

**Narrative Point of View in Translation:  
A Systemic Functional Analysis of the Arabic  
Translations of J.M. Coetzee's *Waiting for the  
Barbarians***

Komail Hussain H Al Herz

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## Declaration

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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## Abstract

Located within the framework of narratology, linguistics, stylistics and translation studies, the present thesis principally probes the nature of the translator's voice/presence with the purpose of identifying its effects on translated narrative texts and uncovering his or her certain linguistic habits. The thesis adopts the Systemic Functional model of research in descriptive translation studies. That is, identifying translational shifts by mapping the lexicogrammatical systems (lower level) of the source text onto these of the target texts may result in shifts at the global level of translated narrative texts (point of view). The present study sets out to construct J. M. Coetzee's systemic profiles in his novel *Waiting for the Barbarians* ([1980] 2004) and compare them against those of the two Arabic translators of his novel, ʔibtisām ʕabdullāh (2004) and Ṣaḥr Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn (2004). In particular, it looks into the renderings of the linguistic triggers of the original narrative viewpoints, namely deixis (i.e., tense and time and place deictic terms), thematic structures, modal expressions and techniques of discourse representation. The comparative analyses show varying degrees of discrepancy at the lexicogrammatical stratum between the original and its two translations, mostly attributable to the two translators' linguistic preferences and interpretations of the original. These discrepancies, in turn, bring about radical transformations to the original mode of narration, the modification of its perspectivization and the portrayal of the principal character, blurring the narrative style of the author and thus offering a different readerly experience to the target audience.

# Table of Contents

<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>List of Figures</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>List of Tables</b>	<b>xii</b>
<b>Transliteration, Gloss Lines and Abbreviations</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE: Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Research Questions	4
1.2 The Author	5
1.3 <i>WFB</i>	8
1.4 The TTs	12
1.5 Organisation of Thesis	16
<b>CHAPTER TWO: Theoretical Framework and Methodology</b>	<b>19</b>
2.1 Introduction	19
2.2 Translator's Voice	19
2.3 SFL	26
2.4 Point of View	29
2.4.1 Spatio-temporal Point of View	33
2.4.2 Psychological Point of View	36
2.4.3 Phraseological Point of View	37

2.5 Existing Research on Point of View in Translation	38
2.6 Style: Definition and Approaches to Analysis	45
2.6.1 Style in Translation	47
2.7 Outline of Research Methodology	53
2.7.1 First Stage: Local, Lexicogrammatical Level	53
2.7.2 Second Stage: Global Level of the Narrative Text	54
2.7.3 The Corpus	55
2.8 Conclusion	56
<b>CHAPTER THREE: Deixis</b>	<b>58</b>
3.1 Introduction	58
3.2 Narrative Tense in First-person Mode of Narration	58
3.2.1 Past (Retrospective) Tense	60
3.2.2 Historical (Metaphorical) Present Tense	61
3.2.3 Simultaneous Present Tense	63
3.2.3.1 Rhetorical Effects of Simultaneous Present Tense in the ST	66
3.5 Temporal Reference in MSA	68
3.6 Rendition of the ST Narrative Tense	71
3.6.1 Simultaneous Present Tense in Translation	74
3.7 Place and Time <i>Deictics</i>	83
3.7.1 Quantitative Results	84
3.7.2 ST Temporal <i>Deictics</i> in Translation	86
3.7.2.1 Shift from Proximal to Distal <i>Deictics</i>	90
3.7.2.2 Omission of <i>Deictics</i>	93

3.7.2.3 Addition of <i>Deictics</i>	99
3.8 Conclusion	103
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: Thematic Structure</b>	<b>105</b>
4.1 Introduction	105
4.2 Theme-Rheme Distinction: Brief History	106
4.3 System of Theme in English	111
4.3.1 Thematic Selection Patterns: (Un)marked Themes	117
4.4 Thematicisation in MSA	123
4.4.1 Sequence of Elements in MSA	125
4.4.2 System of Theme in MSA	127
4.5 Method of Thematic Structure Analysis	133
4.5.1 Problem of Analysis	136
4.6 Quantitative Results	139
4.6.1 Textual and Interpersonal Themes in Translation	140
4.6.2 Topical Themes in Translation	149
4.6.3 Marked Topical Themes in Translation	155
4.7 Conclusion	163
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: Modality</b>	<b>166</b>
5.1 Introduction	166
5.2 The Concept of Modality	166
5.3 Simpson's Taxonomy of Modality	167
5.3.1 Deontic and Boulomaic Modalities	168

5.3.2 Epistemic and Perception Modalities	170
5.4 SFL Categories of Modality	171
5.5 System of Modality in MSA	174
5.6 Simpson’s Typology of Narrators	177
5.7 Quantitative Results	180
5.8 Types of Shifts in the ST Modal Expressions	182
5.8.1 Types of Obligatory Shifts	183
5.8.2 Optional Shifts in the ST Modal Patterns	186
5.8.2.1 Demodalisation Shift	189
5.8.2.2 Modalisation Shift	198
5.8.2.3 Inter-modal and Intra-modal Shifts	205
5.9 Conclusion	212
<b>CHAPTER SIX: Modes of Discourse Representation</b>	<b>214</b>
6.1 Introduction	214
6.2 Speech and Thought Representations	214
6.2.1 Direct Discourse (DD)	216
6.2.2 Free Direct Discourse (FDD)	217
6.2.3 Indirect Discourse (ID)	218
6.3 Methodological Considerations	220
6.4 Modes of Discourse Representation in Translation	223
6.4.1 (F)DD Modes in Translation	225
6.4.2 (F)DD Reported Content in Translation	239
6.5 Conclusion	244

<b>CHAPTER SEVEN: Conclusion</b>	<b>246</b>
7.1 Introduction	246
7.2 Answers to Research Questions	247
7.3 Summary of Findings	250
7.4 Limitations and Implications for Future Research	256
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>262</b>

## List of Figures

<b>Figure 1.1.</b> Thesis structure	17
<b>Figure 2.1.</b> Chatman's (1978) model of the narrative communication situation	23
<b>Figure 2.2.</b> Extended model for translation adapted from Schiavi (1996)	23
<b>Figure 2.3.</b> Munday's (2008) parallel narratological scheme	24
<b>Figure 2.4.</b> Leone's (2011) revised narratological model in translation	25
<b>Figure 2.5.</b> Example of system	27
<b>Figure 2.6.</b> Raphael's <i>The School of Athens</i> (1511)	31
<b>Figure 2.7.</b> Caillebotte's <i>Paris Street, Rainy Day</i> (1877)	31
<b>Figure 3.1.</b> ST mode of narration in contrast to its TT counterparts	82
<b>Figure 3.2.</b> Distribution of proximal and distal <i>deictics</i> in ST and TTs	85
<b>Figure 3.3.</b> Frequency of omission shifts in TTs	93
<b>Figure 3.4.</b> Frequency of time <i>deictics</i> in ST and TTs	94
<b>Figure 3.5.</b> Frequency of addition shifts in TTs	99
<b>Figure 4.1.</b> System of Theme adapted from Caffarel <i>et al.</i> (2004: 28)	123
<b>Figure 4.2.</b> Frequency of different types of Theme in ST and TTs	139
<b>Figure 4.3.</b> Frequency of the marked nominal-initial sequence	157
<b>Figure 4.4.</b> Frequency of unmarked thematic shifts in TTs	158
<b>Figure 5.1.</b> Distribution of modality systems in ST and TTs	181
<b>Figure 5.2.</b> Distribution of obligatory and optional modality shifts	183
<b>Figure 5.3.</b> Types of modality optional shifts	187
<b>Figure 5.4.</b> Frequency of types of modality optional shifts	188
<b>Figure 5.5.</b> Frequency of demodalised ST expressions of different modality systems	190
<b>Figure 5.6.</b> The functions of the ST omitted modal expressions	192
<b>Figure 5.7.</b> Frequency of TTs added expressions of modality systems	199

<b>Figure 5.8.</b> Frequency of different modality strategies of added expressions	200
<b>Figure 5.9.</b> Frequency of ST inter/intra-modally shifted expressions	206
<b>Figure 5.10.</b> Frequency of intra-modal shifts	209
<b>Figure 6.1.</b> Distribution of (F)DD and ID modes	224

## List of Tables

<b>Table 2.1.</b> Linguistic markers of point of view drawn on Munday (2008: 24)	33
<b>Table 3.1.</b> English temporal terms and their MSA correspondents	83
<b>Table 3.2.</b> Frequency of categories of deictic shift in the TTs	89
<b>Table 4.1.</b> Main differences between FSP and SFL approaches to Theme-Rheme distinction	111
<b>Table 4.2.</b> Topical Theme in English	114
<b>Table 4.3.</b> Multiple Themes in English	115
<b>Table 4.4.</b> Unmarked Themes in different English moods	119
<b>Table 4.5.</b> Marked Themes in the declarative mood	121
<b>Table 4.6.</b> Textual and Interpersonal Themes	131
<b>Table 5.1.</b> SFL types of modality	173
<b>Table 5.2.</b> Types and realisations of modality systems in MSA	175
<b>Table 5.3.</b> Examples of modality optional shifts	188
<b>Table 5.4.</b> Type, frequency and function of added modal expressions	200
<b>Table 5.5.</b> Frequency of inter-modal shifts	208
<b>Table 6.1.</b> Leech and Short's (2007) forms of speech and thought representation	215
<b>Table 6.2.</b> Summary of features of (F)DD and ID modes	219
<b>Table 6.3.</b> Function and frequency of ST reporting verb	226
<b>Table 6.4.</b> Kind and frequency of shifts in translation of (F)DD modes	228
<b>Table 6.5.</b> Function and frequency of ST deleted reporting verb	229
<b>Table 6.6.</b> Frequency of TT equivalents of ST reporting verb <i>say</i>	231
<b>Table 6.7.</b> Function and frequency of TT added reporting verbs	238

# Transliteration, Gloss Lines and Abbreviations

## I. Transliteration of the Arabic consonants

Arabic letter	Transliteration	Arabic letter	Transliteration
ء	ʾ	ض	ḍ
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	ṯ	ع	ʿ
ج	j	غ	ġ
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	ḫ	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	ḏ	ل	l
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	م	m
س	s	هـ	h
ش	š	و	w
ص	ṣ	ي	y

## II. Transliteration of the Arabic Vowels and Diphthongs

اَ	a
اِ	i
اُ	u
آ, إ	ā
و	ū
ي	ī
أو	aw
أَي	ay

This transliteration system is based on the Brill transliteration system for Arabic consonant and vowels, since it is uncomplicated in the sense that one Arabic letter is mapped to one roman letter. The transliteration system used in this thesis has been applied only to Arabic proper names and the titles of Arabic (non-)fiction works mentioned in the present study. Uppercase transliteration symbols are used for the first letter of each proper noun (e.g., Šālih). As for the titles of the Arabic (non-)fiction works, lowercase symbols are employed (e.g., *dirāsāt fi al-tarjamah wa naqdiḥā*). A *šaddah* (◌ّ) is rendered as a double consonant, while *tāʔ marbūṭah* (◌ّ), which occupies a final position of a word is transliterated as *ah* or *āt*. A hyphen (-) is used to mark morphosyntactic elements such as the definite article *al* and prepositions. It should be noted that *a* in the definite article *al* is capitalised only when prefixed to a proper noun (e.g., Al-Ṭāhir).

### III. Gloss Lines

English gloss lines are added occasionally to some Arabic examples cited in this study for syntactic accuracy or explanatory purposes. Mainly used in the chapter four of the current research, they are provided to highlight to the reader the ideational elements such as a cliticised subject and/or complement that signal the boundary between Theme and Rheme in the analysis of the thematic structure, and to show different types of Theme. The glosses are positioned directly under the Arabic words or phrases to which they accord, and where two lines are provided, the second line is an idiomatic English translation, as shown in the following example:

Rheme			Theme
فأكثر	أكثر	يغوص	أراه
then-more	more	he-dives	I-saw-him

‘I saw him going deeper and deeper’

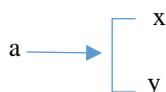
#### IV. Abbreviations

A+ve	Category A positive
A-ve	Category A negative
Aux	Auxiliaries
CD	Communicative Dynamism
DD	Direct Discourse
exp	Expression
FDD	Free Direct Discourse
FID	Free Indirect Discourse
FSP	Functional Sentence Perspective
ID	Indirect Discourse
Inter	Interpersonal Theme
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
NI	Narration of Internal States/Internal Narration
NP	Noun Phrase
NRDA	Narrative Report of Discoursal Act
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SL	Source Language
ST	Source Text
SVC	Subject-Verb-Complement
SV	Subject-Verb
Text	Textual Theme
TL	Target Language
Top	Topical Theme
TT	Target Text
T-unit	A structure consisting of an independent clause together with all hypotactically related clauses, which are dependent on it.
VS	Verb-Subject
<i>WFB</i>	<i>Waiting for the Barbarians</i>

## V. Systemic Notational Conventions (drawn on Halliday and Matthiessen (2014))

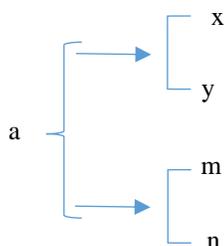
### Symbol and graphic conventions

+	insert
^	order
$(\alpha \wedge \beta)$	progressive sequence
$(\beta \wedge \alpha)$	regressive sequence
[s, c]	The Predicator/Process affixes (i.e., subject and complement)
	clause complex
	clause simplex



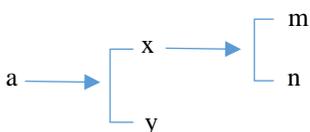
### System

There is a system  $x/y$  with entry condition  $a$  [if  $a$ , then either  $x$  or  $y$ ].



### Simultaneity

There are two simultaneous systems  $x/y$  and  $m/n$ , both having entry condition  $a$  [if  $a$ , then both either  $x$  or  $y$  and independently, either  $m$  or  $n$ ].



### Delicacy ordering

There are two systems  $x/y$  and  $m/n$ , ordered in dependence such that  $m/n$  has entry condition  $x$  and  $x/y$  has entry condition  $a$  [if  $a$ , then either  $x$  or  $y$  and if  $x$ , then either  $m$  or  $n$ ].

# CHAPTER ONE

## Introduction

In his contributed chapter, ‘Working with Translators’ in *Translation and the Classic: Identity as Change in the History of Culture*, J. M. Coetzee (2008) raises the question of the translator’s textual options in mirroring the fictional universe of his own novels. Coetzee remarks that, regardless of how far the translator masters both the source language (SL) and target language (TL), the equivalents, that are selected in the translation, among various acceptable, ‘valid’ alternatives, may crystallise a distortion of the world of imagination, constructed by Coetzee. These translational choices proffer an incongruent literary experience to the target language readers, that the original author himself would have never opted for (ibid.: 414). Expressing his discomfort with the first German translation (1984) of his novel *Waiting for the Barbarians* (henceforth, *WFB*) and assessing it as a failure, Coetzee explains that:

as I read the text she [the translator] produced I felt more and more disquieted: the world that her pages evoked was, in subtle and not so subtle respects, not the world I had imagined; the narrator whose voice I was hearing was not the narrator I had conceived [...]. The sensibility behind the German text, a sensibility embodied in particular in the speech of the narrator, felt alien to me.

In order to illustrate the different narratorial voice as depicted in this translation, Coetzee (ibid.: 414-5) refers to a narrative episode in the first few pages of the novel, where the narrator-character, who shows interest in archaeological excavation, is left behind among the ruins in the desert after the children head back home. Coetzee discusses the translator’s German correspondant *streifte herum* (roamed around) of the original lexical item *lingered*—(‘One evening I [Magistrate] lingered among the ruins after the children had run home to their suppers [...]'). Coetzee brings to light that the English lexical verb *lingered*, meaning to make longer, designates the idle state of the Magistrate as opposed to the action of the

children, going back to their homes. It alludes to the Magistrate's irresolute stance that what he does (staying behind after the children have left) is neither utterly advertent, nor by any means an unwilling act. On the contrary, its German lexical counterpart *streifte herum* (roamed around), which is opted for by the translator, implies a sense of determination on the part of the narrator-character that in order to move around the ruin, he purposefully stays put until the children have returned to their homes (ibid.: 415). Hence, unlike the original, this translation evokes a portrayal of the active state of the Magistrate. This implication, Coetzee argues, is also pinpointed by the translator's disruption of the original sequencing of elements. The back-translation of the German target text shows a part of the original independent clause is postposed ('One evening I roamed, after the children for their meal had gone home, around among the ruins.') (ibid.). Thus, the translator's linguistic choices overriding these of the original author contribute to inserting an *ideational* feature, the Magistrate's decisiveness, that is not attendant in the original text. This, in turn, sets the construal of the original narrator-character's experience apart from that of the German target text.

Reading Coetzee's remarks prompted me to wonder about what happens to the Magistrate's voice in Arabic translations, whether his voice is completely usurped or correspondingly matched by the translators, and whether the sense of alienation felt by the author holds true in the Arabic translations. Additionally, what happens to the authorial stylistic options and techniques, and the thematic contents of the fiction in translation? or how closely is the visual orientation of the narrative events as witnessed by the Magistrate satisfactorily mirrored? These general questions aroused my interest in looking into the Arabic reproduction of the narratological structure, the narrative point of view in *WFB*, in an endeavour to probe the nature of the translators' voice, presence and idiosyncrasies in the translated narratives.

Proceeding based on the assumption that it is impossible for a translator to erase his or her existence in his or her translated text without leaving behind any traces of his or her presence (Hermans, [1996] 2009), and that translational shifts at the micro-textual level affect the original text at the macro-textual level (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989; 1990), the principal aim of the current research is to probe the nature of the translator's presence and its effects on

translated narrative texts. The present study carries out multi-faceted comparative analyses between J. M. Coetzee's *WFB* ([1980] 2004) and its two Arabic translations, one by ʿĪbtisām ʿĀbdullāh (2004) and the other by Ṣaḥr Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn (2004). I will present a manual investigation of the linguistic options marking the narrative point of view (the standpoint from which a story is recounted) at different levels of manifestation, in an attempt to identify if there are notable differences, translational shifts, at the lexicogrammatical (the micro-textual level), between the source text (ST) and the target texts (TTs), which are attributable to each translator's presence, and to see if these shifts affect the original text at the global level (macro-textual level). I also seek to unmask each individual translator's linguistic habits, propensities, tendencies, or poetic tastes, which are manifested in the translational shifts and can be perceived as characteristics of the style of each individual translator.

The present research leans on the Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) approach as a framework for the linguistic comparison, which explores the relationship between structures that embody available linguistic choices and the kinds of meanings these structures create in a given context. That is, certain choices that the language user makes among a wide range of alternatives serve certain communicative purposes (Halliday, 1994: 39). This framework will mainly allow me check the remapping of the ST three metafunctions, Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual, onto those of the TTs. In order to link the translational shifts at the lower lexicogrammatical level, to these at the higher level, the narrative perspective(s), the present study draws upon the Uspensky-Fowler-Simpson stylistic model of narrative point of view, a model that avoids the 'unprincipled impressionism' that is predominant in literary studies in designating the narrative viewpoints (Simpson, 2007: 118), and accounts for foregrounded, motivated choices made by the author. This model will provide me with an opportunity to see whether the translational shifts lead to the manipulation of the original viewpoints, blurring the narrative style of the author and thus contributing to a distinct readerly experience, compared to that of the ST. In the remaining sections of this chapter, I will discuss the specific questions addressed in my research. I will then introduce the original author, his *WFB* and its Arabic translations. Finally, I will conclude with the organisation of the thesis.

## 1.1 Research Questions

The specific research questions, which I seek to address in order to achieve the principal aim of the present study, are as follows:

- 1. What kind of recurrent lexicogrammatical shifts (micro-level shifts) can be identified in the translation of the ST linguistic signals of the narrative point of view(s)?**
- 2. To what extent do the patterns of shifts detected in the translated narratives at the lexicogrammatical level distort the original at the macro-textual level, namely, the ST point of view on different planes, spatio-temporal, psychological and phraseological?**
- 3. What distinctive features, propensities or tendencies can be uncovered through translational shifts in order to characterise the translators' styles, which may then be tested in future studies?**

The first research question will essentially be addressed by conducting detailed analyses of the linguistic triggers of the original viewpoints', namely, deixis (i.e., tense and time and place deictic terms), thematic structures, modal expressions and techniques of discourse representation, as well as their counterparts in the two Arabic translations. It concentrates on uncovering major trends of the translational changes. The identification and classification of these small translational changes, that result from the translators' systemically unmotivated choices in the sense that they are not attributed to structural differences between the SL and TL, will lead to the answer of the second research question. It mainly considers the effects of these lower-level alterations on the ST at a higher level, the narratological construction of the original narrative text. That is, it concentrates on interpreting the effects of certain trends of translation shift taking place over the entire narrative text on the original viewpoint(s) on spatio-temporal, psychological and phraseological planes. It seeks to identify the macro-level shifts within each individual level of manifestation of viewpoint and their

contribution to distancing the original author's world of imagination in translation. The final question focuses on the frequent linguistic habits of the two translators as manifested in the lexicogrammatical shifts. It aims to underline distinguished differences between the two translators in terms of their systemic profiles that inform each translator's stylistic inclinations or preferences.

## 1.2 The Author

J. M. Coetzee, the South African-born novelist, is one of the most gifted and celebrated contemporary literary figures. He became an Australian citizen after settling in Adelaide in 2002, where he has been appointed as a research fellow in the Arts at the University of Adelaide and occasionally works as a supervisor to MA and PhD students. His novels have been translated from English into some twenty-five other languages. Among many other distinctions, Coetzee is the first two-time Booker Prize winner for *Life and Times of Michael K* (1983) and *Disgrace* (1999) and is the 2003 Nobel Prize winner for Literature. He is cited for "in innumerable guises portray[ing] the surprising involvement of the outsider" (Nobel Prize, 2003).

Coetzee's fictions are clearly distinguished for their precision and excellence (Wood, 2003: 15; Attridge, 2009: 82) and some of them are characterised by post-modern strategies, including parody, irony, and intertextuality. It is argued that post-modernism found its way into Africa through his first novel *Dusklands* (1974) (Head, 2009: ix). Heavily laden with sophisticated, intellectual ideas which, on the one hand, seemingly guarantee the survival of his texts, and sustain his prestigious status, and on the other hand, pose immense difficulties to readers, his fiction has attracted much attention and has been extensively investigated both inside and outside of the academic world. The polemics that his fiction proffers at both levels of the experimental form of novel and thematic content has polarised critics into postures of attack and defence (Attwell, 1993: 2). Some disparage his contribution and voice their frustration due to his implicit political indulgence, claiming that Coetzee, unlike the other liberal white South African authors such as Nadine Gordimer, who exhaust *realism* as a form of political involvement, has not risen to the occasion to fulfil his social responsibility as an

author, an organic intellectual<sup>1</sup>, in Gramsci's terms, by explicitly bringing to light individuals' agonies and the atrocity of apartheid South Africa (ibid.: 2, 11). In this respect, Coetzee's novels have been approached and then judged based on an instrumental reading of literature; that is, literary criticism views literature or compels it to operate as an effective and precious instrument to bring about changes in political and social order, as a mere tool of salvation against oppression (Attridge, 2004a: 8-9). Hence, literature is perceived narrowly.

On the other hand, arguing from the post-structuralist perspectives, other critics consider his literary works insightful and substantially abundant (Attwell: 1993:2); that is, they are viewed as innovative, questioning the concept of authority, challenging our normative views of race and gender, and engaging with highly philosophical issues, amongst many others. Leist and Singer (2010: 6-8) remark that one outstanding feature identifying Coetzee's fictional narratives as philosophical is their 'unusual degree of reflectivity'. Briefly, this feature refers to the fact that his narratives reveal a particular resistance to conventional readings that manifests itself at the textual level and is evinced in the characterisation of his novels as, for instance, allegorical. Hence, they present some nuances to readers who must be equipped with certain signals that assist in interpreting them. Moreover, Coetzee's fictional writings, Attridge (2004b: 7), argues, involve one salient characteristic: the absence of any form of "ethical guidance from an authoritative voice or valorizing metalanguage." In this sense, readers find themselves deserted when it comes to making the burdensome judgments on his principal characters. For instance, it can be difficult to reach an ethical decision on Michael K's abandonment of acts of heroism, or to properly perceive Lurie's sexual exploitation in *Disgrace* (1999) (ibid.).

Alongside his literary career, Coetzee is a highly respected academic and essayist. He conducted his doctoral research on Samuel Beckett's style with a particular interest in his

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<sup>1</sup> Antonio Gramsci (1971: 1-23) makes a distinction between *traditional* and *organic* intellectuals. Regardless of their professions, *organic* intellectuals are those who function to represent the urges and ideas of a specific class, race or social group that they may belong to. By contrast, *traditional* intellectuals, who may be scholars, scientists, artists etc., show no interest in challenging the hegemony of the ruling class. Attwell (1993: 24) points out that in South Africa, these two binary oppositions are broadly propagated by the leftists, and are effectively deployed by many intellectuals, in an attempt to "denounce others in a country in which the social distance between intellectual and popular sectors remains embarrassingly visible."

fictions, especially *Watt*, which had a tremendous impact on Coetzee<sup>2</sup>. His thesis was entitled: *The English Fictions of Samuel Beckett: An Essay in Stylistic Analysis*. He sought, in the first place, to provide himself with rationales for being fascinated with as such a style (Hayes, 2010:37). In fact, the Beckettian style is evidently traced in Coetzee's works of fiction. In this regard, Ackerly (2011: 34) states that the influence of Samuel Beckett's novel *Watt* can be clearly spotted in Coetzee's *Life and Times of Michael K* in contrast to his other works of fiction. This is particularly evidenced in the embodiment of intricate 'tonalities', as this is projected in *Watt*, and in terms of the narrative structure; that is, another narratorial voice is involved in relaying one narrative sequence in both fictions. His non-fiction works deal with a wide spectrum of illuminating topics, ranging from the psychological and moral effects of censorship, authority, to 'modernist legacy' (Head, 2009: x). He has also been active as a reviewer for the *New York Review of Books*, throwing light on highly-valued European authors such as Robert Musil and Kafka, as well as on contemporary world authors like Gabriel García Márquez and Nadine Gordimer.

It is worth mentioning that Coetzee has developed an interest in translating works from Afrikaans, German and Dutch into English. Amongst his translations are Wilma Stockenström's *The Expedition to the Baobab Tree* (1984), Marcellus Emants' *A Posthumous Confession* (1986), and the verse anthology featuring the work of six of significant modern and contemporary Dutch poets *Landscape with Rowers: Poetry of the Netherlands* (2005). In addition, Coetzee (2008: 419) shares his insights on the process of translation contending that translation is first and foremost a craft "in a way that cabinetmaking is a craft". That is to say, there is no much that can be philosophised or theorised about in cabinetmaking rather than learning through observation. He (ibid.) adds "[t]he only book on cabinetmaking I can imagine that might be of use to the practitioner would be a humble handbook." Thus, he is sceptical when it comes to a theory of translation that can be of great significance to translation practitioners (ibid.).

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<sup>2</sup> Attridge (2009: 71-92) discusses in detail Coetzee's style, seeking to shed light on an overlooked comic sense in Coetzee's novels in response to those critics, among whom are James Wood and Martin Amis, who reiterate that Coetzee only picks the bleakness and displeasure from Beckett.

Wondering how translators are able to cope with difficulties posed by the English language, let alone, his specific style, Coetzee also emphasises that communication between the author and the translator could be of great value in order to not misrepresent the author and to use the best approximations available at the TL. In fact, Coetzee himself, when translating *The Expedition to the Baobab Tree*, contacted Wilma Stockenström, inquiring about the names of plants and trees that are included in the fiction (Kannemeyer, 2012: 359). In this regard, Coetzee touches on many issues in relation to the translation of his novels, proffering some problems that translators may face, especially if they do not seek help or advice from the author. On one occasion, Coetzee (ibid.: 414-5) remarks that he had been contacted by his Dutch translator regarding the translation of the English word *highway* included in his story ‘A House in Spain’, which depicts a house located in a Catalan village on the highway. The lexical item *highway* proves to be abundant in connotation; that is, it carries a positive meaning when compared to the word *road*. By contrast, it can hold a negative implication when associated with the lexical item *highwayman* (ibid.). Since there are various types of roads identified based on the maximum speeds, his Dutch translator wished to be informed on the exact location of the village, whether it was situated on, for example, a provincial road or express motorway in order to provide the best possibility in the TT. Apart from the different lexical choices a translator can come up with, such a query, Coetzee stresses, can be aptly satisfied by interrogating the author himself.

### 1.3 WFB

*WFB*, published in 1980 by Penguin, brought Coetzee international recognition, raising his stature to become an influential figure in world literature. It won him both prestigious British awards, the James Tait Black Memorial Prize (Scotland), and the Geoffrey Faber Memorial Prize (England). The novel has also won the CNA Prize. Set in an unspecified place and time, and narrated in a linear manner by an unnamed character-narrator called the Magistrate, *WFB* presents a reading and rereading of this character’s ideological instance and attitudes toward the imperialistic acts and ethics of Empire, an amplifying experience culminated in subverting his position from dominating figure to dominated one, from coloniser to colonised.

At the outset of *WFB*, the Magistrate, who is in charge of a small town at the fringes of a desert, meets with Colonel Joll, an emissary of Empire's Third Bureau, who is investigating an alleged attack on Empire by the nomads, barbarians. Colonel Joll therefore launches a campaign into the land beyond the frontier to raid those barbarians and put an end to the fears of Empire. He then returns with 'a dozen pathetic prisoners', in the words of the Magistrate, who furiously reacts to such an act and argues that these people pose no real threat to Empire. The next day, Colonel Joll conducts interrogations on these prisoners, inflicting torture and agony. One of the tortured captives is a crippled and partially blinded young barbarian girl to whom the Magistrate is drawn; he provides her with shelter, nurses her wounds and develops an intimate relationship with her. Troubled by uncharacteristic sentiments, he determines to restore her to her own people.

After a dangerous journey following a previously-unattempted route, during which he has sex with her for the first time, the mission is accomplished. Upon the Magistrate's home arrival, he is confronted by a Warrant Officer from the Third Bureau, who questions the motives driving the former to embark upon such a journey and leaving the post of magistracy vacant, and accuses him of plotting with the barbarians against Empire. The Magistrate offers no explanations for what he has done, rather than defending or perhaps sympathising with the barbarians, and stating that it is Empire itself that has the desire to wage war on them. Thus, he is confined to a cell. Ironically, it is the same cell previously used for holding the barbarians captive. The Magistrate is dehumanised, and at the same time, this provides him with an opportunity to deepen his reflection on the imperialistic acts of Empire and on the torture and pain of those who have been kept as prisoners.

At the end, the hostile campaign against the barbarians is abandoned; Colonel Joll and his soldiers retreat as winter approaches. Out of fear of an alleged raid, many civilians desert the town. In the meantime, assuming his old post, the Magistrate prepares the remaining people for winter, who are left restless and afraid of an upcoming attack by the barbarians that never occurs.

*WFB* has the same title of a didactic poem by Greek poet Constantine P. Cavafy, who communicates that Romans are plunged into a state of confusion and apprehension, because they are waiting for barbarians to usurp their land, but the barbarians never arrive. The poem discusses that the *other* could form the nucleus of the imperialists' ideology: "And now, what will become of us without barbarians?/ Those people were some sort of a solution" (2007: 15-7). This highlights a paradoxical fact that imperialists are possessed by fears of the others, whose existence makes theirs legitimate and sustains their hegemony, a fact particularly and obviously flourished in *WFB* (Head, 2009: 49). Head (1998: 74-5) argues that 'waiting' can hold different implications for Colonel Joll and the Magistrate; that is, Colonel Joll, analogous to the poem's portrayal of the Romans, is waiting for the arrival of barbarians to fulfil his duty and to justify Empire's existence. In contrast, the Magistrate is waiting for 'new barbarians', embodied by the arrival of Empire's emissary that unmasks violence and undertakes torture, to reconstruct himself and re-evaluate his beliefs (ibid.). His views are solidified when he falls from grace and is then dehumanised by Empire.

Taking when *WFB* was written into consideration, Gallagher (1991: 114) provides a reading of *WFB* as a political allegory of the apartheid in South Africa, as a representation of a historical moment. She draws a parallel between tortures in *WFB* and those undertaken by the apartheid South African regime in the two-year Soweto riots (1976-7), which witnessed the death of Steve Biko, the founder of the Black Consciousness Movement, in police custody due to severe head injuries, an event that provoked international anger. One of these correspondences is the report made by Colonel Joll regarding the death of a captive after being interrogated, which presumably evokes the official accounts of Biko's death (Attridge, 2004b: 42). In addition, Head (2009:50) links the driven-by-fear departure of civilians at the end of *WFB* to that of white South Africans between 1970s and 1980s, who opted to pursue professional careers elsewhere. *WFB* can be construed as a universal allegory of imperialism, however, rather than being specifically applied to apartheid South Africa. That is, the events of *WFB* exceed its political situation to address any worldly mode of imperialism. In this respect, Atwell (1993: 73) argues that what makes *WFB* read as 'a form of ethical universalism' is that there is almost no overwhelming evidence that one could directly link its events to the milieu of apartheid South Africa. In the same vein, Head (2009: 48) points

out that the omission of the definite article *the* when referring to ‘*Empire*’ sustains the universality of the allegory.

Nonetheless, apart from these two conventional readings of *WFB*, Attridge (2004b: 32-64) has his own reading, a ‘literal’ one that stands in opposition to the allegorical meanings that the story may generate. This does not mean that he is against the two allegorical readings and his own stance does not necessarily supersede or fault them. He (ibid.: 42) suggests a way of scrutinising *WFB* premised on the reading experience<sup>3</sup>, on the conceptualisation of the literary work as an event, different from what the allegorical readings might provide: the value of *WFB* lies beyond its own terms, context and inventiveness, in associating its events to general or particular historical accounts that have already been fully experienced, agonies of individuals and the atrocity of imperialism. As an example, Attridge (ibid.: 43) cites a narratively key passage in which the Magistrate takes the barbarian girl into his room after she is tortured and becomes aware of the insignificant distance between the girl’s torturers and himself. Untroubled by allegorical overtones, Attridge (ibid.) argues that the passage signals the ambivalent stance that the self-delusion of the liberal’s moral compass, swaying between personal sexual desires and reluctance or indifference to shake up the course of events. He goes on to point out that the Magistrate’s carnal enchantment with the body is directly connected to the attraction with the body bearing torture marks. Thus, Attridge further states that such shades of meaning and a wealth of other narrative details, such as the question of moral quandary, the narrator-character’s states of mind, and his intimate moments, may go unnoticed or lack fair treatment (ibid.).

*WFB* focuses, for the most part, on the Magistrate’s conflicting values and his increasing awareness of his own ethical dilemma. To this end, Coetzee effectively utilises marked narrative tense, ‘simultaneous present tense’ (DelConte, 2003), rather than the natural, past retrospective tense (The narrative tense and its rhetorical effects will be further discussed in Chapter 3). In other words, the events are recounted as occurring, which, in turn, creates a sense of immediacy and is marked by shrinking the distance between relaying and

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<sup>3</sup> See Attridge’s *The Singularity of Literature* (2004a) for further insights on the engagement of experiencing and responding to a literary work, and on what makes it singular.

experiencing events (DelConte, 2007: 429). This apparently allows the audience to witness the character-narrator's accumulating experience, as well as to sympathise with him (ibid.: 440).

#### 1.4 The TTs

It is fair to posit that when receiving the 2003 Nobel Prize, Coetzee was not widely recognised in the Arabic-speaking world. Only two of his novels, *WFB* and *Disgrace* (1999) existed in Arabic translation. It is a fact that the Nobel Prize forges a major factor that furthered his international fame. Since then, a number of his novels, especially his late fictions, have been introduced to Arab readers.

There are only two Arabic translations of *WFB*. The first translation by the Iraqi novelist and journalist ʔibtisām ʕabdullāh was initially published by the Egyptian Supreme Council of Culture in 2000 and then republished by Al-Markaz Al-Ṭaqāfi Al-Arabi, Casablanca and Beirut, in 2004 under the title: *fi ʔintiṣār al-barābirah*. ʕabdullāh was Chair of the News and Translation Department for the Iraqi TV Channel. She also held the position of editor-in-chief of The Foreign Culture Journal, which is mainly concerned with publishing and translating philosophical texts, and has worked as an editor and a translator for the Iraqi Newspaper, *Al-Jūmhūryyah*. ʕabdullāh has published a number of novels and short stories, among which are *maṭar ʔaswad maṭar ʔaḥmar* (1994) and *baḥūr* (1998). The other translation by ʕaḥr Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn was published by Dār Ward, Syria, in 2004 under the same title. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn is a prolific translator, whose interest also includes non-fiction works. Among his translations are Joya Blondel Saad's *The Image of Arabs in Modern Persian Literature* (1996) and Barbara Allen's *Pigeon* (2009).

Concerning the paratextual level of the two translations, it is noticeable that they do not give their respective TT audience rich detail about either the main themes of *WFB*, or the narrative techniques that Coetzee employs. In this regard, it appears that the two translations do not attempt to influence the reader's interpretation of the narrative text. They do not involve any reference to the translational processes undertaken by the two translators, either. Al-Ḥājj

Ḥusayn's translation features a two-page introduction that provides review quotes by famous authors, such as Graham Greene, and a passage that pinpoints the universally allegorical interpretation of the ST. In fact, what is offered in this passage is a close reproduction of the King Penguin blurb without acknowledging the source:

J.M. Coetzee's second prize-winning novel is an allegory of oppressor and oppressed. Not simply a man living through a crisis of conscience in an obscure place and remote times, the Magistrate is an analogue of all men living in complicity with regimes that ignore justice and decency (cited in Attridge, 2004b: 42).

This is followed by a little biographical information about Coetzee and general statements that describe this fiction as a sublime literary work. Ṣabdullāh's translation, in contrast, does not contain an introduction, but does, like the other translation include a biographical sketch about the novelist at the end of the book. A brief summary of *WFB* is also printed on the back cover in addition to highlighting some of the distinctions Coetzee has received.

Ṣabdullāh's translation generally maintains the form of *WFB*, with no major deviation made from the original chapters and episodes. In Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's translation, however, the alteration of the original is quite prominent (it should be noted that the investigation of this kind of alteration is beyond the purview of the present study). The numbering of chapters disappears. Chapters or narrative episodes in his translation are indicated by a large space at the beginning. His TT is also clearly marked by the division of the ST paragraphs and narrative instalments. At the same time, it merges narrative episodes, which are clearly separated by space and a number of asterisks in the ST and even chapters together. It seems that the manipulation of the original layout in translation may serve the purpose of making the visual presentation more appealing to the TT reader; it can be much easier on the eye. In addition, breaking down the ST paragraphs and narrative instalments may help raise the level of the translated narrative readability. On the other hand, it is probable that merging the ST narrative episodes can be construed as an attempt on the part of the translator to emphasize that they are closely connected. Finally, the two translations include a small number of

footnotes, 7 apiece and these are principally concerned with explaining the denotative meanings of the lexical items that each translator opts for.

As internationally received, *WFB* is commendably reviewed in the Arabic-speaking world despite the fact that the number of Arabic reviews is relatively scarce. These reviews, in large part, do not attempt to substantially discuss the translations and their impacts. They are, instead, thoroughly devoted to bringing to light the themes and the enjoyable experience of reading such a work of fiction.

Nonetheless, there has been only one detailed Arabic study tackling the translation of *WFB* by Muhammad ʕusfūr (2009), who conducts a small-scale analysis, comparing the first chapter of *WFB* to its Arabic translation counterparts, and expressing his frustration with how the publishing houses passed them without paying a great deal of attention to the editing process and review. The chief focus of his study is to discuss the unsatisfactory translational choices of the two translators and their errors, mostly at the micro-textual level of the texts, whereas his study refrains from considerably touching on the impacts of such errors (shifts) on the narratological structure of the original. ʕusfūr (ibid.: 233- 85) identifies the two TTs as imprecise, primarily at the levels of lexical, collocational and syntactic. This imprecision partly stems from the haste method of translating without reviewing. At the lexical level, for example, he (ibid.: 246-7) points out that the original lexical item *train* ('They steal a few sheep or cut out a pack-animal from a train'<sup>4</sup>) is rendered in both translations as قطار meaning a railway vehicle, while the lexical item *train* simply means a line of animals in this context. Hence, the approximate translation of the TT word *train* in this context is probably قطيع (herd). Another example is that the English compound noun *law-court* is translated as المحكمة الصغرى (the low court) in ʕabdullāh's translation, which shows that the translator has mistaken the word *law* for the similarly-spelled *low* (ibid.: 248). From the collocational perspective, ʕusfūr (ibid.: 270) notes that the two translations provide unidiomatic expressions, because their creators on some occasions adopt the literal method of translating. For instance, the English lexical item *clear* ('he [Colonel Joll] clears his throat'<sup>5</sup>) is literally

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<sup>4</sup> Coetzee (2004: 4).

<sup>5</sup> Coetzee (2004: 3).

rendered as نظف (cleaned) in Al-Hājj Ḥusayn's TT and ينظف (cleans) in Ṣabdullāh's TT. This translational option is unnatural, since this Arabic lexical item does not conventionally collocate with حنجرة or بلعوم (throat), as provided in the two translations. Instead, the natural translational selection is the Arabic word تتنحج (clear). At the syntactic level, Ṣusfūr (ibid.: 49-50) highlights a considerable number of grammatical mistakes in the two translations, with a higher number of occurrences in Al-Hājj Ḥusayn's translation than in Ṣabdullāh's. These mistakes have to do with, for instance the subject verb agreement, and the choice of appropriate grammatical case. This, again, could have been avoided if the two translations had been reviewed.

Furthermore, Ṣusfūr (ibid.: 259) remarks that some translational decisions affect the interpretation of the ST's messages. This is, for example, evidenced in their translations of the English phrase *the emergency powers* ('He [Colonel Joll] is here under the emergency powers'<sup>6</sup>). While the ST conveys that Colonel Joll, who is a representative of Empire's Third Bureau heading a force, comes to a small frontier town and is authorised to investigate a potential attack on Empire, which declares *the state of emergency*, different depictions are offered by the two translators, since they select to render the English lexical item *powers* into قوات (forces/troops) rather than, for instance, صلاحيات (authorities), which is the closest equivalent in this context. In fact, the ST does not also mention that there is a force called 'emergency troops', as both translators imagine. In Al-Hājj Ḥusayn's translation, Colonel Joll is represented as arriving at this post mainly because of the emergency troops instead of the state of emergency declared by the Empire under which he exercises his powers (فهو هنا (تحت إمرة قوات الطوارئ<sup>7</sup>). By contrast, translated literally, Ṣabdullāh suggests that he is here under the command of the so-called 'emergency troops' (إذنه هنا بسبب قوات الطوارئ<sup>8</sup>). Thus, it does not depict the tumultuous situation for which Colonel Joll is sent. Ṣusfūr (ibid.: 285) concludes with stressing the need for more academic studies and conferences that help the translator improve his or her output, and the importance of the editing process, which the Arab institutions of translation should effectively employ in order to guarantee introducing very fine products of translation, while steering clear, as much as possible, of such errors.

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<sup>6</sup> Coetzee (2004: 4).

<sup>7</sup> Al-Hājj Ḥusayn (2004: 9).

<sup>8</sup> Ṣabdullāh (2004: 5).

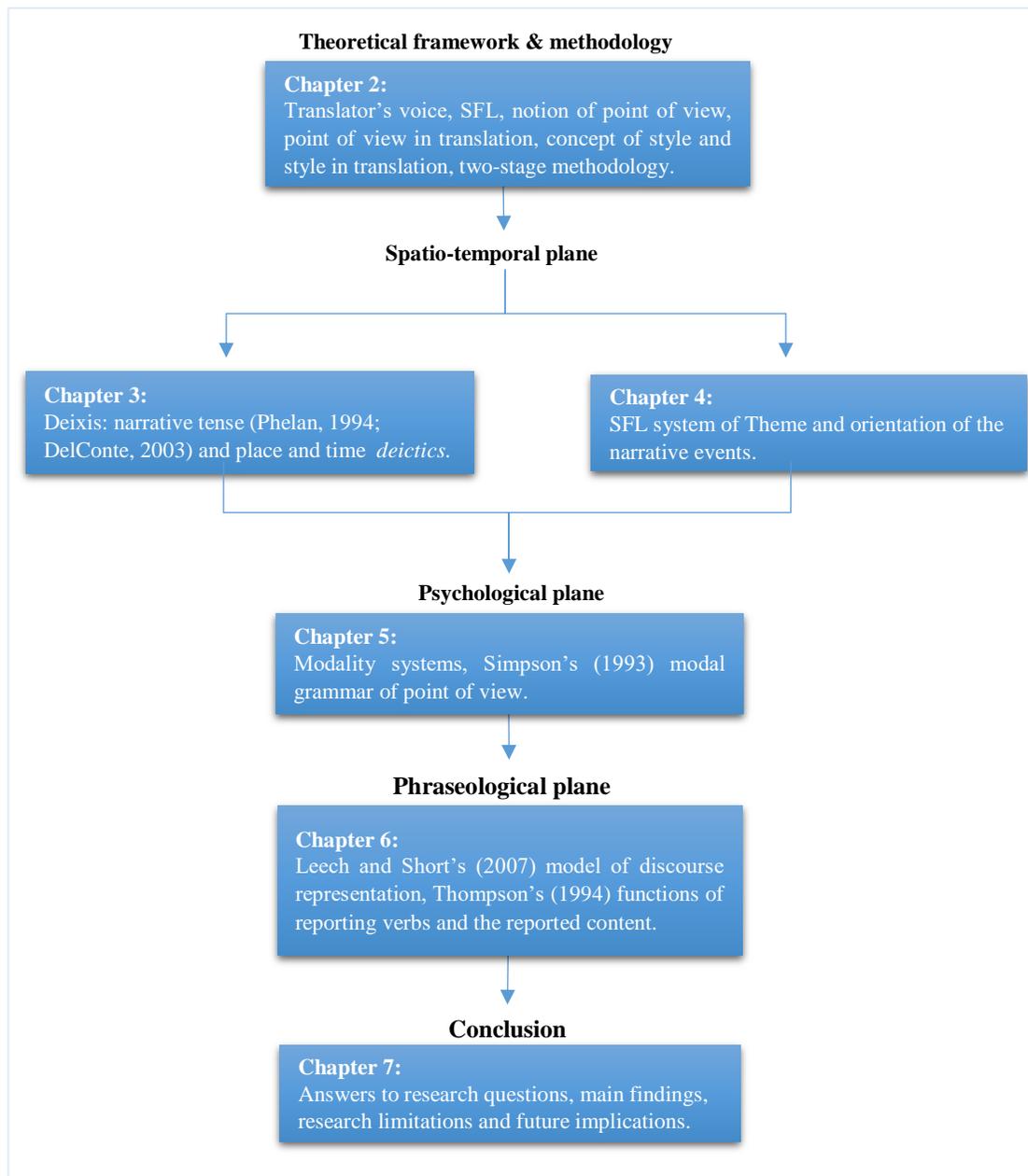
In all, his study considerably concentrates on the lower-level translational shifts, while it does not investigate the effects of these shifts on the ST different narrative perspectives. Furthermore, it does not substantially address the linguistic habits of the two translators. The present study, in contrast, will take one step further and links the micro-level shifts to macro-level of the original narrative text. It will also highlight the two translator's linguistic preferences, stylistic choices, as they are manifested through the detected translational shifts.

### 1.5 Organisation of Thesis

The present study is organised into seven chapters. An outline of the thesis structure is shown in Figure 1.1 (Chapters 2-7). After the introduction chapter, Chapter 2 will provide an account of the theoretical framework, methodologies adopted in identifying the lower level shifts, their effects on the macro-textual level of the original texts and existing studies. It will review related issues, the concept of the translator's voice, presence and the mediating role of the translator in narrative communication situation. It will briefly introduce the SFL, on which the comparison between the ST and TTs is based. It will then discuss the narrative perspective within the context of narratology, focusing on the Uspensky-Fowler-Simpson stylistic model of narrative point of view and its relevance to the SFL approach in terms of realisation. It will then highlight the notion of style and review how it is dealt with in translation theories. Finally, it will outline the methodology applied in this study.

From Chapter 3 onward, the discussion will revolve around the renditions of the ST linguistic signals marking the narrative point of view on different planes, presenting quantitative and qualitative results and attempting to set up the systemic profiles of the original author and the two translators. Chapters 3 and 4 will mainly concern with addressing the system of deixis and the system of Theme that construct the spatio-temporal point of view. Based on DelConte's (2003) classification of the narrative tense in first-person fictions and Phelan's (1994) rhetorical reading of the original, the former chapter will discuss the transference of the narrative distance between the narrating-I and the experiencing-I and its implication for the interpretation of the narrative under investigation. It will go on to investigate the renderings of a number of spatial and temporal deictic terms.

Figure 1.1. Thesis structure



Chapter 4 will then briefly provide the typological description of the system of Theme in both SL and TL, tackling the problem of carrying out analyses between these two asymmetrical languages and then accounting for the comparison of different types of Themes, the change of tactic logical relations and the manipulation of temporal and visual orientation of the original narrative events.

In Chapter 5, the focus will be directed towards the application of Simpson's (1993) modal grammar for designating the psychological point of view. The chapter will begin with discussing the notion of modality, concentrating on the realisation of the modal meanings in both languages from the SFL standpoint. It will then move on to outline Simpson's typology of narrator. Finally, it will identify and classify the modal patterns of shift and their effects on modal shading of the original narrative.

Chapter 6 will seek to explore the point of view on the phraseological plane. It will mainly discuss modes of discourse representation, as sketched out by Leech and Short (2007). It will then move to investigate the rendition of the original modes of discourse representation. Additionally, this chapter will examine the verbal processes based on Thompson's (1994) classification of functions of reporting verbs, as well as the outstanding features of the translated reported contents.

The final chapter will provide answers to the research questions and review the main findings of the present study. It will also consider its limitations and suggest future research avenues.

# CHAPTER TWO

## Theoretical Framework and Methodology

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter will locate the present study within the framework of narratology, linguistics, stylistics and translation studies. To begin with, I will discuss the notion of translator's voice, providing an overview of the models of narrative-communication situation devised specifically for translation. Following this, I will briefly introduce the SFL theory, with a particular concentration on the realisation of the strands of meaning in the lexicogrammatical stratum of language, due to its direct relation to the linguistic manifestation of narrative point of view. I will then discuss the concept of point of view. The discussion will specifically focus on the model of narrative point of view devised by Uspensky (1973) and developed by Fowler ([1986] 1996) and Simpson (1993). The following section will present the existing studies that have dealt with narrative point of view in translation. Then, I will review the concept of style, and approaches to analysis. I will go on to touch on the question of style in translation from different perspectives. This chapter will conclude with a brief outline of the research methodology, explaining the two stages of analysis and presenting the research material.

### 2.2 Translator's Voice

In literary criticism and narratology, the concept of voice is deemed to an inherent aspect of a narrative. The first endeavour to distinguish voices in literary works originated in Plato's *Republic* (Shipley, 1953: 442). Plato (Book III, [392c-394c] 1991: 70-2) discusses Homer's epic poetry in terms of a dichotomous pair, anciently called *diegesis* vs. *mimesis*, remarking that the poet Homer articulates in his proper voice (*diegesis*), or takes on his characters'

voices, speaking through them (*mimesis*). In narratology, the term ‘voice’ is commonly used as a cover term denoting the speaker of narrative, types of narrators whether inside or outside the fictional world, modes of discourse representation (Wales, 2011: 437). According to Chatman (1978: 153), voice is defined as “speech or other overt means through which events and existents are communicated to audience”. Furthermore, the concept of voice can designate a political sense. In feminist criticism, it is identified as an expression of a political stance against patriarchal precepts in society, as a means of finding a platform to be audible (Wales, 2011: 437). Thus, it becomes more common in this approach as well as others such as the post-colonial to highlight voices in works of fiction that are suppressed, marginalised and excluded (Herman *et al.*, 2005: 635).

Another meaning of voice can be found in linguistic approaches, where it may be used to designate the authorial agency (e.g., Joycean or Jamesian voice) instead of his or her storyteller, and in this way the term of voice is approximately equated with that of style (Herman *et al.*, 2005: 635).

By contrast, building on ideological-based criticism and influenced by Mikhail Bakhtin’s (1984) ‘double-voiced’ hypothesis – the infusion of voices, such as the narrator’s with that of the character – Phelan (1996: 45; 2013: 87), in his rhetorical approach to narrative, adds another dimension to the concept of voice. Indicated in fiction by linguistic features, voice embodies the narrator’s or character’s social and personal systems of beliefs that may be in conflict with those of the implied author. Phelan (2013: 87) defines voice as:

a synthesis of style [diction, lexical and formal patterns], tone (the attitude a speaker takes toward his subject matter and audience), and values (the implicit ethical and ideological judgments of subject matter and sometimes of audience).

Phelan (1996) points out that the recognition of voice in narrative can be premised on inferences one makes about the implied author’s or narrator’s stances or attitudes. In this respect, Phelan (*ibid.*: 88) discusses the voice of Fredric Henry, the principal character in Hemingway’s *A Farewell to Arms*, arguing that Fredric exhibits the similar austere style in

its Aristotelian sense (see Section 2.6) as that of with the implied author (e.g., less complex links among clauses and the salient use of concrete nominal objects), regarding his report on the movement of troops juxtaposed with the description of nature (e.g., '[T]he water was clear and swiftly moving and blue in the channels. Troops went by the house and down the road and the dust they raised powdered the leaves of the trees'). The narrative description here aims to create the effect of the devastation of war. As a mere faithful reporter of what is happening around him, but unaware of the close connection of the severe effect of war on nature, however, Fredric's voice conveys his naive stance towards going to war. His naivety is reflected in the absence of motive. By contrast, this juxtaposition tacitly entails the implied author's awareness of such an impact.

In translation theories, the metaphor of voice is equated with the presence of the translator. Arguing for the presence of the 'other voice', the translator's voice, in the translated text, which has been ignored, due to the predominant view of translation as a mere reproduction of the original with a derivative or inferior status, Hermans ([1996] 2009) draws an analogy between interpreted speech and written translation. When listening to interpreted speech, Hermans (ibid.: 195-6) contends, we are trapped under the illusion of 'transparency and coincidence', that is, when we receive an interpreted stretch of language through the interpreter, we expect him or her to reproduce the source enunciator's utterances in the TL in a way that corresponds to the latter's messages, intents and purposes. In this respect, we regard that the voice of the interpreter is matched to that of the source speaker. Although, we recognise that these utterances are mediated through the interpreter, however, we tend to forget his or her existence. The way we think of written translations is the same as interpreted speech. For instance, a statement such as '*I have read Dostoevsky*' could in fact mean I have read the translations of his works. Again, this is "because it was a sound translation, it was, to all intents and purposes, as good as reading the original" (Hermans, 2002: 10).

Thus, Hermans ([1996] 2009: 198) argues that in the translated narrative text, there is always a 'second voice' alongside the author's, "as an index of the translator's discursive presence", a presence that is an indispensable element of the translation. The 'second voice' is not clearly surfaced, however, since it remains well-disguised behind the narrator's discourse

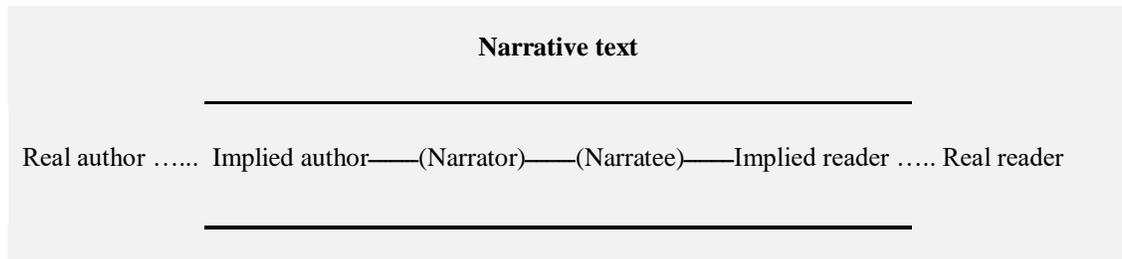
unless a close ST-TT comparison is carried out. In Hermans's view, the translator's voice, by contrast, can be detected in the form of obvious intrusion at, for instance, the levels of paratextual materials, (e.g., a preface) or metalinguistic explications (e.g., a footnote), which aims to satisfactorily secure the fathomability of the thematic content of the ST messages (ibid.). In this respect, Hermans (ibid.: 198-200) sketches three types of situations, in which the presence of the translator can be clearly spotted:

- I. The cases of cultural and/or spatio-temporal frame references of the original that are appropriated or adjusted by the translator for a different readership in a new communicative situation, as is evidenced in the elucidation of original cultural allusions or adaptation in children's literature;
- II. The instances of 'self-referentiality' or 'self-reflexiveness', in which the original's certain linguistic strategies such as polysemy, wordplay and pun, pose challenges to the translator, who in terms of coping with them, resorts to the insertion of notes or commentaries for explanation; and
- III. The cases of 'contextual over-determination', in which the original's linguistic form and the contextual overtones resist translation, such as the example offered by Hermans (ibid.: 207), concerning the English translators' treatment (addition of notes) when they try to overcome the correspondence of Havelaar's wife's initials (E.H.v.W.) with the initials of a Dutch proverb (*eigen haard veel waard*) in Multatuli's *Max Havelaar*.

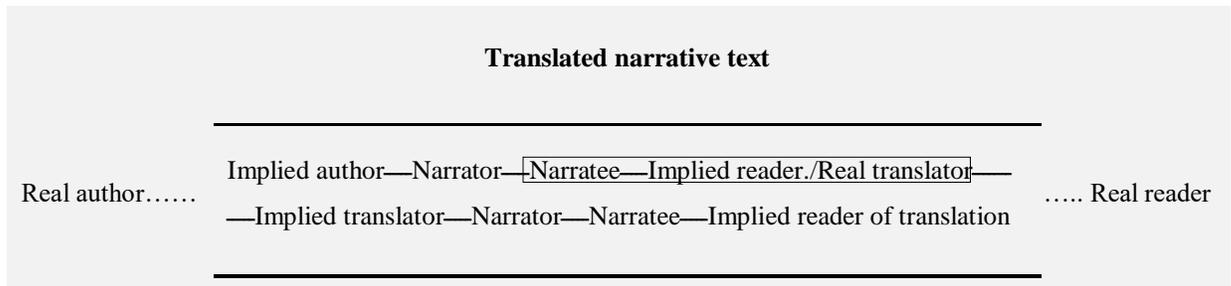
Other studies attempt to develop narratological models particular to translated narratives to give significant insights into the mediating role of the translator in the narrative-communication situation, sustaining the recognition of his or her voice in translation. In her article, 'There is Always a Teller in a Tale', Schiavi (1996) argues that the audibility of the translator, can be manifested in his or her interpretation, pointing out that in a translated narrative, new original elements can be located, and then "cannot be ascribed to a vacuum, but must be textually attributed to the translator" (ibid.: 9). Criticising structural

narratological schemes, because they do not differentiate between the original and translation, Schiavi (ibid.) offers an amended version of a well-recognised model of the narrative-communication situation proposed by Chatman (1978: 151; Figure 2.1), in order to describe the nature of the translator’s mediating role in a translated narrative text, tackling the question of his or her agency (Figure 2.2).

**Figure 2.1.** Chatman’s (1978) model of the narrative communication situation



**Figure 2.2.** Extended model for translation adapted from Schiavi (1996)

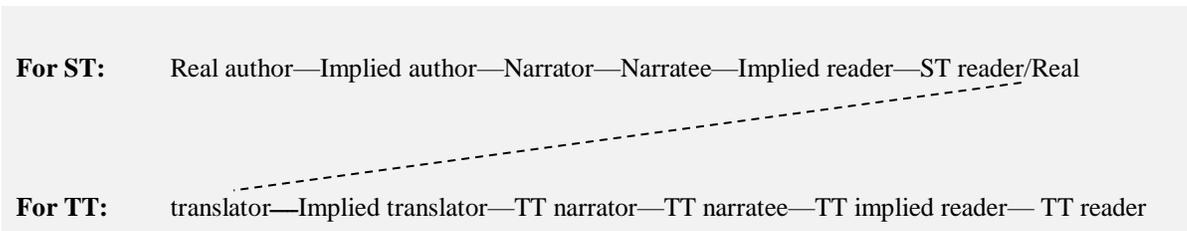


In her extended narratological scheme, Schiavi (ibid.: 15) most remarkably introduces the concept of ‘implied translator’, modelled on that of ‘implied author’ in the original. The term ‘implied author’ is a constantly present participant in Chatman’s narratological model, identified as the reader’s envisaged image evoked from the narrative text, and responsible for designing the fictional world, including the invention of the reporter of the narrative text (Chatman, 1978: 148). Analogical to the ‘implied author’, the ‘implied translator’ is the creator of the translation, assuming the role of ‘implied author’. As an implied reader of the original, perceiving a conveyed ‘set of presuppositions’ that are concerned with the norms, conventions and value systems of the source culture, the implied translator attempts to reconstruct them into the receiving culture in accordance with the norms and standards of the target audience (Schiavi, ibid.: 15). To put it another way, the implied translator is identified as both the receptor and the reproducer of the ST set of presuppositions into the target culture.

Accordingly, a two-part message is communicated to the reader of the translation by two different transmitters, “both original although in two different senses: one originating from the author which is elaborated and mediated by the translator, and one (the language of the translation itself) originating directly from the translator” (ibid.: 14). Hence, Schiavi’s (ibid.) main thrust lies in the way that the translated narrative text is brought into being as a mixture, a text co-produced by the author and the translator. Her contribution is considered an important move in acknowledging the presence of the translator manifested in his or her role in mediating the narrative text.

Subsequent discussions of the narrative-communication situation in translation recognise, in general, the usefulness of Schiavi’s categorisations and her main thrust, but set out to propose further modifications (e.g., Munday, 2008; Leone, 2011). For example, Munday (2008: 12) points to the complexity of her model, consequently offering a more transparent, simplified version of the translation narrative communication scheme, and suggesting a pair of parallel narratological lines, one for the ST and another for the TT (Figure 2.3). The point of connection between them is the ‘real translator’, recognised, in the two lines, as the real reader of the original:

**Figure 2.3.** Munday’s (2008) parallel narratological scheme

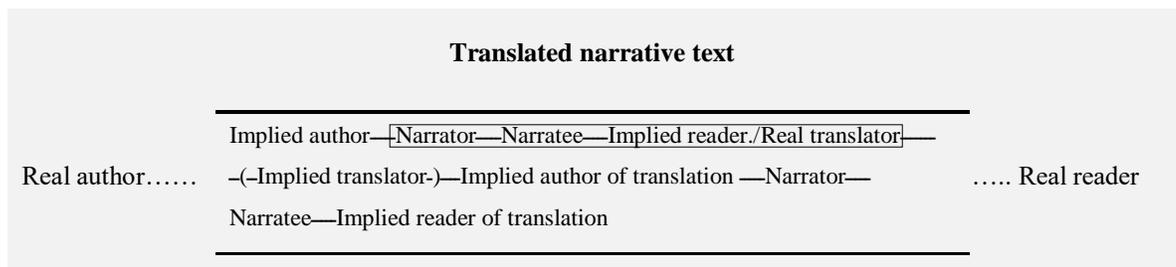


Consolidating the collaboration between the author and the translator, Munday (ibid.) remarks that the sketched parallelism, in the first place, evidently lays stress on the relationships of the translator and implied translator, when constructing the translated narrative text, to the author and implied author of the ST; they, in a sense, usurp the latter’s roles. He (ibid.: 13) further makes the important point that any assumptions of the alterations of the original narrative aspects proceeds from the recognition of this collaboration, which is overshadowed by the portrayal of the translator as an invisible link between the ST author

and the TT reader. That is to say, the authorial agency ascribed to the translator in reproducing the translated narrative may, whether consciously or not, whether abiding by governing norms or structural demands of the target language or not, bring about linguistic choices that contribute to reshaping or distorting the original narratological structure, overriding its narratorial voice or altering the characterisation in translation.

