

**Translating the Nation:
The (Re)framing of Cultural Identity in Three Anthologies of Palestinian
Folktales, 1904-1998**

Suha Fawzi D. Abdo

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds

School of Languages, Cultures and Societies

March 2022

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

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

The right of Suha Fawzi D. Abdo to be identified as Author of this work has been asserted by Suha Fawzi D. Abdo in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

© 2022 The University of Leeds and Suha Fawzi D. Abdo

In the loving memory of my brother Ghassan,

always loved
never forgotten
forever missed

Acknowledgements

To my supervisor, Professor James Dickins, and Ms. Karen Priestley: I am eternally grateful to you both for your kindness and support throughout this journey – Thank you.

I would also like to thank my wonderful defence committee, Dr. Ruba Khamam and Professor Christine Robins, for their valuable feedback.

To my mother and father: Words aren't enough to express my love and gratitude. Thank you for making this dream possible and for supporting and encouraging me through every step of my journey, from its beginning to its completion.

Abstract

This thesis examines the translation and framing strategies employed in three anthologies of translated Palestinian oral tales, *Tales Told in Palestine* (1904), *Speak Bird, Speak Again* (1989), and *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* (1998). I employ Mona Baker's narrative theory to show how the Palestinian cultural identity is (re)framed in translations of Palestinian folktales, and examine how Orientalist narratives of Palestine are constructed, and contested, in translation through juxtapositions of certain translation strategies with paratextual commentary. I form my analysis by employing Edward Said's concepts of 'Orientalism' and 'Imagined Geography' and Ibrahim Muhawi's analysis of the Palestinian folktale genre. In *Told in Palestine*, James Edward Hanauer frames Palestine as the 'Holy Land', a sacred site for the three monotheistic religions, and as a measurable landscape occupied by diverse ethnic groups with various beliefs, excluding the social and situational contexts of the oral narratives. In *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*, Raphael Patai creates an illusion of visibility and credibility by juxtaposing the literal translations of the tales with paratextual commentary to recreate the stylistic properties of the Palestinian folktale genre and demonstrate how the genre reflects the mentality and psyche of all Arab cultures, producing as a result exoticized translations filled with stereotypes about Arabs. In *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana contest Orientalist narratives on Palestine through their 'thick translations' of the folktales, framing the tales as performances of the Palestinian narrators' communicative competence and narrating skills by 'keying' in the conventional narrative and linguistic properties of the Palestinian folktale genre to recreate an equivalent effect in the Target Text, and framing the tales as activities rooted in the rich social lives of the Palestinian community through extensive paratextual commentary.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	4
Abstract	5
Table of Contents.....	6
Note on Transliteration.....	12
List of Figures	13
Chapter 1	14
Introduction	14
1. Overview	14
1.1 A Note on the Use of the Term ‘Folktale’ in this Thesis	15
1.2 The Research Gap this Study Aims to Fill.....	17
1.3 The Research Problem	18
1.4 Motivation	23
1.5 The Rationale	25
1.6 Research Objectives.....	29
1.7 The Research Questions	30
1.8 Palestinian Folk Narratives	31
1.8.1 The <i>ḥurrāfiyyeh</i> , or ‘Magical’ Folktale	33
1.8.2 Palestinian Folk Narratives: Then and Now.....	35
1.9 Folklore as a means of Resistance	38
1.9.1 <i>Turāṭ</i> and the Cultural Revival of the 19 th Century.....	40
1.10 Key Shifts in Translation and Folklore Studies	47
1.11 Outline of the Thesis	51
Chapter 2	56
Literature Review	56
2. Introduction	56
2.1 Gaps in the Literature.....	56
2.2 Orientalist Research on Palestinian Folklore	58
2.3 Key Research on Palestinian Folktales in Arabic	59
2.4 Key Research on Palestinian Folktales in English	59
2.5 The Contribution of this Research	64
2.6 Conclusion	65

Chapter 3	67
Research Methodology	67
3. The Methodology	67
3.1 Baker's Narrative Theory: Translations as Social Narratives	68
3.1.1 Paratextual Framing	72
3.2 The Data.....	73
3.2.1 The Texts	74
3.3 The Translators and their Agents.....	75
3.3.1 J.E. Hanauer and the P.E.F.....	76
3.3.2 J.E. Hanauer and the P.E.Q.	78
3.3.3 J.E. Hanauer, H.G. Mitchell, and the Question of Authorship	79
3.3.1.2 J.E. Hanauer's <i>Folklore of the Holy Land</i> (1907)	82
3.3.1.3 J.E. Hanauer's <i>Walks About Jerusalem</i> (1910).....	83
3.3.2. The National Value of <i>Speak Bird, Speak Again</i> (1989)	84
3.3.2.1 The Institute for Palestine Studies	86
3.3.2.2 Children's Books: <i>Tunjur! Tunjur! Tunjur!</i> and <i>Qūl Yā Ṭayr</i>	87
3.3.3 Raphael Patai	88
3.3.3.1 Raphael Patai's <i>The Arab Mind</i> (1973)	89
3.4 Limitations and Scope for Future Research.....	91
3.5 Conclusion	92
Chapter 4	94
Imagined Geography and the Orientalist Framing of Palestine.....	94
4. Introduction	94
4.1 Orientalism and the Manipulation of Knowledge	96
4.2 Historical Interest in the Holy Land.....	100
4.2.1 The Imagined Geography of the 'Holy Land'	102
4.2.1.1 Framing the 'Holy Land' in <i>Tales Told in Palestine</i>	104
4.2.1.2 Orientalist Illustrations in <i>Tales Told in Palestine</i>	107
4.3 <i>Kān Yā Mā Kān</i> , 'There Was or There Was Not'	109
4.4 <i>Kān Yā Makān</i> , 'Once Upon a Time'	114
4.5 Raphael Patai's Framing of Arab Culture	116
4.6 Conclusion	123
Chapter 5	125

'Visibility' and its Illusions	125
5. Introduction	125
5.1 Beyond Dichotomies: The Complexities of Representation	126
5.2 Visibility and the Question of 'Authorship'	129
5.2.1 The Preventative Censure of the Local Community	131
5.3 Visibility in the Three Anthologies	133
5.3.1 The Dominant Teller: Are the Tales 'About' or 'By' Palestine?.....	135
5.3.2 Domestication and the Loss of Dialect	138
5.3.3 Paratext and the Illusion of Credibility.....	143
5.3.4 Literal Translation and its Illusions	144
5.4 'Thick Translation': Contesting Orientalist Re-Narrations	150
5.5 Conclusion	157
Chapter 6	159
The Translatability of Style in the Palestinian Folktale	159
6. Introduction	159
6.1 The Universality of the Folktale	160
6.2 'Iterability' as a Key Factor of Folktale Translatability.....	161
6.3 The 'Contamination' of the Oral Folktale by the Literate Mode	162
6.3.1 Interpersonal Involvement and Folktale Style	163
6.3.2 The Folktale as Verbal Art	165
6.4 The Importance of Genre Analysis in Translation	166
6.4.1 The Importance of the Local Discourse Community	168
6.4.2 The Importance of the Situational Context	169
6.5 The Assumption of Responsibility to an Audience	172
6.5.1 The Narrator's Disclaimer of Competence.....	173
6.5.2 Narrative Rhythm in the Palestinian 'Magical' Folktale	174
6.6 The Emergent Quality of Performance.....	175
6.7 Style in the Three Anthologies	178
6.7.1 Style in <i>Tales Told in Palestine</i> (1904)	178
6.7.2 Style in <i>Speak Bird, Speak Again</i> (1989).....	179
6.7.3 Style in <i>Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel</i> (1998).....	180
6.8 Conclusion	181
Chapter 7	182

Framing Palestinian Folktales as Performances in Translation	182
7. Introduction	182
7.1 Performance as an Interpretive Frame.....	184
7.2 Keying Performance	185
7.2.1 Keying Performance through Interruptive Devices	186
7.2.2 Keying Performance in the Target Text through Paratext.....	187
7.3 Performance in <i>Tales Told in Palestine</i>	189
7.3.1 Information about the Tellers.....	190
7.3.2 Recreating the Dramatic Effect.....	192
7.3.3 Aside Comments.....	193
7.4 Performance in <i>Speak Bird, Speak Again</i>.....	193
7.4.1 A Dynamic-Rhetorical Approach to Translation	196
7.4.2 Reconstructing Narrative Rhythm.....	197
7.4.3 Transferring Interjections and Onomatopoeic Sounds	198
7.4.4 Rhetorical Questions	200
7.4.5 Formulaic Openings and Endings.....	200
7.4.6 Direct Forms of Address in the Tales.....	204
7.5 Performance in <i>Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel</i>.....	205
7.5.1 Reconstructing Stylistic Effects through Literal Translation.....	206
7.5.2 Use of Punctuation in the Target Text.....	207
7.6 Conclusion	208
Chapter 8	211
Translating Culture-Specific Items in the Palestinian Folktale	211
8. Introduction	211
8.1 The Search for Equivalence	212
8.2 The Translation of Culture-Specific Items	213
8.3 Foregrounding Cultural Difference in the Target Text.....	214
8.3.1 The Folktale's Susceptibility to Exoticism.....	217
8.3.2 The Exotic Effect of Cultural Borrowing	219
8.4 <i>Tales Told in Palestine</i>: Illustrating the 'Holy Land'	220
8.4.1 Culture-Specific Items in <i>Tales Told in Palestine</i>	223
8.5 <i>Speak Bird, Speak Again</i>: A Thick Translation	225
8.5.1 Culture-Specific Items in <i>Speak, Bird, Speak Again</i>.....	226

8.6 Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel: A Literal Translation	228
8.7 Conclusion	230
Chapter 9	232
Conclusion	232
9. Overview	232
9.1 The Questions this Thesis Raises	232
9.2 The Aims of Each Chapter and the Conclusions Formed	240
9.3 The Significance of this Research.....	252
9.4 The Limitations and Scope for Further Research	255
Bibliography	258

List of Abbreviations

Source Language	SL
Target Language	TL
Source Culture	SC
Target Culture	TC
Source Text	ST
Target Text	TT
Classical Arabic	CA
Source Text Author	STA
Source Text Reader	STR
Target Text Reader	TTR
Source Text Audience	TTA
Target Text Audience	TTA
Source Text Situation	STS
Target Text Situation	TTS
Source Text Style	STS
Target Text Style	TTS
Speak Bird, Speak Again	SBSA
Palestine Exploration Fund	PEF
Palestine Exploration Quarterly	PEQ
Critical Discourse Analysis	CDA
London Jews Society	LJS
Institute for Palestine Studies	IPS
Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society	JPOS
Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine	QDAP

Note on Transliteration

The DIN 31635 (1982) transliteration system is used in this thesis. Transliterated words taken directly from other sources may follow different transliterations systems.

