by Ryan (1984) and the *Key to English: Two-Word Verbs* (1964), and the dictionaries by McArthur and Atkins (1974), Cowie and Mackin (1975), Kirkpatrick and Davidson (1982), Courtney (1983), and Turton and Manser (1985). For Arabic, we consulted *Sharḥ Ibn ʕAqiil*, Ibn-Hishaam's *Mughnii al-Labiib*, and al-Zajjaaji's *Kitaab al-Maʕaanii* (1986).

English data

We shall identify three types of verb-particle combinations:

(a) **phrasal verbs** made of verb + adverb, e.g. 'she was taken in by the salesman';
(b) **prepositional verbs** made of verb + preposition, e.g. 'he set about making a new dress';
(c) **prepositional phrasal verbs** made of verb + adverb + preposition, e.g. 'I can't put up with him'.

In a sense, these combinations may be considered as '*set expressions*' of two or more words integrated into a unit which often has a specialised meaning as a whole. Unlike free combinations, they are fairly stable, fixed, and ready-made (see Ginzburg et al. 1966; Zgusta 1971; Arnold 1973). They illustrate the 'signals building up the utterance' which are 'larger blocks consisting of more than one word yet functioning as a whole' (Arnold 1973: 140).

As **syntactic types**, phrasal verbs have the same function in sentences as single-word verbs, except that the adverb particle may be detached from the verb, e.g. [1-3]. Intriguingly, research indicates that particle movement affects cognitive processing: if the particle is kept next to the verb and before the direct object (as in [2]), the latter is more strongly activated and persists longer in memory (Chen 1986; Clifford 1990).

[1] My fiancée cancelled the wedding (single word verb)
[2] My fiancée called off the wedding/called the wedding off (verb-particle combination)
[3] My fiancée called in the news/called the news in (verb-particle combination)

Prepositional verbs resist the detachment of the particle, e.g.:

[4] I looked after her child/looked after him [not: *looked the child after/*looked him after]

Thus, the distinction between 'phrasal verbs' and 'prepositional verbs' is shown by syntactic patterning, quite apart from semantics. Also, prepositional verbs, cannot readily stand without a complement ('*I looked after'), while phrasal verbs can ('my fiancée called in').[1] All three types of verb + particle combinations are considered multi-word 'lexemes' within a single semantic unit; and many have a one-word equivalent which is usually more formal in usage (e.g. 'tend' for 'look after').

The **semantic types** might be:

(1) combinations with a non-idiomatic or literal meaning resulting from the individual lexical meanings, e.g., take out, bring in;
(2) combinations with a metaphorical extension opposed to a literal one, e.g. 'the matter is hedged in with difficulties' (associated with) versus 'the field was completely hedged in' (enclosed with a hedge)

[1] The preposition in the second type could be assigned not to the verb but to the following noun phrase (Quirk & Greenbaum 1973); or the verb may be considered transitive in the sense that the noun phrase that follows the preposition could be considered the object of that preposition, i.e., a prepositional object (see Leech & Svartvik 1975).

(3) combinations whose parts tell us little or nothing about the idiomatic meaning of the whole, e.g., sign off (broadcast), catch on (understand).

Many cases straddle these three types, allowing for varying 'degrees of idiomaticity' (see Bolinger 1971; Fraser 1974; Cowie & Mackin 1975; Dixon 1982; Ryan 1984). It has been suggested by Arnold (1973: 145) that verb + particle form an integral whole if the meaning is not readily derived from that of the components, yielding a 'set expression', e.g. fall out = to quarrel.

Combinations with no idiomatic element may be referred to as *'free combinations'*, wherein:

(a) the particle may retain its properties, e.g., 'come/come back' (indicating direction).
(b) the particle may mark a completive, e.g. 'eat/eat up', inchoative, e.g. 'run/run off', or durative 'talk/talk away';
(c) the particle may be intensive, e.g. 'sing/sing out'.

However, the borderline between 'free phrases' and 'set expressions' may be fuzzy, e.g., 'drop in', 'shut up', 'put on'.

Arabic data

We can now consider whether we have a comparable situation in Arabic and, if so, how it might relate to English. The Arabic verbs governing the **accusative** of a **noun** are traditionally known as 'ʔafʕaal mutaʕaddiya binafsihaa', i.e., verbs which pass on to their objects through themselves, like English 'transitive verbs'. The Arabic verbs governing a **preposition** with a **noun** in the **genitive** case instead of accusative are traditionally known as 'ʔafʕaal mutaʕaddiya biḥarf jarr', i.e. verbs which pass on to their objects through a preposition, e.g. 'ʔadhhaba-llaahu/nuurahum dhahaba-llaahu bi/nuurihim' ('take away the light from'). Some verbs may be constructed in both ways with different meanings, e.g. 'daʕaa hu' ('called him') versus 'daʕaa lahu' ('prayed for him')

The question now arises whether verb + preposition constitute a 'phrasal verb', a 'prepositional verb', or a different category. In the Arabic sentence

[5] ʔistaghnaa ʕan al-ḥalwaa baʕda al-ghadaaʔ
dispensed-he with the-sweets after the-lunch
'he went without dessert after lunch'

there is no doubt that 'baʕda al-ghadaaʔ' ('after the lunch') is a genuine prepositional phrase (PP). But two ways seem possible of bracketing the remainder, verb phrase (VP) plus PP, or VP plus noun phrase (NP):

$$\left\{\begin{array}{ll}[\text{ʔistaghnaa}]\ [\text{ʕan al-ḥalwaa}] & \\ \text{VP} & \text{PP}\end{array}\right\} \text{or} \left\{\begin{array}{ll}[\text{ʔistaghnaa ʕan}]\ [\text{al-ḥalwaa}] & \\ \text{VP} & \text{NP}\end{array}\right\}$$

Three tests can be done to identify a prepositional phrase:

(a) fronting it, e.g. 'ʕan al-ḥalwaa ʔistaghnaa';
(b) questioning it with a 'what'-question, e.g. 'ʕan ʔayyi shayʔin ʔistaghnaa?'; and
(c) separating it from the rest of the sentence by an adjunct, e.g. 'ʔistaghnaa ḥiinaʔidhin, ʕan al-ḥalwaa'.

The tests indicate that 'ʕan al-ḥalwaa' is indeed one stable constituent, and hence a prepositional phrase.

In a similar manner, combinations like 'ʔistaghnaa ʕan' ('dispense with'), 'ʔashrafa ʕalaa' ('supervise'), or 'baṭasha bi' ('attack with violence') may be structurally interpreted, as in English, to be prepositional verbs, or alternatively to be transitive verbs followed by an 'oblique' object related to the verb via a preposition.

Against this proposal, it can be argued from a semantic standpoint that the preposition is essential to the meaning of the verb and is invariable; a different preposition would alter the meaning of the entire combination, e.g. 'kashafa ʕan al-jariima' ('expose the crime') vs. 'kashafa ʕala al-ḥaqaaʔib' ('inspect the bags'). Thus, these Arabic combinations could be syntactically considered verbs followed by specific prepositions and be classed as prepositional verbs, not phrasal verbs.

Semantic criteria raise some further issues. According to Wright (1967: 129), all Arabic prepositions originally designated relations of place but got transferred first to 'temporal relations and next to various sorts of ideal relations, conceived under the figure of the local relations to which they correspond'.

It is true that in the Arabic verb + preposition, the verb often keeps most of its meaning, the latter being extended via the preposition and perhaps the following noun, e.g. 'naẓara fi l-mirʔaat' ('looked into the mirror') vs. 'naẓara fi l-qaḍiyya' ('looked into the case'). Also, Arabic prepositions used with different verbs nearly always retain a degree of their physical meaning, e.g. 'irtabaṭa bi', 'baʕuda ʕan', 'haraba min', 'ʔaghaara ʕalaa', etc. The preposition and the noun it governs together complete the meaning of the verb, whence the traditional grammatical term 'taʕalluq' (= dependency), a 'link which complements meaning and joins the preposition and the noun it governs with the verb' (al-Labadii 1986). Such a link is further maintained in Arabic derivatives such as 'ʔism al-faaʕil' (= agent noun) e.g., 'ʔal-faashil fi diraasatih', and 'ʔism al-mafʕuul' (= patient noun), e.g., 'ʔal-maghḍuubi ʕalayhim', and the passive form 'ghurrira bihi'. The particle always appears after these forms and is essential to the meaning, e.g. 'anʕamta ʕalayhim'. In 'ʕalayhim', the preposition and the pronoun are linked and bound in meaning with the verb 'anʕamta'.

The prepositions may in some cases be replaceable (see al-Zajjaajii 1986: 74-87; Yaʕquub 1988), but on the whole are fairly stable. The fact that native speakers may use the prepositions wrongly with verbs (examples in Zuhdii 1981) indicates the centrality of the verb to whose meaning the preposition adds, e.g., 'raghiba fii' ('desire') versus 'raghiba ʕan' ('detest').

Problems for Arab translators

The analysis of the differences between the two languages reviewed above may shed some light on the syntactic as well as semantic problems encountered by the Arab translator. We shall enumerate these below.

1. A considerable number of Arabic verbs may be used with more than one preposition ('ʕan, ʔilaa, fii, li, min, ʕalaa') having different meanings, or with just one preposition having more than one meaning. However, the verb is a fair guide to the meaning of the combination. The native speaker will typically associate the verb with other derivatives that come from the same root but retain the meaning, e.g. 'ʔammana ʕalaa ḥayaatih' with 'maṣdar ʔamaan' (security, safety). Verbs used with or without a preposition are not difficult to understand via the structure, e.g. 'laḥiqahu' vs. 'laḥiqa bihi'. The verb in the prepositional combination is used in extended but rarely too idiomatic or unmotivated ways, viz.:(1) 'maalat al-ʔaghṣaan' (literal) versus 'maalat al-bintu ʔilaa ṣadiiqihaa' (extended); or (2) where the concept of 'tending towards' is either included (+) or excluded (-), e.g.:

(+) maalat ʔilaa al-ḥaqq/ maalat maʕa al-ḥaqq
sided-she with the-right
'she turned towards what is right'

(-) maalat ʕan al-ḥaqq
deviated-she from the-right
'she turned away from what is right'

Moving from Arabic to English, the translator seldom finds it easy to predict the effect of the particle on the meaning of the verb in an idiomatic combination.

2. Many verbs in English combinations are used idiomatically with specific particles, which makes their meanings unstable and indistinct. We ought to consider new strategies for treating them semantically and lexicographically, based on such findings as those by Bolinger (1971), Fraser (1974), Dixon (1982), and Ryan (1984), along with the suggestions of Sinclair et al. (1989) and Goldie (1989).

3. Some verbs form a combination with almost every particle, e.g. 'get'. Others are more selective but still quite versatile, e.g. 'make' or 'do'. Many combinations are productive, with new ones being invented (e.g. 'pig out' = overeat) or new meanings being given to old ones (Allsop 1983: 211), (e.g. 'the conference took off' versus 'the plane took off'). Apparently, the systematically related verb-particle combinations came first, while the figurative or idiomatic ones developed later (cf. Kennedy 1920, reported by Fraser 1974). According to Lyons (1977: 266), 'if a lexeme is frequently used in collocation with a restricted set of syntagmatically modifying lexemes or phrases, it may come to encapsulate their sense', e.g. the collocation of 'drive' with 'car' being easily activated for an utterance like 'without a word, he closed the door and drove off'.

4. Many idiomatic usages are peculiar to a single language, where they may sound natural to native speakers but strange to non-native speakers. This applies to verb-particle combinations in which the verb by itself would have a radically separate interpretation, e.g. 'the audience cracked up at every joke' versus 'the vendor cracked the coconut with a machete'.

5. The range of meanings for one verb in various combinations may be much wider and more idiomatic or even opaque in English than in Arabic, viz., 'write off' meaning 'send off a letter' (e.g. 'to the company'), 'clear from the records' (e.g. 'a debt'), 'judge to be a failure' (e.g. 'a marriage'), or 'reject as beyond repair' (e.g. 'a vehicle'); or 'take up' meaning 'shorten' (e.g. 'a dress'), 'last' (e.g. 'an hour'), 'absorb' (e.g. 'spilled water'), 'discuss' (e.g. 'an issue'), 'resume after a pause' (e.g. 'a story'), 'lift or displace for repair' (e.g. 'a roadway'), 'begin to practice' (e.g. 'a job' or 'a hobby'), 'enter a financial transaction' (e.g. 'a wager)', and so on.

6. Combinations in which a normally intransitive verb takes a direct object puzzle the Arab translator, who finds nothing similar in Arabic, e.g. 'the students laughed' versus 'the students laughed off their failing grades'.

7. Some combinations are used in a specialised sense in certain fields. The sense is usually definite and its metaphorical motivation has faded, leaving it stylistically and emotionally neutral, e.g. 'pull out' (military), 'blast off' (aerospace), 'lock down' (computer science). We need to assess how far a register may affect the meanings assigned to phrasal verbs, e.g. in technical vocabularies (Bolinger 1971: 173).

8. Some intransitive verb-particle combinations may be hard to understand without further clues from the text, e.g., 'I don't know how the story got about', 'the opposition was digging in' or, 'they are still hanging around' (cf. Sinclair et al. 1990: 163f; *Key to English Two-Word Verbs* 1964: 119-132).

9. Many combinations can be used both intransitively and transitively in the same meaning (cf. Sinclair et al. 1990: 167), where a possible object could be inferred, e.g. 'they helped out at the church sale' vs. 'they helped us out for three months', Other combinations can be used both intransitively and transitively but in different meanings, e.g., 'the engine cut out' vs. 'I cut out some photographs from magazines' (cf. Sinclair et al. 1990: 166). Bilingual dictionaries might distinguish between the two structures when giving Arabic equivalents (cf. Holes, this volume).

10. The meaning of the transitive combinations may differ according to whether the object is a person or a thing, e.g. 'take someone in' vs. 'take something in', as noted by Cowie (1989) and Summers (1987).

11. In three-word combinations of prepositional phrasal verbs, the verb + particle may be much harder to render than the preposition, e.g. 'look up to (someone)', 'put (someone) on to (a good idea)', or 'come up against (a problem)' (cf. Sinclair et al. 1990: 170).

12. The Arabic equivalents of combinations vary according to the collocations. The 'collocatability' of the verb-particle combination that determines the meaning should do the same for its Arabic equivalent in bilingual dictionaries (cf. Sinclair 1991: 68), e.g.

[6] (a) break off (negotiations)	qataʕa
(b) break off (an engagement)	fasakha
[7] (a) bring about (a change)	ʔaḥdatha
(b) bring about (an opportunity)	khalaqa

The verb-particle combinations are not themselves collocations in Firth's sense, but can enter into collocations, e.g. 'look up' plus 'a word' (cf. Draskau 1988: 5). There, the combination may be replaceable by a single item e.g., 'make up' + 'a story' versus 'invent' + 'a story'. Thus, bilingual dictionaries should provide typical contexts for such combinations (for English-Arabic, cf. Doniach 1972;

Sabek 1974; Baʿalbaki 1981; Elias 1982; and Holes, this volume).

13. Verb-particle combinations used figuratively are hard to translate when they are culture-bound, e.g., 'the tired boy lagged behind the group' (literal) vs. 'prices are rising sharply while incomes are lagging behind' (figurative). Here too, compilers of bilingual dictionaries should exercise caution (cf. McArthur 1974).

Conclusion

Verb-particle combinations merit careful study in the area of Arabic-English lexicography and translation. In Arabic, the verb retains most of its meaning and the preposition retains some degrees of its literal or 'physical' meaning, although some combinations may be used figuratively. In English, the range is far more complex: the meaning may be unpredictable, the verb and the particle fused, and the structure obscure or opaque. Hence, Arab translators are likely to encounter problems finding Arabic equivalents that respect idiomatic meanings, syntactic structures, lexical collocations, and the specialised fields of discourse. These problems should be treated in bilingual dictionaries and translator training programmes (cf. Heliel, in preparation). We must work to develop both our linguistic approaches for describing them and our strategies for teaching them.

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The Semantic Diversity of 'faʕʕala' Forms

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Abstract

The structure of the Arabic verb is typically shown in the basic or so-called 'faʕala' form as a series of consonant 'radicals', usually three, hence the term 'tri-radicals', and with vowels in between, to wit:. 'Consonant + Vowel + Consonant + Vowel + Consonant' ($C_1 + V + C_2 + V + C_3$). Many Verbs also have a so-called 'faʕʕala' form produced by doubling the second consonant 'radical' ($C_1 + V + C_2 + C_2 + V + C_3$). The partial survey reported here indicates that about half of the Arabic verbs have these two corresponding forms. In Classical Arabic, the forms seem to have been constructed in a semantically systematic fashion, but in modern Arabic, the data are rather complex and variegated. We report some of the major trends we have found so far and suggest some ways to describe them.

Introduction

The 'faʕʕala' forms produced by doubling the second consonant 'radical' in the basic form of Arabic Verbs make an interesting and a challenging study of the relationship between form and meaning. These forms were once systematically constructed, if we can judge from the description of Al-Khali Ibn Aḥmad of Basra (8th century A.D.). But since the Classical period, the systematic quality has been obscured.

Our research in progress seeks to account for all the 'faʕʕala' forms and their meanings. So far, we have done only a partial inventory from the lexicon covering alif for hamza (ʔ),[1] baaʔ, taaʔ, thaaʔ, jiim, ḥaaʔ, khaaʔ, daal, dhaal, raaʔ, and zaay, roughly one third of the data. We are using Hans Wehr's *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* as our primary source.

Our procedure has followed several steps:

(a) Under the letters covered so far, we found roughly 970 verbs.
(b) We separated the verbs that derive the 'faʕʕala' form from those that do not.
(c) We enumerated 445 verbs that do not derive the 'faʕʕala'.
(d) We enumerated 100 verbs that occur only in the 'faʕʕala' form.
(e) We divided the verbs into tri-radicals and quadri-radicals, the latter being only 57.
(f) We classified the verbs with the 'faʕʕala' form into the semantic groups we shall describe in this paper.

Some provisional conclusions from our analysis would be that about 50% of the verbs derive the 'faʕʕala' form, while about 10% occur only in the 'faʕʕala' form. Among the 'quadri-radicals' with four radicals in the stem (57 verbs), less than 50% (21 verbs) derive the 'faʕʕala' form. As we might expect in view of the smaller inventory, the spread of meaning for the quadri-radicals is less wide than for the tri-radicals.

Semantic divergences between basic form and 'faʕʕala' form

Despite the regularity of the morphological derivation of the 'faʕʕala' forms, the variance in the meanings can be quite wide, as previous research has frequently observed. And we anticipate even greater width when the whole lexicon has been scanned and semantically grouped. Hence, the meanings are by no means automatically derivable from the forms (cf. summary in Wright 1967: 31f).

Our classification placed lexical items into several semantic groups. We found one group that curiously showed *no appreciable difference* in meaning, and for all practical purposes the basic form and the 'faʕʕala' form could be

1 Hamza (ʔ) appears toward the start of this listing because, for historical reasons, it is a diacritical mark rather than a letter in Arabic script, where it is carried by the 'alif', which is the actual first letter of the Arabic alphabet and has no value here as a vowel. Since the authors were taking examples from the top of their list, the latter often begin with hamza. (Editors' note).

interchanged. There may be subtle stylistic nuances between the two forms, but the differences were much less obvious than for other groups of 'faʕʕala' forms.[2] Examples included:

Verb	*Meaning of basic form*	*Meaning of 'faʕʕala' form*
ḥadaja	stare	same
ḥadaqa	look, glance	same
ḥadda	sharpen	same
ḥaḍḍa	spur on, incite	same
ḥaffa	surround	same
ḥamma	heat	same
ḥaṣaba	cover with gravel	same
ḥaṭama	break, shatter	same
ḥatama	decree	same
ḥazza	notch	same
jalala	braid	same
jarada	peel	same
balla	moisten	same
basaṭa	spread out	same
batala	cut off	same
dahana	oil, anoint, paint	same
rabata	caress, pat	same
thaqaba	bore, drill	same
nathara	disperse	same
khabaʔa	hide	same
khabala	confound	same
khalaṭa	mix	same
zamara	play on an instrument	same

We found another group of forms that *specify a generic activity* in the basic form and an even more specific or more targeted one in the 'faʕʕala' form, e.g.:

Verb	*Meaning of basic form*	*Meaning of 'faʕʕala' form*
jabara	restore	set a broken bone
dabiqa	stick, adhere	catch with bird lime
raḥima	have mercy	say 'God have mercy on you'
thalaja	snow	cool with ice, freeze
zamma	tie up, fasten	bridle a camel

[2] The meaning of these forms was often indicated in Wehr simply with 'ditto'.

Yet another group became *ergative* or *causative*, going from 'doing' to 'making do', e.g.:

Verb	*Meaning of basic form*	*Meaning of 'faʕʕala' form*
ḥabba	love	evoke love or liking
ḥafiẓa	preserve, memorise	make someone memorise
ḥamala	carry, bear	have some one carry
jamada	freeze	make freeze
jaraʕa	swallow, gulp	make swallow
jaraya	flow	cause to run
akala	eat	feed
balaʕa	swallow	make swallow
balagha	reach	make reach
baṣura	look	make see
darasa	wipe out, learn	teach
dakhala	enter	make enter, let enter
khadama	serve	employ
khasira	lose	cause loss

In the largest group, the 'faʕʕala' form moved a verb from *intransitive to transitive*, e.g.:

Verb	*Meaning of basic form*	*Meaning of 'faʕʕala' form*
ḥabila	be pregnant	make pregnant
ḥaḍara	be present	make ready
ḥadiba	be convex	make convex
ḥalafa	swear	make someone swear
ḥaluwa/ḥaliya	be sweet	sweeten
ḥamiya	be hot	heat
ḥamuḍa	be sour	make sour
ḥaqqa	be true	make something come true

This group entailed some concomitant semantic processes, such as adding an ergative or causative aspect, e.g.:

Verb	*Meaning of basic form*	*Meaning of 'faʕʕala' form*
ḥaṣala	resolve, happen	cause to happen
ḥaṣuna	be inaccessible	make inaccessible

ḥasuna	be handsome	beautify
ḥazana	be sad	make sad
janna	be or become insane	drive insane

More minute and sophisticated changes were also found, e.g.:

Verb	*Meaning of basic form*	*Meaning of 'faʕʕala' form*
khaṭiʔa	be mistaken	charge with an offence
kha(w)ana	be disloyal	regard as traitor

Semantic divergences between basic form and 'faʕʕala' form

For a substantial group of verbs, the meanings of the basic ('faʕala') form and of the 'faʕʕala' form do not fall within the same semantic area or field. This semantic divergence conflicts with the sharing of the morphological base between the two forms and thereby clouds the systematic quality of the derivation. In this group, translation cannot rely on the form to recover the semantic import; the two forms need to be glossed as separate entries, e.g.:

Verb	*Meaning of basic form*	*Meaning of 'faʕʕala' form*
ḥabara	gladden	refine, compose, write
ḥafala	gather	adorn
ḥajara	deny access	petrify
ḥalaqa	shave	circle in the air, hover
ḥarasha	scratch	instigate, incite
ḥasara	pull off, remove	be pained
ḥashsha	mow, cut	smoke hashish
ḥa(y)ana	draw near	set a time
jahaza	finish off	make ready, prepare
jalada	wipe	bind, freeze

The difference may fall between intransitive versus transitive-causative, viz.:

Verb	*Meaning of basic form*	*Meaning of 'faʕʕala' form*
ḥazaba	occur	rally, form a party
ḥarra	be hot	liberate
jariba	be mangy	test
jasuma	be big, large	make corporeal

Another group of verbs designates the same activity in both basic and 'faʕʕala' forms but the latter indicates greater intensity, viz.:

Verb	*Meaning of basic form*	*Meaning of 'faʕʕala' form*
ḥamida	praise	praise highly
ḥashada	gather, concentrate	accumulate, amass
jamaʕa	gather	pile up
damara	perish, be ruined	destroy, demolish
damma	smear, coat	rub, anoint
ramaqa	glance, regard	stare, gaze
talifa	destroy	ruin
kharaba	destroy	devastate

Quadri-radical verbs

For verbs with four 'radicals, the so-called 'quadri-radicals', both the basic and the 'faʕʕala' forms have interesting aspects. Morphologically, the four radicals tend to appear along with heavy reduplication, as already pointed out by Al-Khalil Ibn Aḥmad in the 8th century, viz.:

baʔbaʔa	say papa
balbala	disquiet
baqbaqa	bubble
daghdagha	tickle
ḥalḥala	remove
jamjama	articulate indistinctly

Semantically, they reverse the shift that is typical of tri-radical verbs, where going from basic to the 'faʕʕala' form generally entails going from intransitive to transitive. In the quadri-radicals, the opposite often occurs, viz.:

Verb	*Meaning of basic form*	*Meaning of 'faʕʕala' form*
baʕthara	scatter	be scattered
bahdala	insult	be insulted
bahraja	adorn	be adorned
balshafa	bolshivise	be bolshivised
balwara	crystallise	crystallise itself
ḥalḥala	remove	stir from one place
jamhara	collect, assemble	flock together
talmadha	take as a pupil	become a pupil

khalkhala	shake	be shaken
zaʕzaʕa	shake	be convulsed
zaḥzaḥa	move something	budge, move away
zakhrafa	embellish	be embellished

Verbs without a 'faʕʕala' form

About 50% of the verbs derive no 'faʕʕala' form, though we can see no obvious morphological or semantic impediment imposing restrictions, e.g.:

abaqa	escape
akara	plow
alaqa	shine
anaya	mature, be ripe
arama	bite
ariba	be skillful
asara	bind, fetter
asifa	regret

These verbs would in fact be apt candidates for ergative or causative transitive forms that would make harmonious semantic sense with the import of the basic form, e.g. '*allaqa' ('make shine'), or '*akkara' ('make plow'). But we simply don't find them.