Leone (2011: 104-5), on the contrary, further complicates Schiavi's already complex model, reinstalling the concept of 'implied author of translation' on the other side of the translator right after the 'implied translator' (Figure 2.4). The implied author of translation is a construct introduced by the implied translator that is considered as an optional on the basis of Venuti's (1995) assumption of the invisibility of the translator; the implied translator's presence can be well-covered up.

**Figure 2.4.** Leone's (2011) revised narratological model in translation; parentheses indicate optionality



Loene (2011: 104-5) argues that, in the process of reading a narrative, despite the fact that readers' attention might be diverted by the intervention of the implied translator, manifesting itself, for instance, in meta-linguistic additions, they are still involved in a communication with the implied author of the original, constructing his or her image, therefore, asserts that:

[t]his is why I have placed the implied author of translation to the right of the implied translator, and in communicative relation to the other participants of the narrative communication situation. The invisibility of the implied translator lends it considerable power, for the implied translator is able to surreptitiously undermine the implied author of the original, and consequently alter all of the narrative relationships in the translation.

Hence, the reinsertion here could be interpreted as placing emphasis on the radical manipulations of the original in the translation brought about by the implied translator behind the mask of the implied author of the translation, as manipulations emerge only through the comparison of a ST-TT pair.

Overall, the discussion serves to support the assumption of the translator's voice, his or her presence in narrative texts, a presence that is of a paramount significance in mediating the fictional world. It aims to set the platform for undertaking the description of the translator's voice/presence. It sheds light on his or her collaboration in the production of the translated narrative text that may result in deviations from the source text when translating the original narrative. In the next section, before discussing the notion of point of view, I will briefly review the SFL theory, which forms the basis of the analysis of the ST-TT pair, particularly focusing on the realisation of three lines of meaning in the lexicogrammatical level of language, since it provides detailed linguistic model of voice and point of view.

### 2.3 SFL

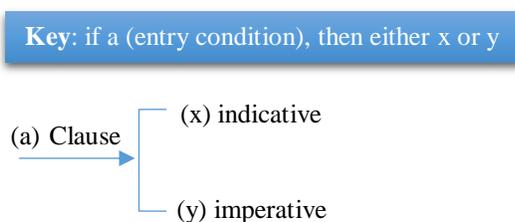
Drawing on the work of the anthropologist Malinowski, who ([1948]1979: 238) introduces the concept of 'context of situation', by which he means that meanings of individual words can only be grasped with reference to their social and cultural environment of communication, and on the work of J. R. Firth, who (1957: 181) stresses the necessity of investigating language and culture together in a more systematic manner, stating that "we study language as part of the social process", and his account of system structure, M. A. K. Halliday, during the 1960s, devised a general theory of language, SFL, from the perspective of 'social semiotic', investigating language as a meaningful social event grounded in a particular context. In SFL, language is viewed as a social resource, 'meaning potential'; that is, language is construed as a system of meanings that are 'instantiated in a form of text', (what is produced orally or in writing), and are exchanged between interacting people in a particular setting, cultural or situational (Halliday and Hassan, 1989: 11; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 27). Thus, SFL undertakes the task of explaining the thematic organisation of language to create these meanings as unfolded in the text (Eggins, 2004: 4).

In SFL, the organising notion is that of ‘system’, indicating the linguistic patterns that are possibly used in milieu of others (Halliday, [1969] 2004a:180; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 22-3). That is, it embodies a wide range of linguistic options available to the language producer in certain contexts. These choices are manifested in syntactic constructions. Hence, SFL places emphasis on the vertical dimension of language, the paradigmatic relations, in contrast to formalist approaches to grammar that are concerned with the horizontal dimension, the syntagmatic relations. Halliday ([1985] 2004b: 193) expounds that:

What distinguishes systemic theory is that its basic form of synoptic representation is not syntagmatic but paradigmatic; the organizing concept is not structure, but system (hence the name). Since language is a semiotic potential, the description of a language is a description of choice.

The representation of the paradigmatic mode of configuration is manifested in a system network of language, which refers to a single set of interlinked selections with an entry condition (Halliday, [1969] 2004a: 180; Halliday, 1971: 338; Caffarel, 2006: 12). In other words, a certain condition determines the kind of possibilities or features, called terms, that are available to be selected, one of which is to be employed. These terms are simultaneous and mutually exclusive. For instance, if a clause is selected as a condition of entry, it can be either indicative or imperative (Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5. Example of system



Pivotal to SFL is the semantic orientation to the investigation of grammar. Modelling language into strata, the Hallidayan systemic theory brings to light the relationship between semantic stratum and the lexicogrammar stratum (a combination of both lexis and grammar), a relationship that is identified as ‘natural’ in the sense that semantic categories are congruently realised through lexicogrammatical categories (Caffarel, 2006: 10; Halliday and

Matthiessen, 2014: 24-7). The semantic stratum functions as a point of interaction between the linguistic system and the contextual setting located outside of language (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 42). It is concerned with transforming the construal of people's experiences and their social interactive processes into meanings. The lexicogrammar stratum, then, translates these meanings into wording, syntactic structures (ibid.: 24-7); it is the means by which semantic components are grammaticised.

Another significant dimension of SFL is functional diversification, which is represented at any different strata of language. Halliday ([1973] 2004c: 312) points out that there are three integral 'functional components' that accommodate open-ended varieties of language uses. These are identified as 'metafunctions' and include: (1) Ideational metafunction, (2) Interpersonal metafunction and (3) Textual metafunction. These are simultaneously found in a given text, and no metafunction is given a particular priority over the others. For the purpose of the present study, I will briefly discuss these metafunctions, focusing on their lexicogrammatical realisations.

Ideational metafunction accounts for the representation of internal or external experience in a given clause (Halliday, 1994: 167); it denotes the resources that the language user selects to describe or reflect on the surroundings in the real or imaginative world. It is divided into two subcategories: Experiential and Logical. Experiential is concerned with 'a configuration of elements centred on a process' (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 213). It is lexicogrammatically realised by the system of Transitivity. The transitivity structure in any given clause constitutes three elements (these terms will be used in later analysis):

- (a) process (concerning happening, doing, sensing, saying, being or having) which unfolds through time and typically manifested in the verbal group;
- (b) participant (designating people, objects, etc.) that is involved in the process and is realised by the nominal group; and
- (c) circumstance (relating to space and time location, manner, quality etc.) that is attendant in the process and grammaticised through adverbial groups or prepositional phrases.

As for the Logical subcategory of the Ideational metafunction, it concerns the reasoning behind the relations between ideas. That is, it refers to how clauses are logico-semantically related to one another to form a sequence and is realised by clause complex.

Interpersonal metafunction indicates how the clause is organised as ‘exchange’ amongst involving interactants. It accounts for the resources provided for the processes of establishing and maintaining social relationships (ibid.: 134-5). In an interactive event, language can be utilised to yield two types of exchange: information (giving statements or asking questions), or goods-&-services (influencing the behaviour through offer, order, command, etc., in order to bring about something). It is grammaticised through the system of Mood (clause type), involving the elements of subject (nominal group), finite (a closed set of verbal operators indicating tense, modality and polarity), predicator (verbal group) and complement (nominal group not functioning as subject). The Modality system is another important lexicogrammatical realisation of this functional component, which refers to the grammaticisation means of the language producer’s subjectivity, attitudes and value-judgment (Lyons, 1977:452) (see Chapter 5).

Textual metafunction denotes the organisation of the clause as a ‘message’ (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 88). It is the functional component that forms the text, where ideational and interpersonal resources are presented. It is concerned with the elements that are opted for to start a message and to indicate its ‘about-ness’, and with how the clause is linked to its surroundings. It is lexicogrammatically realised through the systems of Theme and Information structure (see Chapter 4). Within modern stylistic studies, these lexicogrammatical systems realizing different metafunctions are utilised as a basis for the linguistic identifications of different levels of narrative point of view. This will be one central aspect of the discussion in the next section.

## 2.4 Point of View

In a broad sense, point of view, a term originating in the visual arts, refers to the standpoint from which a story is recounted and is construed as fundamental to the interpretation of the narrative text. It has been central in the realms of critical stylistics and structural narratology, and substantially investigated by many scholars such as Boris Uspensky (1973), Gérard Genette (1980) and F. K. Stanzel (1984). It is commonly accepted that this concept was first put forward by Henry James in his influential essay, 'The Art of Fiction' (1948), in which it was used to indicate a specific narrative position, the representation of the happenings of a story as filtered through a particular participating character, such as manifested in his fiction *The Ambassadors*. Point of view was then systemically incorporated into a theory of narrative by Percy Lubbock (1947) and later was significantly broadened by Norman Friedman (1955), who presented eight categories of point of view, mainly concerning the presentation of how much information the narratorial voice relays. Point of view has become a widely recognised concept in Anglo-American criticism, especially by stylisticians, among whom are Fowler ([1977] 1985; 1996), Leech and Short ([1981] 2007), Toolan (1988), Simpson (1993) and McIntyre (2007). There are, in addition, other metaphors or terms used to approximately refer to the same concept such as 'focalisation' (Genette, 1980), which is more commonly adopted by narratologists such as Rimmon-Kenan (2002) and James Phelan (2005); *Erzählperspektive* (narrative perspective), which is used by German narratologists; 'angle of vision' (Wales, 2011); 'orientation' (Toolan, 1988); and 'angle of telling' (Simpson, 2010).

In the Anglo-American culture, point of view denotes two basic meanings: the literal and the metaphorical (Fowler, 1985: 72; McIntyre, 2007: 38). The literal meaning indicates the spatial location, the physical place, from which a scene is visually perceived. It is equivalent to the 'viewing position' in the visual arts, with objects being viewed from 'a single static' angle (Uspensky, 1973: 2). In paintings, which attempt to reproduce a three-dimensional world on a two-dimensional surface, for instance, parallel lines can intersect at a point distal from beholders. Painted objects may be perceptually viewed in various sizes (e.g., big and small), based on the assumed viewing angle – whether it is distant or close. At the same time, colours in the background may appear differently from the visual perspective (Niederhoff, 2009: 384). This can be clearly observed in Figures 2.6 and 2.7 below. In contrast, the second sense is a metaphorical stretch from the first, referring to the mental position adopted by the

Figure 2.6. Raphael's *The School of Athens* (1511)



Figure 2.7. Caillebotte's *Paris Street, Rainy Day* (1877)



speaker (Chatman, 1978: 151). It defines the language users' evaluative meanings, judgements and thoughts, which entail their taking a stance or fostering a particular attitude or opinion towards a specific subject-matter (Fowler [1977] 1985: 75). These two senses are imported into narrative theories (Chatman, 1978: 151) as can be demonstrates in the

following example, which shows how narrative theorists apply this concept in language. It is quoted from Niederhoff (2009: 384) and said to be produced by a boy: “*my father towered above me*”. Here, the father is depicted as a tall man. Such a portrayal could be perceived in a literal sense through the angle of vision assumed by the boy. At the same time, the chosen lexical item, ‘*towered*’, may convey a sense of intimidation: the speaker is threatened by his father, designating his mental stance.

According to Simpson (1993: 4-5), narrative point of view accounts for the conveyance of a story through the psychological perspective adopted by the narrative agent, and is also concerned with the method by which readers are orientated to spatial and temporal locations of the existents of a story world from the vantage point assumed by the teller. In other words, it is concerned with the way a story is mediated to the reader by the narrative agent’s perception and mental stances.

One important contribution to the notion of narrative point of view is provided by the Russian semiotician Uspensky (1973) who comes up with a quadripartite model for the investigation of the construction of narrative viewpoint in different media (text, painting, and film). His model, according to Schmid (2010: 95), gives fresh impetus to the Western narratological theories. The main thrust of Uspensky’s framework lies in the identification of the different strata of viewpoints; that is, it accounts for distinct levels of manifestation of viewpoint, as opposed to the traditional narratological models, which are mainly concerned with merely one stratum, the controllability of information such as in Genette’s (1980) and Friedman’s models (1955), while the perceptual aspect of point of view (e.g., the spatial and temporal dimensions) is ignored (Schmid 2010: 93, 95). This model has become influential within the critical stylistics realm of study.

Uspensky’s model has been significantly developed by both Fowler ([1986] 1996) and, later, Simpson (1993). Hence, it will be referred to as the Uspensky-Fowler-Simpson model in the current research. The proposed scheme is comprised of four levels of manifestations of point of view identified as planes. They are as follows:

- (1) point of view on the spatio-temporal plane,
- (2) point of view on the ideological plane,
- (3) point of view on the psychological plane
- (4) point of view on the phraseological plane.

The mapping of the SFL three strands of meaning and their lexicogrammatical systems onto the different strata of point of view are shown in Table 2.1 below. More than one lexicogrammatical system can be utilised to realise one type of point of view. In the following subsections, the discussion will revolve around these planes of viewpoint and their linguistic realisation. It should be pointed out that point of view on the ideological plane, which is concerned with a specific ‘system of values and beliefs’ conveyed by narrative texts through a means of an author, narrator or character (Fowler, 1996: 165), will not be pursued in this research.

**Table 2.1.** Linguistic markers of point of view drawn on Munday (2008: 24)

<b>Point of view planes</b>	<b>Linguistic manifestation</b>
<b>Spatio-temporal</b>	Textual metafunction, system of deixis (tense; place and time adjuncts), sequencing (thematic and information structures).
<b>Ideological</b>	Ideational metafunction, Interpersonal metafunction, transitivity structures, modal strategies, tactic relationships (paratactic and hypotactic statues) and evaluative epithets.
<b>Psychological</b>	Type of narrative voice (e.g., 1 <sup>st</sup> or 3 <sup>rd</sup> person narrator), Interpersonal metafunction, transitivity structures, modal strategies, generic sentences, and <i>verba sentiendi</i> (lexical items expressing thoughts, feelings and perceptions).
<b>Phraseological</b>	Naming, pronouns, speech and thought representation, orthographic cues use of foreign and, (non-)standard forms.

### 2.4.1 Spatio-temporal Point of View

Point of view at this level of manifestation involves the unfolding of a story in space and time. Spatial dimension at this plane, which embodies the literal meaning of point of view, refers to the viewing angle adopted by the teller or observer. Simpson (1993: 12-3), in this

regard, draws an analogy between the reader and viewer in a sense that both may be exposed to characters, objects, etc., from different perspectives. That is, the viewer may see them, for example, in a focused, close-up, medium and long shot. Likewise, the reader tends to create a mental picture of positions, as well as the movements of the inhabitants of the story world that are textually represented. Intersected with the spatial dimension is that of temporal, since viewing subjects are framed in time (ibid.: 13). Denoting the metaphorical meaning of point of view, the temporal plane accounts for the particular standpoint in time from which the narrative events are presented, whether in the past or the present. It designates how the reader perceives the movement pace of the depicted events and actions – whether they, for instance, are relayed in a slow or accelerated mode (Fowler, 1996: 163).

The spatio-temporal dimension of viewpoint functions to locate the speaker of the narrative in his or her fictional universe, “which, in turn, provides a window and vantage point to readers” (Simpson, 1993: 15). It bestows them with limited access to the fictional world, however, since the representation of a story, for the most part, relies on the psychological facet (ibid.). In fact, the spatio-temporal plane is considered a subsystem of the psychological one, since the narratorial perspective depends on the individual’s perceptual facets of narration (Uspensky, 1973: 81; Simpson, 2004: 79).

The system of deixis, a term derived from the Greek meaning ‘pointing’ or ‘indicating’, is of key importance in the construction of the narrative point of view on this plane. It is a linguistic category, encompassing referring elements and phrases, which provide contextual information to grasp the meaning of a stretch of language; it is the transparent way in which the interaction between language and context are evinced (Levinson, 1983: 53). Lyons (1977:637) defines deixis as

the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and at least one addressee.

Perfect examples of deictic terms are the personal pronouns (*I* and *you*), demonstrative pronouns (*this* and *that*), and adverbs of place and time (*here*, *there*, *now*, and *then*). Pivotal to the notion of deixis is *origo*, the deictic centre, which defines the guide of our interpretation of the utterances (Fludernik, 2009: 151). Deictic expressions always make sense to addressees only with a frame of reference to the enunciator's position in personal identification, space and time ('I-here-and-now of the speaker') (ibid.). The spatio-temporal positioning of a story's existents, and their proximity and distance is identified in relation to the speaker's moment of enunciation and physical space. For example, the deictic term *this* ('I too, if I live long enough in this cell with its ghosts [...]') signals space closeness, proximity relative to the Magistrate's physical location. In contrast, the time deictic expression *then* in ('November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1963? I was in Scotland then; Dinner at 8:30 on Saturday? Okey I'll see you then') expresses distance: the occurrence of events at particular point of time prior and subsequent respectively to the speaker's present temporal situation (Yule, 1996: 14).

As a grammaticisation of location in time, tense is also considered to be a deictic concept, since it serves to relate different situations based on a particular frame of reference that is the present moment of the speaker (Comrie, 1985: 13). Proximity is expressed through the present tense ('I live here now'), whereas distance is manifested through the past tense ('I lived there then') (Yule, 1996: 14).

Another linguistic marker is sequencing, which includes the Theme and Information systems. The way the elements are segmented in the clause reflects the way in which the narrative events are perceived by the reader, the way he or she is visually or chronologically orientated to the narrative description. In this respect, the reader's eye is ushered from one standpoint to another (Fowler, 1996: 164), as exemplified in the following excerpt:

**To our right** stretches a plain of wind-eroded clay terraces merging at its extremes into banks of red dust-clouds and then into the yellow hazy sky. **To our left** is flat marshland, belts of reeds, and the lake on which the central ice-sheet has not melted (Coetzee, 2004: 80; emphasis added).

Here, functioning as Themes of the clauses (see Chapter 4), the bold initial-positioned elements orientate to the narrative scenic description, confined to the narrator-character's field of vision, through which the reader becomes able to build up a topographical map, as perceived in the excerpt.

It is worth mentioning that the I-here-and-now of the enunciator can be shifted to the addressees or any other participant in the act of communication, a phenomenon termed deictic projection (Lyons, 1977: 579). That is, the speaker may establish spatio-temporal coordinates not according to his or her own perspective as a point of reference, but rather according to others' perspectives. For instance, the speaker may refer to the positioning of an item whether on the right side or the left side, based on the spatial location of the addressee who is facing the former.

#### 2.4.2 Psychological Point of View

On this plane, Uspensky (1973: 81) distinguishes two basic forms of narration: 'internal' and 'external'. The internal form is a subjective mode of narration that is conducted from the consciousness of a particular character(s) in the represented world. In contrast, the external form refers to an objective type of narration that is mediated outside the minds of any of character. These basic narratorial viewpoint techniques are developed by Fowler ([1986]1996), who further breaks them down into subdivisions and then provides a four-part model: internal Type A, internal type B, external Type C, and external Type D. Despite his exhaustive account of point of view at this level, Fowler's model suffers from some flaws, mainly because his typologies are not well-exemplified and sustained in different narrative texts. In fact, they are intermingled and thus lack precision (see Simpson, 1993: 47-50; McIntyre, 2006: 41-2).

Simpson (1993) builds on and extends Fowler's model ([1986]1996), in an attempt to provide a framework free from the problems of the model put forward by Fowler and to accurately account for the designation of narrative point of view. Resting on Genette's (1980) taxonomies of narrative forms: *homodiegesis* and *heterodiegesis*, which essentially concern

the relationship of the narrator to the story – whether he or she is inside or outside the fictional reality, Simpson (1993:50) divides the narrative mode into two main categories: Category A and Category B. The former is a first-person-oriented mode in which the narrator is located within the story. That is, the narrative is mediated in the first person by a participant character in the world of fiction. Such a mode of narrative is marked as *homodiegetic* in Genette's term. By contrast, the second category of narrative, Category B, is a third-person-oriented mode. The narrator in this category is covert, imperceptible and non-participant and thus situated outside the story. In this respect, the narrative is characterised as *heterodiegetic*, as Genette puts it. Premised on whether events are relayed from inside or outside the consciousness of any character, this category is further divided into two subcategories: *Narratorial (N)* and *Reflector (R)*. If the events are conveyed by a *heterodiegetic* narrator, this triggers the Narratorial mode of narrative. By contrast, when a *heterodiegetic* narrator claims the knowledge of a character's inner life, even if briefly, this marks the reflector mode, which is considered restricted omniscience narration. According to Simpson (1993:50-1; 2004: 126-7), each category is further split into three basic subdivisions on the ground of the types of modal patterning distinguished in narrative fictions. This will receive further treatment in Chapter 5.

### 2.4.3 Phraseological Point of View

Point of view on the phraseological plane is an inherent part of the fictional narrative. It enables us to trace the voice that is espoused in narration, whether it belongs to the incarnated narrator or one of the characters. In other words, it aids in determining which particular point of view or attitudes the narrator presents in his or her narrative, to what extent the narration is designated as subjective, and to what degree the narrator is in control over his or her act of narration (Uspensky, 1973: 17). The formal means used to address one character or another reveals the position from which the narrative is conducted. The linguistic indicators that construct this plane are naming, which can be an umbrella term under which proper nouns, titles and honorifics, and definite descriptions are subsumed; speech and thought representations; orthographic cues (i.e., italics) and (non-)standard and foreign forms (Munday, 2008: 27).

## 2.5 Existing Research on Point of View in Translation

In recent years, the attempts to bring narratology and translation studies together have been progressively on the rise, shedding light on the potential links between these two fields and their mutual benefits. These attempts mainly follow from reactions against ignorance or the lack of proper consideration given to the effects of the translation on the original narrative texts by structural narratologists. In this respect, Bernaerts *et al.* (2014: 204) note that narrative theorists rely on citations from translated narratives in their narratological remarks without paying enough attention to what changes aspects or structures of the original narratives may have undergone in translation, such as Genette's discussion of *Robinson Crusoe*, leaning on a French translation. Moreover, Bernaerts *et al.* (2014: 204) point out that despite the recognition of the partiality of the act of translation and cultural and linguistic distinctions, narratologists generally postulate that the original narratological constructions are preserved in translation. This can be noted in Lodge's (1990: 4-5) assumption based on a universal perspective that the writer's options of viewpoint, perceived as an element of the narrative deep structure, remains intact when transferred into another language.

Nevertheless, quite a number of research within the realm of translation studies questions these assumptions, and therefore seeks to highlight the alterations brought about by translation in the original fictional universe. In general, such kinds of research roughly proceed from van Leuven-Zwart's (1989; 1990) main postulation that translational shifts taking place at micro-textual level (lexical, phrasal, clausal or sentential level) result in shifts on the macro-textual level of the narrative text (Munday, 2008: 31). van Leuven-Zwart (1989; 1990) devises a detailed two-part model of shift analysis (comparative and descriptive), which first appeared in her Dutch doctoral thesis and then became available to English readers in a form of two abridged articles, published by *Target*. Her model is mainly restricted to the investigation of narrative texts. The comparative part of the model is concerned with identifying and categorising translational shifts occurring at the micro-textual level (phrasal, clausal or sentential level). These translational shifts, which are of a semantic, pragmatic or stylistic nature, are considered only if they are considerably impact the meaning. The sentences of the original narrative text and its translation are broken down into

‘comprehensible textual unit[s]’, labelled ‘transemes’, which are the basic units of comparison. For instance, the English ST clause ‘*she sat up quickly*’ and its Spanish TT equivalent ‘*se enderezó*’ are considered transemes (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989: 155-8). Then, these transemes are compared to a common denominator, termed *Architranseme* (‘to sit up’), which acts as *tertium comparationis*. It is construed an objective standard against which to compare the original and its translation (Hewson, 2011: 19). If the original and its TT correspondent transemes do not share the same common ground at a semantic, pragmatic or stylistic level, a translational shift is identified.

As for the descriptive part, it is concerned with the macro-textual level, a higher level than the sentence that constitutes units of meaning such as point of view, chronological order of episodes, and traits of the characters (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989: 171). The macro-level analyses incorporate Halliday’s three metafunctions and narratological concepts of ‘story’ level (the narration of the text, including point of view) and ‘discourse’ level (the linguistic manifestation of the fictional universe). van Leuven-Zwart (ibid.; 1990: 70) affirms that only the accumulation of micro-textual shifts (shifts sustaining certain regularity and frequency) cause macro-textual shifts. Finally, the results obtained from these analyses can help make assumptions in reference to the translational norms and underlying strategies espoused by the translator (1989: 154).

Despite its merits, her model involves inherent drawbacks. For instance, Munday (1997: 59) highlight the complexity and unworkability of the model. Detecting all types of translational shifts remains a very difficult task, because the model includes many (sub)categories of translational shifts, which are not conspicuously discriminated. Moreover, Hermans (1999: 62-3) brings to light that the model ‘can hardly be applied’ to longer narrative stretches. He also notes that the model constitutes a strong interpretative aspect, which, however, is not given enough attention. In addition, he points out that there is a certain difficulty in identifying the precise point, where the small shifts at the lower level can trigger shifts at the higher level of the narrative text. Furthermore, Hewson (2011: 8) disagrees with van Leuven-Zwart’s (1989: 171) affirmation, that only micro-textual shifts that sustain certain regularity and frequency lead to macro-textual shifts, explaining that one marked translational alteration

can affect the interpretation of the entire narrative text. In fact, when it comes to the discussion of the narrative tense in the next chapter, we will see how one lower shift can change the whole narratological framework of a narrative episode.

In several studies, the travesty of the source narrative perspective or aspects is dictated by dint of normalisation of lexicogrammatical elements or systems. One early contribution is that of Levenston and Sonnenschein (1986), who study the renderings of the linguistic cues of viewpoint such as the register-restricted vocabulary items in a number of French translations of James Joyce's story, 'The Dead'. For example, they find that in the opening passage of the story, the French equivalents of the original lexical items such as *gentleman*, *little* and *wheezy*, reflecting the character's discourse, express more or less formality (ibid.: 52). They are, therefore, rendered as if belonging to the authorial narrative perspective. This, in turn, makes it difficult for the TT reader to determine whose point of view is being presented.

Likewise, both Vanderauwera (1985) and Mallier (2014) point to the normalisation of the narrative tense in translation, which affects the immediate representation of events and blurs the source viewpoint. In her examination of the English translations of certain Dutch novels, Vanderauwera (1985: 79-80, 96-7) observes the English translator's preferences to change the historical present tense (see Chapter 3) in Dutch novels to the retrospective (past) tense in English translations, which cancel out or lessen the vividness of the narrative description. This does not come as a result of lack of awareness on the part of the translators, as translational errors; rather, it corresponds to the receiving culture's writing conventions: the historical present tense is not abundantly employed in English prose narrative (ibid.: 96-7). On the same subject, drawing on the binary opposition '*histoire*' and '*discours*' addressed in Beneviste's theory of enunciation, Mallier (2014) scrutinises the narrative tense, particularly the translator's choice between French *passé simple* and *passé composé*, which signal the narrative perspective of the experiencing-I (character as experiencing events) and that of the narrating-I (character as reporting events), respectively, in the opening pages of French translations of Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*. She (ibid.) shows that all four translations are characterised by indeterminacy and fail to account for the oscillation in the

original between Nick the character and Nick the narrator. This stems from the difficulty of maintaining the *passé composé* tense as a narrative tense in longer narrative episodes in French as well as the normative view that this tense designates less formality; it is occasionally considered as ‘less elitist’ (ibid.: 251). She (ibid.: 252) concludes that the study of the translated narrative texts can bring forward the intricacy of the narrative strategies employed in the original as well as stressing on the benefits of the linguistics, which can help flesh out the points of intersection between narratology and translation.

Shifts of the ST tenses are also addressed in Goethals and De Wilde’s study (2009) of the Spanish translation *La historia siguiente* of the Dutch novel *Het volgende verhaal* (*The Following Story*). They (ibid.: 790) observe that by unsystematically shifting the original present tense into past tense, the translator struggles to follow the switch of the narrative perspective of the principal character, Herman Mussert, between the narrating and narrated levels, which possibly underscores the fundamental narrative theme of metamorphosis: the I-character’s pursuit of his right spatio-temporal locations. Although quite a number of studies have been conducted on tense in translated narrative, the issue of the use of present tense in its real sense, sustained over long stretches of first-person fictional narratives, remains under-developed in translation studies.

In addition to tense, deictic expressions are focused on as other linguistic triggers of perceptual manifestation of narrative perspective in other contributions. Conducting her analysis on extracts produced in the 1960s and 1970s by Soviet authors such as Valentin Rasputin and Jurij Kazakov, whose works centre around neglected issues and various types of character such as female peasants, May (1994: 37-8) remarks that by, for instance, eliminating or changing certain deictic expressions such as *here* functioning as orientational features, the English translators portray the narrators as distant. The narrators’ indulgence in the fictional universe is then tremendously minimised. Similarly, in their analysis of place and temporal deictic elements in a corpus composed of Romanian works of fiction and their English translations, Mason and Şerban (2003) find a prevalent tendency for deletion of the Romanian ST proximal *deictics*, such as *these*, or alteration to their distal counterparts in the English TTs. This evokes an objective description of events, lessening the narrator’s

involvement in his discourse, and contributes to detaching the TT readers from partaking in the feelings or experiences the narrator exhibits (ibid.: 281, 284). In contrast, when investigating the spatio-temporal perspective in Chinese translated excerpts of some of Joseph Conrad's works of fiction, Lee (2010: 295) shows that all the translated texts exhibit similar characteristics in terms of the rich use of proximal demonstratives and time adverbials, indicating the enunciating moment of narration. Hence, the translators' narrators endeavour to draw the TT audience closer to the fictional worlds of the translated narratives.

Munday (1997; 1998; 2000; 2008) and Pekkanen (2010), in contrast, highlight the impacts of the disruption of the ST segmentation, or thematicisation, in translation by, for example, means of pre-posing or post-posing clausal constituents or clauses, which leads to changing how the narrative events are visually or chronologically perceived by the reader or the ST emphatic focus. Munday (1998: 206-7) points out that albeit characterised as subtle, shifting syntactic elements positioned initially in clauses, construed as themes of clauses, are less likely to be investigated in translation or even brought to the fore by the translator. In his examination of Gabriel García Márquez's short story *El verano feliz de la señora Forbes* and its translation by Edith Grossman, Munday (1997: 259-60; 1998: 205), identifies shifts in the first clause constituents, resulting from the translator's choice of changing the ST's word order. For instance, in the translation of the narrative scene ('*Desde la escalera de piedra le dijimos adiós con la mano [...]*'), the translator does not follow closely the original by starting the TT narrative clause with the circumstantial adjunct (*Desde la escalera de piedra* [From the stone steps]). Instead, she opts for a different syntactic construction, choosing to begin the clause with the elided subject and the process (*le dijimos* [said-we]) and post-posing the original circumstantial adjunct to the right ('We [children] waved good-bye from the stone steps [...]'). This selection shifts the focus of the clause, rendering a different orientation of the narrative description, and then altering the ST spatial point of view. That is, it sacrifices the ST presentation of the spatial coordinates of the children in the narrative episode in the TT and such an orientation leads to the travesty of the cinematic techniques effectively deployed in the ST. In another study, Munday (2008: 101-2; 115-6) notes that other English translators of García Márquez's works of fiction, such as J.S. Bernstein, tend to make similar modifications of the sequencing of the ST clausal elements. This can be

dictated by language differences; the translators endeavour to normalise the Spanish VS sequence into that of English SV, instead of challenging the TL audience by opting to produce, for example, a marked English segmentation, or changing the option of the process, which would retain the reader's perception of the narrative events.

As for Pekkanen in her discussion of Matson's Finnish translation of James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, she (2010: 129-30) illustrates on one occasion how the focus of information on the girls' shoes in the ST, which creates 'rhythmical arrangement' is lost in translation due to reordering of the ST clauses, and instead a prolix effect is foregrounded in the TT. Pekkanen (ibid.: 127), additionally, lists three reasons for the Finnish translators' tendency for re-sequencing the ST elements, two of which are attributed to language syntactic differences: (I) the Finnish less rigid word order compared to English; (II) eschewal of monotony by aiming at variations of syntactic structure; and (III) the typical, but not always-occurring, language user's preferences to shun elements carrying new information to the left and to ground them after the verb.

Offering her own model of comparative analysis that makes use of corpus tools and techniques, namely Wordsmith Tools and Multiconcord, Bosseaux (2007) seeks to investigate the impacts of the translators' specific use of the language, 'repertoire features' on the world of fiction in the French translations of Virginia Woolf's *To The lighthouse* and *The Waves*. Her main argument is that the translator's linguistic decisions concerning deixis, transitivity, modality and free indirect discourse, impact the original points of view. In her investigation of modal patterns, for instance, Bosseaux (ibid.: 53) points out that the repetitive use of modal auxiliaries that convey high commitment and obligation (i.e., 'We [Bernard and Susan] must escape to the beech wood. We must hide under the trees') contributes to the two children's fictional world, in which they are obliged to survive, whereas this self-obligation is attenuated in translation by the translator's options for imperative forms as *sauvons-nous* ('let's escape') and *cachons-nous* ('let's hide'). Thus, the portrayal of the fictional world is slightly altered in the TT.

Other studies are concerned with the renderings of the ST phraseological point of view by mainly concentrating on its linguistic manifestation through the modes of discourse representations. Examining the English translations of classical Chinese prose fiction by Cao Xueqin, Shen (1987: 259-60) finds a shift from direct into indirect report of speech that gives rise to the narrator's intervention, which, in turn, obliterates the effect of abruptness expressed in the original. By the same token, in Ng's (2009) recent study on four Chinese translations of Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*, which are produced in two different Chinese periods of time: the Maoist era and the post-Maoist era, noticeable adjustments in the modes of thought transcriptions of the principal character, the old man are identified. For example, in two translated narratives, a greater narratorial obstruction is evoked by means of displacing reporting clauses and inserting a colon after every clause (ibid.: 239, 241). Another modification is the change from the source indirect rendering of the old man's consciousness into direct rendering, which leads to presenting the old man's mind from his own perspective rather than the narrator's (ibid.). By contrast, in her investigation of the Galician translation of James Joyce's 'The Dead', Millán-Varela (2004: 50) shows the suppression of the narrator's voice due to the omissions of the ST reporting clauses, and unlike the original, these omissions make it difficult for the TT reader to recognise the reporter of the narrative.

In her investigation of Jorge Luis Borges's translations of Anglo-American works of fiction such as Virginia Woolf's *Room of One's Own* and Herman Melville's *Bartleby*, Leone (2011) highlights profound alterations to the originals in translation, partly stemming from the translator's personal aesthetic preferences. For instance, because of Borges's distaste of the psychological narrative, he changes Herman Melville's *Bartleby*, which is characterised as such, into a fantastic narrative by making the I-character more reliable (ibid.: 119-21). Leone (ibid.: 98, 137) also particularly stresses character narration (first-person narration) as a paramount potential avenue of research in translation, since it is significantly related to the positioning of the participant narrator within the story and discourse levels of the narrative and its overtones for the character's views and value judgments as an experiencer or reporter of the narrative events. The displacement of the narrator-character within his or her

designated level in translation could, for instance, renders substantial alterations to characterisation and the implied author.

## 2.6 Style: Definition and Approaches to Analysis

Following Leech and Short (2007: 9), style can be defined as ‘the way in which language is used in a given context, by a given person, for a given purpose, and so on.’ Contrary to the Platonic tradition in literary criticism, which considers style as an essence that is inherent to some stretches of language, while it is absent in others (Shipley, 1953: 397), it is also conceived as a typical characteristic of any piece of language (Childe and Fowler, 2006: 228). Another feature is that style is viewed as a relational concept. That is, ‘the style of x’, Leech and Short (2007: 9-10) explain, accounts for a certain prominent aggregate of linguistic properties, ‘thumbprints’, identified in a stretch of language, and determined by certain contextual factors, y. In other words, the identification of style refers to uncovering distinctive linguistic patterns that are set in a specific context. Y, the contextual factors, represents what is called the ‘domain’ of investigating style, which can be of a wide or narrow nature (Leech, 2013: 54). It may be a particular passage, literary work, author, (sub)genre or all literary works in a specific period of time. In this regard, Leech and Short (2007: 10) point out that the narrower the scope, the better is the identification of a prominent sum of linguistic properties.

Characteristic of the concept of style is the view of style as a motivated, meaningful choice whether it is conscious or unconscious. Style, in this sense, is seen as a result of certain linguistic options, such as the selection of grammatical structures by the language user among various alternatives, which affect the interpretation of text (Simpson, 2004: 22). Thus, the examination of style, which is the focus of stylistics, as mentioned above, actually accounts for the examination of preferences of certain linguistic choices over others as well as their effects. To put it another way, defined as ‘a study of style’, stylistics seeks to explore the way in which, and the reason why, a literary text in particular, but not exclusively, operates as it does by applying linguistic analytical methods, which are widely and metaphorically referred to as a linguistic ‘toolkit’ or ‘toolbox’ (Leech and Short, 2007: 11; Nørgaard *et al*, 2010: 2,

6). Stylistics concentrates on how language is manipulated or textured, in order to attain aesthetic effects (Verdonk, 2002: 5; Leech, 2010: 17).

In terms of the analysis of style, Leech and Short (2007: 11) criticise the two predominant traditional stylistic approaches revolving around the binary opposition of the form and content of expression. These are the Aristotelian dualist approach, concerned with separating the content of expression (*what*) from the form (*how*), and the Platonic monist approach, viewing these dichotomous terms as an intrinsic inseparable whole (Shipley, 1953: 397; Chatman, 1971: 79). Finding their strongest arguments in prose, Aristotelian dualists maintain that one basic meaning can be imparted in different syntactic ways (Childe and Fowler, 2006: 229; Leech and Short, 2007: 20). Thus meaning is conceived as autonomous, separable from the manner of expression. This leads to the interpretation of style as a good way of composing a piece of writing, a kind of embellishment (Chatman, 1967: 81). This view can be refuted when it comes to the analysis of metaphor, since meaning involves many values. When discussing metaphor, one deals with two meanings, referential and figurative, rather than one basic propositional content (Leech and Short, 2007: 20-1). Consequently, one would wonder which meaning of the two can be taken as the nucleus, basic sense, possibly arranged in various wordings. Their assumption can be questioned with regard to the passive construction, as well. The transformation of active voice into that of passive cannot be said to precisely communicate the same semantic components (*ibid.*); opting for one syntactic structure over another can undoubtedly be dictated by a specific communicative purpose conveyed.

On the contrary, the Platonic monists, whose axiomatic foundations are overwhelmingly demonstrated in poetry, contend that any change in form leads to change in meaning (*ibid.*). The drawback of this approach mainly lies in their proneness to interpreting any stretch of language as an organic analogous whole. Hence, the investigation of linguistic selections, Leech and Short (*ibid.*: 27) maintain, must be conducted on a kind of ‘*ad hoc* principle’. They (*ibid.*) bring to light the argument that

if meaning is inseparable from form, one cannot discuss meaning except by repeating the very words in which it is expressed, and one cannot discuss form except by saying that it appropriately expresses its own meaning.

Alternatively, widening the scope of monism and dualism, Leech and Short (ibid.) espouses a functional approach, premised on Halliday's SF theory of language, which, as mentioned above, assumes that any stretch of language involves linguistic choices that are contextually influenced and realise various strands of meaning. This framework of investigation is manifested in Halliday's seminal work (1971), his linguistic inquiry of William Golding's *The Inheritors*. Halliday (ibid.: 349-57) examines the lexicogrammatical patterns, namely the transitivity structures, highlighting two contrasting visions of the world that of Neanderthal man Lok and that of *homo sapiens* people. He (ibid.) shows that the authorial linguistic choices create the helplessness of the main character, Lok, and his unsophisticated, restricted vision of the world, his perception of his environment as is evinced in the abundance of inanimate objects, some of which are parts of the human body, as the grammatical subjects of clauses (e.g., *bushes, twig, water, stick* and *his nose*) or intransitive processes (e.g., *turn, rush, rise* and *reach*), which mostly represent simple actions. His account (ibid.) also illustrates the shift in the style of language (transitivity options) to the narrative perspective of the *homo sapiens* people as evidenced in the prevalent linguistic choices of animate subjects and transitive processes.

### 2.6.1 Style in Translation

The discussion of style in translation is predominantly tackled from the ST perspective in the traditional accounts. It is centred on the process of translation from the prescriptive standpoint and preservation of the style of the original. Adopting the Aristotelian view of style, Tytler (1978: 16, 109-10) identifies mirroring the style of the ST as one of the 'general translation laws' that characterise a good translation. He (ibid.: 109-10) states that:

[a] good translator must be able to discover at once the true character of his author's style. He must ascertain with precision to what class it belongs; whether to that of the grave, the elevated, the easy, the lively, the florid and ornamented, or the simple and unaffected; and these

characteristic qualities he must have the capacity of rendering equally conspicuous in the translation as in the original.

He (ibid.: 179) argues, however, that although important, the reflection of the original style is less significant than the transference of the full content, since the translator could face some difficulties in reproducing all stylistic aspects of the original.

The Aristotelian concept of style coupled with the prescriptive point of view is also found in the early linguistic TL-oriented approaches to translation, most notably Nida and Taber's model. Sharing Tytler's view of the priority of meaning over form, style, Nida and Taber (1969: 12) indicate in their definition of the process of translation the reproduction of the original style that:

[t]ranslating consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source-language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style.

They (1969: 14) also remark that the recreation of the ST style may not achieve equivalence at the functional level of the translated text. Within the context of biblical translation, they give an example of the difficulty of correspondingly reproducing Mark's use of the Semitic Greek conjunction *kai* (and) into English, which is typically positioned in the beginning of sentences, since retaining it at the start of sentences in English bestows a sense of 'childish' composition (ibid.). Their proposed equivalence at the functional level, however, is of a restricted nature, as pointed out by Munday (2008: 28-9), since their discussion is more concerned with style as a set of lexical and formal characteristics that serve purposeful effects, rather than as motivated, meaningful choices, correlating to the context of production as the SFL approach assumes.

Likewise, concentration on the reproduction of the authorial style is also addressed in Tim Park's *Translating Style* ([1998] 2007). Park's (ibid.) main concern is to highlight the failure of recreating stylistic aspects of various English modernist works of fiction in their Italian translations, which lead us to value the qualities of the STs. Nevertheless, his study, in

general, is unsystematic and his discussion is remarkably characterised with impressionistic remarks and evaluation.

The discussion of style becomes much more systematic in corpus-based approaches to translation in which the focus is slanted towards the study of the translator's linguistic habits (e.g., Baker, 2000; Saldanha, 2005, 2011). In her seminal study, 'Towards a Methodology for Investigating the Style of a Literary Translator' (2000), Baker offers a new direction of research in translation studies drawing on corpus processing tools. Considered as an advancement to the exploration of the 'other voice' in translation (Hermans, [1996] 2009), her investigation is an attempt to systematically characterise the presence of the translator, not only as a form of conspicuous intervention in translated texts, but also as a certain set of consistent linguistic patterns that are subconsciously employed (Baker, 2000: 245; Saldanha, 2005, 39). Baker (2000: 245) follows Leech and Short (2007) in viewing style as a 'thumbprint' that sums up distinctive linguistic features, stressing that the investigation of the translator's style:

must focus on the manner of expression that is typical of a translator [... and] must attempt to capture the translator's characteristic use of language, his or her individual profile of linguistic habits, compared to other translators.

Baker's approach to the analysis of the translator's style, thus, is TT oriented, concentrating on capturing the individuality of the translator; she is also interested in comparing the style of a specific translator, not in relation to that of the original author, but to other translators.

Compiling a corpus of a number of translations retrieved from the Translational English Corpus by the same literary translator, namely translated works from Arabic by Peter Clark and from Spanish and Portuguese by Peter Bush, Baker sets out to uncover linguistic patterns in the areas of type-token ratio (the range and the variation of the lexical items employed by the translator), average sentence length and the reporting structure. In the areas of type-token ratio and average sentence length, Baker (ibid.: 250-1) discovers that Peter Clark's translations represent a lower type-token ratio and an even lower ratio in sentence length in contrast to Bush's translations. As for the reporting structure, Baker investigates the reporting

verb *say* in all its various forms, its occurrences in (in)direct speech and whether they are followed by the optional complementiser *that*. Baker (ibid.: 251-2) notes that the reporting verb *say* is abundantly used in Clark's translations, especially in its past form, which might be explainable by the influence of the ST over the TTs, and in direct speech. In contrast, Bush shows a high preference for using the present form of this verb and in the reporting mode of indirect speech. Baker (ibid.: 257) also finds that Bush is more prone to omitting the optional *that* in his translations in contrast to Clark.

Baker's avenue of research, which mainly revolves around subconscious linguistic strategies and behaviour, has been further pursued by other translation researchers such as Saldanha (2005, 2011), who conducts a comparison between the styles of two literary translators, Peter Bush and Margaret Jull Costa, and relates her results to a reference corpus. In her study, she (2005) finds that the use of the optional *that* after the various forms of *say* and *tell* is more frequent in Jull Costa's translations than in Peter Bush's translations, and this conforms to the norm of English translated narrative texts as opposing to these of non-translated.

Baker's proposed methodology involves flaws, however, notably since it lays little importance on the original and its influence on the translation, and the translators' foregrounded linguistic choices. In this regards, Munday (2008: 36) brings to light the difficulty this methodology poses: at its best, it offers only predictions regarding the translator's motivations behind evincing linguistically habitual patterns, motivations that could, however, be verified if a ST-TT comparison is carried out. The ineffectiveness of this methodology is also pointed out by Huang (2015), who compares the styles of two translators of Chinese STs, Howard Goldblatt and Gladys Yang, in terms of the same areas identified by Baker, except for the analysis of the optional *that*. Huang reveals that the overall statistical results do not substantiate a significant difference between the two translators, highlighting their thumbprints (ibid.). More importantly, he (ibid.: 48) notes that the two translators' preferences, for instance in terms of average sentence length and normalised type-token ratio, are in line with other translators of Chinese STs investigated in a study by Liu *et al.*'s (2011). Thus, Huang (2015: 48) comments that the discrepancy in the frequency of statistical results offered in Baker's findings could spring from the source languages (Bush translates from

Spanish and Portuguese, while Clark from Arabic). Huang (ibid.: 49) concludes that the statistical results of these areas of analysis could likely inform us more about the translation universals rather than the individuality of the translator.

In some subsequent studies, Baker's view of subconscious selections continues; however, the investigation of the translator's style is carried out with respect to the original and they are concerned with recurring patterns of translational shifts. The comparison, in fact, helps uncover interesting textual characteristics that will go unnoticed in the mere process of the TT analysis and presents an opportunity to spot the influence the ST exerts over the TT (Malmkjær, 2004: 16; Huang: 2015: 28). Considering the potential patterns of the translator's linguistic habits, Winter (2007, 2013) examines modal particles and speech-act report verbs in two German translations of Fitzgerald's *The Beautiful and Damned*, by Hans-Christian Oeser and Renate Orth-Guttmann. Winter (ibid.) highlights substantial variations between the two translators, as well as the (non-) correspondence of the translational decisions to the original.

Accounting for the relationships between the ST and TT in order to ascertain the translational stylistic features is also considered in Malmkjær's studies (2003, 2004). Malmkjær (ibid.) introduces a methodology for the study of style in translation referred to as 'translational stylistics', concerned with unfolding the reasons why a translation is textured in a particular way in order to mean as it does, indeed in relation to the original. She (2004: 19-20) stresses that the analysis in 'translational stylistics' must seek "patterns in the relationships between the translation and the original text." Illustrating her methodology, she (2003; 2004) looks at Henry William Dulcken's English translations of Hans Christian Andersen's Danish narratives, published in Victorian Britain, and examines some of the translator's certain linguistic expressions, such as the lexical items indicating a deity, and intensifiers and exclamation marks, evoking pathos. She (ibid.) identifies the translator's consistent proneness for the suppression of the original religious terms relating to divinity, as well as for the portraying of the intermingled divine, heaven, and secular, earth realms, as separate as opposed to the STs. She (2003: 27; 2004: 22-3) offers a speculative explanation of Dulcken's motivation: his translational choices are possibly impacted by the system of beliefs

and views, the association of Christianity with supernatural phenomena, prevalent in the British Victorian era. Despite the fact that the description of the translator's patterns is transparent (Saldanha, 2011: 237), however, her explicit criteria and terms set for carrying out the analysis are of a limited nature in the sense that it is difficult to be applied beyond specific case studies within a certain historical context.

In contrast to Malmkjær's study, more recent contributions, such as those of Bosseaux (2004, 2007) Munday (2008) and Ng (2009), incorporate the analytical tools of 'critical stylistics' (e.g., Fowler, 1996; Simpson, 1993, 2004), based on the systemic functional framework, in their ST-TT comparisons. These methods of inquiry, in Munday's (2012: 153) terms, 'reinforce[...] objectivity', at the expense of imprecision and value judgments. One significant manifestation is to achieve consistency; they allow systematic selection of linguistic features for analysis, indeed premised on rigorous criteria. This is of a particular importance when it comes the examination of a ST and TT pair in terms of thematic structure, or remapping the incongruent, metaphorical, into the congruent realisation of meanings and vice versa, because it avoids using the intuitive factors in picking up the clausal elements for a comparative analysis (see Chapters 4 and 5). It should be noted, however, that objectivity, for stylisticians, is not construed as pure, or as synonymous of 'scientific' in its strictest meaning, since the stylistic analysis is constantly affected by the selected linguistic model, and the assumptions and interpretations of the analysts (Carter and Simpson, [1989] 2005: 5-6; Simpson, 1997: 3; Nørgaard *et al*, 2010: 2).

The studies of Bosseaux (2007) Munday (2008) and Ng (2009) are concerned with identification of the translators' linguistically recurring patterns of shifts at the lexicogrammatical level related to the construction of point of view. Unlike Bosseaux (2007), Munday (2008) and Ng (2009) go a step further by relating the micro-level shifting translational patterns to the macro-context of ideology and cultural environments, in modern Latin American writing and two different historical periods of modern China, respectively. Building on these studies, the present research will attempt to provide detailed analyses of the translators' lexicogrammatical choices, seeking to uncover their individual strategies and their effects on the narrative point of view. Sharing Bosseaux's (2004, 2007) interest and her

focus on the translation products, this investigation does not, however, aspire to link the translational patterns of shift to a wider cultural context of production, as do Munday (2008) and Ng (2009). In the following section, I will provide an overview of the research methodology used in the present study.

## 2.7 Outline of Research Methodology

Having introduced the theoretical framework adopted in this study, this section briefly outlines the methodology applied in the current research. Following the systemic functional model of analysis in the descriptive translation approach (van Leuven-Zwart 1989, 1990), the current study espouses a two-stage methodology for the investigation of transference of point of view. I follow a bottom-up procedure of analysis, starting from the local level and ending at the global level of the narrative texts. By conducting an investigation of the lexicogrammatical systems that realise the three metafunctions and that the ST author chooses to construct the point of view, it is possible to see how these metafunctions are remapped into the TTs. Any deviation from the ST lexicogrammatical patterning that is non-systemically motivated (does not spring from language differences) is then considered to be a deviation, a translational shift which affects ST point of view at different strata in the translated narratives. The present research involves quantitative and qualitative analyses of the ST and TTs based on a manual collection of data.

### 2.7.1 First Stage: Local, Lexicogrammatical Level

The methodological framework in the first stage undertakes an in-depth comparison of the ST and TTs in an endeavour to draw up the lexicogrammatical profiles of the original author and the two translators. I am particularly interested in conducting a ST-TTs comparison in terms of the system of deixis, namely the narrative tense and place and time *deictics* elements (i.e., *this, that, these, those now, here, and there*); system of Theme; system of modality; and modes of discourse representation. After statistically comparing these profiles which often, but not always, give primary indicators of deviational patterns of shift, I will embark on distinguishing and cataloguing encountered translational shifts. I will present the

frequency of occurrences of each type of shift, which are manually recorded and classified mainly according to the kind of operation that the translators employ, such as the addition and omission of the temporal deictic terms or changing the intensity of modal expressions. Moreover, concerning some distinctive categories of shifts that are statistically prominent in the quantitative data, further detailed analyses will proceed. For instance, under the omission type of shift, I will seek to identify what type of lexicogrammatical elements (e.g., reporting verbs and modal auxiliaries) are mostly deleted and in which clause rank they are located (clause simplex or clause complex). In my views, this is deemed significant, since it would further help to enhance, as well as formalise, assumptions about the translator's procedures, specifically when dealing with certain ST lexicogrammatical strategies. Through the study of translational shifts, I am concerned with observing emerging linguistic patterns or trends in which particular linguistic preferences or propensities of each individual translator are couched, in pursuit of the characterisation of their styles. Finally, I wish to stress that further details of the methodological issues at the lexicogrammatical stage concerning the unit of comparison and the problems of analysis, when for example inspecting the thematic structure, will be addressed in their respective chapters.

### **2.7.2 Second Stage: Global Level of the Narrative Text**

This stage constitutes the reflections of the results obtained from lower-level investigations. It entails the engagement with uncovering the potential effects of small shifts on the higher level of the narrative text depending on the Uspensky-Fowler-Simpson's stylistic model of narrative point of view. At this stage, I will demonstrate whether or not these lexicogrammatical alterations lead to the change of the original viewpoint at different strata, blurring the narrative style of the ST. I will attempt to determine the macro-level shifts within each individual level of manifestation of viewpoint, and their contribution to distancing the original author's world of imagination in translation. For instance, I will examine how modality shifts identified in the two translations have an effect on the ST psychological point of view, or how the disruption of the ST sequencing of elements leads to a different order of presentation of the narrative events and thereby to a different perception on the part of the TT audience. I will also seek to identify in what ways or to what extent these local level shifts

influence the interpretations of the ST narrative aspects or structure in the specific data of analysis and the portrayal of the principal character in translation, based on James Phelan's (1994) rhetorical reading of the original. It is important to note that it is difficult to designate the exact point, where the accumulation of the translational decisions can bring about changes at the global level of the narrative text, as pointed out by Hermans (1999: 63) in his discussion of the weaknesses of van Leuven-Zwart's model (1989, 1990). On the same subject, Bosseaux (2007: 227) brings to light this problematic issue in her study, explaining that despite the fact that corpus based tools provide precise, detailed statistics in reference to the lexicogrammatical choices, they cannot determine this exact point. Hence, she argues that the move from micro-level shifts to macro-level shifts still relies on the researcher's judgment and interpretation of the findings. Therefore, identifying and determining the extent and impacts of the recurrent lexicogrammatical shifts on the macro-level of the narrative text depends on my interpretative reading of these shifts.

### 2.7.3 The Corpus

The research material analysed is comprised of the ST Chapters Three and Four and their translations into Arabic. The two ST chapters are composed of 71 pages out of the total 170, amounting to nearly the half of the original. The decision to select these two chapters is dictated by the very detailed analysis of the corpus. The size of the corpus should aid in making the comparison more focused and informative of the translator's propensities for certain linguistic patterns. In the same vein, another factor involved is related to the question of style. That is, the focus on a narrow purview of analysis will provide a better characterisation of the prominent sum of the linguistic properties, as pointed out by Leech and Short's (2007: 10).

In addition, the selection of these two chapters is guided by the research areas under investigation. They could offer an interesting range of local level results from analyses because these chapters show varying degrees of involvement on the part of the narrator-character in his narrative, as well as differing recognition of his current ideological stance and perception as a result of his growing experience. This is evidently reflected, for example,

in the wide range of linguistic choices of deictic terms and modal expressions, as we will see. Thus, it would be possible to identify the extent to which the amount of I-narrator-involvement is projected in translation. Moreover, the narrative technique, simultaneous present tense, that defines the singularity of this narrative and is of paramount importance for building up the characterisation of the narrator-character, becomes well-founded in Chapter Four of the novel. Furthermore, the two chapters are characterised by evincing different modal patterns, which then account for different types of viewpoints on the psychological plane. Hence, it would enable me to see how well the two translators retain such a variety in use of systems of modality, or what types of modality systems are more foregrounded in translation. In other words, I believe that the more diverse the point of view in the ST, the more likely it is that I will identify translational shifts, embodying the two translators' inclinations.

## 2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have contextualised the present study within the framework of narratology, SFL, stylistics and translation studies. I have discussed the role that the translator plays in narrative-communication situation and how it is central to any hypothesis related to disclosing the transformations undergone by the narrative texts. I have then introduced the SFL and the main lexicogrammatical systems realising the metafunctions and explained how these systems pertain to the construction of point of view based on the Uspensky-Fowler-Simpson stylistic model. I have also shed light on the related research on point of view in translation, in which I have pointed out that there are rare discussions of thematic structure as an indicator of narrative perspective in translation, and the potential avenue of research that first-person narratives open for translation analysis, since it is closely connected to the structural dichotomy of discourse and story levels. Finally, I have addressed the different meanings and approaches to analysis of style and then provided a brief outline of the research methodology.

It should be noted that the focus of this study is not to offer conclusive evidence that can be overgeneralised to the overall strategies or linguistic patterns of the two translators outside

the present data. Rather, I wish to establish starting points or provide postulations regarding the main linguistic traits of the two translators, which could later be checked against a larger corpus in relation to their original writings and translations. In the following chapter, I will set out to explore the translation of the original spatio-temporal viewpoint by examining the system of deixis.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Deixis

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter is centred on the investigation of the narrative tense and the place and time deictic elements, seeking to identify what are the translational shifts (if any) that can be detected and how they are linked to the spatial and temporal dimensions of viewpoints. In Section 3.2, I will first provide an overview of the narrative tense in first-person narratives. I will then go on to concentrate on DelConte's (2003) typology of the narrative tense narration and James Phelan's (1994) analysis of rhetorical effects of the ST as a result of such an outstanding stylistic device as simultaneous present tense narration. In Section 3.4., I will briefly touch on the system of tense in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which is "the language of written Arabic media, e.g., newspapers, books, journals, streets signs, advertisements – all forms of the printed words" (Ryding, 2005: 5). Following this, I will check how the ST narrative tense is mirrored in the TTs. Then, the discussion will be directed towards the investigation of the deictic terms. In Section 3.7, I will offer an overview of the statistical results of the *deictics* found in the ST and TTs. The following section will focus on the rendition of the temporal deictic and highlight the types of shifts recorded.

#### 3.2 Narrative Tense in First-person Mode of Narration

Some narrative theorists posit that the past tense is the tense in which first-person narratives are couched; therefore, the simultaneous dual function of reporting and acting, supposedly assumed by the narrator-character, is one that is beyond realisation; that is, by no means is anyone able to relay the events of her or his tale, while at same time actually experiencing

them. Hence, this past-ness facet of narrative becomes the defining *norm*, a norm setting the discourse of narrative as distinct from any other types of discourse such as lyric and drama, in which the present tense is salient (Phelan, 1994: 222). On the other hand, stylistically employed essentially to create a sense of immediacy, the appearance of the present tense in sporadic events of a given narrative, a phenomenon oxymoronically designated as the historical present, is construed as a deviant practice of narration, a marked tense in Phelan's terms (*ibid.*), which is semantically commensurate with that of the past tense in the sense that past-time events are relayed from the present standpoint. Hence, taking a broad view, the use of the historical present tense principally has no effect on the temporal structure of the narrative, and then of course does not invalidate the prevalent norm of narrative (Cohn, 1999: 98-9). This basic precept or, let us say, the classical view of narrative, Cohn contends (*ibid.*: 96), has been put forward by a considerable number of narratological theorists, perhaps the most renowned of whom is Paul Ricoeur (1985: 98) who claims that “[e]very story is told in the past for the voice that tells it”. Nevertheless, such an account of narrative appears to be inadequate by failing to accommodate other possible narrative situations. Critics such as Cohn (1999) have noted that this inherent axiomatic feature of first-person narrative does not hold firm in terms of investigating a few contemporary literary fictions. The experimentation with the form of fiction undertaken by (post)modernist authors within the realm of first-person narratives puts the taken-for-granted feature of narration, past-ness, under scrutiny by mediating their narratives in the mode of simultaneous-present-tense narration, and in which the present moment of self-reporting coincides with that of self-reflecting. The temporal distance typically experienced in the first-person narratives between narrating-I and experiencing-I can be diminished to zero. In doing so, these narratives such as Coetzee's modernist fiction *WFB* ([1980] 2004) are construed as undermining this fundamental past-ness axiom of first-person narratives, infringing the well-recognised mimetic criteria of narrative and at the same time establishing a new narratological paradigm.

In the first-person narrative, DelConte (2003) classifies the narrative tense into three types: past (retrospective) tense, historical (metaphorical) present tense and simultaneous present tense. In the following, in order to aptly explicate the simultaneous present tense and its contribution to the overall design of the ST, I find it worthwhile to give a brief glimpse of

the two other types of tense and to discuss the description of events in relation to the temporal perspective of the enunciator of utterances in the story.

### 3.2.1 Past (Retrospective) Tense

As mentioned above, it has been a commonly held view among narratologists that the retrospective tense is considered the tense of narration, the unmarked tense, so it is this tense that forges an important factor in subsuming a given discourse under a genre of narrative (Phelan, 1994: 224). It is obviously used to mark the anteriority of events in respect to the first-person narrator's vantage point. To put it differently, the first-person narrator assumes the role of describing temporally distal events in relation to his or her present moment of utterance, events belonging to his or her younger, past-self. The use of the past tense, in this sense, clearly functions as a temporal deictic indicator that sets the experiencing-self distinct from that of narrating. In light of this view, the first-person narrative in this mode is recognised as following the logic of the real-life narration, because there is a necessary temporal distance between experiencing events and narrating them (Cohn, 1999: 98-9). Cohn (ibid.: 99) points out that the first-person novel is viewed based on what Glowński (1977: 106) terms 'formal mimetic', which means: "an imitation, by means of a given form, of other forms of literary, paraliterary, and extraliterary discourse, as well as—what is a common enough phenomenon—ordinary language." That is, the first person novel is recognised as akin to the genres of real life narration such as memoirs and dairies, confessions. In other words, the retrospective mode of narration is grasped in terms of drawing a parallel between it and the natural, real-world narration as evidently manifested, for instance, in the autobiographical and confessional types of discourse; the relaying function of first-person narrator's past-self precisely corresponds to that of real-self historians. Thus, the retrospective tense narration is understood as the mimetic standard, typically representing the axiomatic statement: "live now, tell later" (Cohn, 1999: 96).

The retrospective tense narration is abundant in first-person narratives. Take for example the opening narrative episode of Fitzgerald's *Great Gatsby* (Fitzgerald, 1993: 3) (emphasis added):

### Example 3.1

In my younger and more vulnerable years my father **gave** me some advice that I've [Nick] been turning over in my mind ever since. 'Whenever you feel like criticizing anyone,' he **told** me, 'just remember that all the people in this world haven't had the advantages that you've had.'

He **didn't say** any more [....].

In this example, the narrator Nick turns the clock back, narrating events belonging to his past, and to his younger self as a character.

### 3.2.2 Historical (Metaphorical) Present Tense

The historical present tense, also called the vivid present tense, is identified as the marked case in narrative; it narrates past-time events (Fludernik, 1993; 1996; 2003; Herman *at el.*, 2005). Hence, the here-and-now events described are to be clearly perceived as denoting a particular point of time in the past, as there-and-then events. It is widely acknowledged among many scholars that the use of the historical present is aesthetically motivated. Its main function lies in the narrator's attempt to communicate a dramatic or vivid effect by endowing events prior to the present moment of enunciation with a sense of immediacy. Jespersen (2003: 187), for instance, remarks that "[t]he speaker, as it were, forgets all about time and recalls what he is recounting as vividly as if it were now present before his eyes." That is, the narrator applies this stylistic device in the service of giving an illusionistic effect of reporting events as they actually unfold, so that the narrating time is synchronous with that of experiencing. By dramatising the story, he or she becomes so immersed in the world of fiction in a way that he or she subjectively experiences the events, rather than objectively by assuming a distanced vantage point; consequently the past-time events are brought to life and become more and more vivid (Schiffrin, 1981: 46; Fleischman, 1986: 203). The historical present tense plays a vital role in reducing the audience's awareness of narration by placing emphasis on the perceptual facet of their experience: "plot, character development, logical causal framework are relinquished in favour of the act of perceiving" (Casparis, 1975: 74).