	ء
b	ب
t	ت
ṭ	ط
ğ	ج
ḥ	ح
ḫ	خ
d	د
ḍ	ذ
r	ر
z	ز
s	س
š	ش
ṣ	ص
ḍ	ض
ṭ	ط
ẓ	ظ
‘	ع
ğ	غ
f	ف
ḵ	ق
k	ك
l	ل
m	م
n	ن
h	ه
w	و
y	ي

Short Vowels	
a	اَ
u	اُ
i	اِ

Long Vowels	
ā	آ / اِي
ū	وِي
ī	يِي

List of Figures

- Figure 1** The cover of Tunjur! Tunjur! Tunjur!: A Palestinian folktale. The book was published in 2006 by Marshall Cavendish Corporation in New York..... 88
- Figure 2** The Cover of Qūl yā ṭayr: ḥikāyāt lil'aṭfāl min al-turāṭ al-ša'bi al-Filasṭīni. The book was published in 2020 in Beirut by the Institute for Palestine Studies. 88
- Figure 3** The cover of the revised edition of The Arab Mind. The book was published in 2007 by Recovery Resources Press featuring a photograph of al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, Palestine. The Cover Design is by Angel Harleycat and Deborah Miller. ©Cover Photograph 2010 Jennifer Schneider..... 90
- Figure 4** A photograph of the Jaffa Gate appears in the beginning of the book, Tales Told in Palestine, on the page that comes right before the title page. The illustrations in the book are provided by H.G. Mitchell. 108

Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Overview

The folktale conjures up memories and emotions associated with the Palestinian historical memory, from memories of the heartwarming intimate storytelling events with the family in the evenings, to memories of those details of the environment that produced the tales and resulted in the loving embrace of its community. The re-telling of folktales brings to life the nuances of the complex relationships between people on an intimate level, and more broadly, between the different generations. Once upon a time, before the occupation, we shared meaningful moments telling stories in Palestine; today, we continue to share meaningful moments in Palestine, despite the occupation. Memories are a significant and integral part of history, whereby the activity that is storytelling and the stories we produce validate our historical and national existence. Fictional stories of the past may be fictional in content, but the act of storytelling is an essential part of the intangible heritage of a people, and the process of weaving the local features of the immediate landscape within the figments of the collective imagination so that it becomes a genre, confirms a rich Palestinian historical, national, and cultural identity, despite the endless attempts at what Ilan Pappé (2006) refers to as '*memoricide*,' the erasure of a people's past and history.

This thesis examines how translations of Palestinian folktales frame cultural identity in the three anthologies, *Tales Told in Palestine* (1904), *Speak Bird, Speak Again* (1989), and *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* (1998). The main aim in conducting this study is to examine the complex interplays involved in framing translations as social narratives that represent the Other in relation to the Self, or that contest Orientalist translations. This thesis examines how the translators juxtapose paratextual material with their choices of translation strategies to represent the Source Text Culture in certain ways that reflect their own ideologies. This thesis employs Mona Baker's narrative theory from the field of Translation Studies and examines the translations through a framework of Edward Said's

notions of Orientalism and imaginative geography and Ibrahim Muhawi's folkloristic theory of translation. Based on the realization that translators and their agents (editors, publishers, funders, etc.) are social actors, this thesis examines the ways in which translators of Palestinian folktales and their agents from the early twentieth century to today construct certain narratives of the Palestinian people and their cultural identity, framing the Palestinians and their culture as an 'Other' in contrast to the 'Self' in the guise of sociological, religious, anthropological, archaeological, and historical academic and scholarly work, to serve broader colonialist and imperialist aspirations and agendas; this thesis also examines the ways in which Palestinian translators contest the Orientalist, stereotypical, and biased representations of the land, its people, and their historical and cultural identities, through a combination of translation strategies and framing tools that bring back the Palestinian storytellers' agency and that portray the multiple levels of meanings to achieve an authentic reflection of the Palestinian oral folktale as it is defined in its local discourse community, and which stand in stark contrast to Orientalist translations of Palestinian folktales.

1.1 A Note on the Use of the Term 'Folktale' in this Thesis

While the term 'folktale' is usually used in reference to the 'magical' folktale that is mainly fictitious, the term folktale is used throughout this thesis in place of 'oral narratives', to include not only the fictive, 'magical' folktale, but also other forms of verbal art such as anecdotes and legends, etc. that have traditionally been transmitted orally amongst people. Where the thesis refers to the fictitious, 'magical' folktale in particular, the label 'magical folktale' is used. The term folktale in this thesis thus also covers orally transmitted tales that may include references to historical and religious figures and beliefs associated with truth by different groups. Nonetheless, it is crucial to note that narrative style differs from one form of verbal art to the other – the narrative style in a legend will be markedly different from a magical folktale.

Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana (1989, pp.1-8) in *Speak Bird, Speak Again* state in the introduction of the book that the tales they chose and presented

in the anthology are all the fictive 'magical' tales that are mainly told by women in the Palestinian community, and explain how those tales differ from the tales typically told by men in the *dīwān*. In *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* (1998), Raphael Patai uses the term 'folktale' in reference to the tales included in the anthology, which is typically associated with the fictitious, 'magical' folktale mostly told by women in the private setting of the home. Moreover, Patai (1998, p.7) discusses in the introduction the fantastical and supernatural elements typical of the magical folktale. However, in the introduction of the anthology, Patai (1998, p.1) draws a picture of the male-dominated public storytelling event in which oral forms such as the epic are told, and in which you would not hear the fictitious, 'magical' tales that are mainly told by women.

In *Tales Told in Palestine*, the editor of the book, H.G. Mitchell (2015, pp.11-14), explains that he separated the tales in the anthology into five different categories and justifies his method of classifying the tales in the introduction; Mitchell (2015) categorizes the tales based on his observations on the extent of their probable authenticity, referencing sources to justify why certain tales were classified under certain categories as opposed to others. For example, Mitchell (2015, p.12) refers to the Book of Esther to demonstrate how the tale, 'The Saragossa Roll' could be categorized as "more or less historical", since "the observance of a commemorative feast forbids one lightly to deny that the story has a foundation in fact" (Mitchell, 2015, p.12). The following is another example in which Mitchell (2015, p.13) justifies his decision to include stories of the jan in the category 'Tales Embodying Popular Superstitions', supported by his reference to an incident reported in the Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement:

The stories of the jan suggest some interesting questions. Such things as are therein narrated are evidently believed, at least among the lower classes, in Palestine. It is possible that those who know better sometimes take advantage of popular credulity to impose upon their inferiors in intelligence. The account of himself given by "The Unwilling Husband" may be an attempt of this sort. A man who had reasons for not telling why had forsaken his home, or where he had been during his absence, may have

invented it to forestall embarrassing questions. Still, those who are possessed by a superstition can believe almost anything. Thus, Baldensperger (“Quarterly Statements,” 1893, 204ff.) tells of a man, once in his employ, who “would never stay out in the field by night, because his jinniyyeh (female demon) regularly met him, and he was very much afraid of her,” and who “could never look at a woman and smile, for his jinniyyeh was jealous and had several times thrown him on the ground”.

Among the categories included in *Tales Told in Palestine* (2015) are ‘Legends of Saints and Heroes’. While some forms of oral narratives such as legends refer to religious and historical figures that are revered by certain groups, with the spread of literacy in Palestine, those traditional oral tales that have no known authors and that exist in multiple variations are not considered today by the Palestinian community as reliable sources of historical and religious facts. Moreover, we do not have access to the original tales in Arabic as Hanauer narrated the tales to Mitchell from memory; thus, we have no sure way of ascertaining that the tales included in the anthology and their contents were not modified in a major way.

1.2 The Research Gap this Study Aims to Fill

To the best of my knowledge, there is no work done so far that compares the translation strategies and framing tools employed in different Palestinian folktale anthologies; this is likely due to the complexities in folktale transmission that result in the original tales not always being available, and which also reflects how Orientalists handled data they collected from the Orient, and how they translated this information. The complexities involved in transmitting and translating folktales leave questions unasked about the processes that go into collecting, documenting, and translating folktales, and how such processes are reflected in the final products, particularly in folktales that belong to minority, under-represented, or oppressed populations. This thesis thus brings to the fore questions of translator visibility and agency in translating Palestinian folktales, through examining the ways in which the translators frame the translations as

social narratives that reflect their own ideologies. This thesis also discusses the possible reasons behind the minimal attention given to the translation of folktales, and the possible reasons for the folktale's vulnerability to manipulation by Orientalists.

1.3 The Research Problem

Translation “produces strategies of containment”, reinforcing hegemonic versions of the colonized through modes of representation, what Edward Said refers to as representations, or objects without history, and that ultimately transform into facts (Niranjana, 1992, p.3); “Translation participates across a range of discourses in the *fixing* of colonized cultures, making them seem static and unchanging rather than historically constructed” (Niranjana, 1992, p. 3). As Niranjana (1992, p. 71) states, “The naturalizing, dehistoricising move is, of course, accompanied by a situating of the “primitive” or the “Oriental” in a teleological scheme that shows them to be imperfect realizations of the Spirit or of Being”. According to Roth (1998, p.248), “even folkloric translation is subjected to the rules of “power and hierarchy””. Translation is “a first step in the process of adaptation and appropriation of foreign cultures” (Roth, 1998, p.248). Klaus Roth (1998, p. 248) notes:

myths, tales, and songs of many peoples of the world were translated and published in Western languages before they appeared in their native languages; in some African, South American, or Asian countries, native ethnologists today are faced with the necessity to reconstruct the history of their own cultures from Western representations of them.

It is thus odd that not much work has been done on the translations of folktales. Roth (1998, p.243) notes how “it is one of the paradoxes of folk narrative research that the translation and the transcultural adaptation of folklore texts have received so little attention so far”. The lack of interest in the translation of folkloric texts is unusual since “folkloristics and ethnology, from their beginnings in the late 18th century, had a keen interest in other cultures— and they began with translation” (Roth, 1998, p. 243); Ethnologists, travelers, and collectors translated innumerable

myths and tales, epic poetry, and songs into their own (European) languages (Roth, 1998, p. 243). According to Roth (1998, p.243):

Folkloristics had an international orientation before it turned to a more romantic and national agenda that stressed their own traditions and demanded less translations...However, the problem of how the narratives and songs had crossed all these linguistic boundaries, the process of translation itself, went almost entirely unnoticed...

According to Roth (1998, p. 248), "most folklore texts were translated from a non-European (or peripheral European) language into one of the major European languages to grasp and make sense of the 'other,' mostly the 'exotic' oriental cultures". Said (1978, p.10) maintains that "Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the 'Orient' – and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist – either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism". Orientalism "connotes the high-handed executive attitude of nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century European colonialism" (Said,1978, p.10). Said (1978, p.10) explains that by Orientalism he means several things, all of them interdependent; "The most readily accepted designation for Orientalism is an academic one, and indeed the label still serves in a number of academic institutions" (Said, 1978, p.10). According to Said (1978, p.11), "the interchange between the academic and the more or less imaginative meanings of Orientalism is a constant one, and since the late 18th century there has been a considerable, quite disciplined, perhaps even regulated traffic between the two". Orientalism is (Said, 1978, p. 12):

a project whose dimensions take in such disparate realms as the imagination itself, the whole of India and the Levant, the Biblical texts and the Biblical lands, the spice trade, colonial armies and a long tradition of colonial administrators, a formidable scholarly corpus, innumerable Oriental "experts" and "hands," an Oriental professorate, a complex array of "Oriental" ideas (Oriental despotism, Oriental splendor, cruelty, sensuality), and many Eastern sects, philosophies, and wisdoms domesticated for local European use – the list can be extended indefinitely.