Semantic diversity

A further aspect of diversity is the tendency of verbs and their 'faʕʕala' forms to have multiple meanings. For example, 'ḥasuna' can mean 'be handsome, be expedient, be in a proper state, be in desirable condition', etc., whereas 'ḥassana' can mean 'beautify, adorn, improve, present as desirable, sugarcoat', etc. A full rendering of the semantic range of a given lexical item in a reference work can be quite extensive, though not nearly as daunting as the range of varied meanings that have no morphological markings at all.

Some conclusions

The easily predictable morphological derivation from basic forms to 'faʕʕala' forms is not matched with equally consistent semantic trends. The wise procedure is to expressly learn the unpredictable meaning of the derived form along with the predictable derivation. The teacher of Arabic, and the translator of

Arabic into another language or vice-versa, need to focus on the semantic aspects, so that their diversity can be grasped as well as the regularity of the forms. A lexicon designed for machine translation should gloss each form rather than trying to follow a general algorithm for deriving them. A lookup table or list would be the safest guide. Still, research projects like ours may eventually be able to provide a full account and to decide what sort of classifications and look-up procedures should be recommended.

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Designing English-Arabic Dictionaries

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Abstract

My aim in this paper is to discuss the uses whereby a dictionary can and should aid reading and using a foreign language. I shall be looking at current practices in the design of English-Arabic dictionaries in the context of my own experience regarding typical users' language backgrounds and language-learning cultures. I shall then advance some concrete suggestions for improving the closeness of fit between what the dictionary presents and what the users need.

Perhaps only a small proportion of those reading this paper are professional translators, but all of us engage in translation. When we read a foreign language, we translate, consciously or subconsciously, into our native language to make sense of what we are reading. Sometimes, when our foreign language reading strategies fail — e.g. when we can't infer the meaning of an unknown word or phrase from context, or when a known meaning doesn't fit our developing sense of the context — we look for help, most often in a bilingual dictionary.

To the user, a dictionary purports to present a 'neutral' picture of the general word-stock of a language, or of the language specific to a field of activity, such as agriculture, information technology, or law. Bilingual dictionaries provide glosses and sets of meaning equivalences between two languages which again seem neutral, but the actual picture is by no means so. Although decisions on what to include or leave out may occasionally be based on a statistical analysis of representative usage, they more usually arise from prescriptivist notions of what the compilers believe is or is not 'acceptable' or 'correct' usage, and from the precedents set by compilers of previous dictionaries. The order of presenting meanings in all but the simplest entries is also left to the individual compilers, as is the type, range, and selection of exemplification. And finally, the compilers' image of the typical user — if indeed they have one — affects not only what they include and how they put it in order but also how they format it with symbols, grammatical terminology, pictures, and so on.

In my experience, both as a consumer of dictionaries and a teacher of student consumers, a dictionary's effectiveness as a study and translation aid depends on all these factors. But dictionary compilers rarely make clear in the introductory pages to their work how, or indeed whether, they have gone about addressing these factors.

The **language background** of dictionary users depends on which language they speak as natives. This background is a prime factor in designing a bilingual English-Arabic dictionary (e.g., see Abu-Ssaydeh 1991). Though this factor should be obvious, introductions to actual dictionaries rarely spell out that native English speakers need the dictionary not to understand English but to find an equivalent in Arabic for an English expression whose meaning they already know; native Arabic speakers need it to find an explanation or translation into Arabic of an English expression which they cannot recover, either due to an uncertainty about the grammatical, lexical, or cultural context, or to a lack of dependable clues in a context they have otherwise fairly well grasped. Each set of users needs a contextual equivalent in the other language but takes a different route: the English user needs to see a range of typical Arabic equivalents and their contexts of usage in order to choose a suitable one (e.g. in translating into Arabic); the Arab user has the same needs but for English usages.

Let's take a simple case of how to translate into Arabic (if you are English) and how to arrive at a correct understanding (if you are an Arab) of the sentence

[1] He asked her if she had had a fall.

For the English speaker, this sentence reports a question posed in a particular context — a man saw a woman appearing to be in physical pain or displaying other signs (such as a limb in plaster, severe bruising) that suggest she has accidentally fallen and hurt herself, and enquired whether this was so. The implication of the idiomatic expression 'to have a fall', that an injury has been visibly sustained, needs to be conveyed in Arabic to preserve the pragmatic-contextual meaning. An Arabic speaker might take this sentence at its face-value — a man asking a woman whether she had fallen down at some point in the past — without grasping the implication carried by 'have a fall' but not by 'fall down'. Both of our speakers need to know that the Arabic equivalent is something like [1a] rather than [1b].

[1a] saʔalahaa ʔin kaanat ʔiṣaabatuhaa natiijata as-suquuṭi ʕalaa al-ʔarḍ

[1b] saʔalahaa ʔin kaanat qad saqaṭat ʕalaa al-ʔarḍ

As we can see, our two users need different kinds of help. It is not at all simple to design a single dictionary to provide both kinds in clear presentation and economic spacing. What for one user is vital contextual exemplification and explanation might be superfluous for the other user, e.g. the usage differences between the various verbal expressions meaning 'fall' in Arabic: 'waqaʕa', 'saqaṭa', 'tasaaqaṭa', 'nazala', 'inḥaṭṭa', 'hawaa', 'ʔinhaara', 'tadaaʕaa', etc; or that in English a building can 'fall down' but not 'fall over', that a person can do both, and that 'have a fall' implies an injury.

The opening sentence of the most commonly used work, the *Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of Current Usage (OEAD)*, claims it to be 'designed to meet the needs of those whose mother-tongue is English and who are learning Arabic, and of those whose mother-tongue is Arabic and who are learning English' (Doniach [ed.] 1972: vii), as if the design of a dictionary for these two sets of users were, without further ado, one and the same. The introduction to a more recently published dictionary, Hasan al-Karmi's (1987) *al-Mughnii al-ʔAkbar*, gives no description at all of the imagined user and tacitly assumes that native English and Arabic speakers can make equally good use of one type of dictionary.

Possibly as a result, neither of these dictionaries provides much help for either user in correctly translating or understanding [1]. In the *OEAD*, for example, the native English user is confronted with a list of seven Arabic verbs, all of which are apparently equivalent to 'fall' in the sense of 'drop, descend, collapse'. No explanation or exemplification of the collocational or stylistic differences is given beyond a single column of decontextualised phrases, each with one or two decontextualised Arabic equivalents. The entry then moves on to 'fall' in the secondary senses of 'come to pass', 'occur', and to phrasal verbs involving 'fall'. The nearest equivalent to 'have a fall', which is not itself listed either under 'fall' or 'have', is 'fall over', glossed as 'saqaṭa ʔaw waqaʕa ʕala al-ʔarḍ, ʔinqalaba (ʔinaaʔu az-zahr)'. Nothing keeps the Arabic user from concluding that the phrase is used in the same way and meaning as 'fall'.

The problem of how to take realistic account of the language background and the sociolinguistic situation of users is no less apparent in the content and design of specialist bilingual dictionaries. A fairly typical example is provided by the *Arabic Dictionary of Civil Engineering, English-Arabic, Arabic-English*. The author seems to presume (but nowhere clearly states) that one reason for such a dictionary is the international framework in which large construction projects are planned and executed in the Arab world. The reality is that some of the engineering expertise at all levels down to site foremen will be provided by non-Arabic-speaking western expatriates, while those directly or indirectly commissioning the projects — ministries, development councils, etc. — are staffed by native speakers of Arabic. At the higher echelons, these people usually have a good competence in general English, but non-technocrats are rarely at home in the technical jargon. This being the case — as it is, say, in the Gulf region, where some of the largest civil engineering projects in the Arab world have been completed — there is presumably a need to help non-Arabs speak to Arabs in technical Arabic, and vice-versa in technical English.

However, this plausible presumption ignores the realities of cross-cultural communication in large parts of the Middle East. I have yet to meet one western civil engineer who had more than a smattering of colloquial Arabic, and certainly not one who felt he needed to be able to translate 'concrete displacement pile' or 'p–channel metal oxide semiconductor' into Arabic, which this dictionary includes. The Arabs with whom an English-speaking engineer would talk about concrete displacement piles would themselves be trained civil engineers, perfectly at home with the English term. If the western engineer needs Arabic at all in a work context, it is for everyday communication with non-English-speaking site personnel, and in the local vernacular type, not the highly specialised variety of written Standard Arabic which this dictionary contains.

Leaving aside the myth of the Arabic-speaking expatriate engineer, what other kinds of user might benefit from this dictionary? One obvious group would be Arabic-speaking translators translating English project-related and technical documents from English into Arabic for the benefit of non-English speaking officials. However, such translators are invariably Arts graduates with no technical background (cf. Abu-Jarad, this volume), so it is a serious flaw that this dictionary gives no contextual help in the translation of technical terms. For example, the term 'bearing' is listed in collocation with nine different nouns in the English-Arabic section of the Civil Engineering dictionary I have mentioned, and the Arabic equivalent is variously given as 'maḥmal', 'taḥmiil', 'daaʕim', and 'ʔittijaahaat zaawiya'. The choice of an Arabic term depends on whether 'bearing' is functioning in an English technical text as an adjective, e.g. in 'load-bearing wall', as a concrete noun, e.g. in 'ball-bearing', or as an abstract noun, e.g. in 'bearing test', or is being used in a different sense altogether, e.g. in 'to take one's bearings'. These meanings of 'bearing' can only be disambiguated by reference to the Arabic equivalent, which assumes that translators know the various technical uses of the Arabic terms — hardly likely for users who are not professional civil engineers. In fact, the whole dictionary amounts to no more than a list of technical noun-phrases, with no illustrative contexts of use. It seems to have been designed to meet either the needs of a community of European civil engineers already fully conversant with non-technical written Arabic, or of an Arabic-speaking group of translators who just happen to be at home in the technical jargon of civil engineering. It may be an accident of fate, but in twenty years as a teacher and researcher into Arabic and English in the Middle East and Europe, I have yet to meet anyone in either category.

Dictionaries try to be all things to all people in order to boost their sales, but fail to appreciate the irreconcilable needs of different users. Dictionaries are expensive investments for publishers and buyers alike, and it is in the publisher's interest to aim a dictionary at the widest possible audience. This may be a reason why bilingual dictionaries, even if their compilers recognise the different language backgrounds and needs of potential users, persist in trying to persuade us that they can solve everybody's problems at the same time. Let us now turn to the profiles and needs of real, rather than mythical types of dictionary user.

Language-learning attitudes

By **language-learning attitudes** I mean which assumptions the dictionary user makes about the structure of languages in general and about the relationship between the structure of his own language and the target language in particular, and how these assumptions affect the use of dictionaries. If it is possible to generalise across the beliefs about language structure held by Arab students who have been through a government school education, I would put forward the following as typical:

(a) *prescriptivism* and *dichotomisation*: language structures, phrases, and words, whether in their native language or a foreign one, are classified as 'correct/incorrect', 'beautiful/ugly', 'classical' (= good)/'colloquial' (= bad), 'literary' (= good)/'slang' (= bad), etc. These black-and-white value judgements are regarded as 'facts' regardless of evidence from actual usage.
(b) *fixation on the lexicon*: learning a language is viewed as essentially learning lists of words; technical language is regarded as the same as ordinary language, except for a lot of technical vocabulary (mainly nouns).
(c) *lexical equivalence between languages*: it is believed that any given lexical item in one language has a single 'correct' translation equivalent in another; and that understanding and translating mainly involve learning and using these unchanging, context-independent equivalences.

I hasten to add that very similar beliefs are held by English-speakers about language in general and the relations between languages; I emphasise native Arab learners because they are the main users of the English-Arabic dictionaries addressed in this paper.

How do such attitudes affect dictionary use? First, they imply that a dictionary is an authoritative guide to 'correct' use, telling you what is 'right' and (by omission) condemning what is 'wrong'. Secondly, they foster the habit of treating a bilingual dictionary as a source of one-to-one equivalences between languages at the word level, rather than as a contextual style compendium for comparing different translations-in-context of the source language item, where a 'context' (minimally a sentence) covers not merely specialist usages (e.g. for 'bearing'), but more often than not non-specialist usages, even in the discourse of specialist fields.

Some dictionaries encourage these erroneous beliefs and practices. Common colloquial words or everyday usages that are well-known to native speakers but rare in written texts, are omitted on the grounds that they are less important or 'correct' than written usages, and that learners should not use them. The converse is that words which are well and truly dead in the modern language (and some which were never really alive) are allowed to live on in dictionaries; compilers are loathe to omit what has once been attested in literary usage. A randomly selected example of this bias in a recent English-Arabic dictionary (Karmi [ed.] 1987: 344) is the verb 'disembosom', glossed as 'baaḥa bi l-sirr, baththa maa fii nafsih' and not marked by the compiler as in any way unusual or rare. As an educated native speaker, I don't think I have ever encountered this verb in an actual English text, and have certainly never used it myself. Sure enough, on checking the *Oxford English Dictionary*, I found it with three literary attestations dated between 1742 and 1836. The phrase which we *actually* use in this meaning is 'get it off your chest', which the same dictionary significantly lists as 'slang' (meaning, for the average Arab user, merely 'unacceptable'). At best, the inclusion of such archaisms is a waste of space; at worst, coupled with the prejudice against non-literary usage, it gives the user a false picture of the language as it is actually used.

Current dictionaries may also encourage the idea that one-to-one equivalences exist between languages, such that the target term and the source term, even in non-technical usage, are completely interchangeable. For example, under the lemma 'about' in *al-Mughnii al-ʔAkbar*, we find 'You must keep your wits about you', which is simply glossed in Arabic as 'ladayka (ʔaw) maʕaka'. The idea is presumably to indicate to an Arab user (an English one would not need to be told) that 'about' in this phrase has the meaning 'have' or 'be in possession of' one's 'wits'. But the gloss is both unhelpful (to an Arab user) and misleading (to an English one), since 'ladayka' or 'maʕaka' would not be used in an idiomatic Arabic translation of the whole phrase, which, as one finds under 'wits' in the same dictionary, would probably involve a phrase like 'ḥaaḍiru ʔadh-dhihn'.

The variables discussed so far relate to how clear a picture the compiler has of the typical user and how realistic this picture is; and how far the dictionary implicitly confirms or questions the user's attitudes and beliefs about language. None of these factors can be directly improved by means of the 'technology' named in the title of the conference at Irbid. But technology *can* improve the quality of bilingual dictionaries in several ways. The main way is by improving the access for both compilers and users to the evidence of linguistic reality — the way native speakers and writers actually use the language. Here, technology can render an important service to dictionary making by telling compilers whether their beliefs about the language are erroneous: which meanings of words are common or rare; what company these words tend to keep; whether notions of 'correct' versus 'incorrect', 'informal', or 'slang' fit the picture of actual usage (e.g. respected authors and publications). Also, technology can render another, if more indirect, service to translation and language learning with a presentational method that encourages users of the improved dictionaries to develop a more 'contextual' approach to meaning.

Evidence for actual language usage

In many, perhaps most cultures, dictionary making has traditionally been seen as an *accretive* activity: you take the work of a predecessor and simply add the new words and meanings you have discovered without changing the old ones, which are regarded as the 'original' or 'basic' meanings even if they have long since dropped out of use. This is the way lexicography developed in both English and Arabic. Zabiidii's great dictionary *Taaj al-ʕAruus*, written in 18th century, turns out to be in essence a commentary on Ibn Manẓuur's *Lisaan al-ʕArab* of some nine centuries earlier, preserving the latter's definitions, examples, and explanations verbatim. In Arabic, this accretive approach stemmed from a perceived need to maintain access to an enormous canon of Classical literature at a time when the language of that literature has gradually become more and more remote from contemporary usage, and to keep a stable linguistic base of accepted word meanings in those disciplines — such as religious sciences and Islamic Law — which depend on the original meaning of religious texts.

But all languages change — phonologically, morphologically, syntactically, and, fastest of all, lexically. Inherited data, such as dictionary makers traditionally accept from their predecessors — inevitably contain many words and usages which are no longer in common use, or have changed in meaning. Some people would welcome this, since a dictionary should present the total picture of a language, including its history. Such arguments are fine if the dictionary gives information to a very limited audience of specialist users, e.g., academics interested in the history of the language and the etymology of its words. The inclusion of words like 'disembosom' in an English-Arabic dictionary published in the 1980's and claiming to reflect contemporary usage, shows how words solely of interest to academics and historians of the language can stray into modern dictionaries through the compilers' undiscriminating acceptance of the work of their forebears.

For all users, a general or a technical dictionary should be *accurate* in that it provides *typical contemporary uses* in their *typical contexts*, and *comprehensive in coverage* in that it gives all the usages likely to be encountered. Thus, an English-Arabic dictionary of civil engineering should probably be compiled on the assumption that the typical user will (i) be a native Arabic speaker, (ii) have a good knowledge of general written English, (iii) not be a trained civil engineer but more likely a translator with an Arts degree or a student of civil engineering in an Arab university or tertiary-level technical institution. Users not fitting this profile might find the dictionary useful, but would not be a specifically targeted audience. Much 'general English' usage would be omitted from such a dictionary, but much 'technical usage' — not just the strictly technical terminology but the sub-technical jargon and phraseology of civil engineers — would need to be included and exemplified in detail.

Let us now explore the notions of accuracy, typicality, and coverage in respect to English-Arabic bilingual dictionaries for a general readership. For the data in a dictionary to be **accurate**, the listed words, together with the definitions, explanations, and examples provided to illustrate their meanings, must fulfil the absolute minimum of being acceptable to native speakers of the source language. This criteria is so basic as to seem obvious, but surprisingly often, dictionaries do not meet it. There is no good reason for inaccuracies even if the compiler is a non-native speaker of the source language, provided that the corpus of data is real rather than invented.

Secondly, if a dictionary is to highlight the **typical** meanings of a given word versus those that are merely possible but unusual or even rare, the corpus of data on which it is based must be large enough to be representative of the kind of language the typical user wants to understand. So, to take our earlier example of 'bearing', a corpus of non-technical general English will probably throw up examples of this word being used in collocation with adjectives as in 'a military bearing' (= physical presence) or with verbs like 'have' as in 'that has no bearing on what we are talking about' (= relevance), more often than it will throw up examples in the sense of 'a load-bearing wall' or 'engine bearings'; conversely, the latter would probably occur frequently in technical, and specifically, engineering contexts. The frequency of meanings should in turn be reflected in their order of presentation under the relevant head-word, and some sub-meanings will be omitted altogether if they do not appear in the corpus, or only quite rarely.

Our third criterion of **coverage** is an extension of typicality. All the words and usages which any user is likely to encounter in the field of activity the dictionary covers should be included, and those which he is unlikely to should not. So, like typicality, this criterion is ultimately a statistical one requiring a large data base to have been assembled and analysed before lexicographical decisions can be made.

Without wanting to seem invidious in finding fault with particular dictionaries, I shall cite some examples to show how often these basic criteria are not met. My citations were selected from a random perusal of the pages of *al-Mughnii al-ʔAkbar.*

First, *accuracy*. Under the head-word 'nick', we have the example 'He nicked me for a pound just to get my hair cut'. This is inaccurate; in native-speaker usage, this colloquial term does not means 'overcharge', as suggested here, but 'steal' or 'catch', as in 'He nicked (= stole) a car' or 'I got nicked (= caught doing wrong) for parking on a double-yellow line'. Another example is 'Don't buy from that shop, they put it on', in which 'put it on' is glossed in Arabic as 'zaada fii s-siʕr'. 'Put it on' is simply not used in this context with this meaning. Both examples illustrate the dangers of working with invented data — the compiler's personal intuitions were simply wrong.

Next, *typicality*. Under the head-word 'scintillate', all the examples are finite main verbs: 'I enjoy reading his books; they always scintillate with good ideas'; 'the snow scintillates in the sun like diamonds'; and, most curiously of all, 'The stars scintillated their light in the winter sky'. Not only does the unnaturalness of these examples to a native speaker suggest once more that they have been invented, but no example is given of what I am sure is the commonest use of 'scintillate': as a present participial adjective in phrases containing nouns like 'performance', 'entertainment, 'match', 'soiree' (e.g. 'Manchester United turned in a scintillating second-half performance'). Under 'disembody', which is correctly glossed in Arabic as 'ʔakhlaa mina al-jasad', the dictionary gives the impression that the finite verbal form is the normal or typical usage by listing it first, and fails to even mention the common past participial use in phrases like 'disembodied voices'.