The metaphorical present tense is characterised by its unsustainability over the course of a whole narrative, so it often alternates with the past tense, in contrast to other above-mentioned genres of narrative (Schiffrin, 1981: 46; Cohn, 1999: 98). Perhaps, it is this characteristic that leads to marginalisation, or ignorance on the part of narratologists, that have held back them from developing a more sufficient notion, a new paradigm in theories of narrative, accommodating other possible situations of narrative (Cohn; 1999: 99). One of the most telling examples of the historical present tense in first-person narratives can be found in Charles Dickens' narratives. Charles Dickens is credited as having been the first novelist to deploy this stylistic device, both systematically and substantially (Casparis, 1975: 30), in *David Copperfield*, specifically in the episode of Copperfield's mother's funeral (emphasis added):

### Example 3.2

If the funeral **had been yesterday**, I **could not recollect** it better [...] There **are** Mr. Murdstone, our neighbour Mr Grayper, Mr Chillip, and I. When we **go out** to the door, the Bearers and their load **are** in the garden; and they **move** before us down the path, and then past the elms, and through the gate, and into the churchyard, where I have so often heard the birds sing on a summer morning. We **stand** around the grave. The day **seems** different to me from every other day, and the light not of the same color – of a sadder colour. Now there **is** a solemn hush [...] All this, I **say, is** yesterday's events. Event of later date have floated from me to the shore where all forgotten things will reappear, but this **stands** like a high rock in the ocean.

Here, upon his return to London, David Copperfield, the narrator-character, remembers the burial of his mother ('If the funeral had been yesterday, I could not recollect it better'). Thus, the outset of this episode evidently establishes the temporal point of reference, the original time frame, in which the event occurs (past). Nonetheless, the subsequent description of events are mediated in the here-and-now mode of narration (present tense narration) (e.g., 'We stand around the grave. The day seems [...]'). It is as if he proffers an eye-witness account of an event happening at the moment of speaking. So, he can momentarily relive the

past and at the same time highlight the significance of this event to him in the storyworld (Cohn; 1979: 198-9).

Another example is Truman Capote's short story *A Christmas Memory* (1956), in which past events are shifted toward the present moment in an endeavour on the part of the narrator at sustaining the immediacy of his memories (DelConte, 2003: 113; 2007: 428). DelConte argues that the story events are understood as pointing to a past-time reference, as is particularly evidenced in the narrator's prior knowledge of how the story unfolds, a quality that is typically inherent in the retrospective narration (ibid.). In the following excerpt, it can be clearly seen that the narrator has pre-existing knowledge of Queenie's death, an event that is narrated from a posterior perspective in relation to the moment of enunciation:

### Example 3.3

The wind is blowing, and nothing will do till we've run to the pasture below the house where Queenie has scooted to bury her bone (and where, a winter hence, Queenie will be buried, too).

Thus, regardless of the simultaneity of narrating-I and experiencing-I, his narrative is shaped in accordance with his awareness of the conclusion of the story. This is deemed a property that is always found in the retrospective narrative, as opposed to the simultaneous present tense narration as will be seen below.

### 3.2.3 Simultaneous Present Tense

The simultaneous present tense is the most marked case, where the telling time constantly accords with that of acting; that is, unlike the retrospective tense, the temporal gap, always identified between the experiencing-I and acting-I, is reduced. The narrator-character perpetually uses the present tense in its *real* sense to mark events occurring at the present moment from his or her vantage point. In this mode of narration, the present tense, Cohn (1999: 102) points out, defies any attempts to be normalised with the metaphorical, historical present tense, since the events in this form of narration are not mediated with knowledge

already obtained by a temporal gap, as is the case with the narrator of *A Christmas Memory*, explained above. Moreover, it cannot be equated with that of a narrative that is relayed in its entirety as an interior monologue (reporting the thoughts and feelings of the character), because Cohn (ibid: 103) explains that the inner states are relayed ‘by a knowingly analytic voice’ (‘Through the taut rope **I can feel** the vibration of their movements in the branches’), and the narrated time is compressed in form of summary sentences, as well as involving forms of ellipsis (‘*I doze and wake, drifting from one formless dream to another*’; ‘*by mid-morning it has become too hot to sleep*’)<sup>9</sup>. This, in turn, attenuates the sense of ‘an unrolling mental quotation’.

The distinction of this form of narration from that of the retrospective lies in its breach of the mimetic standard of the realist first-person fiction: the impossibility of the simultaneity of here-and-now living and telling (Phelan, 1994: 227). That is, in a real narrative situation, the storyteller cannot relay his or her story and the same time live it. In this sense, it may be considered anti-mimetic. It is construed as an unnatural form of narration, lacking any form of correspondence with the natural, real-life situation, because the mandatory temporal distance between and narrating and narrated is not founded (DelConte, 2007: 429). In other words, this type of narrative is not modelled on the actual world or realist narrative texts. Cohn (1999: 104-5) argues that the simultaneous narrative’s violation of the mimetic criteria can be viewed as emancipation:

[simultaneous narration’s] innovation, to state it bluntly, is to emancipate first-person fictional narration from the dictates of formal mimetics, granting it the same degree (though not the same kind) of discursive freedom that we take for granted in third-person fiction: the license to tell a story in an idiom that corresponds to no manner of real world, natural discourse.

In attaining such a mode of narration, the fine demarcation line drawn between a binary opposition that between story (the chronological organisation of a series of events) and discourse (the manner in which these events are recounted) is eliminated (Heise, 1997: 149; DelConte, 2003:99; Fludernik, 2003: 117-9). The structuralist narratologists such as Genette

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<sup>9</sup> Examples used by Cohn.

(1980) make a distinction between the time of the events experienced by the narrator and the time of the act of narration performed by the narrator. Nevertheless, this distinction is purportedly inapplicable in the first-person simultaneous present tense narration, since the time of the narrated and narrating are fused into one. This form of mediation is well-exemplified in an excerpt taken from the ST:

#### Example 3.4

There **is** a scramble for the canes, the soldiers can barely keep order, I **lose** sight of the prisoners on the ground as people **press** forward to take a turn or simply **watch** the beating from nearer. I **stand** forgotten with my bucket between my feet.

Then the flogging is over, the soldiers **reassert** themselves, the crowd **scrambles back**, the arena **is** reconstituted, though narrower than before.

Over his head, exhibiting it to the crowd, Colonel Joll **holds** a hammer, an ordinary four-pound hammer used for knocking in tent-pegs. Again his gaze **meets** mine. The babble **subsides**.

(2004: 116; emphasis added).

As can be noted, the passage is entirely narrated in the present tense. The narrator-character, the Magistrate, provides no reference or clue signalling that the described events are a product of a past experience or a pre-existing knowledge, which helps to translate these events as anterior in their occurrence in relation to his temporal coordinates. And unlike David Copperfield, he does not attempt to communicate an ‘as-if-ness’ effect, as Cohn (1979) phrases it, by evoking these events in a form of memories. Instead, the narrator-character has the privilege of carrying out the impossible narrating-while-experiencing. In this passage, the present tense is recognised in its real sense; the actions clearly refer to the Magistrate deictically present in relation to his present situation: he is a prisoner escaping from his cell, witnessing the torture of the so-called enemy in the arena, and voicing his opposition to the torturers, Colonel Joll and his soldiers. Hence, the temporal distance between experiencing-I and narrating-I is intrinsically intermingled and the time of story and that of discourse is eliminated.

Furthermore, the simultaneous present tense narration is distinguished by its rarity, particularly in the late twentieth century, a feature one might argue that no longer applies. This comes as a result from its characterisation as an unnatural form of narration (DelConte, 2007: 429). Another factor contributing to its infrequency in first-person narratives may stem from the limitedness of the narrator-character, which may impose a difficulty that the author has to deal with when sustaining the simultaneous form of narration. In this respect, DelConte (2003: 104-5) points out that the recounting-as-experiencing pacing of simultaneous narration does not grant the narrator-character that much latitude for carrying out the reflective function: providing judgments and giving opinions on a large scale, since he or she is engaged in providing a constant description of on-going events. As a result, the reporting function the narrator-character enjoys becomes the backbone of his discourse, while interpreting as well as evaluating functions are discernibly relinquished to the audience. So, it is likely that this limitedness is what generally makes this mode of narration unappealing among authors (*ibid.*). Having reviewed some general features of the simultaneous present tense in narrative, I will now turn to discuss its rhetorical effects in the ST by relying primarily on Phelan's (1994) account.

### **3.2.3.1 Rhetorical Effects of Simultaneous Present Tense in the ST**

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, *WFB* proffers a reading and rereading of the Magistrate's ideological stance towards the imperialistic acts and ethics of Empire, an amplifying, building-up experience that has culminated in subverting his position from dominating figure to dominated one, and from coloniser to colonised. As Marias (2011: 68) points out, the novel does not provide an already lived experience, an obtained knowledge that the narrator-character reflects on. Rather, it portrays the Magistrate's endeavour to obtain knowledge and to make some coherent sense of his ambivalent stance. So, it is about the process of attempting to gain and to grasp rather than the product of what is already obtained and grasped, just like the kind of presentation that informs the readerly experience of a retrospective narrative. As such the process is distinctively attained by effective deployment of the simultaneous present tense. However, it is to be noted that the novel is not entirely mediated in the simultaneous present tense. In fact, Coetzee, in an experimental move,

switches between both the historical and simultaneous present tenses, especially at the outset of the novel, which serves the purpose of foregrounding a sense of confusion at the temporal level of narration (DelConte, 2003: 129). The historical present tense can be found in the following instance (Coetzee, 2004: 5):

### Example 3.5

Of the screaming which people **afterwards** claim to have heard from the granary, I hear nothing (emphasis added).

The clauses *people afterwards claim* and *I hear nothing* clearly suggest that the narrator-character is fully aware of what happens later (the existence of screams), and the event then is retrospectively described (DelConte, 2003: 129). In addition, occurring at a small scale, the use of the historical present constitutes a factor accelerating the pace of episodes; it allows Coetzee to provide a summary of a narrative, for instance, over a span of a year (ibid.). Nonetheless, these instances signalling the use of the historical present tense and highlighting the pre-existing knowledge of the Magistrate do not impinge upon the simultaneity inherent to the understanding of the narrative temporal structure, a simultaneity, which becomes well-founded as the reading progresses (Phelan, 1994: 222).

Explaining the rhetorical effect of simultaneous present tense narration, Phelan (ibid.: 223, 234) argues that by eliminating the temporal distance between experiencing-I and narrating-I, the reader is distinctively and so closely positioned to the on-going ethical awakening of the Magistrate, so that as his experience gradually builds so also does the reader. At the same time, his views and understanding are limited to those of the narrator-character. Furthermore, narrating-as-experiencing creates a stance shared by both the Magistrate and the reader: the anticipation of how the events unfold (ibid.: 223). The use of simultaneous present tense turns out to eliminate a sense of teleology. In this sense, the Magistrate is conceived to be powerless and having no control over his narrative. Unlike the retrospective narration, in which the narrator-character shapes his or her narrative in accordance with her or his awareness of how the outcome of the tale will be, the Magistrate has no knowledge whatsoever of how his

personality or narrative will develop, to where he is headed, and how the closure of events will be. For instance, when he undertakes a journey to deliver the barbarian black girl to her own people, he is ignorant of how his action will be considered in the eyes of the Empire, how his ethical awareness will increase, how his life is turned into a bestial one. Another example is that when the Magistrate revolts against Colonel Joll, who is about to torture the prisoners with a hammer, the Magistrate is not aware of what will happen to him, what the consequences will be, or how the scene will unfold. This stance of unawareness is also assumed by the reader. That is to say, just like the I-narrator, the reader is left with uncertainties, having no idea about how the future might turn out. Furthermore, erasing causality enables the narrative to exhibit mere possibilities (DelConte, 2003: 129). In this regard, since he lacks awareness of what will happen in future, the Magistrate's discourse foregrounds negatively shaded modalities, the epistemic modal choices that function as indicators of the Magistrate's limited knowledge (a closer look at the negative shading of the text will be delineated in Chapter 5). Before examining the renderings of the ST choice of tense, it is important to discuss briefly the system of tense in MSA in order to highlight its difference to that of English and its application in TL narratives.

### 3.5 Temporal Reference in MSA

It is widely agreed among linguists that the system of tenses in MSA is incongruent to that of the English language. This incongruence can be viewed as a potential area posing so many difficulties in translation from and into MSA. In English, the tense, in most cases, is grammaticised through the morphology of the verb as in *he writes* (present) /*he wrote* (past) (Comrie, 1984: 9; Downing and Locke, 2006: 353). By contrast, MSA has a general tendency to intermingle tense and aspect to establish time reference in discourse (Dickins *et al.* 2002: 99). By the same token, arguing from a historical point of view, Holes (2004: 216-7) points out that the distinction between the forms of verb of MSA is based on the grammatical aspect, which is now developed into a tense system. In MSA, there are two tenses: perfect tense and imperfect tense, which are generally (out of context) marked by the form of the verb. Typically used in narrative, the perfect tense, which denotes the completion of an action, basically triggers the past temporal point of reference in relation to the present moment of an

enunciator (Wright, 1996: 1; Dickins *et al.* 2002: 99; Holes, 2004: 218; Schulz; 2004: 12). By contrast, the imperfect tense, which indicates the incompleteness of an action, marks the here-and-now or posterity of events in respect to the present-ness of the enunciation moment.

Nevertheless, the temporal reference of an action or event marked by the forms of the verb is still far more complicated than they really seem, since they can account for other temporal points of reference. The perfect form (e.g., أراد [wanted]), for instance, can be used to point to an event taking place in the present moment or posterior time in relation to that of the speaking; this is clearly because the perfect form does not purely mark time distinction, rather than stating the verbal action (Holes, 2004: 218; Schulz, 2004: 12). This can be ascertained in conditional sentences as shown in the following example (emphasis added):

Example 3.6 (Jābir; 2011: 24)

<b>perfect form</b>	إذا أراد حزب أو نقابة أو أحد الأندية تنظيم حفلة في حديقة عامة،
<b>Imperfect form</b>	يأخذُ إذنًا مسبقًا من البلدية.
‘If any political party, union or club want to arrange an event in a public park, they obtain a prior permission from the City Council. <sup>10</sup>	

The imperfect form can also be employed to indicate the anteriority of events or states. For example, in hypotactic (dependent) clauses, known as subordinating clauses in formal grammar, namely those clauses, which are circumstantial clauses, describing an action or situation, the imperfect form does not signal the present-ness of the action or event; rather it is interpreted as subordinating the temporal reference indicated by tense in the main clause (Dickins and Watson, 1999: 130-1), as evidenced in the following instance:

Example 3.7 (Jābir; 2011: 396)

<b>Perfect form</b>	بعد جنازة أبيهم رأتهم [راشيل] مرة عند المدخل
<b>Imperfect form</b>	يتجادلون.

<sup>10</sup> Literal renderings.

‘After their father’s funeral, [Rachel] **has seen** them once at the entrance **arguing**.’

In addition, the imperfect form can function to narrate past-time events, which may correspond to the function of the historical present in English. It is quite noticeable that the MSA authors of fictional narrative establish the past temporal reference at the outset of an episode by resorting to the perfect form, while the subsequent events described can be mediated in the imperfect form (Dickins *et al.*, 2002: 95, 99). This case can be manifested in the following excerpt from Al-Tayyib Sālih’s novel *ʕurs al-zain*, in which the perfect form تتابعت [followed] in the opening clause grounds the action in the past tense:

n	Example	Literal translation
3.8	تتابعت الأعوام، عام يتلو عاما، ينتفخ صدر النيل كما يمتلئ صدر الرجل بالغيظ. ويسير الماء على الضفتين [...] وتتشقق الأرض عن نبات وثمر. (1988: 33-4; emphasis added)	Years <b>followed</b> . A year <b>follows</b> another. The mouth of the Nile river <b>is swelling</b> as <b>is</b> a man’s chest with rage. The river <b>overflows</b> its banks [...] Plants and fruits <b>grow</b> out of the land cracks.

Another example quoted from Wāsīni Al-ʔaʕraj’s novel *ṭawq al-yāsamīn* (2006: 123) offers an opportunity to notice that the author can alternate between the perfect and imperfect forms in narrating experienced events within the same narrative episode as shown below (emphasis added):

n	Example	literal translation
3.9	كنت ساذجة والأكثر من هذا عنيدة... وعندما تخسرين رهاناتك الصغيرة، تلعين الدنيا وخالقها ومحبيها. تتحدر دموع صغيرة من عينيك. تحفرك كأملح البحر. تمتد أصابعك مرتدة إلى وجهك ثم تلوين رأسك في اتجاه آخر حتى لا يعلم الناس لحظة هروبك وضعفك. كنت تعشقين الأتربة والورق الأصفر والناس الذين سكنوا الكتب، رجالات الجاهلية وأيام العرب وحروبهم.	You <b>were</b> imbecile and above all stubborn.... When you <b>lose</b> your small bets, you <b>curse</b> the world, its creator and lovers. Small tears <b>stream down</b> on your face From your eyes. They <b>dig in</b> your pores as if they are sea salt. Your fingers <b>extend</b> in a bounce move from your face. Then you <b>move</b> your head elsewhere, so the people <b>do not realise</b> the moment of your escape and weakness. You <b>adore</b> the dust, the pale pages of old books,

	the people who dwelt in these books, amongst whom were pre-Islamic men, and their wars.
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Here, the I-character reflects on highlighted past moments in his relationship with his beloved, attempting to remind her of her younger self. At the beginning of this excerpt, the event is framed in the past relative to the time of narration by the use of the finite verbal operator (auxiliary) كُنت 'verb to be' in its perfect form, a means of marking time in MSA, in the clause, which has a defining 'anteriorising effect' on the following verb regardless of its aspect (Holes, 2004: 232-3). In the description of the ensuing events, the character-narrator opts to switch to the imperfect form (e.g. تخسرين [lose], تلعنين [curse], تمتد [extend]) despite the fact that he still describes already experienced events. It seems as if he is dramatising the story. This goes in line with Holes' general observation of the modern MSA fictional writing: once the event is anchored in the past, it is seemingly superfluous to mark the tense of every following clauses in comparison to English (ibid.). Toward the end of the episode, it is shifted to use of the perfect form of the finite verbal operator كُنت, unlike the above excerpt from *ʕurs al-zain*, in which the whole episode is narrated by the use of the imperfect form, except for the opening clause that establishes the temporal reference. This, Holes argues, may be interpreted as a way of moving toward a new a theme in the episode, which seems to be acceptable, since here the I-narrator relays more information describing his beloved's personality (ibid.).

In short, the verbs of MSA can mark time distinction; however, they can denote any tenses if they are grounded in particular grammatical structures. In addition, the interpretation of the temporal reference of an event in a given utterance is often triggered by the context, particularly in respect of the imperfect form. What follows is the closer inspection of the ST narrative tense in translation.

### 3.6 Rendition of the ST Narrative Tense

In his discussion of the TTs, Muhammad ʕusfūr (2009: 254-7) devotes a section titled 'Tense', briefly throwing light on the use of the present tense in the original as a stylistic

device, and one that should be retained in translation. He is credited with identifying the two translators' alterations of the ST narrative tense, but providing only two instances. His account appears to be of a general and very succinct nature; that is, it falls short in terms of making a distinction between the uses of the present tense in its real or its metaphorical senses (simultaneous present tense vs. historical present tense). In fact, his analysis remains within the domain of the normative view of the narrative tense, since one of these two examples is an illustration of the historical present tense; it is the same as the one that I single out above in Example 3.5, and on which he (ibid.: 256) comments that the use of present tense (i.e., the historical present due to the pre-existing knowledge of the narrator-character) in the ST contributes to the effect of immediacy, so that the barbarians' screaming, which the Magistrate convinces himself to be ignorant of, is at the centre of his awareness and presses him to take a position against the Empire's injustice:

		Examples	Back-translation
3.10	Coetzee	Of the screaming which people afterwards <b>claim</b> to have heard from the granary, I <b>hear</b> nothing [...] I <b>am</b> aware of what might be happening, and my ear <b>is</b> even tuned to the pitch of human pain [...] (At a certain point I <b>begin</b> to plead my own cause).  (2004: 5)	-
3.10a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	لم أسمع أي شيء من الصراخ الذي زعم الناس فيما بعد أنهم سمعوه من مخزن الحبوب [...] كنت أدرك ما يمكن أن يحدث حتى أن أذني تألفت مع نغمة الألم البشري [...] (في نقطة معينة بدأت أدافع عن قضيتي).  (2004: 115)	I <b>heard</b> nothing of the screams people <b>claimed</b> afterwards that they <b>had heard</b> from the granary. I <b>was</b> aware of what could be happening, even my ear <b>was tuned</b> with the melody of human pain [...] At a certain point, I <b>began</b> to defend my cause.
3.10b	ʿabdullāh	من الصراخ الذي ادعى الناس بعدئذ أنهم سمعوه أتيا من مخزن الحبوب، لم أسمع شيئا [...] أدرك ما كان يمكن أن يحدث. وبشكل يتوافق باطراد مع ذروة الألم البشري [...] (بدرجة معينة، أبدأ في المرافعة عني قضيتي الخاصة).  (2004: 14)	Of the scream that people <b>claimed</b> afterwards they <b>had heard</b> coming from the granary, I <b>have heard</b> nothing [...] I <b>realise</b> what might be happening. It increasingly <b>conforms</b> to the peak of

		human pain [...] At a certain degree, I <b>start</b> to defend my own cause.
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Here, Ṣusfūr (ibid.: 256-7) points out that this overtone is completely lost in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, because of his choice of using the perfect tense throughout the episode (e.g., لم أسمع [I heard], كنت أدرك [I was aware]). As for Ṣabdullāh's TT, that is, according to him, characterised by its looseness in the use of tense in this instance; Ṣusfūr (ibid.: 255) claims that she translates the opening sentence of the episode by resorting to the perfect tense (i.e., لم أسمع [I heard]) and then switches to the imperfect tense (e.g., أدرك [I am aware/realise]) in the rest of the episode in a move that he deems to be 'illogical' in his terms. Nevertheless, he does not provide us with a justification or explain why such a switch is so. As demonstrated in Examples 3.6 and 3.7, there is a degree of flexibility in the use of MSA verb forms to signal a particular temporal reference, and alternating between forms is quite natural and applied in MSA narratives.

By contrast, in his commentary on the other example, Ṣusfūr (ibid.: 257) expounds the effect of semantic interpretation of the ST, if the tense shifted, and how the messages are not properly conveyed in the two TTs:

		Examples	Back-translation
3.11	Coetzee	We <b>have set</b> procedures we <b>go</b> through. (2004: 5)	-
3.11a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	لقد رتبنا الإجراءات التي سنقوم بتنفيذها. (2004: 13)	We <b>arranged</b> the procedures that we <b>would apply</b> .
3.11b.	Ṣabdullāh	لقد وضعنا الإجراءات وسنقوم بتنفيذها. (2004: 10)	We <b>set</b> the procedures and we <b>would apply</b> them

In the translation of the ST instance, he explains that the two translators render the present tense in the ST hypotactic clause (we go through), which, in his view, is used here to indicate the repeated action, as the 'future tense' (i.e., the imperfect tense in this study) in the TTs (سنقوم [will/would apply]), as an event posterior to the present moment of narration. However, taking the discourse time of the narrative into consideration, I find his explanation imprecise

in the sense that, despite the fact that the two translators use the imperfect form + particle *س*, a structure used to grammaticise futurity in MSA, in rendering the ST hypotactic clause, they establish the temporal reference in the past by their decisions to include the particle *لقد* (indeed, already) followed by the perfect form in translating the material process in the ST paratactic clause. Corresponding to the English *pluperfect* tense, this particular structure emphatically signals that the action is completed in the past (Bahloul, 2008: 103). So in the case of Ṣabdullāh's TT, which changes the logical relations between the clauses by providing two clauses of equal status (paratactic relations) connected by *و* [and], the event should be interpreted as happening in a particular future point in the past. Likewise, retaining the ST hypotactic relation, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn grounds the event in the past in the main (Head) clause. Hence, the tense in the dependent clause is regarded as an extension of that of the Head clause, which is the perfect tense. To put it differently, the tense in the dependent clause is best considered as referring to a future point in the past due to the fact that the temporal reference of the Head clause action is deictically past.

Overall, then, despite giving due place to the importance of retaining the narrative tense in the translation, Ṣusfūr does not pay attention to the role of tense in determining the narrating time and experiencing time. Hence, we may plausibly argue that his treatment of the narrative tense appears to be far too general and imprecise. Particularly, he fails to identify the demarcation line between the historical present and simultaneous present tense. Furthermore, his examination of the deviation from the ST does not explore the synchrony of the living and telling as well as its rhetorical effect in relation to the positioning of the narrator-character in these two translated narratives. In what follows, I will look closely at the rendition of the simultaneous present in the two TTs.

### 3.6.1 Simultaneous Present Tense in Translation

In general, the simultaneous present tense is not systematically mirrored in the two TTs, however, at different scales. In Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, the narration in its entirety is mediated in the retrospective tense. In contrast, the simultaneous present tense appears considerably inconsistent in Ṣabdullāh's TT. To illustrate, let us consider the opening passage of Chapter

Four, in which the narrator-character, the Magistrate, reports his encounter with a Warrant Officer from the Third Bureau, who questions the Magistrate's motives behind having delivered the young black girl to her own people, and further accuses the Magistrate of plotting with the barbarians against the Empire (emphasis added):

		Examples	Back-translation
3.12	Coetzee	A man <b>sits</b> at my desk in the office behind the courtroom. I <b>have</b> never <b>seen</b> him before but the insignia on his lilac-blue tunic <b>tell</b> me that he <b>belongs</b> to the Third Bureau of the Civil Guard. A pile of brown folders tied with pink tapes <b>lies</b> at his elbow; one <b>is</b> open before him. I <b>recognize</b> the folders: they <b>contain</b> records of taxes and levies dating back fifty years.  (2004: 84)	-
3.12a	Al-Hājj Ḥusayn	كان هناك رجل <b>يجلس</b> إلى طاولتي في المكتب خلف قاعة المحكمة. لم أراه من قبل، لكن الشارة على سترته الزرقاء الليلية <b>أخبرتني</b> أنه <b>ينتمي</b> إلى المكتب الثالث للحرس الوطني.  كومة من حافظات الأوراق البنية المربوطة بشرائط قرنفلية <b>تستلقي</b> عند كوعه، إحداها مفتوحة أمامه. لقد <b>عرفت</b> تلك الحافظات: فهي <b>تحتوي</b> على سجلات للرسوم والضرائب التي <b>تعود</b> إلى خمسين عاما.  (2004: 111)	There <b>was</b> a man <b>sitting</b> at my desk in the office behind the courtroom. I <b>have not seen</b> him before, but the insignia on his lilac-blue jacket <b>told</b> me that he <b>belonged</b> to the Third Bureau of National Guards.  A pile of folders for brown papers tied by pink ribbon <b>lay</b> at his elbow. One of them <b>was</b> open before him. I <b>recognised</b> these folders: they <b>contained</b> records of tax and levies dating back fifty years.
3.12b.	ʕabdullāh	<b>يجلس</b> رجل إلى منضدتي في المكتب خلف قاعة المحكمة. لم أراه من قبل مطلقا ولكن علامة على سترته الأرجوانية-الزرقاء <b>تقول</b> لي أنه <b>ينتمي</b> إلى المكتب الثالث للحرس المدني. كمية الملفات البنية مرزومة بأشرطة وردية <b>تستقر</b> عند مرفقه، أحدها مفتوح أمامه. <b>أتعرف</b> إلى الملفات: إنها <b>تتضمن</b> تقارير عن الضرائب والجباية <b>تعود</b> إلى ما قبل خمسين عاما.  (2004: 110)	A man <b>sits</b> at my desk in the office behind the courtroom. I <b>have</b> never ever <b>seen</b> him before, but the insignia on his lilac-blue jacket <b>says</b> to me that he <b>belongs</b> to the Third Bureau of Civil Guards. An amount of brown files tied with pink ribbon <b>lies</b> at his elbow, one of which is open before him. I <b>recognise</b>

			the files: they <b>contain</b> reports of taxes and levies.
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Just like the ST example, in ʕabdullāh’s TT counterpart, the Magistrate is set in the here-and-now temporal frame of reference. The event described here is located in the present moment relative to the enunciation time as a result of the choice of using the imperfect tense (e.g. يجلس رجل [A man sits]; أتعرف إلى الملفات [I recognise the files]). Thus, the convergence of reporting time and acting time is conveyed in the TT. This instance highlights the translator’s general concern for the original narrative tense by maintaining that the moment of engagement in acting corresponds to that of telling.

In contrast, although Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT, to some extent, shows the influence of the ST over it, mainly in terms of retaining the length of the passage, logical relations among clauses and lexical and syntactic structure, this influence does not extend to include the renderings of the ST narrative choice. Clearly exhibiting a tense shift, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s textual choices in transposing the ST excerpt ground the event in the past, since he chooses to start the episode by using the perfect form of the auxiliary ‘verb to be’ كان هناك رجل يجلس طاولتي (كان [There was a man sitting to my desk]), which points to temporally distal events with regard to the speech situation. It is also noticeable that the use of the perfect tense, *not* the perfect form, is consistent (e.g. أخبرتني [told me], عرفت [I realised]) in this instance, while, the use of imperfect form subordinates the temporal reference of the opening sentence (e.g. يجلس [sits], ينتمي [belongs]). This consistency is found throughout the entire episode and extends to characterise the whole chapter of the translated narrative. In doing so, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn normalises the ST narrative tense in the TT, since the use of the perfect tense is ultimately narrative in function in MSA. Moreover, the resort to the perfect tense in the TT on a substantial and consistent basis serves the purpose of setting the narrating time apart from the experiencing time. So, what we encounter here is a mimetic mode of narration. That is, what is relayed is read as a product of experienced actions that indeed belong to the Magistrate as character and to the story level, while at the discourse level, the Magistrate as a narrator recounts his lived experiences from the perspective of his wise and matured-self. In other words, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn has the Magistrate report the memories of his distal past. In

this respect, the narrator-character is somehow equated, for instance, with real autobiographical authors. This, in turn, leads to eliminating the singularity of the original, which, by employing the simultaneous present tense, communicates the effect of anti-mimetic representation of narration: meshing of telling and living, and then the collapse of discourse and story. Hence, in contrast to Coetzee’s ST and ʕabdullāh’s TT, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT provides us with a retrospective mode of narration by dis-anchoring the Magistrate in the fictional world, which, in turn, affects the ST temporal point of view in translation.

Contrary to Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s consistency in framing the ST into the normative view of the first-person narrative, ʕabdullāh’s TT features more lapses in retaining the simultaneous present tense. On some occasions, the Magistrate appears to carry out the impossibility of living and telling, but does not on others. This fluctuation might follow from the difficulty of sustaining this strategy over the course of a work of fiction as pointed out by DelConte (2003: 104-5), as well as from the fact that this mode of narration is new to the MSA conventional writings. Throughout her translation, 21 instances of tense shift are recorded. A close examination of the instances of shift reveal that of the total number of tense shifts, there are 15 instances in which ʕabdullāh alternates between the imperfect and perfect tenses. In the remaining four instances, where the shifts are identified, the episodes are narrated in the historical present tense. Consider the translation of the following excerpt, in which the ST original temporal frame is shifted toward the past in the TT:

		Examples	Back-translation
3.13	Coetzee	A torpor <b>is</b> already beginning to settle over the town. The morning’s work <b>is</b> over: anticipating the heat of midday, people <b>are retiring</b> to their shaded courtyards or to the cool green of inner rooms. The babble of water in the street-furrows <b>dies</b> down and <b>stops</b> . All I can hear <b>is</b> the clink of the farrier’s hammer, the cooing of turtledoves, and somewhere far away the wail of a baby.	-

		(2004: 114)	
3.13a.	Ṣabdullāh	سبات قد بدا الان يستقر فوق البلدة، انتهت أعمال الصباح: موقعين طوال مدة حرارة منتصف النهار، يبدأ الناس في العودة إلى باحتهم المظلة، أو إلى غرفهم الداخلية الباردة. بلبلة الماء في اخاديد الشوارع تخمد وتتوقف. كل ما أتمكن من سماعه هو تكتكة مطرقة البيطري، سجع طيور القمرية، وفي مكان ما بعيد جدا، صوت نحب طفل. (2004: 134)	Sleep <b>has</b> now <b>begun settling</b> over the town. The morning's work <b>was finished</b> : anticipating the length of heat of midday, the people <b>start</b> returning to their shaded courtyard, or to their inner cold rooms. The babble of water in the gullies of the streets <b>dies</b> and <b>stops</b> . All I can hear <b>is</b> the clink of a vet physician's hammer, the cooing of lunar birds, and somewhere far away the sound of a baby's cry.

In Example 3.13, which is a highly descriptive scene, it is clearly notable that the Magistrate reports the actions as unfolding before his eyes. In contrast, in 3.13a, Ṣabdullāh makes an adjustment to this ST's instance. By employing the perfect tense at the beginning of this fragment, she evidently foregrounds the time of the events in the past (انتهت أعمال الصباح [the morning's work was finished]). However, in the rest of the scene, she switches to the imperfect tense (e.g., يبدأ [start], تخمد [dies down]). Hence, the narrator-character ceases to fulfill the role of living and telling, and at the same time, however, he is depicted as indulging in his past, evoking a sense of aliveness to his memories. Thus, this shift helps to assimilate the TT into the well-known commonsensical view held of the first-person narratives.

The shift in the narrative tense affects not only the positioning of the narrator-character in time, but also the interpretation of the ST and the portrayal of the Magistrate. One important aspect of the ST mode of narration is its contribution to the Magistrate's complicity, the concealment of how the character will develop, the constant re-evaluation of his ideological stance. To illustrate, toward the end of the above episode, the Magistrate is deemed to be cooperating with the barbarians, the enemy of the Empire and then is imprisoned. On the way to his cell, he provides us with a judgment on his current situation: his relationship with the Empire comes to an end. This, in turn, bestows on him a great deal of happiness and freedom. Such an evaluation comes as a result of his on-going experience, his increasing awareness, from the way he grasps his immediate stance as opposed to the Empire's (emphasis added):

		Examples	Back-translation
3.14	Coetzee	<p>There <b>is</b> a spring in my walk as I <b>am marched</b> away to confinement between my two guards. "I <b>hope</b> you will allow me to wash," I <b>say</b>, but they <b>ignore</b> me. Never mind.</p> <p>I <b>am</b> aware of the source of my elation: my alliance with the guardians of the Empire <b>is</b> over, I <b>have set</b> myself in opposition, the bond <b>is</b> broken, I <b>am</b> a free man.</p> <p>(2004: 85)</p>	-
3.14a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	<p>كنت أفقر في مشيتي عندما ابتعدت عن القيد بين حراسي الأثنين. «أرجو أن تسمحوا لي بالاغتسال» تجاهلوني. لا بأس. أعرف مصدر جذلي: فقد انتهى تحالفي مع حراس الإمبراطورية. ووضعت نفسي في المعارضة، وأنكسر القيد. وبت رجلا حرا الآن. (2004: 112)</p>	<p>I <b>was jumping</b> in my walk when I <b>moved</b> away from the cuff between my two guards. "I hope you allow me to wash," they <b>ignored</b> me. Never mind. I <b>came</b> to know the source of my delight: my alliance with the guardians of the Empire <b>was</b> over, I <b>put</b> myself in opposition, the bond <b>broke</b>, I <b>became</b> a free man now.</p>
3.14b	Ṣabdullāh	<p>هناك حيوية في مشيتي بينما أفاد بين حراسي إلى السجن. أقول: «أمل أن تسمحوا لي بالاغتسال». ولكنهما يتجاهلاني. لا بأس. أنا مدرك لمصدر زهوي: تحالفي مع حراس الإمبراطورية قد انتهى، فقد وضعت نفسي في المعارضة، القيد انكسر. أنا رجل سعيد. (2004: 111)</p>	<p>There <b>is</b> vitality in my walk while I <b>am led</b> to the prison between my two guards. I <b>say</b>: "I hope you allow me to wash". They <b>ignore</b> me. Never mind. I <b>am</b> aware of the source of my pride: my alliance with the guardians of the Empire has been over, I <b>have put</b> myself in opposition, the bond <b>broke</b>, I <b>am</b> a free man.</p>

This instance is a good illustration that shows a departure from the simultaneity of living and telling to a retrospective mode of narration (i.e., normalisation), not only in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's translation, but also in Ṣabdullāh's. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT again reveals a tense shift. As mentioned above, the TT remains consistent with the use of the perfect tense in the entire

chapter. So the event is located in a particular point in the past relative to the enunciation moment (e.g., كنت أففز [I was jumping], بت رجلا حرا [I became a free man]). It is of immense importance to note that at the beginning of the TT third paragraph, the temporal reference of the imperfect form (i.e., أعرف مصدر جذلي [I came to know the source of my delight]), is determined by the context of the description of the events which is deictically past established at the outset of the episode by Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn. As a consequence, the Magistrate in the TT is evidently anchored in the there-and-then situation rather than here-and-now situation as in the ST. Similarly, although maintaining a close correspondence to the ST by producing syntactic-calquing translation and conforming to the ST sentence breaks and punctuation, Ṣabdullāh's TT does not retain the narrative tense of the original over the entire episode by rendering the Magistrate's reflection on his key moment into the perfect tense (القيد انكسر [the bond broke]). In doing so, the focus is shifted towards the Magistrate as only a narrator, and then the TT is construed as triggering a temporal gap between the experiencing-I and narrating-I. Thus, the flow of simultaneity of living and telling is interrupted and the translated narrative is moved towards the mimetic mode of narration.

This shift in the two TTs has its consequences for the development of the narrative and for its overall design. The two translators opt to use the perfect tense in transferring the Magistrate's reflection on the source of his jubilation that separates the temporal distance between the narrating-I from and narrated-I ('my alliance with the guardians of the Empire is over [...] the bond is broken'). This leads to representing the Magistrate in the TTs as though he is able to shape his narrative act according to his pre-existing knowledge; he appears to be empowered by having the privilege to reflect on his past experience from the perspective of his matured self. In other words, the Magistrate is portrayed as if he is the wise man, fully aware of himself, providing an opinion on his past, younger self. Furthermore, this shift in the narrative tense here enhances the teleological development of the narrative, taken out in the ST. The readerly experience offered by the TTs is as follows: we can infer that the narrator-character has already decided to stand against the Empire, so the reason behind embarking on a journey to deliver the black barbarians home is to put himself in the opposition and to set himself free, something the narrator-character has not foreseen as a result of the use of simultaneous present tense narration.

This key moment is in fact very well-connected to the Magistrate's growing experience and self-awareness. So rendering this key moment in the perfect tense, the TTs push towards resolving or even erasing the Magistrate's intricacies and then taking out this sense of his gradually built experience. A few pages later, we come to know that the narrator-character's stance is subject to revision after he spends two months in the prison. He reevaluates his opposition from which his freedom emanates and finds himself less confident in the cause he gladly embraces. This ambivalence as a result of his incomplete experience is clearly foregrounded by the use of the simultaneous present tense:

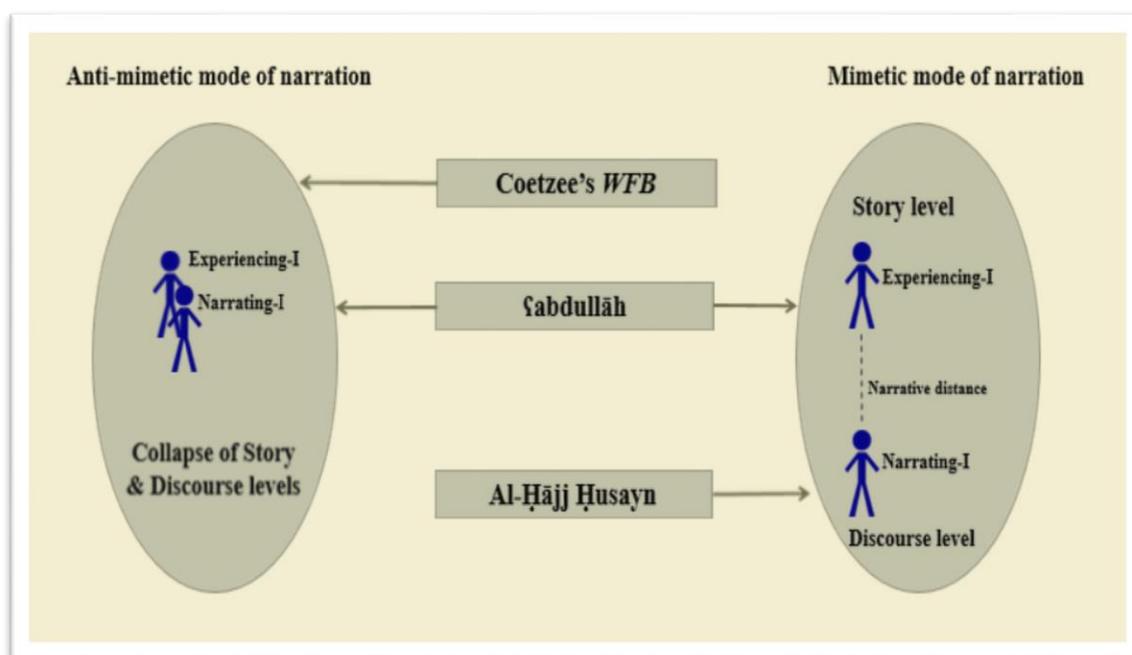
		Examples	Back-translation
3.15	Coetzee	I <b>walked</b> into that cell a sane man sure of the rightness of my cause, however incompetent I <b>continue</b> to find myself to describe what the cause may be; but after two months among the cockroaches with nothing to see but four walls [...] I <b>am much less sure of myself</b> . <small>(2004: 104-5)</small>	-
3.15a	Al-Hājj Husayn	مشيت في الزنزانة رجلا عاقلا متاكدا من صواب قضيتي، ووجدت نفسي اني غير مؤهل لتوصيف هذه القضية، لكن بعد شهرين من الحياة بين الصراصير لا ارى شيئا الا الجدران الاربعة [...] لقد ضعفت ثقفتي بنفسي. <small>(2004: 35-6)</small>	I <b>walked</b> in the cell a sane man sure of the rightness of his cause, I <b>found</b> myself disqualified to describe this cause, however after two months of living among the cockroaches, I <b>saw</b> nothing but the four walls [...] <b>My self-confidence had weakened</b> .
3.15b	ʿabdullāh	سرت إلى داخل الزنزانة رجلا سليم العقل، واثقا بعدالة قضيتي، مهما كنت غير كفاء، فإبني اواصل الحكم على نفسي، لوصف ماذا يجب ان تكون تلك القضية. ولكن بعد شهرين بين الصراصير دون شيء تقع عليه عيناى الا الجدران الاربعة [...] انا اقل ثقة بنفسى الى حد كبير. <small>(2004: 37)</small>	I <b>walked</b> into the cell a man with a sound mind, sure of the justice of his cause, whether I <b>was</b> incompetent, I <b>continue</b> judging myself, to describe what that cause must be. However, after two months among the cockroaches and with nothing that my eyes <b>land</b> on but the four walls [...] I

			<b>am less self-confident to a great degree.</b>
--	--	--	--

In Şabdullāh’s TT, the impact of the Magistrate’s complicity is extremely minimised, because of not sustaining the simultaneous present tense. In fact, she alternates between the imperfect tense (anti-mimetic mode of narration) with regard to the lack of self-confidence in the Magistrate’s cause, and the perfect tense in relation to his judgment on his happiness and freedom (retrospective mode of narration), while it is utterly left out in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s, apparently owing to the fact that the here-and-now new-self perspective assumed by the Magistrate as a narrator in reporting his lived experience is evidenced in the consistent use of the perfect tense.

Overall, the ST simultaneous present tense, employed there as an effective stylistic device, is considerably altered in translation. This alteration clearly impacts the original temporal point of view and changes the ST mode of narration from anti-mimetic into substantially mimetic in the two translations. Figure 3.1 offers an overview of the ST mode of narration in contrast to its TTs counterparts.

**Figure 3.1.** ST mode of narration in contrast to its TT counterparts



Consequently, the translations represent a deviation from the style of the original. Principally, the original narrator-character's temporal coordinates are displaced in translation. The Magistrate is made to relay his past experience rather than to tell it as it is unfolding in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT. By contrast, in Ṣabdullāh's TT, his dual function of telling as experiencing is not consistently maintained; in some narrative stretches, the synchrony of narrating-self and experiencing-self is introduced, while it is suppressed in others. In what follows, I will further investigate the ST spatio-temporal point of view in translation by concentrating on a number of the ST place and time deictic elements, to account for the shifts in the ST system of deixis and their potential effect on the interpretations of the ST as well as to see whether the alteration of the ST narrative tense have an effect on the other deictic expressions.

### 3.7 Place and Time *Deictics*

The system of deixis is characterised by its universality; that is, each living language allows its users room to ground a given utterance in time and place in relation to the I-here-and-now of the enunciator. I have pointed out that the English language operates within a system of a binary opposition (proximal vs. distal), a system that is also applicable to the TL. MSA grammaticises proximity and remoteness by using certain deictic terms in addition to the demonstrative pronouns. Table 3.1 below lists the SL spatial and temporal deictic elements under investigation and their TL standard equivalents (just like in English, the TL demonstrative pronouns can be used to express spatiality as well as temporality).

**Table 3.1.** English temporal terms and their MSA correspondents

<i>Deictics</i>		<b>MSA</b>		<b>English</b>
<b>Proximals</b>				
		الآن		now
		masc.	fem.	
	Singular	هذا	هذه	this
	Dual	هذان	هاتان	these

	Plural	أولى، هؤلاء		
	-	(ه) هنا		here
<b>Distals</b>				
	Singular	ذاك (ذلك)	تلك	that
	Dual	ذانك	تانك	those
	Plural	أولئك		
	-	هناك، هنالك		there

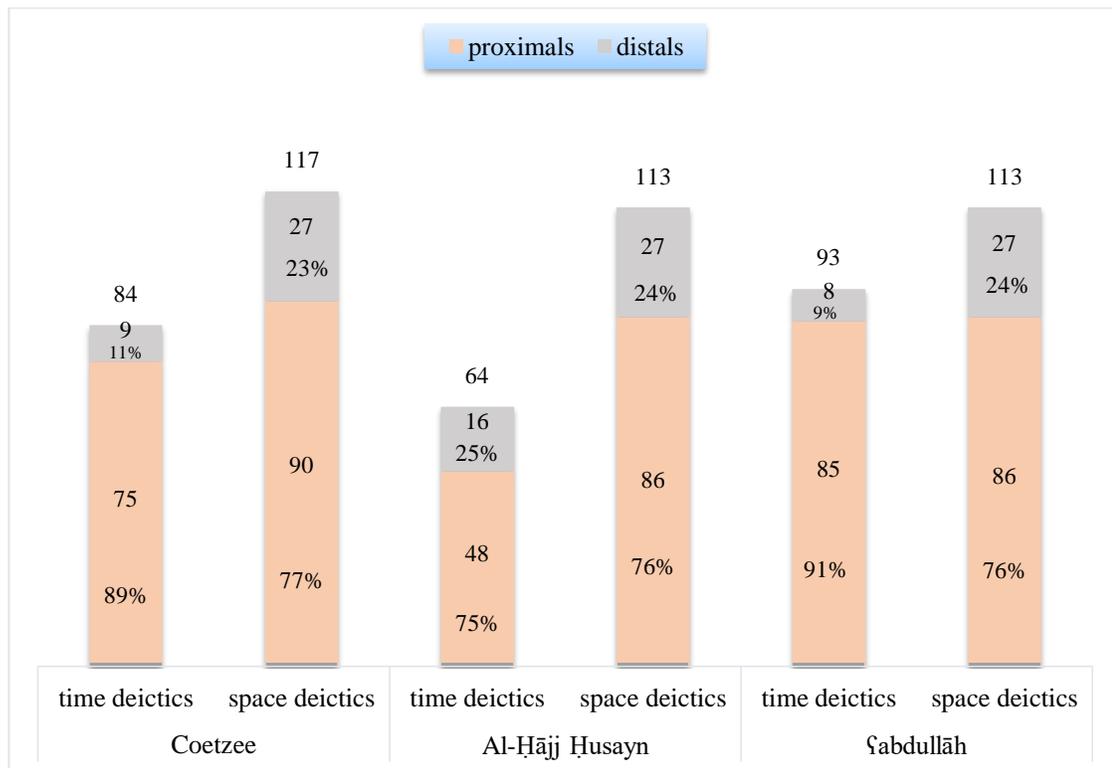
As can be seen from Table 3.1, the typical systemic approximation of the English time deictic term *now* is الآن. As with English, however, there are various other expressions at the disposal of the translators, among which are *في هذه اللحظة* (at this moment), *توا، للتو، (right now)* حالا، *في* (at once), that can be utilised to approximately convey the meaning of *now*. So, in the analysis, which is conducted manually, I find it very important to examine whether the translator attempts to compensate for the omission of the deictic term *now* by including near-synonym expressions, or on the other hand, adds such expressions in the TT. In contrast to English, which is gender-neutral and does not have the dual system, the MSA deictic terms, i.e., the demonstrative pronouns, are marked for gender and number and case. Furthermore, the MSA proximal terms are often prefixed with the morpheme هـ, which functions as a feature drawing the attention of the language receiver (i.e., hearer/reader), while the morphemes ك and ل are attached to their distal counterparts. The MSA proximal هذه and its distal counterpart تلك are used to refer to plural inanimate entities. In respect of the spatial markers, expressing proximity relative to the enunciator's standpoint, the MSA هنا is used and the morpheme ها is sometimes prefixed with it, a morpheme employed to attract the language receiver's attention, whereas the morpheme ك is suffixed to its distal counterpart هناك. It is to be noted that the MSA adverb هنالك denotes a relatively farther distance than the other MSA adverb, which, in fact, records one occurrence in each translation, namely هناك. The following sections are concerned with the translation of the ST deictic terms.

### 3.7.1 Quantitative Results

Figure 3.2 below shows the distribution of the spatial and temporal *deictics* in the ST and the TTs. The figure indicates there is a clear difference between the ST and the TTs in terms of

the frequency of time deictic expressions. The ST comprises 84 occurrences of the deictic terms: 75 proximal terms as opposed to 9 distal ones. In contrast, ʕabdullāh’s TT features slightly more proximal *deictics* (9 occurrences) than the ST with 93 occurrences of time *deictic* terms (85 proximals and 8 distals), whereas Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT, which contains 64 deictic terms (48 proximals and 16 distals), obviously involves more reduction in the proximals and more additions of the distal terms.

**Figure 3.2.** Distribution of proximal and distal *deictics* in ST and TTs



These raw data clearly suggest that it is not only the narrative tense that is involved in the shift in the TTs, but also the temporal deictic expressions. Furthermore, they point to the fact that there is a loss of framing of the narrator-character in his fictional world and that there are other temporal deictic terms entering in the TT as manifested in the total number of the *deictics* recorded in ʕabdullāh’s TT. Hence, the frequency of time *deictics* in the TTs evidently enhances the intervention on the part of the translators in rendering the ST temporal point of view as identified in the narrative tense.

As for the place deictic expressions, there is an inconsiderable difference between the ST and the two TTs; indeed, a similarity can almost be drawn between the two in terms of the distribution of the proximal and distal terms found. With the total number of 117 occurrences of the place *deictics*, the ST has a higher number of frequency of proximal elements (90 occurrences), specifically containing 4 more proximal *deictics* than the two TTs, each with 86 proximal terms, whilst the distal terms in the ST are as frequent as those of the TTs, accounting for 27 occurrences, apiece.

Thus, we get the impression that the two translators are more prone to retain the place *deictics*, since the spatial coordinates of the story being told are better determined in comparison to their temporal counterparts. Thus, taking as my premise the statistical data, in what follows I will only look closely at what underwent in the occurrences of ST time deictic terms, which allows me to identify the types of shift found and to determine the impact of these shifts on the interpretation of the ST.

### 3.7.2 ST Temporal *Deictics* in Translation

As noted above, the ST is characterised by a higher frequency of the temporal proximal terms. This abundant use should come as no surprise, since these proximal terms are appropriate for the system of the simultaneous present tense, which, as discussed above, does not provide the Magistrate with latitude to oscillate between the past and present, between his younger and older selves, and then to fully grasp his stance and evaluate his experience. Creating a proximating effect, this high frequency of the proximals shows how greatly he is involved in his current situation in the sense that he is merely the prisoner of the present moment and his awareness is restricted to the on-going events, and it then contributes to his complexity. To illustrate, consider the use of *now* in the following excerpt, in which the narrator-character, on his way back to the Empire's post, has a remarkable revelation about himself and is engaged in weighing his current stance (emphasis added):

Example 3.16 (Coetzee 2004: 82)

I think with yearning of the familiar routine of my duties, of the approaching summer [...] Only days since I parted from that other one, and I find her face hardening over in my memory, becoming opaque, impermeable, as though secreting a shell over itself. Plodding across the salt I catch myself in a moment of astonishment that I could have loved someone from so remote a kingdom. All I want **now** is to live out my life in ease in a familiar world, to die in my own bed and be followed to the grave by old friends.

Here, the deictic term *now* does not only function as orientating the fictional world to the audience from the narrator-character's vantage point, as a reminder of his report localised in the moment of speaking, but also sheds light on how much he is indulged in the immediate situation, foregrounding his desire to lead a tranquil life. The use of *now* here marks a point of transition in his attitude or position.

Another telling passage, numbered for the convenience of reference, denotes the effect of involvement on the part of the narrator-character in his present situation (emphasis added):

Example 3.17 (Coetzee 2004: 88)

- (1) Always I find in myself **this moment** of shrinking from the details of what went on in here.
- (2) After that she had no father. Her father had annihilated himself, he was a dead man. (3) It must have been at **this point**, when she closed herself off to him, that he threw himself upon his interrogators, if there is any truth in their story, and clawed at them like a wild animal until he was clubbed down.

The proximal deictic *this* in (1) is a marked choice in the sense that it sustains the subjective experience of the Magistrate, an experience that falls short of accommodating and fully describing the agonies of those who are tortured by Colonel Joll and his soldiers. In (3) the proximal *this*, by contrast, aims to single out and lay importance on this significant moment to the black barbarian, in which she withdraws into herself and away from her father. In this regard, expounding the effect of the marked choice of *this* in *The Fire and the Hearth*, Toolan (1990: 179) argues that, in addition to consolidating the immediacy of the scene, the use of the proximal term with the past tense in the novel is construed as stressing on the particular

look worn and given by Lucas to Edmonds, a look that is identified as one in a chain. Hence, the marked deictic terms establishes the Magistrate's absorption, as well as inviting the readers to get immersed in his tale.

By contrast, enhancing the simultaneous mode of narration, the ST exhibits very few occasions (6 occurrences), in which the unmarked deictic elements such as *that* are employed, as shown in the following two instances (emphasis added):

Example 3.18 (Coetzee 2004: 88)

Or perhaps by **that time** she could not see, and had to know by other means: the tone his voice took on when he pleaded with them to stop, for instance.

Example 3.19 (Coetzee 2004: 75)

The girl is bleeding, **that time** of the month has come for her. She cannot conceal it, she has no privacy, there is not the merest bush to hide behind. She is upset and the men are upset. It is the old story: a woman's flux is bad luck, bad for the crops, bad for the hunt, bad for the horses.

In Example 3.18, the Magistrate, locked in the same cell used for interrogating and torturing the alleged enemy, the barbarians, tries to re-construct what had happened to the black barbarian and her father, highlighting their agonies. His report on this previous event is obviously predicated on his limited knowledge, as evidenced in introducing the epistemic modal *perhaps* in the beginning of this Example. The distal term *that* used here is one of the very few occurrences (i.e., 5 occurrences) recorded in Chapter Four, which clearly places the narrated event, his imaginative description of the black barbarian girl, in a past point of reference in relation to the narrator-character's temporal coordinates. Hence, it functions to highlight the detachment of the narrator-character (Fowler 1996: 120). In the same vein, the Magistrate resorts to the unmarked choice as in Example 3.20, which mainly serves the purpose of psychologically, emotionally distancing the Magistrate from the barbarian's girl's period which is viewed as a bad omen, pointing to his fears of what might happen to them as

a consequence of the arrival of the time of period; this is further sustained by associating the girl's bleeding with the miserable chain of misfortune that originated in 'the old story'.

The discrepancy between the ST and the TTs in terms of the number of the *deictics* occurrences gives a clear-cut indication of the existence of shifts in the TTs. Through a thorough comparison between the original and its translations, 3 major categories of shifts are identified: (1) shifts from the proximals to the distals, (2) omissions of the *deictics* and (3) additions of the *deictics*. There is one minor shift recorded in ʕabdullāh's TT, which is the change of the noun phrase (NP) following the proximal *this*. This type of shift registers only one occurrence. It should be noted that the analysis at this point does not account for shifts stemming from the dispositioning of the temporal deictic terms within the clauses. In fact, I found only one occurrence in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT in which the ST proximal *now* is postposed in translation. The displacement of time elements in the clause will be discussed under the analysis of thematic structure in the following chapter. Table 3.2. below accounts for the frequency of these shifts in the TTs, which I return to through the analysis of types of shift in the ST *deictics*:

**Table 3.2.** Frequency of categories of deictic shift in the TTs

n	Categories of shifts in the <i>deictics</i>	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	ʕabdullāh
1.	Shift from proximal to distal <i>deictics</i>	5	0
2.	Omissions of <i>deictics</i>	26	7
3.	Additions of <i>deictics</i>	15	15
4.	<i>This</i> + NP	0	1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>22</b>

As indicated in the table above, there are more shifts recorded in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT with 48 occurrences, in comparison to ʕabdullāh's, registering 22 occasions of shift. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn also exhibits a tendency towards omitting temporal deictic terms (26 occurrences), in contrast to ʕabdullāh who is more consistent in retaining them; her TT shows 7 instances of this kind of shift. Moreover, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT involve 5 occasions on which the ST

proximal temporal terms are rendered as their distal counterparts, while in Şabdullāh's TT there is no single instance identified under the category of shift from proximal to distal *deictics*.

On a closer look at these types of shift, there emerge two shifting trends: distancing and proximating. The analysis reveals that Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, in which most of the ST proximal *deictics* are shifted, displays a more frequent shifting trend towards distance. This is manifested in the abundance of particularly omission of the ST proximals and insertion of the TL distal terms, as will be seen. This can also be shown in shifting the ST proximal terms into distal ones. Hence, the general impression proffered by the translator is that of alienating. In contrast, Şabdullāh's TT evinces an opposite shifting trend, a proximity trend, mainly by adding more TL proximal terms, which then communicates a sense of over-involvement on the part of the narrator-character in his narrative, a stance that is not intended in the ST. In other words, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT shows a predominance of distancing shifts over proximating ones, whereas Şabdullāh's TT exhibits a pattern of proximating shifts. My findings are in line with those of Mason and Şerban (2003) who identify the same two shifting trends in their investigation of deictic elements in a corpus composed of Romanian works of fiction and their English translations. In the remaining sections, I will discuss in-depth these two shifting patterns in the TTs by closely looking at the recorded translational categories of shifts, as well as showing the effects of these shifts on the global level of the original narrative in translation.

### **3.7.2.1 Shift from Proximal to Distal *Deictics***

This type of shift is only limited to the proximal deictic *this* which is transposed as the distal *that* in the TTs. In contrast to the other two major categories of shifts recorded, the occurrences of shifts subsumed under this category register the lowest accounting only for 5 occurrences, all of which are found in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, while Şabdullāh's TT does not involve any instance in which the proximals are shifted into their distal counterparts. Only found in Chapter Four, all these shift occurrences are listed below (emphasis added):

n	Coetzee	n	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	Back-translation
3.20	Have I truly enjoyed the unbounded freedom of <b>this past year</b> in which more than ever before my life has been mine to make up as I go along? (2004: 85)	3.20a	هل استمتعت حقًا بالحرية غير المحدودة لتلك السنة الفائتة التي أصبحت فيها حياتي ملكا لي أكثر مما مضى لأعوض في المستقبل؟ (2004: 112)	Did I truly enjoy the unlimited freedom of <b>that past year</b> in which my life had become mine more than before to compensate myself for in future?
3.21	It must have been at <b>this point</b> , when she closed herself off to him, that he threw himself upon his interrogators. (2004: 88)	3.21a	لا بد أنها في تلك اللحظة رمت نفسها عليه وأنه في تلك اللحظة رمى نفسه على المحققين. (2004: 115)	She must have in <b>that moment</b> thrown herself on her father and he must have in <b>that</b> moment thrown himself on his interrogators.
3.22	I am so cold that my teeth chatter; but at <b>this moment</b> all that occupies me is the palliation of the pain in my back. (2004: 101)	3.22a	كنت بردانا حتى أسناني اصطكت، لكن ما كان يشغل بالي في تلك اللحظة هو تسكين الألم في ظهري. (2004: 131)	I was cold that even my teeth chatter; but what had occupied me at <b>that moment</b> was to relieving the pain in my back.
3.23	What have I been doing all <b>this time</b> , pressing myself upon such flowerlike soft-petalled children not only on her,— on the other one too? (2004: 106)	3.23a	ماذا كنت أفعل طوال ذلك الوقت، أفرض نفسي على هؤلاء الأطفال الناعمين الذين يشبهون الأزاهير، ليست هي فقط ولكن هو أيضا. (2004: 138-9)	What I have been doing all <b>that time</b> , I forced myself upon these soft children who are like flowers, not just her, but him too.
3.24	If anyone asks you about <b>this evening</b> , say I took you out for a walk, for exercise, nothing more. (2004: 111)	3.24a	وإذا سألك أحدهم عن تلك الأمسية قل إنني أخذتك للتنفس، والترييض، ولا كلمة زيادة على ذلك. (2004: 143)	If anyone asks you about <b>that evening</b> , say I took you for breathing, for exercise, and no words more than that.

It is conspicuous that apart from Example 3.21, in which the past tense is used, all Examples are evidently grounded in a proximate time relative to the moment of speaking as manifested

in the use of the simultaneous present tense accompanied by the appropriate proximal deictic terms (i.e. *this*). In other words, the use of the proximal deictic system here reinforces the present moment of the narrator-character. In their TT counterparts, by contrast, the narrative tense is shifted into the retrospective tense. This shift seemingly leads Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn to make more adjustment to the use of the proximal *deictics*. That is, by opting for the distal term (تلك [that]) in Example 3.21, it is highly plausible that he attempts to draw a kind of logical parallelism between the choice of the MSA perfect tense and the use of تلك (that), which consistently localises the events in the past temporal point of reference. A similar observation is made by Mason and Şerban (2003: 282) who find that the Romanian ST *deictics* are shifted into their distal counterparts in the English TTs, in an attempt to bring them in line with the choice of the tense (i.e. past tense). This, in their view, denotes a consistency between the occurrence of an event and its temporal reference, which, in turn, causes a change in the deictic projection (ibid.). Hence, what is offered in the TT is the use of the distal deictic terms in the translation that orients the events from the deictic centre to that of the experiencing-I, the Magistrate as a character. The translations of the proximal *deictics* here further sustain the argument: the TT foregrounds the split between the experiencing-I and the narrating-I and then between the time of the narrated and that of the narrating.

As discussed above, the ST options for marked deictic systemic resources (i.e., proximal *deictics*) are construed as expressing the active subjectivity of the Magistrate. The occurrences of *this* here clearly place emphasis on these identified moments in narration as well as foregrounding the Magistrate's emotional tensions, as in Example 3.21. The appearance of proximal *deictics* overwhelmingly triggers the extreme involvement on the part of the narrator-character in his fictional world. In contrast, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn chooses to use more objective, unmarked *deictics*, the distal *that* in his translation which discernibly nullifies this effect, creating a sense of passivity, and then the level of the intensity in the Magistrate's discourse appears to be attenuated.