Alan Dundes (1989, x) notes “the inadequacy of nineteenth-century folktale collections, especially those representing countries outside Europe”. Dundes (1989, x-xi) particularly notes the liberties missionaries and travellers took in changing the content:

English, French, German, and other European colonialist administrators, missionaries, and travelers recorded stories they found quaint or amusing. Either informants self-censored the tales to protect their image or else the collectors, who were not necessarily fully fluent in the native languages, simply omitted details they deemed obscene (by their own cultures’ standards) or elements that were not already clear to them. Thus, most nineteenth-century collections of tales from India or the Middle East contain only the blandest tales, sometimes in severely abridged or abstract form, with no hint of even the slightest bawdy or risqué motifs. Although folklorists today are not ungrateful for these early versions of folktales, they cannot condone the lack of honesty in the reporting of them. What remains badly needed are collections of folktales made by fieldworkers whose roots are in the region and who speak the native language of the tale-tellers.

According to Donald Haase (2010, p.22), “the colonialist trespassing that occurs in collecting, editing, and translating is not only a matter of the tension or trade-off between what is lost and what is preserved”. For Haase (2019, p.22), “the fact that these acts of trespass produce something new—a transcultural text that communicates more than the sum of its cultural parts,” is as significant. As Roth (1998, p.248) explains:

Depending on the abilities and intentions of the translators and on their selection, translations often function as popularizations of stereotypical images and as promoters of exoticism or orientalism. Popular translations of myths and tales, of songs and epics, have often portrayed other peoples in simplified terms and have produced lasting images of them as heroic or primitive, as treacherous or naïve, as peaceful or brutal.

As Alan Dundes (1980, p.2) notes, the term 'folk' in the nineteenth century was a "dependent rather than independent entity...defined in contrast with or in opposition to some other population group":

The folk were understood to be a group of people who constituted the lower stratum, the so-called *vulgus in populo* – in contrast with the upper stratum or elite of that society. The folk were contrasted on the one hand with "civilization" – they were the uncivilized element in a civilized society – but on the other hand, they were also contrasted with the so-called savage or primitive society, which was considered even lower on the evolutionary ladder. Folk as an old-fashioned segment living on the margins of civilization was, and for that matter, still *is*, equated with the concept of peasant. The way in which folk occupied a kind of middle ground between civilized elite and uncivilized "savage" can be perceived in the emphasis placed upon a single culture trait, the ability to read and write. The folk were understood to be "the illiterate in a literate society," as opposed to the primitive peoples, who were ethnocentrically labelled "preliterate" (implying that an individual could not read or write, but that he lived in or near a society that included a literate elite) ...Through this form of the comparative method, historical reconstruction of the origins of the elite, literate, civilized European cultures was to be undertaken.

This traditional view of folklore as 'simplistic' and therefore not of actual significance except as a reflection of the primitive, savage, and uncivilized people and their way of thought and lifestyles, is one possible reason why the folktales were vulnerable to manipulation and reframing by Orientalists, who took liberties with the texts. Furthermore, folktales were traditionally and primarily transmitted orally – thus, there was no known author for the folktale; it belonged to the community, and therefore no copyright issues were attached to it, making it easier to be retold without ethical limitations put in place. The very nature of folktale transmission relies on the retellings of tales, and with each retelling changes occur so that we have variations of tales. Moreover, since the folktale as a genre is made up of cultural items and can include fantastical motifs, this makes it susceptible to

manipulation of difference by Orientalists. Finally, two of the most significant features that make the folktale vulnerable to Orientalist manipulation are, (1) the fact that it merges the real with the imaginative, and (2) its situatedness in the past which makes the folktale more open to exotic representations of the 'uncivilized Other'.

There are many questions that remain unasked about the factors that come into play in the construction of translated folktale anthologies, including issues such as bias, which ought to be addressed. For instance, Donald Haase (2010, p.21) critiques Jonathan Gottschall, pointing out how Gottschall does not adequately address a problematic issue in the samples of folktales he collected for his research, that of Western bias on the part of the colonialist folklorists:

He correctly considers "the most salient" of these the fact that "about 60% of the collections in [the sample] were collected, edited, translated, and in some cases retold by Westerners, usually males, between 1860 and 1930. It is therefore possible that the sample has been distorted by the biases – male and Western – of ethnographers, collectors, and editors of an imperial era" (179). So, despite the admission that using texts produced by colonialist-era folklorists is problematic and constitutes a limitation that "cannot be dismissed" (179), Gottschall does effectively dismiss the problem by relying on the assumed purity and authenticity of his texts. As he writes, "Although the folktales in our sample were mostly compiled, edited, and translated by Westerners (and thus may reflect Western biases), the tales were originally composed in traditional societies and can cautiously be assumed to reflect the traditional attitudes and social patterns of the populations that produced them" (178).

Roth (1998, p.243) maintains that "Translation was obviously taken as self-explanatory and unproblematic, and as a consequence many important questions remain unasked"; Roth (1998, p.243) lists several such questions:

How does the translation of folklore texts function? Does it differ from literary translation? Who were the translators? Were they, in former centuries, merchants, sailors, soldiers, hawkers or minstrels, or were they rather scribes, teachers, ministers, or even poets? In other words: were (and are) they educated, semi-educated or uneducated persons? What role do bilingualism or multilingualism play, and are multiethnic, bilingual or border regions the typical areas of transfer from one language to another? What about bilingual audiences, bilingual narratives, and code switching? How, on what occasions, and for what audiences was and is a translation undertaken? What methods of translation are applied and what changes made? What levels and elements of the text are adapted to the recipient culture? What is translatable and what is not? And are there significant differences in the translatability of narrative genres? These are only some of the questions that need to be asked if we want to gain a deeper understanding of how folklore texts are communicated across linguistic and cultural boundaries (cf. also, e.g., Dollerup et al. 1984,263 sq.; Michaelis-Jena 1975,186; Zirnbauer 1975,205,208 sq.)

This thesis thus examines how the translators of the selected three anthologies, and as social actors, frame the Palestinian cultural and historical identity through their folktale translations, portraying how their strategies either present the folktales as a collection of data on Palestine as a measurable landscape and religious site, or as an illustration of the Palestinians as an inferior 'Other' in contrast to the West, or as a form of resistance that contests Orientalist narratives of Palestine and brings back the power balance between the languages and cultures involved.

1.4 Motivation

During my research for my MA dissertation which I undertook between 2010 and 2011 for my MA degree in English Literature, I noticed a recurring pattern in the novels I examined, a pattern of words and phrases transferred directly from Arabic, often decontextualized, almost always sensationalized, and foregrounded in the novels to create a certain stylistic effect in the representation/s of the Arab as the Other. At that point, my interest shifted to the field of Translation Studies as I

found it deals at its core with cultural representations through the complex processes of language manipulation.

Since I had been enthralled as a child with the folktales my Palestinian grandmother used to tell us when we were in bed getting ready to sleep, choosing Palestinian folktales seemed the natural choice. All things Palestine, especially Palestinian folklore, hold a special place in my childhood and in my heart, so the motivation was equally personal as it was driven by the need to understand clearly and in-depth how Palestinians are represented in, and by, different parts of the world, and how those representations ultimately frame perceptions of Palestine and the Palestinians. However, I wanted to move beyond the more obvious sources of representation such as news outlets, classical literature, and media platforms, and therefore chose the translation of oral folktales.

During my research, I realized that when it comes to examining how language is manipulated to construct certain narratives, the focus is mostly directed towards, for instance, news articles or political speeches, and that while the translation of written literature gains so much attention, there seems to be very little interest in the power dynamics involved in translating folktales. One possible reason could be that folktales are considered 'old wives' tales'; they are perceived to carry little significance in the real world and to leave little real impact today. However, I believe that it is just as significant to examine the power dynamics in the translation of genres that are not clearly and obviously labeled and categorized as political, but which nonetheless leave an impact on societies in sometimes subtle and indirect ways, an impact that is reinforced with time.

Finally, to understand how narratives on Palestine are framed today, we need to travel back to the past; Orientalists' framing of the narratives on Palestine paved the way for the metanarratives that justified the occupation of Palestine. To quote Gabriel Polly (2020, p.390):

Palestine and the Palestinians were deserving of far better representation than what they received from the West in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and their national narrative of historical presence on the land and

subsequent dispossession continue to deserve better representation today. Most importantly, old clichés, distortions and outright lies have acted to silence Palestinians' efforts to define their own identity and to present their narrative to the world.

1.5 The Rationale

This thesis examines how folktale translators frame the Source Text to represent the Palestinian cultural and historical identity in ways that reflect their own ideologies. There is an invisibility, a kind of ambiguity, with regards to how translators of folktales deal with the original texts, and the kinds of changes they make. Furthermore, due to the way that folktales are transferred because of their stance in societies as an oral, fantastical, and simple genre that holds no major significance within society as opposed to other forms of literature, and especially because of the ways Orientalists collected and translated material between the 18th and early 20th century, scholars have historically taken many liberties in handling the texts in ways that significantly alter them. This brings to the fore ethical issues with regards to how translators deal with folkloric items.

According to Mona Baker (2018, p.180), narrative theory sheds light on the idea of 'the real' and of neutrality in translation and interpreting; narrative theory recognizes that in narrating real events, or even physical entities, humans 'structure' events as meaningful stories to make sense of them – and how we structure those events will inescapably be affected and influenced by our own subjective position. Furthermore, whether stories are real or fictitious (Baker, 2018, pp.180–181),

the narratives we weave about events, people and texts actively construct the world because they generate responses and consequences that may or may not be anticipated by those who play a role in elaborating and disseminating these narratives, and these consequences cannot simply be written off when a narrative turns out to be fictitious.

Baker (2018, p.180) maintains that translation may be understood as a (re)narration “that participates in constructing the world rather than merely a process of transferring semantic content from one language to another, accurately or otherwise”. Narrative is “*the* principal mode by which we experience the world, rather than merely a genre or particular type of text” (Mona Baker, 2018, p. 180). This thesis thus examines the ways translators re-narrate the texts, framing them in ways that reflect their own ideologies and worldviews and the dominant discourses of their time. It thus brings to the fore questions of translation ethics, translator visibility, the translator as social actor and agent, and the powerful roles translators have in maintaining the larger narratives that inform their own, or in contesting Eurocentric narratives in hopes of bringing about change.