Finally, *coverage*. This 'dictionary of classical and contemporary English', as the front cover describes it, gives no account in the introduction of the compiler's rationale for deciding what to include. We find a strikingly large amount of technical terminology: a random opening of the dictionary to p. 764 reveals entries like 'margaric acid', 'marcasite', and the legal term 'mare clausum'. In the field of linguistic terminology, the terms 'bilabial', 'epenthesis', and 'phoneme' are listed, but not 'clitic', 'complementiser', or 'sandhi'; in the medical field, 'sclerosis', 'myocardial infarction', and 'erythematous' are included, but not 'in vitro', 'veruka', or 'impetigo'. One is entitled to ask why these choices (if indeed they resulted from conscious choice) were made: the omitted terms do not seem to be in any sense rarer than those included. Instead of covering a field evenly, the dictionary does so incompletely and unpredictably, and only in respect to the technical terminology rather than the subtechnical language associated with a technical field. So although the Graeco-Latinate vocabulary of medicine is partially covered, common medical usages like 'present with', in the sense of 'the patient presented with acute pain in the lumbar region', are not included.

I am not suggesting that the dictionary be massively expanded beyond its already huge bulk of over 1700 pages, but merely pointing out that no attempt was apparently made to define the typical users and their needs for general or for scientific/ technical usage in specific fields, and to compile the dictionary accordingly. The resulting dictionary impresses with its bulk, but by trying to address all possible needs ends up meeting few if any of them satisfactorily.

It will be apparent that my criticism of a particular dictionary for inaccuracy and untypicality is based on my own knowledge of, and intuitions about, English as a native speaker. This procedure is unobjectionable but does not go nearly far enough if the point is to arrive at empirically sound judgements. How then do we get access to language data that will enable us to produce an accurate, typical, and comprehensive account of language use in a given field, whether general or technical?

Towards a new generation of English-Arabic dictionaries

If we define, for the purposes of this paper, our typical user as an adult whose first language is Arabic, who has been through a standard government secondary school education, and who needs help in reading general, non-technical spoken and written English of the sort encountered in newspapers, magazines, documentary and fictional literature, or educated conversation, what kind of data, and how much of it do we need to compile a satisfactory dictionary? How, in other words, do we build up a representative corpus of contemporary English usage?

This question has been addressed, and answered with the help of technology over the last 10 years by the 'COBUILD' Project, standing for the Collins/Birmingham University International Language Database. Among other things, the project set out to describe in fine detail, within a single-volume monolingual learner's dictionary, the modern English language usage of contemporary written and oral texts produced by native speakers (mainly British, but also incorporating common American and other geographically specific uses). Since the genesis and development of this project has been written up as a book in its own right (Sinclair [ed.] 1987), I need not expound it here. Suffice it to say that it took a large number of researchers several years to accomplish the basic task of assembling a set of texts representative of different written and oral genres and putting these texts onto a computer database. The core corpus amounted to 7 million words of running text, with a further supplementary corpus of 20 million words.[1] Only a database of this enormous size could include enough examples of individual word usage to enable authoritative statements satisfying the criteria of accuracy, typicality, and coverage. Nothing was assumed a priori about any vocabulary item, and nothing was accepted from earlier lexicons: the eventual dictionary entries and examples were based solely on the actual usage evidenced in the database.

In order to turn this data into a form manageable by the lexicographers who had to write the dictionary entries, it was necessary to produce concordances of all the words in it. This was accomplished by the so-called KWIC (Keyword In Context) computer program which finds all the occurrences of any given word and its derivates in the corpus and prints them out or displays them on screen in the way illustrated in Appendix 1 for 'fall' and 'have a fall' (kindly provided by John Sinclair). The key word appears in the middle with a context of specifiable numbers of words before and after. These contexts can be automatically alphabetised, a particularly useful device for words with high frequency. The KWIC concordance allows the lexicographer to inspect the data in a visually convenient form, and hugely speeds up many basic operations: classifying the occurrences of a word into various distinct sub-meanings, identifying frequent versus rare collocations, establishing the common syntactic environments in which the word occurs — a whole host of facts about how a word is (and is not) used. This raw information yields the input to the compilation of a dictionary entry, the explanation of its various meanings, and the examples illustrating its use.

One great advantage is that such an enormous and carefully selected database quickly reveals which words, or collocations of words, are very frequent, less frequent, or so infrequent to be of questionable value to the average, non-specialist user of English as a foreign language. Statistical criteria decide whether to include a word at all, and which meanings and collocations need to be

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1 Stubbs (1993: 11, 29) reports that 'the Cobuild corpus, now the "Bank of English"' now 'consists of several corpora totalling over 200 million words of running text'. The sources were authentic spoken and written texts, e.g. from books, newspapers, radio broadcasts, and telephone conversations (cf. Baker at al. [eds.] 1993). (Editors' note)

highlighted or emphasised by quoting actual examples.

Let us take one simple example to see how collocational information directly incorporates thousands of facts about English usage into the dictionary in a compressed but readable form. The verb 'set' occurs in a number of common phrases exemplified in the corpus, e.g. 'set in order', 'set in train', 'set in hand', 'set in juxtaposition to', 'set in the balance'. However, 'set in' also appears as a distinct phrasal verb with the meaning 'begin', as in 'we ought to get the windows painted before the winter sets in'. The data on 'set in' are examined (29 occurrences) to show that syntactically, as in the example I have just given, 'set in' has a strong tendency to occur at the end of clauses, and that these clauses are almost always subordinate rather than main ones. Perhaps even more striking than this positional restriction is the fact that the subject noun of 'set in' for 'begin' is invariably found in the corpus sentences to be something either abstract or with strongly negative connotations: 'rot' occurs three times, and 'decay', 'malaise', 'despair', 'ill-will', 'decadence', 'impoverishment', 'infection', 'prejudice', 'numbness', 'bitterness' and many others once (Sinclair [ed.] 1987: 152ff). This confirms the native speaker's intuition that there is something distinctly odd, if not unacceptable, about main clauses like 'hope is setting in', 'summer set in early last year', or subordinate clauses like 'before improvement sets in': they offend against collocational restrictions. Thus the dictionary entry for 'set in' reads: 'If something unpleasant sets in, it begins and seems likely to continue or develop' (*Collins Cobuild*, 1991 reprint, p. 1323). This is followed by three actual examples which occurred in the corpus: 'A feeling of anticlimax set in' (with abstract subject), 'It must be treated quickly before infection sets in' (in subordinate clause), and 'The bad weather has set in for the winter' (with negative subject).

Appendix 1 shows up the distinction aired above between 'fall' versus 'have a fall'. For 'fall', most uses appear in the simple past 'fell' and literally denote a single rapidly completed action, often with adverbials specifying the direction like 'down', 'forward', 'backwards', or 'against', or the location left behind like 'out of an upstairs window' or 'from a crowded bridge'. Some uses are idiomatic, as in 'fall through' or 'apart' meaning 'fail', 'fall into a group' meaning 'belong to a category', 'fall over one another' meaning 'do something hastily and eagerly', or 'fall right into line' meaning 'take a supporting position', plus numerous expressions for 'falling' economic values. In contrast, 'have a fall' is nearly always literal and associated with an injury, mostly resulting from horseback riding, a popular English sport attempted by many clumsy amateurs.

Another noteworthy feature we see here is that the meaning and use of head word is explained not by a system of arrows, symbols, or abbreviations, nor by a list of synonymous phrases, but by a full sentence of English which itself embodies some of the linguistic facts of head-word usage (e.g. that 'something unpleasant' is the subject of 'sets in') and often addresses the user directly as 'you' (e.g. 'If you say that you ...., you mean ....'). This is the standard technique in the dictionary, and has proven extremely user-friendly and popular precisely because of its presentational clarity and accessibility. Immediate and accurate use of the dictionary does not require learning a special language devised by the dictionary compiler to save space.

Moves are now afoot to create an English-Arabic version of the COBUILD dictionary by translating the explanations into Arabic, and providing Arabic glosses of the sample sentences. I shall finish by briefly describing some of the distinctive features this dictionary will have.

As far as possible within the constraints imposed by Arabic syntax, the intention is to maintain the presentational features which make the dictionary different from all others by directly addressing the user and explaining the meaning and general context in which the English word is used through sentences, in this case Arabic ones. Some examples of how this will work are provided in Appendix 2. First, parts of the entries 'fall' and its collocations in the monolingual student version (not the long version) of the COBUILD dictionary are reproduced in Appendix 2a and these are followed by a proposal for how the same entries might look in an English-Arabic version in Appendix 2b. For comparison, the corresponding entries in the *Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary* are also shown in Appendix 2c. Note that the direct, second-person style of address to the reader has been used in the English-Arabic COBUILD as, for example, in the entry for 'fall in':

fall in ʔin qulta ʕan saṭḥi mabnaa ʔaw ḥujratin ʔinnahu, *fell in* famaʕnaa dhaalika ʔannahu inhaara

Many readers will notice that this directness echoes the style of the early Arab grammarians and lexicographers. Sibawayhi frequently addressed the reader in the imperative, e.g., 'iʕlam ʔanna...', 'Know that....'; or in conditional clauses, e.g., ʔin ʔaḍafta...', 'If you add ...'; and gave examples using the second person, e.g., 'dhaalika qawluka...', 'For example, when you say ...'.

To sum up: the proposed English-Arabic COBUILD bilingual dictionary will be a general dictionary for use as a foreign language reading and translation aid with the following distinguishing features:

(a) accuracy: only attested modern English usage will be included — no examples which were simply invented or lifted from older dictionaries.

(b) typicality: the statistically typical rather than the possible but rare usages of a given word will be given presentational prominence.
(c) coverage: the 27-million word corpus of English on which the dictionary is based is large enough, and representative enough, to meet all the needs of non-technical users.
(d) user-friendliness: the deliberate avoidance of symbols and other sign systems, and the reliance on a sentence-based approach in the Arabic translation to explain the meaning of the English head-word, should facilitate usage by all types of user, whatever their level of linguistic sophistication.
(e) exemplification: heavy use will be made of actual attested sentences with the typical uses of a word, together with a non-literal translation of the example sentence into Arabic. The point here is to educate the users away from seeing the dictionary as embodying word-for-word equivalences, and to encourage them to see words as elements in larger collocations and contexts.

The dictionary will be aimed unequivocally at the native-speaker of Arabic, and, as I hope has become apparent, this aim will constrain the design of the dictionary — notably in the translation of the explanations of the word meanings into Arabic — and limit its usefulness for the smaller audience of native-speakers of English working from that language into Arabic. However, for students of Arabic who do on occasion need to translate into Arabic, the dictionary may also be useful in providing examples of the idiomatic translation into Arabic of English sentences containing the head-word.

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Appendix 1. Selected occurrences of 'fall' from the Bank of English

< been at the place where Veronica fell. The Bavarian State Government acted >
< and for a moment grew small. Then she fell back against her large, fluffy >
< part of the line where his horse fell and, in rolling over, broke his leg. >
< off the train in Bechuanaland. She fell into Linchwe's embrace. All was >
< hard and there, he's out. Pasolini fell and Pelosi continued to hit him >
< gap had reached 20 secs when Zulle fell rounding a bend. 'It was like I had >
< TV Cops reminds me of how my jaw fell o the floor when I saw Run DMC >
< fell off the back of a motorcycle # Fell off the back of a motorcyclist, most >
< help, <CQO> he said. <t> The man fell forward to hands and knees # <CQl>
< a party at John Horner's house, I fell backwards out of an upstairs window >
< to Saudi officials, seven pilgrims fell from a crowded bridge near one end >
< ahead, and I tumbled over an edge. I fell maybe ten feet, more, found myself >
< the bird crunch back to earth. It fell like a brick, still turning, hit the >
< the blow. But then her father's head fell wearily forward. <t> 'Airlie', he >
< from the crew holding his face and fell in the road. <t> The kid's arm fell. >
< he went to sleep and fell down and was killed; people who sat >
< assumed the form of a bear and fell against Loki with a tremendous >
< things beneath their seats, which fell through the gaps to the floor below. >
< I saw this thing moving # No, it just fell -- like on the ground right under >
< at most, but nearby a foot of powder fell within the 18 hours that ended >
< It's not yet known where the debris fell or if anyone has been injured # >
< with her arms. <t> Even after she fell to the ground Alsion was stabbed a >
< it back and we kept on firing as it fell. <t> It is difficult to explain your
< He touched her hair where it fell against her coat # <CQl> Claire, what >
< that average personal incomes fell by between 10 and 15 per cent, while >
< the ball was about to come down. They fell in a confused heap from which >
< to a sudden halt. Several more men fell; others ran off; most of Tarleton's >
< the teacher about each child who fell into this group that the child had >
< power in the Soviet Union, bankers fell over one another to lend to the new >
< a sharp slowdown in investment, which fell by almost 1% in 1992. If public >
< a client whose long-term relationship fell apart after several years, partly >
< He tried to fight back <LTH> But fell to the ground <LTH> And rolled >
< especially with the canopy down. I fell in love with it as soon as I stepped >
< surprising that younger conductors fell right into line behind him.More >
< index of all first-section shares fell more than 19 points, and losers >
< Goldman: Quinn says the talks fell apart because the NFL now is >
< the six months to end-June. Earnings fell to 1.22p 3. 32p) a share. >
< up in consumer spending. Amber Day fell 3p to 23p, Boots, 8p to 449p, >
< the day it was announced inflation fell below four per cent last month >
< s perfect cross. <t> The Italian side fell further behind two minutes later >
< once again after initial negotiations fell through. Among the options being >
< pursuing the bid. Giant Food Class A fell 2 1/8 to 32 after posting second- >
< from U.S. marketing and refining fell but only because of a big gain from

Appendix 1a. Selected occurrences of 'have a fall' from the Bank of English

< ward at the hospital. He'd had a fall and cut his head. It wasn't serious >
< an accident. His lordship has had a fall. Griggs here found him, and came >
< of wine, he told Maria he had had a fall and she washed his wound; the blood >
< the horse and my brother had a fall the horse's hoof catching a cheek >
< as well, just in case you do have a fall which knocks you out. Such >
< thing you find is that if you have a fall it takes longer to heal', he said >
< on an exuberant horse which had a fall on this course last year. I have >
< penalties. <LTH> Karen Dixon had a fall with Stepney Bartholomew at the >
< had killed our fox. Rose had had a fall earlier on. <LTH> His outstanding >
< three-day event before. We had had a fall over the wall coming out of the >
< I need a telephone in case I have a fall and need to call help. But I am >

Appendix 2a. COBUILD Monlingual (Students' Dictionary)

fall, falls, falling, fell, fallen.[1] 1 (intrans vb) If someone or something falls or falls down, they move quickly downwards onto or towards the ground. *The cup fell from her hand and shattered on the floor... Tears fell from Mother's eyes ...part of the ceiling fell down.... A bomb had fallen on the school.... The snow was still falling.* ▼ (sing n) *He was rushed to hospital after a 40-foot fall.* 2 (intrans vb) If someone or something that is standing falls, or if they fall down or fall over, they accidentally move or are pushed, and they end up lying on the ground. *She lost her balance and fell ... He tripped and fell down ... .. a falling tree.* ▼ (count n) *He asked her if she had had a fall.* ◇ fallen (attrib adj) *...to rescue people trapped inside fallen buildings.* 3 (intrans vb) If people in a position of power fall, they suddenly lose that position. If a place falls in a war or election, an enemy army or a different political party takes control of it. *The regime had fallen... Greater London will fall to Labour.* ▼ (sing n with poss) *This led to the Government's fall ... ... the fall of France.* 4 (intrans vb) If someone falls in battle, they are killed; literary. 5 (intrans vb) If something falls in amount, value, or strength, it decreases. *The value of the dollar has fallen ... Their voices could be heard rising and falling.* ▼ (sing n) *...a fall in moral standards.* ◆ falling (adj) *some nations were uneasy about their falling birth rates.* 6 (intrans vb) When night or darkness falls, night begins and it becomes dark. 7 (intrans vb with adjunct) When light or shadow falls on something, it covers it. *A shadow fell over her book and she looked up.* 8 (intrans vb with prep) If your eyes fall on something, you suddenly see or notice it. *His gaze fell on a small white bundle.* 9 (intrans vb) If silence or a feeling of sadness or tiredness falls on a group of people, they become silent, sad, or tired; literary. *An expectant hush fell on the gathering.* 10 (intrans vb with complement or adjunct) You can use fall to show that someone or something passes into another state. for example, if someone falls ill, they become ill. *After a while I fell asleep... The crowd fell silent... Their ideas had fallen into disuse... He fell in love with her.* 11 (intrans vb with adjunct) If something falls into a particular group or category, it belongs in that group or category. *Human beings fall into two types.* 12 (plural n) You can refer to a waterfall as the falls. *...Niagara falls.* 13 (uncount n, count n) Fall is the season between summer and winter. In the fall the weather becomes cooler; used in American English. 14. • to fall flat: see flat. • to fall into place: see place.

Phrasal Verbs

fall apart. 1 (intrans vb with adv) If something falls apart, it breaks into pieces because it is old or badly made. ... cheap beds that fell apart. 2 (intrans vb with adv) If an organization or system falls apart, it becomes disorganized and unable to work effectively. The nation is falling apart.fall apart. 1 (intrans vb with adv) If something falls apart, it breaks into pieces because it is old or badly made. ... cheap beds that fell apart. 2 (intrans vb with adv) If an organization or system falls apart, it becomes disorganized and unable to work effectively. The nation is falling apart.

fall back. (intrans vb with adv) If you fall back, you move quickly away from someone or something. *I saw my husband fall back in horror.*

fall back on. (intrans vb with adv and prep) If you fall back on something, you do it or use it after other things have failed. *Often you give up and fall back on easier solutions.*

fall behind. (intrans vb with adv) If you fall behind, you do not make progress or move forward as fast as other people. *childrern who fall behind with their reading.*

fall down. See fall 1, 2.

[1] Each main entry is followed by a phonetic transcription of its pronunciation, which we omit

Appendix 2b. Proposed COBUILD English-Arabic Bilingual (sample)

fall, falls, falling, fell, fallen.

١. إن قلت ان شخصا او شيئا **fell** او **fell down** فمعني ذلك انه سقط بسرعة علي الارض.

The cup fell from her hand and shattered on the floor.

سقط الكوب من يدها وتهشم علي الارض.

... *Tears fell from Mother's eyes.* ... تساقطت الدموع من عيني امي.

... *Part of the ceiling fell down.* ... انهار جزء من السقف.

... *a bomb had fallen on the school.* ... كانت قنبلة قد سقطت علي المدرسة.

... *The snow was still falling.* ... كان الثلج مازال يتساقط.

* *He was rushed to hospital after a ٤٠-foot fall.*

تم نقله بسرعة الي المستشفي بعد ان سقط من ارتفاع ٤٠ قدم.

٢. يمكنك ايضا ان تستخدم **fall** او **fall down** او **fall over** بمعني ان يقع شخص او شئ بشكل عفوي او بسبب قوة دافعة.

... *She lost her balance and fell.* ... فقدت توازنها ووقعت علي الارض.

... *He tripped and fell down.* ... تعثر ووقع علي الارض.

... *a falling tree.* ... شجرة تتداعي للسقوط.

* *He asked if she had had a fall.*

سألها إن كانت اصابتها نتيجة السقوط علي الارض.

* **fallen** ... *to rescue people trapped inside fallen buildings.*

لإنقاذ اناس محصورين تحت الانقاض.

٣. إن استخدمت **fall** بالإشارة الي اناس في مركز قوة فمعني ذلك انهم فقدوا هذا المركز بشكل مفاجئ، وإن استخدمته بالإشارة الي موقع معين في سياق الحديث عن حرب او انتخابات فمعني ذلك انه وقع في يد العدو او حزب سياسي آخر.

The regime had fallen. كان النظام قد انهار.

Greater London will fall to Labour.

ستسقط مدينة لندن الكبري في يد حزب العمال.

* *This led to the Government's fall.* ادي ذلك الي سقوط الحكومة.

... *the fall of France.* ... سقوط فرنسا.

(literary) ٤. إن قلت عن شخص انه **fell** خلال المعركة فانت تعني انه سقط وقتل.

٥. إن قيل ان شيئا ما **fell in amount, value, or strength** فمعني ذلك ان كميته او قيمته او قوته قد تضاءلت.

The value of the dollar has fallen. انخفض سعر الدولار.

Their voices could be heard rising and falling.

كان بالإمكان سماع اصواتهم وهي تعلو وتنخفض.

* ... *a fall in moral standards.* ... تدهور في القيم الاخلاقية.

* **falling** *Some nations were uneasy about their falling birth rates.*

كانت بعض الدول قلقة لإنخفاض نسبة المواليد ضمن سكانها.

٦. يقال **night fell** او **darkness fell** اذا بدا الليل او حل الظلام.

٧. إن قلت **light or shadow fell on something** فانت تعني ان الضوء او الظل قد وقع علي شئ ما.

A shadow fell over her book and she looked up. وقع الظل علي كتابها فرفعت عينيها.

٨. إن قلت **my eyes fell on something** فمعني ذلك ان بصرك وقع علي شئ ما فلاحظته فجأة.

His gaze fell on a small white bundle. وقع بصره علي حزمة بيضاء صغيرة.

(literary) ٩. يقال ان شيئا كالسكون او الاحساس بالحزن او التعب **fell on a group of people** اذا سادهم الصمت او غلبهم إحساس معين.

An expectant hush fell on the gathering. ساد الجمع سكون يشي بالترقب.

١٠. يمكنك ان تستخدم **fall** للإشارة الي انتقال شخص او شئ من حالة الي اخري. فمثلا إن قلت ان شخصا ما **has fallen ill** فمعني ذلك انه صار مريضا.

After a while I fell asleep. بعد فترة قصيرة، غرقت في النوم.
The crowd fell silent. غرق الجمع في الصمت.
Their ideas had fallen into disuse. كانت افكارهم قد وقعت موقع الإهمال.
He fell in love with her. لقد وقع في غرامها.
١١. إن قلت ان شيئا ما **falls into a particular group or category** فمعني ذلك انه ينتمي الي طراز او نوع معين.
Human beings fall into two types. هناك فئتان من البشر.
١٢. يمكنك ان تستخدم **the falls** بمعني الشلالات (اختصار **waterfalls**).
... Niagara falls. ... شلالات نياجرا.
١٣. تستخدم **fall** للإشارة الي موسم الخريف. (American)
١٤. للتعبير **fall flat** : انظر **flat**، وللتعبير **fall into place** انظر **place**.

Phrasal Verbs افعال مركبة

fall apart

١. إن قلت ان شيئا ما **fell apart** فمعني ذلك انه تفكك لأنه قديم او سيئ الصنع.
... cheap beds that fell apart... ... سرائر رخيصة تفككت ...
٢. يقال عن مؤسسة او نظام انه **fell apart** اذا اختل نظامه واصبح غير قادر علي العمل بفاعلية.
The nation is falling apart. ان الامة في حالة انهيار.

fall back

يقال ان المرء **fell back** اذا تراجع او ابتعد بسرعة عن شخص او شئ.
I saw my husband fall back in horror. رايت زوجي يتراجع في فزع.

fall back on

يقال ان المرء **falls back on something** حينما يفعل شيئا او يستخدمه بعد ان يفشل في تحقيق اشياء اخري.
Often you give up and fall back on easier solutions.
كثيرا ما ييأس المرء ويلجأ الي حلول اسهل.

fall behind

إن قلت ان شخصا ما **fell behind** فمعني ذلك انه تخلف عن الباقين لأنه لم يتقدم الي الامام بنفس السرعة.
... children who fall behind with their reading.
... اطفال يتخلفون في قدرتهم علي القراءة.

fall down انظر معني ١ و ٢ تحت **fall**.

fall for

١. إن قلت ان شخصا ما **fell for someone** فانت تعني انه انجذب له وبدأ يحبه.
Richard fell for her the moment he set eyes on her.
انجذب ريتشارد لها بقوة بمجرد أن وقع بصره عليها.
٢. يقال ان المرء **fell for a lie or a trick** اذا صدق كذبة او خدعة. (informal)
The working class were not going to fall for this one.
ان هذه الحيلة او الكذبة لم تكن لتخدع الطبقة العاملة.

fall in

إن قلت عن سطح مبني او سقف حجرة انه **fell in** فمعني ذلك انه انهار.