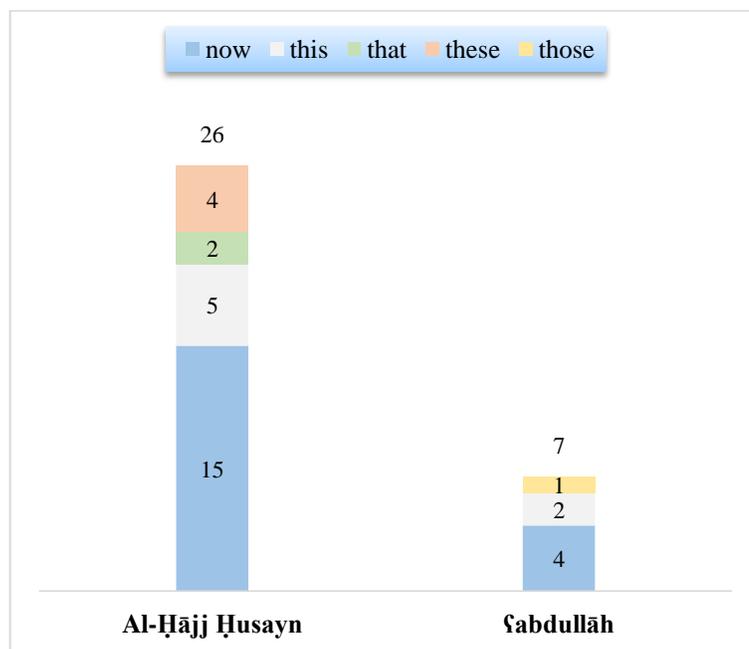
Interestingly, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT does not include any instance in which the ST distal terms are rendered as proximal ones. That is, apparently he does not go against the identified norm,

as evidenced in his predominance pattern of shifting toward distance, a shift that corresponds to the system of tense chosen in the TT. Hence, this supports my assumption that in his TT, the general impression offered is the detachment of the Magistrate, the alienating effect.

### 3.7.2.2 Omission of *Deictics*

The two TTs exhibit a loss of the original temporal frame as shown in Figure 3.3 below.

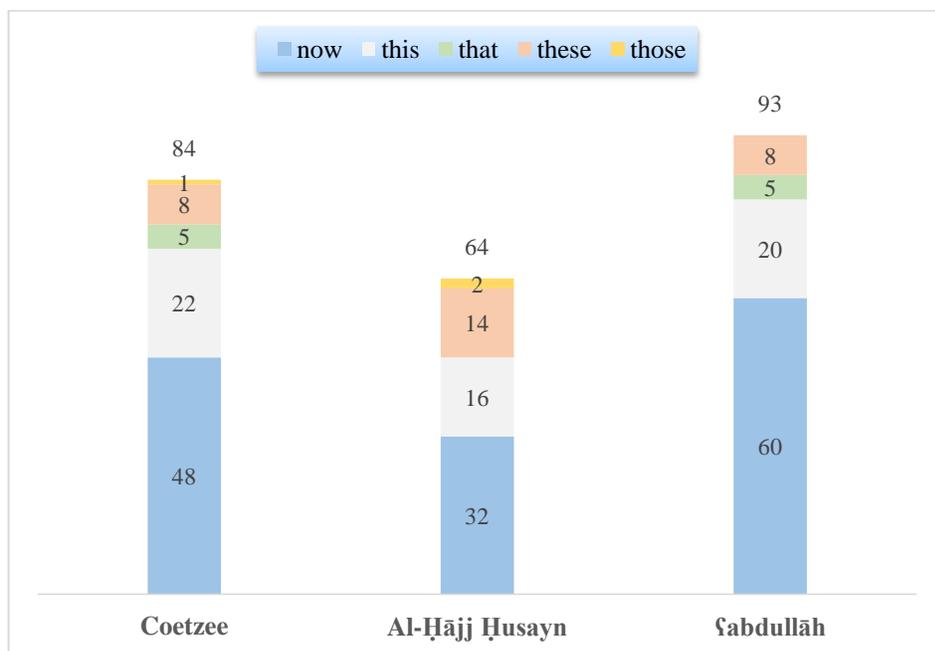
Figure 3.3. Frequency of omission shifts in TTs



Of the overall number of ST investigated deictic occurrences, 84, there are 33 occurrences of omission shifts recorded in the two TTs. Out of these 33 occurrences, there are 26 omissions found in Al-Hājj Ḥusayn's TT: 24 omissions of the proximal terms and 2 of the distal ones. There is a high frequency in the omission of the ST proximal *now*, accounting for 15 of the ST total number (48). The occurrences of each individual deictic term investigated are provided in Figure 3.4 below. In the second place comes *this* with 5 occurrences of omission, while the remaining 7 occurrences of omission are 4 of *these*, and 2 of *that*. By contrast, showing a considerably lower number of omission shifts, Ṣabdullāh's TT features only 7 occurrences of omission: 6 of the proximals (4 of *now* and 2 of *this*) and

one of the distal *those*. The two TTs involve more omissions of *now* than any other terms. Moreover, taking into consideration the small number of the distal terms (9 occurrences) in the ST, the number of omissions of the distals in the TTs is substantially lower (4 occurrences) in comparison to those of the proximals (29 occurrences). Generally, these figures suggest that ʕabdullāh’s TT closely adheres to the ST in terms of retaining most of the deictic terms, which, in turn, preserves, in large part, the ST temporal coordinates and at the same time signals more or less the same degree of intensity experienced in the original.

Figure 3.4. Frequency of time *deictics* in ST and TTs



In contrast, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn shows a high tendency to eliminate more often the ST proximal *deictics*. This might be attributed to the consistency he evinces in the translation of the simultaneous present tense into the perfect tense: setting the narrating-I apart from the narrated-I, which seemingly has an effect on the renderings of the proximals. In this respect, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT disrupts the ST temporal positioning of the narrator-character, as well as diminishing the Magistrate’s varying levels of involvement in the narrative. The following examples offer an opportunity to explore the omission effect of the proximals in the TTs on the ST temporal point of view, as well as the indulgence of the protagonist in his tale (emphasis added):

		Examples	Back-translation
3.25	Coetzee	<p><b>This</b> is the last time to look on her clearly face to face, to scrutinize the motions of my heart, to try to understand who she really is: hereafter, I know, I will begin to re-form her out of my repertoire of memories according to my questionable desires.</p> <p>(2004: 79)</p>	
3.25a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	<p>إنها المرة الأخيرة التي أراها فيها وجها لوجه، وأتفحص حركات قلبي، محاولاً أن أفهم من هي: فيما بعد أعرف أنني سأبدأ بتشكيل صورتها من ذخيرة ذكرياتي تبعا لما تستدعيه رغباتي المشكوك فيها.</p> <p>(2004: 105)</p>	<p><b>It</b> was the last time that I saw her face to face and I examined the motions of my heart trying to understand who she was: later on I came to know that I would start to re-form her image out of assets of my memories according to my questionable desires.</p>
3.26	Coetzee	<p>The circuit is made, everyone has a chance to see the twelve miserable captives, to prove to his children that the barbarians are real. <b>Now</b> the crowd, myself reluctantly in its wake, flows towards the great gate, where a half-moon of soldiers blocks its way [...].</p> <p>(2004: 113)</p>	
3.26a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	<p>شكلت الدائرة وتمكن الجميع من رؤية الاثني عشر أسيرا البؤساء، حتى يثبتوا لأطفالهم أن البرابرة حقيقة. ألفت نفسي مرغماً وسط الحشد الذي أندفع إلى البوابة الرئيسية، حيث سد الجنود على شكل هلال طريق الحشد [...].</p> <p>(2004: 146)</p>	<p>The circle was made and everyone was able to see the twelve miserable captives, to prove to his children the barbarians are real. I found myself forced into the crowd that rushed towards the main gate, where the soldiers, in a half-moon shape, blocked its way [...].</p>
3.27	Coetzee	<p>She smiles at me: what beautiful teeth she has, what clear jet-black eyes! Also <b>now</b> I can see that what she is holding out to me is a loaf of bread.</p> <p>(2004: 120)</p>	

3.27a	Al-Hājj Ḥusayn	ابتسمت لي. يا لأسنانها الجميلة. ويا لتلك العينين السوداوين الرائقتين! أستطيع أن أرى أنها تحمل إلي رغيف الخبز. (2004: 155)	She smiled at me. How beautiful her teeth were. And how pure those black eyes of hers were. <b>I could</b> see her holding a loaf of bread for me.
3.28	Coetzee	If we had left the oasis <b>now</b> rather than two weeks ago we would have travelled faster and not have risked our lives. (2004: 91)	
3.28a	ʿAbdullāh	لو كنا قد غادرنا اليوم الواحات، وليس من أسبوعين ماضيين لكننا قد سافرنا بصورة أسرع ولما قد خاطرنا بحياتنا. (2004: 105)	If we had left <b>today</b> the oasis rather than two weeks ago, we would have travelled faster and we would not have risked our lives.

Examples 3.25 and 3.27 are closely concerned with the Magistrate's relationship with the black barbarian girl. As discussed above, the narrator-character utilises the proximal *deictics* to identify particular moments in his narration. The former Example clearly states a moment of recognition on the part of the principal character, in which the girl opts to go back to her people, so he will not be able to see her physically, but in his imagination as it unfolds through the course of the subsequent chapter. Here the use of the marked *this* can be interpreted as intensifying the Magistrate's emotional overtones. At the same time, it invites the reader to share the narrator-character's 'empathy' (Toolan 1990: 179). By contrast, the omission of the proximal in the TT renders the narrative more passive and objective. That is to say, leaving out the proximal *deictics* leads to minimising the narrator-character's sentiments at this point of departure. Simultaneously, this omission draws the fiction away from the audience who then become less involved in the narrative. As for Example 3.27, it is a description of one of these certain moments in which the Magistrate sees the girl in his imaginations. As foreseen, the image of the girl is not vividly constructed by the Magistrate as already implied in Example 3.25; that is, he falls short of being able to capture all the details of her image. In this sense, the use of *now* is of great importance, so that it could mark a sudden moment of recognition, a moment, in which he gradually becomes aware of these details of what she is holding; it triggers a movement from deeply contemplating her face (i.e., her eyes and teeth) to recognising other parts, her hands. Furthermore, the choice of including *now* here can

enhance the Magistrate's high certainty of obscurity in constructing or evoking her images. Again, this overtone is lost in the TT, obviously as a result of the omission of the deictic term. Instead, what is offered in the TT is an introduction of a sense of greater clarity in evoking her images, which is seemingly incompatible with what the Magistrate implies in Example 3.25.

With regard to the remaining two, Example 3.26 shows a loss of anchoring the crowd in which the the Magistrate is located in their temporal frame as designated in the ST. It may appear that what leads Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn to omit the proximal *now* springs from its inconsistency with the tense of the verb (اندفع [rushed]); hence, the omission of the proximal can be interpreted as an elimination of such discrepancy. This instance can sustain what has been argued above in the category of shift from the proximals to the distals that *this* is shifted into its distal counterpart *that*, perhaps to provide a sense of consistency. In the last example, 3.28, the Magistrate expresses his regret, manifested in the use of conditional sentence (i.e., counterfactual), which comes as a consequence of his observation of the plants indicating the springtime. So this time of the year poses a lesser threat to embarking upon a journey behind the frontier. It is noteworthy that the choice of *now* evidently orients the event to the reader from the here-and-now of the enunciator, the Magistrate; it consolidates his temporal anchorage in the present moment. In its TT counterpart, which is one of the rare occasions, where Ṣabdullāh undergoes a shift in the proximals, she preserves a sense of immediacy in the TT, but in general terms as manifested in her choice for including the proximal اليوم (today) rather than, for instance, the standard systemic equivalent of the ST *now* (الآن). As mentioned above, the use of the marked proximal highlights the immediate awareness of his surroundings, as is the case in this Example. So the choice of *today* does not reflect this sense, and while the ST is so specific in identifying this particular moment, the TT conveys a more general sense.

As for the omissions of the ST distals in the TTs and their effects on the ST temporal point of view in terms of highlighting, the following two examples contain the occurrences of omissions among only 3 recorded in the two TTs:

		Examples	Back-translation
3.29	Coetzee	‘[H]e gave orders for myself and two other men (named) to prepare at once for a long journey. He did not at <b>that time</b> say where we were going.’ (2004: 91)	
3.29a	Al-Hājj Ḥusayn	«تلقينا الأوامر مع رجلين آخرين (بالأسماء) بالتحضير الفوري لرحلة طويلة. لم يسمي الوجهة». (2004: 119)	“We had the orders with other two men (named) to prepare at once for a long journey. <b>He did not indicate the destination.</b> ”
3.30	Coetzee	‘What a waste,’ I think: ‘she could have spent <b>those</b> long empty evenings teaching me her tongue!’ (2004: 78)	
3.30a	ʿabdullāh	أفكر: «يا لمضيعة الوقت، كان بإمكانها تمضية الأمسيات الطويلة الخالية بتعليمي لغتها!» (2004: 105)	I think: “What a waste of time, she could have spent <b>the empty long evenings</b> teaching me her language!”

Here, the omissions of the distal terms lead to less temporal identification with the characters in translation. Example 3.29 is a description by one of the soldiers travelling with the Magistrate to the barbarians. The deictic term *that* localises the utterance in a distal time relative to the temporal coordinates of this soldier. By contrast, recognised as an instance where the translator goes against his prevalent patterns of distancing, Example 3.30a expresses a loss of the distal orientation. It might appear here that through the adjustment the translator makes, specifically the economy in the use of lexical items, the translator attempts to simplify the ST. In a similar way, in Example 3.30a, although showing how close her translation is to the original, she does not account for anchoring the evenings in relation to the speech situation.

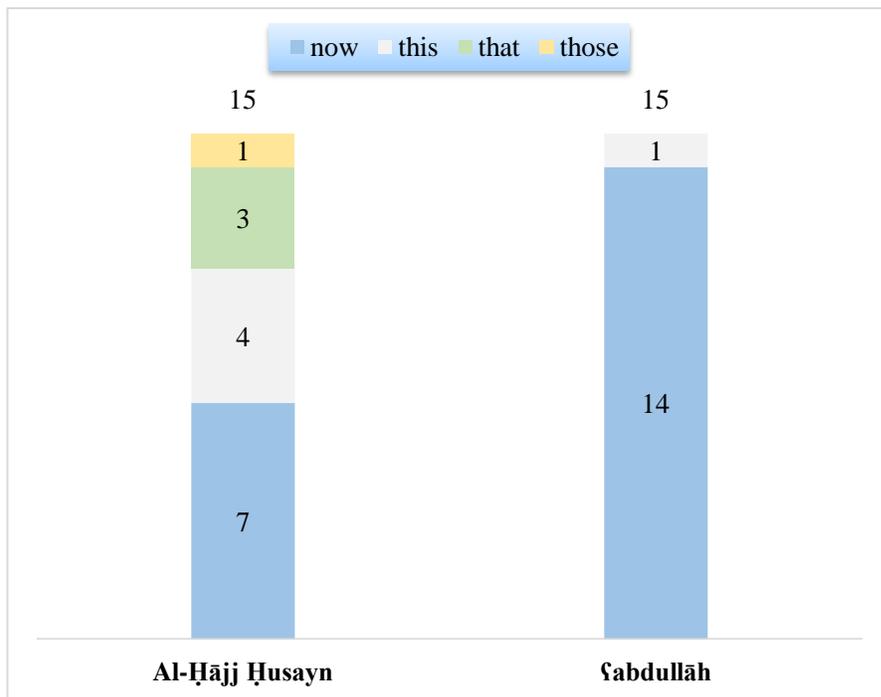
In all, the use of the temporal *deictics*, in addition to anchoring the Magistrate and other characters in time, enriches the interpretation of the ST; the marked *deictics* effectively establish a point of access to the readers for sharing the narrator-character’s experience and throwing light on his immersion in his surroundings or attitudes. Through the occurrences of

omission shifts, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT attenuates the involvement of the narrator-character by foregrounding neutrality, which, in turn, presents a distancing effect. In contrast, there are small number of occurrences of omission shifts recorded in Ṣabdullāh’s TT, which only represent a slight impact on the ST temporal point of view. They do not bring about radical modifications.

### 3.7.2.3 Addition of *Deictics*

Figure 3.5 shows that there are 30 addition shifts recorded in the TTs, which are evenly allocated between the two TTs.

Figure 3.5. Frequency of addition shifts in TTs



Just like the omission type of shift, the majority of these shifts have to do with the TT equivalent of the ST deictic term *now*, accounting for 21 occurrences of addition shifts out of the total number 30, with 7 occurrences in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s and 14 occurrences in Ṣabdullāh’s TT. Ṣabdullāh’s TT is featured with more addition of the proximals, but not any occurrence of the inclusion of the distals. Hence, this supports the proximating trend found

in her TT. In contrast, the additions of the distals are only registered in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT. However, strikingly, against the identified norm, his TT contains more additions of the proximals than their distal counterparts. Through the comparison between the ST and the TTs, the additions of the proximals can be construed as an attempt to emphasise the protagonist's awareness, triggering a sense of immense involvement in his narrative. To illustrate, let us consider the following examples, in which the proximals *this* and *now* are added in the TTs (emphasis added):

		Examples	Back-translation
3.31	Coetzee	I am aware of the source of my elation: my alliance with the guardians of the Empire is over, I have set myself in opposition, the bond <b>is broken</b> , <b>I am a free man. Who would not smile?</b> (2004: 85)	
3.31a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	أعرف مصدر جذلي: فقد انتهى تحالفي مع حراس الإمبراطورية. ووضعت نفسي في المعارضة. وانكسر القيد. وبت رجلا حرا الآن من ليس بإمكانه أن يبسم الآن؟ (2004: 112)	I <b>came</b> to know the source of my delight: my alliance with the guardians of the Empire was over, I had put myself in opposition, the bond broke, <b>I became a free man now. Who could not smile now?</b>
3.32	Coetzee	I wake up choked, shouting, my throat full. The texture of the days, on the other hand, is as dull as porridge. Never before has my nose been <b>so rubbed in the quotidian.</b> (2004: 95)	
3.32a	ʿabdullāh	أصحو مختنقا، صارخا، حنجرتي منتفخة. إن نسيج الأيام، من جهة أخرى، ممل مثل عصيدة. لم يحتك أنفي قط من قبل بالأمور اليومية. إلى هذا الحد الذي يحدث الآن. (2004: 125)	I wake up choked, shouting, my throat swollen. The texture of the days, on the other hand, is as boring as porridge. My nose has not before been rubbed by everyday stuff. To this degree that is happening <b>now</b> .

In Example 3.31, which I have already discussed (see Section 3.6 above; Example 3.15), the Magistrate provides us with his judgment on how happy he is as a result of the deterioration

of his relationship with the Empire. By contrast, its translation includes two additions of the proximal *now*. In fact, 3 occurrences of addition of the proximal *now* out of the total number 4 are found in the opening pages of Chapter Four, a chapter in which the Magistrate clearly espouses an opposing stance against the Empire’s justice. These additions forge a central factor in depicting the I-narrator as more articulate than as he is in the ST and in placing importance on the turning point in his position at this particular point in his fictional world. However, the emphasis here could overshadow the Magistrate’s fluctuation of awareness that is built gradually and subject to his re-reading. That is, Al-Hājj Ḥusayn intensifies the protagonist’s feelings and gives the impression of how he is so absorbed in this decisive moment of revelation in his narrative. This communicates a sense of determinacy in his position, which can be inconsistent with the re-evaluation characteristics of his and then with his complexity that is foregrounded in the ST, a complexity prone to be weakened by this specific reading of the ST. Similarly, in Example 3.33a, it is conspicuous that making adjustment, Ṣabdullāh breaks the ST sentences in the TT and specifically adds the proximal *now*. Again, this choice can emphasise the protagonist’s absorption in this situation: his preoccupation in the ordinary stuff, by singling out this moment in his narration, which is not something highlighted in the ST. Hence, the two TT examples discussed clearly bring to light the subjectivity of the Magistrate in the situations referred to in the translated narratives.

Conversely, there are other identified occurrences, in which the proximals are added in order to explicate the translated narrative for the TL reader:

		Examples	Back-translation
3.33	Coetzee	‘It is spring, you know, it is the mating season: dogs go visiting, they stay <b>away for days</b> , then they come back without telling you where they have been. You mustn’t be worried, he will come back.’ (2004: 94)	
3.33a	Al-Hājj Ḥusayn	«أنه الربيع كما تعرف، وهو فصل التزاوج. والكلاب تخرج عدة أيام في هذا الوقت. وهي تعود دون أن تقول لك أين كانت. يجب ألا تقلق. ستعود.» (2004: 122)	‘It was the spring as you know, it was the mating season. And the dogs went out for a few days at this time. They came back without telling you where they had been.

			You mustn't be worried. They would come back."
3.34	Coetzee	Then the flogging is over, the soldiers reassert themselves, the crowd scrambles back, the arena is reconstituted, though <b>narrower</b> than before.  (2004:116)	
3.34a	ʕabdullāh	ينتهي الجلد بعدئذ، يعاود الجنود إصرارهم على حقهم، يتدافع الحشد إلى الوراء، تهباً الساحة مجدداً، على الرغم من أنها قد أصبحت الآن أضيق من ذي قبل.  (2004: 152)	The flogging is over then, the soldiers re-insist on their rights, the crowd is pushed backward, the arena is reconstituted again, though it has become <b>now</b> narrower than before.
3.35	Coetzee	There are no books or files; the room is starkly empty save for a vase of <b>fresh flowers</b> .  (2004: 120)	
3.35a	ʕabdullāh	لا توجد هناك كتب أو ملفات، الغرفة كما هي تماماً ما عدا زهرية فيها ورود قطفت توا.  (2004: 157)	There are no books there or files, the room is totally as it is, except for a vase in which flowers have been plucked <b>now</b> .

It is discernible that all the TT Examples are considered to be more informative, and more accessible to the readers. In 3.33a, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn opts to add في هذا الوقت (in this time), perhaps to make an explicit link to the previous clauses. It might be an attempt to render this piece of the narratorial report more clear and at the same time more specific in determining the time in which dogs go for mating. Such an addition, however, may not be needed in the ST, simply because it could be easily retrieved by the ST readers. By the same token, in Examples 3.34a and 3.35a, ʕabdullāh's additions of the proximals can be seen as representing a more vivid picture of the scenes narrated, drawing the readers more to the narrative account. In the former instance, the translator inserts the proximal *now*, seemingly for the sake of signaling an evident comparison between how the arena was while the barbarians were being flogged and how it becomes after the soldiers reassume their roles in keeping order and after the crowd is pushed backward. Likewise, in Example 3.35a, the ST noun phrase *fresh flowers* is rendered as a material process (the process of 'doing', including concrete and palpable

actions) clause in the TT ورود قطفت نوا (flowers have been plucked now), which sheds light on the state of the flowers (i.e., their freshness). This might be an endeavour to stimulate the imagination of the TL reader by constructing a more obvious description of the scene.

As for the minor shift, which is one occurrence in Ṣabdullāh's TT, this is concerned with alteration of the ST noun phrase preceded by the proximal *this* ('I am so cold that my teeth chatter; but at **this moment** all that occupies me is the palliation of the pain in my back.'<sup>11</sup>). The translator, although retaining *this* in the ST phrase *this moment*, renders the ST lexical item *moment* as الصباح (the morning). Thus, this choice disrupts the specific location of the narrator-character in time and instead foregrounds a more general temporal frame of reference.

### 3.8 Conclusion

Overall, this chapter has discussed the rendition of the original author's linguistic choices that construct the spatio-temporal point of view by examining the ST narrative tense and place and time deictic expressions. As for the translation of the ST temporal reference, I have demonstrated that the simultaneous present tense is translated into the retrospective tense in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, while it is consistently rendered in Ṣabdullāh's TT, which, in turn, results in affecting the original temporal point of view, which, in its turn, contributes to blurring Coetzee's style, which is well-known for its precision (Wood, 2003: 15). The overwhelming shift in rendering the simultaneous present tense in translation does not allow room for the TL readers to fully experience the novelty of a narratological norm, which is characterised by lacking resemblance to the real-world mode of narration, and most importantly is pivotal to the interpretation of the narrative under investigation. I have shown that Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT can be interpreted as an attempt to normalise the narrative in a way that lends itself well to the classical view of narration: the present tense is a non-narrative tense. In doing so, his TT accords with the conventional construal of narration in MSA that the perfect tense is well-recognised as the narration form. In contrast, Ṣabdullāh's TT, although maintaining the simultaneous present tense narration in large part, suffers from some inconsistency (21 instances of tense shift are found). On some occasions, the flow of

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<sup>11</sup> (Coetzee, 2004: 101).

simultaneity in the narrative experienced is interrupted, leading to a normalising of the narrative.

As for the other spatial and temporal deictic elements, the analysis has shown that the overall number of place *deictics* recorded indicates a very insignificant loss in the ST proximals, so the characters appear to be spatially well-identified to the target audience. By contrast, there are translational shifts identified in the ST temporal deictic expressions recorded in the two TTs, leading to a displacing of the original point of view on the temporal plane. The discussion has revealed two opposing shifting trends: a distancing trend in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT and a proximity trend in Ṣabdullāh's TT, which interact somehow with the choice of the narrative tense. In Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, the choice of the narrative tense (perfect tense) seemingly has an effect on the rendition of the ST proximal deictic terms, in comparison to Ṣabdullāh's TT, which considerably maintains the ST proximals in translation. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn apparently selects to use the unmarked forms of the deictic terms in translation, instead of opting for the marked literal translation of the original, since they are appropriate for the system of the tense chosen in the TT. The translator seems to draw a kind of logical parallelism between the choice of the MSA perfect tense and the distal deictic terms, which localise the events in the past temporal point of reference. By contrast, there is no apparent indication that his choice of the narrative tense affects the translation of the ST place deictic terms, since incidental shifts are identified in his TT. I have also shown that these two shifting trends constitute a factor in impacting the Magistrate's level of intensity in the narrative. The translational shifts recorded may spring from adoption of the simplification strategy, as well as the production of more unmarked choices in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, while Ṣabdullāh opts for the over-emphasis of the temporal coordinates of the narrator-character. So far the examination of the original spatio-temporal point of view is partly focused on examining the place and time deictic terms. The next chapter will further investigate the rendition of this plane by concentrating on the phenomenon of sequencing. It will address whether the retention of the spatial dimension can also be found at the level of thematic structure analysis of the ST clauses.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## Thematic Structure

### 4.1 Introduction

It has already been discussed in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.3) how language enables its users to configure their messages in the clause, in order to convey their experiences of the world, views and attitudes through the Textual metafunction; it signals how the information is distributed within the clause, and how it is related to other parts of the text, thus contributing to the expression of discourse semantics. This strand of meaning is expressed through what is termed thematisation or thematic structure, which denotes how individual clauses or clausal-elements are ordered; that is, the segmentation of the clause. The thematic structure comprises the system of Theme, which has to do with the split of the clause sequencing into two main parts: Theme and Rheme, featuring the textual designation of some clausal-elements as prominent and non-prominent parts of the message. In this chapter, I will investigate the translation of the ST thematic options. In Section 4.2, I will then provide a brief account of the notion of Theme-Rheme structure from different perspectives. In the following section Section 4.3, I will deal with the system of Theme in English from the Hallidayan perspective, expounding different types of Themes and the (un)marked thematic selections. Section 4.4 is centred on the system of Theme in MSA, based on Bardi's (2008) typological description. In the following section, I will highlight some methodological issues related to establishing the point of comparison between the two asymmetrical languages. Finally, I will delineate the thematic options of the ST, in contrast to those of the TTs in order to account for potential shifts found in the two TTs related to the different presentation of the narrative events as well as foci of message information.

## 4.2 Theme-Rheme Distinction

The construal of a given utterance as ordered into two distinct segments, Theme and Rheme, has been one important hallmark that distinguishes the work of the functional linguists from the Prague School, in particular its co-founder, Vilém Mathesius, who devised his theory of Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP). Mathesius (1975) investigated elements of a given utterance based on what kind of information they communicate in a situational context, proposing a distinction between the two basic communicative elements, which a given utterance comprises: Theme and Rheme. In his words (ibid. 81-2):

[1. T]he element about which something is stated may be said to be the basis of the utterance or the theme, and [2.] what is stated about the basis is the nucleus of the utterance or the rheme. [...]  
The patterning of the sentence into the theme and the rheme is here called functional sentence perspective because this patterning is determined by the functional approach by the speaker.

From Mathesius's perspective, the dichotomy of Theme and Rheme is a manifestation of the information structure of a given utterance: (known vs. unknown). He (ibid.) thus approximates Theme, which he considers the point from which the development of an utterance has sprung, with what "is known or at least obvious in the given situation" to the addressees. Rheme, by contrast, is equated with the information that is less known or unfamiliar, where the culmination of the communication is to be found.

Building on Mathesius's view, Jan Firbas (1983, 1987, 1992), a later leading scholar in the Prague School, introduced the concept of Communicative Dynamism (CD), a scalar notion of information structure of a sentence. Firbas (1992: 7) argues that CD is a crucial concept to the understanding of FSP theory and defines it as "a phenomenon constantly displayed by linguistic elements in the act of communication [...] manifest[ing] itself in constant development towards the attainment of a communicative goal." That is to say, syntactic constituents are understood as bearing amounts of information that play a significant role in advancing communication within a given sentence, so they are identified as dynamic. Firbas (ibid.) proffers what can be construed as a tripartite information structure of a sentence: Theme < Transition < Rheme. I use this notation (<) to indicate the graded communicative

importance of information an element conveys. Drawing on the concept of ‘interlinear modification’, coined by Bolinger (cited in, Firbas, 1983: 17) and used to refer to the fact that the linear sequencing of elements in a given sentence reflects the progression in the significance of meanings, Firbas (1992: 7) posits that the distribution of information in linguistic elements within a sentence mirrors the gradual increase in CD. Thus, under normal conditions, the language user starts his or her utterance with less communicatively significant elements and ends with more communicatively important elements.

Nevertheless, Firbas (1992: 6-7, 72-3) emphasises that the determination of his tripartite distinction is substantially premised on the (non-)derivability of information from the context *regardless* of the position in the sentence, whether it occurs initially, medially or finally. In this regard, (non-)derivability of information from the context eliminates the effect of the linear sequencing in designation of the degrees of the CD. The derivability of information from the context can be triggered by, for example, the use of anaphoric pronouns or lexical repetition (*ibid.*: 31). Firbas (1992: 6-7, 72-3) claims that the elements that carry known information retrievable from “the immediately relevant preceding context” or non-verbal context, are considered thematic elements; therefore, their contribution to the completion of communication is less. Thus, they are identified as less dynamic. By contrast, rhematic elements are the most dynamic, since they carry information irretrievable from the context and consequently mark the end of the communication. Between these two elements lies the transitional elements that function as mediators; their dynamisation is greater than thematic elements, as can be manifested, for instance, in carrying irretrievable information such as tense (e.g. *was*), and lesser than rhematic elements, apparently because they do not accomplish the goal of the communication. To put it another way, Theme, Transition and Rheme are identified based on linguistic elements with fluctuating degrees of CD; thematic elements are context-dependent, carrying lower degrees of CD, as opposed to the transitional elements, which hold higher degrees of CD, and rhematic elements, which are context-independent with the highest degrees of CD. This can be illustrated in the following invented example taken from Firbas (1983: 17):

#### Example 4.2

John < has known < Helen  
Theme < Transition < Rheme.

As mentioned earlier, their determination in the sentence is not, by any means, position-bound; that is, if the lexical item *John* is introduced to the audience for the first time (i.e., irrecoverable from the previous context), whereas the other lexical item *Helen* is context-dependent, *John* will then be considered as a rhematic element within the sentence.

The FSP approach has received fierce criticism. Chafe (1974, 1994) draws attention to a number of flaws inherent in the FSP approach. For instance, criticising the gradient perspective of CD, particularly the notion of Transition, Chafe (1974: 119-20) argues that a piece of information communicated by the enunciator is understood as only of dichotomous nature (Given vs. New). The enunciator thus speculates that either the piece of information is present in his or her audience's consciousness, which then is construed as Given (Theme in the FSP approach) or absent from theirs, which is thus identified as New (Rheme in the FSP approach). Thus, Chafe (ibid.) casts doubts on the validity of the assumption that the piece of information can be located in the middle ground in the audience's mind, as represented by the FSP concept of Transition. In other words, it could be difficult, if not impossible, to prove the partiality of pieces of information in the audience's minds in the sense that the information is neither Given nor New, but in the intermediate region. On the same subject, Adjémian (1978: 266) puts forth the impracticality and impressionism involved in the FSP approach, pointing out the difficulty of ascribing the degrees of CD to the linguistic elements within a sentence, since this approach is hearer/reader-based. What can be understood as context-(in)dependent is highly premised on the reader's or hearer's interpretation of a given utterance, which then can be varied from one to another. This, adds Adjémian (ibid.), constitutes an important factor in leading contemporary linguists away from building on the Prague School's approach to grammar, to operating within that of the formalists. Within the same vein, Chafe (1994: 352) echoes Adjémian's observation, asserting that "degrees of [CD] are judged entirely on the basis of intuition." Chafe (ibid.) raises questions about the basis upon which the listener/reader views known information as

less communicatively significant than unknown information even if the context is provided. He (ibid.: 353) then cites one of Firbas's (1992: 64-5) examples "President Kennedy has been assassinated" ('in the context of what has happened?'), wondering about the reasons that make the listener or reader take for granted the subject *President Kennedy* as more dynamic, carrying a higher of CD than the action of the assassination itself.

Apart from the criticism directed towards the FSP approach, the SFL scholars are profoundly impacted by the Prague School's contribution to the functional view of utterance. Halliday (1967) borrows the terminology of Theme and Rheme from the Prague School in his approach to the analysis of the textual meaning of the clause. However, this basic binary operates differently in his approach. One crucial distinction between the Prague School FSP approach and SFL's is the discrimination between the notion of information structure consisting of Given-New and that of thematic structure constituting the Theme-Rheme dichotomy. This explains the reason why Fries (1995a: 1) characterises the SFL approach to thematic structure and information structure as a 'splitting' approach in comparison to the Prague School linguists', which is described as a 'combining approach'.

In SFL, the determination of Theme and Rheme in *English* is position-based. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 89) construe the initial-clausal elements that function as the 'point of departure' of the clause and ground what the message of the clause is going to be, as Theme, whilst the remaining elements, non-thematic elements, are identified as Rheme that marks the development of Theme. Together Theme and Rheme are regarded as exponents of thematic structure, which, in turn, constitutes a part of the clause. On the other hand, Halliday and Matthiessen (ibid.: 115) recognise the information structure as involving an independent grammatical unit, the information unit, parallel to the clause. In speech, an utterance is divided into information units marked by tone group boundaries as phonological units. The elements which carry tonic prominence realised by the main pitch movement (e.g., rising, falling or complex movement) signal the culmination of the information, which then designates the nucleus of the message (ibid.). One information unit can extend over more than one clause. In this regard, Fries (2002: 121) points out that "since the information unit

is indicated through intonation and rhythm, there is no necessary relation between information units and clause structure.”

A single information unit can comprise of two functions: Given and New. In an unmarked sequence in English, the Given elements come before the New ones (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 116). In an utterance, Given elements indicate known or predictable information; that is, information which is recoverable by the audience from (non-)verbal context; and they are correlated with unaccented (atonic) tone groups, groups that are not signalled by the main pitch movement (Downing and Locke, 2006: 240). They are also identified as optional elements, since the initiation of the discourse has to be established at some point, so utterances that are communicated to the audience do not necessarily include Given elements. That is to say, by means of ellipsis, for instance, the enunciator can produce an utterance devoid of Given elements, if he or she feels it unnecessary to repeat the Given information units; they are assumed to be recoverable from the context by the audience (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 116). This, for instance, can be the case in conversational exchange, in which the language user may only provide the ungiven piece of information. New elements, by contrast, are the obligatory elements of information referring to unpredictable, irretrievable information and are triggered by the tonic prominence (Downing and Locke, 2006: 240).

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 119-120) argue that the Given-New dichotomy is closely related to that of Theme-Rheme. In a typical, neutral structure (see Subsection 4.3.1 below), Theme can conflate with Given, and Rheme with New. However, the conflation of Theme with Given and that of Rheme with New does not necessarily mean that they are recognised as similar concepts. Theme-Rheme is construed as speaker or writer-oriented, since it represents what the speaker or writer opts for as a departure point of his or her message, while, Given-New is listener/reader-oriented, because it is concerned with the speaker or writer’s assumption of what is (non)-recoverable to his or her audience (ibid.: 120). Table 4.1 summarises the main differences discussed between the FSP and SFL approaches.

Premised on the brief comparison between the FSP approach and that of SFL, it becomes clear to us that one significant advantage of conducting a comparison in term of thematic structure between an original text and its translations from the separating SFL perspective is the avoidance of the flaws inherent in the combining approach; in particular, the factor of subjectivity and inconsistency in deciding which syntagmatic elements are deemed to be thematic or rhematic.

**Table 4.1.** Main differences between FSP and SFL approaches to Theme-Rheme distinction

<b>FSP Approach</b>	<b>SFL Approach</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Combining information structure with that of thematic structure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Separating information structure from that of thematic</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Theme-Transition-Rheme distinction is a manifestation of information structure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Theme-Rheme distinction is a part of thematic structure; Given and New dichotomy is a part of information structure</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Theme-Rheme is identified based on context-(in)dependency</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Theme-Rheme is position-bound</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Theme is context-dependent elements with lower degrees of CD</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Theme is the initial-clausal elements in English</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Transition and Rheme are context-independent elements with higher degrees of CD.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rheme is non-initial elements; the remaining elements, the non-thematic part of the clause</li> </ul>

This factor is decidedly nullified in SFL by basing thematic analysis on position-boundness, at least in English and MSA (as we will see) and separating it from information structure. Thus, the present study adopts the SFL approach to the investigation of the thematic structure in the ST and TTs. In what follows, I will provide a brief discussion of the system of Theme in English and then in MSA.

### 4.3 System of Theme in English

As mentioned earlier, the clause as a message is split into Theme and Rheme. Theme refers to the selection of the clausal elements that anchor the starting point of the addresser message—“orienter to the message conveyed by the clause” (Fries, 2002: 126). The language

resources (i.e., thematic elements) from which the speaker or writer proceeds serve two functions:

- I. They set up the local context of the clause, establishing how the information located in the rest of the clause is interpreted by the listener/reader; and
- II. They help to direct the audience to how the information is coherently fitted to what has already been perceived in the text, contributing to the construal of the text (Thompson, 2004: 142).

The thematic part of the message is realised by all the constituents that are initially positioned and can stretch up to only the first ideational clausal element (i.e., participant, circumstance or process). By contrast, the remaining constituents of the clause, the non-thematic part of the message, which follows Theme signalling its development, is called Rheme (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 89). The following example shows the clause boundary between the Theme and Rheme, in which the first ideational element *a man* (i.e., participant/subject) ends the thematic options of the clause:

Example 4.3 (Coetzee, 2004: 84)

<b>Theme</b>		<b>Rheme</b>
A man		sits at my desk in the office behind the courtroom.

As indicated in the previous section, the elements that lie in the rhematic boundary of the clause are often associated with the newsworthy part of the information unit, in contrast to those identified within the thematic boundary, which is normally construed as communicating given information.

The principle of thematic and rhematic parts created by the textual meaning can be mapped onto grammatical units below and beyond the single clause (clause simplex), as presented in Example 4.3 Theme and Rheme can be identified in the ranks of nominal groups, of clause

complexes, and even of text segments, paragraphs (Hyper-Theme) and the whole text (Macro-Theme) (Martin, 1992: 436-7). In the present study, Theme below the clause simplex rank and above it at the ranks of paragraph and text will not be pursued. As for the thematic structure at the rank of the clause complexes, a rank traditionally recognised as sentential, the first clause occurring in the initial position in hypotactically related clauses, whether it is a dependent clause followed by the main clause ( $\beta \wedge \alpha$ ) or vice versa ( $\alpha \wedge \beta$ ), is given the thematic status, while, the other, a rhematic status, as it helps to set up the local context for the information in the remainder of the sentence (Thompson, 2004: 154-5). In this respect, another possible thematic analysis can be considered at the level of clause complexes in addition to what has already been shown at that of the clause simplex as can be displayed in the following example:

Example 4.4 (Coetzee, 2004: 63)

<b>Theme<sup>1</sup></b>			<b>Rheme<sup>1</sup></b>
<b>Theme<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Rheme<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Theme<sup>3</sup></b>	<b>Rheme<sup>3</sup></b>
If we	wait longer	we	will not find the nomads.

By contrast, in paratactically related clauses, each paratactic clause is treated as having its own individual thematic structure, since each clause is identified as having the thematic structure of a simple sentence (Gómez-González, 2001: 101-2):

Example 4.5 (Coetzee, 2004: 86)

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Rheme</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Rheme</b>
The door	is flung open	and I	am fed.

From the SFL standpoint, the thematic status of the clause may include all elements representing the three strands of meaning designated in the clause: Textual, Interpersonal and Topical. In this sense, the Theme of an individual clause can be either single or multiple. If

single, it constitutes just one element to which a transitivity role is assigned (i.e., participant, circumstance or process) and is termed ‘Topical’ as shown in Table 4.2. below<sup>12</sup>.

**Table 4.2.** Topical Theme in English

Topical Theme	Rheme
<b>Participant</b>	
(a) Many of the young plants	have been washed right out of the ground.
(b) The volleys and the roar of applause	continue.
<b>Circumstance</b>	
(c) In my dreams	I am again in the desert.
(d) From house to house	I wend my way.
<b>Process</b>	
(e) Forget it	I never shall.

As for its formalisation, Topical Theme just involves a single structural element. This can be just one nominal group, i.e., Example (a) or prepositional phrase, i.e., Example (c). By the same token, this single structural element can be realised by a complex of more than one nominal group or prepositional phrase that can be paratactically or hypotactically related (i.e., Examples (b) and (d), respectively).

The language user may, on the other hand, opt to use a sequence of Themes (multiple) by including optional elements in the thematic position such as a Textual Theme like *and*, and/or Interpersonal Theme like *actually*. While the Topical Theme of a clause is concerned with marking what information in the clause is going to be interpreted by the audience (what the real point of departure of the message is), the Textual and Interpersonal Themes contribute to how the prominent part of the message functions in relation to the context around it (Thompson, 2004: 158-9). If, given a thematic status, interpersonal elements establish the addresser’s evaluation or attitude towards the content of the message; hence, they function to orient the audience to the viewpoint adopted in the process of interpretation (Matthiessen, 1995: 41). By contrast, Textual Theme serves to relate the message in the clause to the content

<sup>12</sup> Examples (a), (b) and (c) are taken from Coetzee (2004:109, 86, 112, respectively), while (d) and (e) are used by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 92, 103, respectively).

around it at the discursual level (Thompson 2004: 157). The constituents that realise Interpersonal and Textual Themes are listed in Table 4.3<sup>13</sup>.

**Table 4.3. Multiple Themes in English**

	Multiple Themes			Rheme
	Textual	Interpersonal	Topical	
<b><u>Textual</u></b>				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Continuative:</b> items marking a move in the dialogue</li> </ul>	Well:	-	go	to any stall in the market.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Conjunction (structural):</b> items or a group of items binding or linking clauses together</li> </ul>	[B]ut	-	she	is not listening.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Conjunctive adjunct:</b> adverbial or prepositional group connecting the message to its surrounding</li> </ul>	However,	-	you	seem to have a new ambition
<b><u>Interpersonal</u></b>				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Modal/comment adjunct:</b> items conveying the addresser's involvement on the proposition of the statement</li> </ul>	-	Perhaps	they	are telling the truth.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Vocative:</b> a nominal group marking the addressee of the clause in the dialogue</li> </ul>	-	Father,	listen	to me.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Finite verbal operators:</b> a close set of auxiliary verbs or modals in yes/no interrogative clauses</li> </ul>	-	Can	you	leave the child here?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Modal metaphor:</b> involving the use of a mental clause to signal the enunciator's assessment on the content of the true-value of the statement</li> </ul>	-	I think	he	is wrong

<sup>13</sup> Examples quoted from Coetzee (2004: 54, 86, 124, 3, 165, 112, respectively).

Despite the fact that there are three types of Theme, the demarcation of stretch of Theme comes to an end only when the Topical Theme appears in the clause, otherwise the thematic potential of the clause will remain unfulfilled (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 112). In other words, although the language user can exploit interpersonal and textual resources within the thematic confines, the clause will be construed as lacking the representational meaning, because of the absence of the experiential resources in the clause (ibid.). If present, the Textual and Interpersonal Themes may only precede that of the Topical. So, the Topical Theme represents the last element occurring in the segmentation within the confines of the prominent part of the message. This can be presented as follows: (Textual) ^ (Interpersonal) ^ Topical, as exemplified by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 112):

Example 4.6

			Theme					Rheme
Textual			Interpersonal			Topical		
Continuative	structural	Conjunction	modal	vocative	finite	participant		
<i>Well</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>surely</i>	<i>Jean</i>	<i>wouldn't</i>	<i>the best idea</i>	<i>be to join in?</i>	

However, another segmentation is also possible; the interpersonal Theme manifested in modal adjunct may come before the conjunctive adjunct realising Textual Theme, so the arrangement of constituents becomes as follows: (Interpersonal) ^ (Textual) ^ Topical, as shown in the following instance<sup>14</sup>:

Example 4.7

Theme			Rheme	
Interpersonal	Textual	Topical		
<i>Unfortunately,</i>	<i>however,</i>	<i>the 'Un-artist'</i>	<i>proliferated within the art institution as well.</i>	

<sup>14</sup> This example is used by Thompson (2004: 160).

It is worth mentioning that the range of the Textual and Interpersonal choices deployed by the language user in the thematic position are restricted, simply because they are not mobile by nature. This, in fact, springs from the structural demands of the language in comparison to the latitude the language user relatively entertains in his or her ideational choices in the thematic part of the message (Eggins, 2004: 307). For instance, the finite element such as *can* is mandatorily thematised in the interrogative clause as in ('can you leave the child here?'). Hence placing the finite element *can* in the initial position of the interrogative clause does not result in a more meaningful choice. Rather, its positioning comes as a result of necessity: it is to correspond to the rules of grammaticisation of the English interrogative type of mood. As for the ideational choices realising Topical Theme, the language user has the freedom to rearrange the ideational elements within the clause without breaking the grammatical rules; that is, she or he can choose the complement instead of the subject or adjunct (adverbial groups or prepositional phrase) as the point of departure of the clause. So, the rearrangement of the experiential constituents are construed as yielding more motivated, meaningful choices, since opting for one particular Topical thematic choice over another is indeed not arbitrary. It may constitute a significant role in determining the thematic part of the message as the stressed part, ascribing more semantic features to the clause. For this reason, Eggins (ibid.: 308) considers the Topical Theme the most important thematic element in the clause. This, in turn, leads us to consider which ideational constituents are normally located in the thematic boundary of the clause, (i.e., typical Theme), what the functions of the atypical thematic choices are. This will be central to discussion of the next section, in which different thematic choices are related to the system of markedness.

#### **4.3.1 Thematic Selection Patterns: (Un)marked Themes**

Thematic selection is closely related to the notion of markedness, since the language user may deviate from natural choices at his or her disposal as to grounding what the clause is about and instead foreground some thematic choices in order to attract the audience's attention, adding semantic features to his or her utterance. In the typical unstressed

declarative clause pattern, the thematic constituents always coincide with what is traditionally known as the grammatical subject of the sentence:

Example 4.8 (Coetzee, 2004: 77)

Theme/Subject	Rheme
We	have crossed the limits of the Empire.

Here the pronominal form *We* functions as both the subject and the Topical Theme of the clause and thus it is categorised as unmarked, because this pattern is the most neutral, default choice. It does not then trigger a particular or more meaningful choice on the part of the user by endowing semantic features such as contrast meaning to his or her message (Halliday and Matthiessen 2013: 97).

Table 4.4 below displays the unmarked thematic options as realised in the English different moods adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen (ibid.). Any other elements than these listed in the table, on the other hand, are recognised as marked thematic choices, which function as influencing the interpretation of the message on the part of the addressee, by, for instance, signalling contrastive or emphatic overtones. In the declarative mood, marked Themes are construed as any elements that are not mapped onto the subject in the mood structure of the clause. The most typical strategy of introducing marked Theme is to initially position adjuncts. Fronting adjuncts as marked Themes is strongly correlated with genres. For example, text producers of topographic reports (e.g., tour guides), in which spatial location is recognised as the major principle in the configuration of the text, substantially thematise locative expressions, because these expressions aim to orient the reader to the spatial coordinates of entities (Fries, 1995a: 10; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 100).

Example 4.9

Theme	Rheme
-------	-------

Beyond the main complex || is a lovely stream that bubbles under a wooden bridge.<sup>15</sup>

Within the same vein, Ghadessy (1995) examines the correlation between thematic choices and genre in thirty-seven written sports commentaries produced by *The Times* newspaper. He (ibid.: 139) points out that the temporal adjuncts are employed as the take-off points of the messages, since it is deemed important to direct the audience, who are well-aware of the spatial location of the sport event, through ‘temporal’ dimensions, to inform them about the precise temporal reference of an event being described.

**Table 4.4.** Unmarked Themes in different English moods<sup>16</sup>

		Theme	Rheme
<b>Mood</b>	<b>Constituents</b>		
<b>Declarative</b>	Subject	I	am a free man.
<b>Interrogative</b>			
yes/no	Finite operator (plus the subject)	May I	Speak to Colonel Joll?
Wh-	Wh-element	What	does she see?
<b>Imperative:</b>			
exclusive	Predicator (plus preceding <i>don't</i> if negative)	Get	me some
inclusive	<i>Let's</i> (plus <i>not</i> if negative)	Let's	wait and see.
<b>Exclamative</b>	Wh-element	What beautiful	she has.
		teeth	

Likewise, temporal deictic terms forge a significant role in the organisation of the narrative texts, since they orient the readers to the time-frame of the sequence of events (Matthiessen, 1995: 39; Baker, 2011: 143-4). In Chapter Three of *WFB*, for instance, we find temporal adjuncts are thematised in some episodes that are concerned with the Magistrate’s journey to the barbarians (Coetzee, 2004: 65-6; emphasis added):

**On the third day** the rim of the marshland begins to curve back towards the north and we know that we have rounded the lake [...]

<sup>15</sup> In Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 89).

<sup>16</sup> Examples are taken from the ST (Coetzee: 2004:85, 84, 89, 86, 113, 120, respectively).

**Then at dawn on the fourth day** we begin the crossing of the ancient lake-bed that stretches another forty miles beyond the marshes [...]

**On the fifth day** we leave the lake-floor behind and pass through a belt of smooth crystalline salt which soon gives way to sand and stone.

Here the strategy of thematising temporal expressions can be seen as an attempt of the part of the narrator-character to place emphasis on the awareness of a sequence of events; how his trip spans over a period of time. In addition to the place and time adjuncts, placing complements in the thematic position is considered a highly marked form (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 98).

#### Example 4.10

Theme	Rheme
[H]is earlier novels	I've read. <sup>17</sup>

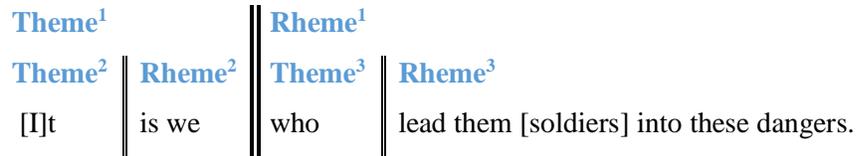
The selection of complement as Theme of the clause clearly functions as foregrounding a contrast meaning; that is, the speaker implies that he does not read the author's subsequent works of fiction (ibid.). It is also possible to produce marked Themes by thematising predicator (process) in particular structures when the finite is featured with the stressed culmination of information as in ('*Forget I never shall*'), however, as such choice rarely occurs (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 98). Table 4.5 below summarises the thematic options recognised as marked Themes in the declarative clause.

Another marked thematic pattern recognised is the use of Predicated Theme, which involves the configuration of the message as what formal grammar terms a 'cleft-sentence', explicitly realised through the construction of (it + be +.... who/which). This grammar resource interacts with the information structure of the utterance, allowing the language user to lay a particular emphasis on the experiential elements (subject, complement and adjunct) by conflating Theme with New (Thompson 2004: 151-2). Consider the following example:

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<sup>17</sup> It is used by Halliday (1967: 236).

Example 4.11 (Coetzee, 2004: 58)



In the thematic structure within the domain of the clause nexus, the Predicated Theme ([I]t is we) is constructed to direct the audience’s attention towards the unit of information (*we*), which is placed within the thematic confines of the entire clause; it carries the tonic prominence. So it is identified as the New element of the message. The Predicated Theme in this example serves the purpose of foregrounding a sense of contrast: the responsibility for those poor soldiers, who are thrown into a harsh environment, lies alone with the enunciators (the Magistrate and the lieutenant), not anybody else. In naturally occurring speech, by contrast, the speaker might typically rely on the intonation pattern to guide the audience to identifying which unit is assigned to carry the focus of information.

**Table 4.5.** Marked Themes in the declarative mood<sup>18</sup>

	Marked Theme	Rheme
<b>Function</b>		
<b>Adjunct</b>		
- Prepositional phrase	At the sight of the knife	its eyes roll.
- Adverbial group	Faintly above it	come the brassy tones of bugles.
<b>Complement</b>		
- Nominal group: common or proper nouns as head	Some of these men	I recogni[s]e from the long days of torment in the barracks yard.
- Nominal group: pronoun as head	This	They should refuse <sup>19</sup> .

<sup>18</sup> Examples are quoted from the ST (2004: 67, 112, 150, 78) respectively.

<sup>19</sup> In Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 100).

- Nominalisation as head	What it contains	I do not know.
<b>Predicator</b>	Forget it	I never shall <sup>20</sup>

Thus, in such an unmarked variation of Example 4.11, as *we lead them into these dangers*, the speaker does not need to disrupt the thematic structure of the clause by making the subject *we* predicated (*it is we*) to mark it off as the culmination of information as New. Rather, the focus of information can be introduced by making the subject *we* carry the tonic prominence and thus the meaning of contrast can be signalled. Hence, it would be clear to the audience that the nucleus of information, which normally lies in the rhematic part of the clause, is shifted towards the thematic position; that is, the Theme is conflated with New element in the utterance (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 122-3). In fact, such an option as stressing the lexical item *we* cannot be *easily* exercised in writing (ibid.). Therefore, the writer may resort to a grammatical resource, such as that of Theme predication as an orienter to his or her message, making it possible for the audience to retrieve the sense of contrast triggered in the clause.

Furthermore, the notion of markedness can be recognised in hypotactically related clauses. When dependent clauses, whether they are finite or non-finite, come before the main clause ( $\beta \wedge \alpha$ ) they are regarded as marked Themes (Martin *et al.* 1997: 36), as shown in the following instances:

Example 4.12 (Coetzee, 2004: 86)

<b>Marked Theme</b>	<b>Rheme</b>
$\beta$ (finite)	$\alpha$
If we wait longer	we will not find the nomads.

Example 4.13 (Coetzee: 2004: 63)

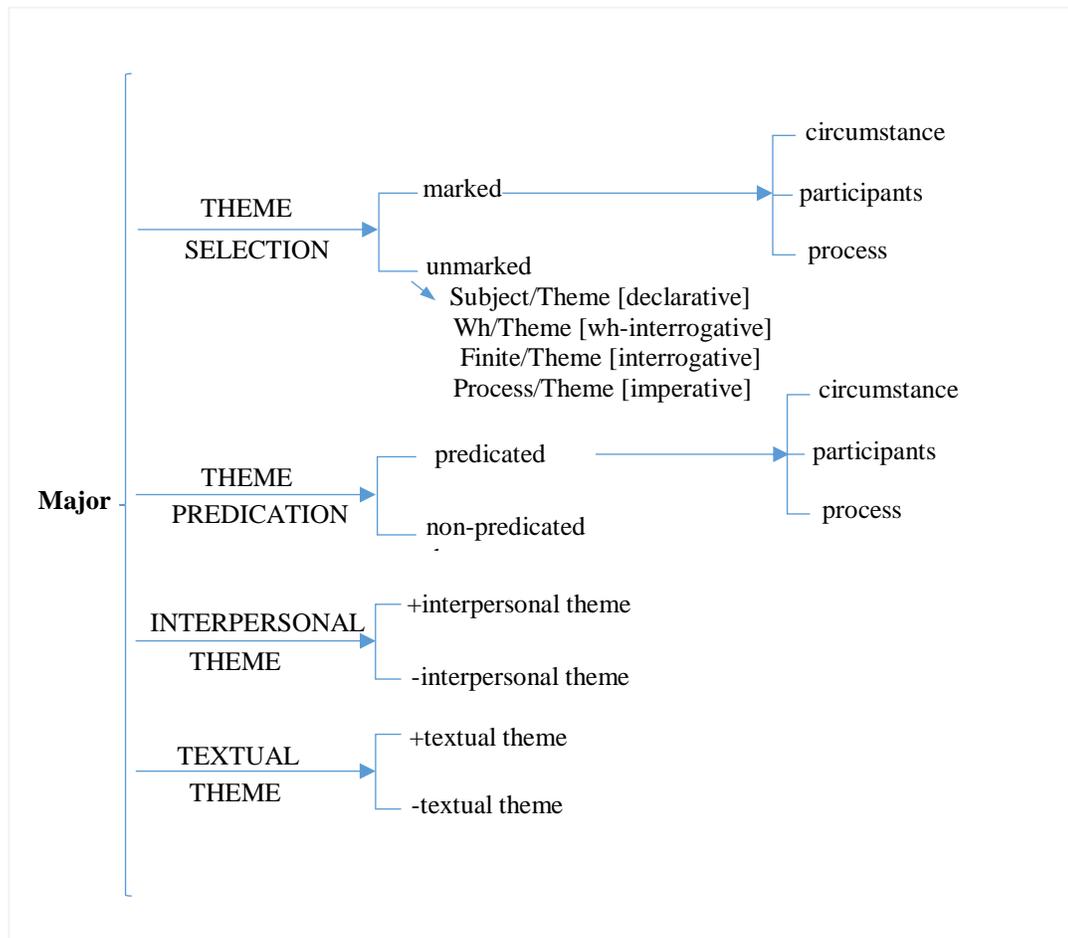
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<sup>20</sup> In Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 98).

<b>Marked Theme</b> $\beta$ (non-finite) To accompany me,	<b>Rheme</b> $\alpha$ I have chosen three men.
---	--

The discussion so far has described the system of Theme in English, which shows how the information of the message is distributed in the clause (Figure 4.1 represents a system network of Theme in English, summarising the options involved). In the next section, I will discuss the system of Theme in MSA.

Figure 4.1. System of Theme adapted from Caffarel *et al.* (2004: 28)



#### 4.4 Thematicisation in MSA

It is postulated that every language espouses particular strategies for the configuration of information flow in the clause (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 88). Based on SFL typological descriptions available, Matthiessen (2004: 538) assumes that the main lexicogrammatical systems (i.e., Transitivity, Mood and Theme) seem to be found in languages. However, some substantial typological variations can be clearly manifested in delicate realms of these main systems.

In relation to prominence in the message conveyed by the clause, Matthiessen (ibid.: 548) identifies three main realisational patterns of degree of textual prominence in languages. They are as follows:

**I. positional/sequential pattern:**

the positioning of the elements within the clause, such as in French, Spanish, English and German;

**II. segmental pattern:**

the use of markers or particular constructions indicating the boundaries between the (non)-prominent part of the clause, such as in Japanese, Korean, Tagalog and Vietnamese; and

**III. intonational pattern:**

which is concerned with the determination of which information units carry the tonic prominence, “the major pitch movement in an intonation contour”. This pattern of prominence signals the culmination of information as New in the information.

The first two patterns are concerned with the thematic structure of the clause, while the intonational pattern has to do with that of information. According to Matthiessen (2004: 550), the MSA language belongs to the first group in that the placement of elements at the start of clause carries a textual meaning. This position is further pinpointed by Bardi (2008: 450), who demonstrates the significance of the initial position of the message in MSA. In the

present study, the description of the system of Theme in MSA draws on Bardi's (ibid.) SFL typological description of MSA. In his SFL account of MSA, Bardi (2008) avoids the danger of forcing foreign terms/theory onto the MSA by developing it as premised on natural discourse, which is a very important step in providing a SFL description of any language as pointed out by Matthiessen (2009: 48). That is, the MSA system of Theme is described in its context of culture; it is based on the overwhelming evidence from examining authentic texts. Bardi (ibid.) analyses three different types of text, namely expository, narrative, and folktale, in order to show whether the MSA clause has the characteristic of organising the message into Theme and Rheme. He (ibid.: 452) explains how these texts are developed and what grammatical resources their authors use to guide their readers in their interpretation of the texts. For example, Bardi (ibid.: 453) illustrates how, in the expository text which is partly concerned with the topographic description of Egypt and the River Nile, the author employs the circumstantial adjuncts of place as marked thematic options in order to guide the reader through space, building a mental map of the location of Egypt. Thus, his description of the system of Theme is not enforced on the MSA clause. Rather, the concept of Theme emerges from the interpretation of MSA texts. Before identifying the elements realising Theme and Rheme in a MSA clause, I will highlight the two main sequences of elements at the disposal of the MSA user.

#### 4.4.1 Sequence of Elements in MSA

It has been argued that MSA is characterised by a flexible sequence of clausal elements (Abdul-Raof, 1998: 41) in contrast to the English language, which is described as exhibiting a rigid sequence of elements in the clause (SVC). This flexibility, described as free word order, may be attributed to the case system, which facilitates the determination of the relations among the syntagmatic elements of a given clause. In MSA, there are two typical sequences of clausal elements, identified based on the initial class of the lexical items: nominal-initial clause and verbal-initial clause. The nominal-initial clause starts by a nominal group serving as a freestanding subject, which can be followed by either directly a complement (Subject ^ Complement) or a predicator (Subject ^ Predicator ^ Complement):

Example 4.14 (Al-Mullā, 2010: 65)

**Complement Subject**

حياتي	تلك
my-life	that

‘That is my life’

Example 4.15

Complement		Predicator	Subject	
عدوا. <sup>21</sup>	الشجرة	هذه	يتصور	رجب
enemy	the-tree	this	he-imagines	Rajab

‘Rajab imagines this tree an enemy’

Thus, the nominal-initial clause is not necessarily a verb-less clause. It is to be noted that the nominal-initial where the subject followed by the verbal group is employed for pragmatic considerations (Abdul-Raof, 1998: 111). That is, the subject becomes the focus of information. The verbal-initial clause, in contrast, indicates clauses, in which the verbal group occupies the first position of the clause and can be followed by a freestanding/overt noun phrase subject and complement (Predicator ^ Subject ^ Complement):

Example 4.16 (Şumrān, 2013: 22)

Complement		Subject	Predicator
السجائر	علبة	سمير	تناول
the-cigarettes	can	Samir	picked

‘Samir picked up the packet of cigarettes’

---

<sup>21</sup> Example used by Bardi (2008: 461).

By contrast, the verbal group can be marked by subject and complement affixes (Predicator/Process<sub>[s, c]</sub>), so it would be possible to track the participants through the verb conjugation (see Examples 4.18a, 4.18b and 4.18c). In this regard, discussing the variations of Themes across some languages, Rose (2000: 130) remarks that languages that thematicise the process evince an entirely different method of text development from their correspondent texts in languages that thematicise the subject. The textual motivation behind such a thematicising of the process in these verb-initial languages is that the identity of the participant is marked by the morphology of the verb or implicitly indicated in the process (ibid.). Hence, Rose (ibid.: 131) argues that the fundamental method of development in VS languages can be identified as ‘the continuity’ of the participant ‘identities’, which are tacitly signalled in individual clauses as the points of embarkation of the receiver.

The preference for one sequence over the other is determined by the kind of information a message conveys. There is a high proneness for the nominal-initial clause when the message is concerned with providing a description of people, objects, and states. The verbal-initial clause, by contrast, is favoured when the message concentrates on the relaying events or actions, revolving around the agent, action and what is brought about (Wright, 1996: 252-3). Now I will turn to a discussion of the realisation of Theme in MSA.