The anthologies chosen for this study were selected to demonstrate the different ways folktale translators framed the Palestinian cultural identity throughout history, and to shed light on the roles of the translators as social actors. J.E. Hanauer’s *Tales Told in Palestine* (1904), edited by H.G. Mitchell, reflects the Orientalist and imperialist interest in Palestine, specifically during the late 19th and early 20th centuries: the choice of oral narratives, the lack of performative elements in the translations, and the foregrounding of the Palestinian landscape and the ethnic and religious aspects of Palestinian culture in the tales, reflect how Palestine during that time period was of interest as the ‘Holy Land’ mainly for political and religious reasons. Furthermore, although certain Arabic words are transliterated and placed in parenthesis in the tales, the style of translation in *Tales Told in Palestine* illustrates the domesticating method of translation prevalent during that time, in which very few features of the Source Language and Culture are kept in translation, except for a choice of cultural words the scholars find relevant and interesting enough to include and which foreground specific aspects of the culture, making those visible, and pushing other aspects, such as the social and situational contexts of folktale narration that would frame it as a social activity, to the background.

The social dynamics are a significant aspect of any culture and storytelling is after all, a social activity that brings people, whether families or the larger

community together – this is part of what makes us human after all. The act of storytelling, in of itself, is a significant part of the culture, one that contextualizes the cultural symbols and motifs in the tales – in excluding the social and situational contexts, the reader loses sight of Palestine as more than just a landscape with political, ethnic, and religious significance, and of Palestine as a home for the Palestinians – a home with a rich and complex social life and interactions out of which memories are made. If cultural items are stripped off their social and situational contexts, the translator risks reducing the rich social activity of folktale performances to flat, one-dimensional, static, and de-historicized representations of the Source Culture, with the possibility of constructing misinformed and stereotypical representations of the people and the culture.

Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana's anthology, *Speak Bird Speak Again*, published in 1989, 41 years after the Nakbeh (The Catastrophe) creatively contests the Orientalist representations of Palestine by recontextualizing the folktales in their historical, cultural, linguistic, social, and situational contexts through a performance-centered approach that reconstructs the folktales as performances in the Target Text by creatively transferring the key properties of the Palestinian oral folktale genre as it is defined by its local discourse community, and through extensive paratextual commentary that frame the translated tales – they brought the human element back through a complex multi-dimensional reconstruction of the folktale performance. In applying Kwame Anthony Appiah's notion of 'thick translation' in the anthology, through a creative and well-thought out, extremely detailed translation of the texts as performances, they contested the way Palestine was being (and continues to be) represented, specifically in the domain of anthropological and sociological work in academia in the western world.

Finally, Raphael Patai's *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* (1998) is an example of an Orientalist text in which the folktales collected and translated are framed through a juxtaposition of 'literal' translation and paratextual commentary that guides the readers to read and interpret the folktales through a Eurocentric lens that contrasts the Arab culture to the West, perpetuating stereotypes about Palestinians, and Arabs in general. Patai's work is an example of how translation is

a form of re-narration, whereby the way he frames the texts are informed by his own subjective Eurocentric and racist worldviews of Arabs. Patai creates an illusion of authenticity, accuracy, and reliability, by appearing 'visible' as a translator and portraying extreme visibility of the Palestinian oral folktale style, through a combination of literal translation and paratextual commentary. Patai's work is an example of how Orientalist stereotypes are recycled and reinforced through academic work, creating an illusion of reliability and accuracy through the position of authority granted in the academic space. His authority, in this case, is on a wide range of cultures and belief systems which he simplifies and reduces to the category he labels as 'Arab', diminishing the intricate complexities and multivarious contexts of the real and large Arab world to mere stereotypes.

Folktales are often approached as mainly reflections of culture rather than as performances of communicative competence and narrative skill, which makes them vulnerable to distortion. Even when the 'performance' aspect is noted or described, the folktale is mainly framed as a representation of cultural identity. Translating texts that are meant to reflect cultural beliefs, values, and worldviews, is no simple task and brings up questions of ethical representation in translation. Translating cultural texts that also include religious language adds another level of complexity to issues of ethical representation in translation. Translating texts which are perceived as reflecting a people's cultural beliefs and that belong to a colonized country such as Palestine, also brings up questions of ethical representation in translation, as colonized countries are more vulnerable to misrepresentation. As Maria Tymoczko (2016, p.246) maintains:

Beliefs and values, ideas and ideals, are perhaps the most difficult aspects of culture to represent and to translate. While a colonizing group will soon learn the conditions of climate that shape culture in a specific area of the world and will readily take up convenient material aspects from another culture, often borrowing the words themselves to designate the particulars involved...the ideas, beliefs, and values that structure the culture of a colonized people are much more difficult to perceive and much more vulnerable to distortion, misrepresentation, and suppression.

1.6 Research Objectives

This thesis aims to demonstrate how translators as social actors, through their translations, reframe the Palestinian folktales as social narratives that reflect their own ideologies and worldviews, and how they may also creatively contest Orientalist representations of Palestine and the Palestinian cultural identity. This is achieved by contextualizing the Palestinian folktale as it is defined and viewed historically through the lens of the local discourse community, by examining the Orientalist attitudes towards gathering and transferring knowledge on Palestine, by providing relevant background information on the translators and their agents, and by examining key literature on the translation of Palestinian folktales. Moreover, this thesis examines how cultural difference is foregrounded in the Target Texts, and how folktale narration as a performance of 'verbal art' is recreated in the translations; In doing so, the implications of decisions made on translating culture-specific items and of leaving out in the Target Text key properties of the genre as it is defined in the local discourse community, are brought to the fore.

I aim to demonstrate how cultural knowledge gathered, edited, and translated, on Palestine, specifically between the late 18th and early 20th century, was reframed through the lens of the Orientalist imagination of Palestine as the 'Holy Land'. J.E. Hanauer's *Tales Told in Palestine* (1904), is reflective of Orientalist attitudes and imperialist aspirations involved in the collection, editing, and translation of cultural knowledge on Palestine; Hanauer and his editor, H.G. Mitchell, frame the Palestinian oral narratives in *Tales Told in Palestine* as knowledge on Palestine and the Palestinian culture, whereby the tales portray Palestine as a measurable landscape and a religious site. Moreover, the Target Text style, and the ambiguity with regards to what extent, and in what ways, the editor, H.G. Mitchell, was involved in the modifications that occurred in the translations, is reflective of how Orientalists dealt with texts from the Orient.

Another aim of this research is to make the translator visible as a social actor and a powerful agent that strategically guides how readers interpret and view

the Source Culture, in this case the Palestinian culture. In doing so, this study demonstrates the powerful role of translators and their agents, shedding light on the impact and consequences of translations. The aim is to argue that while visibility in translation is indeed significant, it does not alone determine reliability and authenticity in translation; In Raphael Patai's *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* (1998), Patai creates an illusion of visibility by juxtaposing his strategy of literal translation with paratextual commentary in which he contrasts the Arabs with the West, his use of scholarly apparatus and the academic space that places him in a position of authority in fact allowing him to create a framework of interpretation that guides the reading of Arab culture through a stereotype-ridden and racist lens.

This study also examines the translatability of Palestinian folktale style through an exploration of its key features that allow its translatability, to demonstrate that the stylistic effects of the Source Text can in fact be reproduced in the Target Text. Ibrahim Muhawi's metatextual work on the translation of Palestinian folktales and his folkloristic theory of translation show that, in fact, through an in-depth understanding of the genre both as a universal structure and as a local genre with key features that function in specific ways, Palestinian folktales can be successfully translated. Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana's methods in translating the collection of Palestinian folktales in *Speak Bird, Speak Again* (1989), sheds light on the significance of seeking a genuine understanding of the genre as it is interpreted and defined in its local discourse community and the significance of the social and situational contexts, allowing for a more authentic translation through a well-thought out and creative approach of tackling the texts that goes beyond the traditional dichotomies of domestication and foreignization and full equivalence versus no equivalence. This thesis aims to show how *Speak Bird, Speak Again* contests Orientalist translations of the Palestinian folktale.

1.7 The Research Questions

1. What are the key concepts and historical shifts that offer insight into, and contextualize, the topic of translating Palestinian folktales? (Chapter 1)

2. What is the key literature available on the Palestinian folktale and its translation? (Chapter 2)
3. What are the research methods employed for this project and what key information do we have on the selected data to be examined? (Chapter 3)
4. How are Palestinian folktales framed through Orientalist and imperialist lens in translation? (Chapter 4)
5. How do translators of Palestinian folktales create visibility, or an illusion of visibility, in their translations? Is 'visibility' necessarily a sign of a translator's reliability and credibility, and does it necessarily signal an authentic translation? (Chapter 5)
6. What are the key genre and stylistic properties that make the Palestinian folktale translatable, and why is an in-depth understanding of the genre and the social and situational contexts significant in constructing a more authentic translation of the Source Text? How does in-depth knowledge of the genre, both as it is understood universally and as it is defined locally, help create more authentic translations? (Chapter 6)
7. Do the translators of the folktales frame the tales as meaningful, rich, social activities, and if so, how? (Chapter 7)
8. What are some issues that come up in translating culture-specific items in Palestinian folktales? (Chapter 8)

1.8 Palestinian Folk Narratives

According to Ben-Amos (1976), one way to learn the Source Culture's genre classifications is through names, taxonomy, and commentary by which a society labels, categorises, and interprets its forms of folklore within a wider system of discourse. Sirhan (2014, pp.52–53) identifies the most common types of folktales in Palestine: mythic and fantastic tales, humorous tales, animal tales, tales of the quick-witted, tales that center around family conflicts, and stories that explain how

certain proverbs and sayings came to be. Kanaana (2007) explains that the Palestinian narrative genres are “divided according to gender” since the division of labor is “strongly pronounced among Arab-Islamic peoples, including Palestinians” (Kanaana, 2007); while women’s narratives were generally associated with “fiction and imagination,” (Kanaana, 2007) men’s narratives were associated with “truth and believability” (Kanaana, 2007).

Kanaana (2007) explains that fictitious tales were usually told in the evening in “the women’s quarters within the context of the extended family and often included women and children from other related and neighbouring extended families”. While men “did not usually attend these sessions”; “The men of the family, with their male guests, usually gathered in a separate part of the house called the ‘diwan’ to drink black coffee, exchange news and views, and tell stories” (Kanaana, 2007). Men had their own narrative genres which “were generally narratives associated with truth and believability, at least from the viewpoint of those who told them, or listened to them, or transmitted them” (Kanaana, 2007).