Appendix 2c. Oxford English-Arabic Bilingual

fall (*pret.* fell, *past p.* fallen), *v.i.* 1. (drop, descend, collapse); *also fig.* سَقَطَ، وَقَعَ، نَزَلَ، إِنْحَطَّ، هَوَى، إِنْهَارَ، تَدَاعَى

fall between two stools فَشِلَ بِسَبَب تَرَدُّدِه بَيْن أَمْرَيْن، صاحب بَالَيْنِ كذّاب

fall by the wayside تَخَلَّفَ عن الرَّكب، لم يُوَاصِلْ...، سَقَطَ في مُنتَصَف الطَّرِيق

fall flat (*lit. & fig.*) سَقَطَ على الأرض، اِنْبَطَحَ؛ (تعليق) لم يَستَهوِ السامعين

fall for someone (*coll.*) شُغِفَ بها، وَقَعَ في غَرَامِها، أُغْرِمَ بها

fall on one's feet (*lit. & fig.*) وَثَبَ وسَقَطَ واقِفًا، خَرَجَ من المَأْزِق بِسَلام

fall apart تَفَكَّكَ، تَصَدَّعَ، تَفَسَّخَ (إلى أجزاء)

fallen woman إِمْرَأَة ساقِطة

falling star نَجْمٌ هاوٍ، نَيْزَك، شهاب

his eyes fell on وَقَعَ نَظَره على، وَقَعَت عَيْنُه على

his face fell تَجَهَّمَ وَجْهه، إِعْتَلَت وجهه الكآبة

let fall a remark لَمَّحَ في كلامِه إلى ...، أَشار

he fell for the trick إِنْطَلَت عَلَيْه الحِيلة، جَازَت عليه الخِدْعة

2. (come, pass)

fall asleep غَلَبَه النُعاس أو النوم، نامَ

fall in love وَقَعَ في الحبّ أو الغَرام

fall into line (place) إِصْطَفَّ؛ انْسَجَمَ مع

fall on evil times ضَاقَت به الأيام

it falls to my lot وَمِنْ نَصِيبِي، يَقَعُ على عَاتِقِي، يَنبغي علي أن ..

3. (occur)

fall due إِسْتَحَقَّ (وَفاء الدَّيْن مثلاً)، حَان أو حَلَّ مَوْعِد (الدَّفْع)

Christmas falls on a Thursday يَقَع عِيد المِيلاد (أو يُصادِف) يومَ الخَميس (هَذه السَّنة)

4. (*adverbial compounds*)

fall away

(slope) انْحَدَرَ، مَالَ إلى الإنْحِدار

(diminish) قَلَّ، تَضاءَلَ، تَنَاقَصَ

fall back (behind) تَراجَع، تَقَهْقَر، تَلَكَّأَ، تَأَخَّر (في دَفْع الأقْساط مَثلاً)

fall back on لَجَأَ إلى، رَكَنَ إلى، إِسْتَعان بِ

fall in

(collapse) تَقَوَّض، إِنْهار، هَبَط خَسَف (السَّقف)؛ إِنْتَهَى (العَقد)

(*mil.*) إِصْطَفَّ، تَصَافَّ

fall off (decrease)[3] قَلَّ، تَنَاقَصَ، تَضَاءَلَ

Part V. Pedagogical Applications

Translation as a Resource :
Teaching English as a Foreign Language

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Abstract

This paper advocates using translation as an effective communicative strategy in teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL), with emphasis on classes for listening comprehension and speaking. Some activities for doing so from my own teaching experience are presented and discussed, along with their implications for teaching translation itself. Finally, some methods are suggested to alleviate the negative effects of using translation in TEFL classes, such as interference errors, low communicative competence, and monotony.

1. Background and status of translation

Excessive reliance on the 'grammar and translation' method in TEFL made translation at large unpopular for some time, especially during the dominance of the 'audio-lingual' method. But slowly, translation reappeared in language classes (cf. Celçe-Murcia 1979; Rivers 1981; Larsen-Freeman 1986). Thereafter, translation again declined during the rise of notional-functional and communicative methods, until the experts realised that they could use translation as one of their communicative techniques and activities (Finocchiaro & Brumfit 1983). Gradually, translation again found a stable and consistent place in the foreign language class, where its use has been recommended by specialists (e.g. Rivers 1978, 1981; Widdowson 1985; Heltai 1989; Urgese 1989; Duff 1990; Abu-Jarad, this volume).

Nevertheless, some teachers dogmatically continue refusing to use translation in teaching a foreign language, even when their students urgently ask to know a native equivalent for a word or expression in a text or for the directions to an assignment or a test. Such indifference to students' problems elicits negative feelings toward the teacher and the method, the more so when misunderstandings lead to poor grades.

The proponents of using translation in TEFL point to its merits as one technique and classroom activity among others such as 'conversation', 'role play', 'project work', 'literature', and 'drama' (Duff 1990). According to Tudor (1987), 'translation as the process of conveying messages across linguistic and cultural barriers is an eminently communicative activity, one whose use could well be considered in a wider range of teaching situations than may currently be the case'.

To justify and integrate translation in this capacity into foreign language classes, we should contrast its status as a traditional method with its status as a modern pedagogical and communicative tool. In traditional methods centred on translation, students tried to memorise lists of isolated vocabulary items with native equivalents, and to absorb elaborate grammatical explanations in the native language. Classroom drills called for translating disconnected sentences word for word into the native language.

Translation as a modern pedagogical and communicative tool is used quite differently in the TEFL class. It is no longer a dominant activity but serves purposes that otherwise could not be met. It does not create monotony but prevents it. Whereas it once demanded individual hard work and reflection by the students and a diligent teacher to correct the same mistakes in 30 or more papers, it is now done orally within peer groups and followed by lively discussions; corrections are done mostly by students and only occasionally by the teacher.

Instead of applying to isolated words and sentences, translation now deals with communicative needs and purposes for stretches of written or oral discourse. This new approach supports what Dell Hymes (1972) calls **communicative competence**, whose development should be the goal of any language teaching and learning (Richards & Rogers 1986; cf. Wilkins 1976). Such competence subsumes the strategies for starting, finishing, continuing, correcting, and 'redirecting' communication (Canale & Swain 1980).

'Communicative language teaching' in the sense of Howatt (1984) can make 'judicious use' of oral translation from the native language into the foreign language 'where students need or benefit from it' and can be 'motivated' 'to work with the language' (Finocchiaro & Brumfit 1983). Instead of struggling for a full avoidance of their native language, learners should be allowed to use it to express their opinions and feelings about the ongoing written or oral discourse.

Many conventional activities and techniques employed in TEFL do not promote communicative competence but could do so if the procedures of communicative teaching were applied to them. For example, a dialogue can be performed in class not through rote learning but in simulations of real-life situations wherein students seek to attain short-range or long range goals. Similarly, translation can be used in a communicative ambience for suitable activities, such as pair and group work followed by discussion with the teacher acting as consultant. Such activities could be performed in a range of ways in TEFL, as indicated by the methods of 'community language learning' (Edge 1986).

2. Some translation activities in TEFL

In some countries, where English is a foreign language and not a second one, opportunities for natural acquisition outside the classroom are scarce. If the students and teachers share a common native language, translation can be a useful way to accommodate the learners, the course objectives, and the class atmosphere and needs (cf. Girard 1972), irrespective of the specific method or approach. For example, translation is quite effective in learning a foreign language for 'special purposes' (LSP) (Widdowson 1973). Teachers need merely bear in mind that translation is not the ultimate goal or end in itself but a means and a resourceful tool.

2.1 *Exploring grammar*

Giving examples in the students' native language can serve to clarify grammatical points such as tenses, word order, or the placement of modifiers. Contrastive study of problem areas can use back-translation to help students appreciate the similarities and diversities between the structure of English and their native language. Contrasts can be brought out by presenting native utterances for which the students seek to supply semantic and pragmatic equivalents in English as fluently as they can (Rivers & Temperley 1978).

2.2 *Building and activating vocabulary*

Translation is also vital for clarifying lexical items and concepts that the learners can internalise by dramatising and paraphrasing. For proper nouns (e.g. 'Plato, Archimedes, Aristotle, Tigris, Euphrates') and common nouns (e.g. 'colonel, leopard, deadly sins'), native equivalents can be given instead of long definitions and explanations. For idioms and expressions which are culture-bound, idioms of the same semantic and pragmatic value in the students' native language should be sought e.g., 'work like a horse' or 'not lift a finger' in

English versus 'work like a donkey' or 'not touch black and white' in Farsi.

Usually, language learners' passive English vocabulary is much larger than their active one, so that they recognise many more words than they can produce. To activate their passive vocabulary and encourage the use of more idiomatic expressions, the following translation activity can be deployed. The students are divided into groups and given some idioms and words in their native language. They have a limited time to find equivalents in English through group discussion, using a bilingual dictionary and consulting the teacher. Then they are further divided into pairs, each of which has a limited time to write a short dialogue in English using the words and expressions they have found. The pairs return to the groups and seek to settle their questions and difficulties by discussing controversial points. Next, the class reassembles and the teacher asks different pairs of students to present their dialogues; linguistic, contextual, or cultural problems are noted and resolved. Finally, the best dialogues for the week are selected, and the student writers and performers are praised and awarded good grades. This activity proved highly attractive and motivating to my students. It improved the communicative skills of writing, reading, speaking, and listening in an integrated and holistic manner while providing excitement and competition in producing an authentic piece of discourse and winning a contest. The students' fluency, pronunciation, and intonation could be checked, and they gained experience in choosing contextual and pragmatic equivalents from bilingual dictionaries.

2.3 *Reading comprehension*

Translation is also a helpful technique for reading classes. The teacher can monitor the students' understanding by having them present the main idea or summary of a passage orally in their native language or by asking questions in English for the students to answer in the native language. Here, students have to comprehend and cannot produce mechanical responses using words from the passage or question without attending to the meaning. Or, students in one group can be asked to make oral translations of ambiguous and problematic sections and exchange them with another group, so that knowledge gaps are jointly filled.

2.4 *Listening comprehension and speaking*

An emphasis on translation in listening comprehension is readily compatible with the majority of techniques and activities performed in speaking classes, such as those proposed above. Further activities include:

(a) **Creating and recording dialogues.** Students are divided into small groups of 4 to 6 and each is provided with a tape recorder. Members of each group have 20 minutes to develop a conversation by presenting utterances in their native language and translating them into English, while one student takes notes. When the dialogue is ready, it is recorded in both the native language and English. Then, the students are reassembled and the dialogues are played to the whole class to be analysed grammatically, semantically, and pragmatically, with the teacher's guidance. Such purpose-oriented language learning through group interaction in an informal situation alleviates the tension of performing brief, isolated tasks, and engages the learners' enthusiasm and creativity. The teacher can point out and rectify interference problems, and can act as the judge to choose the best dialogue and reward its creators.

(b) **Dubbing a film or play**. Students are divided into groups or pairs to work on dubbing sections from a film or a play from English into the native language. First, they watch a whole film or whole play not exceeding 45 minutes and are given tapes of it to take home. Each student first writes down his or her assigned passage from the original script and then translates it into the native language. The results are combined to make a whole script to be subsequently rehearsed and performed. This activity can be shared among different class sessions or done as a term project by groups of students outside the classroom. This activity also follows a clear objective and is authentic, natural, and communicative.

(c) **Translating chunks**. This activity can be used in classes for developing listening comprehension and speaking fluency. Students are divided into groups and given sentences in the native language or in English, using popular, colourful expressions. They consult within the group for a brief time (e.g. 30 seconds) on each sentence and translate it into English or the native language. The group which first translates correctly is awarded a point. The game continues for 15 minutes and the group which collects the most points wins. The sentences can be centred on such functions as making requests, expressing likes and dislikes, and so on.

(d) **Acting as consecutive interpreters**. This activity is good for students who will be doing translation and interpretation in their future occupations. Three students participate, one speaking only the native language, one only English, and one being the interpreter between them, periodically exchanging roles. Their performances can be recorded and later analysed.

2.5 *Teaching translation itself*

In translation classes, students need to focus attention on subtle categories and distinctions in grammar and vocabulary and on contrastive aspects of the native and foreign languages. Careful handling is also needed for the requirements of different registers and aesthetic standards. Again, communicative strategies and natural interaction by group work, even in written activities, should be encouraged to encourage students' innovation and enthusiasm.

3. Alleviating negative effects in language classes

Language teachers who feel reluctant to use translation in their classes fear that it may seem unduly monotonous, pointless, and time-consuming both to do and to correct. It might not be motivating or communicative, and might trigger interlingual or interference errors. These fears are justified if translation is done in a traditional manner, but not if its use is modernised and streamlined to fit communicative strategies. In our programme, the following guidelines have proven helpful:

(a) Translation should not be a substitute for other activities and techniques but should be integrated with them
(b) Translation activity requires prior preparation by the teacher.
(c) Translation activity should be purpose-oriented and meaningful to the students.
(d) The activity should add variety to the classroom atmosphere and should not last for a long time; games are useful, and students enjoy playing them.

The effects of interference are a matter of much dispute (e.g. Cook 1985). Some authorities suggest that interference problems may help learners appreciate the different organisation of languages (Widdowson 1973, 1985; Brown 1980). At all events, interference is inevitable because students have their native language so prominently stored in memory. Unless translation is delayed, as Heltai (1989) suggests, it can help reveal some major sources of errors and equip students to resist them (Osaji 1989). Contrastive analysis and error analysis are appropriate here.

4. Conclusion

Within such a framework as I have expounded, I am convinced that translation can play a valuable role in TEFL among other techniques and activities and can vitally assist communication to flow more freely, creatively, and enthusiastically in the language class. We hope to expand and refine our techniques in the years ahead.

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Empowering Student Translators in the Classroom

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Abstract

Following a review of translation currently practised for English in the Gaza Strip, this paper presents motives and newer activities for using oral translation in teaching and learning. These activities can be instrumental in improving the students' translation fluency through listening comprehension, speaking, judging performances, analysing issues and problems, making suggestions and revisions, and comparing languages or cultures, thus giving rich occasions for co-operation with other teachers and courses within Departments of English.

1. The current situation

Translation courses have been included in the B.A. curricula in all Departments of English in the occupied Gaza Strip. However, the teaching of translation and the handling of the students' cognitive and communicative needs are far from satisfactory at this time.

For many years, translating unrelated literary passages has been the major activity of translation courses. Help may be given by the teacher for translating a certain passage in class, but not on a systematic basis. Accordingly, the students' main expertise concerns a scattering of literary terms and literary styles. This background does not enable effective translation of discourse in everyday life nor in the specialised fields of science and technology (cf. Finch 1969). The students get only a few non-literary assignments in their translation courses, and these are, according to my reports from translation teachers in the Gaza Strip, limited to artificial or simplified topics.

A serious problem thus lies in leaving students competent just in literary varieties, styles, and registers of language. This problem grows acute when they have graduated and need to translate non-literary texts and may find themselves at a total loss regarding the key concepts and lexical items in specific fields.

We clearly need broader programmes to train EFL students in translating coherently and intelligibly on the wide range of topics required for professional careers, especially when those careers include teaching English and translation themselves. The coming decade will witness increasing pressure upon EFL graduates of colleges or universities to demonstrate broad skills of this kind.

In regard to translating, the familiar 'four skills' of speaking, listening, writing, and reading have by no means all received the same amount of attention, due in part to the emphases in EFL research and in part to the methods favoured by EFL practitioners. The decisive influence of teaching methods can be seen in most Palestinian schools, where translation has always been accepted in EFL classrooms though in a variety of ways (cf. Zohrevandi, this volume). In the 'Grammar and Translation' method, translating written texts is a central activity, whereas scant regard is accorded to speaking and listening for oral discourse. In the 'Audio-Lingual' method, translation drills constitute a very minor part of practice techniques. Finally, in the 'Direct' method, translation is cultivated as a skill at more advanced stages.

Moreover, some teachers have criticised translation as a teaching method on the grounds that students will continue to perform at the level of an 'interlanguage' and not become able to 'think' in the 'target language' (cf. James 1980). Here, it may be replied that the majority of language learners will be using the translation process in any case, at least implicitly, to mediate between their 'thinking' and the target language, and that this mediation will diminish as the language becomes familiar.

The limitations imposed upon translation by the usual methods need to be offset with appropriate efforts and materials. Whichever method is used, the teacher's analytic and intuitive skills should be enlisted to discover which translation activities are most productive for a particular type of students at a particular stage. This way, translation can play a vital role befitting the recognition today among a majority of EFL practitioners that language learning is a conscious intellectual process — provided we can move beyond the usual limited choice of translation varieties offered to EFL teachers. Instead of just acquainting students with literary styles and registers, we need to place more emphasis on the styles, registers, and topics that are directly relevant for the needs of the students and the society, such as commerce and current affairs (cf. Beaugrande, 'Consultations', this volume).

In place of the traditional emphasis on written translation in EFL classrooms, oral translation must be clearly defined not just as reading aloud a prepared text but as performing the spontaneous consecutive translation of ongoing natural discourse. I have found it effective and motivating to shift toward oral translation with Palestinian university students majoring in English and having performance levels ranging between intermediate and upper intermediate. At the end of the course, when the students were asked to fill out evaluation sheets, nearly all of them commented favourably on this activity.

2. Expanding our conception of language skills

The familiar 'four skills' of speaking, listening, writing, and reading offer at best a rough classification of tasks and activities. Perhaps it would be more helpful for teachers and students performing translation activities to envision a scheme with these divisions: (1) listening and comprehending as a prelude to performing discourse actions; (2) speaking within the framework of turn-taking; (3) making comparisons between languages; and (4) analysing styles and registers between the two languages; and (5) role-playing as speaker, listener, and translator in various contexts. These skills could be distributed all across the curriculum of English Departments, so that close coordination would be opportune between teachers of translation and teachers in other areas (cf. Beaugrande, 'Consultations', this volume).

2.1 *Listening and comprehending*

Since, aside from very early instruction, relatively little attention is given to active listening and comprehending at pre-university levels, translation can offer a prime channel for connecting listening with speaking in oral EFL communication. The students listen in order to evaluate, enjoy, analyse, and take written notes. They should learn how to adapt to the speaker's appearance and delivery, how to overcome external and internal distractions, how to listen for central concepts, how to get the gist of the message, how to attend to 'paralinguistic' signals such as gestures, and finally how to formulate an utterance in reply. These activities can strengthen the student translator's receptive language facility to carefully assimilate the messages presented by a speaker and to engage in dynamic meaningful interaction. Effectual listening also helps student translators predict how a topic will develop and how it will relate to their personal store of prior knowledge.

Typically, a speaker's choice of options reflects a response to the contextual environment and the social, historical, and environmental factors that constitute it. Student translators should be aware they will be expected to make commensurate adjustments during oral translation so as to clearly demonstrate the orientation of the original speaker and the intention to accomplish an appropriate goal in the course of the interaction.

2.2 *Speaking and turn-taking*

Before attempting to translate dialogues and conversations, students can be explicitly trained to interact with the 'turn-taking systems' used in ordinary conversation and in institutional settings (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974: 729ff; compare also Duncan 1974; Levinson 1983). Oral translation can help to make the students aware of the 'rules' that govern 'turn-taking'. The students in my study were trained to do so in ordinary conversation, a domain wherein native speakers have been shown to be highly skilled in spontaneously managing the allocation, content, length, and ordering of turns. The students were also trained to identify some basic ways in which other turn-taking systems are purported to differ from ordinary conversation. The students were introduced to turn-taking in more specialised and institutional settings, such as broadcasted interviews, where the 'rules' are more rigidly and explicitly organised. But we have not yet fully integrated 'turn-taking' within the overall student training or within their intensive instruction in translation.

2.3 *Making comparisons between languages or texts*

If translating is 'substituting a text in one language for a text in another' (cf. Catford 1965), the students should compare enough examples from the native and the target language to appreciate that translating is not merely moving from the source language to the target language in terms of 'grammar' (e.g. Arabic contains a grammatical gender dimension which is absent from English system) and 'lexicon' (e.g. Arabic has two words 'khaal' and 'ʕamm' versus English 'uncle') (cf. Chuquet et al. 1987). Students must be made keenly sensitive to strategies for translating ideas and not just isolated forms, patterns. and words.

Quick transfers in grammar and lexicon from source language to the target language are the usual source of **interference**. In our training, we have found that interference typically goes in only one direction, namely from the students' native Arabic. Making comparisons of whole texts can be a useful counter-measure here in shifting attention from 'local' forms and words to the more 'global' topics and goals that guide the choices of forms and words.

In this connection, student translators need to appreciate possible divergences between **style** or **registers** within the two languages involved (cf. al-Sheikh 1981; Ilyas, Abdulla, Farghal, this volume). Virtually all factors of language may be significant here. The style and register of English scientific discourse, for example, is more conventionalised than in Arabic, whose traditions reach back into the Classical period where literary styles were considered appropriate in science as well (cf. Bahumaid, this volume). English science writers have the notion that their discourse should have a high frequency of passive verb forms, and a low frequency of first- or second-person pronouns, even if it means used stilted expressions like 'this researcher' instead of 'I' (cf. critical discussion in Beaugrande 1984, who cites the authoritarian stance of the editors and English teachers or handbooks). It follows that we should include training directed to typical features of discourse domains through exercises in correlating stylistic and registerial features, e.g. English passive [1] versus Arabic active [1a]:

[1] A fierce attack has been launched against Iraqi forces by American Jet fighters.

[1a] shannat ʔalṭaaʔiraatu al-ʔAmriikiyya hujuuman sharisan ʕalaa ʔal-quwwaat al-ʕIraaqiyya

The students' attention should focus here on the communicative equivalence between the English passive and the Arabic active voice whenever the agent is mentioned. It would be inappropriate to retain the passive merely in the interest of 'grammatical equivalence' (cf. Rosenhouse 1988).

3. Sample translation activities

The sample activities for oral translation described below are intended to be performed step by step in strategic sequences. The students are given freedom to select the passages they need to translate. The most popular source has proved to be newspapers and magazines, which present the styles and registers of mass media. A less common choice was discourse dealing with cultural and psychological issues. But no student has yet chosen specialised scientific discourse, doubtless due to uneasiness about technical terminology in Arabic (cf. Bader, Aal, Bahumaid, Holes, all this volume).

We have found that it is essential to introduce **bi-directional translation** as soon as is feasible. At first, to be sure, students need to gain self-confidence by going only from their native language into the foreign one and thus being able to start on the side where their competence is greater. After five class meetings, however, they switch to bi-directional translation activities, each one usually lasting about 20 minutes. I shall briefly describe seven of these.

Activity 1: Exchanging oral roles in an interview

In the context envisioned here, a broadcast journalist is seeking information from one or more newsmakers, experts, or eyewitnesses for the benefit of a radio or television audience. The group gets divided into three roles: journalist, government official, and translator. Although the students are encouraged to design their own dialogues in either of the languages involved, the teacher also designs and offers a set of dialogues based on domains that have previously been found to attract the students' interests and to stimulate communicative actions. Teacher-made dialogues can set the questions in either language, whilst the students set the answers, e.g.:

(A) What are you going to discuss with the president?
maadhaa satunaaqish maʕa al-raʔiis? ______________________________.
(B) How long will you stay here? ____________________________________.
ʔilaa mataa satabqaa hunaa?