#### 4.4.2 System of Theme in MSA

Due to the flexibility in the sequence of elements in the clause in MSA, what construes the prominent part of the thematic structure is subject to the variety of experiential elements occupying the initial positions. The thematic boundary in an unmarked declarative nominal-initial clause is easily determined, since Theme only conflates with the first experiential element (Theme/Subject), which is realised by the nominal group:

Example 4.17 (Al-Sanfūsi, 2012: 17)

**Rheme** || **Theme**

<sup>22</sup> Jose	اسمي
Jose	my-name

‘My name is Jose’

As for the Theme in the verbal-initial sequence of elements in the clause, on the other hand, the case seems to be more complicated, since the predicator realised by the verbal group may involve affixes signalling other experiential elements, namely the participants: subject and complement. Thus, the elements identified within the confines of Theme can vary as regards the variations of the verbal-initial sequence of elements. If the verbal-initial clause contains an overt noun phrase functioning as the subject following the predicator, the Theme conflates only with the predicator (Theme/Predicator). However if the predicator/process is marked by the pronominal subject and/or complement as its affixes, Theme then conflates with the predicator/process and its affixes (Predicator/Process<sub>[s, c]</sub>). This can be well-exemplified in the following excerpt taken from Ṭāhir’s *waḥah al-ḡurūb* (2006: 49):

#### Example 4.18

|| يغوص محمود داخل نفسه. || || أراه || يغوص أكثر فأكثر. || || يركب الآن فوق جملة. ||

#### Example 4.18a

	<b>Rheme</b>			<b>Theme</b>
نفسه	داخل	محمود		يغوص
himself	inside	Mahmūd		dives

‘Mahmūd had gone deep into himself’

#### Example 4.18b

<sup>22</sup> This name is written in English in the original.

Rheme			Theme
فأكثر	أكثر	يغوص	أراه
then-more	more	he-dives	I-saw-him

‘I saw him going deeper and deeper’

#### Example 4.18c

Rheme			Theme
جمله	فوق	الآن	يركب
his-camel	above	now	he-rides

‘He now rode on his camel.’

It is noticeable here that in this narrative episode, the narrator-character, كاترين (Kathrine) introduces the character محمود (Mahmūd) to the narratees, using the sequence (Predicator ^ Subject) as in Example 4.18a. In this case, the subject is characterised as the culmination of information as the New element in the clause. However, once the subject becomes known to the narratees, it may *not* be included in the successive clauses within the stretch of Rheme (Theme/Predicator<sub>[S]</sub>). Instead, the subject becomes backgrounded, since it can be tracked through the process as its affix and thus functions as introducing cohesion to the message, rather than signalling the development of the message. This can be demonstrated in Example 4.18c., and even in the projected clause يغوص أكثر فأكثر in Example 4.18b. In these two Examples, it can be seen the verbs يركب and يغوص are conjugated for the person, number and gender of the subject. However, although the subject can be traced through the form of the process, there may be a good reason that the subject is foregrounded as an overt noun phrase within the rhematic confines of the clause. In this regard, Bardi (2008: 462-3) argues that the language user may sustain the subject as a freestanding nominal group with different processes, employing the sequence (Theme/Predicator ^ Subject), assigning it to the rhematic status although it has been already mentioned in the previous stretch of language. This

sequence is typical in narrative, as the main participant (i.e., the subject) is construed as the ‘focus of the events’ (ibid.).

In Example 4.18b, by contrast, the predicator/process *أرأه* is combined with the pronominal subject and complement realised as its affixes. So, in addition to the predicator and the subject, the Theme of the MSA clause then can stretch to include a third ideational element, a cliticised complement (Theme/Predicator<sub>[s, c]</sub>). Therefore, in MSA verbal-initial clauses, the first element, to which an experiential role is designated may not mark the end of the thematic boundary as opposed to the Hallidayan description of the English Language clause (Bardi, 2008: 451-59). Furthermore, because the predicator realised by the verbal group is marked for the participants, it can be mapped onto a combination of the New and Given elements in the information structure. In this respect, the process is recognised as the New element, while the pronominal subject and the complement represent the Given elements recoverable through the context and conjugation (ibid.: 464).

Similarly to English, the Theme-Rheme distinction in MSA can also be identified in clause complexes of hypotactic relation type:

Example 4.19 (Al-Ṭāhir, 2006: 72)

				Rheme <sup>1</sup>			Theme <sup>1</sup>			
				Rheme <sup>2</sup>			Rheme <sup>2</sup>			
معي	وقتها	معظم	لنقضني		تأتي	صارت		قليلًا	كبرت	عندما
with-me	her-time	most	to-spend		she-came	she-became		a little	I-grew up	when

‘When I grew a little bit older, she used to come to spend most of her time with me’

The MSA Theme may contain only one Topical Theme or may be metafunctionally various (see Table 4.6 below), constituting interpersonal and/or textual materials, indeed in addition to the ideational one, as shown in the following example:

Example 4.20 (Al-Al-Ṣarawi, 1993: 20)

Rheme			Theme		
			Topical	Interpersonal	Textual
العبودية [...] ]	إلى	ترمز	الدولة	كانت	إذا هكذا و
the-slavery	to	it-symbolises	the-state	was	if like-this and

‘And hence if the state stands for slavery [...]’

The thematic configuration of the MSA clause can also be (un)marked. In the declarative mood (see Examples 4.17, 4.18a, 4.18b and 4.18c above), the unmarked Topical Theme conflates with the subject in the nominal-initial clause (verb-less clause), that is only followed by the complement and the predicator and its affixes, if present, in the verbal-initial sequence (unmarked Theme/Subject, or  $\text{Predicator}_{((s, (c))} \wedge \text{Rheme}$ ). Thus, if initially positioned, subject followed by a predicator, complement or circumstantial adjuncts are construed as marked Themes:

Example 4.21 (Al-Ṭāhir, 2006: 56)

Rheme		Theme		
محمود	ضاجعني	الخيمة	في	الليلة
Mahmūd	made love-me	tent	in	night
		تلك	في	تلك
		that	in	that

‘In that night, in the tent, Mahmūd made love to me.’

Example 4.22 (Al-Ṭāhir, 2006: 30)

Rheme		Theme	
حدث	قد	وما	انتظرته
it-happened	truly	and-what	I-waited-it

‘And what I had waited for happened.’

**Table 4.6.** Textual and Interpersonal Themes

Type	Example
------	---------

<u>Textual Theme</u>				
• Continuative adjunct	نعم yeah/yes	أ oh		
• Conjunction	و and	أو or	عندما when	إذا if
• conjunctive adjuncts	باختصار in short	أيضا also	إضافة إلى ذلك in addition	هكذا hence
<u>Interpersonal</u>				
• Vocative	يا مريم! Maryyam!			
• Verbal operator & particles	كان to be	أصبح to become	إن truly	ليت only if
• Modal & comment adjunct	حتما certainly	قطعا verily	طبعاً of course	لسوء الحظ unfortunately
• Modal metaphor	أعرف أن I know that	أعتقد أن I think that	يتوقع أن He expects that	

Another marked thematicisation strategy at the MSA user's disposal is Theme predication, in which the Theme is characterised as the informationally focused. In MSA, one typical manifestation of this grammatical resource can be through sequencing three different elements belonging the nominal group, namely definite noun phrase, personal pronoun, which is co-referential with the definite noun phrase, and 'relatives' (e.g., الذي [who]), signalling relative constructions (Bardi, 2008: 515). The MSA relative pronoun involved in this construction agrees with the definite noun phrase in gender and number (Ryding, 2005: 323). This strategy can be exemplified in the following:

Example 4.23 (Al-Ṭāhir, 2006: 130)

Rheme						Theme	
الإجابات.	بهذه	لي	أوحى	الذي	هو	سعيد	البوزباشي
the-answers	with-these	to-me	he-inspired	who	he	Saʿīd	the-captain

'It was the captain Saʿīd who had suggested to me these answers.'

The discussion so far shows that English and MSA are similar in terms of the determination of Theme in the clause: the Theme and Rheme are position-bound. However, due to the variation of sequencing ideational elements in the clause, the MSA thematifies the predicator and its affixes if present, in addition to the subject in nominal-initial sequences.

#### 4.5 Method of Thematic Structure Analysis

As mentioned above, the thematic layers can be recognised at different ranks. Thus, within the SFL framework of investigation, the procedures adopted for the analyses of the thematic patterns of texts is quite diverse, ranging from the level of text to that of the clause including minor clauses. The thematic layer chosen for the analyses is also governed by the purpose of the studies themselves. For example, one recent work on the system of Theme in Korean is Kim's (2007), which is pedagogically motivated; it is concerned with informing about the student translators' errors in different metafunctions. Her analysis is carried out on the clause simplex, namely the declarative clauses, including rankshifted clauses (e.g., embedded clauses). According to Kim (*ibid.*: 64-5), the choice of the clause as the unit of analysis is mainly premised on the systemicists' tenet that the clause is the essential unit of grammar in which three metafunctions are simultaneously manifested. This, in turn, will allow her to observe what has occurred in translation of the three metafunctions (i.e., the errors of the student translators). Kim (*ibid.*) further bases her option on the belief that in the process of translation, the clause is recognised as carrying "the same status as the fundamental meaning unit", since the process of translation is "a meaning-oriented human activity that involves two different languages". Moreover, she (*ibid.*) also justifies her choice by explaining that the Korean thematic patterns are well-recognised at the level of clause simplex rather than above it at that of the clause complexes, because it is not usual for the Korean users to join clause simplexes using complicated logical relations. In addition, paratactically or hypotactically related clauses in a particular sentence may not necessarily share the same starting point, so opting for analysing only the Theme of a sentence makes it hard to identify the framework of each individual clause and necessarily then the errors in the metafunctions.

By contrast, in a monolingual study, Berry (1995: 63-4) conducts her analysis of thematic structure of children's writings at the level of the main clauses, considering every element that comes before the predicator, including the dependent clauses, whereas her choice of ignoring the thematic structures of the dependent clauses is based on Halliday's assumption ([1985] 1994) that the thematic progression of the text is substantially contributed to by the independent clauses. Similarly, investigating different thematic choices in newspapers discourse, namely that of *The Sun* and *The Times*, Thomas and Hawes (1996: 160) choose to carry out their thematic analysis only on every independent clause, leaving out the dependent clauses. On the other hand, Wittaker (1995: 106-7) identifies the unit of analysis as the clause complex, namely the orthographic sentence, in her study of academic articles on economics and linguistics, which is mainly triggered by means of punctuation, because she assumes that this unit is easy to be recognised by the readers and one by which they process the text.

This study, however, will adopt the T-unit advocated by Fries (1995a, 1995b, 2002), who considers the thematic structure of this unit "slightly larger than the clause [simplex], but smaller than the sentence" (1995b: 49). In his terms (2002: 120):

I have found it useful to treat thematic structures within independent conjoinable clause-complexes. This structure consists of an independent clause together with all hypotactically related clauses, which are dependent on it. The independent conjoinable clause-complex is very similar to the T-unit of American educational literature [...], and so I often use the term 'T-unit', since it is so much shorter.

This means that the T-unit is concerned with thematic structures of paratactic clauses, while ignoring the Themes of hypotactic clauses only if they lie within the boundary of Rheme. However, if the dependent clause is initially positioned, it is held to be the Theme for the entire clause complex. To put it another way, in a paratactic sequence (Primary ^ Secondary), each clause will be analysed individually. On the other hand, in a progressive sequence of hypotactic related clauses ( $\alpha$  ^  $\beta$ ), only the Theme of the alfa, the main clause is considered, including the hypotactic clauses paratactically related, whereas in a regressive sequence ( $\beta$  ^  $\alpha$ ), the beta clause is regarded as the Theme of the whole clause complex. Justifying the option for the T-unit, Fries and Francis (1992: 47) argue that the thematic organisation of the

beta clause is likely to be bound to the alfa clause. In embedded clauses, for instance, the thematic options at the text producer's disposal are scarce, because of the re-occurrence of the same Theme. Therefore, he or she may choose to employ a different thematic pattern. Hence, when examining a larger unit of analysis as is the T-unit, the method of development of the text is more easily shown. The T-unit can be illustrated in the following excerpt extracted from the ST (Theme in bold):

**My heart** lurches (with horror? with gratitude?) at the thought. **Yet I** must be mistaken: **when I look down more carefully at the square** I can see two boys quietly playing marbles under the mulberry trees; **and from what I have seen of the inn,** life is going on as usual.

(Coetzee, 2004: 107)

One significant aspect of the T-unit is that it permits us to examine the framework that the dependent clause provides in the interpretation of the independent clause (Downing and Locke, 2006: 235-6), a framework that will be omitted if the analysis is conducted only at the rank of the clause simplex. In support of this position, McCabe (1999: 76-7) argues for the importance of including dependent clauses, in formal grammar labelled as adverbial clauses, in the thematic analysis based on treating them as circumstantial adjuncts in the transitivity structure of an independent clause simplex from a functional and formal perspective. Formally, like circumstantial adjuncts, dependent clauses can be sequenced differently in the clause whether initially, medially or finally (e.g., 'Its warships, **though admirably designed**, were inadequate in number<sup>23</sup>'). So, their positioning in the clause reflects certain purposes on the part of the text producer. McCabe (ibid.) points out that from a functional standpoint, the dependent clauses as well as circumstantial adjuncts evince the same semantic types, encoding, for instance, the meaning of cause, concession and manner, as shown in Example 4.24 and its variation:

#### Example 4.24

*Under his rule*, there was peace throughout the land<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> In McCabe (1999: 78).

<sup>24</sup> In Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 433).

#### Example 4.24a

*When he ruled*, there was peace throughout the land.

In Example 4.24, which is a clause simplex, the location of the event in time, expressed through the circumstantial adjunct realised by the prepositional phrase (*under his rule*), is similarly encoded by the adverbial of clause (*when he ruled*), in Example 4.24a. More importantly, the dependent clause and circumstantial adjunct as thematic options establish the environment for the interpretation of the content of the element in the remainder of the respective message. Thus, paying attention to the positioning of dependent clauses is of more interest, since it aids in highlighting whether the translators show more concerns in mirroring the ST development of the message, which is thematically marked in the two TTs, or opt for more normal MSA sequences.

#### 4.5.1 Problem of Analysis

Because of the variations of sequence of elements in MSA in contrast to English's more rigid sequence, carrying out a comparative thematic analysis between these two asymmetrical languages seems to be problematic. In fact, the same very contrastive problem is addressed in a limited number of studies, which operate with the VS and SV languages and then attempt to propose various ways that help establish a point of comparison. For instance, working with Spanish and English, Munday (1997: 83) argues that adopting a very rigid Hallidayan model as that of English will bring about very distinct thematic patterning profiles for both the ST and TT, in the sense that the Spanish process will record a higher number as a Topical Theme, whilst the English pronominal subject will end up accounting for a higher figure as the thematic element. Nevertheless, Munday (*ibid.*) brings to the fore the fact that despite their structural differences, the Spanish VS and English SV are unmarked segmentations; that is, they do not express more motivated choices on the part of the text creator. Thus, he suggests that since in Spanish the subject pronoun does not always precede the process if the clause clearly refers the same subject of the previous clause, the elided subject pronoun of Spanish

clauses is considered the Theme. By doing so, the ST and TT can be regarded as similar in terms of the thematic patternings. However, this attempt, he (1998a: 199; 2000: 44) himself concedes, could be recognised as imposing the English thematic framework of analysis on that of Spanish. By contrast, McCabe (1999:75, 87) opts to do it the other way around. She forces an Spanish-biased SFL thematic model upon that of English, considering the process Theme in the clauses where it is initially positioned and does not have an overt subject in the two languages, since the subject is still encoded in the process that is viewed as anaphoric. On the contrary, analysing the thematic structures in a selected comparable corpus of English and MSA online news reports for the purpose of determining the ideological representation of Syria, Al-Jayrudy (2011: 127-28) regards the process and the subject in the VSO sequence in MSA as unmarked Theme (Process + Subject/Theme). In her analysis, the finite verbal operator كان ('verb to be') and 'its sisters' are also considered empty verbs, whereas according to Bardi (2008), they are identified as either relational processes (processes of 'being', suggesting an existing relationship between two separate concepts) and then Topical Theme, or Interpersonal Theme (see كانت ['verb to be'] and صارت [become] in Examples 4.19 and 4.20 above) based on whether the clause features a main verb. So, in Al-Jayrudy's study, they are not accounted as a part of the Theme of the nominal clause.

Her justifications are mainly driven by her corpus. One reason, she explains (ibid.), is that the lexical items such as *anti-Syria* (e.g., المناهضون لسوريا), which are very significant in underlying the ideologies of representation, are more prone to be used as nominal or adjectival groups instead of verbal ones in the Arabic news reports. These groups lie within the boundary of Rheme in the unmarked MSA sequence, while within either the Theme or Rheme in English in the corpus. She also explains that some MSA processes with different modal value (e.g., *claim*) are always thematised in comparison to their correspondents in English clauses, where they are identified as rhematic elements. These verbal lexical items in unmarked MSA sequences are not of paramount importance informationally and thematically. The same, she asserts, is also applicable to their correspondent lexical verbs in unmarked English clauses. Hence, from her point of view, considering the process alone as the Theme of the VS sequence in the MSA will render 'unproductive' results in contrast to the analysis of the English thematic structures. To strengthen her position, she highlights a

similar treatment of the English imperative from the perspective of Halliday and Matthiessen ([2004] 2014), where the predicator and the implicit subject are considered the Theme of the clause, as well as of the interrogative polar clause, where the predicator and the subject are determined as such. However, although the solution possibly serves Al-Jayrudy's purpose well, it is impractical to be applied in the present analysis, simply because what concerns one particular genre (i.e., media news reports) in the two languages in general and in her study in particular may not necessarily be the same in another genre (i.e., fiction) or the present study. Moreover, in the present study, the failure to incorporate كان and 'its sisters' in the thematic analysis will miss the opportunity to observe how the two translators deal with the interpersonal resources grounded in the thematic stretch.

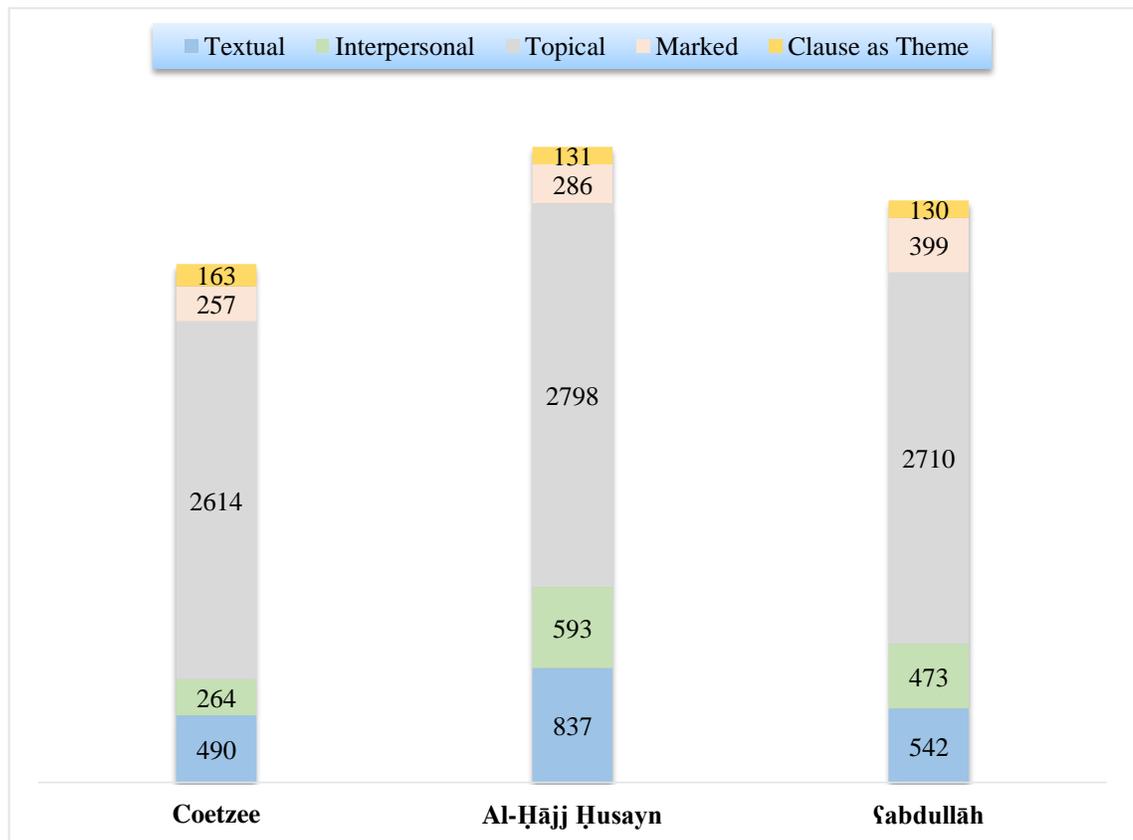
Nonetheless, in the present study, the thematic structure analysis will be carried out in accordance with the description of the system of Theme of each respective language as provided above. That is, the process will be considered the Theme of VS sequence in the MSA, because, following Munday (1997: 83; 1998a: 188) in his Spanish-English account, the VS in MSA and SV in English could be realised as systemically similar from the standpoint that the two sequences do not involve the addition of more semantic features. This is also in line with the principal aim of this chapter: testing out the ST presentation of the narrative events in translation, the renderings of the ST spatio-temporal point of view, since its linguistic manifestation is closely related to the system of markedness in the two languages. As mentioned above, apart from the SV sequence the system of markedness in the SL is to a great extent congruent to that of the TL. The two languages thematise the complement, spatial and temporal circumstantial adjuncts and hypotactic clauses as marked Themes. Furthermore, since this study is not concerned with showing types of thematic progression proposed by Daneš (1974), which are adopted in the STs and the TTs on the global level, the level of text, not adapting or redefining the thematic boundary avoids forcing one framework of thematic analysis on the other, as apparently do both Munday (1997; 1998) and McCabe (1999). More importantly, this will also permit me to observe the translators' (conscious or unconscious) treatment of the English unmarked SV sequence whether or not the ST exerts its influence on their translations by mirroring the unmarked SV sequence of the original language, so that they create marked motivated choice, affecting the information

flow. In addition, as pointed out by Munday (2000: 44), one advantage of conducting the thematic analysis based on each language SFL description will bring more insights into how the SL and TL organise themselves thematically and to what extent they are different in terms of exhausting various metafunctional resources in the thematic boundary (multiple Themes). Finally, it should be pointed out that it would be beyond the scope of the present study to scrutinise possible alterations in the ST spatio-temporal point of view, resulting from the translators' thematising of the process as a way of normalising the ST structure into that of the TTs (see Munday, 2008).

#### 4.6 Quantitative Results

Figure 4.2 below shows the overall results of the different types of Theme found in the ST and the TTs. It also displays the choices of marked Topical Themes, including the hypotactic clauses.

Figure 4.2. Frequency of different types of Theme in ST and TTs



As gleaned from the figure above, there are clear differences in the thematic choices between the ST and the TTs. One notable distinction is that there is a far higher number of Textual and Interpersonal Themes in the TTs. With a total number of 837 occurrences, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT scores a higher frequency of Textual Themes, as opposed to the ST (490 occurrences) and even the other translation (542 occurrences). As for the total number of Interpersonal Themes, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT is found to be over two times as many, accounting for 593 occurrences, in contrast to the ST (264 times), while in Ṣabdullāh's TT, it is approximately doubled, registering 473 instances, compared to the ST. The huge disparity in the total number of Textual and Interpersonal Themes implies that the two translations feature with the characteristics of explicitation of the textual links: the ST logico-semantic relationships between the clauses are explicitly rendered, and with the addition of attitudes and judgements.

Another notable difference is that there is a clear distinction with respect to the frequency of marked Topical Themes recorded in the ST and TTs. Marked thematic options are more frequent in Ṣabdullāh's TT (399 occurrences) and Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT (286 occurrences) than the ST (257 occurrences). By contrast, a lesser tendency to thematise hypotactic clauses is identified in the two translations. The total number of marked hypotactic clauses as Theme is almost the same in the two translations, with 130 occurrences in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT and 130 occurrences in Ṣabdullāh's TT, in contrast to the ST (163 occasions). The distinction in the overall number of thematic marked choices signals a difference in what clause elements are given narrative prominence in the TTs. Thus, the focus of information in the content of the clause message is expected to be varied among the texts. This, in turn, gives us a hint that shifts can be registered in the ST perceptual facets of psychological point of view in the two TTs. In what follows, I will discuss the rationales behind these differences between the original and the TTs, and look closely at some specific instances to highlight potential translational shifts in the ST point of view.

#### **4.6.1 Textual and Interpersonal Themes in Translation**

The extensive use of Textual Themes in the two translations may be interpreted as introducing explicitation, providing more information to the target reader. In this regard, arguing for universal features of translation, that are deemed to be existed in translated texts in contrast to these of parallel, non-translated, several translation theorists such as Baker (2003: 243) and Klaudy (2008: 107) postulate that adding cohesive devices (i.e., Textual Themes) could be one inherent characteristics of the translation process in general, by which the translators attempt to explicitate the target texts for the target audience. This could be the case in the TTs, which show a strong tendency to make implicit textual links in the original explicit. The analysis also reveals that the two translators on other occasions change the hypotactic sequences into paratactic ones and then explicitly mark the logico-semantic relationship between them by the use of Textual Themes. This kind of shift also explains the slight rise in the total number of the Topical Themes (see below). The tabulated examples below provide insights into the introduction of textual links in the TTs (Textual Themes are shown in bold; Topical Themes are underlined).

		Examples	Back-translation
4.25	Coetzee	There are other humiliations too. <u>My requests for clean clothes</u> are ignored. I have nothing to wear but what I brought with me. Each exercise day, under the eye of the guard, I wash one item. (2004: 93)	
4.25a	Al-Hājj Ḥusayn	كان هناك خزي من نوع آخر أيضا. <u>فقد تجاهلوا كل طلباتي للملابس النظيفة</u> . ليس لدي ما أرتديه سوى ما جلبته معي. (2004: 121)	There was another kind of humiliation, as well. [ <i>fa</i> = <b>That is</b> ] <u>they ignored</u> all my demands for clean clothes. I had nothing to wear except what I had brought with me.
4.26	Coetzee	I think of the care he has spent on my office. <u>He</u> does not simply hurl my papers in a corner and prop his boots on my desk [...]. (2004:96)	
4.26a	Ṣabdullāh	أفكر في الاهتمام الذي أبداه تجاه مكنتي. فهو ببساطة لم يجمع أوراقني في زاوية ولم يضع حذاءه فوق طاولتي [...]. (2004: 121)	I think of the care that he has shown for my office. [ <i>fa</i> = <b>That is</b> ] <u>he</u> does not simply

			place my papers at the corner and put his shoes on my desk [...].
4.27	Coetzee	<u>He</u> does not answer, continuing his pretence of reading the documents. (2004: 84)	
4.27a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	لم <u>يجب</u> على سوالي، واستمر في تظاهره بقراءة الوثائق. (2004: 110)	He did not <u>answer</u> my question, <b>and</b> <u>he continued</u> his pretence of reading the documents.
4.28	Coetzee	<u>Scuttling from hole to hole like a mouse</u> I forfeit even the appearance of innocence. (2004: 110)	
4.28a	Ṣabdullāh	أركض من حفرة إلى حفرة مثل فأرة، وأخسر حتى مظهر البراءة. (2004: 121)	<u>I am running</u> from hole to hole like a mouse <b>and</b> <u>I lose</u> even the appearance of innocence.

In Examples 4.25 and 4.26, the logico-semantic relationship among the clauses is paratactic elaborating relationship. In the former, the paratactic elaborating relationship is of the exemplification type, so the following clause can be construed as apposition to the primary clause (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 462). In the primary paratactic clause (‘There are other humiliations too’), the narrator-character reports on the existence of other forms of mortifications he experiences in his confinement. The ensuing paratactic clause, the secondary clause, does not provide a new statement. Rather, it elaborates the meaning of the primary clause’s report; it develops it by giving a more specific detail that describes the kind of humiliation he refers to at the beginning of this episode. However, in the original examples, this logico-semantic relationship is implicitly marked by not resorting to an explicit conjunction. It might not need to be explicitly signalled, since it could be easy for the source audience to infer that from the context. By contrast, in its MSA counterpart, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn explicates the meaning of elaboration between the two paratactic clauses by using a prolitic conjunction *fa*, which could be back-translated in such contexts as *in particular* or *that is* as pointed out by Abdul-Fattah (2010: 107). Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s decision could serve the purpose of raising the level of the target text readability. The same is held true of Ṣabdullāh’s translation. As for Example 4.26, the ST continuing clause (‘He does not

simply hurl’) is clarifying the initiating clause, but this clarification type of paratactic elaborating relationship between these two paratactic clauses is left implicit. By contrast, Ṣabdullāh in her translation employs the conjunction element *fa* just like Al-Ḥājj Ḥusaynt o explicitly signify this logico-semantic relationship.

In Examples 4.27a and 4.28a, the logico-semantic relationship among the clauses is that of hypotactic extending semantic type of relationship. That is, the hypotactic clauses are construed as extending the meaning of the paratactic clauses in the sense that they add new statements to the head clauses. As for their Arabic counterparts, the two translations involve shifting the ST hypotactic sequences, which are progressive (continuing his pretence [...]) and regressive (‘Scuttling from hole to hole like a mouse [...]’), respectively. Here, each translator produces two paratactic clauses by rendering the hypotactically related clauses as independent clauses, freely standing clauses and then links them by using the conjunction و (and). In doing so, they make the ST extending semantic type of relationship among the paratactic clauses explicit.

As for the translation of Interpersonal Themes, the huge disparity in the number of the Interpersonal Themes between the ST and the TTs could be owing in part to the syntactic differences between the ST and TL. The modal finite operators in an unmarked declarative sequence of elements in English are positioned medially, typically following the subject that realises the Topical Theme. By contrast, the finite modal or temporal operators and particles (see Table 4.6 above) come initially in unmarked declarative verbal-initial sequences of elements in MSA. Hence, whereas the modal finite operators are not thematic in unmarked declarative English sequences, they are so in MSA, as illustrated in the examples given below:

Example 4.29 (Coetzee, 2004: 91)

<b>Theme Topical</b>		<b>Rheme</b>
‘I		will defend myself in a court of law’.

Example 4.29a (Al-Hājj Ḥusayn, 2004: 119):

Rheme				Theme	
المحكمة	في	نفسي	عن	أدافع	سوف
the-court	in	my-self	of	I-defend	will

‘I will defend myself in the court.’

Example 4.29b (Ṣabdullāh, 2004: 121)

Rheme					Theme	
قانونية	محكمة	في	نفسي	عن	سأدافع	سوف
legal	court	in	my-self	of	I-defend	will

‘I will defend myself in a legal court.’

Example 4.29, a typical unmarked declarative clause, starts with the subject, the Topical Theme, followed by the finite modal operator *will*, which expresses a willingness meaning in this context. The presence of the first transitivity element, the subject *I* exhausts the thematic boundary of the clause. So, the finite modal operator *will* is located within the rhematic part of the clause. In its unmarked MSA counterparts, by contrast, the modal particles *سوف* and its short form *س* prefixed to the verb, which are equivalent to the English modal operator *will/would*, are placed initially as interpersonal resources of the Theme in the translations. Their positioning at the beginning of the clause before the process is dictated by the structural demands of MSA. In fact, concerning other language pairs, the increase of Interpersonal Themes as a result of systemic differences is also reported in a number of investigative studies. Munday (2000: 48), for instance, notes that although the multiple Themes between Spanish and English are generally maintained in translation, the number of Interpersonal Themes in Spanish is slightly higher than in English. The same conclusion is also drawn by McCabe (1999: 242-3) in her analysis of a comparable corpus composed of

English and Spanish original published history textbooks, which are not translationally related. By the same token, Kim and Zhi (2012: 81) point out that in Chinese there is an increase in the frequency of Interpersonal Themes relative to that in English. They (ibid.: 85) show that the English translations of the Chinese short story *Small Incident* by Lu Xun contain more Interpersonal Themes in contrast to the original text, (3 to 13). This is because the interpersonal meanings in the Chinese interrogative clauses are frequently triggered by grammatical particles that are positioned at the end of the clauses, whilst in the English interrogative clauses, finite operators or interrogative wh-elements are placed initially to designate the interpersonal meanings.

Interpersonal meanings grounded in the thematic stretch in two translations also spring from the fact that the two translators often prepose the comment and modal adjuncts that are given rhematic statuses in the ST. Even though the comment and modal assessment can be clause-medial or clause-final elements in MSA, there is a preference for positioning them initially (Anghelescu, 1999: 134; Bardi, 2008: 191). Hence, it seems that the two translators attempt to normalise the English structure in the translations so as to enhance the processibility of the TTs. This can be evident in the following examples, in which the ST rhematic comment adjunct *indeed* and modal adjunct *likely* are shunted towards the starting point of clauses in translation:

Example 4.30 (Coetzee, 2004: 109)

<b>Theme</b>		<b>Rheme</b>
The spring wheat		is indeed ruined.

Example 4.30a (Al-Hājj Ḥusayn, 2004: 141)

<b>Rheme</b>			<b>Theme</b>	
الربيع	قمح		تدمير	لقد
the-spring	wheat		it-was-ruined	indeed
				حقاً،
				really

‘Indeed, the spring wheat had been ruined.’

Example 4.31 (Coetzee, 2004: 123)

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Rheme</b>
They	are very likely gambling-sticks.

Example 4.31a (ʕabdullāh, 2004: 161)

<b>Rheme</b>					<b>Theme</b>
مراهنة	عيدان	تكون	أن	جدا	من المحتمل
gambling	sticks	it-to be	that	very	of probable

‘It is very probable that they are sticks of gambling.’

Another reason that contributes to the disparity of the Interpersonal Themes is that the TTs feature further qualifications of the ST statements. More modal comments or assessments are added to the prominent part of the clauses in translation, which are not included in the ST:

Example 4.32 (Coetzee, 2004: 62)

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Rheme</b>
for the next weeks	everyone will eat well

Example 4.32a (Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn, 2004: 119)

<b>Rheme</b>					<b>Theme</b>			
القادمة	الأسابيع	في	جيذا	سيأكلون	<b>Topical</b>		<b>Interpersonal</b>	
the-coming	the-weeks	in	well	they-will-eat	الجميع	أن	للعيان	بدا
					all	that	for-the-witnesses	seem

‘it seemed to the witnesses that everyone would eat well in the next weeks’

Example 4.33 (Coetzee, 2004: 94):

<b>Topical Theme</b>		<b>Rheme</b>
I		am forgetting the girl.

Example 4.33a (ʕabdullāh, 2004: 124)

<b>Rheme</b>		<b>Theme</b>						
الفتاة the-girl		<table border="0" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">Topical</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;"></td> <td style="text-align: left;">Interpersonal</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">أنسى I-forget</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black;"></td> <td style="text-align: left;">إنني I-indeed</td> </tr> </table>	Topical		Interpersonal	أنسى I-forget		إنني I-indeed
Topical		Interpersonal						
أنسى I-forget		إنني I-indeed						

‘Indeed, I am forgetting the girl.’

Notice how, in the original examples, the clauses’ points of embarkation contain only Topical Themes, namely the circumstantial adjunct *for the next weeks* and the subject *I*. In contrast, in their translations, Interpersonal Themes are inserted. This, in turn, introduces further judgments or attitudes to the TTs clauses. In Example 4.32a, which is rendered as unmarked unlike the ST, an interpersonal metaphor is added; that is, the metaphorically projecting clause *بدا للعيان* (it seemed to the witnesses) signifies the interpersonal assessment of modality that expresses evidentiality. It serves as a modal adjunct that realises the proposition of the projected clause (*الجميع سيأكلون [...]*). Hence, the already ST qualified proposition with the modal operator *will* is further qualified in the TT by use of the modal of perception (see Chapter 5). Similarly, in Example 4.33a, the modal particle *إن* (verily/truly) is included in the TT. Infrequently occurring in MSA, this modal particle holds ‘a truth intensifying function’ (Ryding, 2005: 425). It is an epistemic modal employed to express the view that the proposition is highly certain. Thus, the ST categorical assertion is shifted into a qualified factual statement in the TT. It is probable that the translator tries to enhance the content of the message: the failure of the I-narrator to remember the barbarian girl, since towards the end of the ST narrative episode, the narrator-character later reports the same clause twice with the use of the substitution (i.e., the pronominal form *her* instead of the overt noun phrase *the girl*) to express his advertent act of not thinking of the barbarian. Again, the translator opts to maintain her choice of adding the modal particle *إن* in rendering the ST clauses.

The fourth reason has to do with the alteration of the ST temporal point of view, especially the use of the simultaneous present tense (see Chapter 3). The TTs are characterised with additions of finite temporal operators and particles that encode the ‘primary tense’ of the clause: past, present and future (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 144). The modification of the ST narrative technique is widely reflected in the employment of certain temporal operators and particles that ground the propositions in the particular temporal point in the past relative to the here-and-now of the I-narrating, namely كان and ‘its sisters’ and قد (ل) particle. As mentioned above, the temporal operators and particles realise Interpersonal Themes in unmarked MSA verb-initial segmentation of elements, typically preceding the verb that conflate with the Topical Theme. This is well-exemplified in the following extract (Interpersonal Themes are shown in bold; Topical Themes are marked by single underlining):

		Examples	Back-translation
4.34	Coetzee	<p><u>I</u> stare all day at the empty walls, unable to believe that the imprint of all the pain and degradation they have enclosed will not materialize under an intent enough gaze [...]. <u>I</u> pray for the day when these walls will be levelled and the unquiet echoes can finally take wing [...].</p> <p><u>I</u> look forward with craving to exercise times [...].</p> <p>(2004: 87)</p>	
4.34a	Al-Hājj Husayn	<p><b>كنت</b> <u>أحدق</u> طوال النهار بالجدران الفارغة غير قادر على التصديق أن وصمة الألم والإنحطاط التي أحاطوني بها سوف لن تتجسد تحت نظرة مركزة. [...].</p> <p><b>كنت</b> <u>أضرع</u> إلى اليوم الذي ستمهد فيه الجدران حتى تستطيع الأصداء الصاخبة أن تطير أخيرا [...].</p> <p><b>كنت</b> <u>أتطلع</u> بلهفة لأوقات تنفس أكثر [...].</p> <p>(2004: 114)</p>	<p><i>I was staring</i> all day at the empty walls, unable to believe that the mark of pain and degradation with which they enclosed me will not embody under a concentrated look [...].</p> <p><i>I was beseeching</i> to the day that the walls will be levelled, for the roaring echoes can finally fly [...].</p> <p><i>I was looking forward</i> with eagerness to the times of exercise more [...].</p>

This TT excerpt shows an abundance in the use of the Interpersonal Themes. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn consistently employs the perfect form of the temporal operator كنت ('verb to be') that holds temporal value encoding past time reference, although there is no indication of this particular point of time in the ST, as already explained in the previous chapter. In this episode, the temporal operators are situated within the thematic stretch of the paratactic clauses, realising interpersonal meanings, whereas the imperfect form of the main verbs (أطلع and أضرع، أصدق), which conflate with the Topical Themes, indicate the aspect of the events. In contrast, these finite temporal operators and particles are sporadically found in Ṣabdullāh's TT.

#### 4.6.2 Topical Themes in Translation

The examination of the translation of the ST Topical Themes reveals that a number of rationales explain the increase in the total number of the Topical Themes in the TTs compared to that of the ST, some of which contribute to reproducing different perceptions of the narrative event including different foci of messages in translation. The first notable reason is the two translators' preferences for dividing a clause simplex or complexes into a number of paratactic clauses. A number of studies, referring to different language pairs, report the same observation in their analysis of thematic structure. For instance, Munday (1998: 192) attributes the slight increase in the number of Topical Themes in Edith Grossman's English translation of Gabriel García Márquez's (1992) short story *Miss Forbes' Summer of Happiness*, to breaking the clauses in addition to the increase in the number of the embedded clauses.

Breaking the ST clauses in translation produces a shift in the logical tactic relationship. Stemming from redistributing the ST condensed information across a number of independent paratactic clauses, this shift could be interpreted as an attempt on the part of the two translators to simplify the ST, presenting the content of the message as clearly as possible to the target audience (Baker, 1993: 243-245). Examples of dividing the clause complexes are as follows:

Example 4.35 (Coetzee, 2004: 96)

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Rheme</b>
there	is a faraway hum in the air, a faint electric quality to the still afternoon that fails to resolve itself into distinguishable sounds but leaves me tense and restless.

Example 4.35a (Al-Hāj̄j Ḥusayn, 2004: 125)

	<b>Rheme</b>		<b>Theme</b>		<b>Rheme</b>		<b>Theme</b>	
[...] الهادئة	الظهيرة	لذلك	وهي		في الهواء.	بعيدة	دمدمة	كانت هناك
	the-							it-to
the-quiet	afternoon	for-that	it and		the-air in	faraway	hum	there be

‘There was a faraway hum in the air. It is a low electric speciality of that quiet afternoon [...]’

Example 4.36 (Coetzee, 2004: 96)

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Rheme</b>
my whole being	is preoccupied in sniffing and sneezing, in the misery of being simply a body that feels itself sick and wants to be well.

Example 4.36a (Ṣabdullāh, 2004: 125)

<b>Rheme</b>		<b>Theme</b>		<b>Rheme</b>		<b>Theme</b>	
جسدا	ببساطة	ليؤس	إنه	والعطس	التنشيق	منشغل	كل وجودي
body	simply	verily-	it-	and the-sneeze	the-sniff	in working	my-being all
	you-to be	unfortunate	indeed				

‘All my being is immersed in sniffing and sneezing; it is unfortunate that you are simply a body [...]’

In Example 4.35a, the ST long clause complex is split into two paratactic clauses and the semantic type of elaboration relationship between them is explicitly triggered by the use of the MSA cohesive marker **و** (and). Furthermore, the pronominal form **هي** (it), the participant of the clause, is also used as another cohesive device to anaphorically refer to the TT rhematic element **دمدمة** (hum). Al-Hāj̄j Ḥusayn also changes the ST’s use of a comma, which signifies

the clause complexes, into a full-stop in the TT. This gives a clear indication of the separation of the ST clause complex. It is to be noted that although the ST clause complex is broken in the translation, the ST rhematic elements are rendered as such in the TT. That is to say, they kept their rhematic status in translation. Thus, it seems that dividing the ST clauses does not always trigger a shift in the thematic development of the text at the global level. In this regard, investigating the thematic progression in five Norwegian translations of an English scientific text, Rørvik (2003: 261) reports that the shifts in Theme-Rheme structures do not necessarily change the thematic progression of the TTs. Rørvik (ibid.) explains how, despite the fact that there are substantial variations among the thematic profiles of the translations, the method of the thematic development of the TTs closely conforms to that of the ST, in part, because some thematic choices, which are identified as shifts in the TTs, are still picked up from the same rhematic elements in the previous sentences. As for Example 4.36a, Şabdullāh separates the ST long clause complex by rendering the ST prepositional phrase *in the misery of being* as a thematised comment *إنه ليؤس* which serves as a metaphorically projecting clause. This rendition is treated as a new T-unit in the present study. However, Şabdullāh leaves the logico-semantic relationship implicit in the translation by opting not to include any conjunctions (Textual Themes). Instead, the original punctuation, the comma, is retained in her TT.

Another reason, which is closely related to the clause complex splitting, is the rendering of the hypotactic clauses into paratactic ones in the two translations:

Example 4.37 (Coetzee, 2004: 112)

<b>Theme (hypotactic clause)</b>		<b>Rheme</b>
Kneeling with an ear to the crack of the door		I try to make out what is going on.

Example 4.37a (Al-Ĥājj Ĥusayn, 2004: 144)

<b>Rheme</b>		<b>Theme</b>		<b>Rheme</b>		<b>Theme</b>
		Topical	Textual			

يجري	ما	معرفة	حاولت		في الباب	شق	خلال	من	و		∅		ركعت
running	that	knowing	I-tried		in the-door	crack	through	from	and				I-knelt

'I knelt and through a crack of the door, I tried to know what was going on.'

Example 4.38 (Coetzee, 2004: 110):

**Theme**

Scuttling from hole to hole like a mouse

**Rheme**

I forfeit even the appearance of innocence.

Example 4.38a (ʃabdullāh, 2004: 125)

<b>Rheme</b>			<b>Theme</b>		<b>Rheme</b>					<b>Theme</b>	
			Topical	Textual						Topical	
البراءة.	مظهر	حتى	أخسر	و	فأرة	مثل	حفرة	إلى	حفرة	من	أركض
the-innocence	appearance	even	I-lose	and	mouse	like	hole	to	hole	from	I-run

'I am running from hole to hole like a mouse and I lose even the appearance of innocence'

Here the two translators change the logical tactic relationships of the ST clause complexes. The ST hypotactic statuses that the thematic clauses enjoy are rendered as freestanding clauses; they are reproduced as paratactic clauses in translation, as the two translators seemingly opt for a more natural and usual way to start the clauses. In Example 4.37a, the one ST T-unit is transferred into two. The ST non-finite hypotactic is split in the translation. The ST imperfect process, *kneeling* is upgraded to a level of a major clause ركعت (I knelt) that includes a perfect form of the verb, while the remaining part of the ST hypotactic clause, the propositional phrase (with an ear to the crack of the door) becomes alone the marked Topical Theme for the ST paratactic clause. The translator also leaves out the ST prepositional phrase *with an ear* in the translation, which, in turn, attenuates the portrayal of the scene in the sense that the mental picture of the narrative event that the target readers paint is not as detailed as the narrator-character depicts. Moreover, the translator's choice of omitting this prepositional phrase could leave the target readers with open possibilities to guess whether the narrator-character attempts to peep into or listen through the crack of the

door in order to make sense of what is happening outside his hiding place. Likewise, in Example 4.38a, the ST non-finite hypotactic clause (‘Scuttling from hole to hole like a mouse’) ceases to provide the framework for the interpretation of the clause complex in Ṣabdullāh’s TT, as it holds a paratactic status. In doing this, the ST marked thematic option is shifted into an unmarked option in the TT.

The other reason for the increase in the total number of Themes in translation is the two translators’ strong tendency to upgrade the ST minor clauses, that do not have processes or elliptical clauses, that have only one part of the thematic organisation of the clause (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 127-8), to major clauses in the translations, consisting of full thematic structures. Consider the translation of the ST elliptical clause ‘*a storm?*’ in the following instances (emphasis added):

		Examples	Back-translation
4.40	Coetzee	<b>A storm?</b> Though I press my ear to the door I can make out nothing. The barracks yard is empty. (2004: 96)	
4.40a	Al-Hājj Ḥusayn	هل هي العاصفة؟ على الرغم من أنني ألصقت أذني على الباب لم أستطع أن استوضح شيئاً. ساحة التكنة كانت فارغة. (2004: 125)	<b>Is it the storm?</b> Although I stuck my ear to the door, I could not make clear anything. The barracks yard was empty.
4.40b	Ṣabdullāh	أهي عاصفة؟ على الرغم من أنني أضغط بأذني على الباب فإنني لا أستطيع أن أميز شيئاً. ساحة التكنات خالية. (2004: 126)	<b>Is it a storm?</b> Although I press my ear on the door, I cannot distinguish anything. The barrack yard is empty.

The free direct representation of the narrator-character’s thought that is triggered by his self-address (‘*A storm?*’) is standardised in the two translations. That is to say, the ST elliptical clause consists only of the rhematic part, while the thematic part (i.e., the subject and the predicator) is left out, but is recovered by the listener or reader from the context. This kind of clause, however, is translated as a full un-qualified major clause in the two translations as (‘*Is it a storm?*’). The normalisation of the ST clauses here could serve the purpose of readability; however, it affects the narrator-character’s representation of his states of mind.

This issue will be discussed in the following chapter, which is concerned with the translation of the ST point of view at the phraselogical level.

Finally, in contrast to ʕabdullāh’s TT, which includes new TT major clauses according to the unit of analysis identified for the present study (the T-unit), there is one instance of the addition of a major clause in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT, which is proved to be crucial to the alteration of the ST fictional world in translation (emphasis added):

		Examples	Back-translation
4.41	Coetzee	Then, though I postpone it, the time comes when I have to relieve myself. (2004: 94)	
4.41a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	ثم وعلى الرغم من أنني أجلت ذلك كثيرا جاءت اللحظة التي يجب أن أريح فيها نفسي، نعم لقد جاءت. (2004: 132)	Then, although I postponed that much, the moment in which I must relieve myself, had come. <b>Yes, it had come.</b>

The TT major clause *نعم لقد جاءت* (‘Yes, it indeed came’) is inserted although there is no apparent indication, either structural or cultural, that pressures the translator to opt for such an addition. There seems no sense of ambiguity that the translator attempts to disambiguate for the target readers, as well. In other words, the insertion of the TT clause is not necessitated as a means of explicitation for the purpose of readability. Thus, it is attributable to his own interpretation of the ST. This addition makes the translator’s presence clearly felt. The TT clause shows how much the narrator-character knows about the occurrence of the event, since it confirms that the event did indeed happen. At the same time, the clause seems to guide the target readers to interpret the narrator-character’s report on what is happening next to mean that the narrator-character will relieve himself. Furthermore, the added major clause exhausts all thematic resources:

Theme		
Topical	Interpersonal	Textual
جاءت it-came	لقد indeed	نعم yes

‘Yes, it indeed came’

Here, along with the addition of Topical Theme جاءت, which introduces a new process and subsequently a new event to the world of translated fiction, the translator opts to use the Textual Theme, a continuative نعم, which signifies a move in the dialogue (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 107). The translator then creates an overt dialogic interaction between the I-narrator and his narratees. Simultaneously, this seems to lead to the assumption that they are expected to be present at the same moment of narration. However, DelConte (2007: 107-8) argues, that the simultaneous narratives such as *WFB* do not provide enough detail to confirm the presence of the narratees at the narrative scenes, since the time and place of narrating is the same of that of experiencing, nor will it be accessible to future narratees. Hence, the addition of the Textual Theme in the TT that mark the explicit address of the assumed narratees contributes to shifting the ST fictional world. The Interpersonal Theme is realised by including the temporal particle لقد. Accordingly, the translator conveys the narrator-character’s judgement on the arrival of the moment of relief.

After having reviewed the rationales behind the discrepancy in the total number of Topical Themes between the ST and TTs, in the next section, I will further focus attention on the renderings of the ST’s marked thematic options and how these relate to the ST point of view being affected on the spatio-temporal plane.

#### 4.6.3 Marked Topical Themes in Translation

As indicated in Figure 4.2. above, the TTs score a higher frequency of marked Themes in contrast to the original. In particular, there is a slight increase of marked thematic options in Al-Hājj Ḥusayn’s TT, whereas, the discrepancy between the original and Ṣabdullāh’s TT is

enormous. The difference in the occurrences of marked Themes mainly stems from the two translators' syntactic preferences. One significant manifestation is the two translators' tendencies for the close adherence to the ST syntactic construction, which reveals that the ST exerts its influence over the TTs. In lieu of opting for neutral sequences of elements, the two translators appear to copy the English SV sequencing of elements, producing MSA nominal-initial segmentations, where the predicators are preceded by the subjects (Subject/Theme ^ Predicator/Rheme). This tendency is found to be more salient in Ṣabdullāh's TT than in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT (see Figure 4.3).

As discussed earlier (see Subsection 4.4.1 Sequence of elements in MSA), this type of nominal-initial segmentations is employed to ascribe more additional semantic features to the utterances (Abdul-Raof, 1998: 111). Copying the ST sequencing of elements can be shown in the following instances:

Example 4.42 (Coetzee, 2004: 84)

<b>Theme</b>		<b>Rheme</b>
A pile of brown folders tied with pink tapes		lies at his elbow

Example 4.42a (Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn, 2004: 110)

<b>Rheme</b>		<b>Theme</b>	
<b>Predicator</b>		<b>Subject</b>	
كوعه    عند    تستلقي		البنية    الأوراق    حافظات	من    كومة
his-    at    it-lie		the-brown    the-papers    containers	from    pile
elbow		pink    شرائط    المربوطة	
		with-	
		ribbons    the-tied	

'A pile of folders for brown papers tied by pink ribbons lay at his elbow'

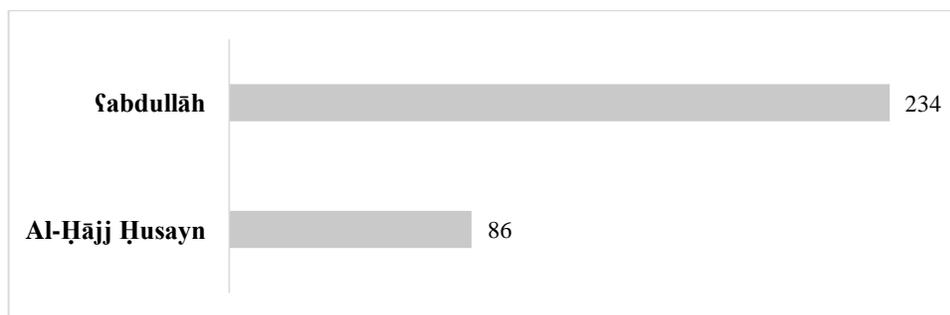
Example 4.42b (Ṣabdullāh, 2004: 111)

<b>Rheme</b>		<b>Theme</b>
--------------	--	--------------

		Predicator			Subject			
مرفقه	عند	تستقر	وردية	بأشرطة	مرزومة	البنية	الملفات	كمية
his-elbow	at	it-settle	pink	with-ribbons	packed	the-brown	the-file	amount

‘An amount of brown files packed with pink ribbons lies at his elbow’

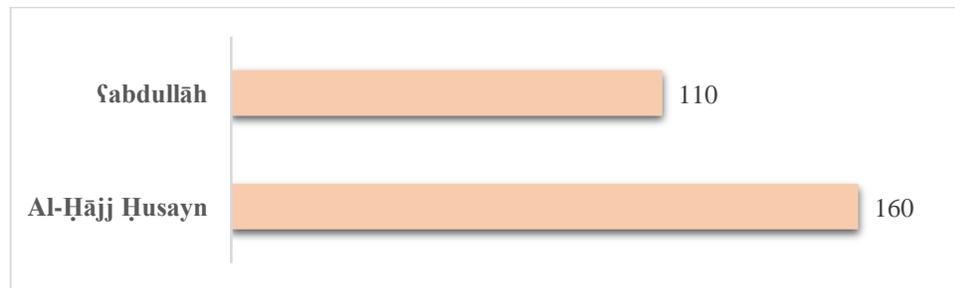
Figure 4.3. Frequency of the marked nominal-initial sequence



It is noticeable that the two translations reflect the linear process of translation adopted by the translators. The syntactic construction of this ST sentence is not disrupted in the TTs. Rather, the two translators closely follow the original structure to the degree of calquing it. The TTs thematic elements are picked up from the English ones rather than foregrounding the verbs تستقر and تستلقي as the Themes of the MSA clause complexes. Their thematic options here do not consider the pragmatic reasons of using the nominal-initial sequences in MSA, since mimicking the unmarked rigid English sequence, as is the case in the TTs instances above will inevitably generate a MSA motivated version by focusing the nominal group acting so as to convey emphatic meanings and new information. Hence, while the original sentence does not express a more motivated meaning, its TT counterparts lay more emphasis on the subject. The linear process of translation is also reported by Hasselgård (2004) in her investigation of 1200 sentence pairs from the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus. Hasselgård (ibid.: 194, 209) highlights, that although there are formal differences between English and Norwegian, the translators tend to retain Topical Themes. This, she argues, highly implies that the translators are more concerned with the preservation of the original thematic options in translation (ibid.). On the contrary, the close adherence to an original text may stem from the fact that some translators at first espouse a literal translation strategy when engaging in translating, a strategy that is sustained and only abandoned if they become displeased with their products (Munday, 2008: 111).

Although the two translations are characterised by more marked thematic choices, there are some instances, in which the ST marked options are not reproduced, which lead to creating different presentation of the ST narrative events in the TTs. The close examination of the ST thematic option reveals that Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT accounts for 160 instances of shifts (see Figure 4.4). Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn shows a strong tendency for shifting the ST hypotactic clauses which are identified as marked Themes. Of the total number of this type of shift in his TT, 40 occurrences are recorded, in which the thematic hypotactic clauses are neutralised, rendered as unmarked Theme in translation, mainly by the means of altering the ST regressive sequence of hypotactic related clauses ( $\beta \wedge \alpha$ ) into hypotactic progressive sequence ( $\alpha \wedge \beta$ ).

**Figure 4.4.** Frequency of unmarked thematic shifts in TTs



Thus, the dominant clause becomes the Theme in the TT in lieu of being the Rheme. In contrast, there are 110 instances of shifts in Ṣabdullāh's TT, of which 17 instances have to do with shifting the ST thematic hypotactic clauses. This further supports the assumption that Ṣabdullāh follows more closely the syntactic structure of the ST. Moreover, the ST features 11 occurrences of marked verbal process (verbial group expressing verbal action) clauses, in which the process is followed by the participant, Sayer, (e.g., 'says our guide'). All these original occurrences are rendered as unmarked thematic choices in the two TTs, which is interpreted as an attempt to aim for the normalisation of the ST structures.

Now let us consider the impact of altering the original thematic options in translation on the ST spatio-temporal point of view in the following instances:

Example 4.43 (Coetzee, 2004: 111)

<b>Theme</b>		<b>Rheme</b>		<b>Theme</b>		<b>Rheme</b>
[I]n the dim light		we peer at each other through the bars:		it is the man		assigned as my warder.

Example 4.43a (Al-Hājj Ḥusayn, 2004: 143)

<b>Rheme</b>		<b>Theme</b>		<b>Rheme</b>		<b>Theme</b>
بحراستي      كف      الذي      الرجل		كان		القضبان      عبر		الخافت      الضوء      في      بعضنا      إلى      تطلعنا
with-      he-      who      the-		to be		the-bars      through		the-      the-      in      some-      to      we-
escorting-me      entrusted      man						dim      light      us      looked

‘We looked at each other in the dim light through the bars. He was the man that was assigned to escort me.’

Example 4.43b (Ṣabdullāh, 2004: 145)

<b>Rheme</b>		<b>Theme</b>		<b>Rheme</b>		<b>Theme</b>
حارسا لي      عين      الذي      الرجل		إنه		القضبان      عبر		العتمة      في      الأخر      إلى      أهدنا      ينظر
warder for-      he-      who      the-		he-indeed		the-bars      through		the-dark-      in      the-      to      one-      see
me      assigned      man						ness      other      us

‘We looked at each other in the darkness through the bars. Indeed, he was the man that was assigned as my warder.’

Example 4.44 (Coetzee, 2004: 64)

<b>Textual</b>		<b>Theme</b>		<b>Rheme</b>
So		<b>Topical</b>		we plod south and then eastward.
		for the first three days		

Example 4.44a (Ṣabdullāh, 2004: 85)

<b>Rheme</b>		<b>Theme</b>
		<b>Topical</b>   <b>Textual</b>

الشرق.	باتجاه	ثم	جنوباً	أيام	ثلاثة	السير	في	نكدح	وهكذا
the-east	towards	after	south	days	three	walking	in	we-labour	and so

‘And so, we plod three days south and then towards east.’

In Example 4.43, the narrator-character reports on his returning, after escaping his imprisonment, to the gate of the barrack yard, where he meets his jailer. The circumstantial adjunct of place (*in the dim light*) acting as the marked Topical Theme establishes the spatial coordinates of the narrator-character in his fictional world. It provides the readers with an access to his viewing vantage point. That is, the readers build up in their minds’ eyes the place as perceived by the narrator-character. By contrast, against the calquing trend of the ST syntactic structure identified above, the two translators produce neutral thematic options in Examples 4.43a and 4.43b, since their translations are developed around the behavioural processes (ينظر and تطلعنا), which are typically the psychological and physical processes, involving actions performed by participants who are, at the same time, perceivers of these actions (Eiggins, 2004:235). So, the ST spatial point of view is affected. Furthermore, in narrative, the circumstantial adjunct as marked Theme often communicates a surprising development of the event, usually from the observer’s viewpoint (Fludernik, 2009: 72). The ST example is a case in point. The ST circumstantial adjunct as focused Theme here sets up the implication of why the I-narrator takes moments to eventually recognise the man he is looking at, who is revealed to be his jailer in the subsequent clause. This focus is lost in the TTs due to displacement of the circumstantial adjunct. In the same ST example, one should note that in the preceding clause, the jailer, who has been already introduced to the readers (i.e., Given) is made the culmination of information in this clause by the grammatical means of Theme predication (*it is the man*); the ST readers are guided to identify the jailer as the nucleus of the message. Again, the information structure of the ST clause is affected in the TTs, since the jailer is presented as a Given element rather than the New element.

In Example 4.44a, which is concerned with highlighting the change of the original temporal perception, the ST marked thematic option is rendered as unmarked. In the original, the circumstantial adjunct of time (*for the first three days*) is foregrounded, seemingly to lay

emphasis on this particular period of time during the characters’ trip to the barbarians’ territory. It is evident that this meaning is to a slight extent changed in translation; the ST temporal positioning of the characters is disrupted. Although retained, the ST prepositional phrase is post-posed in Ṣabdullāh’s TT (the ST lexical item *first* is also left out). Accordingly, the ST instance is developed around the material process (نكح) in translation. Thus, the TT does not establish a point of access to the target readers for sharing the characters’ experiences.

Rendering ST marked options unmarked in the TTs is found to slightly alter the ST’s highly visual scenes, providing the TT readers with a different perception of events:

Example 4.45 (Coetzee, 2004: 114)

<b>Theme</b>		<b>Rheme</b>
With the bucket held up before me, slopping water over its sides,		I approach the rear of the crowd again.

Example 4.45a (Ṣabdullāh, 2004: 145)

<b>Rheme</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Rheme</b>	<b>Theme</b>
	<b>Top</b>	<b>Text</b>	<b>Top</b>
ثانية. الحشد من اقترب	و	مرفوعا أمامي أحمله وأنا	يتناثر من أطراف الدلو
second the-crowd from I-approach	and	before- me lifted I-carry- it	from it-spatter the-water

‘The water splatters from the bucket’s sides while lifting it up before me, and I approach the crowd again.’

Example 4.46 (Coetzee, 2004: 73)

<b>Theme</b>		<b>Rheme</b>
<b>Textual</b>	<b>Topical</b>	
Then.	on hands and feet,	dragging the felts, I inch my way back towards the girl.

Example 4.46a (Al-Hājj Ḥusayn, 2004: 96)

Rheme										Theme (hypotactic clause)		
تقف	الفتاة	كانت	حيث	قدمي	و	يدي	على	للوراء	قليلا	عدت	اللبادات،	ساحبا
she-	the-girl	she-	where	my-	and	my-hand	on	to-back	slightly	I-come	the-felts	pulling
stop		to be		feet						back		

‘Dragging the felts, I slightly moved backward on my hands and feet where the girl stood.’

Examples 4.45a and 4.46a illustrate how the ST visual scenes, the sequential movement of the camera (Simpson, 2004) are distorted, showing a different portrayal of the narrative event from that of the I-narrator. In Example 4.45, we are presented with what is filtered through the narrator-character’s eyes. It represents a visual shot providing a survey of the Magistrate’s movement towards the back of the crowd. His visual perspective shows first the bucket that he lifts up in front of him. Then, it moves on to show another detail that is the sloshing water from the buckets. In the ensuing scene, it presents his movement back into the crowd. By contrast, this order of presentation is disrupted in its TT counterpart. The ST clause is simplified. The translator divides the ST hypotactic clause complexes into two: a progressive hypotactic clause complex followed by a paratactic clause. These two TT clauses are joined by an explicit binder *و* (and). The ST circumstantial adjunct of accompaniment (*with bucket*) is also omitted, apparently because the translator may feel it is redundant. In fact, the lexical item *bucket* is already mentioned in the previous stretch of language. The translator opts to start this visual shot with the ST rankshifted (embedded) clause *slopping water over its sides*, which is rendered as a paratactic clause. Visually, the TT readers are orientated towards the water rather than the process of slopping as a result of producing a marked nominal-initial segmentation. Then, against the sequential movement of the original, the TT shows that the bucket is held up before the I-narrator. Hence, the TT readers are led to flesh out a totally different perception of the scene.

Likewise, Example 4.46a represents the reordering of the narrator-character’s perceptual experience. Here the translator first omits the ST Textual Theme *then*, which presents the consecutiveness of the narrative events and moves the ST thematic circumstantial adjunct of manner (on hands and feet) to the TT rhematic part of the clause, following the process (عدت [returned]). This can be interpreted as an attempt to simplify the TTs, just like ʃabdullāh’s.