According to Kanaana (2007), the folktales told by women reflected “a picture of the world as seen by women living in extended families in peasant, agricultural, Middle Eastern, Moslem, Arab society”. Those tales “dealt mainly with issues of reproduction, children, food, marriage, inheritance, and, in general, the internal affairs of the extended family, specifically related to the lives of women” (Kanaana, 2007). Men, on the other hand, mainly told epics that “consist of highly coloured, somewhat rambling but skilfully structured, semi-musical panoramas” (Kanaana, 2007) that tell of “heroic deeds, escapades, bizarre landscapes, long-lasting love affairs, dire sacrifices, and supernatural forces” (Kanaana, 2007). Other tales included mini-siras or the ‘Bedouin story’, and “a wide variety of legends” (Kanaana, 2007) that “included religious stories about prophets, saints, holy men’s tombs, shrines, and sanctuaries,” and legends “that gave interpretations of names of local sites: caves, well, hills, ruins and springs; or interpretations of family names and nicknames” (Kanaana, 2007). Moreover, “Many of the religious legends were shared by Moslems, Christians, and Jews, at least until 1948” (Kanaana, 2007).

According to Kanaana (2007), we have access to the tradition of Palestinian narratives through three main sources:

One source is the oral history that was recorded during the last fifty years and, in particular, during the last twenty years, from Palestinian men and women who were old enough in 1984 to know much of the traditional folklore. A second source is the folklore literature published by a large number of European orientalist who did their research in the 'Holy Land' especially during the last quarter of the 19th century, and the first quarter of the 20th century. The third source is the folklore record collected by native Palestinian folklorists who were trained by, and worked with, European orientalist starting around 1920 and whose work is preserved in several books and a large number of articles published mainly in English, German, and French.

1.8.1 The *ḥurrāfiyyeh*, or 'Magical' Folktale

The name of the Palestinian (magical) folktale in Arabic is quite telling of its genre: it is called a *ḥurrāfiyyeh*, denoting its fictitious, unrealistic quality. We also say someone is *mḥarfin/eh* to indicate that they are illogical and nonsensical in their speech or behaviour. The fictitious (magical) folktale, mainly told by women, (Kanaana, 2007):

is similar to the fairytale in Europe, and almost all the tales found in the Grimm's brothers' collection have their counterparts among Palestinians women's narratives. Such narratives are usually recognized by tellers and audiences alike as fictitious products of the imagination.

The Palestinian community, therefore, including children, are quite aware of the fictive quality of these tales, and do not take them seriously. Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana (1989, p.9) in *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, state that folktales in the Palestinian community are also labelled as *ḥikāyāt 'ajāyiz* or, 'old women's tales', indicating that these stories are "a woman's art form". In fact, this label reflects the way Palestinians perceive the folktales, as Kanaana and Muhawi (1989, p.9) explain in the following passage:

There is nothing unusual about the... tellers from whom the tales were collected. They do not think of themselves primarily as tale-tellers, nor do they feel they have a special ability. They are all householders, the great majority...being housewives who can neither read nor write.

Upon hearing an elderly woman in her traditional *fawb* animatedly recall and retell those tales of the past her mother used to tell her before bedtime, the participants' memories of their own childhood experiences flood back to them, tugging at their heartstrings with a nostalgic pull, like a familiar friend coming back home after a long journey or a good, warm meal not had for a long while. The Palestinian landscape remains engraved in the historical memories of childhood, where children listen attentively and anticipate in excitement the tales their mothers and grandmothers retell; folktales do not only call up the textual tradition, but also the intimate setting within which these tales are told and the emotional memories of telling and being told to in the private space of the Palestinian household. Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana (1989, p.4) draw a picture of the typical setting that traditionally embodies the social activity of folktale narration within the Palestinian community:

In the past, folktales were told for entertainment, usually after supper during winter evenings, when work in the fields was at a minimum and people were indoors with time on their hands. During the summer there were likely to be other forms of entertainment or subjects for conversation, such as festive occasions, and folktales were not told. The most common setting for tale-telling was the small family gathering consisting of two or three mothers from a single extended family and their children, combined with a neighbor or two and their children. Although men were occasionally present at these sessions, they preferred to spend their time in the company of other men at the *diwan*. Large gathering and formal visits are not appropriate settings for the telling of tales, which requires a relaxed and spontaneous atmosphere, free from the constraints imposed by the rules of hospitality.

1.8.2 Palestinian Folk Narratives: Then and Now

Sharif Kanaana (2007) in his article 'Half a Century of Palestinian Folk Narratives' defines traditional Palestinian narratives as "the types of narratives told by Palestinians who lived in the period of time leading up to 1948, the beginning of the 'Nakbeh', in more or less stable, homogenous, and settled, peasant agricultural society". Kanaana (2007) discusses the "rupture and dislocation in Palestinian folk narratives that accompanied the overall rupture of Palestinian culture and society" after the Nakbeh, the Catastrophe, took place in 1948. The Nakbeh is the Arabic word for catastrophe in English, and it refers to the ethnic cleansing of Palestine in 1948 by the colonial and occupying forces that invaded and colonized Palestine, which led to the exile of Palestinians who became refugees, the dispossession of Palestinian property, and the destruction of Palestinian cities, towns and villages. Kanaana (2007) explains how the traditional tales pre-Nakbeh were rooted in the rich social life of the Palestinians.

According to Kanaana (2007), the Nakbeh in 1948 greatly disrupted the narrative tradition, causing many changes. In fact, "Great changes in culture and lifestyle in the Middle East as a whole began with the increase of European intervention in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire towards the end of the 19th century" (Kanaana, 2007). Kanaana (2007) states that Europeans were particularly interested in Palestine more than other areas in the Middle East for "religious, strategic, and economic reasons", and thus was "exposed to an earlier and stronger dose of European influence". According to Kanaana (2007), while this caused changes in the culture and lifestyle of Palestinians to happen on a faster pace, this was not what triggered the "radical disruption of Palestinian society". Kanaana (2007) states that "The great rupture in Palestinian life, culture, and types of narration...came in 1948, the year of El Nakbeh (the Catastrophe), when the newly established State of Israel captured about 80 percent of the land, destroyed approximately 450 towns and villages, and turned their inhabitants into refugees". Moreover, "The rupture became more thorough in the year of El Naksa (the Calamity), in 1976, when Israel occupied the rest of the Palestinian lands and turned more Palestinians into refugees" (Kanaana, 2007).

While Palestinians continued to tell stories in 1948, “many changes occurred in the types of narratives they told and their habits of narration” (Kanaana, 2007). First, traditional narrative genres fell at risk of extinction, and men’s genres particularly “went out of use much faster than did genres associated with fiction and imagination, that is, women’s genres” (Kanaana, 2007). Second, folk narratives became strongly politicized after 1948, whereby:

two types of narratives took the place of traditional types. One type consisted of narratives of war and loss of homeland. The other came later and was connected with the immediate political situation under Israeli occupation. The new narrative types are less sharply divided by gender, and more by age, than traditional narrative types.

According to Kanaana (2007), the folktale which belonged to the domain of women, “has survived but is much less vigorous than it once was”. Traditional folktales are “now more often heard among Palestinian women in refugee camps than among Palestinian women who stayed in their original hometowns and villages” (Kanaana, 2007). Kanaana (2007) provides two possible explanations for the survival of folktales:

One is that folktales are told within the context of the extended family and deal with the concerns of women within the family. The extended family, despite all the disruption that occurred within Palestinian society, or maybe because of it, has managed to stay very much intact and, among Palestinian refugees, has actually become the most important survival strategy for Palestinian refugees. Another possible reason for the survival of traditional folktales is that such tales are fictitious and imaginary and connected with basic human needs and desires and thus not highly influenced by immediate changes in the society as a whole.

However, now, “women, when they get together in refugee camps, tell many stories about the 1948 war and about the good old days in the lost country” (Kanaana, 2007). Kanaana (2007) states that those stories are not usually “long, highly structures stories but rather anecdotes from their personal lives and the lives of members of their families, illustrating destruction, dispersion, injustices, and

oppression which befell their people". As for men, their traditional narratives "such as the epics, the romance, and the historical, topographical, and religious legends...were weakened and ceased to be used quite soon after the 1948 Catastrophe", and they were "replaced immediately after the war by new narratives, against associated with truth and believability, namely, stories of war and the loss of the homeland" (Kanaana, 2007).

Moreover, "the new type of narrative emerged among Palestinian men everywhere but prevailed more among refugees than among those who stayed in their homeland" (Kanaana, 2007). While women "also told stories about war and the loss of homeland...men's stories were significantly different from those of women...Men's stories were told more in the style of the epic than the folktale, dealing thus with battles, resistance, and heroism; rather than being personal family anecdotes, they were 'national stories' that covered the whole Palestinian question – complete, coherent, and chronologically ordered" (Kanaana, 2007). Other genres that "emerged at two different stages of the Palestinian struggle against Israeli occupation of the Palestinian lands not occupied in 1948, namely Gaza and the West Bank, where were occupied in 1967" include political legends and political jokes (Kanaana, 2007).

Kanaana (2007) notes that certain factors contributed to the decline in traditional storytelling (Kanaana, 2007), such as "the invasion of Palestinian homes by modern mass media" (Kanaana, 2007) and "the invasion of all Middle Eastern cultures by Western (American and European) standards and values, which have made Middle Eastern people, including Palestinians, look at everything native, local, or traditional, as being by definition, backward, and therefore inferior and undesirable" (Kanaana, 2007).

The Palestinian mother, when she's grown tired of her children's mischief, calls out to them, saying, "تعالوا أخرفكم خرافية" ('Abd al-Hādi, 1980, p.10). However, according to Tawaddud 'Abd al-Hādi (1980, p.10), these "happy nights" of telling folktales are now in the past; they are now "once upon a time". Now, mothers narrate real stories of Palestine and their people, so that their children learn about Palestine's beauty and its giving nature, so that they learn about their country

which was taken from them, and so that they see it in their mind's eye and pass their history on for future generations. She also tells them of the heroic warriors of Palestine and the sacrifices they made for the sake of returning home, to "our land, Palestine, and to the happy nights" ('Abd al-Hādi, 1980, p.10).

1.9 Folklore as a means of Resistance

Palestinian scholars recognize the significance and value of preserving and documenting Palestinian heritage, including oral and non-tangible heritage as a form of resistance against the colonizer's attempts to erase the Palestinian historical and cultural identity. Nadia Sirhan (2014, p.47) states that "In the Palestinian context, the preservation of folklore is particularly important due to the added threat of living under occupation. Thus, in Palestine and other conflict areas, folklore must fight that much harder for its survival". Farah AbouBakr (2019, pp.1 - 2) states that:

For Palestinians, the constant threat of denial, falsification and forgetfulness which overshadows their heritage under Israeli occupation has engendered a sense of urgency among both storytellers and Palestinian folklorists.

Sonia El-Nimr (1993, p.56) maintains that the 1970s and 1980s saw "the proliferation of folk songs, traditional dance, interest in and use of traditional costume, publications of collections of folktales and research about folklore". Inea Bushnaq (2005, p.165) states that:

After 1967, when Israel occupied what remained of Palestine, a conscious embrace of things Palestinian permeated the community. A new generation of Palestinian scholars writing in Arabic for Arabs began to collect and research their folklore. The Palestine Research Centre in Beirut founded by the Palestine Liberation Organization included published works on Palestinian folklore. Bir Zeit University offers folklore and oral history courses and its press publishes texts of folk narratives. Founded to provide services to families in

need, In'ash al-Usra Society added a folk museum, crafts revival, and the publication of folklore to its activities.