Alternately, the teacher sets the statements and students set the questions, e.g.:

(C) ____?

I would like to discuss procedural matters before we get to matters of substance; our second meeting will focus on security measures to be taken during the president's visit.
ʔuḥibbu ʔann ʔunaaqisha al-ʔumuura ʔal-ijraaʔiyya qabla al-ʔumuura al-haamma sayurakkizu ʔijtimaa ʕunna al-thaanii ʕalaa ʔijraaʔaati l-ʔamn ʔallati satuttakhadhu ʔathnaaʔa ziyaarat al-waziir.

Either way, students are encouraged to modify the text of these role-playing exercises. The teacher also participates in modifying the text to introduce some novel utterances that encourage the students to work out new strategies.

Whilst the exercises are actually going on, the teacher's role is to listen carefully and take notes. In the final ten minutes, the teacher comments on the students' performance, including the positive achievements in lively role-playing as well as the negative incidents such as grammatical errors and deviations from effectual communicative strategies.

Activity 2: Interchanging oral and written roles

Here, two students writing on the chalk board share the translation activity, one translating into Arabic and the other into English. The students in the class ask questions or give commands in either language, which are to be translated into the other language. These oral contributions can cover the activities of the writers' roles as well, and the writers both translate and show by their actions that they have understood.

(D) We cannot read your handwriting. Please write a little more clearly.
laa nastaṭiiʕu ʔan naqraʔa khaṭṭak. imin faḍlik ʔuktub bishaklin ʔawḍaḥ.
____.

(E) Stand aside, please, so that the others can see what you have written.
qif jaaniban, min faḍlik, ḥattaa yaraa al-ʔaakharuun maa katabt.

____.

At the end, ae teacher or student says (F), and the writers answer as they comply.

(F) Thank you, you may go to your seat and copy the sentences into your exercise book.

shukran, yumkinuka al-rujuuʕu ʔilaa miqʕadik wa naql al-jumal fii kurraasatik.

____.

Then all the students transcribe what has been done on the blackboard.

Activity 3: Exchanging roles at an exhibition

The context foresees one role for a student working at a picture exhibition and the other role for a person who asks questions or gives instructions, which are to be answered in either language, such as:

(G) I do not understand the role of the girl in the picture. Would you explain that to me?
laa ʔafhamu dawra al-bint fii al-ṣuura. ʔalaa sharaḥta dhaalika lii?

____.

(H) Read what it says under the picture.
ʔiqraʔ ʔal-maktuuba taḥta al-ṣuura.

____.

(I) I want to buy a picture. What is your advice?
ʔuriidu ʔan ʔashtarii ṣuura. maa hiya naṣiiḥatuk?

____.

(J) What are your responsibilities here?
maa hiya masʔuuliyyaatuka hunaa?

____.

(K) Don't you see that these pictures need to be rearranged?
ʔalaa taʕtaqid ʔanna haadhihi aṣ-ṣuwar taḥtaaju ʔilaa al-tartiib?

____.

Activity 4: Exchanging oral roles in the classroom setting

The context here is organising the classroom setting itself. Utterances in either language are presented by one group and the responses by the other group, e.g.:

(L) Wait until your friend has finished speaking.
ʔintaẓir ḥattaa yafragha ṣadiiquka mina al-ḥadiith

____.

(M) I suggest that we arrange the chairs in a circle.
ʔaqtariḥu ʔan nurattiba ʔal-karaasiya ʕalaa shakli daaʔira

____.

(N) OK, that will be good, since we will take turns. Everyone can say what they want.
hasanan, sayakuunu dhaalika jayyidan ṭaalama ʔannanaa sanatanaawabu ʔal-adwaar. kullun sayaquulu maa yuriid

____.

Activity 5: Exchanging oral roles: in shopping

Shopping is certainly a domain that is socially and linguistically relevant to the students' communicative needs and capacities. One situation we have used is trying on pair of shoes and having trouble getting the right size. Here, we can easily predict the vocabulary likely to be useful, e.g. 'try on', 'fit', 'too big', 'too small', 'tight', etc., as well as the utterance patterns, e.g., 'give me', 'I'm looking for', 'I'd like to', 'I asked for', etc. The role-players make and respond in either language within dialogue passages like these:

(O) They are too tight, these shoes. I can't get them on.
haadhaa al-ḥidhaaʔu ḍayyiqun jiddan. laa ʔastaṭiiʕu ʔan ʔalbasah.

(P) Surely they're not too tight. They're a perfect fit. Push your feet in a bit more.
bilṭaʔkiid huwa laysa bihaadha al-ḍiiq. huwa ʕalaa maqaasik. ʔadkhil qadamayka fiih.

(Q) I am pushing them in. They're still too tight.
ʔanaa ʔudkhiluhumaa. laakinnahu ḍayyikun jiddan.

(R) There's nothing wrong with the shoes. Your feet are too big.
laa ʕayba fi l-ḥidhaaʔ. qadamaaka kibiirataahi jiddan.

Other students translate the utterances and make commentaries on the ongoing scene, much as bystanders might do outside the shop. They can also vary the type of shop and merchandise, e.g. clothes, electrical appliances, books, etc.

Activity 6: Discussing recorded translation activities

All oral translation activities are tape-recorded to provide records for subsequent discussion, along with the written texts in student notebooks. The students sit around a table listening to the translations, making comments on performance, and raising problems and issues for discussion. They mutually explore their difficulties in translating and propose solutions or alternatives for what they hear on the tapes. These activities help build the students' self-confidence for future performances.

Activity 7: Preparing revisions

The discussion of recorded materials leads rather naturally into the activity of preparing revisions. The participants profit from the feedback and advice they have gained to make a revised version that the other students and the teacher will judge more favourably. Where necessary, a participant can go through this process several times, using different members in the class as audiences and judges. This procedure befits the advice of Marton (1988), who suggests that problems and errors 'tend to disappear as the learner proceeds along the developmental path, getting more comprehensible input and constantly revising and correcting erroneous hypotheses'.

A further resource we have found useful is to adapt scenes shown on television for role-playing. These scenes offer realistic situations the students can skilfully simulate, the more so for regular programmes that are well-liked to begin with. The students can work together in preparing bilingual versions of the dialogue to be acted out with dramatic flair (Zohrevandi, this volume).

The teacher's main role in the revision process is to be a consultant in matters of distinguishing standard from non-standard usage in respect to phonological, morphological, and syntactic criteria as well as to criteria of accuracy in translation. The teacher also highlights cultural issues and problems, especially in regard to those which guide the selection of contextually appropriate meanings, which cannot be mechanically selected from lists of isolated words and definitions, a format unfortunately common in traditional bilingual dictionaries (cf. Holes, this volume).

Conclusion

In this paper, I have advocated a communicative approach to using oral translation in the classroom and have presented some of our own attempts in this direction. Initial translation activities should be related to the facets of language or of culture with which we expect the students to be familiar. Action and involvement through role-playing can be a major contribution toward making oral translation both interesting and effectual within the learning process. The students should be given free reign in assigning roles and choosing topics and

Part VI. Geopolitical Outlooks

Military Translation

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Abstract

Military translation has always been an important factor for military forces. Armies vitally depend on the exchange of information in order to build up their forces through the aid of more advanced armies abroad, and to keep up with advancing military technology. The Jordanian military situation is reviewed in this light, and some issues and examples of military translation are presented.

Military translation through the ages

In the early days of the Islamic expansion, the Islamic armies benefited greatly from the expertise of the translators they encountered in the nations they conquered. For moving masses of soldiers through areas with different languages and cultures, local interpreters were vital for facilitating operations of both occupiers and occupied. Educated war prisoners were not placed in prison camps but used for instructing military strategies or other branches of knowledge in Islamic countries. Thus, a prisoner might have been asked to teach his native language to a group of Muslim soldiers or children.

As in those days, translation still has a crucial role in the 20th century. Indeed, it is even more crucial in the modern arena, where the misinterpreting of a sentence or even a word could unleash vast technological destruction.

The Jordanian military arena

Translation plays a major role for Jordan within the Arab world. To a great extent, the armed forces of the Arab countries are not yet self-sufficient in many aspects. They must rely on translation skills from different languages in order to maintain a respectable professional standard.

In the Jordanian Armed Forces (JAF), which has limited resources and lies in the midst of the Middle Eastern conflict sphere, the general headquarters supports military translation from different languages to keep up with advancements in technology. By enhancing its professional standards and conducting direct observation of the armies of more developed countries, the JAF have acquired a significant reputation throughout the region.

The JAF need translation for two main reasons. First, the JAF consult the strategies and military doctrines of other armies when formulating its own. Second, the JAF do not want to be limited to the information available in the Arabic language concerning equipment, weaponry, and training programmes. A significant volume of documents and correspondence must therefore be translated into Arabic from English as well as other foreign languages. Most of these messages are of a purely military nature, such as training pamphlets and technical manuals, but some are not, such as contracts and letters.

Quality and capacity in military translation

Military translation may be considered a unique discipline in itself. Due to the variety of its tasks, the military establishment deals with text and message types that may require more than one method of translation. Most of these types could be further subdivided according to form, style, and objective. Hence, the task of the military translator is complex and challenging, and demands great flexibility and conscientiousness.

Like all translators, military translators strive both to respect the text and to satisfy the audience. The latter factor exerts particular pressure on military translators, who must try to suit an audience composed of people hailing from many diverse educational and cultural backgrounds. This task requires the translators to be genuinely multilingual, multicultural, open-minded, and knowledgeable in the field of military sciences. They work hard not to 'overtranslate', i.e., to provide more information than required, but also not to 'undertranslate', i.e., to provide less than required. They may need to bridge crucial gaps between the source language and target language. And they must avoid all mistakes which could have serious consequences, e.g. when erroneous instruction manuals lead to weapons misuse causing human injuries.

A modest survey among Jordanian military translators showed the majority placing the main emphasis on providing the basic meaning in simple and clear language, which could be comprehended all across the varying educational levels within the armed forces. These precepts are more difficult to practice than they may seem, given the variety of message types and methods, e.g., how far military translation is general or specialised for technical or legal matters.

These qualities of military translation indicate the dimensions of the tasks facing the translator but do not impose a specific single approach. To ensure the proper degree of flexibility for handling the variety in types of texts and messages, a wide knowledge of models, methods, and approaches for translation is vital.

This flexibility is especially crucial for cross-cultural differences among languages. Problems can arise when English speakers are more blunt or matter-of-fact in expressing themselves than their Arab colleagues would be in the same situation. In one case, a British officer wrote a much more frankly negative report on a soldier's performance than his Jordanian counterparts would have written under the same circumstances. The Jordanian staff was accordingly misled to assume that the soldier's performance was so unacceptable as to call for drastic punishment, which was duly carried out. In another case, the sentence [1] written by an American officer evaluating a soldier's performance in a training course was translated by [1a], where 'missed' was confused with 'missed the point', i.e. 'misunderstood'; the correct translation should have been [1b].

[1] If he had not missed a lot of instruction he could have achieved a better result.

[1a] Kana mina al-mumkin an yaḥṣul ʕla natija afḍal lawla annhu
it-was that possibility that he-gets some result better but that-he
lam yastawiʕb al-kathir min al-taʕliimat al muʕṭa
not understand much of the-instruction the-given

[1b] Kana bimaqdur an al-huṣṣuul ʕla natija afḍal lawla annhu
it-was possible that the-achievement some result better but that-he
kan kathir at-aghiyyub
was much absent

As a result, the soldier was classified as incapable and incompetent rather than merely impelled, for whatever reasons, to be frequently absent.

The professional military translator should possess the following capacities:

(1) competence in both source and target language;

(2) military knowledge, both tactical and technical;

(3) familiarity with a wide range of military, technical, legal, diplomatic, political, and strategic terminology, and the ability to use it when the need arises;

(4) the ability to adjust to fluctuations among types of texts and messages;

(5) the endurance to work long hours under pressure and with minimal mistakes;

(6) the ability to oversee, manage, and summarise large quantities of correspondence;

(7) the ability to interpret all modes of communication, from a high-level senior meeting to a training course in the field.

Indeed, we could say that military translators need to cover all the professional categories of translators, such as those cited by the Association Suisse des Traducteurs et Interprètes (ASTI) and by the Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférences (AIIC) (compare Haeseryn, this volume): interpreter-translator, technical translator, literary translator, court translator, conference interpreter, terminologist, press translator for information and advertising, cinema/TV translator, language teacher, documentarian, minutes-taker, editor, reviser, and multilingual secretary.

Main interests, purposes, and message types

Military translation naturally raises many general problems that come with the official terms of government as well as with the contrasts among cultures. 'The Home Office' will be translated as [2a], reflecting usage in the United Kingdom, whereas 'the Secretary of State' will be translated as [2b], reflecting usage in the United States of America; and the Arabic rendering for 'the Pentagon', the highest American defense authority, will not be merely [3a] but [3b] (cf. Jalabneh 1991: 6ff).

[2a] wizaarat al-daakhiliyya
ministry-of the-interior
[2b] wizaarat al-khaarijiyya
ministry-of the-foreign
[3a] al-bintaagoon
the-pentagon
[3b] wizaarat al-difaʕ al-ʔamriikiyyah
ministry-of the-defense the-American

From the standpoint of culture, the saying 'Every cloud has a silver lining' would be translated into Arabic not literally as [4a] but culturally as [4b], because clouds are considered a good sign in Arab desert countries and cannot be a symbol for a setback or problem.

[4a] li-kull saḥaaba biṭaanah min faḍḍah
for-each cloud lining of silver

[4b] fa-inna maʕa al-ʕusri yusraa
and-indeed with the-problem easiness

In contrast, numerous issues bear on the specifically military nature of the translating. We might provisionally classify military messages requiring translation into several types by matching them with presumed areas of interest, as suggested in the following table (cf. Jalabneh 1991: 20):

Areas of Interest	Message Types To Be Translated
1. Tactical training	♦ Training Pamphlets ♦ Training articles ♦ Training programmes
2. Technical training	♦ Technical manuals ♦ Equipment specification booklets ♦ Equipment maintenance handbooks
3. Military sciences and technology	Pamphlets for: ♦ Training philosophies ♦ Strategic theories ♦ Trends in weapons technology
4. Co-ordination of routines	♦ Letters, faxes, and telexes ♦ Agreements ♦ Course reports ♦ Contracts

Table 1

But we also need to gather empirical data on the perceived needs and the observed frequencies of military translation. To pursue this objective, a field survey was conducted among 65 members of the Jordanian Armed Forces concerning the importance of translation for the armed forces. The survey had two parts: a written questionnaire and a number of interviews. The questionnaire made the following request (cf. Jalabneh 1991: 20):

[5] Hal laka ʔan tuuwaḍiḥ ʔahamiyyat al-tarjama fii al-quwwat al-musallaḥa?
would you to explain importance-of the-translation in the-forces the-armed
'Would you to explain the importance of translation for the Armed Forces?'

The interview section of the survey was carried out with participants selected from the offices of the General Headquarters of the Armed Forces, who have had extensive field and office experience and have at some time, faced problems of translation directly or indirectly. The positions of these participants varied from branch directors to junior staff officers. According to those interviewed, translation is important for (cf. Jalabneh 1991: 23):

1. Saving time and effort
2. Transferring military knowledge among countries
3. Enhancing the personnel's knowledge
4. Enhancing the personnel's efficiency
5. Enhancing the efficiency of training institutes
6. Transferring technology
7. Learning about the latest developments in military fields
8. Providing the Military Library with key reference books
9. Benefiting from the experiences of other armies
10. Getting acquainted with other armies' strategies and military doctrines
11. Studying foreign military manuals
12. Studying the tactical procedures of other armies
13. Studying the training philosophies of other armies
14. Becoming self-sufficient and independent of foreign military advisors
15. Co-ordinating routines with other armies through letters, faxes, etc.
16. Exchanging military secrets
17. Decreasing training expenses
18. Updating training manuals
19. Making military textbooks comprehensible
20. Operating and deploying weapons
21. Using electronic support equipment

We also need to estimate the frequency of circulation among both the languages in use and the message types involved. As expounded in. Jalabneh (1991: 36), the frequency of circulation in rank order by languages was found to be at that time (subject to variation over longer terms):

1. English into Arabic 75%
2. Arabic into English 20%
3. French into Arabic 3%
4. German into Arabic 2%.

The frequency of circulation in rank order by message type was found to be:

1. Field manuals
    a. Training manuals
    b. Technical manuals
2. Training articles
3. Reports
    a. Course reports
    b. Progress reports
    c. Medical reports

d. Police reports
e. Others
4. Military publications related to strategies and training philosophies
5. Letters
6. Telexes
7. Forms to complete
8. Biographical data sheets
9. Brochures
a. Military equipment
b. Training aids
10. Minutes of meetings
11. Memoranda
12. Agreements
13. Contracts

For purposes of this discussion, however, I shall provide illustrations of only three main message types. First, the **tactical message** states the considerations that must be taken into account when manoeuvres are under way. One authentic example of a tactical message was the following, with [6a] being the original text and [6b] the translation (cf. Jalabneh 1991: 93):

[6a] The following basic considerations influence the utilisation of medical units:
(1) The commander's plan for employment of combat forces to conduct the main and supporting attacks
(2) The anticipated patient load
(3) Expected areas of patient density
(4) Medical treatment and evacuation resources
(5) Terrain and road network
(6) Weather

[6b] Wa-l-iʕtibaaraat al-ʔasaasiyya al-taaliya tuʔaththir ʕalaa
and-the-considerations the-basic the-following influence-PL on
istikkhdaam al-wiḥdaat al-ṭibiyyah
use-of the-units the-medical
(1) khiṭat al-qaaʔid li-istikhdaam al-quwaat al-muqaatilah
plan-of the-commander for-employment-of the-forces the-fighting
li-ʔijraaʔi al-hujumaat al-raʔiasiyyah wal-l-musaanidah:
to-conduct the-attacks-of the-main and-the-supporting
(2) ʕadad al-marḍaa al-mutawaqqaʕ
number-of the-patients the expected
(3) al-manaaṭiq al-mutawaqqaʕ fi-haa kathaafah fii al-marḍaa
the-zones the-expected in-them density in the-patients
(4) mawaarid al-muʕaalajah wa-l-ʔikhlaaʔ al-tibbii
sources-of the-treatment and-the-evacuation-of the-medical-staff

(5) tabiiʕat al-ʔarḍ wa-shabkat al-ṭuruq
nature-of the-land and-network-of the-roads
(6) al-ṭaqa.
the-weather

As is typical of English for Special Purposes ('ESP'), the original text is replete with special nominalisations like 'anticipated patient load' and 'expected areas of patient density', which the Arabic translation justly renders more accessible and ordinary, e.g. 'number of the patients' and 'the expected zones and the density of the patients in them'.

Second, the **technical message** serves to supply information about the equipment of the armed forces, especially when it is new or unfamiliar. One authentic example of a technical message was the following, with [7a] being the original text and [7b] the translation (cf. Jalabneh 1991: 98):

[7a] Inna jihaaẓ al-taṣwiir al-ḥaraariy yataʔallaf min:
that equipment-of the-photocopying the-thermal consists in
a. kamiraa al-taṣwiir al-ḥaraariy;
camera-of the-photocopying the-thermal
b. kabil wasl lil-kamiraa bi-ṭuul khasiin qadam;
cable connecting of-the-camera with-length fifty foot
c. ḥaqiiba li-ḥaml al-kamiraa;
bag for-carrying the-camera
d. istuwanatain min al-naiʔitrujiin al-murakkabah wa-mulzama
bottles-two of the-nitrogen of-the-fixed and-committing
li-tathbiiti-haa fii muʔakhkhirat al-kamiraa;
for-the-fixing-it in back-of the-camera
e. haqiibat li-ḥaml instuwaaanatin min al-naiʔitrujiin wa-yumkin.
bag for-carrying bottles-two of the-nitrogen and-possible
ʔan itrutatasiʕ liḥaml khams zuhjhajjaat
to be-large for-carrying five bottles

[7b] The equipment of the thermal photocopier consists of:

a. the camera of the thermal photocopier;
b. the camera connecting cable with a length of fifty feet;
c. a bag for carrying the camera;
d. two bottles of nitrogen fixed and attached to the back of the camera;
e. a bag for carrying the two bottles of nitrogen but large enough for carrying five bottles.

This example owes its clarity to the packaged equipment it enumerates. In return, it is somewhat repetitious in order to give each item its own enumeration, instead of saying 'the thermal photocopier camera plus its 50-foot connecting cable and the bag for carrying it'.

Third, the **training message** guides military training activities so that the armed forces can attain and maintain their operational readiness. These directives assist the departments within the armed forces in making preparations and setting professional standards for the efficient training of soldiers. They also convey the general 'training philosophies' about planning and carrying out shorter-term and longer-term objectives smoothly. One authentic example of a training message was the following, with [8a] being the original text and [8b] the translation (cf. Jalabneh 1991: 101):

[8a] **Al-takhṭiiṭ al-istraatiijiy al-mushtarak**
the-planning-of the-strategy the-joint

Inna masʔalata waḍiʕ khiṭa istraatiijiyya mushtarakah hiya
indeed question putting plan strategic joint is
marḥala mutawassiṭa wa-hunaak ijraaʔaat qad tammat
stage middle and-there-are procedures have-been taken
wa-ʔukhraa yajib ʔan tatbaʕ. Wa-biduun dhaalik fa-ʔayyi takhṭiiṭ
and-others must be follow and without that so-any planning
istraatiijiy mushtarak yubqaa mujarrad tamriin fii faraagh
strategy joint stays mere exercise in vacuum

[8b] **The Planning of Joint Strategy**

The question of implementing a strategic joint plan is an intermediate stage for which some procedures have been adopted and others must be followed. Without that, any joint strategy planning remains a mere exercise within a vacuum.

This text is not very clear in either version. Perhaps the point is that planning has to coordinate the established procedures with those that must be followed in the current strategic situation. Otherwise, we hardly see a meaningful distinction between the 'procedures' versus the 'others' that would demand such 'planning'.

As we can see from these three message types, military translation is a complex interaction between military concerns and the respective message types, leading to issues and problems which range freely between the general areas of interest and the individual text (cf. Beaugrande, in preparation).

Conclusion

Such versatility reveals the multi-faceted quality of military translation and refutes the old-fashioned stereotype of the military as an inflexible and uncommunicative bureaucracy. As nations come to depend more and more on each other for their mutual safety, constant international communication becomes an urgent requirement for the armed forces charged with the defense of the peoples all across the globe.

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International Federation of Translators and its role in the Arab World

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Abstract

The current and future role of International Federation of Translators (F.I.T.) is described, along with relevant developments and research in the Arab world.

International presence

After the Second World War, the emergence and rapid expansion of both older and newer branches of the translation profession created a propitious situation for the establishment of a world organisation. Technical translators, legal interpreters and translators, terminologists, and philologists, all performing highly specialised work in the service of international communication, united to coordinate their efforts.