The ST prepositional (towards the girl) is rendered as rankshifted clause, as well. As for the ST visual scene as portrayed by the translator, it orientates the TT readers towards the act of pulling the felts on the part of the Magistrate through the verb (عدت) to the circumstantial adjunct of manner (على يدي وقدمي). Hence, what is focalised through the Magistrate's visual perspective is distinct from what the TT audience experience.

#### 4.7 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter is to construct the thematic profiles of the ST and TTs and to show how the re-orderings of the original clauses and clausal-elements in translation create a different narrative depiction and focus. The thematic analysis is based on the SFL approach, since, most importantly, it avoids in my view the intuitive factor in assigning thematic and rhematic statuses of the parts of the messages, and in accordance with the T-unit. The analysis has shown a huge disparity between the ST and TTs in terms of the different types of Themes. The two TTs are found to be more textured and to involve more assessment and judgments grounded in the thematic stretches. Principally, this results from:

- I. A high tendency to explicate the ST's implicit the logico-semantic relationship between clauses.
- II. Converting the ST hypotactic sequences into paratactic ones and then explicitly marking the logico-semantic relationship between them by the use of conjunctions (Textual Themes).
- III. Systemic differences in terms of the use of the Interpersonal Themes: whereas the modal finite operators are not thematic in unmarked declarative English sequences, they are so in MSA.
- IV. The preferences of normalising the structures of the TTs by thematising the comment and modal adjuncts that are given rhematic status in the ST.

- V. More modal comments or assessments are added to the prominent part of the clauses in translation, which are not included in the ST.
- VI. The deviation from the ST choice of the narrative tense, which leads the two translators to thematise MSA finite temporal operators and particles realising interpersonal meanings.

As for the main rationales of the increase in the Topical Themes, they are as follows:

- I. Breaking the ST long complex clauses into a number of independent paratactic clauses, which aid in the processibility of the ST's condensed information.
- II. The rendition of the hypotactic clauses as paratactic ones in translations.
- III. The strong tendency for upgrading the ST minor clauses or elliptical clauses to major clauses, consisting of full thematic structures.

Furthermore, in the analysis, one interesting instance of multiple Themes addition is identified in Al-Hājj Ḥusayn's TT that involves an overt dialogic interaction between the Magistrate and his narratees, whereas the ST as a simultaneous narrative does not obviously point to their presence in the narrative scenes or even their future accessibility to the narrative (DelConte, 2007: 107-8).

The investigation has also revealed that the two translators closely follow the original neutral syntactic structure SV, albeit to different degrees, as they reproduce marked MSA nominal-initial segmentations (Subject/Theme ^ Predicator/Rheme). This trend is more salient in Ṣabdullāh's TT. On the other hand, despite the higher number of marked Themes in the ST, the analysis has identified cases where the ST marked thematic options are rendered neutral in translation. Al-Hājj Ḥusayn's TT includes considerably more shifts of this kind than Ṣabdullāh's TT. It is also highly characterised by the shifting ST marked thematic hypotactic

clauses, mainly post-posing them to the right. In addition, it was found that the two translators adopt a normalising strategy in dealing with all the ST marked reporting processes clauses.

Finally, I have highlighted in a number of cases how shifting the ST marked thematic clauses in translation can lead to a slight different order of presentation of the narrative events and thereby to a different perception on the part of the TT readers, affecting the original spatio-temporal point of view. I have shown that the two translators' stylistic selections of changing the ST marked segmentations can have an effect on the spatial and temporal coordinates of the narrator-character in his fictional universe. Consequently, a point of access to the target readers for sharing the narrator-character's experience is not established. It has been also revealed that the thematic shifts identified impinge the ST surprising development of the event and alter the ST's highly visual narrative scenes. It is important to note, that however, although these thematic shifts can contribute to distancing the world of imagination as the TT depicts it from the original, impacting the ST narratological structure, they do not bring about radical transformations of the ST point of view on the spatio-temporal plane, that completely reshape the perception of the original narrative events in translation, as could be the case, for instance, with the translation of the ST narrative tense.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## Modality

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the modal patterns in the original and its translations that realise the point of view at the psychological stratum. In this chapter, I will focus on comparing the ST's different modality systems to their counterparts in the TTs in order to identify and classify translational shifts. I will then resort to Simpson's (1993) modal grammar of point of view to check how far the TTs mirror the original psychological perspective. In Section 5.2, I will touch on the concept of modality. Following this in Section 5.3 is the delineation of Simpson's (1993) taxonomy of the modality system in English, a taxonomy ultimately based on the traditional classification of modality (deontic vs. epistemic). The discussion will be augmented with other related notions and accounts from linguistic perspectives. In Section 5.4, I will briefly discuss the Hallidayan categorisation of modality. Since I adopt the SFL framework for the analysis of the ST-TT pair, his terms will be adopted. Then I will provide a brief overview of the modality system in MSA from the SFL perspective. In the following section, I will discuss Simpson's (1993) nine-part typology of narrators based on the intensity of modal expressions in narratives. I will only concentrate on his A Category, since our original narrative text is a manifestation of this category. Section 5.7 will revolve around the quantitative findings of the investigation of the renditions of the modality systems registered in the ST and TTs. Finally, Section 5.8 will bring to light obligatory and optional translational shifts in the TTs and then further examine optional shifts and their effects on the global level of the original narrative text.

### 5.2 The Concept of Modality

The term modality can be traced back to Greek philosophy, in particular to the tradition brought to light by Aristotle, who provides the premises upon which the modal logic is founded, by endeavouring to expound the relationship between different worldviews (i.e., necessity, possibility, impossibility and contingent (true or false) ), worldviews that apparently shape our everyday thinking and behaviour. That is, human beings, in general, conceptualise and act in such a way that entities (i.e. physical objects, people, etc.) have the probability to be or to have been rather than what these entities are in reality (Perkins, 1983: 6). From this perspective, if an entity is deemed to be true, this means that it is characterised as so only in the world where it is located, whereas it may appear otherwise in other possible worlds (Lyons, 1977: 787; Perkins, 1983: 6-7).

From a linguistic point of view, modality, concerning the attitudinal properties of a language (Simpson, 1993: 47), is in a broad sense viewed as a language system employed by the language producer to grammaticise his or her subjectivity: expressing his or her ‘opinion’ and ‘attitude’ (Lyons, 1977: 452; Bybee, *et al.*, 1994: 176). Describing this notion aptly, Fowler (1996: 166-7) construes modality as “the grammar of explicit [or implicit] comment, the means by which people express their degree of commitment to the truth of the propositions they utter, and their views on the desirability or otherwise of the states of affairs referred to”. To put it differently, the modal expression is a vehicle denoting the variable levels of the enunciator’s immersion in and views and judgments towards events, states or the truth-value of a proposition expressed in his or her utterance(s).

### **5.3 Simpson’s Taxonomy of Modality**

Drawing on the work of Lyons (1977), Coates (1983) and Perkins (1983), Simpson (1993: 47) provides a selective account of modality in English from a linguistic point of view that seems to be of a condensed nature, rather than a comprehensive one. However, he essentially seeks to provide a practical and workable framework, in which he places emphasis on the modal criteria that mainly facilitate the identification of types of point of view on the psychological plane that a literary text evinces. Such modal characteristics can pertain to the narrating voice in fiction. Following the traditional typology of modality systems, Simpson

(1993) distinguishes two core categories of modality and their closely related peripheral categories: (1) deontic modality and its closely linked (2) boulomaic modality, and (3) epistemic and its subsystem (4) perception modality. The following two subsections are concerned with these categories, their definitions and grammaticisation.

### 5.3.1 Deontic and Boulomaic Modalities

Deriving from the Greek lexical item *deon* meaning ‘what’s binding’ (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 692), and conveying the logic of necessity and possibility of carrying out an action, deontic modality, the system of duty, is concerned with the variable degrees of performativity of an act by a person (Lyons, 1977: 824). It is the grammaticisation of the language user’s varying levels of involvement in laying out an obligation or permission (Palmer, 2001: 9). One of the distinctive features that set this system apart from others is that there is typically ‘some source or cause’ from which modalised utterances in deontic senses spring and to which an agent responsibly adheres. This deontic source could be internal, emanating from his or her self, or external deriving from the society, institution etc., (Lyons, 1977: 824; Palmer, 2001: 8-9). As for the linguistic patterns expressing deontic sense in given utterances, this modality system is realised through the following: modal auxiliaries (e.g., *should*), modal lexical verbs (e.g., *I want you to*), modal adverbs (e.g., *necessarily*), participial modal expressions (e.g., *it is required to*) adjectival modal expressions (e.g., *it is necessary that*), and nominalisation (e.g., *the need to*).

By contrast, boulomaic modality, the system of desirability, concerns the expression of desire in a given utterance (Simpson, 1993: 47). It is very closely linked to the deontic system in terms of the performativity expressed in a speaker’s utterance. That is to say, the two systems imply events performed by the act of speaking. In this sense, Lyons (1977: 826) argues that:

The origin of deontic modality, it has often been suggested, is to be sought in the desiderative and instrumental function of language: that is to say, in the use of language, on the one hand, to express or indicate wants and desires and, on the other, to get things done by imposing one’s will on other agents. It seems clear that these two functions are ontogenetically basic, in the sense that they are

associated with language from the very earliest stage of its development in the child. It is equally clear that they are very closely connected.

Within the same vein, Palmer (2001: 10) contends that the boulomaic, also called volitional and attitudinal is often regarded as a subsystem of deontic modality, since it denotes that the source of modalised utterance derives from an internal authority. Bybee *et al.* (1988: 177) group these two types of modality under ‘agent-oriented modality’, because they concern the presence of an internal or external force exerted on an agent to carry out an action communicated in a proposition. Furthermore, Bybee *et al.* (ibid.: 178) argue that the expression of deontic necessity could be developed to be used as an expression of desire. A good illustration is that the English lexical item *want*, which has been used in the sense of desire only from the outset of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, derives from an Old Norse verb meaning ‘lack or miss’ and has then evolved into a sense of need. Hence, over the course of time, the semantic meanings of certain lexical items, they (ibid.) point out, are prone to be expanded to accommodate wider shades of meaning.

On the other hand, Perkins (1983: 14-5) argues for accounting boulomaic modality as a separate type from the deontic modality, expounding that since in English such expressions as *hope, wish, want, relish, desire, long for* and *yearn for*, communicating the desiderative function of language, are semantically distinct from others like *command, insist, demand, require* and *oblige* marking the instrumental function, there is a clear-cut difference between the boulomaic system and the deontic one. That is to say, equating or rather subsuming expressions of desire under those of deontic can be construed as creating some sort of mystification of what is clearly made distinct at the semantic and functional levels of the language analysis. Thus, Perkins (1983: 15) emphasises that the boulomaic system should be dealt with independently from the deontic system. Likewise, Nuyts (2006: 12) points out that this category has not been fairly pursued, perhaps because its notion is not conspicuously embodied in the system of modal auxiliaries, a system that exhaustively overrides the scrutiny of the modality field in the Western languages, and adds that although it is a bit difficult to draw a demarcation line between the two modality systems, “(dis)liking something is not the same thing as (dis)approving of something.”

This system can manifest itself in modal auxiliaries (i.e., *will/would*) modal lexical verbs (e.g., *wish*), in adjectival modal expressions (e.g., *he is willing to*), participial modal constructions (e.g., *it is hoped that*), modal adverbs (e.g., *hopefully*) and nominalisation (*the desire that*).

### 5.3.2 Epistemic and Perception Modalities

Derived from the Greek word *episteme* meaning ‘knowledge’ (Perkin, 1983: 6), epistemic modality considers that an enunciator conveys decisions on “the factual status of the proposition and thus can be described as ‘propositional modality’ ” (Palmer, 2001: 24). By the same token, Coates (1983: 18) argues that epistemic modality preoccupies “the speakers’ assumptions or assessment of possibilities and [...] indicates the speaker’s confidence (or lack of confidence) in the truth of the proposition expressed”. The typical patterns according to which the epistemic modality is grammaticised are modal auxiliaries (e.g., *must*), modal lexical verbs (e.g., *think*), modal adverbs (e.g., *probably*), participial modal expressions (e.g., *it is thought to*), adjectival modal expressions (e.g., *it is probable that*) and nominalisation (e.g., *the assumption that*).

It is important to note that epistemic propositions can be expressed in their ‘raw’ forms as categorical assertions (Simpson, 1993: 45). In this respect, Lyons (1977: 797) postulates that categorical assertions referring to direct factual statements can be designated as ‘epistemically non-modal’ expressions, remarking that these expressions convey the full and strongest degree of commitment to the truth of a proposition communicated in an utterance. For example, the narrator-character’s report (‘*you are the enemy, Colonel!*’<sup>25</sup>) is regarded as an unmodalised utterance (a categorical assertion), leaving no room for an element of doubt that can be communicated. In other words, the speaker conveys a sense of absolute truth in his messages, committing himself fully to the factuality of the statement. The Magistrate is very confident in the truth of the proposition he expresses, since he has ‘full epistemic warrant’, to use Lyons’s terms (1997: 797), for what he produces. By contrast, in (‘I

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<sup>25</sup> (Coetzee, 2004: 125; emphasis original).

[Magistrate] doubt he has set eyes on a barbarian girl in his life.’<sup>26</sup>), inference and intuition play a factor. Implying an element of doubt on the part of the language producer, the choice of including the modal verb *doubt* in the utterance functions as attenuating his commitment to the factuality communicated. Hence, it suggests that the truth of this statement is not pure and absolute, but rather is premised on the Magistrate’s restricted knowledge with regard to the situation it refers to.

As for the perception modality, building on Perkins (1983: 81), Simpson (1993: 46) contends that the difference between the two lies in “the fact that the degree of commitment to truth of a proposition is predicated on some reference to human perception, normally visual perception.” In other words, this type of modality designates that the language producer makes his or her judgement premised upon sensory evidence, upon what is being or ‘has been observed’ (Palmer, 2001: 36). Although best considered a subsystem of epistemic modality, the perception system is distinguished, since it is a fundamental linguistic system for registering the external or internal narratorial point of view, as will be seen when touching on Simpson’s typology of narratives. The formal realisations of the perception system are the modal lexical verbs (e.g., *seem*), modal adverbs (e.g., *apparently*) and adjectival modal expressions (e.g., *it is clear that*). It is significant to bear in mind that certain verbs of perception cannot be handled as perception modal expressions, simply because they are mere categorical assertions such as *see* and *hear* (‘He heard an explosion; He saw a man approach this building’) (Simpson, 1993: 46).

#### 5.4 SFL Categories of Modality

From the Hallidayan perspective, the system of modality is a major exponent of the interpersonal metafunction of the language (the clause as exchange). Modality, in SFL, occupies the middle ground, which is best characterised as uncertainty principally quantified in a scale between two opposing extremes: *yes* (positive) and *no* (negative) (ibid.: 176). Halliday and Matthiessen (ibid.: 177) classify the system of Modality into two main categories: Modulation and Modalisation. Modulation is concerned with different grades of

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<sup>26</sup> (Coetzee, 2004: 85).

interpersonal meanings construing proposals (goods-&-services exchange: commands and offers) that are located on a continuum, whose extreme poles are positive ‘do it’ and negative ‘don’t do it’. It includes the system of obligation and inclination (consisting of modal expressions of willingness and ability). These are broadly associated with deontic and boulomaic modalities in Simpson’s account. Modulation can be congruently expressed through a finite modal/quasi-modal operator (e.g., ‘**May** I speak to Colonel Joll?’<sup>27</sup>), or the expansion of the predicator (e.g., ‘You **are supposed to** help him track down thieves, bandits, invaders of the Empire!’<sup>28</sup>). The other type, Modalisation refers to the gradient interpersonal meanings of propositions (information exchange: statements and questions) that are situated on a scale between the positive ‘it is so’ and negative ‘it isn’t so’ poles. This type involves the system of probability, which is equated with epistemic and perception modalities in Simpson’s taxonomy. It is typically realised through a finite modal/quasi-modal operator (e.g., ‘All I see is a figure named *father* that **could be** the figure of any father’<sup>29</sup>) and modal adjunct (e.g., ‘But **perhaps** I do him injustice [...]’<sup>30</sup>). Modal meanings can also be expressed through interpersonal metaphor beyond the clause simplex, which is the incongruent formalisation of modality (e.g., ‘But **I think** he is wrong.’<sup>31</sup>). According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 184, 687), the primary clause, the mental process clause (*I think*) serves as a ‘modal clause’. It functions as making explicit the personal source of modality, whereas the main proposition lies in the secondary projecting clause (‘he is wrong’). The incongruent form of realisation (*I think*) corresponds to the congruent form of modal adjunct *probably* in a clause simplex. Hence, the underlying utterance can be paraphrased as (‘Probably, he is wrong’). On the other hand, according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 687), such an utterance as (‘I do not even **know** whether to read from right to left or from left to right’<sup>32</sup>), does not represent the qualification of the proposition, since it can be tagged (I do not even know whether to read from right to left or from left to right, don’t I?). By contrast, the modal clause *I think* in (‘But **I think** he is wrong.’) cannot be tagged, otherwise a marked clause will be generated (Thompson, 2004: 70). This is also

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<sup>27</sup> Coetzee (2004: 84)

<sup>28</sup> Coetzee (2004: 18).

<sup>29</sup> Coetzee (2004: 88; italics is original).

<sup>30</sup> Coetzee (2004: 85).

<sup>31</sup> Coetzee (2004: 112).

<sup>32</sup> Coetzee (2004: 121).

clearly shown in making the proposition negative ('I do not think he is wrong'). It is natural in English that the modal clause, primary clause, is negated, while the main proposition remains unaffected. Again this can be evidenced in tagging the sentence ('I do not think he is wrong, isn't he?').

Furthermore, Halliday and Matthiessen (ibid.: 78) divide this middle ground between the two poles into three basic regions: high, median and low, representing the values assigned to the modal judgment. Construing as one of the variables that control the production of modality, the intensity or forcefulness of modal expressions trigger to what extent the language user is committed to the states of affairs, or to the truth value of a proposition expressed in his or her utterances. Table 5.1 offers a brief overview of the Hallidayan modality systems, their realisation and three main degrees (adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 691)).

**Table 5.1.** SFL types of modality

<b>Modalisation</b>			<b>Modulation</b>	
<b>probability</b>			<b>obligation &amp; inclination</b>	
<b>Value</b>				
must	certainly	<b>high</b>	must	is determined to
		↑		
will	probably	<b>median</b>	will	is keen to
		↓		
may	possibly	<b>low</b>	may	is willing to
<b>Finite operator</b>	<b>Modal adjunct</b>		<b>Finite operator</b>	<b>Expansion of predicator</b>

It should be noted that in terms of value, Thompson (2004: 69) points out that although considered paramount in scrutinising how far the language user is responsible for what he or she conveys, these scalar points should be viewed in terms of delicacy as intermediate points with a variation within the same region, rather than as absolute ones. For instance, in an

epistemic sense, the finite modal operator *will* can be considered extremely close to the scalar point occupied by the other *must*, as in ('John will have arrived by now'), compared to ('John must have arrived by now').

### 5.5 System of Modality in MSA

The system of modality in MSA is distinct from that of English. One notable difference is that modality in English is 'highly grammaticalised' as it develops into a small set of modal auxiliaries that share formal features and their 'periphrastic correspondents' (i.e., '*can – be able to*') (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 183-4), while MSA does not have as such a well-distinct grammatical category, but indeed employs different strategies to express interpersonal meanings of modality. Some MSA modal expressions are construed as participants in the transitivity structure of the MSA clause. Another difference between the two systems is related to the notion of indeterminacy that characterises the English finite modal auxiliaries (Coates, 1983: 9); that is, one particular form of the English modal auxiliary such as *will* can carry different shades of meanings (i.e., probability, obligation, and inclination meanings). By contrast, this notion of indeterminacy is to some extent less identified with the MSA modal expressions (Badran, 2001: 48; Abdel-Fattah, 2005: 44). This, Badran (2001: 48) argues, springs from the fact that most of the MSA modal expressions that are determined as equivalents to the English finite modal auxiliaries closely correspond to "the clearer English paraphrase of these relatively" ambiguous finite modal operators. For instance, the SL modal adjunct *certainly*, a periphrastic form of the finite modal auxiliary *must* in its epistemic meaning, closely concurs to the TL modal adjunct بالتأكيد or the predicator تأكد أن. In this respect, Abdel-Fattah (2005: 44) argues that the paraphrase of the English modal auxiliaries can be one of the fruitful techniques that the translator should adopt to overcome the fussy nature of these finite closed sets of grammatical categories when translating into MSA.

Furthermore, another area of contrast between the two systems is that the MSA modal expressions are preferably grounded in the thematic stretch of the clause simplex (Angheliescu, 1999: 134; Bardi, 2008: 191). In addition, there is asymmetry between the two

languages as regards congruent and incongruent realisation of the modal meanings. For instance, the TL prepositional phrase *من المحتمل* (probably), realises modal adjunct within the domain of clause simplex in MSA, whereas it is expanded in English into a relational projecting clause (e.g., *it is possible that*). In other words, the incongruent realisation of the modality by the means of the metaphorical modal expression in English (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 687) can be adequately transferred as a congruent form; it can be downgraded into a modal adjunct in a MSA single clause.

As for the grammaticisation of the modal meanings, Table 5.2 below briefly outlines the (in)congruent formalisation means of modality available to the MSA user, along with the value of these expressions and authentic examples. The modal expressions in the table are categorised in accordance with the Hallidayan classification of modality. Their realisations are drawn on Bardi's (2008) Systemic Functional description of MSA. It is important to point out, that because the modality system of perception helps to register the external or internal narratorial point of view as mentioned above, it is put into a distinct category in the table below.

Similarly to English, the determination of the value attached to some MSA modal expressions such as *يجب* (must/should) and the finite particle *س* (will/would) should not be interpreted as an absolute fixed point on the modality scale. However, they are highly influenced by the interpretation of the context, in which they are employed. In this regard, Bardi (2008: 116-7) remarks that the value of the obligation (deontic) modal expression *يجب* is unstable and hugely determined by the power relations between the addresser and addressee. Hence, it is plausible that it is interpreted as expressing low necessity as is the case with an employee addressing a senior official, or it can be construed as conveying a high necessity if the situation is the opposite. After an overview of the system of modality, the following section will account for Simpson's modal of grammar (1993).

**Table 5.2.** Types and realisations of modality systems in MSA

Types	Function	Examples	Value	Literal Translation
<b>Obligation</b>				

	<b>Finite operator</b>	وعندما خرج الجندي قلت لوصفي: ستستريح الآن من السفر [...] (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 187)	high	When the soldier came out, I said to Wasfi: you <b>should</b> relieve now from travelling [...].
	<b>Predicator</b>	يجب أن أعود إلى البيت لأتجهز للسفر. (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 14)	high	I <b>must</b> return home to prepare for travelling
		لذلك أعتقد أنه ينبغي أن تكون هناك سياسة إعلامية تتوجه فقط إلى مسألة القراءة والاستهلاك الثقافي. (Leeds Internet Corpus)	median	So, I think there <b>should</b> be an information policy targeting the issue of reading and cultural consumption.
		- يمكنكم الجلوس هناك. (Al-Sanṣūsi, 2012: 60)	low	- <b>You can</b> sit there.
	<b>Modal adjunct</b>	لا بد من عمل شيء لإصلاح هذه الدرجات أو تغييرها. (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 88)	high	<b>It is necessary</b> to do something to fix or replace these bikes.
		"كان من المفترض أن يذهب بي غسان [...] إلى منزل جدتي غنيمة" (Al-Sanṣūsi, 2012: 189)	median	"Ġassān <b>was supposed to</b> drop me off [...] to my grandmother's Ġanīmah's house."
		بإمكانكم الذهاب إلى ماكدونالدز ولكن ليس في جميع الأوقات. (Leeds Internet Corpus)	low	You <b>can</b> go to McDonald's, but not at any time.

### Inclination

(willingness & ability)

	<b>Finite operator</b>	سأصنع عالما جديدا على غير مثال! (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 116)	high	I <b>would create</b> an unprecedented new world!
	<b>Predicator</b>	لا أريد أن أراها ميتة. (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 185)	median	I <b>do not want to</b> see her dead.
	<b>Modal adjunct</b>	لم يعد يوسعهم بعد أن أدمنوا خمر النصر أن يتراجعوا [...] (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 117)	low	They have no longer <b>been able to</b> back off after being addicted to the wine of victory [...].

### Probability

	<b>Finite operator</b>	مع ذلك فإن حدسي يكمل القصة بنهاية منطقية معقولة. (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 255)	high	However, my intuition <b>certainly</b> finishes the story with a reasonably logical ending.
		لعله يودع شوارع مدينته. (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 22)	median	<b>It is probable</b> that he is bidding farewell to the streets of his city.
		قد يقال أنهم وجدوه مخيفا بالفعل. (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 37)	low	It <b>might</b> be said that they indeed found it scary.
	<b>Predicator</b>	أثق أن سعيد لا يحاول إخفاقي أظن أنه قد فعل كل ما يستطيع لإعفاني من المهمة. (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 8)	high	<b>I am sure</b> that Saïd did not try to scare me, I thought he had

				done all he could to exempt me from carrying out the task.
		أثق أن سعيد لا يحاول إخافتي <b>أظن</b> أنه قد فعل كل ما يستطيع لإعفائي من المهمة. (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 8)	median	I am sure that Saïd did not try to scare me, <b>I thought</b> he had done all he could to exempt me from carrying out the task.
		لكن الغريب أن الملك وضيوفه لم يغرقوا كما <b>يمكن</b> أن يحدث في مثل هذا الفيضان. (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 187)	low	But strange that the king and his guests had not drowned, as <b>could</b> happen in such a flood.
	<b>Modal adjunct</b>	<b>بالتأكيد</b> لم يكن يشبه المعابد المصرية القديمة. (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 192)	high	<b>Certainly</b> , it did not resemble the ancient Egyptian shrines.
		بما أن أبي كان كاتباً في إحدى صحف بلاده، <b>فمن المحتمل</b> [...] أن تحصل (أمي) من ذلك الرجل على معلومة تقودها إليه. ( Al-Sanūsī, 2012: 91)	median	Because my father was a writer in one of his country's newspapers, <b>it is probable that</b> [...] (my mother) will get some intelligence from that man who leads to my father.
		لكن <b>ربما</b> أكون ساذجاً. (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 78)	low	However, <b>I might</b> be naive.
<b>Perception</b>				
	<b>Predicator</b>	<b>يبدو أنه</b> لا يحب الإنجليز كثيراً. (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 257)	low	It <b>seems</b> he does not like the English so much.
	<b>Modal adjunct</b>	<b>واضح</b> أن أعمدته كانت من الطراز الدوري اليوناني [...]. (Al-Tāhir, 2006: 222)	high	<b>It is clear</b> that its pillars were the Greek style [...].

## 5.6 Simpson's Typology of Narrators

As discussed in Chapter 2, Simpson (1993: 50) divides the narrative mode into two main categories: Category A and Category B. Category A is a first-person-oriented mode in which the narrator is located within the story, while the latter, Category B, is a third-person-oriented mode. In this section, I will limit myself to the Category A narrative, since it is manifested in the original narrative text. According to Simpson (1993: 50-1; 2004: 126-7), this category is further split into three basic subdivisions on the ground of the types of modal patterning distinguished: *positive shading*, *negative shading* and *neutral shading modalities*. Fictional narratives with positive shading exhibit the deontic and boulomaic systems of modality. Thus, the narrator's judgment, desires, duty and obligation are foregrounded. They are also

rich in generic sentences that hold ‘universal or timeless references’; in *verba sentiendi* (verbs denoting thoughts, feelings and perceptions) such as *feel*, *suffer*, *perceive*, etc.; and in evaluative adjectives and adverbs (Simpson, 1993: 36, 52). This can be illustrated in the following excerpt from Mark Twain’s *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (2003: 24) (emphasis added):

Pretty soon I **wanted** to smoke, and **asked** the widow to let me. But she **wouldn’t**. She said it was a mean practice and wasn’t clean, and I must try to not do it any more. That is just the way with some people. They get down on a thing when they don’t **know** nothing about it. Here she was a-**bothering** about Moses, which was no kin to her, and no use to anybody, being gone, you see, yet finding a power of fault with me for doing a thing that had some good in it. And she took snuff, too; of course that was all **right**, because she done it herself.

Her sister, Miss Watson, a **tolerable** slim old maid, with goggles on, had just come to live with her, and took a set at me now with a spelling-book. She worked me middling hard for about an hour, and then the widow made her ease up. I **couldn’t** stood it much longer. Then for an hour it was **deadly dull**, and I was **fidgety**. Miss Watson would say, ‘Don’t put your feet up there, Huckleberry;’ and Don’t scrunch up like that, Huckleberry -- set up straight;’ and pretty soon she would say, ‘Don’t gap and stretch like that, Huckleberry -- why don’t you try to behave?’ Then she told me all about the **bad** place, and I said I **wished** I was there. She got mad then, but I didn’t mean no harm. All I **wanted** was to go somewheres; all I **wanted** was a change, I warn’t particular [...].

This excerpt is a good illustration of the features of Category A positive (A+ve) type such as boulomaic modal expressions (e.g., ‘I **wanted to smoke**’; ‘I **wished** I was there’); deontic modal terms (i.e., ‘and **asked** the widow to let me’); evaluative adjectives (e.g., **bothering**, **dull** and **deadly**); and generic sentences (‘That is just the way with some people; They get down on a thing when they don’t know nothing about it’).

On the other hand, narrative texts with negative shading exhibit the epistemic, and its sub-type perception, systems of modality and are abundant in ‘words of estrangement’ (Uspensky, 1973: 85) such as *seem*, *appear*, *as if* and *as though*, which signal the narrator’s limited knowledge. A clear illustration of this mode is an excerpt from Henry Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* (1934: 263) (emphasis added):

**Perhaps** everything **would have** passed off without notice if Fillmore hadn't insisted on walking past the altar in the midst of the ceremony. He was looking for the exit, and he thought while he was at it, **I suppose**, that he would take a good squint at the holy of holies, get a close-up on it, as it were. We had gotten safely by and were marching toward a crack of light which **must have been** the way out when a priest suddenly stepped out of the gloom and blocked our path [...] the priest was still standing on the steps, pale as a ghost and scowling like the devil himself. He **must have been** sore as hell. [...] He was so bewildered, **I guess**, that for a moment he didn't know what to do; suddenly, however, he started down the steps on the run, shaking his fist at us **as if** he were in earnest.

As can be seen, this excerpt represents Category A negative (A-ve), exhibits epistemic and perception modal expressions such as ('He **must have been**'; '**I suppose**') as well as 'words of estrangement' like ('shaking his fist at us **as if** he were in earnest'), which indicates the character-narrator's restricted view towards other characters and actions in the story.

The final subcategory (Category A neutral) is concerned with neutrally shaded fictional narratives that are marked with a total absence of narratorial modality. Unmodalized categorical assertions are dominant throughout these texts, as well. In this sense, such fictional narratives are characterised as objective forms of narration. Evincing no trace of subjective assessment on actions or other characters, the participant character aims to provide a physical description rather than the psychological one. Simpson (1993: 55) states that although such fictional narratives with this form of narration are scarce, still they can be found, for example, in detective stories. For instance, despite the fact that the dominant mode of narration is A-ve in Agatha Christie's *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd* (2002: 26), there are some stretches which are produced in an exhaustively unmodalized, objective, pure categorical style as in the following extract:

The small staircase leads, as Parker explained, to a big bedroom made by two being knocked into one, and an adjoining bathroom and lavatory. The inspector took in the position at a glance. We went through into the large hall and he locked the door behind him, slipping the key into his pocket. Then he gave the constable some low-voiced instructions, and the latter prepared to depart.

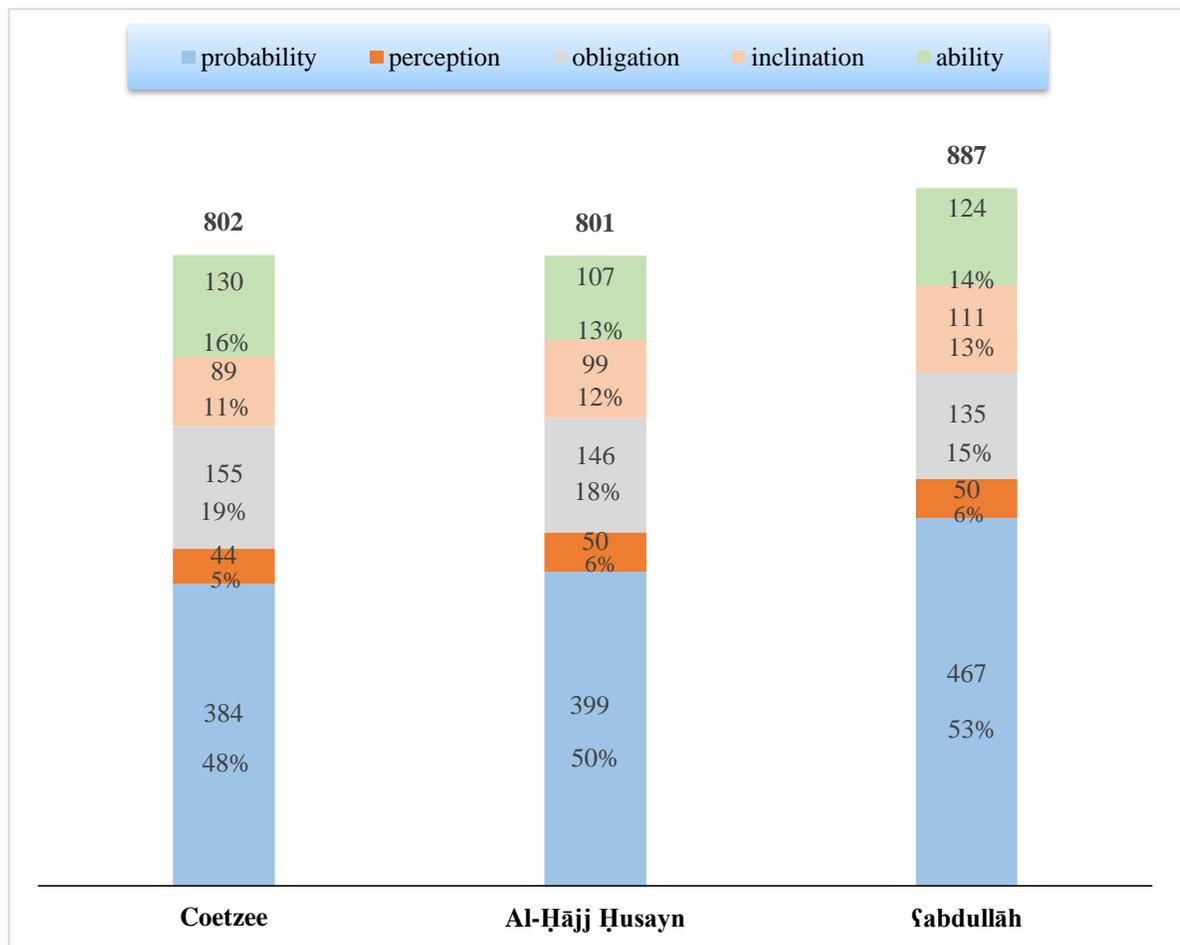
To sum up, narrative texts with positive shading highlight the narrator's involvement, whereas other texts with negative shading exhibit 'estranging' features. Finally, texts with neutral shading evince characteristics of 'flatness' (Simpson, 1993: 69). These subcategories are not mutually exclusive and can co-exist in narrative texts. In the remaining sections, I will discuss the renderings of the ST modal patterns and their implications for shifting the ST psychological point of view.

### 5.7 Quantitative Results

Figure 5.1 accounts for the total number of different modal systems in the ST and the TTs, including their percentage. As can be seen from the figure below, there is an insignificant disparity in the total number between the original and Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's translation, while there is a higher number of the modal expressions recorded in Ṣabdullāh's, accounting for 85 TL modal expressions added. The ST expressions subsumed under the probability system are out-numbered by those of other modality systems. This, in large part, can be attributed to the choice of simultaneous present as the narrative tense. The narrator-character has no privilege to "survey the whole field of action in a synoptic manner in light of later developments and final out-comes" (Margolin, 1999: 51). Instead, his limited knowledge results in grounding the narrative propositions as they relate to the events and actions in the realm of uncertainty between the positive and negative polarity. That is to say, since the events are not yet concluded at the moment of narration, as a result of employing the on-the-scene reporting narrative technique, the narrator-character lacks a certain degree of confidence in his commitment to the truth value of his propositions. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's translation and Ṣabdullāh's both feature more epistemically modalised utterances, amounting to 15 and 83 occurrences, respectively. It appears that this aspect of uncertainty is over-emphasised in the two translated texts. Within the same vein, the data show that there is a slight increase in the total number of the modal elements of the perception system in the two TTs. This suggests that the ST narrator-character's modal assessments that are based on physical evidence, appearances and 'external signs' (Simpson, 1993: 51) are over-enhanced in translation to some degree. On the other hand, the two TTs reveal reductionist propensities in the rendition

of the ST expressions falling under the ability and obligation modality systems. In Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s translation, the total number of modal ability expressions is decreased, compared not only to the ST (130 occurrences), but also to Ṣabdullāh’s TT (124 occurrences). By contrast, Ṣabdullāh’s translation exhibits more reduction in the modal obligation expressions, with 135 occurrences in comparison to those of the ST (155 occurrences) as well as to Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s (146 occurrences). These numbers suggest that the narrator-character’s capabilities and duties are less stressed in translation. The same observation is reported by Bossaux (2007: 187), who finds that Wajsbrot’s French translation of Virginia Woolf’s *The Waves* undermines the reflector’s personal obligations, capacities and abilities, and therefore the shading of the original text is affected.

Figure 5.1. Distribution of modality systems in ST and TTs



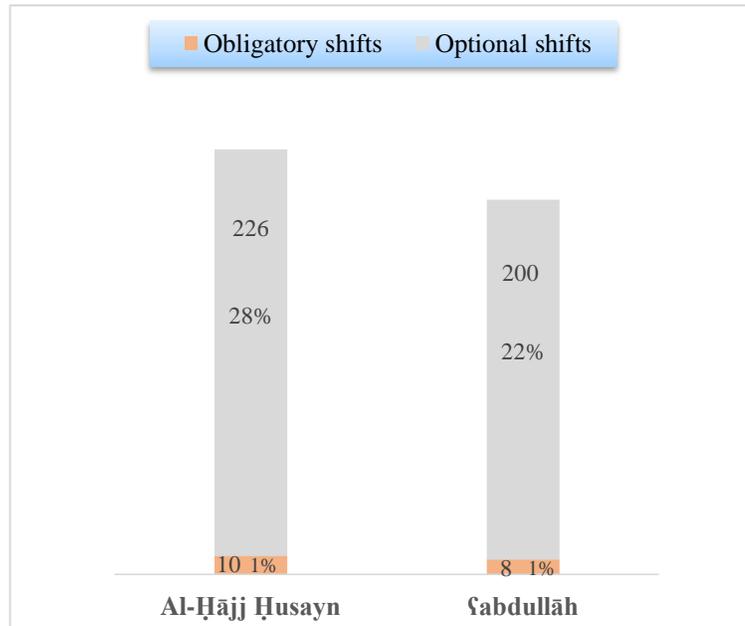
While it is true that the increase in the total number of the modal expressions in ʕabdullāh's translation discernibly implicates the presence of shifts, this is unclear in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's, which shows only one omission shift. However, it is this discrepancy in the frequency of the modality systems in the ST and TTs that undoubtedly signifies the existence of shifts that can be attributed to the translator's stylistic preferences. Hence, I find it very useful to examine the renderings of each individual occurrence of the ST modal expressions to identify the recurrent patterns of the shifts that the two TTs evince. In what follows, I will deal with types of modality shifts recorded in the TTs.

### 5.8 Types of Shifts in the ST Modal Expressions

Premised on a close comparison between the ST modal patterns and those of the TTs, it is found that not all shifts recorded in the two TTs are interpreted as **optional shifts**, which are regarded as unnecessary deviations from the ST modal patterns, since they are attributed to the translators' propensities and stylistic preferences (Bakker *et al.*, 2008: 271). However, there are **obligatory shifts** registered, which are inevitable alterations to the original's modal patterns (Toury, 1995: 57). These obligatory shifts come as a result of the systemic motivated choices on the part of the translators in the sense that these detected changes occur, because of the systemic differences between the two languages; thus, they cannot be considered indicators of the two translators' stylistic inclination and repertoire.

Figure 5.2 displays the frequency of obligatory and optional shifts as well as the percentage of these shifts out of the total number of modal expressions recorded in each translation. It indicates that a very small number of obligatory shifts is found in the two TTs, amounting to 1% each of the total number of modal expression occurrences, in contrast to those of the optional type. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT exhibits a higher number of optional shifts, accounting to almost 30%, a percentage that is not conspicuously reflected by looking at the total number of modal expressions, as opposed to the slightly smaller number of optional shifts, namely 202 (22%) in ʕabdullāh's TT. Now let us look at the two types of obligatory shifts, before moving to the discussion of the recurrent patterns of the optional shifts found.

Figure 5.2. Distribution of obligatory and optional modality shifts



### 5.8.1 Types of Obligatory Shifts

The examination of the obligatory occurrences of the modality shifts in the TTs shows that the two translators either render the ST categorical assertions as modalised utterances, or leave out the ST modal expressions, as these additions and omissions are necessitated by the formal differences between the two languages. These motivated shifts found in the TTs can be classified into two categories:

- I. Omission of the English modal auxiliary *will*; and
- II. Lacking TL correspondent grammatical categories of those of the SL.

In Al-Hājj Ḥusayn's and ʿabdullāh's translations, there are only 5 obligatory shift occurrences each that fall under the first category, whilst the remaining number of these shift occurrences in each respective translated text are subsumed under the second category. The following examples can provide more insights into these two types of obligatory shift:

		Examples	Back-translation
5.1	Coetzee	You <b>will</b> have to do the same again tomorrow morning. (2004: 76)	
5.1a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	"عليك أن تفعل الشيء نفسه صباح غد" (2004: 100)	"It is necessary for you to do the same thing tomorrow morning"
5.1b	ʕabdullāh	"يجب عليك أن تفعل الشيء نفسه ثانية صباح يوم غد" (2004: 101)	"It is necessary for you to do the same thing for a second time tomorrow morning."
5.2	Coetzee	Does each sign represent a different state of the tongue, the lips, the throat, the lungs, as they combine in the uttering of some multifarious <b>unimaginable</b> extinct barbarian language? (2004: 157)	
5.2a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	هل تمثل كل إشارة حالة مختلفة للسان، والشفاه، والبلعوم، والرئتين كما تجتمع كل هذه الأشياء عند النطق بلغة بربرية متنوعة، منقرضة، لا يمكن تخيلها؟ (2004: 93)	Does each sign represent a different state of the tongue, the lips, the throat, the lungs, as all these things combine in the articulation of an extinct, multifarious barbarian language that <b>cannot be</b> imagined?
5.3	Coetzee	[...] the children of the oasis come back to their playground and find the skeleton, uncovered by the wind, of an archaic desert-dweller clad in <b>unidentifiable</b> rags. (2004: 110)	
5.3a	ʕabdullāh	يعود أطفال الواحات إلى ملعبهم ويلاقون الهيكل العظمي، المكشوف بفعل الريح، لساكن صحراء مهجور مكسو بأسمال بالية لا يمكن التعرف عليها. (2004: 144)	the children of the oasis come back to their playground and find the skeleton, uncovered because of the wind, of an abandoned desert-dweller covered with tatters that <b>cannot be</b> recognised.

In Example 5.1, it is conspicuous that the modal auxiliary *will*, which refers to future time and communicates a prediction about the narrative events, is omitted in the two translations. This shift can be designated as obligatory, since there is some sort of flexibility in either preserving or omitting the future particles in MSA. That is, it is very likely that in MSA

making a prediction or assumption about future events can be (though is not necessarily) expressed without recourse to the use of the epistemic modal particles سوف or its abridged form س, which are equivalent to the English modal auxiliaries *will* and *would*. In this respect, Bahloul (2008: 112) notes that the future interpretation of an MSA utterance does not always require the presence of the modal particle in MSA, because the use of the imperfect form of the verb can be adequate for making such a modal judgment. He (ibid.) further argues that there is a strong correlation between the omission of the MSA future modal particles and the existence of lexicalised futurity expressions such as the circumstantial adjunct of time غدا (tomorrow). The more likely it is that these lexicalised expressions are attendant in the utterances, the more likely the MSA user leaves out the futurity modal particles. However, it is also possible to use these modal particles regardless of whether the proposition contains lexicalised futurity references (Abu-Chacra, 2007: 109). In the light of this insight, it is highly probable that the presence of the ST futurity reference *tomorrow morning*, which is retained in the two translations, might play a role in leading to the deletion of the MSA futurity modal particle.

Nevertheless, in addition to the non-rendering of the ST whole clauses, which contain modal auxiliaries, it is of great importance to highlight that not every omission of the modal auxiliary *will* in its epistemic sense can be accounted for as an inevitable change of the ST modal instance by default in this study. In fact, the omission of *will* might obscure the interpretation of the ST modal meaning as can be exemplified in the following:

n	Coetzee	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	Back-translation
5.4.	It <b>will</b> only bring disgrace on my warders. (2004: 97)	هذا عار بحق حراسي. (2004: 126)	This is disgrace for my guards

Here as a translation of the ST utterance, the translator opts for a nominal-initial segmentation that does not include a verb. In doing so, he omits the ST process *bring*; its rendering may help the readers to interpret the truth-value of the ST proposition in case he opts for the omission of *will*. That is, the TT utterance does not contain any imperfective form that could be crucial to express the prediction as pointed out by Bahloul (2008: 112). What also

contributes more to the blurring of the interpretation of the ST clause is the absence of any lexicalized futurity expressions. Hence, such a shift is dealt with as an optional rather than an obligatory one like those mentioned in Examples 5.1a and 5.1b above.

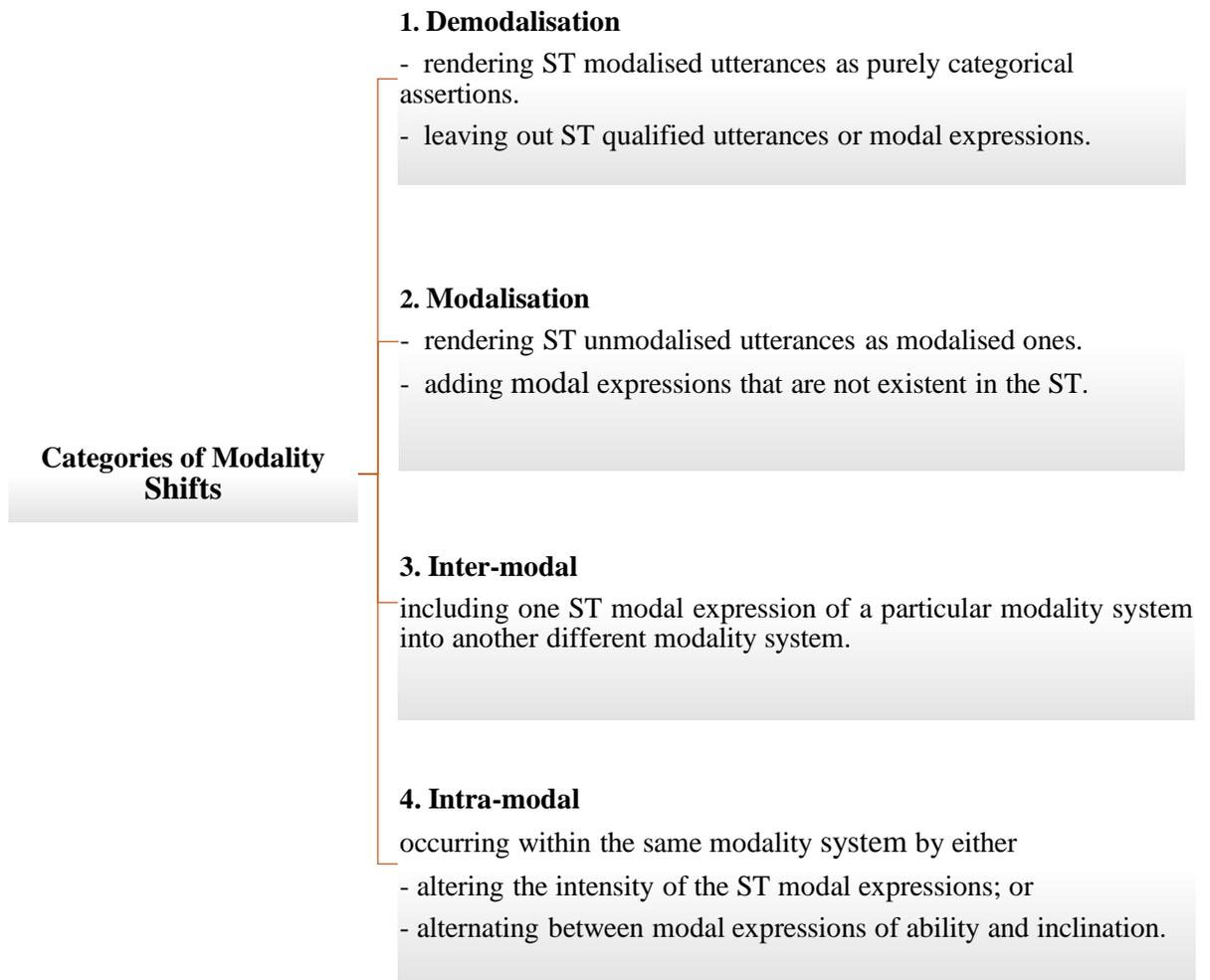
As for the second category, it involves rendering the ST categorical assertions as qualified factual statements. It is noticeable that in Examples 5.2a and 5.3a, the two translators expand the ST lexical items *unimaginable* and *unidentifiable* that include the morphemes *able*, into modalised hypotactic clauses as لا يمكن تخيلها ([...] cannot be imagined) and لا يمكن التعرف عليها ([...] cannot be recognised). It is quite possible that their choices could stem from the fact that MSA lacks this grammatical category that corresponds to the ST. Thus, their options are regarded as obligatory shifts.

Nonetheless, it is not always the case that wherever an English morpheme *able* is suffixed to a lexical item it is turned into a modalised utterance in the TTs. In fact, the two translators adopt other strategies when dealing with the English lexical items suffixed with *able*, such as by the omission of such ST lexical items or the use of the MSA expression غير قابل as a translation of the English morpheme *able*. Hence, in addition to the choice of either maintaining or omitting the finite modal operator *will*, this is the reason behind the fact that the total numbers of the obligatory shifts are very slightly different in the two translations. Having highlighted the obligatory shifts in the TTs, I will turn now to discuss the optional shifts found in the following section.

### 5.8.2 Optional Shifts in the ST Modal Patterns

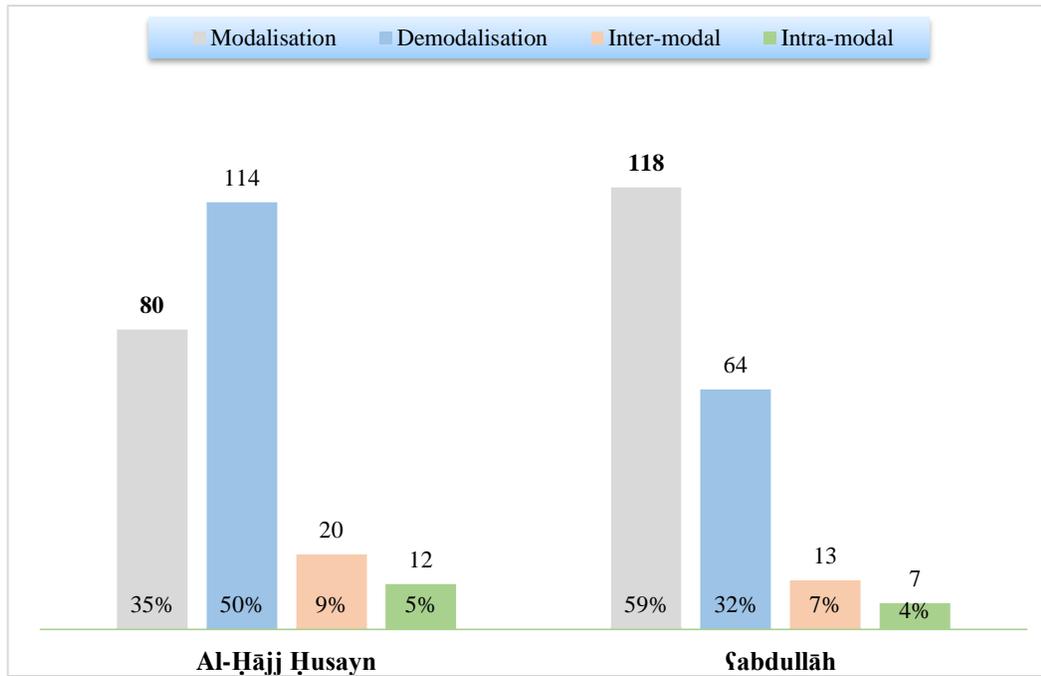
The analysis of the rendition of the ST modal expressions, as mentioned above, shows that more than 20% of the two TTs' total number of modal expressions are shifted. It also represents the fact that there are recurrent patterns of shifts, which can be grouped under four different types: demodalisation, modalisation, inter-modal and intra-modal shifts (see Figure 5.3). It is important to point out that the term *modalisation* should not be confused with that of SFL discussed above. Examples of each type of shift are given in Table 5.3, and the frequencies for the occurrences of each type of shift are shown in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.3. Types of modality optional shifts



The figure below reveals that there are more modality shifts identified with the two types of demodalisation and modalisation in the two translations, contrary to the other two types which constitute small numbers of modality shifts. It is also noticeable that Al-Hājj Husayn's translation comprises a higher number of demodalisation shifts, amounting to 114 (50%) occurrences, whereas in Ṣabdullāh's, the majority of shifts is subsumed under the modalisation type of shift, with 118 (59%) occurrences. By contrast, the small number of shifts in the inter-modal type, amounting to less than 10 % in the two TTs, implies that the

**Figure 5.4.** Frequency of types of modality optional shifts



vague nature of the ST modal expressions appears to have approximately less impact in translation. Furthermore, the very few occurrences of intra-modal shifts denote that the two translators are consistent to some extent in preserving the intensity or forcefulness of the ST modal expressions. Having highlighted the frequencies of each type of shift in the two TTs, I will look closely at each type of shift to identify the modality systems that involve more shifts, the nature of the modal expressions that are problematic in translation and the type of TL modal expressions that have entered the two translations.

**Table 5.3.** Examples of modality optional shifts

Categories	ST & TTs instances	Back-translation	Modality system	Value
1	<b>Demodalisation</b>			
	Before I <b>can</b> leave there are two documents to compose. <small>(Coetzee, 2004:62)</small>		ability	-
	كان علي أن أنهي وثيقتين قبل أن أغانر. <small>(Al-Hājj Ḥusayn, 2004: 82)</small>	I should have prepared two documents before I <b>leave</b> .	-	-

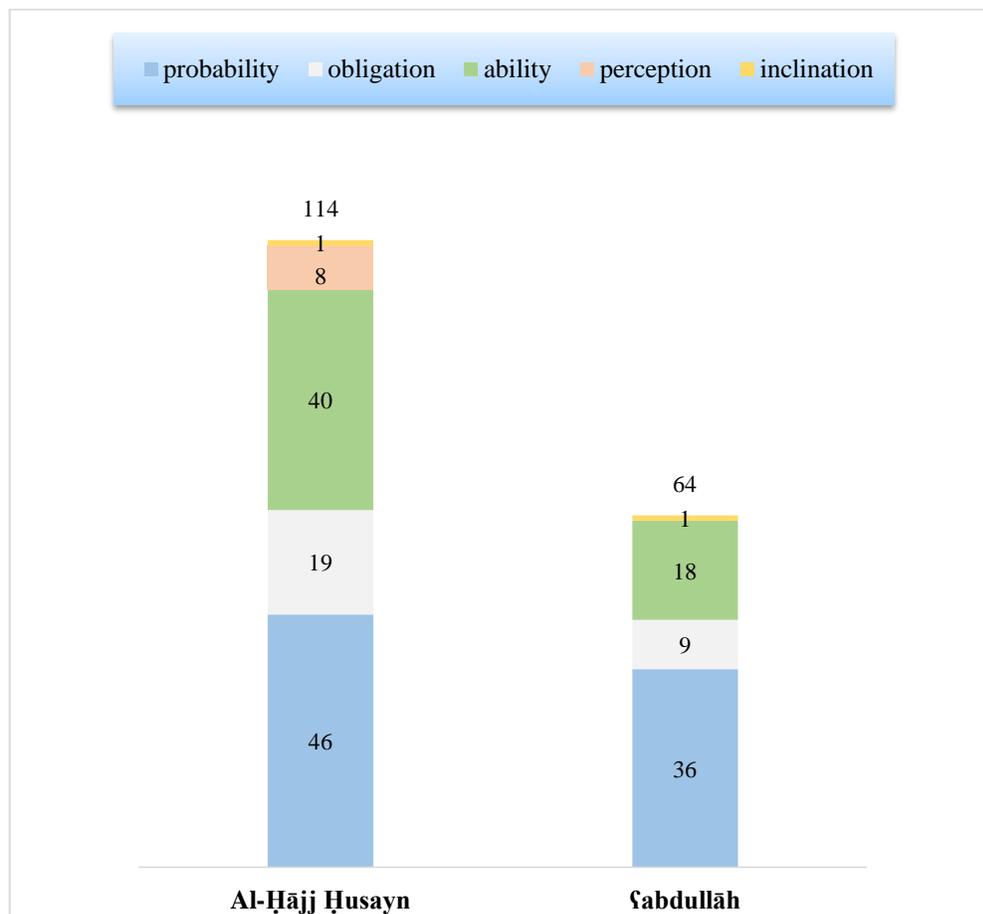
	قبل أن أسافر هناك وثيقتين عليّ أن تهيئتهما. (ʕabdullāh, 2004: 83)	Before I <b>travel</b> , there are two documents that I should prepare	-	-
2	<b>Modalisation</b>			
	‘It <b>goes on</b> for miles, we have to cross it [...]’ (Coetzee, 2004: 67)		-	-
	«سيستمر الأمر عدة أميال، علينا أن نجتازه [...]» (Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn, 2004: 88)	“It <b>will go on</b> for a few miles. We have to cross it [...]”	probability	high
	«سيستمر الأمر هكذا أميالا، علينا اجتيازها [...]» (ʕabdullāh, 2004: 89)	“It <b>will go on</b> like this, we have to cross it [...].”	probability	high
3	<b>Inter-modal</b>			
	‘I need hot water and soap [...]’ (Coetzee, 2004: 68)	-	obligation	high
	«أريد ماء ساخنا، وصابونا [...]» (Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn, 2004: 126)	“I want hot water and soap [...].”	inclination	median
	«أريد ماء ساخنا وقطعة من صابون [...]» (ʕabdullāh, 2004: 128)	“I want hot water and a piece of soap [...].”	inclination	median
4	<b>Intra-modal</b>			
	Think what <b>might</b> happen if I got out again. (Coetzee, 2004: 111)	-	probability	low
	«فكر ماذا سيحدث إذا خرجت مرة أخرى.» (Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn, 2004: 144)	“Think of what <b>will</b> happen if you go out again.”	probability	high
	«فكر فيما سيحدث إن خرجت ثانية.» (ʕabdullāh, 2004: 146)	“Think of what <b>will</b> happen if you go out for the second time.”	probability	high

### 5.8.2.1 Demodalisation Shift

Generally, there is a huge disparity between the two translators in terms of the preservation of the ST different modality system. For instance, in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s translation, there are

demodalisation shifts in each type of modality systems (see Figure 5.5), whereas in ʕabdullāh’s, there is zero occurrence in the perception modality.

**Figure 5.5.** Frequency of demodalised ST expressions of different modality systems



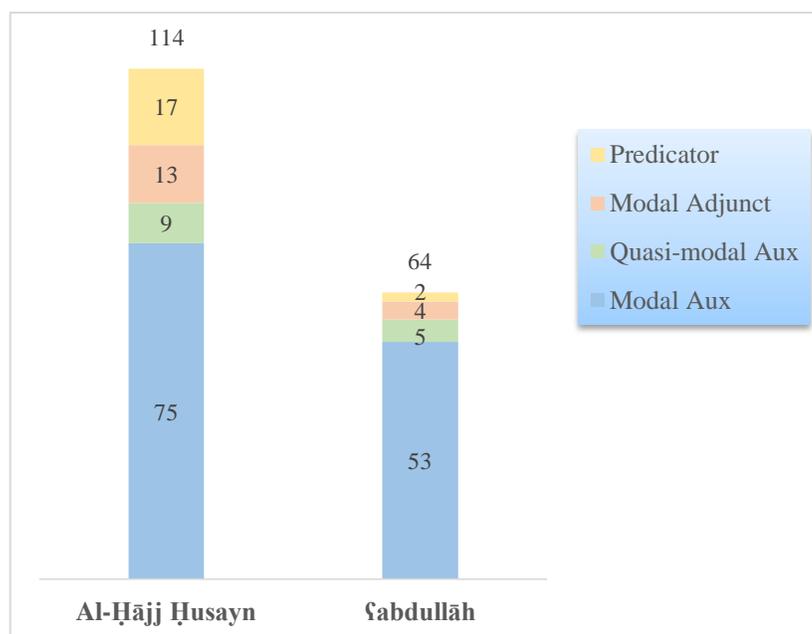
This type of shift is particularly manifested in the modal expressions that belong to the probability and the ability modality systems, whilst there is a small number of occurrences in other types. As can be seen from the figure below, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s translation comprises 46 occurrences of demodalisation shift that occur in the probability system and 40 other occurrences in the ability modal expressions, in contrast to ʕabdullāh’s translation which has 36 occurrences in the probability system and 18 in the ability system. Moreover, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT shows more demodalisation shift in the obligation system, with 19 occurrences as opposed to ʕabdullāh’s TT (9 occurrences). In the two translations, there is also a small number of occurrences where the whole the qualified ST clauses are not rendered. In contrast

to Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's omission of an ST clause containing the modal auxiliary *will*, there are 5 ST qualified statements omitted in Ṣabdullāh's TT, 4 of which have the modal auxiliary *can* in its ability sense, while the remaining qualified statement includes the quasi-modal *let* expressing a permission meaning of modality.

Through the examination of the demodalisation shifts, it becomes apparent that most of these shifts are related to the positioning of the modal expressions within the ST clauses; that is, there are more than half of the total number of the demodalisation shifts in the two translations occurring in the modal expressions that are located within the hypotactic related clauses. This reveals a truncation trend in the sense that the two translators seemingly aim to reduce the ST clauses in translation by deleting modal expressions alongside other ST lexical items (see Examples 5.10a). The ST clauses appear to be less condensed in translation. Hence, it can be posited that in the present data, the more complex the ST structure, the more it is trimmed in the two translations, and the more modal expressions are omitted.

Figure 5.6 shows the most deleted modal expressions. It indicates that the finite modal auxiliaries record more than half of the demodalisation shifts in the two translations, whereas this type of shift occurs less in the other modal expressions, especially in Ṣabdullāh's translation which reveals more consistency in the renderings of these expressions. The omission of the modal auxiliary *can* registers the highest occurrences among other modal auxiliaries. With overall 41 omission occurrences of *can* in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's translation, there are 35 omission occurrences of *can* in its ability sense and 6 occurrences in its probability sense. By contrast, Ṣabdullāh's translation constitutes 24 omission occurrences of *can*, 18 of which express ability meanings, while the remaining occasions carry epistemic meanings. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn inclines to leave out the modal auxiliary *can* in the clauses that involve either mental processes of perception and recognition (e.g., *see* and *know*, respectively) or processes lying on its fringes (behavioural processes). In particular, out of the total number of deletion occurrences in the ST modal auxiliary *can* (35), there are 19 occurrences, in which the ST clauses involve mental or behavioural processes. By contrast, Ṣabdullāh is more consistent in retaining this ST modal auxiliary with mental or behavioural process clauses, as only three instances of omission are found.