According to AbouBakr (2019, p.1), "Apart from being a means of entertainment and a source of education, folktales are instrumental in strengthening communal bonds and in ensuring the survival of a people's oral traditions". Sirhan (2014, p.11), on the significance of the oral narratives she collected, states:

These oral narratives were found to be the domain of the older generations. This was because on the one hand, the personal narratives focused on the memories and experiences of the 60-year-old conflict (the Nakba), and on the other, because the folk tales were no longer being passed down to any meaningful degree, they remained only known to the older generations. Narrators were often 60 years of age or older. Collecting these narratives, therefore, contributes to the preservation of oral narratives of personal experience arising from historical events which are in many other works regarded in their geopolitical context, rather than as events which have been lived by individuals and groups.

Palestine, for the Palestinians, is not just a measurable landscape, it is *home* – and out of this loving home, their rich culture was born. The emotional connection the Palestinians associate with their culture is so powerful that they view it as a form of resistance against the unjust and cruel realities of the occupation. This sentiment is beautifully described in this quote by the folklore researcher, Abu Hani, quoted in David A. McDonald's *My Voice is My Weapon* (McDonald, 2013, p.20):

We stomp our feet in the dabke to show the world that this is *our land* [*Baladna*] [stomping loudly on the floor], that people and villages can be killed and erased [stomping again] ..., but *our heritage* [*turāthnā*] is something that they cannot reach because it is here [motioning to his heart]. They have stolen our land [stomp], forced us out our homes [stomp], but our culture is something they cannot steal. When we stamp our feet we are

saying that no matter how far we have been scattered, *Palestine will always remain under our stamping feet [filasṭīn rāḥ biḏāl taḥt aqdāmnā]*. (emphasis added) (italics in original).

1.9.1 *Turāṭ* and the Cultural Revival of the 19th Century

The turn of the eighteenth century witnessed the transformation of folklore in Germany into an official subject of scientific study, because of the Romantic and nationalistic values of the time. This shift was a result of the work of linguists Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, known as the Brothers Grimm, who collected and published folktales with the purpose of instilling a sense of national pride and unity among German citizens. The belief that a sense of nationalism may be achieved through the arts and philosophy is associated with Romanticism. Nationalism in the Romantic period was inspired by Rousseau and Johann von Herder, who argued in 1784 that geography shaped the customs of a society. This idea gained strength in Germany in the Napoleonic period, when intellectuals began to realise the importance of creating a unified nation through a common, shared language to resist military occupation.

Folklore was deemed the perfect tool for national resistance because of its link to the simple ‘folk,’ society’s majority, who were both physically and metaphorically closer to nature and therefore perceived as more genuine and sincere. The Romantic period instilled a sense of admiration for rural life and expressed a need to escape from the scientific rationalization of nature. The rise of civilization, from the perspective of the Romantics, was deemed to be disadvantageous to society, since it meant sacrificing what is regarded as natural and spiritual in favour of what is artificial and manufactured. Seen through the Romantic lens, people are inherently connected to nature, and when this cord is cut, a void is created where there was once a deep, spiritual meaning. This period framed everyday objects and activities, including language, within a poetic and ‘romantic’ lens – even art and poetry were considered a spontaneous and instinctive response to the natural environment, rather than a conscious imitation, and intellectually inspired and driven manipulation, of form.

The semi-literate and non-literate peasants were particularly considered to be uncorrupted by civilization, and since folklore was considered a simple form that reflects an incorrupt nostalgic past rooted in history, it was regarded as the ideal tool to construct and maintain moral and nationalistic values. The Grimms' early editions of folktales approached storytelling with the view that folklore is 'natural poetry' that ought to be collected and published in an unmodified form, since it expressed the true spirit of the German identity – this resulted in a process that insisted on recording “faithfully and truly, without embellishment and additions, whenever possible from the mouth of the tellers in and with their own very words in the most exact and detailed way” (Grimm, 1968, cited in Zipes, 2002, p.27). By promoting a positive image of a literature by all Germans, and for all Germans, a German national identity began to be formed.

It was precisely the idea of a collective identity that united the Germans against the French occupation. This new-found sense of nationalism validated the idea that it was possible for nations to resist, and therefore exist independently from occupation. Under the threats of Napoleon's campaigns to invade all of Europe, the concept of a 'shared language' helped unify the local people by reminding them of their collective identity, and their attachment to their land and homes, encouraging resistance in the process; when the Germans realized that they were similar culturally, they were encouraged to unite politically. However, it was not just an attachment to land that the folk, mostly peasants, represented; it was also the shared moral values that were made explicit by intellectuals who sought to promote nationalist ideas. Thus, 'shared language' not only refers to the linguistic aspect of language, but also to shared culture and history, a nostalgic past and hopeful future. While in England the folk represented nostalgia for a way of life disappearing due to internal threats of urbanisation, in Germany the *Volk* became a symbol for unifying the Germans against a foreign threat. Similarly, by looking at what makes Palestinians 'Palestinian', their language, history, rich cultural heritage and achievements, the Palestinians resist occupation. Adnan Abu-Ghazaleh (1973, p.86) maintains that the Palestinians may have been influenced by the nationalist ideas of German thinkers:

Despite the lack of any proof of direct German influence on them, the Palestinians seem to have followed the same path as Herder, Fichte, Arndt, and Niebuhr. Like these German authors, the Palestinians wrote in the face of a territorially divided and politically disunited nation and were living in the recent memory of foreign invasion; like the Germans, they sang the glory of bygone times and appealed to their readers to recapture and rejuvenate the spirit of the past.

By preserving and celebrating their rich, collective cultural and historical identity, Palestinians resist the occupation that threatens their existence and that threatens to strip away their individual stories and histories. Unsurprisingly, interest in Palestinian folklore has risen significantly since the Israeli occupation and has become a popular means of resistance. Palestinian *turāṭ* is particularly important for the Palestinian people, especially in contesting Zionist propaganda and harmful Zionist narratives on Palestine. Sheety (2015) states that “For decades Zionist and Israeli propaganda described the Palestinians as ‘people without culture.’ Thus, the victorious Israeli state took upon itself to civilise the Palestinians who remained within its borders at the end of the 1948 war”. Sheety (2015) also states that Palestinians:

were forbidden to study their own culture or to remember their immediate past; their memory was seen as a dangerous weapon that had to be suppressed and controlled. 1948, however, would not be the last time that Israeli forces would steal and destroy Palestinian books and other cultural productions. In 1982, during its occupation of Lebanon, Israeli invasion troops would storm the homes, offices, and libraries of Palestinians and walk away with thousands of books, films, and other records documenting Palestinian history. This is a common practice of Israeli occupation forces and continues to this day, most notably in the West Bank, Jerusalem, and Gaza, which were occupied in 1967 along with Syria’s Golan Heights and Egypt’s Sinai.

In addition to other factors, the cultural revival of the 19th century, gave rise to Arab national consciousness (Abu-Ghazaleh, 1973, p.49), and Arab intellectuals started to utilize the Arab cultural heritage as a tool for instilling hope and for envisioning a better future (Abu-Ghazaleh, 1973, p.76). The idea of a documented heritage became significant within the local discourse community of Palestinian scholarship since it preserves and communicates Palestinian voices, histories, and identities, as a form of resistance to the Israeli occupation. The Israeli occupation appropriates the Palestinian traditional heritage to deny Palestinians their history, and as an attempt to erase the Palestinian cultural and historical identity. The Israeli occupation has always sought the erasure of Palestine from historical memory, what Ilan Pappé (2006) refers to as *memoricide*. Palestinian scholars responded by focusing their efforts on documenting and preserving Palestinian history, which also includes Palestinian cultural heritage. By documenting, identifying, and describing (in Arabic and in other languages) different forms and genres of Palestinian cultural heritage, the Palestinian history and identity resists erasure, or what Pappé calls *memoricide*. Collecting, documenting, and translating Palestinian folktales are all ways of preserving those intangible parts of Palestinian heritage that are as equally significant as the tangible forms of heritage.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2004) defines intangible cultural heritage as the “wealth of knowledge and skills that is transmitted from one generation to the next”. “Inherited traditions from the past” and “contemporary rural and urban practises in which diverse cultural groups take part” are both important because they “contribute to giving us a sense of identity and continuity, providing a link from our past, through the present, and into our future” (UNESCO, 2004). Protecting intangible cultural heritage “contributes to social cohesion, encouraging a sense of identity and responsibility which helps individuals to feel part of one or different communities and to feel part of society at large” (UNESCO, 2004). Erasing intangible cultural heritage endangers national identity. Equally dangerous is the falsification of facts, the spreading of stereotypes, and the demonization of the ‘Other.’ This means that

equal attention should be given to the culture and processes behind spreading information and not only to the information itself.

Arab nationalism, the idea that Arab nations have enough similarities between their cultures, values, historical experiences, and political concerns, to unify them against imperialistic threats, rose to prominence in the 1950s as Arab nations began to gain independence from former colonial powers. Language is strongly connected to the performance of national identity in the Arab world: Standard Arabic, *fuṣḥa*, is specifically associated with the Arab national identity, while colloquial Arabic is the centre of a popular debate surrounding and sometimes regarded as “a corrupt and base form of the language unworthy of marking the Arab national identity” (Suleiman, 2003, p.9). *Fuṣḥa*, on the other hand, is deemed a strong impermeable unit as it preserves what is regarded a distinctly Arab history and culture and is thus considered historically a significant tool for the self-expression of Arab identity. Since Standard Arabic is strongly connected to nationalism in the Arab world, it is the preferred form of language in works based on scientific knowledge, and in any field or in relation to any topic associated with the development and advancement of the Arab world. According to Yasir Suleiman (2003, p.10):

The argument goes that a people with a proud heritage and high aspirations for the future cannot possibly accept such a variety as an ingredient of their national identity. Standard Arabic only can serve in this capacity. This is typically the case in Arab nationalism. However, some Arab nationalists believe that colloquial Arabic can serve as a source of neologisms and other terminologies which standard language lacks. They therefore argue that colloquial Arabic should be exploited for this purpose. Territorial nationalists divide between those who support the colloquial and those who favor the standard form of the language, although the upper hand in the debate between them tends to be for the latter.