The F.I.T. was founded in Paris in 1953 under the leadership of Pierre-François Caille (1907-1979), an eminent French translator of English novels and a specialist in dubbing and subtitling films. It is an international non-profit, non-political organisation, having, as of October 1991, a regular membership spread throughout the world of 61 associations of translators and interpreters, plus associate membership of 13 institutes and organisations whose interests include the training of translators and interpreters. Although the majority (39) of our affiliates are in Europe, we now have 8 societies in Africa, 13, in Asia, 6 in Latin America, and 6 in Central and North America; within Oceania, participants are situated in Australia and New Zealand.

Unesco fully recognises the F.I.T. as a non-governmental international organisation in Category A with the highest consultative status. We co-operate regularly with Unesco's Division for the Arts, Cultural Exchange, and Book Promotion, the Division for Culture and Communication, and the Division for the Defence of Authors' Rights.

Furthermore, our Council has established permanent relationships with several other international organisations, such as the Internationale Gesellschaft für Urheberrecht (INTERGU) in Berlin, and the Confédération Internationale des Sociétés d'Auteurs et Compositeurs (CISAC) in Paris, who invited us to be represented at their Congress in Tokyo in 1986 and their committee meetings in Madrid in 1987. Other regular contacts include the International Book Committee (IBC), on which the F.I.T. has a permanent seat; the International Federation for Documentation (IFD) in the Hague; the International Information Centre for Terminology (InfoTerm) in Vienna; the Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence (AIIC) in Geneva; the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) also in Geneva; the International Comparative Literature Association (ICLA) in Munich and Leuven (Louvain); the Association Internationale des Critiques Litéraires (AICL) in Paris; and the committee for Translations and Programmes of the PEN Club International. The F.I.T. regularly invites these international bodies to be officially represented at its Congresses and has jointly sponsored a roundtable conference in Seoul in August 1988 with the PEN Club.

Also, the F.I.T. is represented officially by an observer in the organisations of the United Nations in Vienna (L. Katschinka), Geneva (J. Goetschalckx), and New York (Eva Berry Gruber).

In 1993, the F.I.T. celebrates its 40th birthday. Though we look back proudly on our achievements in the advancement of the profession, we also realise how much remains to be done if we are to meet the growing needs for cooperation in the international arena. Despite all language barriers, we are resolved to continue supporting the communication of knowledge and the improvement of understanding among the inhabitants of the globe.

A survey conducted recently among our societies to ascertain the size of their membership showed a total of over a hundred thousand translators and interpreters world-wide, one-third of whom specialise in literature. Despite this substantial figure, we have a long way to go before we can claim represent all translators who would benefit from being organised. This must be the future objective of our Federation if it is to perform its full function of advancing the interests of translators in all professional categories.

Objectives

It may be helpful here to note the purposes of our Federation as set out in Article II of our by-laws:

The principal objectives of the F.I.T. shall be:

(a) to unite already existing organisations of translators;
(b) to sponsor and facilitate the formation of such organisations in countries where they do not yet exist;
(c) to provide member organisations with such information and advice as may be useful to them;
(d) to develop among all member organisations such harmony and understanding as will promote the interests of translators in resolving any differences that may arise among the various organisations; and
(e) generally to uphold the moral and material interests of translators throughout the world, advocate and advance the recognition of translation as a profession, enhance the status of the translator in society, and further the knowledge and appreciation of translation as a science and an art.

Commissions and committees

The F.I.T. has set up special commissions and committees reflecting the different categories of translators affiliated with the member societies. Two major commissions are assigned respectively to represent on the one hand non-literary translators, e.g., in scientific, technical, social, economic, and legal fields, and on the other hand literary translators and translators for the publishing world. Whilst these two commissions address matters of a more general nature, more specialised matters are handled by further committees. The ones whose interests cover all translators are concerned with:

- translator training and qualifications
- legal and professional status
- copyright
- assessment of remunerations
- languages of limited diffusion
- international bibliography on translation
- translation theory

The ones devoted more to non-literary translators include committees in the field of scientific and technical translation, who are concerned with:

- terminology and documentation
- mass media translators and interpreters
- new technologies

The F.I.T. committee for translation prizes administers among others the Bertel Nathhorst Prize awarded every three years to a non-literary translator nominated by an F.I.T. member association.

Committees devoted more to literary translators are concerned with:

- history of translation
- translation of poetry

The F.I.T. also administers the Bertel Nathhorst Prize for a literary translator, the Astrid Lindgren Prize for translations of children's and youth literature, and the Karl Čapek Award for a translation from or into a language of lesser diffusion.

For a long time, the F.I.T. has also maintained a special committee to promote translation into and from non-European languages in the developing countries. Action in this field ranks among the major programmes affiliated with UNESCO.

Through all these special committees, the F.I.T. endeavours to assist its members in addressing the numerous practical and material problems in respect to training facilities, conditions governing the exercise of the profession, and the recognition of professional status.

The Dubrovnik Charter

As early as 1963, at the Fourth International Translators' conference in Dubrovnik, the F.I.T. adopted a *Translators' Charter* setting out translators' general duties, rights, and aims within their economic and social positions. I would cite the following articles:

Section I. General obligations of the translator

1. Translation, being an intellectual activity whose objective is the transfer of literary, scientific, and technical texts from one language into another, imposes on those who practice it specific obligations inherent in its very nature.
2. A translation shall always be made on the sole responsibility of the translator, whatever the character of the relationship or contract which binds him or her to the clients.
3. The translator shall refuse to give to a text an interpretation of which he or she does not approve, or which would be contrary to the obligations of the profession.
4. Every translation shall be faithful and render exactly the idea and form of the original — this fidelity constituting both a moral and legal obligation for the translator.
5. A faithful translation, however, should not be confused with a literal translation; fidelity in translation does not exclude adaptation to make the form, atmosphere, and deeper meaning of the work felt in another language and country.
6. The translator shall refrain from any unfair competition in carrying out the profession; in particular, shall not accept any fee below that which is fixed by law, regulations, custom, or by his or her professional

organisation.

7. In general, the translator shall neither seek nor accept work under conditions humiliating to the self or the profession.
8. The translator shall respect the legitimate interests of the client by treating as professional secret any information which may come into the profession as a result of the translation entrusted to him or her.
9. Being a 'secondary' author, the translator is required to accept special obligations with respect to the author of the original work.
10. The translator must obtain from the author of the original work or from the client the authorisation to translate a work, and must furthermore respect all other rights vested in the author.

Section II. General rights of the translator

11. With respect to the finished translation, every translator shall enjoy all the rights granted to other intellectual occupations in the country where he or she is active.
12. A translation, being a creation of the intellect, shall enjoy the legal protection accorded to such works.
13. The translator is therefore the holder of copyright in the translation and consequently has the same privileges as the author of the original work.
14. The translator shall thus enjoy, with respect to the translation, all the moral rights of succession conferred by his or her authorship.
15. The translator shall further enjoy during his or her lifetime the right to recognition of his or her authorship of the translation, from which it follows, *inter alia*, that:
    (a) his or her name shall be mentioned clearly and unambiguously whenever the translation is used publicly;
    (b) he or she shall be entitled to oppose to any distortion, mutilation, or other modification of the translation;
    (c) publishers and other users of his translation shall not make changes therein without the translator's prior consent;
    (d) he or she shall be entitled to prohibit any improper use of the translation and, in general, to resist any attack upon it that is prejudicial to honour or reputation.
16. Furthermore, the exclusive right to authorise the publication, presentation, broadcasting, re-translation, adaptation, modification, or other rendering of the translation, and, in general, the right to use the translation in any form shall remain with the translator.
17. For every public use of the translation, the translator shall be entitled to remuneration at a rate fixed by contract or law.

The Nairobi Recommendation

A further milestone in the history of the F.I.T. in improving the legal and social status of translators around the world was the adoption by UNESCO, at its General Conference in Nairobi in 1976, of the *Recommendation on the Legal*

Protection of Translation and Practical Means to Improve the Status of the Translator. It was adopted by all 143 Member States of UNESCO except the Federal Republic of Germany. This was the first document published by an international organisation to highlight the profession of translators and to declare to all nations the main problems of this profession. It drew attention to a state of affairs urgently demanding improvement, not only in the interests of the translating profession but also in the interests of international understanding, the spread of culture, and the furtherance of science, technical progress, and economic growth.

The vital importance of the translator and translation is straightaway upheld in the Recommendation,'s preamble whose relevant passages are worth citing:

> Considering that translation promotes understanding between peoples and co-operation among nations by facilitating the interchange of ideas and the dissemination of literary and scientific works, including technical works, across linguistic frontiers;
>
> Noting the extremely important role played by translators and translations in international exchanges within culture, art, and science, particularly in the case of works written or translated in less widely spoken languages;
>
> Recognising that the protection of translators is indispensable to ensure translation of the quality needed for them to effectively fulfil their role in the service of culture and development;
>
> Recalling that, although the principles of this protection are already contained in the universal Copyright Convention, and the Bern Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, and that a number of national laws of Member States also contain specific provisions concerning such protection, the practical application of these principles and provisions is not always adequate;
>
> Being of the opinion that, if in many countries with respect to copyright, translators and translations enjoy a protection which resembles the protection granted to authors and to literary and scientific works, including technical works, the adoption of measures of an essentially practical nature, assimilating translators to authors and specific to the translating profession, is nevertheless justified to ameliorate the effective application of existing laws;
>
> Having decided, at its eighteenth session, that the protection of translators should be the subject of a recommendation to Member States within the meaning of Article IV, Paragraph 4, of the Constitution;
>
> Adopts, this twenty-second day of November 1976, the present Recommendation.

Of particular interest in the Recommendation itself are Paragraphs 7 and 11:

> 7. Member States should also promote measures to ensure the

representation of translators and to encourage the creation and development of professional organisations of translators and other organisations or associations representing them, to define the rules and duties which should govern the exercise of the profession, to defend the moral and material interests of translators, and to facilitate linguistic, cultural, scientific and technical exchanges among translators and between translators and the authors of works to be translated. To this end, such organisations or associations might undertake, where national law permits, the following specific activities:

a) to promote the adoption of standards governing the translation profession; such standards should stipulate in particular that the translator has a duty to provide a translation of high quality from both the linguistic and stylistic points of view and to guarantee that the translation will be a faithful rendering of the original;
b) to study the bases for just remuneration acceptable to both translators and clients;
c) to set up procedures to assist in the settlement of disputes arising in connection with the quality of translations;
d) to advise translators in their negotiations with clients and to co-operate with other interested parties in establishing model contracts relating to translation;
e) to arrange for translators, individually or collectively and in accordance with national laws or any applicable collective agreements, to share the benefits with authors from funds received from either private or public sources.

11. Member States should recognise in principle that translation is an independent discipline requiring an education distinct from exclusive language teaching and that this discipline requires special training. Member States should encourage the establishment of writing programmes for translators, especially in connection with translators' professional organisations or associations, universities, or other educational institutions, and the organisation of seminars or workshops. It should also be recognised that it is useful for translators to profit from continuing education courses.

It is now the duty of the profession and those representing its interests to ensure that the principles laid down in the Recommendation are also recognised at national and local levels. The F.I.T. will continue to stimulate and coordinate all activities designed to achieve this goal. Moreover, UNESCO organises biennial consultations with Member States to receive updated information on the state and advancements in applying the Recommendation.

Congresses, Round Table Conferences, and Publications

The Congress constituting the supreme governing body of the F.I.T. meets every three years and brings together official delegates from all member societies. The General Congress is a forum for interchanges among all translators, whilst the concomitant Statutory Congress elects the Council to conduct the F.I.T.'s business, as well as the Executive Committee. So far, the Congresses have had these themes:

The Mission of the Translator To-day and Tomorrow (Warsaw, 1981);
Translators and their Position in Society (Vienna, 1984);
Translation, Our Future (Maastricht, 1987);
Translation, a Creative Profession (Belgrade, 1990);
Translation, the Vital Link of Communication (Brighton, 1993).

Since 1983, the F.I.T. has also organised smaller-scale conferences or roundtable sessions in between the triennial congresses, such as:

Translation in Foreign Language Teaching (Paris, 1983);
Literary Translation: Practice and Prospects (Paris, 1986);
The Status and Profile of the Translator and Interpreter (Frankfurt, 1987);
Literary Translation (organised jointly with International PEN and UNESCO, Seoul, 1988);
Problems of Translation in Africa (Dar-es-Salaam, 1989);
Theory of Translation (Moscow, 1991);
Problems of Translation in Latin America (Buenos Aires, 1991).

The *Proceedings* of our Congresses and Symposia may offer a helpful resource for all those who seek information about the many facets of the translating profession.

Regional Centres and Activities

The F.I.T. seeks to establish Regional Centres wherever it considers strategic for promoting its objectives and consolidating its activities. The Regional Centres maintain committees to organise activities and meetings, in their respective geographical regions, for examining specific problems and notifying the competent authorities of the F.I.T. So far the Regional Centre for North America has been set up, whilst the Regional Centre for Latin America and the Caribbean and the Regional Centre for Asia are still in the process of being formed.

In its major objective of sponsoring and facilitating the formation of further organisations of translators and interpreters, the F.I.T. looks also to the Arab World. At present, we have three regular member organisations there:

1) l'Association marocaine des interprètes et traducteurs de conférence (AMITRAC), with a mailing address at ISESCO, Rabat;
2) the Iraqi Translators' Association, Baghdad;
3) l'Association des traducteurs dans l'Union des Écrivains Arabes, Damascus.

In addition, the F.I.T. counts among its associate members one institute in Morocco, l'École Supérieure Roi Fahd de Traduction, associated with the Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi in Tangier. And I have also been informed that the Israeli Translators' Association has Arabic authors and translators in good standing. Yet with the exception of the Moroccans, these societies have had only limited international activities, mostly due to the current geopolitical situation.

A noteworthy precedent for the present was the special F.I.T.-UNESCO roundtable conference in June 1989 on 'Professional Arabic Translation and New Technologies' in Tangier, Morocco, with the assistance of the above-mentioned École Supérieure Roi Fahd de Traduction under the direction of B. Idrissi Bouyahyauohi. The F.I.T. has published its proceedings in a special number (Vol. IX, nr. 3, 1990) of the *F.I.T. Newsletter*,[1] partly in Arabic language, under the title *Les problèmes de la traduction professionelle dans le monde Arabe et l'apport de la technologie.* Contributions relevant for Arabic translators included (items with * published in Arabic):

Said Allouche: 'Aperçu historique de la traduction dans le Monde Arabe';
*Ali Alakasimi: 'Les problèmes du traducteur arabe dans les organisations internationales';
Haytham Safar: 'Quelques réflexions sur la formation des traducteurs et interprètes dans le Monde Arabe';
Peter G. Emery: 'The training and recruitment of Arabic translators and interpreters in the Arab World and Britain';
Nayef Kharma: 'The training of translators in the Arab World';
*Mohamed Didaoui: 'Le traducteur onusien arabe';
Mohammed el Mdaghri: 'Traduction scientifique et technique';
*Abdellatif Abid: 'Problématique de la terminologie arabe (création et usage)';
*Mohammed Helmy Heliel: 'Collocations and translation';
Basil Hatim: 'The missing text: An exercise in discourse error analysis';
Sami Trabulsi: 'La traduction automatique arabe';
Yahya Hlal: 'Traduction automatique des langues naturelles';
Brian Harris: 'Assessing the quality of Arabic word processors'.

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[1] Order price, via air mail, for non-subscribers: 700 Belgian francs in Europe and 900 Belgian francs outside Europe.

Arab perspectives have also been taken up in the F.I.T.'s quarterly scientific review entitled *BABEL*, which is devoted to recent or ongoing developments in research on translation and interpreting. Published by Benjamins of Amsterdam with generous financial assistance from UNESCO and now in its 37th Volume, it provides extensive contributions by eminent experts in all parts of the world. In recent volumes, relevant articles on linguistic and translation topics concerning Arabic include:

Judith Rosenhouse: 'Occurrence of the passive in different types of text in English, Hebrew, and Arabic' (34, 1988, 90-103);
Salah Salim Ali: 'Symbol, deviation, and culture-bound expression as a source of error in Arabic-English poetic translation' (34, 1988, 211-21);
Peter G. Emery: 'Legal Arabic texts: Implications for translation' (35, 1989, 1-11);
Marsha Bensoussan & Judith Rosenhouse: 'Evaluating student translations by discourse analysis, English-Hebrew-Arabic' (36, 1990, 65-84);
A.F. Abu-Ssaydeh: 'A dictionary for professional translators' (37, 1991, 65-74);
Peter G. Emery: 'Lexical incongruence in Arabic-English translation' (37, 1991, 129-37);
Mohammed Farghal: 'Evaluativeness parameter and the translator from English into Arabic and vice-versa' (37, 1991, 138-51).

We should also mention here our quarterly official journal, published under the title *Les Nouvelles de la F.I.T. – F.I.T. Newsletter* (since 1992 with the subtitle *Translatio*), providing information on the activities of the F.I.T. and its member societies, along with leading articles of interest. Recent articles dealing with themes relating to Arabic translation or linguistics included:

Lufti Ahmad Abulhaija: 'The role of the English departments at the Arab universities in educating and training specialised translators' (VIII, 1989, 13-21);
Salah Salim Ali: 'Aspects of structural and lexical ambiguity in English/Arabic and Arabic/English translation' (VIII, 1989, 144-51);
Adel. I. Tweissi: 'A one-semester translation course: some design features and procedural techniques' (VIII, 1989, 351-67);
Mohammed Menacere: 'Does non-vocalic Arabic discourse constitute a translating problem?' (X, 1991, 180-187);
Nayef N. Kharma: 'The verb phrase translation problems, English-Arabic' (X, 1991, 281-344).

We have drawn considerable attention to the distinguished volume *Discourse and the Translator* of our colleagues Basil Hatim and Ian Mason, in publishing reviews by Franz Pöchhacker in *Babel* (37, 1991, 119-22) and by Reine

Meylaerts in *F.I.T. Newsletter* (X, 1991, 232-36).

I am optimistic that the active participation of the F.I.T. in the First International Conference on Translation and Technology at Yarmouk University may lead to more contacts, hopefully permanent ones, with language and research institutes interested in translation and contrastive studies within the Arab World.

The F.I.T. programme in 1990 to 1993

After each Congress, the F.I.T. Council draws up a programme and guidelines for the next three years ahead. For 1990-93, high-priority tasks included:

1. furthering public knowledge and appreciation of the profession;
2. protecting the legal and social status of translators;
3. increasing the co-operation with UNESCO and other international organisations;
4. encouraging new organisations to join the F.I.T.;
5. promoting the translating profession in the developing countries;
6. dealing with specific problems and interests of translators in differing spheres and translation types in various continents and regions within the context of current trends;
7. promoting interchanges of training experience with a view to unifying our methods and content;
8. promoting in-service training tailored to different categories of the profession;
9. increasing activities in the field of translation theory, and assisting its development;
10. increasing the interaction between translation theory and practice;
11. expanding F.I.T. activity in the field of literary translation;
12. intensifying efforts to improve the quality of translation in different fields through discussions among experts and the establishment of criteria for evaluating translation.

As the 20th century draws to a close, we hope this programme will benefit all translators, who are essential intermediaries in the scientific achievements and spiritual progress of humanity. In our world relentlessly driven onward by accelerating ambitions, aspirations, and anxieties in the face of dwindling resources, international communication is more crucial than ever for sharing and negotiating our intellectual ideas and our material goals. The International Federation of Translators welcomes all those whose goals depend upon the success of translation as a road for developing both national cultures and a universal culture.

Consultations, Conferences, and Proceedings : Their Role as Discourse Transactions*

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Abstract

In many professions, including the science of language and the science of translation, specialists are invited to consultations and conferences for oral presentations, which may later be recorded in written 'proceedings'. The implications of these activities might be usefully explored from the standpoint of discourse analysis, which describes the discourse transactions as they are and might be performed. Some guidelines are proposed for designing interactions in ways that support genuine 'progress' through long-term, collaborative, and constructive strategies of discourse.

A. 'Modernisation' versus 'progress'

In our present society, **modernisation** has, both in the 'West' and in the 'Middle East, set in motion some sweeping changes that do not seem to qualify as 'social progress'. The 'modern' interconnections among people and among their languages and cultures have become so far-reaching and diversified that many people have only vague or overly narrow ideas of where they fit in and how their actions affect each other.[1] The overall trend constitutes an 'explosion' of data whose complexity and novelty have reached 'overload' proportions.

* This paper was not presented at the Irbid Conference in 1992, but prepared later during my work as a guest professor at Universidade Federal de Pernambuco in Recife (Brazil). A short version was delivered at the First International Conference on Literature, Linguistics and Translation at Yarmouk University, April 4-7, 1994.

[1] I follow here descriptions of 'modernism' suggested in current political theory (cf. Held [ed.] 1991, esp. p. 339).

Many people today are not 'ignorant' in the sense of simply lacking knowledge; rather, they hold knowledge that is *fragmented* into seemingly unconnected bits and *alienating* in projecting the self to be under the control of external events and material objects. Fittingly, the *failure to make connections* has widely been diagnosed as a leading source of problems in the 'modern' age when things are increasingly interconnected and steadily fewer people understand how. That failure works itself out in social conflict and in a staggering waste of human resources — countless lives misspent in fragmented pursuits, pointless quarrels, selfish drives, and betrayed principles.

Evidently, many people are 'adapting' to 'modernisation' and its 'overload' by *suppressing data* in order to proceed without considering the wider contexts and effects of their actions. They approach their problems and goals with *fragmented, alienating strategies* that are *short-term* in exploiting brief opportunities and immediate goals; *confrontational* in asserting your goals by denying other people's; and *destructive* in entailing a loss of resources. These strategies are being institutionalised today by 'conservative leaders' to protect and perpetuate the privileges of the elites who are striving to deflect the impact of the global recession by voraciously depleting the world's resources and by cutting away the share of benefits for the minorities and lower classes at home and for developing nations abroad. These strivings are being reinforced by a flagrant disregard for human rights, reaching all the way from ethnic strife to armed intervention and undirected terrorism.

To call these trends 'progress' just because they are a result of 'modernisation' hardly seems apt; on the contrary, they seem 'regressive', witness the ominously frank return, in mass media such as British tabloids, to primitive attitudes and ethnic biases we have worked so hard to put behind us.

Genuine social progress calls for *strong, 'actualising' strategies* whereby people can develop their human potential. Those strategies should be *long-term*, i.e., weighing your goals in respect to future conditions; *collaborative*, i.e., integrating your goals with other people's; and *constructive*, i.e., leading to a gain of resources. Only when such strategies have been made generally available and practicable can the 'modern world' expect to live in peace and deploy our 'modern technologies' to enhance our 'humanness' instead of to build more lethal weapons and more devious systems of surveillance.

Surely the most widespread resource for 'social progress' in this sense would be *discourse*, provided its own strategies can be guided in similar directions. Yet since the onset of the world-wide recession in the 1970s, 'modern discourse' has become emphatically confrontational, ranging from global dimensions such as West versus East or North versus South, down to local dimensions such as the 'Standard' language versus ethnic or regional language varieties in schools. If being 'modern' does in fact mean that all the dimensions are steadily more interconnected, significant shifts toward more collaborative discourse can only be achieved through large-scale, closely coordinated initiatives, such as those initiated for regular international conferences and consultations or from standing organisations such as the International Federation of Translators or the Arab League's Organisation for Education, Culture, and Science.

Yet the role and function of consultations and conferences will require careful reassessment. In general, they are discourse transactions wherein specialists gather to develop strategies for making 'progress' in defining issues and solving problems. The key question is whether those strategies are in fact long-term, collaborative, and constructive ones for all the participants. I shall outline three 'scenarios' bearing on this question.