Figure 5.6. The functions of the ST omitted modal expressions



It is also noted that this is the case with other ST modal auxiliaries (i.e., 9 occurrences of omission in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, while 6 occurrences are to be found in Ṣabdullāh's). Examples are the following:

		Examples	Back-translation
5.5	Coetzee	[W]hen I look down more carefully at the square I <b>can see</b> two boys quietly playing marbles under the mulberry trees. (2004:107)	
5.5a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	فَعِنْدَمَا أَنْظَرَ بِتَمَعْنٍ إِلَى السَّاحَةِ أَرَى وَلَدَيْنِ يَلْعَبَانِ الْكَلَّةَ تَحْتَ شَجَرِ التُّوتِ. (2004: 138)	Then when I carefully looked at the square, I <b>saw</b> two boys playing marbles under the mulberry trees.
5.6	Coetzee	The drumbeat in my ears becomes slower and louder till it is all I <b>can hear</b> . (2004:131)	
5.6a	Ṣabdullāh	صَوْتٌ طَبْلٌ فِي أذْنِي يَتَبَاطَأُ وَيَعْلُو حَتَّى يَصْبِيحَ هُوَ الصَّوْتُ الْوَحِيدَ الَّذِي أَسْمَعُهُ. (2004:171)	The drumbeat in my ears slows down and rises till it becomes the only voice that I <b>hear</b> .

5.7	Coetzee	Even if all children of the town <b>should</b> hear me [...]. (2004:133)	
5.7a	Al-Hāj̄j Husayn	حتى لو سمعني أطفال المدينة كلهم [...]. (2004: 173)	Even if all the children of the town all <b>hear me</b> [...].
5.7b	ʕabdullāh	حتى لو سمعني كافة أطفال البلدة [...]. (2004: 174)	Even if all the children of the town <b>hear me</b> [...].

It is noteworthy that all the ST examples have mental processes of perception (i.e., *see* and *hear*) preceded by the modal auxiliaries: the abilitive expression *can* and epistemic expression *should*, whereas in the translations, these modal auxiliaries are omitted. Although there are many occasions where the finite modal operator following these types of processes are shifted, it appears that these changes are unsystematic and likely affected by the translators' interpretation of the context and their attempts to create a stylistic effect. For instance, in the following examples, the ST categorical assertions are qualified although they include mental processes:

		Examples	Back-translation
5.8	Coetzee	I close my eyes for hours on end, sitting in the middle of the floor in the faint light of day, and try to evoke the image of that man so ill-remembered. <b>All I see</b> is a figure named <i>father</i> that could be the figure of any father who knows a child is being beaten whom he cannot protect. (2004: 88)	
5.8a	Al-Hāj̄j Husayn	أغلقت عيني ساعات بعدها، جالسا وسط الأرض في ضوء النهار الخافت، حاولا أن أستدعي خيال ذلك الرجل الذي أتذكره بصعوبة بالغة. كل ما استطعت رؤيته هو أنسان يسمى أبا، يمكن أن يكون شكلا لأي أب، أب يعلم أن طفلته تضرب وهو عاجز عن حمايتها. (2004: 115)	I closed my eyes hours then, sitting in the middle of the floor on the dim spot of daylight, and trying to evoke the spectre of that man that I so hardly remembered. <b>All I could see</b> was a human named father that could be any figure of a father, a father that knew his child had been beaten while he was unable to protect her.
5.9	Coetzee	<b>Some of what is said</b> I can hear clearly.	

		(2004:96)	
5.9a	ʕabdullāh	أستطيع سماع بعض ما قيل، أستطيع سماعه بوضوح. (2004: 127)	I <b>can</b> hear some of what is said, I <b>can</b> clearly <b>hear</b> it.

Here in Example 5.8a, Al-Hājj Ḥusayn adds the predicator استطعت (could/was able to) although the ST clause comprises a mental process of perception *see*. This could be interpreted as an attempt to enhance the interpretation of the ST clause. In the original, the narrator-character tries to conjure up the image of the barbarian girl's father, an image that is blurredly evoked. So it seems that the translator builds on this meaning for the addition of the ability expression, so as to reinforce the meaning that the narrator-character cannot but see the image of any father that is tortured by a desire to save his daughter. As for Example 5.9a, the addition of the ability expression أستطيع (can/am able to) is probably construed as an endeavour to create a stylistic effect of rhetorical parallelism (Hatim and Munday, 2004: 53). ʕabdullāh opts for the inclusion of the predicator أستطيع at the beginning of the TT clause, أستطيع سماع بعض ما قيل a choice that sacrifices the ST marked thematic option in order to produce a lexical item repetition (Dickins *et al.*, 2002: 108-9). As a device, this lexical item repetition does not serve the purpose of maintaining the overall cohesion of the text rather than communicating a rhetorical impact by creating a parallel structure. In fact, more studies are needed in order to investigate whether these kinds of omission are the norms in MSA, whether the MSA users employ fewer modal expressions of ability or any other systems in the mental and behavioural clauses than the English users.

In relation to the omissions of the ST modal adjuncts, the MSA preferences for thematising modal adjuncts (Angelescu, 1999: 134; Bardi, 2008: 191) may constitute a significant factor in the deletion of these expressions, since they are located within the rhematic stretch of the clause as manifested in the following instances:

		Examples	Back-translation
5.10	Coetzee	[A]t worst they have been roaming the up-river country [...] scattering their flocks; at best they have met no one at all— <b>certainly</b> not the gathered barbarian clans from whose fury the Third Bureau is engaged in protecting us.	

		(2004: 99)	
5.10a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	في أسوأ الحالات كانوا يطوفون في منطقة النهر، [...] مشتتين قطعانهم، وليست عشائر البرابرة المتجمعين، والذي أنخرط المكتب الثالث في حمايتنا من غضبهم. (2004: 129)	At the worst situations, they were roaming the river area [...] scattering their flocks, <b>and they are not the clans</b> of gathered barbarians that the Third Bureau is engaged in protecting us from their rage.
5.11	Coetzee	[B]ut the only memory on which I can <b>absolutely</b> rest is of my oiled hands sliding over her knees [...]. (2004: 95)	
5.11a	Ṣabdullāh	ولكن الذكرى الوحيدة التي أسكن إليها هي يداي المزيتان تنزلقان على ركبتيها [...]. (2004: 124)	And but the alone memory that I <b>dwell in</b> is my oiled hands that glide over her knees [...].

Here the two TTs involve slight amendments to the ST clauses, as evidenced in the option of the deletion of the ST material processes *met* as well as the participant *no one* in Example 5.10a, and of changing the process *rest* into *أسكن* (*dwel*) in Example 5.11a. The latter example also involves the omission of the modal auxiliary *can*. As for the modal adjuncts, the ST lexical items *certainly* and *absolutely* which are not rendered in the two translations are grounded in the medial position in the ST clauses. The data shows that in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's translation, there are just two occasions out of 13 occurrences of omissions in which the modal adjuncts are not medially or finally positioned. Likewise, Ṣabdullāh's translation shows a small number of omissions of the ST modal adjuncts (4 occurrences), all of which are located within the rhematic parts of the ST clauses, except for one occasion.

Now let us consider the effect of this type of shift on altering the ST psychological point of view. Bosseaux (2007: 187-8, 213-4) observes that the positive and negative shadings of Virginia Woolf's *The Waves* are diminished in its two French translations, as the original modal constructions suffer from reduction in translation. The two French translated texts fall short of fully reproducing the feeling of the original. This observation is also much in evidence in the present data, as can be shown in the following extracts:

	Examples	Back-translation
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5.12	Coetzee	<p>I think about him a great deal in the solitude of my cell [...] Vain, hungry for praise, I <b>am sure</b> [...] Who dreams that one of these days he <b>will</b> put his foot on my throat and press. And I? I find it hard to hate him in return. The road to the top <b>must</b> be hard for young men without money, without patronage, with the barest of schooling, men who <b>might</b> as easily go into lives of crime as into the service of the Empire (but what better branch of service <b>could</b> they choose than the Bureau!).</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(2004: 92)</p>	
5.12a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	<p>فكرت فيه مطولا عبر عزلتي في الزنزانة [...] مغرور، متعطش للمديح. أنا واثق من ذلك. [...] وهو يحلم أنه سيضع قدمه على حلقي ويضغط. وأنا؟ وجدت من الصعب أن أبادله الكراهية. فالطريق إلى القمة صعبة للشباب المفلسين دون شك، الذين لا أحد يتبناهم، والذين لا رصيد لهم إلى عري المدرسة. إنهم الرجال الذين يدخلون في عالم الجريمة كما يدخلون في خدمة الإمبراطورية. (ولكن أي خدمة أفضل من خدمة المكتب الثالث).</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(2004: 120-1)</p>	<p>I thought of him for long through my solitude in the cell [...] conceited, thirsty for praise. I was sure of that [...] And he was dreaming that he <b>would put</b> his foot on my throat and press.</p> <p>And I? I found it hard to reciprocate hatred. The way to the top was difficult for broke people without doubt, whom no body patronized and who were without money to the nakedness of the school. They are men who entered the world of crime and they entered the service of the empire. (And but which service was better than the service of the Third Bureau).</p>
5.13	Coetzee	<p>‘How long has your foot been like this?’ I shout. He hides his face. ‘Why did you not say anything? Didn’t I tell you all that you <b>must</b> keep your feet clean, that you <b>must</b> change your footcloths every second day and wash them, that you <b>must</b> put ointment on blisters and bandage them? I gave</p>	

		those orders for a reason! How are you going to travel with your foot in that condition?  (2004: 80)	
5.13a	ʕabdullāh	أصبح، «منذ متى وقدمك على هذه الحالة؟» يخفي وجهه. «لماذا لم تقل شيئا؟ ألم أوصمكم جميعا بوجوب الحفاظ على أقدامكم نظيفة، وأن تغيروا جواربكم بين يوم وآخر وأن تقوموا بغسلها، وأن تضعوا مرهما على الثبور وتربطوها؟ لقد أعطيت تلك التعليمات لسبب ما! كيف يمكننا السفر وقدمك بهذا الوضع؟»  (2004: 106)	I shout, “Since when has your foot been in this state?” He hides his face. “Why have you not said anything? Have not I recommended you all you <b>must</b> keep your feet clean, <b>change</b> your socks from a day to another and wash them, and <b>put</b> ointment on blisters and tie them? I have given those orders for a reason! How can we travel with your foot in this condition?”

Here the two ST excerpts illustrate two different shadings that are obviously underrepresented in translation. Example 5.12 exemplifies A-ve, as there is a proliferation of epistemic triggers realised non-congruently by a projecting relational clause (*I am sure*) and congruently by modal auxiliaries (*will, must, might* and *could*), that reflect various scalar points along the continuum of the probability system. The presence of the likelihood markers in this passage, which start from strong to lesser conviction, undermine the factuality of the description proffered by the narrator-character in relation to the narrative existents. In other words, the Magistrate’s report is received as less real. It is characterised by his predicated knowledge about the officer’s traits (e.g., *hungry for praise*), and about the young people of Empire who descend into the world of unlawfulness as easy as electing to serve the Third Bureau. By contrast, its TT counterpart yields a slight different depiction of the ST paragraph. A few epistemic choices are offered that are manifested through the relational projecting clause أنا واثق (I am sure), the modal particle س (will/would) and the modal adjunct دون شك (without a doubt). The translator opts for the omission of the ST modal auxiliaries *might* and *could* towards the end of the TT passage, which in turn, presents the narrator-character’s full confidence in his propositions. That is, the ST narrative clauses in respect of the young people of the Empire are given as categorical assertions in the TT. Accordingly, this choice helps to lessen the uncertainty of the Magistrate, as he is enabled to relate unquestionable facts. Thus, the negative shading of the original is less felt in translation.

As for the other ST passage, Example 5.13, it reflects A+ve, since it foregrounds the obligations of the characters as evinced in the repetition of the deontic modal auxiliary *must* ('you must keep your feet clean [...] you must change your footcloths [...] you must put ointment on blisters'). By contrast, its translation communicates less positive shading, since it is characterised by less emphasis on the duties of the characters. The translator chooses not to reproduce the ST repetition. Rather, the TL modal expression وجوب (necessity) is made to govern all the verbal groups in the subsequent clauses. These omissions lead to toning down the fury of the narrator-character that is directed towards his companions who did not follow his commands. Hence, although the overall positive shading of the ST is still experienced in the TT, it is under-expressed.

### 5.8.2.2 Modalisation Shift

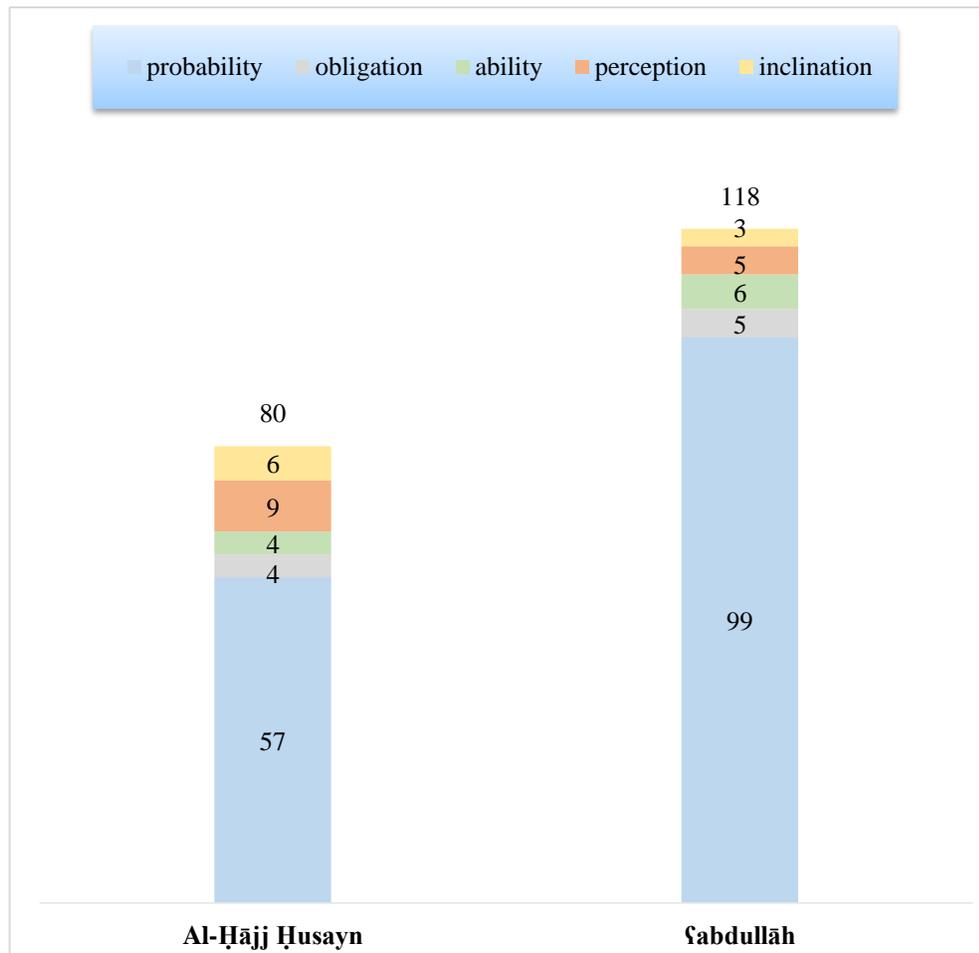
This type of shift occurs more in ʕabdullāh's translation compared to Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT. Figure 5.7 accounts for the instances of the added modal expressions falling under different modality systems and Figure 5.8 displays the occurrences of the strategies used by the two translators (i.e., the functions of the added modal expressions). What stands out in Figure 5.8 is that there is an abundant use of MSA finite modal particles such as the emphatic إِنَّ (indeed) and سوف (will/would) in its epistemic and willingness meanings, with 95 occurrences in ʕabdullāh's TT, in contrast to 49 occurrences in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's, whereas other TT inserted modal expressions are far less frequent.

The most frequently added modal particle is the emphatic إِنَّ (indeed), amounting to 84 occurrences in ʕabdullāh's TT in contrast to 30 occurrences in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's (the overall occurrences of each individual TT modal expression added are given in Table 5.4. below). The additions of the particle إِنَّ could be intended to intensify the truth value of the ST utterances:

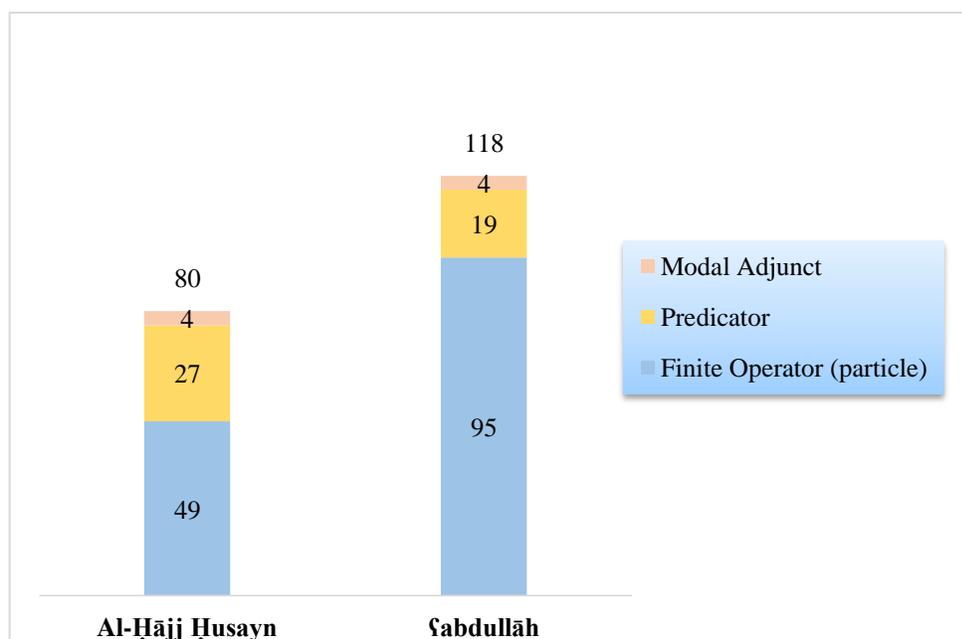
		Examples	Back-translation
5.14	Coetzee	' <b>You</b> are depraving these people!' (2004: 116)	

5.14a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	«إنك تفسد هؤلاء الناس». (2004:151)	“Indeed, you are spoiling these people”.
5.15	Coetzee	‘You can’t live on the fruit of the land out here, can you? I’ve never seen such dead country.’ (2004:109)	
5.15a	Ḥabdullāh	«إنك لا تستطيع العيش على فاكهة الأرض الموجودة هنا، هل تقدر؟ لم أر من قبل مثل هذا البلد القاحل». (2004: 142)	“Indeed, you are not able to live on the fruits of the land that are in existence here, can you? I have not seen anything like this barren country”.

Figure 5.7. Frequency of TTs added expressions of modality systems



**Figure 5.8.** Frequency of different modality strategies of added expressions



In the TT instances, the ST utterances are further qualified, since the two translators seemingly attempt to amplify the meaning of the ST messages. In Example 5.14, the narrator-character stands against Colonel Joll, who is about to lay down his hammer on the barbarian prisoners; he brings to light to the colonel the immoral fact of his action; that is, he is corrupting the dwellers of the town. So in its TT counterpart, it would be possible to posit that by adding the MSA modal particle, the translator tries to intensify this ST proposition, emphasising the villainous side of the colonel. Likewise, the truth value of the ST factual statement in Example 5.15a is stressed. The translator appears to underscore the sentry’s utterance in his conversation with the narrator-character that living in such ‘a dead country’ where the wheat is destroyed possibly by the barbarians is something highly uncertain.

**Table 5.4.** Type, frequency and function of added modal expressions

				Al-Hājj Ḥusayn	ʿabdullāh
System	Function	Realisation	Translation		
Probability					
	particle				
		لَئِنْ	verily/indeed	30	84

		س/سوف	will/would	14	7
	predicator				
		يمكن أن	can	4	4
		يكاد أن	is about	3	2
		علمنا أن	we know that	1	-
		أعرف أن	I know that	1	-
	modal adjunct				
		لا بد أن	it is certain that	1	1
		بالتأكيد	certainly	2	-
		من غير ريب	no doubt	-	1
		ربما	possibly	1	-
<b>Perception</b>					
	particle				
		كان	as if/though	-	1
		بدا/بيدو	seemed/seem	9	4
<b>Obligation</b>					
	predicator				
		يجب	it is necessary that	-	1
		اضطررنا	it was necessary that we	1	-
	modal Adjunct				
		عليك (ك)	you/I should	3	2
		لا بد أن	it is necessary for (oneself)	-	1
<b>Ability</b>					
	predicator				
		يستطيع	can/be able to	3	1
		يمكن	can/be able to	1	-
		تقدر	can/be able to	-	2
	modal adjunct				
		استطاعتي	my ability to	-	1
<b>Inclination</b>					
	particle				
		س/سوف	will/would	5	-

		لن	will not/would not	-	2
	predicator				
		أردت	I wanted to	1	-

In the data, there are 20 occurrences of modalisation shifts in Al-Hājj Ḥusayn's TT and 15 occurrences in Ṣabdullāh's TT that could be interpreted as attempts to enhance the interpretation of the ST utterances. As mentioned above, these modal expressions are inserted to sustain aspects of the narrator-character's narrative discourse, while highlighting more involvement on the part of the narrator-character. At the same time, these modal expressions can provide the TL reader with what seems to be a better understanding of the ST narrative scene. These findings concur with those of Ng (2009: 233-43). Ng (ibid.) notes that Hai and Zhao, the two Chinese translators of Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*, add modal expressions of obligation that express high values in order to place emphasis on the old man's deontic commitment when he is battling with the fish. Ng (2009: 233) also finds that the additions of the modal expressions serve the purpose of spilling out information as regards the contexts of the narrative events. As for the present data, the following examples can provide an opportunity to examine the enhancement of the ST interpretations:

		Examples	Back-translation
5.16	Coetzee	Beside the gate, if I strain my eyes, I can make out a dark shape, a man sitting against the wall <b>or curled up</b> in sleep. (2004: 98)	
5.16a	Al-Hājj Ḥusayn	قرب البوابة إذا ما أجهدت عيني أستطيع رؤية شكل أسود، شكل رجل يجلس على الجدار أو ربما كان مكورا في النوم؟ (2004: 115)	Beside the gate if I strained my eyes I can see a black figure, a figure of a man sitting against the wall or <b>perhaps</b> curled up in sleep.
5.17	Coetzee	She wails in a tiny voice. 'Ssh,' I say, ' <b>I will keep you warm.</b> ' (2004: 95)	
5.17a	Al-Hājj Ḥusayn	كانت تنوح بصوت خفيض، همست: «هس، سأدفئك، سأدفئك» (2004: 165)	She wailed in a low voice, I whispered: "Hiss, I will warm you, <b>I will warm you.</b> "

5.18	Coetzee	Staring north I can swear that I <b>glimpse</b> the flicker of another fire; but when I try to point it out to the others the night is impenetrably black.  (2004: 74-5)	
5.18a	Ṣabdullāh	بوسعي أن أقسم، مفترسا شمالا، على استطاعتي رؤية وميض نار أخرى، ولكنني عندما أحاول تحديدها للأخرين يكون الليل حالك السواد غير قابل للنفاذ.  (2004: 99)	I can swear looking to the North that <b>I am able to</b> see the flicker of another fire, but when I try to identify it for the others, the night is black, impenetrable.
5.19	Coetzee	I flatten myself as far as I <b>can</b> [...]  (2004: 106)	
5.19a	Ṣabdullāh	علي أن ابسط نفسي أقصى ما استطع.  (2004: 138)	<b>I must</b> flatten myself as far as I can.

In the TT Example 5.16a, the Magistrate's difficulty to precisely identify the figure he is looking at seems to be enhanced by the inclusion of the MSA modal adjunct ربما (maybe/possibly). That is, this insertion can be construed as intensifying the narrator-character's inability to recognise who is there next to the gate. Therefore, an interpersonal meaning of uncertainty is felt to be needed here. While an epistemic sense is added in this example, the willingness of the narrator-character is reinforced in Example 5.17a, in which the TT modalised clause as a translation of that of the ST ('I will keep you warm') is repeated. It seems as if the translator attempts to add a dramatic sense to the scene by stressing the Magistrate's volitive act of continuing warming the barbarian girl. As for the remaining TT examples, ability and obligation expressions are inserted, respectively. In Example 5.18a, the translator adds the modal adjunct استطاعتي apparently to highlight to the TT readers the narrator-character's ability to spot the fire faraway unlike the other characters. By contrast, in Example 5.19a, the Magistrate straightens his body under the bed in order to remain in hiding. Again, this situation is intensified in the translation by inserting a sense of obligation that emanates from within the Magistrate himself; that is, he is obliged to flatten himself, otherwise he will be discovered.

Another factor contributing to the instances of modalisation shifts in the TTs is the translators' deviation from the ST's aesthetic use of the simultaneous present tense. I have

already discussed in Chapter 3 that this narrative tense is tremendously altered in the two TTs, especially in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT. The ST narrative events that are relayed in the present moment in relation to the narrator-character are epistemically modalised, grounded in a particular time in future or future in the past. The deviation from the ST tense and the addition of modality patterns are also observed by Munday (1997: 243-4) in his discussion of Rabassa's translation of Gabriel García Márquez's *La hojarasca*. However, those deviations, as Munday (ibid.) points out, are attributable to the translator's attempt to attain 'an effective rhetorical patterning' by alternating between the present and the past tenses and inserting modal auxiliaries ('did I realize/ do I realize/ could I realize'), rather than to normalisation of the original narrative tense, as could be the case with our TTs.

The following examples show the alteration of the ST tense of narration and the option for the insertion of interpersonal meanings of modality in the TTs:

		Examples	Back-translation
5.20	Coetzee	A bestial <b>life is turning</b> me into a beast. (2004: 87)	
5.20a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	هذه الحياة البهيمية ستحولني إلى وحش. (2004: 115)	This bestial life <b>would</b> turn me into a beast.
5.21	Coetzee	[i]n a fair trial, I <b>would</b> find the words to shame them. (2004:123)	
5.21a	ʿabdullāh	[...] في محاكمة عادلة فسأجد الكلمات التي ستخزيهم. (2004: 162)	In a fair trial, I would find the words that <b>would</b> shame them.

Here in the TTs examples, the narrator-character's report is modalised; it is presented as if the magistrate is making predictions about the narrative events. In Example 5.20, the narrator-character is describing the conditions he is going through at the present moment of enunciation after being detained. These conditions are transforming his life into that of an animal. By contrast, this description is misinterpreted in the translation. The ST imperfective process *is turning* could be understood by the translator as if the narrator-character is making an assumption in future. Hence, the ST categorical assertion is transformed into an

epistemically modalised proposition by the addition of the MSA future particle *س* that is attached to the process *تحولني*. Similarly, in Example 5.21a, the ST hypotactic purposive clause (*to shame them*) is expanded into a qualified hypotactic clause in the translation *ستخزيهم* ([words] would shame them), which expresses then an epistemic meaning of assumption. These kinds of addition impact the ST narrative description, since it undermines the immediate experience of the narrator-character, which then leads to different portrayals of the ST fictional world in translation.

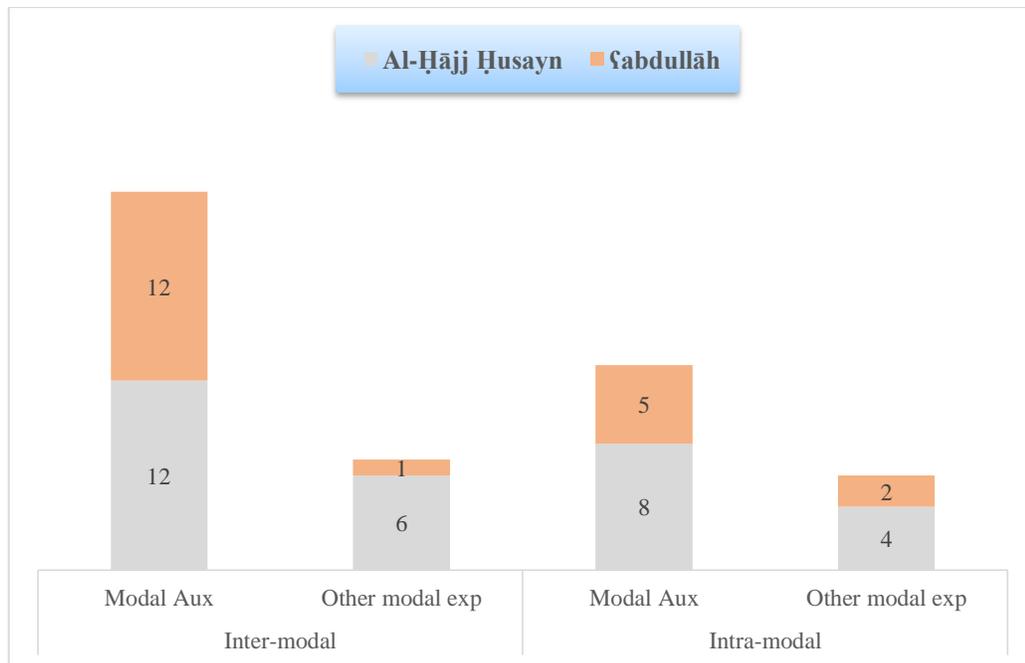
There are other modalisation shifts in the two translations that score a small number of frequencies, such as Ṣabdullāh's choice of creating a stylistic effect in Example 5.9a discussed above. Other occurrences (4) can be simply attributed to mistranslation on the part of Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn. For instance, in his letter to the provincial governor, the I-narrator explains his purposes in undertaking a visit to the barbarians' territory. The ST purposive clause (*to repair some of the damage*) included in the letter is mistranslated, since its TT equivalent utterance is made to express a medium obligation that the provincial governor is commended by the narrator-character to fix the crack in the relationship with the barbarians: *عليك إصلاح بعض الأضرار* ('you should repair some of the damage'). Furthermore, other instances show no obvious reasons that explain the adoption of such choices by the translators. The ST relational processes such as *is* and *grow* are simply rendered as MSA verbs of perception *يبدو* (seem). These shifts score 6 occurrences in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, as opposed to 4 occurrences in Ṣabdullāh's. Again, the addition of such modal constructions contributes to distorting the ST psychological point of view in translation, obviously because they weaken the I-narrator's conviction.

### 5.8.2.3 Inter-modal and Intra-modal Shifts

These two types of shift are not as frequent as the previous two types in the two TTs, as shown in Figure 5.4 above. The analysis indicates that there is a slightly higher number of shifts in these two types in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's, amounting to 20 inter-modal shifts and 12 intra-modal shifts, in contrast to those of Ṣabdullāh's, which are 13 inter-modal shifts and 7 intra-modal shifts. The close examination of the TT shifts categorised under these two types

reveals that the majority of occurrences of shifts are detected in the transference of the ST finite modal auxiliaries (see Figure 5.9 below). In ʕabdullāh’s translation, there are 12 occurrences out of the total number of 13 inter-modal shifts and 5 occurrences out of 7 intra-modal shifts that are identified with the renderings of the ST modal auxiliaries.

Figure 5.9. Frequency of ST inter/intra-modally shifted expressions



Likewise, in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s, the inter-modal and intra-modal shifts, which are detected in the transference of the ST modal auxiliaries, account for 12 out 20 occurrences and 8 of 12 occurrences, respectively. This is because the ST finite modal auxiliaries exhibit semantic indeterminacy (Coates 1983: 9), that most probably presents some certain nuances to the two TT translators. This notion of indeterminacy is also reported by Ng (2009: 232), who cites that all 4 Chinese translators misread the deontic meaning of the English modal auxiliary *will*. On one occasion, Ng (ibid.) mentions, three Chinese translators choose to use epistemic modal expressions as the equivalents of the original *will*, while one translator shifts its value by opting for an expression that conveys a deontic sense of duty.

By contrast, there are very few instances of shifts that occur in the ST quasi-modal auxiliaries, periphrastic forms of the modal auxiliaries and predicators. In ʕabdullāh’s translation, two

shifts occur in the translation of the ST quasi-modal (*be going to*). It is inter-modally shifted, since it is rendered as a boulomaic expression *عازمون على* (we are determined to), whereas it is intra-modally altered, as it is translated as an ability of expression *يمكننا* (we are able to). The remaining intra-modal shift occurs in the translation of the ST predicator *assert* that is transferred as *يزعمون* (they claim), an MSA predicator that expresses a lower degree of epistemic commitment to the truth-value of the utterance. As for Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, there are 8 occurrences (6 inter-modal shifts and 2 intra-modal shifts) that are identified with the translation of the ST quasi-modal (i.e., *let, be going to, have/has to*). As for the remaining ST other modal expressions, there are 3 occurrences (2 inter-modal and one intra-modal shifts) to be found in the ST predicators, whilst one intra-modal occurrence is found in the translation of the ST modal adjunct *certainly*, which is rendered as *أكد* (I was about to), a MSA weaker form of epistemic commitment to the TL propositions.

Furthermore, in these two types of shift, it is found that the ST modal expressions of the probability system are altered the most in the TTs. There are 12 occurrences in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT and 8 occurrences in Ṣabdullāh's (see Table 5.5), in which the ST epistemic expressions are rendered as modal expressions that belong to other systems of modality in translation, most notably the obligation system.

By contrast, the opposite trend, rendering the ST modal expressions that belong to the other modality systems into the TT probability systems, occurs slightly in the two TTs. It is also noticeable that there are 3 occasions where the ST modal auxiliaries *can* and *could* in their epistemic senses are rendered as ability expressions in Ṣabdullāh's TT, in contrast to just one occurrence in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's.

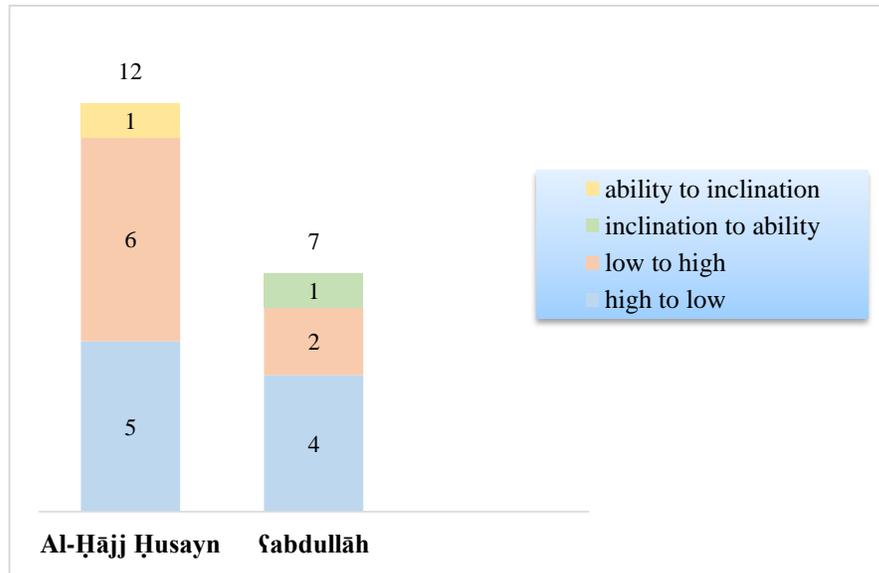
Similarly, the intra-modal shifts in Ṣabdullāh's TT are all identified as altering the degree of the ST modal expressions under the scale of the probability system, except for one occasion, in which the ST inclination expression *would* is transferred as a TL ability expression *يمكن* (be able to).

Table 5.5. Frequency of inter-modal shifts

(Shifted into)		Occurrences	
ST systems	TT systems	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	ʿabdullāh
probability	→ obligation	9	4
	→ ability	1	3
	→ inclination	1	1
	→ perception	1	-
obligation	→ probability	3	1
	→ inclination	3	-
ability	→ probability	2	1
	→ obligation	-	2
inclination	→ obligation	1	-

Moreover, ʿabdullāh’s translation exhibits slightly more shifts in changing the ST high value of modal expression into low values (see Figure 5.10). Likewise, the majority of intra-modal shifts (8 out of 12) in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT are detected in the ST probability expressions. As for the remaining occurrences, there are 3 occasions identified in the ST obligation expressions of low value rendered as expressions of high command; and one occasion occurs in the ST ability expression *can* that is translated as a TL inclination expression realised by the MSA modal particle *س* (will/ would). Finally, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn almost strikes a balance between altering the low values of the ST modal expressions into high values (6 occurrences) and vice versa (5 occurrences).

Figure 5.10. Frequency of intra-modal shifts



These two types of shifts serve to create a different picture of the narrator-character’s engagement in his narrative accounts in translation. Consequently, this leads to projecting a fictional world in the translated texts that is distinct from that of the ST, as can be manifested in the following examples:

		Examples	Back-translation	Modality system	Value
5.22	Coetzee	How <b>can</b> I regard myself as a victim of persecution when my sufferings are so petty?  (2004: 93)		probability	low
5.22a	Al-Hājj Ḥusayn	كيف لي أن أعد نفسي ضحية الاضطهاد ومعاناتي تافهة إلى هذه الدرجة؟  (2004: 121)	How was I <b>permitted to</b> consider myself a victim of persecution, although my suffering was trivial to such a degree?	obligation	low
5.23	Coetzee	I walked into that cell a sane man sure of the rightness of my cause, however incompetent I continue to find myself to describe what that cause <b>may be</b> .		probability	low

		(2004: 104)			
5.23a	ʕabdullāh	سرت إلى داخل الزنزانة رجلا سليم العقل، واثقا بعدالة قضيتي، مهما كنت غير كفء، فإنني أوصل الحكم على نفسي لوصف ماذا يجب أن تكون تلك القضية. (2004: 137)	I walked into the cell a man of a sound mind, sure of my just cause; regardless of how I was incompetent, I am continuing judging myself for describing what that cause <b>must</b> be.	obligation	high
5.24	Coetzee	Let them enjoy their feast. <b>Let</b> me not hinder them from imagining it is my throat they cut (2004: 81)		obligation	low
5.24a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	فليستمتعوا بوليمتهم، <b>يجب</b> ألا يشعروا أنني منعتهم من التخيل أن ما قطوعه هو حلقى. (2004: 108)	So let them enjoy their feast. They <b>must</b> not feel that I prevented them from imagining that what they cut was my throat.	obligation	high
5.25	Coetzee	It strikes me suddenly that the insult may not be gratuitous, that perhaps for different reasons these two men <b>might</b> welcome it if I lost my temper. (2004: 124)		probability	low
5.25a	ʕabdullāh	يخطر لي أن الإهانة قد لا تكون بلا مبرر، ذلك أن هذين الرجلين سيرحبان وربما لأسباب مختلفة إن فقدت السيطرة على أعصابي. (2004: 162)	It occurs to me that the insult might be without a justification, that these two men <b>will</b> welcome and perhaps for different reasons, if I lose control over my temper.	probability	high

The TT Examples 5.22a and 5.23a involve inter-modal shifts, showing misinterpretations of their ST counterpart modalised utterances. Their ST counterparts are presented as proposals, states of affairs. In Example 5.22a, the ST modal auxiliary *can* that holds an epistemic sense is altered in translation, since its TT equivalent modal expression لي (I was permitted to) is subsumed under the obligation system. In addition to ST Example 5.22, there are 3 other occasions in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT on which the ST epistemically modalised interrogative clause, starting with the how-element (negotiator) and involving different modal auxiliaries (i.e., *must* and *could*) are consistently rendered as deontically interrogative clauses by the

use of the same TL permission expression *لي*. In the same way, Ṣabdullāh in Example 5.24 selects a TL obligation expression of high value *يجب* (must) as a translation of the ST modal auxiliary *might* in its epistemic sense. Here the deviation from the ST modality system into that of obligation in the TT proffers a different reading of the ST utterances. Whilst the ST Examples 5.22 and 5.23 foreground the consciousness of the narrator-character, conveying a negative shade of feeling in respect of the narrative existents, their TT counterparts bestow prominence to his permission and the duty of how the cause is realised, offering a positive shading of the narrative events. Put differently, the indeterminacy of the narrator-character about the narrative events, evinced in the possibility of deeming himself a victim of oppression and his doubtful-ness as to what his cause is, is reflected in the ST examples, the very opposite of their TT equivalents that project the explicit commitment to bring about certain courses of action.

As regards the other two TT examples, they exhibit intra-modal shifts. The ST modal expressions in Examples 5.24 and 5.25 that occupy one end of the necessity and probability scale, respectively, are shifted towards the other end in translation. In Example 5.24a, the interpersonal meaning of permission realised by the quasi-modal auxiliary *let* is rendered as a modal expression of high value *يجب* (must), conveying an inescapable duty, apparently because the translator aims to avoid repeating the MSA modal particle *ل* that expresses permission. Quite interestingly, the translator does not only shift the degree of the ST modal expression, but also ascribes the obligation, not to the narrator-character, but to the other characters, his companions. Likewise, in Example 5.25a, a high degree of probability is communicated in the narrative proposition, as the option for using the TT modal particle *س* (سيرحبان) conveys a confident assumption on the part of the Magistrate that is premised on his experience or pre-existing knowledge and facts. In contrast, its ST counterpart expresses a weaker form of conviction, the possibility of the two men's appreciation that the narrator-character is being disrespected ('these two men might welcome it').

The overall effects of the intra-modal shifts do not utterly alter the shading of the ST in translation. That is, the TT example 5.22a shows A+ve as approximate as that of the ST, manifested through use of modal expressions of obligation *يجب* (must) and *ليستمتعوا* (let them

enjoy), and *verba sentiendi* يشعروا (they felt), while foregrounding the TT epistemic modal expressions: قد (might), ربما (possibly) and س (will) in Example 5.25a, reflects A-ve in the same way as does its ST correspondent. However, these two shifts represent varying degrees of the narrator-character's involvement in his fictional universe, as stronger forms of modal expressions are adopted in translation, as already explained. Thus, they contribute to setting the construal of the ST fictional world distinctly apart from those of the TTs.

## 5.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have focused on the rendition of the ST modal expressions that are linked to the realisation of the psychological viewpoint based on Simpson's (1993) nine-part typology of narrators. The findings have shown a discrepancy between the ST and the TTs in terms of the total number of different individual modality systems. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's and Ṣabdullāh's translations are characterised by more epistemically modalised utterances, which make the ST aspect of uncertainty over-emphasised, while their translations feature, relatively speaking, a decrease in the total number of modal expressions falling under the ability and obligation systems, which indicates that the narrator-character's capabilities and duties are more or less backgrounded in translation.

On closer inspection, I have discovered that more than 20% of the two TTs' total number of modal expressions is shifted. There are relatively more optional translational shifts in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT (226 occurrences) than in Ṣabdullāh's TT (202 occurrences). These shifts are categorised into: demodalisation, modalisation, inter-modal and intra-modal shifts. In contrast to other shift types, the demodalisation shift was found to be predominant in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's (114 occurrences), while in Ṣabdullāh's TT the overwhelming majority of shifts (118 occurrences) belongs to the modalisation type. Demodalisation and modalisation shifts are found to be more manifested in the ST towards the probability and the ability systems.

Demodalisation shifts may stem from the translators' attempt at minimising the complexity of the ST clause complexes. It was shown clearly that more than half of the total number of the demodalisation shifts occurring in the modal expressions are located within the hypotactic

nexus. Furthermore, more demodalisation shifts are identified in finite modal operators, especially *can* in contrast to other strategies. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's shows preferences for leaving out the modal auxiliary *can* in the clauses that involve either mental processes of perception and recognition or behavioural processes. The analysis has also shown that the omissions of the ST modal adjuncts may be dictated by the MSA preferences for thematising modal adjuncts (Anghelescu, 1999: 134; Bardi, 2008: 191), since the overall majority of these deleted ST modal adjuncts are located within the rhematic stretch.

As for modalisation shifts, there was found to be an abundance in the use of MSA modal finite operators and particles, especially the emphatic *إن* and *سوف*. The added modal expressions could be interpreted as enhancing the interpretation of the ST utterances. These modal expressions are inserted to sustain aspects of the narrator-character's narrative discourse, highlighting more involvement on the part of the narrator-character.

In contrast, there are a few occurrences of inter-/intra-modal shifts registering less than 10 % in the two TTs. This denotes that the two translators are relatively successful in coping with the vague nature of, and in retaining the intensity of the ST modal expressions. Most of these two types of shift are detected in the transference of the ST finite modal operators and in the modal expressions of the probability system.

Finally, the analysis has demonstrated how these types of shift can alter the shading of the ST narrative events by altering the ST A+ve to its negative counterpart in the TTs, and vice versa. Whereas the inter-modal and intra-modal shifts do not completely alter the positive or negative shading of the ST narrative episodes, they do amount to a factor in reducing their foregrounded shading.

# CHAPTER SIX

## Modes of Discourse Representation

### 6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I scrutinise the renderings of the ST phraselogical point of view at the levels of manifestation that are relevant to the present data. Section 6.2 will revolve around modes of speech and thought representations. It will first outline the adopted model for this study, Leech and Short's model (2007) that is based on conspicuous linguistic criteria that elucidate the stylistic analysis of point of view on this plane in both literary and non-literary texts (Simpson, 1993: 21; Semino and Short, 2004: 9). At the same time, this model attenuates the impressionistic aspect of the analysis as Simpson (1993: 21) argues, unlike other available models that to some extent address this aspect such as Palmer's (2004) tripartite typology of thought presentation. Section 6.3 briefly discusses the methodological issues encountered in determining the instances of the modes of discourse representation. Finally, Section 6.4 investigates the renderings of the ST categories of discourse representation (i.e., Direct Discourse and Free Direct Discourse), identifies the categories of shifts in the translations that lead to the modification of the ST phraselogical point of view, and goes on to briefly discuss the translation of the ST (free) direct reported contents.

### 6.2 Speech and Thought Representations

Literary studies are rich with models that delineate the techniques of reporting inner and outer speech such as McHale's (1978), Rimmon-Kenan's (2002), and more recently Palmer's

(2004) and Schmid's (2010) model of text interference. This study will principally lean on Leech and Short's framework of speech and thought representation, because it heavily depends on several of definitive linguistic signals that facilitate distinguishing different modes of reporting the speech and thought of the narrative existents in a work of fiction. Leech and Short's model defines five categories for phenomena of speech, and the same categories are assigned to account for the aspect of thought (see Table 6.1). Despite the fact that the categories of speech are transparently distinct from these of thought with regards to the effects they communicate, this classification is solely justified based on the similar formal characteristics these categories bear (Semino and Short, 2004: 12). The proposed five categories of each phenomenon are positioned in a scalar cline premised on the degree of the intervention in the reporting content on the part of the storyteller. They are arranged from top to bottom in the most involving interference mode that denotes the agent of narration's interpretation to the least engaging, intruding mode, in which reporting the character's inner or outer speech on the part of the narrator becomes absolutely minimal.

**Table 6.1.** Leech and Short's (2007) forms of speech and thought representation

Speech report	Thought report	
Narrative Report of Speech Act	Narrative Report of Thought Act	 The narrator's amount of intervention
Indirect Speech	Indirect Thought	
Free Indirect Speech	Free Indirect Thought	
Direct Speech	Direct Thought	
Free Direct Speech	Free Direct Thought	

For the notable reason that these 10 narrative reporting categories are identical in terms of their intrinsic linguistic features, I find it convenient to group them under five main modes in the subsequent discussion, using the term *discourse* as an umbrella term to signify either the phenomena of reporting speech or thought. These categories are reproduced as follows: Direct Discourse (DD), Free Direct Discourse (FDD), Indirect Discourse (ID), Free Indirect

Discourse (FID) and Narrative Report of Discoursal Act (NRDA). This effort should also enable me to avoid repeating these formal features. In the following sections, since I will undertake a very detailed analysis, I will focus attention only on the first three categories (FDD, DD and ID).

### 6.2.1 Direct Discourse (DD)

This category entails replication of the character’s exact stretch of language; the narrator confines himself to faithfully rendering the content of what is internally or externally uttered with minimal intervention (Leech and Short, 2007: 256-7). This involves preservation of deixis, including personal pronouns, tense and place and time deictic terms; the grammatical mood (e.g., interrogative and imperative); expressive and vocative elements; textual continuatives; and tone (Leech and Short, 2007: 257; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 512, 518, 528-9). Some of these characteristics are shown in the examples below,

n	Examples of DD	Phenomenon
6.1	‘light a fire, brew tea, we will stop here,’ <b>I tell the men.</b> <small>(Coetzee, 2004: 78)</small>	Speech
6.2	‘What a waste’, <b>I think</b> , ‘she could have spent those long empty evenings teaching me her tongue! Too late now.’ <small>(Coetzee, 2004: 78)</small>	Thought

Above all, this mode mandatorily features the presence of the reporting clause, verbal or mental process clauses in the Hallidayan terms as emphasized in these examples (i.e., *I tell* and *I think*, respectively) as well as the use of double quotation marks. Toolan (1998: 106) calls the reporting clause a frame clause, because it provides a frame that informs the reader or listener about who is carrying out the act of speaking or thinking. It may also show extra features such as the manner or tone by which the reported content is conducted. This can be triggered, for instance, by the use of circumstantial adjuncts (Leech and Short, 2007: 258). Moreover, both the reporting and reported clauses enjoy a paratactic logical status.

As for the effect of DD, Leech and Short (ibid.: 257) point out that discourse reporting of speech is employed to convey an impression of objectivity, since the narrator is identified with a lesser degree of involvement with respect of the character's choices of grammatical constructions and lexical items. It also brings about an effect of lifelikeness, vividness heightened by 'the orientation' of the deictic signals; it helps to dramatize the narration (Semino and Short, 2004: 12; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 528). Explaining why this vividness is conveyed, Tannen (2007: 39) argues that:

it is because the creation of voices occasions the imagination of a scene in which characters speak in those voices, and that these scenes occasion the imagination of alternative, distant, or familiar worlds, much as does artistic creation.

And because of the narrator's claim of faithful replication of these characters' grammatical choices, this category facilitates the identification of their idiolect, background knowledge and education, social class, and geographical region to which they belong (Black, 2006: 63-4). In other words, this form of reporting can be a great aid in portraying the characters, throwing light on their attributes and demeanours. By contrast, with reporting speech, reporting thought employing this mode gives access to the character's inner world and can be used to highlight amplified moments of recognition (Leech and Short, 2007: 275).

### **6.2.2 Free Direct Discourse (FDD)**

This category represents one extreme point in the discourse presentation continuum, pinpointing the least amount of involvement on the part of the narrator. Typically, it shares the DD mode's features and effect. The main difference lies in the omission of either or both the quotation marks and the introductory reporting clause (Leech and Short, 2007: 258). The reason behind putting FDD into a separate category distinct from that of the DD is that the quotation marks and the framing clause are considered features that the reporter or the narrator supply to the reader in written presentations (Semino and Short, 2004: 10-11). Hence, it represents the outer and inner speech of the speaker without narratorial intervention. The characters are made to directly address the readers.

n	Examples of FDD	Phenomenon
6.3	[Magistrate:] ‘My private life is none of their business!’ [Colonel Joll:] ‘Nevertheless, I may tell you that our decision to relieve you of your duties has been welcomed in most quarters [...].’ <small>(Coetzee, 2004: 124)</small>	Speech
6.4	<b>Can he really be examining them? What is he looking for?</b> I speak: ‘Is there anything I can help you with?’ <small>(Coetzee, 2004: 84)</small>	Thought

In addition to these effects, this category can be used to communicate a sense of ambiguity and confusion as a result of bringing about a difficulty on the part of the reader to attribute the content of the reported clause to a specific character (Leech and Short, 2007: 258-9). Furthermore, this mode can be utilised to blur the demarcation line between the narrator’s utterances and those of the character; thus, they appear as if they are one whole phenomenon of narration, as in James Joyce’s narratives (Thomas, 2007: 81-2; Leech and Short, 2007: 258-9).

It is worth mentioning that the FDD mode in reporting speech, although formally distinct from the DD mode, can be treated as a sub-type of the DD mode based on a functional difference (Short, 1988, cited in Semino and Short, 2004: 49, 194). In contrast to other categories, the use of the FDD mode does not result in extra faithfulness claim. Likewise, in reference to reporting thought, Semino and Short (2004: 197) argue that the boundary between FDD and DD modes remains fuzzy. The appearance or absence of quotation marks presumably does not lead to a huge, significant difference in meaning or effect. In this study, however, I will keep the distinction between the FDD and DD modes, since the absence or presence of quotation marks and/or reporting clauses involves a choice on the part of the translator. This also allows me to investigate the narrator’s amount of intervention in translation.

### 6.2.3 Indirect Discourse (ID)

Unlike (F)DD, which is claimed to be true to the syntactic and lexical choices of the character, this mode is concerned with providing the gist of the character’s inner or outer speech. It

shows a clear degree of the immersion of the narrator, using his or her own utterances to convey the content of what is thought or said (Leech and Short, 2007: 255). The effect created is that the narrator assumes the function of reporting the character’s wordings and mental states.

n	Examples of FDD	Phenomenon
6.5	[... T]hey <b>say</b> that the soldiers have returned.  <small>(Coetzee, 2004: 96)</small>	Speech
6.6	[...] I <b>wondered</b> how much pain a plump comfortable old man would be able to endure in the name of his eccentric notions of how the Empire should conduct itself.  <small>(Coetzee, 2004: 126)</small>	Thought

In this mode, the reporting clause is retained as it is in the DD. However, both the reporting and the reported clauses represent a hypotactic nexus; therefore, the reported clause is stripped from its quotation marks that signals its independent taxis status (Leech and Short, 2007: 255; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 519). This mode is also different from (F)DD in terms of involving the alteration of the latter’s features, shifting the pronominal references away from the original speech situation (e.g., *I to he*) and place and time deictic items from proximal to distal. It also involves non-reproduction of expressive and vocative elements, interjections and textual continuatives (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 529; Schmid, 2010: 154-5).

Table 6.2 shows a summary of the general formal features and effects of the modes of discourse representation. The subsequent subsections will investigate how the ST reporting modes are projected in the TTs, exploring whether there are potential shifts in the TTs that impinge on the ST narratorial choice of report, and the possible preferences and tendencies that the two translators show. However, I will first address some methodological issues related to distinguishing between different modes of discourse presentation, and what instances are considered in the present study.

**Table 6.2.** Summary of features of (F)DD and ID modes

Mode	General Formal Features	Effects
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<b>DD</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Presence of reporting clause</li> <li>- Paratactic nexus</li> <li>- Quotation marks</li> <li>- Retention of: <i>deictics</i>, grammatical mood, expressive and vocative elements, textual continuatives, manner of pronunciation and tone</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Dramatization and vividness</li> <li>- Heightening the character's inner world</li> </ul>
<b>FDD</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Free of: either or both reporting clause and quotation marks</li> <li>- Retention of: <i>deictics</i>, grammatical mood, expressive and vocative elements, textual continuatives, manner of pronunciation and tone</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Dramatization and vividness</li> <li>- Heightening the character's inner world</li> <li>- Ambiguity and confusion</li> <li>- Impression of reporting and narrative description as one aspect</li> </ul>
<b>ID</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Presence of reporting clause</li> <li>- Hypotactic nexus</li> <li>- Shifting <i>deictics</i>, grammatical mood, expressive and vocative elements, textual continuatives</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Interpretation of the character's speech and mind</li> </ul>

### 6.3 Methodological Considerations

The analysis will offer a statistical interpretation of the (F)DD and ID found in the ST and TTs. This will include all embedded instances of these modes (see Example 6.8, which is an instance of DD, containing an embedded occurrence of ID). Furthermore, it will account for the instances that are construed as metaphorical realisations of discourse representation ('I do not shy at the **thought** that if she had not spent the evening with the young men around the campfire [...]'). In the present data, the distinction between the instances of DD and those of FDD is not always straightforward. That is, there are some examples in which the reporting clause and part of the reported content are not located within the same stretch of the sentence, triggered orthographically by a full-stop. This is well-exemplified in the following:

<b>n</b>	<b>Examples</b>
6.7	'Listen carefully,' I say. <b>'I will take you up the slope and you can speak to them. Bring your sticks, the ground is loose, there is no other way up [...]</b> '

	(Coetzee, 2004: 77)
6.8	[Magistrate :] ‘How long has your foot been like this?’ I shout. He hides his face. <b>‘Why did you not say anything? Didn’t I tell you all that you must keep your feet clean [...].’</b> <span style="float: right;">(Coetzee, 2004: 80)</span>

In these two examples, the emphasized stretch is part of the reported content that is farther positioned from its respective reporting clause. In Example 6.7, the reported content is split into two sentences; a segment of the reported content immediately follows in the ensuing clauses, while in Example 6.8, it is distanced by a sentence that is subsumed under a pure narrative description of event or ‘plain or pure narrative’ in the words of Toolan (1998: 113) (i.e., ‘He hides his face.’). Following Semino and Short (2004: 196), such instances will be dealt with as manifestations of DD mode rather than FDD.

Moreover, there are two instances in which the reporting verb is not explicitly attendant in the framing clause (e.g., ‘A child’s voice: ‘Can you see, uncle?’). Note that although the clause (‘A child’s voice’) realises an elliptical clause, as it lacks a predicator, it stands as a reporting clause because it recognisably has the function of introducing the reported speech; it identifies to the reader whose wording is being quoted. Thus, instances of this type will be categorised under the DD mode in this study.

The current research will not account for those narrative instances that describe mental states of the characters, but they do not involve any conspicuous references to particular representation of verbatim of thoughts.

n	Examples
6.9	Plodding across the salt <b>I catch myself in a moment of astonishment</b> that I could have loved someone from so remote a kingdom. <span style="float: right;">(Coetzee, 2004: 82)</span>
6.10	<b>I am amazed to come to myself in the thin grey light of day</b> , slumped in a corner, with not the faintest sense that time has passed. <span style="float: right;">(Coetzee, 2004: 119)</span>
6.11	On the fifth day we leave the lake-floor behind and pass through a belt of smooth crystalline salt which soon gives way to sand and stone. <b>Everyone is heartened, even the horses [...]</b>

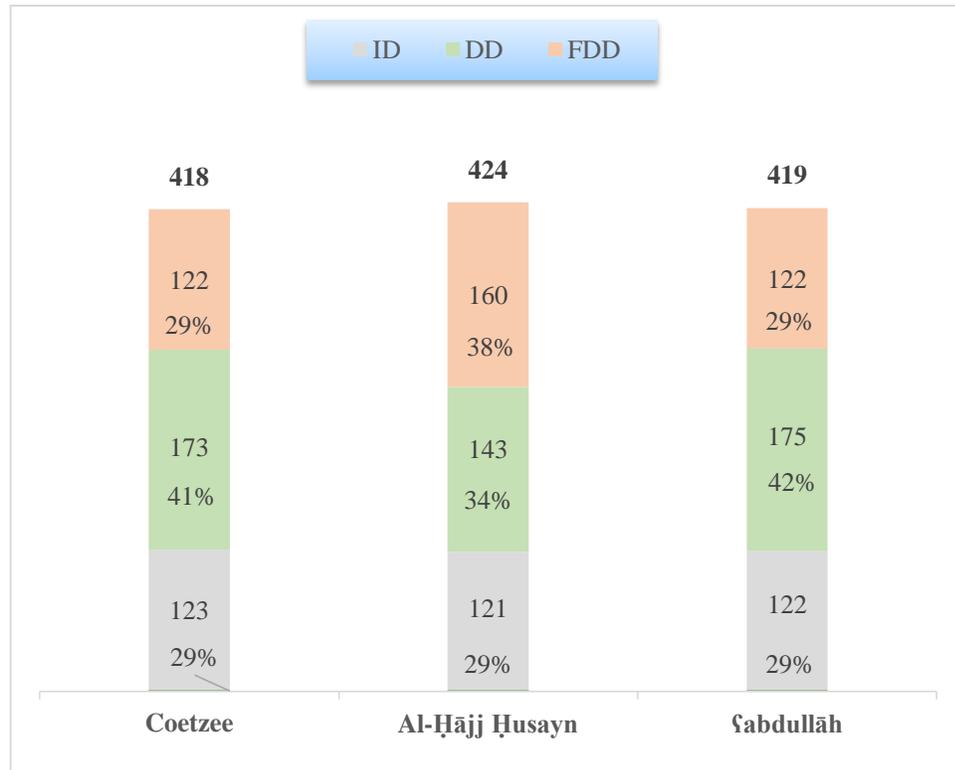
In these examples, it is evident that the bold stretch is an interpretation of the inner states that pass through the narrator-characters' head, rather than a description of physical external narrative actions. They indicate minimal narratorial engagement in reporting an internal experience of emotional change, the sensations of bewilderment and joyfulness. In literary studies, these instances are often treated in broad terms as illustrations of indirect thought representation, as pointed out by Semino and Short (2004: 133). For example, they can be perfectly included under Palmer's (2004) category of *thought report*, which is a close approximation to the adopted ID and even NRDA forms in representing the phenomenon of thought. On the other hand, Leech and Short (2007: 332-3) exclude such instances from their typology of thought representation (see Table 6.1). They (ibid.) remark that some narrative utterances include a very minimal amount of involvement in interpreting the character's inner world. The storyteller relates to the reader 'virtually nothing directly about [the character's] thought'. In this regard, bringing to the fore the neglect of these cases of discourse representation on the part of the narratologists, Semino and Short (2004: 45-6, 132-3) construe these examples as medially located between pure narrative description of events and, as realisations of what they term Narration of Internal States or Internal Narration (NI). Semino and Short (2004: 133) further explain that NI is of very wide purview and denotes the agent of narration's intrusion into the character's internal perspective, an intrusion that ends up rendering the character's mental states of cognition or emotional reflexives without any particular thought being explicitly reported, 'let alone any propositional content or wording that might have formed in [his or her] mind'. In the same vein, following Semino and Short, the occurrences of the character's internal or external states of perception (e.g., 'I feel my hot words swell in my breast and I feel my toes lose their hold', respectively) are instances of pure narrative description of events rather than of any mode of discourse representation. Hence, in this analysis, the ST of instances categorised as NI or states of perceptions will not be considered, because they do not designate a discernible verbalised statement of thought in the narrator-character's mind. The result and discussion of the investigation of the translation of the ST discourse representation follows.

#### 6.4 Modes of Discourse Representation in Translation

There is one significant difference between the original and the two translations in terms of the representation of the I-narrator's speech and consciousness. Because of setting apart the narrating-I from the narrated-I in the TTs, as a result of the deviation from the ST choice of narrative tense, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT and to a lesser extent that of Ṣabdullāh portray solely the consciousness and speech of the experiencing-I, as evidenced, for instance, in the narrative episode at the beginning of Chapter Four. Still, the ST forms of discourse representations are altered in the two TTs, each with a different, but considerable degree of deviation.

Figure 5.1 presents the distribution of the modes of discourse representation in the ST and TTs and the proportion of each mode out of all instances of discourse representation. As the figure shows, there are interesting similarities and contrasts between the ST and TTs. The ST and Ṣabdullāh's TT are more or less similar in terms of the total number of forms of discourse representation (418 vs. 419), whereas Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's has a slightly higher number of occurrences (424), which, in particular, includes 5 more occurrences than the total number of occurrences recorded in the ST.

**Figure 6.1.** Distribution of (F)DD and ID modes



In Ṣabdullāh’s TT, there is a marginal difference in the frequency of DD and ID modes, accounting for 175 and 122, respectively, in contrast to those of the ST (173 and 123, respectively). In Al-Hājj Ḥusayn’s TT, by contrast, there is significant deviational patterns in the forms of the discourse representation, namely in the (F)DD mode. Notably, a higher frequency in the FDD mode is found, accounting for 160 (38%) in comparison to that of the ST (122 occurrences), whereas a dramatic decrease in the total number of DD occurrences is recorded, amounting to 143 (34%), compared to 173 (41%) instances in the ST. In sum, the data suggest that Ṣabdullāh’s TT shows more consistency in translating the ST discourse representational patterns; it stays closer to the ST, while showing occasional shifts. This close adherence corresponds to the fact that the amount of the I-narrator’s intervention is to a great extent reflected in the translation.