Fuṣḥa is also regarded as the common heritage amongst Arabs, which is why its use is associated with loyalty to the Arab identity. *Fuṣḥa* is considered to help unify Arab communities, providing shared meaning between Arab countries and a sense of community that encourages loyalty to a collective Arab world. Since the concept of Arab unity is driven by a shared language, *fuṣḥa*, the standard form of Arabic, and which most Arabs have in common, has been emphasized as a tool for the national independence of Arab countries and as proof of the existence of a unified Arab identity. *Fuṣḥa*, the language of the Quran was believed to be resistant to the attempts of the colonizers to erase the Arab identity, as opposed to vernacular language which was believed to be a result of colonization. *Fuṣḥa*, as an act of speech, is thus a performance of the Arab national identity. The majority of Arab scholars and folklorists opt to edit folktales from the vernacular to Standard Arabic.

This significance of the Arabic language as evidence of the existence of an Arab identity is also reflected in Palestinian writers' "histories of Palestinian towns and cities" (Abu-Ghazaleh, 1973, p.81); "The Arab character of these towns, the historians believed, must be emphasized to promote nationalist sentiment and patriotic feeling" (Abu-Ghazaleh, 1973, p.81). Most Palestinian historians have been Arabists, driven by national consciousness "to a sharing of pride in the glories of the past and a collective sorrow over present misfortunes" (Sati' al-Husri, 1944, cited in Abu-Ghazaleh, 1973, p.74); their aim was "to promote a certain pride in the heritage of Arab history, to emphasize the historical consciousness displayed by the Arab people in previous ages, and to demonstrate the 'Arabness' of Palestine" (Abu-Ghazaleh, 1973, p.87). Moreover, Abu-Ghazaleh states that "While other Arab countries fought for national independence, Palestinians were fighting for the preservation of their national existence" (Abu-Ghazaleh, 1973, p.39). The concept of Arab unity played an essential part in Palestinian nationalism, since "a unified and independent Arab state would...provide the best answer to the Zionist threat to Arab Palestine" (Abu-Ghazaleh, 1973, p.74).

Many folktales are transcribed in Standard Arabic, *fuṣṣḥa*, because of its association with the language of the Quran. This is because the Quran is regarded as a moral compass, but more significantly because the language of the Quran is considered impenetrable to the threats of westernization, acting as a form of shield against vulnerabilities to imperialism. Since these tales are deemed to have a specifically moral function in written discourse, and especially since they target an audience of children (i.e., impressionable, vulnerable, and the future of the nation), the appeal of the use of Standard Arabic for this genre increases. Moreover, folktales in their written form are popularly utilized for educational purposes; thus, translating the tales into *fuṣṣḥa* allows children to learn the standard language associated with the fields of science and technology, and with historical knowledge (and thus, 'truth'), through an entertaining reading activity. Many folktales have been edited and written down in the form of Standard Arabic to stress moral and educational functions, while also utilizing the fun elements of the tales that make them so appealing to children.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that many Arab scholars view the colloquial as equally significant and as a form of language that fulfils a similar function to *fuṣṣḥa*. Most folktales within the local community that are transcribed into written form, edited, and published, are driven by an urgent sense of nationalism (as are most documented forms and performances of folklore), with the purpose (along with behavioural and educational purposes that may be viewed as part of national identity), of resistance to *memoricide*, through the preservation of folktales as evidence of a distinctly Palestinian identity. While *fuṣṣḥa* is one way of resisting colonialism and asserting a unified Arab identity in response to colonialism, the dichotomy that places Standard Arabic in a position of prestige in comparison to colloquial Arabic undermines everyday spoken language that reflects the everyday individual experiences of ordinary people, and their oral art and culture, which are also significant to collective resistance. The colloquial is a colourful form of cultural expression and is the main form of language used in cultural art forms such as proverbs, oral narratives, and folk songs – all which perform a significant part of Palestinian historical and cultural identity. Nimr Sarhan (1988, p.15) recommends

against transcribing the tales in *fuṣḥa* as it creates a foreign feel to the texts that separates the readers from the authentic atmosphere of folk-life; this authentic atmosphere can only be reflected by the folk expressions the narrator employs as a reflection of the social realities (Sarhan, 1988, p.15).

Furthermore, the background and beliefs of the person transcribing the tales will inevitably influence the tales, whether subtly or in a more apparent way, as the tales are transcribed into the written form (Sarhan, 1988, pp.15-16). For Sarhan (1988, p.15), transcribing the tales in *fuṣḥa* strips away the ‘freedom’ offered by spoken discourse which provides the tales with their flexible quality and openness to alterations, re-arrangements, ellipsis, addition, etc. Spoken discourse provides the tales with the elements that allow change in response to the social realities, thus creating variants (Sarhan, 1988, p.15). Furthermore, transcribing the tales in *fuṣḥa* restricts the spirit of the performance best reflected in its situational context, particularly since folktales rely heavily on colloquialisms. Typically, when colloquial language is employed in written discourse, it is mostly reserved for dialogue as it represents the characters, their personalities, and their social lives, more authentically.

1.10 Key Shifts in Translation and Folklore Studies

In the 1980s, the field of Translation Studies witnessed a shift from focusing on linguistic approaches to cultural approaches, whereby the relationship between individual texts and the wider cultural system within which those texts are produced and read is now considered a significant part of translation (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1998). The text is now viewed “as an *integral part of the world* and not as an isolated specimen of language” (Snell-Hornby, 1995, p.43). Translators are thus expected to have a strong background in the culture the texts stem from (Katan, 1999). For Klaus Roth (1998, p.245), translators are in fact “cultural mediators” and “their activity should therefore be appreciated as a specific kind of creative or re-creative achievement”. Moreover, translation is not only a reflection of a different culture but is engaged in the ideological conflicts of the Target Culture, whereby the social conditions (Venuti, 1993, p.209):

permit translation to be called a cultural political practice, constructing or critiquing ideology-stamped identities for foreign cultures, affirming or transgressing discursive values and institutional limits in the target-language culture.

The way translators perceive the world around them will interfere on some level with the way they translate; in fact, translators' own views manifested in their translation strategies and paratextual material are part of a culture. Culture not only refers to the beliefs and views of a nation, but even discourse communities in academic fields, within certain occupations, and in religious groups, etc. Culture involves beliefs and value systems collectively shared by particular social groups, which includes those of both producers and receivers of texts. For Lawrence Venuti (1995), translation is always part of a network of power relations that exists in both the source and target contexts, including the selection of texts, the choice of translation strategies, and the interpretations, editing, and reviewing, of translations.

Both translators and folklorists' attention has shifted over recent decades from the texts to the social situation in which they occur. The social and situational contexts of the text allow for a more objective representation of the material, allowing both the storyteller and the Palestinian community a level of agency that may be lost in the Target Text. The sociological or social turn in Translation Studies contextualizes the cultural items through focusing on the use of language in the situation of the Source Text. Information about the culture is reflected in the folk narrative through culture-specific items which must be interpreted beyond the symbolic level to include the pragmatic and socio-linguistic level whereby the use of language depends on the dynamics of the social 'situation' of performance. Even symbolic items are employed within specific contexts, and like any item within a text, cultural items may be reframed and taken out of context. Culture is more complex than items floating around as if beyond the limits of time and space, and as such the idea that folktales are products of a culture not bound to a specific social situation is problematic.

The 'Social turn' in Translation Studies allows us to be critical of others' interpretations, especially when the recreated texts are influenced by dominant ideologies, as it shifts the focus to the culture of translation and the translations' links to social institutions that determine the selection, production, and distribution of texts. The sociological context recognizes the dynamic role of the participants in creating interpretations of texts, and consequently works against the illusion of the text as an entirely objective, 'scientific,' and factual object void of the influence of subjective perspectives and ideologies. The sociological turn inspired the activism turn, shifting the focus to the concept of agency and challenging Eurocentric concepts of translation. Mona Baker (2006, p.38) maintains that:

Whether the motivation is commercial or ideological, translators and interpreters play a decisive role in both articulating and contesting the full range of public narratives circulating within and around any society at any moment in time.

Thus, the translator is now considered a powerful social agent that plays a significant role in the representations of the 'Other'. This shift in perspective highlights the key issues in translating the culture of the 'Other' that were neglected in the past. To resist *memoricide*, it is not enough to preserve history, but also to bring to light those texts, processes, and practices that misrepresent, stereotype, and demonize the Palestinians and their culture. It is thus necessary to be aware of the cultural principles and particularly the institutional principles that are relevant to a particular situation.

An important shift also took place in Folklore Studies; Richard Bauman (1990, p.59) notes the shift in folklore studies from a text-centered approach to one that is performance-centered, whereby the focus moved from collecting and categorizing texts to the artists who produced them. The rise of a performance-centered approach shifted the focus to the act of performance as behavior "situated within and rendered meaningful with reference to relevant contexts" (Bauman, 1975, p.298). For Bauman (1975, p.299), "the structure of performance is a product of the

interplay of many factors, including setting, act sequence, and ground rules of performance"; it is a complex network of role, event, act, and genre (Bauman, 1975). Bauman (1975, p.298) states that "Most important as an organizing principle in the ethnography of performance is the event, or scene, within which performance occurs". The participants, performer(s), and audience(s) are all "basic" elements in "the structure of performance events," whereby "Performance roles constitute a major dimension of the patterning of performance within communities" (Bauman, 1975, p. 299).

Viewed within the lens of performance, "folklore was no longer understood as a disembodied text but as a process at the crossroads of performer, situation, audience, and society, all of which constitute a complete context necessary for comprehending cultural expressions" (Bauman, 1975, p.736). Performance-oriented approaches are thus the result of the evolution of folklore as described by Bauman (1986, p.2) as "a basic reorientation from a conception of folklore as things – texts, items, mentifacts – to verbal art as a way of speaking, a mode of verbal communication". Bauman (1986, p.2) states:

From the emergence of the modern concept of folklore in the late eighteenth century until very recently, oral literature has been conceived of as stuff – collectively shaped, traditional stuff that could wander around the map, fill up collections and archives, reflect culture and so on. Approached from this perspective, oral literature appears to have a life of its own, subject only to impersonal, superorganic processes and laws. But this view is an abstraction, founded on memories or recordings of songs as sung, tales as told, spells as chanted. We must recognize that the symbolic forms we call folklore have their primary existence in the action of people and their roots in social and cultural life. The texts we are accustomed to viewing as the raw materials of oral literature are merely the thin and partial record of deeply situated human behavior. My concern has been to go beyond a conception of human literature as disembodied superorganic stuff and to view it

contextually and ethnographically, to discover the individual, social, and cultural factors that give it shape and meaning in the conduct of social life.

1.11 Outline of the Thesis

This chapter, Chapter 1, introduced the Palestinian oral narrative genre as defined by the Palestinian discourse community. Chapter 1 also provided a brief historical overview of the Palestinian oral narrative tradition before and after the Nakba, discussed the emergence of the 19th century movement in Palestine which included celebrating *turāṭ* as a form of resistance in response to the colonizing forces' attempts at erasing all things connected to Palestinian history, culture, and memory, and offered an overview of key shifts that took place in both Translation and Folklore Studies to contextualize the main concepts that guide this thesis.