B. Three scenarios

Although most specialists in language and the study of language take it for granted that making presentations at conferences is an indispensable part of our professional sphere, we seldom stop to explicitly reflect upon their nature and function. We assume that conferences help us to share our ideas and to forge or renew personal contacts without having to wait for slow and bulky mediation through journals and publishers. On-site consultations are presumed to be essentially similar, except that the number of invited specialists is usually small, at times just one.

Yet the rationale and organisation of these professional gatherings remain somewhat uncertain. A conference may exhaust not merely the organisers who plan and see it through but also attending colleagues who grapple with the stresses of presenting a coherent idea within the space of twenty or thirty minutes, sprinting between parallel paper sessions in distant rooms, or speaking in languages we don't properly command. I frequently hear participants say how they wish it could have all been done with more time, more deliberation, and more leeway to thrash out the exciting and relevant issues, including the ones that crystallised during the conference itself.

Putting out a 'proceedings' offers an opportunity not just to preserve some of what was said at the conference but to provide a fresh framework with far less pressure from schedules, parallel sessions, and so on. However, I see no widespread consensus about how the formulation of a 'proceedings' might best profit from these improved conditions and how far its expected audience might be similar or dissimilar to the audience at the conference.

To explore the potential of conferences and proceedings, I would suggest starting with three alternative *scenarios* defined by their leading goals:

(1) calling attention to your own specific, individual research interests;
(2) trying out new ideas and getting feedback about how other participants see them and who might have had similar ideas; or
(3) applying and extending your research or ideas to new issues and contexts proposed by the organisers and the other participants.

Each scenario entails its own priorities for the discourse transactions during the presentations: speaker-centred for (1), audience-centred for (2), and balanced between speaker and audience for (3). These priorities in turn affect the 'proceedings', making them the most diverse and disconnected for (1) and the most coherent and interconnected for (3).

In my impression, scenario (1) has been the most common, partly because it can be easily aligned with the 'classical' decorum of the individual scholar or scientist in the impersonal pursuit of 'truth', and partly because it offers you some resonance beyond your colleagues at or near your home institution. As a discourse transaction, the presentation at (1) is a public act similar to publishing an article in a journal, where the audience can take it or leave it. The written version, whether produced for the conference or for the proceedings, tends to reflect the conditions of composing at a solitary desk and respecting the standard decorum of private scholarship, e.g. using a 'formal' rather than 'conversational' style that may be hard to follow in a live presentation.

Still, scenario (1) seems the least useful and desirable for several reasons. The communication is largely one-way and 'vertical', with the presenter much more in control than the audience. Themes and topics may be fragmented, since your research specialisation may have been chosen under peculiar pressures. It may have merely carried over from your thesis or dissertation research, which had been picked to suit the interests of your advisors, and may remain thematic throughout your career, especially if your further research is held back by a heavy academic or administrative workload.

Under such circumstances, the assumption that your personal specialisation will necessarily interest colleagues and conference organisers is a trifle speculative and should be critically appraised on each occasion. Especially in fields which, like translation and terminology, are rapidly advancing and expanding, stabilised specialisations eventually become a liability. Making a presentation at a conference and reworking it for the proceedings could be strategic occasions to revise your specialisation or to realign it with the current state of the field; but scenario (1) hardly obliges you to do so. As a result, the proceedings may be diffuse, and identifying a readership may be difficult.

Scenario (2) is less common and does not fit 'classical' academic decorum as well as (1) because the presenter takes the role not of a pre-established and definitive authority but of an investigator grappling with troublesome problems. In return, communication will be far more lively in two-way and 'horizontal' channels, with presenter and audience sharing control. Indeed, the participation of the audience may help to determine what directions your research will take henceforth. If your ideas are well received, your motivation for pursuing them is strengthened; you may indeed find colleagues who have had similar ideas but hesitated to develop them without more assurance of their merits, and you can join forces in a new 'trend'. If your ideas are not well received, your presentation was a success at least in getting a competent sounding board; and you have a solid impulse to revise your ideas for the future. Either way, the input should be clearly reflected in the proceedings, whose interest and appeal for a readership will gain from energetic interchanges and innovative insights.

Yet the actual merits of scenario (2) depend on what type of strategies dominate the interaction. Genuine progress requires a collaborative and constructive ambience for working together to integrate and consolidate theories and ideas. But I have seen scenario (2) instead adopt a confrontational tone among presenters or between presenter and audience, and engender a destructive drift leaving behind a rigid deadlock of incompatible theories or ideas. These tendencies are most likely when the *formalism* that reduces entities to abstract forms and structures prevails over the *functionalism* that describes entities in rich natural contexts. When applied to human phenomena like language and discourse, formalism is typically fragmented and detached from epistemological and social relevance by its disinterest in ecological and empirical constraints. So choosing one formal theory over another is vaguely motivated by considerations of elegance, compactness, and so on, rather than by clearly identified social needs; and when asked to justify their choice, formalists readily become defensive and confrontational. We might recall here how much energy was unwisely expended by the American 'generativist' linguists in the 1960s to attack the principles and methods of 'descriptive' linguists instead of getting down to work on representative corpuses of data. If you magisterially declare that 'linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-hearer in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly' (Chomsky 1965: 3), then you have no principled way to decide which real speakers, none of whom knows the language perfectly, should be the sources for your data. And none of the language problems addressed at this conference would bear on 'linguistic theory' or suggest it should move in one direction rather than another.

Scenario (3) is doubtless the least common and the furthest from 'classical' decorum. Indeed, I have met scholars or scientists — usually formalists whose specialisations remained stabilised over long stretches of their careers — who evidently believed that it would compromise their work to focus it on useful applications; and quite a few others whose work scarcely allows such a focus. The low 'applicability' of formalism has bequeathed us a disquieting backlog of unresolved issues in education for native and foreign languages, reading and writing in the curriculum, language policies and politics, and much more (survey in Beaugrande, in preparation).

Yet scenario (3) is surely the most favourable for collaborative and constructive interaction. The communication will be the most 'horizontal', since the presenter shares control with the organisers who set the themes and concerns and with the audience who comes to pursue their interests. The outcome is a fresh initiative that might well not have been undertaken without this occasion. An opportunity is afforded to contemplate a new relationship: for the presenter, one between a familiar theory or idea and an unfamiliar practice or application; and for the audience, one between a familiar practice or application and an unfamiliar theory or idea. This meeting of the familiar and the unfamiliar can lead to reformulating common problems in more insightful and solvable ways. The proceedings will be correspondingly balanced between continuity and innovation, and between focus and breadth; and their contribution to 'progress' in the sense proposed in section A will be the most secured and substantial.

I suspect that most organisers would be happiest with scenario (3), but are pressured by academic decorum and politics to settle for (1) or at best (2). 'Applicability' can be a highly sensitive issue if it exerts pressure to shift your priorities or to cross the boundaries between academic disciplines, some of which are aggressively 'territorial'. This pressure might rise steeply when presenters are asked to familiarise themselves with the concerns of the organisers and their local contexts, where ongoing problems are likely to entail a diverse spectrum of issues.

In addition, the politics of many institutions and universities have become highly stratified in the wake of the 'modernisation' sketched in section A, and distinctions of 'rank' and 'authority' may be exquisitely sensitive. The gradation between '*senior*' versus '*junior*' academics hinges on a range of culturally variable but nonetheless efficient criteria, and richly constrains who can ask whom to do or say what. It has fairly little to do with chronological ages; indeed, 'modern societies' devalue the elderly and worship youthfulness.

'Philosophy of science' has suggested that the most successful scientists are typically the '*revolutionaries*' who, early in their careers, manage to instate a new theory or model (a 'paradigm'). When you are just starting out, conferences with scenario (2) will be far more attractive than those with scenario (1), where you might not get invited at all. But once your theory or model has succeeded, it becomes a conspicuous target for other aspiring 'revolutionaries', and you might prefer scenario (1) as the safest ambience to rehearse the same ideas year after year. Once institutionalised at home, the 'seniority' of the successful 'ex-revolutionary' tends to get carried along to every conference, where it is duly reaffirmed. The other participants and the organisers may sweep controversial issues under the rug, lest addressing them directly might offend 'senior' people who claim to have settled certain things perfectly and who have no idea of how to handle other things. This shyness may be reinforced by cultural conceptions of hospitality toward invited guests in general.

The rising complexity and novelty of 'modernisation' has also subjected the 'academic marketplace' to an explosion of ideas that tends to polarise the frameworks for conferences. On one side is the '*monster-conference*' with a multitude of parallel paper sessions, each attended only by small groups with the same specific interests. The proceedings are ponderous and diffuse, and, for many institutions or professionals, increasingly unaffordable. On the other side is the small *thematic conference*, where coherence is sought by setting a firm agenda of main ideas, issues, and topics; the proceedings are modest in size and more integrated. For the 'monster' type, scenario (1) is fairly inevitable. The 'thematic' type offers the best chances for scenario (3), but only if we can create a suitable ambience of academic and institutional practices and standards for long-term, collaborative, and constructive participation.

C. The Momentum of Discourse Analysis

For some time, the concepts of '*discourse*' and '*discourse analysis*' have been undergoing a boom, because the broad perspectives they open up allow us to raise a host of issues that have not yet been fully considered let alone resolved in previous studies of language. Conventional English departments have pursued 'literary' concerns that did not explicitly treat literature as a discourse transaction; the 'formalist' methods of the American 'New Critics' actually branded it a 'fallacy' to address authors' intentions and readers' responses. Conventional linguistics departments mainly addressed the 'abstract system' of language rather than the concrete uses of the system; here, 'formalism' encouraged schemes of separate 'levels' or 'components' of language, each defined by its 'minimal units' or its 'rule sets'. These 'literary' and 'linguistic' enterprises have strongly influenced foreign language and translation programmes, depending on how and where they were housed and funded; neither enterprise accommodated the programmes by venturing very far beyond the usual borders. Often, the processes of foreign language learning and translating were just viewed as 'linguistic' operations whose most prestigious goal would be to work with 'literature'.

The conventional organisation of literature and linguistic departments has favoured scenario (1), with conferences on diffuse themes like 'French Literature of the 19th Century' or 'Asian Languages', composed of a wide and weakly connected array of tidy, well-fenced topics like 'The Enigmatic Existence of the Ideal in Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*' or 'Some Constraints on a Revised Elsewhere Condition from Mongolian Phonology' (all real examples). Scenario (2) sporadically surfaced when 'revolutionary paradigms' were gathering momentum, e.g. when 'reader response' became a vital issue in literary studies, or when 'generative linguistics' launched its campaign. Yet genuine interchanges of ideas were often limited to groups of 'insiders' disconnected from the 'outsiders' by their divisions of interests and by their confrontational stance. Moreover, many such 'revolutions' have made little change either in the relations between theory and practice or in the drive to rank people by 'seniority'. Indeed, the disjunction between theory and practice, and the dominance of senior 'superstars' with adulative constituencies sometimes grew more pronounced than before.

I submit that discourse analysis, at least as I understand the concept, heralds a fundamental reorientation (Beaugrande, in press a, b). The issues it raises seldom fit under the tidy, well-fenced topics of scenario (1). It has no central or validated orthodoxy (no 'standard model') that would firmly underwrite the fine distinctions of senior versus junior, or insiders versus outsiders, that drive the more confrontational versions of scenario (2). The sheer mass and diversity of our data and the irreducible range and variety of our methods compel us to set our priorities through focused deliberations on the relevance and urgency of discourse-related issues.

Under these changing conditions, the 'ecological validity' of a theory or model of discourse in enabling constructive interventions in relevant discourse practices, e.g. in language education, is increasingly judged more important by discourse analysts than its theoretical validity in the sense of 'classical science', i.e. its observable fit with an independent, trans-human reality (cf. Beaugrande, in preparation). In this sense, 'progress' in discourse analysis occurs not just when books and articles accumulate but when we have materially contributed to social and educational 'progress' by promoting long-term, collaborative, and constructive strategies of discourse (cf. section A).

So the prospects for scenario (3) are rapidly improving. The discourse analysts, whether 'junior' or 'senior', who are invited to conferences or consultations, should welcome the occasion for applying their research to the new issues emerging from the evolving geopolitical situation, wherein such activities as translation and the teaching of foreign languages are becoming indispensable for the economic well-being across the globe. International conferences and consultations on discourse-related themes should be '*self-reflecting*' in the sense of acknowledging that they consist of discourse about the possibilities of discourse, including their own discourse. They should be convened not to offer a miscellaneous menu of specific research interests already chosen and worked out by individual specialists, but to identify and formulate general shared research interests on the spot. Prior research can be cited to the degree that it bears on these interests but, due to dissemination problems, may not yet have reached the participants; it should not be merely recited to pay homage to the 'seniors' or to display your own erudition.

The discourse of such a conference itself must clearly be interdisciplinary. Our agenda is filled with rich and messy issues that demand scrupulous attention to social and psychological factors, cultural frameworks, political and institutional distributions of power, and so forth. We thus must seek a broadened scope and work to formulate plans for a greater collaboration among research groups in trans-institutional and trans-national dimensions. The conference discourse would then be a proper '*control centre*' (in the sense of my opening paper) in the evolution of the participating disciplines and institutions.

We can now see the urgency for a conscious and concerted shift away from scenario (1), where the conference consists of a large number of brief and diffuse presentations by individuals who do not significantly interact outside the conference itself. Instead, scenario (3) would pursue a programmatic agenda, wherein each conference is organised as one episode within an explicit long-term, collaborative, and constructive interaction among participants. When writing our presentations or later revising them for the proceedings, we would focus, as far as our situations allow, on projects whose relevance and thrust would advance the agenda. Eventually, scenario (3) would become the general routine, needing no exceptional negotiation or special courtesy.

The agenda would also set distinct guidelines for organising the proceedings. Just as the conference itself is a meeting of familiar ideas with new issues and of familiar issues with new ideas, the proceedings would draw the individual 'meeting-places' (the sessions) into a coherent 'mass meeting', an 'inter-discourse' relating everyone's contributions to a set of explicit shared concerns.

Though shifting our scenarios would demand some heavy short-term efforts at first, it would in the long term relieve some of the stress and busy-work in organisational tasks. The difficulty of collecting and scheduling contributions according to thematic commonalities is naturally highest in scenario (1), where the criteria for assigning specific scholars to the respective panels, roundtables, sessions and so on, can at best be approximate. The scholars may feel slight motivation to rethink or reorient their interests for the occasion and may think it would be indecorous to acknowledge unresolved problems in their own work. Further drawbacks come from the lack of regular communication among those participants, who, somewhat adventitiously, can accommodate attending the conference within their personal or institutional schedules and within the funding of their home institutions.

To the extent that scenario (1) does accommodate applications, academic decorum encourages attempts to apply a theory or idea much as it was originally stated, rather than to critique and modify it so as to enhance its applicability. The result is naturally ambivalent, especially for ideas, such as 'transformational grammar' or 'speech act theory', that were formulated on narrow theoretical grounds and with no intention of being applied. The appliers are then obliged to rely on sporadic or metaphorical parallels between the theory and the applied domain, e.g., when a grammatical pattern in a foreign language textbook is explained in terms of 'deep structure'.[2] Such applications are severely limited because to pursue them fully would demand fundamental revisions in prevailing orthodoxies, such as to resolve that linguistic theory is *not* 'concerned with an ideal speaker-hearer in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly' (Chomsky, quoted above), but *with real speaker and hearers in a diversified speech-community, who are attempting to improve their knowledge of language and their skills in using it.*

In scenario (3), the thematic commonalities are clearly stated in advance, and the willingness to make special efforts in furthering them is the main criterion for participation. Only scholars who feel a genuine motivation to rethink or reorient their interests for the occasion would be welcomed; and we would be encouraged to raise unresolved problems in our own work and to tie them to the conference theme. We should also familiarise ourselves with local conditions beforehand, using information sheets or brochures supplied by the organisers in a convenient form to all participants on the understanding that these materials would be expressly taken into consideration. A summary of this information should already be distributed along with the call for papers, so that prospective presenters could judge what would be expected of them, and the panel or organisers could judge which submissions are meritorious. Once on the site, we should also tailor our planned presentation to the concerns we encounter in the course of the conference.

The conference theme and the local conditions would thereby create a well-defined framework in which the presenters adapt and apply their research when preparing their presentations and later when revising them for the proceedings.

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2 E.g. Krenn and Mendes (1971:248) explaining the 'subject' of a Portuguese personal infinitive.

Once this approach has become a regular part of the scholarly activities of conferences and consultations, the unwillingness to adapt and apply on grounds of 'theoretical rigour' or 'methodological purity' would be viewed as *violating* academic decorum rather than *protecting* it. Although we cannot determine a priori what the relation between theory and application should be in every discipline or science, we can argue quite cogently that *thematising* this relation should properly be a leading goal on the agendas of consultations and conferences.

Traditional decorum would be further modified by instating the precept that theories or ideas should be freely critiqued, modified, or discarded as far as is strategic for their applicability. The appliers would no longer rely on sporadic, metaphorical, or purely hypothetical relations between the theory and the applied domain, but would make it their central project to situate this relation at the centre of interest, making any appropriate revisions, however fundamental. This project would help decide how presentations would be received, what issues might be explored in the ensuing discussions, and what issues should be emphasised when preparing the version for the proceedings. In this context, audiences would have a better-defined sense of their function and of the motives in selecting and attending those presentations wherein they can best perform this function.

Such an ambience offers at least five advantages. First, it would make it relatively easy to share insights from one conference to another in respect to the current state of the agenda. We would then be well-positioned to consolidate projects and proposals, as well as to develop our strategies for staging the conferences themselves. Doing so would be especially productive among institutions or universities in proximate geographical regions where conditions and needs are similar, and where professional associations could select rotating conference sites according to where a significant practical impact could be expected for the hosts.

Second, the ambience would help alleviate the widespread uneasiness that 'visiting specialists' may not be sufficiently sensitive to local conditions and hence not properly equipped to propose applications (see Phillipson 1992). The monocultural and monolingual orientation fostered by living in areas like the UK and the US would be offset by frequent engagement with the needs and problems to be addressed at consultations and conferences in multicultural and multilingual areas.

Third, the ambience would also help deconstruct the stratification of 'senior' and 'junior' colleagues, which unhappily tends to be split further along the lines of 'Western' versus 'non-Western'. 'Visiting specialists' who come from Western research centres with assistants, secretaries, and support networks that leave them much time and energy to devote to research, need to appreciate better the situation in countries where academic positions carry with them such heavy administrative and teaching duties that research can be pursued only by colleagues with exceptional assiduity and endurance. Though their research output may be smaller than ours, they are not for that reason 'junior' colleagues who should accept our research as they find it. On the contrary, it is they who hold the *administrative and teaching expertise* needed to define the applications for our theories and ideas if we are to have a serious impact on practical issues in the geopolitics of language, language learning, and language science in the coming century.

Fourth, the ambience should help deconstruct the traditional caste divisions between professors and students, which in some societies is not merely expected but cultivated — most ironically when it got transplanted from 'colonialist' countries to their 'colonies' and lived on there after independence, even when the academic scene in Europe has been liberalised. The local students, who will soon be our colleagues, are in a strategic position to provide feedback about projects or programmes they might welcome at their home institutions, now expressly viewed as academic settings for disciplines and sciences engaged in meeting socially relevant language needs.

And fifth, the ambience would be ideal for firmly instituting the procedure that invited specialists would prepare practical materials, in hard copy or in computer-readable form, which reflect the ongoing engagements between theory and application. We must pitch in to supply more usable materials in specific local contexts to offset the tactics of 'Western' textbook authors and publishers to make their products quite general and abstract, which in practice may mean that learners or trainees are pressured to set aside their own culture ambience and to pretend they are Englishmen or Americans. The advent of 'desk-top publishing' and widespread photocopying facilities allows us to markedly improve the situation by distributing new instructional materials on site at minimal cost. These materials could be immediately disseminated among all the participants who can need or use them, irrespective of the currency situations in the native countries. And we would be sending an auspicious signal that we are genuinely willing to share our work and to treat these conferences as occasions to rethink the work in response to local needs. The next conference would be a good place to report on the results and to suggest further needs and modifications.

D. Post-Colonial Contexts

Special consideration must be given to consultations and conferences in

former colonies. Aside from very remote areas like Antarctica, there are few countries on the map today that were not at one time colonised. The term 'colonialism', however, usually refers to the practices of European nations using their technological advantages to parcel out Africa, Asia, and the Americas, and to exploit them as they saw fit from the 15th up through the early 20th century. The short-term, confrontational, and destructive strategies preferred by 'conservative leaders' in the 'First World' over those centuries down to the present have been disastrously imposed on their colonies as well and have lived on or even intensified after independence (Fanon 1965; Manley 1991). The colonial powers had seen a high 'adaptive value' in playing off against each other the different cultural and linguistic groups within the colony, not just to block united resistance but to justify continued rule as the only means for forestalling a predicted 'outbreak of chaos' among the groups. The leading strategy was to practice extreme favouritism toward some groups by granting them lands or possessions obtained by displacing or dispossessing other groups, until the outbreaks of resentment and retaliation came to form standing patterns, as in the religious conflicts in modern India and Sri Lanka. When the colonisers finally did withdraw, these patterns could easily fill the power vacuums with long-rehearsed conflicts, making the adoption of coherent and fair policies of culture and language unreasonably difficult and fragile (Phillipson and Skuttnab-Kangas [eds.], in press). Additional problems arose from the colonialist policy of creating arbitrary nation-states whose boundaries were culturally and linguistically irrational.

In 'post-colonial contexts', conditions and needs are naturally shaped by significant pressures for evolution in cultural and linguistic policies. In my own experience, six post-colonial contexts can readily be distinguished on the basis of language and culture. In the first context, the colonial language and culture have long since stabilised after pushing the indigenous ones out or to the margins. In most of North and South America, European languages are now glibly identified as 'national' languages, and some sentimental and politically innocent-looking are retained attachments to the 'mother country'. Here, the chief concern for consultations and conferences on language could be to promote fair policies toward linguistic minorities, including speakers of indigenous languages (e.g. Inuit in Canada, Yanomami in Brazil) or non-dominant dialects of the imported language (e.g. Black English in the US, Jamaican English in the UK) or of other languages brought in through recent immigration (e.g. Spanish in the US, Turkish in Germany). Discrimination against such groups is clearly rising and even gaining the status of official policy as 'conservative' leaders adapt their confrontational strategies to the global recession by targeting minorities as scapegoats for economic problems, like poverty and unemployment, that are actually caused by the selfish, short-sighted policies of the leadership itself (section A). The ominous 'English only' movement in the US, where the English language is not in the least jeopardised, offers pretexts for frank discrimination in the workplace, with language acting as a front for racial and ethnic biases forbidden by law (Crandall 1992). Still more alarming are the sporadic massacres of indigenous populations in South America, which the governments do little to prevent and may secretly welcome; and the disappearance of their language and cultures is already foreseeable.