By contrast, the disparity between the ST and Al-Hājj Ḥusayn’s TT with regard to the use of (F)DD mode implies that Al-Hājj Ḥusayn shows a strong tendency to shift the ST instances of the DD category into that of the FDD mode in translation. This, in turn, denotes that Al-

Hāj̄j Husayn's TT exhibits less intervention on the part of the narratorial voice in reporting the character's direct speech and thought vis-à-vis the ST. Next, I will further concentrate on the translation of the FDD and DD modes by examining their individual occurrences to highlight which of the ST reported phenomenon (speech or thought) evinces more shifts in the TTs and what the translators' salient propensities are.

#### 6.4.1 (F)DD Modes in Translation

The analysis shows that in the ST, the DD and FDD modes combined are frequently used in representing the characters' wording rather than thinking. There are 238 instances of (F)DD in the discourse of speech representation in contrast to 56 occurrences in reporting thought. Out of the total number of DD occurrences (173), 160 occasions account for reporting speech, while, the remaining number (12) represent thought. By contrast, 78 occasions of the FDD form are registered as representing the characters' outer speech, compared to 44 instances reporting their mental states. This abundant use of (F)DD in reporting speech is, in fact, in line with Leech and Short's ([1981] 2007: 268) view that (F)DD is the norm in the discourse representation of speech, a view that is reinforced by Semino and Short's (2004: 88-9) corpus study of discourse representation. Representing thought in (F)DD, on the other hand, is recognised as artificial in nature endowing the impression that the character's thoughts look more real; they are depicted as if they are dramatic soliloquies (ibid.: 118).

Furthermore, all the FDD instances in representing thought are manifested through the removal of the reporting clause and the quotation marks, except for three instances in which only the reporting clause is attendant (e.g., 'It is the stillness, **I think to myself**: it is as if we are becalmed in the stillness'). Semino and Short (2004: 119) point out that the omission of quotation marks is typically used in reporting direct thoughts, since the authors are concerned with capturing in exact words a mental state that is perceived as 'unquotable'. They add that this omission can make it less difficult for the audience to make a distinction between reporting direct thought and speech (ibid.). This could be the case in some examples in the ST. For instance, at the outset of Chapter Four, the I-narrator puts to himself a series of thoughts and self-address questions which are characterised by omissions of both the

reporting signals and quotation marks, whereas the verbal exchanges with the officer from the Third Bureau are presented in the DD mode. Conversely, the FDD instances in reporting speech are realised by the omission of the reporting clause alone. Only three instances preserve the reporting clause, while they are stripped of their quotation marks (e.g., ‘We are lucky, our guide says: there is bound to be water here’). It is highly probable that the deletion of the reporting clauses does not aim to create the stylistic effect of ambiguity or confusion, but rather of dramatization and lifelikeness, since the identity of the enunciator of the reported contents is utterly clear to the reader in these instances.

As for the DD instances in representing speech, there is a proliferation in the use of reporting clauses that relay neutral functions (e.g., *say*). That is, the verbal process, Thompson (1994: 34) explains, indicates no further information than signalling the reported message. Out of the total of 158 reporting processes used in DD mode, the ST accounts for 107 instances of neutral function, the majority of which are realised by the projecting verbal process *say*, amounting to 90 occurrences. Table 6.3 shows the individual frequency of each reporting process *type* and functions as sketched by Thompson (1994). The reporting clauses (2 occurrences) in which the reporting verbs are implied are not included.

**Table 6.3.** Function and frequency of ST reporting verb

n	Function of the reporting process	Reporting process	Occurrences
1.	<b>Neutral</b> (showing that there is a reported message without giving further information)		
		say	90
		ask	7
		tell	5
		speak	4
2.	<b>Showing the manner of reporting</b> (describing how the reported content is conveyed)		
		shout	13
		whisper	10
		call (out)	4
		murmur	4

		groan	2
		gasp	2
		laugh	1
		wail	1
		joke	1
		sigh	1
		rasp	1
<b>3.</b>	<b>Showing how the reported content fits in</b> (indicating how the reported clause fits in the surrounding communicative situations)		
		reply	3
		go on	3
		recommence	1
<b>4.</b>	<b>Showing the purpose of the reporter</b> (indicating the aim of what is said, according to the interpretation of the reporter)		
		order	2
		urge	1
		confide	1
		observe	1
<b>5.</b>	<b>Reporting the words of thought</b>		
		think	9
		say to myself	2
		tell myself	1
		wonder	2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>171</b>

The table above, by contrast, indicates that with a total number of 5 occurrences, the verbal processes that express the purpose of the reporter (e.g., *urge*) are fairly infrequent in the ST. It also reveals that the ST to a certain extent makes use of a variety of reporting verbs that describe the manner by which the reported message is conveyed, amounting to 11 word types. According to Thompson's (1994: 39, 40-1) further taxonomy of reporting verbs describing the manner of speaking, a higher number of occurrences (32 out of 41) denotes the volume of the speaker's voice (e.g., *loud* or *quiet*), while the remaining occurrences (9) show the general behaviour of the reporter (e.g., *sigh*). With regard to reporting thought, the mental

process *think* is used in 9 of the total 13 occurrences of reporting direct thought. The remaining number (4 occurrences), by contrast, involve the verb *say* followed by a reflexive pronoun and *wonder*, each with two occurrences.

Despite the fact that the DD and FDD types have conspicuous linguistic indicators, which makes them easy to identify, further comparison between the ST and TTs reveals that the two translators diverge somewhat from the ST reporting patterns. Table 6.4 lists the types and the occurrences of shift.

**Table 6.4.** Kind and frequency of shifts in translation of (F)DD modes

		Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	Ṣabdullāh
n	Kinds of shift	Occurrences	Occurrences
1.	Omission of ST reporting clauses and/or quotation marks	45	2
2.	Addition of ST reporting clauses and/or quotation marks	15	2
3.	Altering ID to DD	1	-
4.	Altering DD of representing inner speech to that of outer	2	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>63</b>	<b>5</b>

The table shows four types of shift identified in the TTs. The occurrences of these shifts in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT overwhelmingly outnumber these of Ṣabdullāh (63 vs. 5). The latter, as mentioned above, remains more faithful to the ST reporting patterns. By contrast, in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, the omission of the ST reporting clauses and/or quotation marks is a major recurrent pattern, accounting for more than two-thirds (45 occasions) of the overall number of shift occurrences (63). This shift alters the ST instances of DD into these of FDD in translation. This, in turn, highlights the fact that Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn makes the role of I-narrator in representing the character's direct discourse recede, preferring to let the characters talk directly to the readers without the intermediary narratorial voice. In contrast, Ṣabdullāh's translation contains only two occurrences of omission. The same smaller number of shifts is found in the addition of TT reporting clauses and/or quotation marks, in comparison to 16

occurrences in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn. Interestingly, there are 3 occasions in the two TTs (2 in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT and one in Ṣabdullāh's TT) in which the ST instances of DD in the discourse representation of thought are shifted into to DD instances of representing speech.

A close examination of the instances of omission reveals that the two instances in Ṣabdullāh's TT result from elimination of the ST quotation marks, whereas in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, all instances are manifested through deletion of the ST reporting clauses rather than the quotation marks. Moreover, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn has a high preference for deleting ST verbal process clauses rather than mental ones (see Table 6.5; only the ST reporting verb type is provided). Forty-two occurrences of deletion of ST verbal process in the reporting clauses are recorded out of the total number (45), in contrast to only 3 occurrences of omission of the ST mental process clauses, all of which contain the ST projecting process *think*.

**Table 6.5.** Function and frequency of ST deleted reporting verb

			Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT
n	Function	ST deleted reporting verb	Occurrences
1.	Neutral		
		say	35
		tell	2
		ask	1
2.	Showing how the reported content fits in		
		reply	1
3.	Showing the manner of reporting		
		shout	1
		murmur	1
		call	1
4.	Reporting words of thought		
		think	3
<b>Total</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>45</b>

The table above indicates that Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn is strongly inclined to delete the projecting verbal processes that communicate neutral functions, noticeably the ST verb *say*. More than

one-third of the overall number of occurrences of ST reporting verb *say* (90) are eliminated in the translation. On the other hand, there are occasional omission shifts in ST reporting verbs of different functions, accounting for 4 occurrences, three of which indicate the manner of speaking, while no shift is recorded in the smaller number of ST reporting verbs that show the purpose of the reporter. It is clear that the translator apparently pays more attention to the semantic value of the other reporting verbs and the extra information they communicate, as reflected by the smaller number of omissions that occur in these types of reporting verb. For instance, all 10 occurrences of ST projecting verbal process *whisper* (see Table 6.3) are rendered with the same MSA standard equivalent (همس). On the contrary, he seems to downplay the reporting verbs of neutral function, particularly *say*.

In Al-Hāj̄j Ḥusayn’s TT, the deletions of ST reporting verbs of neutral function may nevertheless serve the purpose of simplification and avoiding the monotony that springs from repeating the same verb within the same stretch of utterances.

		Examples	Back-translation
6.12	Coetzee	‘I was saying,’ <b>he says</b> , ‘now we will show you another form of flying’. ‘He can’t hear you,’ someone says. ‘He can hear,’ says Mandel.  (2004: 132)	-
6.12a	Al-Hāj̄j Ḥusayn	«كنت أقول إننا سنريك شكلا آخر من الطيران» . قال أحدهم: «لا يستطيع سماعك» . أجاب «ماندل»: «لا، بل يستطيع» .  (2004: 172)	“I was saying we would show you another form of flying”. Someone said: “he can’t hear you”. Mandel answered: “No, but he can.”

In the original example, the first sentence (‘I was saying,’ he says [...])’ contains two reporting verbs of *say*, one of which is embedded. By contrast, in its TT correspondent, which is rendered as a FDD instance, the translator opts to preserve only one reporting verb, the embedded, apparently to not reemploy the same TT neutral projecting process قال (said). Winters (2007: 423) makes a similar observation in her investigation of the renditions of the

reporting verbs in two German translations of Fitzgerald’s *The Beautiful and Damned*. Winters notes that Orth-Guttmann tends to delete particular reporting clauses, which enables her to eschew repeating the same reporting verb (ibid.). The omission here supposedly does not affect the interpretation of the ST in the sense that it would become difficult for the TT reader to identify the speaker of the reported content. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn does not seem to be trying to achieve a stylistic effect of ambiguity or confusion. This can be supported by the translator’s decision to retain the following ST reporting clauses in the following stretch of language, especially the reporting clause (‘Someone says’), in which another minor character is introduced. The deletion of this clause will lead to an implicature instance, which is avoided in the TT. This can be also enhanced by the number of additions of the reporting clauses in the TTs. Thus, while the first ST reporting clause is left out to avoid prolixity, the rendering of the other two is deemed important in helping resolve possible confusion arising in the TT if the deletion is chosen.

Examination of the neutral *say* occurrences in the ST reporting clause in this mode of representation shows that the translator employs a variety of verbs of different functions rather than opting for the standard TL equivalent of the ST *say*, in contrast to ṣabdullāh, who sticks to the use of the TL standard correspondent of the ST *say*. Table 6.6 illustrates the number of different translational choices of the ST reporting verb *say* and their occurrences (only the non-standard TL equivalents recorded in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT are included in the table).

**Table 6.6.** Frequency of TT equivalents of ST reporting verb *say*

	TT equivalent	Translation	Occurrences
<b>Say</b>			
	سأل	asked	7
	رد	replied	2
	خاطب	addressed	1
	همس	whispered	2
	صرخ	shouted	1
	جاءتني الإجابة	came the answer	1

	أجاب	answered	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>		<b>17</b>

The figures in Table 6.6 indicate that Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT renders the ST reporting verb *say* with more variety. On 17 occasions, the reporting verb *say* is translated with 6 different TL reporting verbs and one metaphorical realisation of reporting الإجابة (the answer). Apart from the reporting verb سأل (asked), which carries the same function as *say* and is used 7 times, the remaining reporting items are resorted to on 10 occasions, designating other functions including other semantic features. The majority of these alternative choices aid in explicating the communicative situation by, for instance, showing that what is being reported is perceived as an answer to question. On the other hand, in three occurrences, the TT reporting verb defines a particular manner of enunciation (همس [whispered] and صرخ [shouted]). For instance, the TT reporting clause هسمت (I whispered) is opted for as a translation of the ST reporting clause emboldened in (‘Ssh,’ **I say**, ‘I will keep you warm.’). The translational option probably aims to enhance the intimate situation depicted between the I-narrator and the barbarian girl.

Moreover, in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, there is one interesting example in which the translator avoids using the TT equivalent of the neutral *say* by making the ST pure narrative clause act as a reporting clause:

		Examples	Back-translation
6.13	Coetzee	‘Do you think we are playing?’ <b>he says</b> . He talks through clenched teeth in a fury I do not understand. ‘Do you think I don’t mean what I say?’ <small>(2004: 125)</small>	-
6.13a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	تكلّم عبر أسنان تصرّ بغضب لم أفهمه: «هل تظن أننا نتسلى». «أو تظن أنني لا أعني ما أقول». <small>(2004: 162)</small>	He <b>spoke</b> through clenched teeth in anger I did not understand: “Do you think we are playing”. “Or do you think I don’t mean what I say”.

In the TT instance, the translator makes some adjustments. The ST reporting clause *he says* is deleted, but this choice does not shift the ST form of discourse representation, since the following ST sentence of narration (‘He talks [...]’) is fronted and then made the reporting clause. The status of the DD instance in the ST, thus, is preserved in the TT. The translator appears to be more concerned with the semantic potential of the ST narrative sentence that defines the description of the speaker’s behaviour, at the expense of the original reporting clause, which might be considered superfluous in the TT and is therefore eschewed. The ST pure narrative, in turn, could be interpreted as satisfactorily indicating there is a reported message, whereas including the ST reporting clause may cause an instance of repetition.

In all, unlike Şabdullāh, who stays faithful in reproducing the ST reporting clauses and shows consistency in translating the ST reporting verb *say* as the TL standard equivalent, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn is prone to deleting the reporting clauses of neutral functions and replacing the ST reporting verb *say* with other TL verbal processes that carry more semantic components. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s attempts can be recognised as avoiding repetition or what might be considered redundant, which is probably necessitated by his pursuit of proffering a sound translational style rich in various TL lexical items, as pointed out by Winter (2007: 423).

However, the omissions of the ST reporting clauses in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT and of the quotation marks in reporting thoughts in Şabdullāh’s TT impact the macro-structure of the original in translation; they create implicitation instances, indeed in addition to the minimization of the ST narratorial presence in translation. That is, deletion of the ST projecting verbal or mental process as well as the orthographic cues of the reported discourse can blur the distinction between the character’s speech and thought, which is quite distinct in the ST instances of DD mode. In case of the latter, the non-reproduction of the ST quotation marks can also push the interpretation of the ST clauses as part of pure narration, as part of the narrator’s discourse, rather than as that of the reported message.

	<a href="#">Examples</a>	<a href="#">Back-translation</a>
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6.14	Coetzee	Then, wide awake, I feel her hand groping under my clothes [...] Her hand finds what it is seeking. <b>‘What of it?’ I think. ‘What if we perish in the middle of nowhere? Let us at least not die pinched and miserable!’</b> (2004: 125)	-
6.14a	Al-Hājǰ Ḥusayn	ثم أفتت. شعرت بيدها تتحسس ما تحت ملابسني [...] يدها وجدت ما تبحث عنه. «ماذا لو؟ ... ماذا لو غرقنا خارج الزمن؟ على الأقل لن نموت عندها معتقلين وبؤساء». (2004: 90)	Then, I woke up. I felt her hand feeling up what is beneath my clothes .... Her hand found what she was looking for. “ <b>What if? ... What if we had drowned in timelessness? At least we would not die then detained and miserable</b> ”.
6.15	Coetzee	<b>‘That’s bad.</b> It means a hard winter ahead. We will have to draw our belts very tight.’ (2004: 108)	-
6.15a	ʃabdullāh	ذلك أمر سيء. «إنه يعني أن شتاء قاسيا أمامنا. وإن علينا أن نشد أحزمنا بقوة شديدة». (2004: 142)	<b>That is a bad matter.</b> “It means a hard winter is a head of us. And we have to draw our belts very strongly”.
6.16	Coetzee	As we move they move too. <b>‘They are ignoring us,’ I think,</b> and consider lighting a fire. (2004: 74)	-
6.16a	ʃabdullāh	كلما نتحرك يتحركون أيضا. أنهم يتجاهلوننا. أفكر في ذلك وأرى الحاجة إلى إيقاد نار. (2004: 98)	Whenever we move they move too. <b>They are ignoring us. I think of that</b> and consider the need of lighting a fire.

ST Example 6.14 is a dramatization of the narrator-character’s thought, denoting a DD instance. The presence of the mental projecting process (*I think*) makes it obvious to the reader that the narrator-character is engaging in a mental state (‘What if? [...]’), pondering a future situation. In its TT correspondent, which is rendered as FDD, this narrative segment appears to be ambiguously portrayed in translation. The projecting mental clause is omitted. Note also the addition of the *dots* in the TT that could be interpreted as an imitation of hesitation in

impromptu speech, as a signal of non-fluency, as Leech and Short (2007: 130) observe, or could embody the discontinuous, rambling and incoherent trains of thoughts of the narrator-character. The omission of the reporting clause here probably makes the reference to the character's thought vague, unlike in the ST. This means that it presumably becomes difficult for the TT reader to attribute the narrator-character's reported discourse to either his outer or inner speech, to determine whether the I-character is talking to the barbarian girl or to himself. In fact, the previous narrative stretch of language, in which the narrator gives an account of the experiencing-self's indulgence in intimate actions with the barbarian girl can further this ambiguity. It is possible that these projected clauses are interpreted as the narrator-character's speech rather than his mind in that the narrator-character is engaging in a conversation with her in these affectionate moments.

Likewise, vagueness arises in interpretation of translated ST Examples 6.15 and 6.16, which are representations of speech and thought, respectively. The former is part of a conversational exchange between the narrator-character and the sentry. In its translation, Example 6.15a, the ST clause ('That is bad') is not enclosed with the TL typical orthographic signal of the DD mode (e.g., angular brackets). Thus, in the TT, this clause could be easily read as rendering the narrator-character's thought, while it is designated as a part of his speech in the ST. On the other hand, due to the non-replication of the ST quotation marks, this clause could also be construed as a mere narrative comment on the part of the evaluating narrator. There are in fact other narrative stretches in the ST in which clauses of pure narration separate part of the direct reported message (see Example 6.12). Similarly, in Example 6.16a, unlike in the ST, it is not obviously signalled whether the TT clause (أنهم يتجاهلوننا) is a direct reported thought or just pure narrative description of events akin to the previous clause (كلما نتحرك يتحركون أيضا). Moreover, creating an instance of obscurity in translation, the use of the anaphoric reference, the discourse deictic item ذلك (that) in the prepositional phrase following the mental process, very likely opens up possibilities of interpretation. It becomes quite unclear in translation whether the ignorance on the part of the barbarians is understood as only reported thought or whether what the narrator-character thinks extends to include the whole previous narrative stretch of the description of the I-narrator's and his companions' movement. In sum, these translational decisions, which could be products of hasty translation as Muhammed ṣuṣūr

(2009: 245) mentions, resulting from lack of reviewing the translations, yield different readings. Above all, these options affect the portrayal of the ST point of view on the phraseological plane.

While the occurrences of omission shifts in the two TTs show implicitation shifts, the instances of addition shifts, particularly the insertions of TT reporting clauses that alter the FDD examples into DD in translation, create instances of explicitation. Just like the omission shifts, the overwhelming majority of addition shifts in the two TTs occur in the discourse representation of speech in contrast to only 3 occasions (2 occurrence in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT and one occurrence in Ṣabdullāh’s) detected in that of thought. The two translators, especially Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn who evinces a higher number of addition shifts (16), appear to aim at making clear whose narrative stretch the narrator is quoting. For instance, in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s translation, the inserted TT reporting clauses occur in two instances when the part of the ST reported message is separated by sentences of pure narrative. Thus, the addition is supposed to help remind the TT reader to whom the reported message is attributed. The same applies to the only instance of addition identified in Ṣabdullāh’s TT translation, in which the TT reporting clause يضيف (he adds) as well as the quotation marks are inserted; the addition discernibly signifies to the TT reader that the speaker is the soldier stationed in the tower. In addition to the explicitation, two occasions are found in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT in which semantic features involving colourful interpretations are included.

		Examples	Back-translation
6.17	Coetzee	‘He did not want to hold us up,’ his friend whispers. ‘He did not want to hold us up but now we have to cart him all the way back!’ I shout. ‘Boil water [...]’  (2004: 80)	-
6.17a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	همس صديقه: «لم يكن يريد تأخرينا». أجبت بسخط بالغ: «لم يكن يريد تأخرينا، والآن علينا أن نجره طوال طريق العودة!».	His friend whispered: “He did not want to delay us”. <b>I indignantly answered:</b> “He did not want to delay us, but now we have to drag him all the way back!”

		كنت أصرخ: «اغلوا الماء [...]» (2004: 107)	I was shouting: “Boil the water [...]”
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Here the narrative depiction in the TT example is slightly distinct from that of the ST. This is crystallised in the addition of the TT reporting clause that shows additional semantic elements. The identification of the enunciator to the TT readers as shown in the boldfaced reporting clause does not appear to remind the TT reader who is speaking, since it is presumably clear; it could be easily retrieved from the context. However, what is striking in the TT instance is the amplification of the impact that the translator likely endeavours to convey. In TT Example 6.19a, the original framing clause *I shout* is retained for only the second part of reported content (‘Boil water [...]’), whereas the TT clause أجبت بسخط بالغ (I indignantly answered) is inserted as a reporting clause for the first part of the ST reported message (‘He did not want to hold us up [...]’). More importantly, the TT framing clause includes an adverbial modification, a circumstantial adjunct of manner (بسخط بالغ) that adds to the behavioural description of the narrator-character. The insertion of the TT reporting clause highlights the intensity of the moment and the resentment of the narrator-character reacting to the wordings of one of his companions.

In TT Example 6.17a, the added TL reporting verb أجبت (answered) carries the function of how the reported message fits in. As a matter of fact, the TL reporting verbs that show this function are much more frequently used, accounting for 11 occurrences out of the total of the TT reporting clauses (14) (see Table 6.7). Out of these occurrences, the Arabic verbal projecting process تابع (went on) scores the highest number, amounting to 8 instances. By contrast, there are only three occurrences of reporting verbs having neutral function (i.e., the reporting verb قال [said]). The kind of TL reporting verbs included in Al-Hājj Ḥusayn’s TT enhances the assumption that the translator aims to avoid using TL reporting verbs of neutral function, and values the extra information other reporting verbs evince. At the same time, the variety of different reporting verbs consolidates the translator’s attempt to eschew monotony in the TT.

As for the other types of shift, neither the alteration of ST DD in the discourse representation of thought to that of speech nor the alteration of ID mode in the ST to that of DD in translation represents a major shifting trend in the two TTs because they show the least number of occurrences. In the former type, which exhibits two occurrences in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT and one in Ṣabdullāh’s, the two translators misinterpret the same ST instance that is a manifestation of DD in representing the main character’s exact wording of thought (i.e., ‘[...] when our guide shouts and points. ‘The mountains!,’ I think, and my heart leaps’). This ST instance is differently portrayed in the TTs. The two translators make the same translational choice, designating the reported thought as part of the previous narrative sentence and make

**Table 6.7.** Function and frequency of TT added reporting verbs

			Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	Ṣabdullāh	
N	Function	Added projecting process	Translation	Occurrences	Occurrences
1.	Neutral				
		قال	said	3	-
2.	Showing how the reported content fits in				
		تابع	went on	8	-
		يضيف/أضاف	added/add	2	1
		أجاب	answered	1	-
<b>Total</b>		<b>4</b>		<b>14</b>	<b>1</b>

the ST verbal process *shouts*, which relays the manner of enunciation as the reporting verb. Accordingly, the ST elliptical clause (*The mountains!*) is proffered as an authentic reproduction of speech rather than thought. Moreover, they attribute the reported message to the guide rather than to the narrator-character, as is the case in the ST. Furthermore, Ṣabdullāh renders the ST projecting mental process with a behavioural process *أمعن النظر* (I am gazing/keep looking), whereas it is retained in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT *فكرت* (I thought), although it loses its feature of projection, of reporting thought. As for the other occasion identified in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT, the ST projecting mental clause in (*I sigh. ‘What a pity,’*

*I think. 'It is too late now.'*) is omitted and instead the TT equivalent (تنهدت) of the ST verbal process clause (*I sighed*) is made the reporting clause. Hence, the reported message is uttered in this narrative segment rather than being a thought passing through the narrator-character's mind.

Regarding the other remaining type of shift, alteration of the original ID mode into DD in translation, one occasion is detected in Al-Hāj̄j Ḥusayn's TT. In the transference of the ST indirect reported message ('I wondered how much pain a plump comfortable old man would be able to endure [...]'), the translator inserts a colon after the TT reporting verb تساءلت (I wondered), encloses the reported content with angular quotation brackets and transforms the ST declarative mood into interrogative. Thus, the I-narrator's indirect rendering of consciousness of his experiencing-self is dramatized, depicted as a faithful reproduction of thought in translation. Having discussed all four types of shift in translation, I will now touch on the renderings of the reported contents in the (F)DD mode, which are also slightly altered in translation.

#### 6.4.2 (F)DD Reported Content in Translation

In translation, there are two outstanding features in the renderings of the ST reported messages in the (F)DD mode:

- I. The de-emphasis of the reported messages and the de-intensification of the main character's emotional involvement, and
- II. The tendency towards conservatism that manifests itself in transference of the ST elliptical clauses as major ones in the two TTs.

The former mainly springs from the fact that the italicised ST expressions and exclamation points are not reproduced in translation. Leech and Short (2007: 105-6) contend that in representing the character's idiolect (speech style), producers of narratives can utilise graphological devices that evince the manner of articulation when the words are to be

enunciated loudly. These devices can be also indicators of semantic features of emphasis or contrast. For instance, in his analysis of Philip Roth’s novel *Deception*, which is wholly delivered in dialogue, Thomas (2007: 87) notes the deployment of the orthographic signal, the italicisation of words (‘No, I usually *don’t* see you.’) in the early part of the work that renders the emphatic tone of the characters, exuding an aura of tautness in their meeting.

Similarly, Coetzee exploits the typographical convention of italicisation to emphasise the ST conversational discourse. In translation, by contrast, this facet of stress is undermined on a large scale, since the phonological effects of the ST lexical items on paper in the reported content are simply neglected by the two translators. To put it differently, the semantic components highlighting the meaning of emphasis or contrast that are graphologically realised remain underrepresented in the translated narrative. In the ST conversational exchanges, italicised lexical items are employed in 21 instances. These are not reproduced in translation, except on two occasions in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn’s TT, when he depends on other grammatical resources to project implied the ST meaning.

		Examples	Back-translation
6.18	Coetzee	[Magistrate:] ‘Those pitiable prisoners you brought in —are <i>they</i> the enemy I must fear? Is that what you say? <i>You</i> are the enemy, Colonel!’ I can restrain myself no longer. I pound the desk with my fist. ‘ <i>You</i> are the enemy, <i>you</i> have made the war, and <i>you</i> have given them all the martyrs they need — starting not now but a year ago when you committed your first filthy barbarities here! History will bear me out!’ (2004: 125)	-
6.18a	Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn	«وهل أولئك السجناء المساكين الذين جلبتهم هم العدو الذي يجب أن أخشاه؟ هل هذا ما تعنيه؟ أنت العدو أيها الكولونيل!». لم أستطع كيح نفسي أكثر من ذلك. ضربت على الطاولة بقبضتي:	“Those poor prisoners that you brought in are the enemy that I must fear? Is this what you mean? You are the enemy, Colonel!”. I could not restrain myself more than that. I pounded the table with my fist:

		<p>«أنت هو العدو. لقد أشعلت الحرب. وأنت من أعطاهم الشهداء الذين يحتاجون، لم تبدأ الآن ولكن منذ عام عندما مارست بربريتك الفذرة هنا. والتاريخ سيثبت صحة ما أقول».</p> <p>(2004: 162)</p>	<p>“<b>It is you</b> who are the enemy. <b>You</b> have waged the war. And <b>you</b> who have given them the martyrs they need, you have not started now but a year ago when you practiced your filthy barbarities here. And history will prove the truth of what I say”.</p>
6.18b	ʕabdullāh	<p>«أولئك السجناء المثيرون للشفقة والذين قمت بجلبهم إلى هنا — هل لأنهم العدو الذي يتوجب علي الخوف منه؟ أهذا ما تقوله؟ إنك العدو، إيها العميد!» لم أعد قادرا على كبت ما في نفسي بعد الآن.</p> <p>أدق على المنضدة بقبضتي. «أنت العدو، أنت من أضرم الحرب، وأنت الذي أعطيتهم الشهداء الذين يحتاجونهم — لم يبدأ الأمر الآن ولكن قبل عام مضى عندما اقرفت هنا أول أعمالك البربرية الفذرة — سيؤيدني التاريخ في ذلك».</p> <p>(2004: 142)</p>	<p>“Those pathetic prisoners that you brought here — is it because <b>they</b> are the enemy that I must fear? Is it that what you say? Verily, you are the enemy, Colonel!”</p> <p>I am no longer able to suppress what is in myself.</p> <p>I pound the table with my fist. “ <b>you</b> are the enemy, you are [the one] who starts the war, and you are [the one] who have given them the martyrs they need — this is not starting now but it started a year ago when you committed to your filthy barbaric stuff here — history will support me in that”.</p>

Example 6.18 is a segment of a conversational exchange that presents two competing voices, the worldviews of the Magistrate pitted against those of Colonel Joll. It also depicts the mounting tension between the two characters as well as how emotionally involved the Magistrate is. In the ST narrator-character’s reported discourse, the personal pronouns (*they* and *you*) are marked through italicisation; therefore, they are phonologically prominent when read out, representing a particular tonic pattern. In other words, the tonic accent falls on these pronouns. Therefore, the italicised expressions clearly turn the reader’s attention to the additional semantic elements: the meanings of emphasis and contrast (see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.1 Thematic Selection Patterns: (Un)marked Theme). The I-character here attempts to expound emphatically that the barbarian prisoners are not the threat. Rather, he addresses Colonel Joll who is presented as the nucleus of information in the Magistrate’s discourse, as the one who jeopardizes the statusquo of the town.

In contrast to English, the perceptible connection to the phonological impact of the MSA written words (the marked thematic choices) is conventionally triggered by the use of round brackets or single or double English inverted commas (Husni and Newman, 2013: 235). These devices are not attendant in Examples 6.20a and 6.20b. Any attempt to direct the TT reader to grasp the additional meanings that the ST utterances show is utterly absent from ʕabdullāh's TT. Consequently, the barbarian captives and Colonel Joll are not stressed. Instead, they are presented as Old information. By contrast, although not marking the TL equivalent of the ST italicised words in writing, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn interestingly compensates for the visual correlation of the ST pronominal forms on two occasions with the recourse to the deployment of marked TL thematic structure, as is realised by the insertion of the independent pronouns (e.g., أنت هو العدو) after the subject. He thus turns the TT reader's attention to the meaning of contrast intended in the ST. Nevertheless, in the remaining two occasions, this thematisation strategy is not sustained, since the translator opts for neutral thematic sequences. Therefore, the ST meaning of contrast is not carried across to his translation. He in fact drops the TL independent pronoun هو (he) in (وأنت من أعطاهم الشهداء), while in the other TT utterance (لقد أشعلت الحرب), he shifts the focus on Colonel Joll to the event of waging war. Saldanha's (2005: 111) notes that the suppression of the ST italics or exhausting other grammatical resources to convey the ST meaning of emphasis in her investigation of Jull Costa's translation of Sá-Carneiro's *Lucio's Confession*. Saldanha (ibid.) found that out of 68 uses of italics, there are 19 instances of deletion. However, of these, 10 instances are compensated for by the deployment of different lexical and grammatical strategies, including the use of Predicated Theme and repetition and addition of an English epistemic modal expression such as *indeed*. One should note that although the TL has developed its own strategies to orthographically indicate the meaning of stress, non-reproduction of the ST graphical devices might be perceived as a conventionalized TL practice. In other words, the use of italics might be more predominant in the SL than the TL. Thus, further research is required to identify whether elimination of the ST italics or use of alternative grammatical resources are normative in MSA.

These TT instances also illustrate the disappearance of expressive punctuation, the exclamation points, that highlight the emotive aspect of the speech, on two occasions (out of

3) in their ST counterpart. This leads to minimization of the narrator-character's personal, intense sentimental involvement that is apparently pivotal in this narrative situation; they elicit the vehemence of the character's reaction towards Colonel Joll's ideological stance. In a closer examination, the ST contains 67 exclamation marks in the (F)DD mode, 10 of which are recorded in reported content of thought. In his TT, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn has a high propensity to eliminate the ST exclamation points. Almost half the ST exclamation marks are omitted in his translation, amounting to 32 occurrences. These omissions occur more in the transcription of the characters' speech except for one occurrence of omission registered in thought. By contrast, Ṣabdullāh shows a smaller number of omissions, accounting for 12 occurrences, all of which are recorded in reported content of thought. Hence, these instances of omission in the two TTs point to relatively paramount neglect to the communicative function that the ST expressive punctuation marks illuminate: the characters' heightened moments of emotion.

As for the other notable feature in the two TTs, the inclination to use conservative TL forms could be construed inherent characteristics of the translated texts, as remarked upon by Baker (1993: 244). In fact, several studies observe that translators of fiction show preferences for the normalisation of the original truncated syntax (conservatism), and therefore the style of the original becomes debased in translation. For instance, in her investigation of the English translations of the Dutch novels, Vanderauwera (1985: 73) notes that one manifestation of markedness in Matsombo's style is employment of unfinished utterances. This aspect, Vanderauwera (*ibid.*) argues, is not reflected in translation, it is normalised. As a consequence, this tendency along with other factors such as division of long sentences into shorter ones attenuates the vividness, proximity and acceleration of the narrative segment. In addition, it aids in minimizing the indulgence of the narrator in his discourse, and at the same time, it gives rise to 'a shift toward a more properly reporting narrator' (*ibid.*).

I have already pointed out that the dramatic increase of the total number of Topical Themes is in part attributed to upgrading the ST elliptical to major clauses in the TTs (see Subsection 4.6.2, Topical Theme in Translation). Given the scarcity of the elliptical and minor clauses registered in the ST reported messages in the (F)DD mode, accounting for 72 instances, 21

instances of these are normalised, reproduced as TT major clauses in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, the majority of which are detected in the reported content of thought (12 occasions). While this preference is relatively prominent in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, it is occasionally manifested in Ṣabdullāh's TT, which is more correspondent to the thematic pattern of the ST. There are rare instances of shift in Ṣabdullāh's TT, amounting to 6 instances. As in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, the larger number of these (4) occur in the reported message of thought. This slight alteration in the two TTs adds to the distortion of the depiction of the ST world of imagination in translation. The conservatism of the ST elliptical clauses, featured in the segments of interior monologue, dilutes the projection of the disturbed consciousness of the narrator-character, the state of disorganised thinking that can be traced, for instance, in the narrator-character's reflection about the officer from Third Bureau after being faced with the seriousness of the accusation. Thus, normalisation here contributes to more or less neutralising the foregrounding feature of the ST style. Furthermore, in the ST, the grammatical resource of ellipsis conveys the sense of alarm and exclamation, showing the characters' abrupt emotional reactions to the narrative situation— (*A storm! I shout*). These meanings as unfolded through the grammatical resource of ellipsis are typical in conversational exchanges (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 639). In translation, the choice of upgrading these clauses apparently undermines this aspect of the narrative dialogue, slightly weakening the sudden response of the characters. At the same time, this option may be seen as hindering the speedy flow of the narrative event, as Vanderauwera (1985: 73) points out.

## 6.5 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have demonstrated that the original's phraseological viewpoint is not in congruence with these two translations at the levels of manifestation of forms of discourse representation that are relevant to the present study; thus, this incongruence contributes to alteration of the ST fictional universe in translation. The ST forms of discourse representation, the analysis displays that Ṣabdullāh opts to copy closely the ST patternings. However, she evinces a smaller number of lapses. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn, by contrast, substantially deviates from these of the original. The analysis shows that the shifts in the two translations

are markedly detected in the rendition of the ST representational modes of FDD and DD. In Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, transforming DD instances in the ST into FDD mode, owing in particular to the omission of the ST reporting clauses, is a predominant shifting trend, whereas other types of shift (the addition of TL reporting clauses, altering ID mode to that of DD and altering the ST inner utterances to outer ones) are less prominent in his translation. These detected instances of omission shifts are most likely systematic. It is plausible that Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn is more aware of these deletions, since he consistently eliminates the ST reporting clauses that involve the ST reporting verb of neutral function, *say*, taking into consideration that such omissions are not meant to disambiguate the interpretation of the ST in terms of attributing the reported content to a specific enunciator. Otherwise, the ST neutral reporting verb is preserved. Conversely, he is more concerned with retaining those reporting verbs that carry extra semantic features. Also, the use of a wide range of TL reporting verbs to eschew repetition and then producing poor style ostensibly contributes to these systematic changes in his TT. The omission of the ST reporting clauses backgrounds the authority that the narrator-character entertains over his discourse in translation. Instead, a lower degree of narratorial intervention becomes more asserted because the character are portrayed as directly addressing the reader. Moreover, these occasions of omission and the deletion of the ST quotation marks in Ṣabdullāh's TT generates the effect of implicature in translation, since a sense of ambiguity is evinced, such that it becomes quite difficult to determine whether the reported messages are internal or external utterances and whether they are accredited to the narrator's discourse or the character's.

Finally, the analysis of the reported content of the (F)DD mode brings to light the large-scale non-reproduction of the ST emphatic meanings embodied in the marking of articulated utterances in writing as well as the emotive facet of speech leading to the minimisation of the narrator-character's emotional involvement. A tendency towards conservatism is also identified in the translation of the narrator-character's wording and mental states, which springs from the rendition of the ST elliptical clauses as major ones in the two TTs. As a result, the meaning, the projection of the disturbing feelings and de-acceleration of the narrative events, that these ST elliptical clauses highlight, all become less foregrounded in translation.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

## Conclusion

### 7.1 Introduction

In broad terms, the present study sought to probe the nature of the translator's presence and its effects on the translated narrative texts. More specifically, I proceeded from the assumption that it is impossible for a translator to utterly conceal his or her existence in his or her translated text without leaving behind any traces that signal his or her voice, presence (Hermans,[1996] 2009), as well as translational shifts at micro-textual level affecting the original text at the macro-textual level (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989; 1990). This study was an attempt at pitting J. M. Coetzee's systemic profiles, regarding the construction of narrative point of view in Chapters Three and Four of his fiction *WFB* ([1980] 2004) against those of his two Arabic translators, with the purpose of identifying whether or not there are notable differences at the lower-level between the ST and TTs attributable to each translator's idiosyncrasies, as well as uncovering certain propensities, tendencies, or poetic tastes, characterising the style of each individual translator. To this end, the present principally research leaned on the Hallidayan Systemic Functional approach that chiefly allows me to identify translational shifts by mapping the ST lexicogrammatical systems, realising the three metafunctions onto those of the TTs. Adopting this perspective added a certain degree of objectivity, particularly to the process of selecting the lexicogrammatical elements for conducting a comparative analysis, but *certainly* not to the interpretation of the results. In order to link the identified shifts at the lexicogrammatical level to those at the higher level, the narrative perspective(s), I depended on the Uspensky-Fowler-Simpson model of narrative point of view, which provided me with an opportunity to check if these translational alterations potentially lead to the change of the original viewpoints, blurring the narrative

style of the ST, and then contributing to a distinct readerly experience, compared to that of the ST.

In order to see the extent to which the aim of this study was attained, in the subsequent section, answers to the specific research questions put forth in the introduction will be explored. Following this is a summary of the findings emanating from the qualitative and quantitative analysis carried out in the previous chapters. Finally, I will bring to light the limitations of the present study and some implications for further research.

## 7.2 Answers to Research Questions

In this section, I will review the specific research questions which I sought to address in this study, to consider how far they have been answered. These questions were as follows:

### **1. What kind of recurrent lexicogrammatical shifts (micro-level shifts) can be identified in the translation of the ST linguistic signals of the narrative point of view(s)?**

This question was addressed throughout Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6 by conducting detailed analyses of the linguistic triggers of the original viewpoints (i.e., tense and time and place deictic terms, modal expressions, thematic structure, and techniques of discourse representation) and their TT counterparts, with the aim of uncovering major trends in the translational changes. The quantitative and qualitative findings indicate that the linguistic options of the two translators do not remarkably mirror those of the original author, revealing major recurrent shift patterns at the lexicogrammatical level. The ST choice of narrative tense is not rendered, since Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn opts to constantly replace the ST's simultaneous present tense with the past (retrospective) tense over the course of the whole his translation, in comparison to ʿabdullāh, who selects to alternate between the two types of tenses, as well as employing the historical present (Chapter 3). In the examination of the temporal deictic terms, two shifting trends emerge: distancing and proximating (Chapter 3). In respect to the renderings of the ST thematic structure, realising Textual metafunction, the TTs are more cohesively textured and contain more interpersonal assessments, grounded in the thematic

part of the clauses (Chapter 4). More marked thematic selections are also employed by the two translators. On the other hand, hypotactic clauses as marked thematic option are relatively less abundant in the two TTs than in the ST, principally due to displacing them towards the rhematic stretch of the hypotactic nexuses.

There are also significant deviations from the ST modal patterns, realising Interpersonal metafunction (Chapter 5). These shifts are substantially manifested in the modal expressions belonging to the probability and the ability modality systems. A considerable proliferation in the use of MSA finite modal particles is also identified, as an overwhelming strategy to transform the ST categorical assertions into qualified ones, which more frequently takes place in ʕabdullāh's translation. Finally, in relation to the modes of discourse representation, the DD mode in the ST is mostly shifted in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT translation, mainly by the omissions of the ST reporting clauses (Chapter 6). The ST neutral verbal processes are also replaced by others, relaying different functions in his translation. Moreover, the translations of the original reported contents are prominently featured with the omissions of the ST orthographic cues, representing emphatic meanings or emotional involvements and the upgrading of the ST elliptical clauses.

On the contrary, representing marginal trends, other types of shifts were found to be limited; however, they affect the original at the macro-level structure. There are inconsiderable differences between the ST and TTs in terms of the place deictic expressions. Scarce alterations to the values of the ST modal expressions and other modes of discourse representations (e.g., ID mode) were detected. By contrast, there is a substantial number of systemically motivated shifts, owing to the structural differences between the two languages such as the omissions of the ST finite modal *will*, as a means of formalising futurity, and the grounding of the ST rhematic finite modal operators in the thematic parts of the clauses in translation.

**2. To what extent do the patterns of shifts detected in the translated narratives at the lexicogrammatical level distort the original at the macro-textual level, namely, the ST point of view on different planes, spatio-temporal, psychological and phraseological?**

This question mainly considers the overall effect of the small translational changes, resulting from the translators' systemically unmotivated choices, on the ST at a higher level, the narratological construction of the original narrative text. As found in the present study, the ST narrative point of view at different planes underwent manipulation in translation; the author's voice is tremendously usurped by those of the translators. Most tellingly, the narrative design of the original is radically reshaped in the two TTs. Primarily based on DelConte's (2003) and Phelan's (1994) discussion of the stylistic effects of the simultaneous present tense, the two TTs create distinct translated narratives, offering a mimetic form of narration, and then obliterating the collapse of the structural dichotomy of discourse and story. This ultimately occurs as a result of displacing the temporal coordinates of the principal character (Chapter 3). The two translations also render distinct orientations of some visual narrative episodes, endowing the TT reader with a different perception of the narrative events, as the ST sequencing of the narrative is disrupted (Chapter 4). Furthermore, there is a significant loss of foregrounding aspects of the ST. The Magistrate is recognised as less complex and less emotionally charged (Chapters 3 and 6). The shade feelings of the original are notably undermined, which partly affects the immediate experience of the narrator-character (Chapter 5). The I-narrator's amount of intervention is by and large diminished in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT (Chapter 6). A wide range of colorful interpretations and downplaying of the heightened attitudinal tones of the original are also spotted in translation (Chapters 3, 5, and 6).

### **3. What distinctive features, propensities or tendencies can be uncovered through translational shifts in order to characterise the translators' styles, which may then be tested in future studies?**

This question focuses on the frequent linguistic habits of the two translators as manifested in the lower-level, lexicogrammatical shifts. The investigation of the original's systemic choices underlines distinguished differences between the two translators that inform each translator's stylistic inclinations or preferences. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's translation remarkably illustrates his overall preference for the normalisation of ST narrative tense into the MSA perfect tense, which is conventionally well-recognised as the tense of narration. Al-Ḥājj

Ḥusayn also shows a strong inclination to employ more Interpersonal Themes, partly resulting from his choice of normalizing the ST narrative tense, and to eliminate the ST ability modal expressions, particularly the ST modal auxiliary *can*. Other prevalent propensities are his systematic omissions of the ST reporting clauses, especially those that involve verbal processes signalling a neutral function, as well as his strategy of embellishing the ST, as evidenced in the avoidance of repetitions of particular verbal processes by substituting them with others holding more semantic features. His translation also reveals a greater tendency towards altering the ST in order to suit his own interpretative reading, as in the case of the additions of the TL deictic term الآن (now) or modal expression ربما (perhaps). By contrast, Ṣabdullāh's TT demonstrates her occasional tendency towards the normalisation of the ST tense of narration and shifting the modes of discourse representation. Ṣabdullāh, however, is more prone to maintain the repetition of the ST neutral verbal processes. Another salient tendency in her translation is to calque the ST rigid segmentations, which mainly results in abundantly using the TL pragmatically motivated sequence (SVC segmentation). Finally, she is more inclined to employ the MSA epistemic finite modal particle إِنَّ (verily/truly), and to delete the ST modal expressions of obligation.

Conversely, there is a lesser degree of variation between the two translators in terms of their tendencies towards the non-reproduction of the original orthographic cues in the reported contents, which signal the phonological effects of the ST lexical items. They are also inclined to render marked verbal process clauses into neutral unmarked ones.

### 7.3 Summary of Findings

This section aims at highlighting the most interesting findings that emerge from the analysis of the linguistic indicators of the original narrative perspectives and their counterparts in the TTs. The investigation showed certain patterns of lexicogrammatical shifts in the translated narratives and their profound effects on the perception of the original in translation, uncovering specific (un)systematic tendencies. When the original was compared to the two translations in terms of the deictic elements, it became clear that the two translators were more concerned with the spatial anchorage of the narrator-character in his fictional world

than they were with his temporal anchorage, as very incidental shifts are identified in the ST place deictic expressions, whereas their time counterparts are remarkably altered. In terms of tense, the simultaneous present tense in the ST is utterly normalised in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, whilst it is inconsistently rendered in Ṣabdullāh's TT, which demonstrates 21 instances of tense shifts. In the two translations, these shifts were found to foreground the split between the experiencing-I and the narrating-I and then between the time of the narrated and that of the narrating. Concerning the analysis of the temporal deictic elements, there are 48 shifts in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT in comparison to 22 in Ṣabdullāh's TT. My findings were in line with these of Mason's and Şerban's (2003) study, which identifies two shifting trends: distancing and proximating. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT was found to exhibit a predominance of distancing trend shifts, manifested through the alteration of the ST proximal deictic expressions, namely *this*, into their distal counterparts, and the systematic omissions of the other temporal deictic elements, particularly *now*. The analysis revealed that those shifts seem to be directly linked to these of tense; they result from the translator's attempt to sustain a consistency between the occurrence of the narrative event and its temporal reference in translation. In contrast, Ṣabdullāh's translation shows a reversal of that trend, where there was a slightly higher frequency of the proximal deictic terms than the original, most notably the SL standard equivalent of *now* (الآن), which accounts for 15 occurrences of addition shift.

In terms of the thematic profile, the analysis showed a clear discrepancy between the ST and the TTs. A substantial increase in all kinds of Theme was detected in the TTs in contrast to the ST. Most significantly, the total number of Interpersonal Themes in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT was found to be over two times as many, accounting for 593 occurrences, in contrast to that in the ST (264 times), while it is approximately doubled in Ṣabdullāh's registering 473 instances. Textual Themes are also abundantly used in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT (837 occurrences) compared to the ST (490 occurrences), whereas the the frequency of Textual Themes in Ṣabdullāh's TT (542 occurrences) is relatively close to that of the ST. The increase in all types of Theme mainly highlighted the two translators' concerns for:

- I. Explicitly marking the logico-semantic relationships among the ST clauses;

- II. Redistributing the ST's condensed information across a number of independent paratactic clauses;
- III. Upgrading the ST minor or elliptical clauses into major clauses, as well as rhematic hypotactic clauses into thematic paratactic clauses;
- IV. Adding evaluative judgments and attitudinal features that signal the translator's subjective readings of the original narrative; and
- V. Qualifying the ST pure, categorical propositions by inserting MSA modal finite operators initially.

The higher frequency of Interpersonal Themes in the translations partly stems from the systematic differences between the two languages, however, since the SL modal finite operators are not thematic in English unmarked declarative sequences, whereas the MSA modal or temporal finite operators are initially positioned in an unmarked declarative verbal-initial sequences of elements.

Concerning the marked thematic choices, one systematic tendency found in the TTs was the normalisation of all ST paratactic marked verbal process clauses (i.e., 11 occurrences) in which the predicators are thematised followed by the subjects— (e.g., *says Mandel*), since the two translators opt to produce MSA neutral verbal-initial sequencing of elements (Predicator/Theme ^ Subject/Rheme). Another emerging pattern that calls attention to the influence of ST over the TTs in terms of its syntactic construction, is to closely follow the English strict SV sequencing of elements, by providing marked MSA nominal-initial segmentations, where the predicators are preceded by the subjects (Subject/Theme ^ Predicator/Rheme). This pattern is more predominant in ʃabdullāh's TT, evincing 234 instances, in contrast to the 86 instances recorded in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT. This in turn leads to more pragmatically conveying motivated choices in translation. Another pattern identified was the reversal of the ST hypotactic sequence, realised through shifting the regressive sequence of hypotactic related clauses ( $\beta \wedge \alpha$ ) into the hypotactic progressive sequence ( $\alpha \wedge$

β) in their translations. Consequently, the ST thematic clause in a hypotactic nexus is construed as Rheme in the TTs. The number of thematic hypotactic clauses was found to be almost even in the two translations, amounting to 131 in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT and 130 in Ṣabdullāh's TT, in contrast to 163 in the ST. Critical analysis of individual examples stresses the contribution of these kinds of shift in making the original narrative distinct from those of the translated narrative, since different perceptions of the ST narrative events, including different foci of messages, are conveyed in translation.

The investigation of the ST modal pattern determined that nearly 30% of the total number of the modal expressions (801) recorded in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT account for optional modality shifts, as opposed to 22% of the total number of modal expressions (887) in Ṣabdullāh's TT; whereas, the modality obligatory shifts amount to 1% apiece. The two TTs were found to feature over-emphasis of the aspect of uncertainty realised through the use of more epistemically modalised propositions. Again, this is attributed in part to locating the narrative events in the future, or future in the past from the perspective of the experiencing-self, as the deictic centre. By contrast, the translators exhibit reductionist propensities in terms of the rendition of the ST ability and obligation modal expressions, which suggests that the narrator-character's capabilities and duties are evidently less stressed in translation. In respect to the optional modality shifts, the exploration reveals the following:

- I. The overwhelming majority of shifts are located in the translation of the ST modal finite operators, especially those expressing epistemic meanings;
- II. 114 (50 %) occurrences of the shifts registered in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's translation stem from the demodalisation type of shift, while 118 (59%) of shifts in Ṣabdullāh's translation spring from the modalisation type;
- III. More than half of the occurrences of demodalisation type of shift in the two translations are identified in the clause complexes, implicating the simplification of the ST structure in translation;

- IV. Most ST rhematic modal adjuncts are omitted in translation, which may indicate the conformity of the translator's options to the MSA's typical systemic choice of the thematisation of the modal comments;
- V. Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's greater tendency towards the omission of the ST modal auxiliary *can* in its ability and probability senses (amounting to 41 out of 46 occurrences), especially if followed by mental processes of perception and recognition or behavioural processes; and
- VI. Ṣabdullāh's high inclination towards the addition of the MSA modal particle, the emphatic *وإ* accounting for 84 occurrences, whereas this particle is relatively less frequently added in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT (30 occurrences).

With regard to the translation of the original techniques of discourse representation, namely the (F)DD mode, Ṣabdullāh more closely reproduces the ST reporting patterns; however, with far fewer shifts (five occurrences). In contrast, a systematic prevailing trend uncovered in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's translation is recurrent omission shifts of the original framing clauses, accounting for more than two thirds (45 occasions) of the overall number of shifts recorded (63). This shift led to spotting an abundance in the employment of the FDD form of discourse representation, which, in turn, highlighted the diminishment of the amount of intervention on the part of the narrator-character in his narrative. Another consistent pattern found was the elimination of the original reporting verb *say*, which is located in more than one third of the overall of occurrences of the ST neutral verbal process *say* (90). By contrast, of the remaining reproduced framing clauses that involve *say*, there are 17 occasions on which it is rendered with six different TL verbal processes and one metaphorical realisation of reporting that carries more semantic components. It is posited that the omission and substitution of *say* in his translation are necessitated by his main preoccupation with creating a good translational style, free to some extent from repetition, and inserting colourful interpretations or explanatory information of some specific narrative stretches.

With regard to the rendition of the reported content of the (F)DD mode, the two translators are less concerned with rendering the emphatic meanings or intensified emotional involvement, graphologically triggered. Most importantly, all the ST italicised expressions (21 occasions) are non-reproduced in translation, except on two occasions in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, when he interestingly compensates for the deletions of italics by resorting to the TL system of Theme Predication. Another emerging feature in the translation of the reported messages, particularly that convey the inner speech of the principal character, is the tendency towards the normalisation (conservatism) of the original truncated syntax that manifests itself in upgrading the ST elliptical clauses as major ones. This, in turn, has the effect of diluting the projection of the disturbed consciousness and the abrupt emotional reaction of the narrator-character.

In reference to the cumulative effects of shifts on the whole framework of the original narrative, the translational choices lead to alteration of the ST fictional world, affecting the ST point of view(s). The shifts in the ST narrative tense were found to widen the gap, reduced in the ST, between the Magistrate as character, experiencing actions at the structural level of story, and the Magistrate as narrator, relaying the events at the level of discourse. Hence, the two TTs provide us with retrospective translated narratives, enhancing the teleological development of the events, in contrast to the ST, which is recognised as a simultaneous narrative. These shifts also affect the depiction of the Magistrate. That is, he is portrayed as if he is the wise man, reflecting on his on his past, younger self. The shifts in the ST deictic terms have shown that Ṣabdullāh's TT communicates a sense of over-involvement on the part of the narrator-character in his narrative, while in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, the level of the intensity in the Magistrate's discourse appears to be lessened. As for the thematic shifts, they render different perceptions of the ST narrative events, impacting the ST spatio-temporal point of view in translation. These kinds of shift, however, do not bring about radical transformations in the sense that the presentation of the original narrative events in translation is completely altered. The translational shifts in modality also affect the ST psychological point of view (the shading of the original text). The two TTs over-stress the ST aspect of uncertainty. In addition, the ST narrator-character's judgments of events based on physical evidence and appearances are over-enhanced in the two TTs to some degree. In contrast, the

Magistrate's abilities and obligations are less foregrounded. The deviations from the ST forms of discourse representation, identified in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT, lead to backgrounding the authority that the narrator-character entertains over his discourse, less narratorial intervention.

Finally, the translation of the ST tense that is central to steering the interpretation of the original narrative proves to be a crucial linguistic choice. Throughout the examination of different lexicogrammatical patterns, the translational option of tense forges an important factor in contributing to trends of shifts in the other systemic selections, although with varying degrees, such as the abundant use of the Interpersonal Themes. It may even dictate the translators' choices, as is supposedly the case with the alterations of the proximally temporal deictic elements to their distal counterparts in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's translation. In terms of the most prominent stylistic differences between the two translators, the overall picture we can sketch is that Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's style is characterised by his constant inclination for normalising the tense and the structure, stressing the textual links, post-posing hypotactic clauses and omitting ST neutral reporting verbs. In contrast, Ṣabdullāh shows strong preferences for syntactic calquing, sustaining the intensification of the truth-value of propositions, particularly by using empathic particles and repeating reporting verbs.

#### **7.4 Limitations and Implications for Future Research**

I will concentrate here on the potential areas of investigation that were uncovered in the present research and could be addressed in future research. The main concern of this study was to conduct a textual analysis on a ST-TT pair, with the purpose of describing the translator's presence and its impacts on the original narrative viewpoints. It therefore does not take into account a broadened framework, the wider context of production of the translated narrative texts. The present study can then be advanced in terms of investigating the correlation between the translators' linguistic choices and the publishing, political, and sociocultural environments (see Munday, 1997, 2008; Ng, 2009). This would help to present a fuller picture of the translators' decision-making processes. It would contribute to divulging the external factors influencing the translation process, or specific circumstances under which

the translator works, and then to expounding motivations behind overall preferences for specific systemic options at the expense of others. Carrying out research in this area would certainly aid in unmasking the TL typical narrative norms in general, and in particular would help to construct the image of J. M. Coetzee in Arabic translation.

Although presenting a multilayered analysis, the present study is small in scale, conducted on the ST Chapters Three and Four and their translated counterparts. Thus, it would be interesting to see if my findings can be further pinpointed or even de-validated over the span of the whole translated narratives. One could also check if the translators' linguistic habits remain consistent in their other translated (non-)fiction, and compare them with other stylistic choices or preferences of earlier or subsequent translations of Coetzee's fictions, in order to identify whether or not there are similar recurrent trends of shift. Moreover, since Ṣabdullāh is an accomplished novelist, as mentioned in the introduction chapter, future studies could match these findings against her stylistic repertoires emerging in her original writings. I would remark that such comparison could be facilitated by employing computer-assisted tools (e.g., Wordsmith Tools) that are advantageous in terms of accelerating the process of inspection and enable handling larger amount of data, eliminating human errors (Munday, 2002: 80). Using corpus-based tools is also of paramount significance in highlighting particular stylistic facets (ibid.), that the current research refrains from capturing, since it was manually conducted, or in enhancing my findings. Incorporating corpus-processing tools further informs on the translators' lexical or standard collocation patterns, whether the translators resort to using more obvious and frequent TL choices, or whether their linguistic options may be influenced by the ST. In fact, it seems to me that the two translations give the impression that there is a great deal of calquing of the ST lexical items and collocations, which may result in producing TL untypical choices stemming from the SL interference. This would be the case, for instance, in the translation of the ST lexical item *lilac-blue*. It is rendered as الأرجوانية-الزرقاء by Ṣabdullāh (note the reproduction of the ST dash) and الزرقاء الليكوية by Al-Hājj Ḥusayn. By consulting TL reference corpora, such an impression would be (de)validated, and we would be able to determine, at the levels of lexical and collocational choices, to the extent to which their translations are influenced by theses of the SL.

Much research also remains to be done on the topic of thematic structure. Focusing on the examination of the shifts in the perception of the ST narrative events, as evinced in the analysis of segmentation, the current research adopted the T-unit as the unit of the analysis. This kind of alteration could be further explored at smaller units in the TTs, such as the clause simplex, especially those hypotactic simplex clauses occurring within the rhematic stretch of the T-unit. Alternatively, future research could be conducted on larger units, such as text segments and paragraphs (Hyper-Theme) or the entire text (Macro-Theme) (Martin: 92: 436-7). It would be interesting to carry out a comparison between the ST and TTs in terms of the types of thematic progression (1. simple linear Theme progression, 2. continuous thematic progression, and 3. thematic progression with derived Themes) that are proposed by Daneš (1974), in order to identify how far the original thematic patterns at the macro-level and their implications for the ST rhetorical effects are reproduced in the TTs, or to possibly uncover certain TL genre preferences or constraints.

Another area worthy of investigation, which the current research did not address, is potential alterations to the orientation of the ST narrative events, resulting from the translators' thematisation of the process. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this area is discussed in Munday's (2008) study concerning a Spanish-English pair, where the author points out the standardisation of the original Spanish syntactic construction into that of the English translations. Another avenue for future research is the scrutiny of how frequent hypotactic clauses occur as marked thematic options in MSA in comparison to English. This could be carried out by consulting larger TL reference corpora, which could then determine whether the translators' approximately high tendencies towards postposing the thematic hypotactic clauses are recognised as an attempt at correspondence to the TL established norms. Another area that requires further study is the translation of multiple Themes. The present study showed a more normalising trend concerning grounding the ST rhematic interpersonal elements (i.e., modal adjuncts) in the thematic part of the TTs clauses. Future studies could examine what types of MSA interpersonal and textual resources are more often anchored in the thematic part of the clause to see, for instance, the extent to which the strategy of normalisation is at play in translation. Indeed, carrying out such research would give further insights into MSA Theme-Rheme configurations in contrast to those of English.

My analysis did not cover one important lexicogrammatical resource, the system of Transitivity. Since the transitivity structure holds a strong correlation to the narrative perspective (Simpson, 1993: 89), future studies could consider the scrutiny of how configurations of transitivity patterns align with the adopted psychological narrative perspective, whether internal or external, as well as how the perceptual points of access in the ST are reproduced in the TTs. It is also worth looking at the translators' transitivity choices in the transference of the ST narrator-character's 'mind style' (Fowler, 1996), or of the conflicting views as embodied in the original. Spotted in the present study in fact are shifts in a particular type of transitivity process, verbal process, which are deleted or replaced with others that convey more communicative meanings in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT. Other occasional shifts are also found in the two translations concerning the ST relational processes *is* and *grow* (Chapter 5), which are rendered into other TL relational processes, such as *يبدو* (seem/appear), that impinge on the ST modal patterns. Conducting research on the renderings of the other types of processes may unravel similar shifting trends. Another direction for future research is the investigation of whether the MSA user is less prone to collocate ability modal expressions with mental or behavioural processes than is the English user, as this inclination was evident in Al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn's TT.

There are also other avenues for future research on the ST viewpoint at the spatio-temporal plane. Shifts on this plane were partly examined in the present study by concentrating on a certain number of deictic terms. This investigative area could be expanded in future studies by taking into consideration other deictic markers, such as the verbs of directionality (e.g., *come*, *go* and *turn away*) that entail movement from and towards the deictic centre, or other temporal adjuncts (e.g., *then*, *tomorrow* and *yesterday*). Closely related to phraseological point of view, other deictic signals, social *deictics* (i.e., naming) manifested through personal pronouns, definite descriptions and titles (McIntyre, 2007: 97-8), could be also considered. The investigation, for instance, of the ST title *Colonel* could be of interest, since it may render further enlightenments on the perception of the narrator-character's social distance between himself and Joll, which then highlights the Magistrate's ideological stance and views, especially after falling from grace. On some narrative occasions, it was noted that Al-Ḥājj

Ḥusayn inserts this title, although it is not attendant in the ST, or replaces it with another title that is of a low status كابتن (captain). Another interesting definite description, that could be examined, is *Magistrate*. I found that there was an inconsistency in rendering the form of naming assigned to the I-narrator, *Magistrate*. For instance, Ṣabdullāh opts to use the general Arabic lexical item القاضي (judge) and the referent الحاكم (the governor). The translator's choice can be interpreted as evoking other overtones and attitudes that are not conveyed in the ST.

Another avenue that requires further testing is the rendering of the ST emphatic meanings encoded in the orthographic cues. This may help underline the lexicogrammatical resources or particular strategies at the MSA user's disposal for conveying these semantic features, or whether their non-reproduction in translation is deemed a well-recognised TL narrative norm. Future research could also investigate the translation of parentheses, which are frequent in the ST, to see if the translator shows awareness of their supplementary function or their signals of the textual voices in the text.

In all, the results of the present study are proffered in the hope that they may contribute to greater understanding of the process of translation and the systemic functional analysis in translation, as well as to research from the descriptive translation studies perspective. It is hoped that the present research stresses to practicing translators the importance of giving proper attention to the aesthetic stylistic techniques that highlight the singularity of the original work of fiction.



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