In the second context, a fairly recent independence has triggered an enthusiastic reanimation of a single local language generally agreed to represent the national identity and interests. My impression is that such has occurred in Slovenia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the Ukraine, whose prospective national languages long stood in the shadow of Serbian and Russian, respectively. Here, our contributions could focus on supporting the training of language experts and the development of materials in relevant educational and professional areas, especially in those where technical terminology is urgently needed in the national language. In such settings, I have been deeply impressed by the willingness of people in positions of authority to listen to new ideas and to apply concrete proposals of the kind advocated by a study of text and discourse seeking to enhance the freedom of access to knowledge. For example, I was struck by the size and diversity of the gathering of experts from various scientific and technical fields at the First Ukrainian Terminological Congress at the Lviv Polytechnical Institute in September 1992. Ukrainian had been discouraged for decades by Soviet policy, e.g. by suppressing the Ukranian dictionaries that had been compiled during the brief period of independence after World War I; in addition, the similarities between the Ukranian and Russian languages have led to serious contaminations and confusions in the grammar and lexicon, which are now being painstakingly sorted out. This work is a fertile context for the current initiatives in creating and standardising Ukrainian terminologies (cf. Rytsar, Dovhaniuk & Beaugrande 1992).

The discourse at the Lviv Terminological Congress was accordingly much concerned with critical studies of Russian influence and with proposals for counter-measures and language reforms ranging across pronunciation, alphabet, morphology of derivations, syntax, and lexical fields. In striking contrast to the language complacency of 'First World' nations like the US and the UK, the Ukrainians were visibly resolved to embark forthwith on concrete projects with the staunch approval of the authorities.

In the third context, independence is followed by concerted efforts to replace the colonial language with one 'national language' chosen from a smaller or greater number of local languages. Genuine success stories, where nearly universal fluency in a new 'national language' has been attained in a reasonable period of time, are unusual, e.g. Filipino (based largely on the Tagalog of Metro-Manila plus other local languages) and Bahasa Malaysia. In these two cases, fluency in the colonialist language English has remained fairly high in urban areas and universities but has elsewhere declined as English ceased to be the medium of school instruction. The chief problem is still the elitist value of high fluency in English, which wealthy families cultivate by sending their children to schools abroad. Here, our contribution could be to defend and support the cultural and intellectual merits of the national language, notably in projects for developing its terminologies with its own resources rather than with English borrowings.

One exemplary project has been the work in the Philippines by the Lupon sa Agham ('committee on science'), which has been developing the resources of the indigenous languages into 'Maugnaying Pilipino' ('Filipino having the ability for an abundance of linkages') with explicit techniques of word composition being applied to word stems from Tagalog, Bisayan, Bikol, Ilocano, Pangasinan, Kampapampangan, and so on, while the affixes are basically Tagalog; by 1969, some 7,500 terms had been formed from an 'initial teaching vocabulary' of 200 roots via derivation, agglutination, and affixation (Del Rosario 1969). Also, a seminal project directed by Virgilio Enriquez at the Psychology Department of the University of the Philippines (Diliman) worked out a native terminology for the field of psychology, wherein Filipino was used to 'describe Philippine values and internal feelings', thus 'opening new avenues of inquiry into modalities of sensitivity' and enhancing Filipino 'not only as the language of inquiry and interview but likewise as the language of reporting and theorising' (Enriquez 1981; summary in Gonzalez 1982: 24f). The new creations are sometimes ridiculed by the Filipino elite, who studied in America and whose daily speech is embellished with English words; but their laughter rings hollow in a nation where at least 75% of the people live below the poverty level (1988 estimate).

In the fourth context, several local languages remain uneasily balanced after independence, and none attains the status of a national language. This situation reflects the divisive policies inherited from colonial administrations, living on in the stubborn refusals of different languages groups to allow any elevation in status for any other. In this context, visiting specialists face peculiar obstacles in our attempts to promote the expanse and prestige of local varieties, which remain locked in uneasy stalemates with each other and yet may be geographically mixed in such complex patterns that the creation of regional focuses on particular languages seems irresolvably disputatious. Such was my experience in Nigeria, where languages tend to split along cultural lines (e.g. Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba) more than along geographical lines, except to the degree that violent conflicts such as the 'Biafra crisis' have displaced many persons and created local concentrations for pure self-defense.

In the fifth context, often associated with the fourth, the colonial language has been retained as the prestigious medium of widespread communication or even the 'official language'. A local 'standard' variety purports to match the standard in the mother country, though, except for speakers who lived and studied there, the match is hardly ever more than approximate. Since only small, selected groups had been singled out by colonial administrations for languages training, the result today is an elitist, urban orientation in public schooling and literacy programmes, which strongly impeded Paulo Freire in his work in Guinea-Bissau (Freire & Macedo 1987). Visiting specialists who assert the value of the local languages may expect hostility from the language elites, whose privileges are well served by insisting, despite the obvious contrary evidence, that the colonial 'standard' is universally spoken. These elites directly identify their personal interests with the preservation and defense of the 'standard', and in many settings have succeeded in convincing the population at large that their own languages and varieties are markedly inferior (Phillipson 1992). Our best contribution would be to invest our credentials in working against elitist attitudes and uncovering the mystified linguistic and social realities.

In the sixth context, often associated with both fourth and fifth, colonialism leaves behind a pidgin or creole language, or a 'code-switching' system that mixes the colonial language with one or more local languages. Typically, this is the actual 'lingua franca' that different groups can most freely use to communicate, but also the variety most subject to discrimination by official policies and public attitudes, even among its own habitual speakers. This contradiction dovetails with the elite's own command of a purportedly 'standard' variety. A recent survey in Ghana by my student Joe Amoako found Ghanaians stating strong biases against their own pidgin, e.g., denying they use it even though they do, or calling it 'the language of ruffians'. In Nigeria, I encounter stiff contradiction from literary academics who had studied in Great Britain when, in my lectures at the University of Lagos, I energetically argued the case why Nigerian Pidgin should be given official status; in return, I met with emphatic agreement from those faculty who were pupils of the novelist Wole Soyinka and the linguist Ayo Bamgbose, once distinguished members of that department.

At the risk of provoking discomfort and embarrassment among local elites, often including a contingent of colleagues in literature programmes, I feel we hold an obligation to work toward upgrading the uses and prestige of local language varieties, whether these be pidgins or creoles, code-switching, or indigenous languages. These varieties, and the difficult issues and choices they raise, are at the centre of many language problems we can expect to address in the coming years; and the task of really making a difference will be the severest challenge of all for our theories, applications, and research.

Still, in my own experience, the vast majority of educators in former colonies are sincerely committed to developing programmes that improve conditions and results, although they may be held back by disheartening uncertainties about how to proceed in actual practice under the watchful eyes of elite minorities. By working with our colleagues on the local scene in the design of alternative instructional methods and materials, such as training in reading and writing technical English, we can win support by showing that the new programmes work better than the old and genuinely enhance the chances of students and trainees. The sense of helping to accomplish this seems to me a much more satisfying and significant reward than rounds of applause at the end of a conference presentation.

E. The Irbid Encounter

To the Westerner, Jordan is an appealing country. It has preserved the flavour of older Arab ways of life, even in the sprawling capital city of Amman built out of light-coloured stone. Outside the capital you can find a wealth of rich historical sites dating back to biblical times and beyond, to the kingdoms of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, and up through the successive Empires of the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Hellenes, the Nabataeans, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the Ayyubids, the Crusaders, the Mamluks, the Ottomans, and, well yes, the British. Myth, legend, and lore redound in places like the province of Judea, the hills of Gilead, and the mountain of Nebo (where Moses looked out over Canaan); the once-great cities of Jericho, Medeba (today Madaba), Machaerus (where John the Baptist was executed, today Mukawir), Gadara (where Jesus cast out the demons into pigs, today Umm Qeis), Jerash, and Pella (today Tabaqat Fahl); the high castles of Kerak, Shobaq, and Ajlun; the desert palaces of Qasr al-Tuba, Qasr Amra, and Qasr al-Kharaaneh; the luminous oasis of Azraq; the bustling seaport of Aqaba; the craggy cavernous valley of Wadi Rum; and the mysterious lost city of Petra hewn with breathtaking skill into mountainsides by the Nabataeans. Stirring also is the memory of the people who once lived and walked there, from the Biblical Moses, David, Solomon, John the Baptist, Jesus, and the two Herods, or the Greeks Ptolemy and Meleager, or the Roman Pompey, up through the caliphs Ṣalaaḥ Uddin (Saladin) and Waliid, until, in our own century, Sherif Ḥussein ibn ʕAlii, Emir of Mecca and King of the Ḥejaaz, and his sons Feisal, Abdullah, ʕAlii, and Zeid, and their peripatetic adviser Thomas Edward Lawrence.

Despite the interval since independence in 1946, the Jordanians have not forgotten the duplicity of the British in joining the Arab revolt against the Turks during World War I and then annexing most of Arabia into 'colonies'. Today, Jordan appears closest to the second 'post-colonial context' described in section D, with a restored and well-established national language. Yet unlike other restored national languages in this context, such as Ukranian, the identity of the Arabic language in Jordan and the rest of Arabia had not been seriously endangered, even during the ruthless administration of the Turks. On the contrary, the Arabic language had remained a prime component of the Arabs' sense of their identity and nationhood, even as the Turks proceeded to ban Arabic from courts, offices, and superior schools, and to arrest and execute the leaders of the Arab societies. The British 'mandate' might almost have seemed benign by comparison, and certainly never imagined that Arabic could be set aside. However, the British rule did leave behind a 'colonialist' attitude among some Jordanians of regarding English as somehow superior to Arabic, even though Arabic has a far longer cultural and intellectual continuity, reaching, in the eighth century, levels of refinement that English would not approach until Elizabethan times.

Today, the Jordanians' feelings about the English language remain ambivalent, although its attraction is rising among the younger generations (see Bader, this volume). Doubtless the key factor has been the use of English as the medium of education, instituted the British and then left at least partially in place after independence. Above all, English has been securely enthroned in most of the more prestigious 'modern' professions connected with medicine, science and technology, where it is still to a large extent the language of instruction on the higher levels (compare Sallo, this volume on the situation in Iraq).

The backdrop of the conference was also affected by the complex relations between Jordan and other Arab states regarding the difficult question of the Palestinians and their occupied territory, some of Jordan's choicest, along the West Bank of the Jordan River. We were led to a mountaintop in Gilead and looked down on this severed land and the rich Valley of Ghor, as if gazing at pages in an immense hoary history book. Had we been further south, we would have ironically been near Mount Nebo, where, according to the Book of *Deuteronomy*, Moses gazed upon Canaan but was forbidden to enter it.

And of course the recent Gulf War weighed in heavily, which forced some very hard choices onto the Jordanians, who did not expect the actual outbreak of armed conflict. They were not at all edified by the high-sounding self-righteous rhetoric of the combatants, who concealed their naked greed behind grand declarations about 'liberating' Kuwait, first from its feudal monarchy and then from its occupiers, and about a 'New World Order' wherein the major 'powers' guarantee the rights not of nations and their citizens but of those governments who offer them large financial advantages while trampling on human rights at their pleasure (see Bresheeth & Yuval-Davis, eds. 1991). Conference parties (which took place in my flat) were enlivened by 'Gulf War jokes', through which the local resentment was discharged in black humour (cf. Shakir & Farghal 1992).

So the cultural and discursive contexts of the Irbid conference were delicate and complex. The town of Irbid, located in the northern uplands by the Syrian border, has not been too strongly 'Westernised'. The supply of English among the local population is limited, but under the circumstances is still impressive. The Islamic presence is more pronounced than in some other Middle Eastern university cities, such as Alexandria; and the Westerner residing on the campus is impressed with the call to prayers at the crack of dawn from nearby mosques.

Still, I had no sense of the population being hostile or resentful towards Westerners, a group to which I was instantly recognised to belong well before I could open my mouth either to eject my amateurish smatterings of Arabic or to tell people I am a citizen of the neutral nation of Austria.

Though its name commemorates a famous victory of the Arabs over the then mighty Byzantines at the nearby Yarmouk River in the early days of Islam (636 A.D.), Yarmouk University is a peaceful place, appropriately built in an olive grove of which many trees still stand. It is a fairly recent creation, founded in 1976, yet its setting lends it a flavour of antiquity, accentuated by the relics of ancient buildings on display outside the Department of Anthropology.

The conference was part of Yarmouk University's long-term attempt to deal with the problems facing many academic programmes in the Arab world, including those who sent delegates. The presentations and discussions indicated that much of the 'higher' instruction in these programmes is still done in English, despite an increasingly anti-Western political stance in some places and despite some inroads through government policies calling for 'Arabicisation', such as the Jordanian regulation passed in 1984 (cf. also Bader, Sallo, Bahumaid, this volume). The staff and students participating in the conference were keenly aware of how far one's professional success depends on one's fluency in English for handling technical materials, ranging from undergraduate textbooks and technical manuals over to the journals and bulletins of prestigious institutions in research, science, and technology. Yet in many universities in the Middle East, the English programmes are not yet geared to provide this type of fluency, due mainly to a traditional alliance with arts and literature (cf. Bader, Holes, Abu-Jarad, all this volume). The tendency reflects the influence of English departments in Great Britain, where it constitutes a lesser liability since the basic competence in the English language is guaranteed. In the Arab world, literary language training in English is far more disorienting for students who will later be professional translators in other special areas.

The addition of linguistics contingents to university programmes has offset the literary dominance somewhat; yet, as I argued both in my opening paper and earlier in this one, the concerns of linguistic research in the 'formalist' tradition, with its reductive views of 'rigor' and 'theoretical abstraction', are hardly helpful for the practical contingencies of Middle Eastern language programmes. Indeed, the ambition to detach itself from literary studies may have encouraged some linguists to retreat from the study of discourse at large.

The main theme of the conference was accordingly the widespread search for concepts and means to tailor language programmes to changing issues in the Arab world. The role and evolution of the Arabic language were topics of spirited debate just as much as the uses of English as a medium and as a goal. Technical terminology and 'language for special purposes' ('LSP') repeatedly came under discussion.

Inevitably, perhaps, the conference was powerfully focused on taking stock of outstanding problems: mixed mandates for language and translation programmes, vaguely defined methodologies, inappropriate textbooks and dictionaries, and, above all, the multi-faceted contact between Arabic and English (and to a lesser degree French), reinforced by the massive impact of technology. All these problems affect the backgrounds for orientation in the theory and practice of translation, where 'interlingual' factors complicate the issues even further.

The presentations showed a firm consensus that *'communicative' approaches* must be our groundwork for new progress Our agenda was accordingly geared to the difficult task of defining which types of theories or practice would qualify as 'communicative', and in what sense; and how they might be consolidated within a unified framework to deal with the recognised problems. These questions were most prominently raised in respect to training in foreign languages and translation, areas that must be carefully managed to keep clear of the debilitating problems inherited from older non-communicative techniques such a working with lists of isolated words and definitions.

My own impression, strongly reaffirmed by the Irbid Conference, is that 'communicative' theories and methods in the teaching of language and translation, are, like those in discourse analysis, growing more 'functional' and more oriented to the concerns of specialised domains. I recall the early years of 'text linguistics', when the agenda was dominated by initiatives to 'extend' formalist linguistics; the main lesson from that research was that the range of theoretical statements that can be made about '*all* texts' or '*the* text' is not terribly rich; most of the useful insights are situated on more specific planes, such as the organisation of *text types* in recognisable *discourse domains*. A similar lesson seems to be crystallising in applications, such as those addressed at the Irbid Conference — which underscores the urgency of shifting our 'scenarios' (section B). If we do not apply and extend our research or ideas to the issues and contexts of consultations and conferences, we stand to lose our most vital occasions to determine what we are, or should be, working on at all.

Our clearest task, in this vision, is the development of 'special purpose language' to coordinate the enhancement of native language resources for managing specialised areas in science and technology, with the development of English instructional programmes specifically tailored to the needs of students and professionals in such areas. The conference participants concurred that such a task cannot be achieved with some abstract image of '*the* language learner' presupposed by most TESOL programmes designed in the UK or the US on the expectation that they can be applied irrespective of the native language of the learners and of their cultural attitudes toward their native language and toward English. The monocultural and monolingual orientation in those countries is plainly not representative for the countries of application (Phillipson 1992).

The themes of the Irbid Conference were brought home to me in concrete detail in my consultations as a USIS Visiting Academic Specialist at Yarmouk University, which has been gradually building up a progressive, high-quality language and translation training programme for some years. I reviewed the courses and the organisation of this programme, both through published descriptions and through interviews with the staff and with the students. At the end of my stay I proposed a revised set of course descriptions intended to reflect the interests voiced by the various parties at Yarmouk University as well as recent trends in comparable Western programmes:[3]

(1) TRANSLATION FOR GENERAL PURPOSES. This two-term course concerns written translation from English into Arabic of a variety of texts for general audiences in the areas of literature, religion, commerce, law, politics, and economics. To help students produce idiomatic translations, special emphasis is placed on multi-word units in English, such as idioms, collocations, and formulaic expressions, and on their prospective equivalents in Arabic. The course also emphasises the more global discourse-level choices made by a translator, particularly those relating to planning, paragraphing,

[3] The Yarmouk Translation Programme was moved from the Language Centre into the English Department in 1993, and some of these proposals have been adopted.

punctuation, explicit versus implicit, managing versus monitoring, etc. Further, the processes of translating are correlated with the processes of composing in terms of procedures not just during the act of translating but also preceding it (e.g. taking notes) and following it (e.g. revising).

(2) TRANSLATION FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES. This course features the translation from English into Arabic of special-purpose texts from science, technology, engineering, sociology, psychology, medicine, and so on, selected to fit current demand for careers and professions. Student translators become conversant with the formal and functional features of technical texts and discourse genres on several levels. On the lexical level, students identify and render the equivalents of domain-specific or specialised meanings involved in terminology, phraseology, or lexical gaps between languages. On the syntactic level, students work with typical colligations, such as complex phrases and sentences with passives, nominal compounds, participial modifiers, and so forth. On the stylistic level, students learn to handle the strategies and diction of expository, narrative, and argumentative styles.

(3) CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS OF ARABIC AND ENGLISH. This workshop course offers a contrastive study of the basic structures and organisation of Arabic and English syntax, style, and discourse, especially the issues relating to the needs and problems of future translators.

(4) TEXT, DISCOURSE, AND TRANSLATION. The course introduces the basic notions of discourse processing, such as textuality, text production and reception, cohesion, coherence, intention, acceptance, situationality, rhetorical stance, register, and genre/text type. These notions are deployed to refine the awareness of translation trainees for the overall aspects of texts. The course combines theory with practice via intensive classwork in analysing and translating a range of authentic texts.

(5) TRANSLATION THEORY. This course examines the aims, doctrines, principles, and methods of translation and interpreting. Attention is also devoted to the social functions and norms of translation, and to the implications of psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic research.

6) SEMANTICS. Semantic theory is applied to the concerns of translating, especially between Arabic and English; and the role of semantics in the study of language at large is explored with Arabic and English texts. Basic semantic concepts to be covered include reference, denotation, connotation, and sense relations. More elaborate concepts include semantic fields, componential analysis, collocation, lexical equivalence, synonymy, polysemy, social meaning, and affective meaning.

(7) PRAGMATICS. This course deals with language as it functions within context. The main concerns are the choices of language in speech and writing, and the factors constraining such choices. These factors are related not only to the familiar components of language but also to the subtle strategies of discourse as it seeks efficiency, effectiveness, and appropriateness. Pragmatic analyses are shown to capture and explicate linguistic phenomena that would be missed by exclusively syntactic or semantic analyses. Major topics include Information, Discourse Structure, Conversational Analysis, Speech Acts, Presuppositions, Implicatures, and the Cooperative Principle.

(8) CONSECUTIVE INTERPRETATION. The course offers intensive training in the consecutive interpretation of authentic spoken texts from a range of discourse genres, e.g., political, social, economic, and religious. Practical work pursues three main objectives: taking notes on the main ideas of the text, developing an immediacy of response, and refining one's sensitivity for those generic and registerial features of the text that are crucial in rendering an equivalent message. Theoretical work addresses the major notions relating to the process of interpreting: sense and meaning; world knowledge; explicit and implicit meaning; intercultural and interlingual transfer; and the role of the interpreter as listener, analyst, and speaker.

(9) SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETATION. In this course, participants engage in simultaneous interpreting workshops in the laboratory, both from English into Arabic and from Arabic into English. Each interpreting session is followed by an elaborate feedback session, in which the students' taped interpretations are assessed. Since multi-word units present a serious challenge to the competence and immediacy of the student interpreter, strong emphasis is placed on flexible strategies, such as anticipation, synonymy, circumlocution, omission, addition, calquing, and self-monitoring. The course also seeks to provide theoretical grounding in the principles and techniques of simultaneous interpreting, yet in active application to the participants' performance in the practical sessions.

In writing these course descriptions, I was building upon the already established courses priorities and even preserving some of the original wording. The resulting style is not what I might have used working freehand, though I had the advantage that my own works and their main terms were already included among the course materials. In the long run, a unification of descriptive terminology across the entire programme would be both desirable and feasible.

The only course appearing here that was not yet implemented but had been consistently advocated by my informants was simultaneous translation, which entails expensive requirements for staff and equipment. Less expensive but more delicate for academic politics would be the initiatives needed to bring together language staff with staff of other areas to design and implement specific versions of technical English and technical Arabic needed as groundwork for the courses, especially (2). The new course descriptions expressly recommend an open series of rotating topics in special purpose translation, with a negotiable choice of topic. A long-term rotational plan with tracks running in parallel and topics alternating from term to term could eventually be coordinated to suit the fluctuating demands of the overall university curriculum.

My own 'Irbid experience' thus gained enormously in coherence because I stayed after the conference long enough to get a reasonable notion of local needs and conditions. I was thus enabled to approach the 'editing' of this volume by balancing my ideas against the many new issues I encountered there and during my later work as guest lecturer in Alexandria, where we did much of the editing of the written papers. However deep and rich the contexts of Arabic culture may prove to be, I am heartened to feel that I have at least gotten below the surface. Perhaps the present volume and the conference which led to its inception can validly be viewed as steps along the road I have sketched in this chapter.

F. Back to the Future

The line of argument in this paper suggests some of the issues we could reasonably be expected to address in our research:

(a) theoretically and empirically sound and integrative models of free access to knowledge through discourse;
(b) studies of non-expert and expert language users in discourse, and models of the progressive stages in the emergence of expertise;
(c) studies of local cultural settings and their implications for using one or another of the available language varieties and discourse domains;
(d) programs that support 'progress' through long-term, collaborative, and constructive strategies of discourse as they evolve during socialisation and education;
(e) pilots testing alternative methods of teaching native and non-native languages, ranging from basic literacy to advanced 'discourse for special purposes' and skilled simultaneous interpreting.

It might appear unduly ambitious to propose that language and discourse specialists take on the task of transforming social and educational practices in a range of local contexts. But at the centre of those practices we undeniably keep encountering the resources of language and discourse. The burning question today is whether those resources will be used in intuitive, approximate ways that reflect entrenched attitudes and leave inequalities in place, or in explicit, controlled ways that reflect strategic models and promote free access to knowledge. If our expertise cannot be invested in making a difference between these two prospects, then we need to expand and develop it. If it can be so invested, then we must make it available on the basis of who needs it the most and not who pays us the most.[4] And if we can find educators and policy-makers who are willing to freely describe their issues to us and to freely consider our counsel, then we should seek them out.

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[4] For the record, my own presentations in countries with unstable economies have been mostly given with no remuneration.

So perhaps it is not utterly utopian to foresee a time in the future when international conferences will not merely present personal projects and sketch new trends in theory and research but will present full-fledged 'working models' of the international sharing of the highest of human resources — knowledge about language, and language about knowledge.

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