Chapter 2 is a review of the key literature available on the Palestinian folktale and its translation, showing how the beginnings of gathering and documenting Palestinian folktales are marked by an Orientalist attitude. This chapter also mentions notable Palestinian scholars who contributed to the research and studies available on the Palestinian folktales and contested Orientalist attitudes in gathering and presenting knowledge from Palestine.

Chapter 3 introduces the research methodology; Mona Baker's narrative theory in translation is employed to examine how the three folktale anthologies, *Tales Told in Palestine* (1904), *Speak Bird, Speak Again* (1989), and *Arab Folktales from Israel and Palestine* (1998), are all social narratives with consequences in the real world that frame the tales and the Palestinian cultural identity in specific ways that guide the interpretive frameworks of the translations, and which portray the translators' own ideological stances on the Palestinian cultural identity and that have consequences in the real world. This chapter thus discusses the significance of Baker's narrative theory for this research, examines the crucial role of paratextual devices in framing the translations as social narratives, and sheds some light on the role of translation agents. This chapter also introduces key information about the data and some background information to provide some context.

Chapter 4 examines how some translations of Palestinian folktales are framed within the lens of Orientalist discourse which was at its peak in the late 18th century up to the 20th century, during the age of Empire, and which is ongoing to the present day. The chapter also examines Edward Said's notion of imagined geography in the context of the academic and imperialist interest in Palestine as a 'Holy Land' which was at its peak in the late eighteenth century and onwards. This chapter explores how the choices made in the framing of the tales in *Tales Told in Palestine* reflect the imperialist discourse of J.E. Hanauer's time, shedding light on Hanauer's links to the Palestine Exploration Fund (P.E.F) and the role of the editor of the anthology, H.G Mitchell, as a translation agent. The chapter also examines Raphael Patai's anthology, *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*, to discuss Patai's manipulation of difference through his constant comparison between the Arabs and the West in his paratextual commentaries on the folktales, demonstrating how Patai's goal is to portray the Arabs in a stereotypical manner to identify the 'civilized' 'Self' of the West in contrast to the 'barbaric' and 'uncivilized' 'Other' that is the Arabs.

Chapter 5 examines how the illusions of visibility and reliability are created through paratextual tools employed in juxtaposition with certain translation strategies, demonstrating the ways through which translators inscribe their own ideologies in folktale translations and how Orientalist narratives are framed in the anthologies. In this chapter, I explore the dichotomies of domestication and foreignization and argue that either strategy may result in an Orientalist text, depending on the translation strategies employed in addition to how the texts are framed through paratext. This is demonstrated through the illusion of visibility in Patai's *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* which he achieves through a juxtaposition of literal translation and paratext; Patai's literal translation may be considered a form of foreignization as elements of the Source Text Language and Source Text Culture are transferred into the tales, but one that is exoticizing and that creates an 'Othering' effect.

Moreover, the way that paratext is employed in *Tales Told in Palestine* in combination with the overall fluent and formal Target Text style, and despite the

transferral of culture-specific items into the Target Text, the anthology may be considered an overall domestication that reflects the Orientalist interest in Palestine as the 'Holy Land'. In *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana contest Orientalist translations of Palestinian folktales through their application of Kwame Anthony Appiah's 'Thick Translation', demonstrating a deep level visibility through historicizing the multiple meanings inherent in folktale narratives and allowing the voices that partook in the folktale narrative performances to echo in the Target Texts, demonstrating the rich, social life of the Palestinians.

Chapter 6 examines the translatability of the oral folktale style in the context of the Palestinian folktale genre; this chapter is guided by Ibrahim Muhawi's theory of folkloristic translation and his analysis of the Palestinian folktale genre as an oral mode based on cultural semiotics emerging through social and gendered dialect. Roth (1998, p.246) notes that "Unlike the literary translator who is typically concerned with standardized or national languages, the folklorist more often has to do with unstandardized regional languages and idioms, with vernaculars, dialects or sociolects"; the use of unstandardized, but also stylized language, in oral narratives, and the ways language is employed pragmatically in the performance event play a major role in how the texts are framed in their Source Text Culture. This chapter explores the translatability of the folktale style through the concept of 'performance', understood as a 'mode of speaking' and based on an assumption of responsibility to an audience. Chapter 6 also argues for the necessity of an in-depth analysis of the Palestinian folktale genre as it is defined by the local discourse community from which it emerged, to better understand the genre's key properties, the various ways they function, and their purposes, and for the aim of creatively reconstructing the generic properties of the folktales in a way that creates a meaningful and authentic Target Text.

Chapter 7 examines the extent to which the translated tales are framed as 'performances' – rich, social activities that bring the narrator and audience together in meaningful ways. Furthermore, this chapter explores the extent to which the narrative and linguistic devices conventional to the Palestinian folktale genre are

reconstructed in the Target Texts to 'key' the translated texts as performances of narrative skill and communicative competence. This chapter also explores the possible reasons for the minimal use of narrative devices that key the narratives as performances in *Tales Told in Performance*. Moreover, the fact that minimal attention is given to the social and situational contexts of Palestinian folktale narration as a social event in *Tales Told in Palestine* may be problematic. *Speak Bird, Speak Again* calls up the Palestinian folktale tradition by reconstructing the generic properties and conventions of the Palestinian folktale tradition in the Target Text, reproducing an effect on the Target Text Audience equivalent to the Source Text's effect on the Source Text Audience. Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana chose the tales that portray narrative skill to include in their anthology, which helps situate the Palestinian folktale in the Target Text Culture as a distinct aesthetic genre of 'verbal art' rooted in the rich, social lives of the Palestinians. Furthermore, they contextualize the key narrative and linguistic devices that mark the tales as distinctively 'Palestinian' through historical, cultural, and sociolinguistic paratextual explanations and analyses. Raphael Patai employs a literal translation in *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* to recreate the style of the Palestinian oral folktale genre and its formal properties in the Target Text; Patai aims to show how the tales reflect the Arab culture and provides paratextual commentary and analysis to demonstrate the link between the genre and the Arab culture. This chapter examines how employing a literal translation strategy for the entirety of the tales is a problematic approach, and in fact does not produce an authentic translation.

Finally, chapter 8 examines the translation of culture-specific items in the three anthologies. This chapter also explores the vulnerability of the folktale to exotic translations due to the motifs, fantastical elements, and archaic notions connected to the past, and how those elements are further exoticized in the Target Text. *Tales Told in Palestine* borrows culture-specific items from the Source Text and contextualizes them through a readable, formal style that frames the tales mainly as informative texts that portray Palestine as a measurable landscape inhabited by diverse religious and ethnic groups, while the social and situational contexts of oral storytelling are neglected, limiting the Palestinian cultural identity to

ethnic and religious groups and excluding the 'human' element of oral storytelling activities. Thus, in the Target Text, the tales are no longer by Palestinians but about Palestinians, which reflects the Orientalist attitude of dealing with knowledge from and about the Orient.

In *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, the priority is in effectively translating the multiple levels of meaning in the tales through employing various translation strategies. Muhawi and Kanaana, furthermore, create a juxtaposition of borrowed items and literal translations with idiomatic expressions in English to portray a form of dialogue occurring between the languages, in which the two languages continuously contextualize each other, consequently creating a metaphorical dialogue between the larger cultures they represent; this dynamic quality is also reflective of the folktale genre. Moreover, the culture-specific items are contextualized in the paratextual commentary. Finally, *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* manipulates the elements of difference in the folktales by playing on the tension that exists between the poetic and referential functions in the folktales, ultimately creating an exoticized translation.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2. Introduction

This chapter is a review of the key literature that is to the best of my knowledge available on the Palestinian folktale, including work on the genre and on the translation of Palestinian folktales. To the best of my knowledge, Ibrahim Muhawi's ground-breaking work on the translation of the oral Palestinian folktale is the first and largest work done on the translation of Palestinian folktales, through which he examines the topic extensively and in-depth, developing his Folkloristic theory of Translation and an analysis of the key properties of the oral Palestinian folktale genre that allow for its effective translatability. Furthermore, Muhawi's work not only contributes significantly to the topic of translating Palestinian folktales but may also be applied beyond Palestinian folktales to the translation of folktales from different parts of the world. Muhawi introduces his folkloristic theory of translation in his article, 'Towards a Folkloristic Theory of Translation' (2006). Moreover, his article, 'On Translating Palestinian Folktales: Comparative Stylistics and the Semiotics of Genre' (2004), is key for applying his theory in the context of translating Palestinian folktales and is particularly useful to this thesis as metatext for his and Sharif Kanaana's anthology in English, *Speak Bird, Speak Again*. Despite the significant contribution, Muhawi's work is not cited as much as would be expected. This chapter also explores the contributions of other scholars who conducted research on the Palestinian folktale, demonstrating the shift from Orientalist approaches to efforts at contesting Orientalist disciplinary narratives.

2.1 Gaps in the Literature

While there are several notable contributions to the topic of translating Palestinian folktales, mainly by Ibrahim Muhawi, overall not much research has been done on Palestinian folktales that extends beyond the broad and generalized commentary on the culture to include a multi-faceted analysis of the historical context of the tales and the socio-linguistic and situational analysis of the folktales.

The Palestinian 'folk' are not passive bearers of old traditions, but creative performers of a rich and distinctive cultural heritage, historically rooted in social experiences; cultural heritage is not a passive passing down of tradition, but a creative and functional method of performing, expressing, and creating. Culture is a complex network of processes and activities, rather than items floating around in a vacuum. However, most of the work available on Palestinian folktales is surface level analysis of the tales and the Palestinian culture. In Farah AbouBakr's *The Folktales of Palestine: Cultural Identity, Memory and the Politics of Storytelling*, AbouBakr (2019, p.4) states the following:

In spite of the proliferation of Palestinian folktale collections in Arabic since the 1980s, there has been remarkably little attention paid to the scholarly and academic study, contextualization and understanding of the Palestinian folktale and its relation to the narrative of memory, and many aspects of identity and language.

Nonetheless, in her *Folk Stories and Personal Narratives in Palestinian Spoken Arabic: A Cultural and Linguistic Study*, Nadia R. Sirhan (2014, p.5) notes that "Although Palestinian Folk tales have been little researched, more work has been done on them than on Palestinian personal narratives". While my thesis does not deal with personal narratives, it is important to highlight Sirhan's (2014, pp.4-5) observation that "Previous studies on Palestinian personal narratives are sparse" and to point the significance of the role personal narratives play in Palestinian memory and in linking the past and present. Sirhan (2014, pp.10–11) also makes a significant point on the lack of representation of the "Palestinian voice":

Though the Palestinian-Israeli conflict itself has received a considerable amount of media attention, little work has been done by the Palestinians themselves when it comes to telling their own version of events. Finding itself at the nexus of global interests in the Middle East, the sliver of land that is present-day Israel, West Bank and Gaza has generated innumerable books and textual studies, yet the Palestinian voice, in particular that of the

Palestinian everyman, has been grossly under-represented, drowned out in the cacophony of other voices, other claims, other interests.

To the best of my knowledge, this thesis is the only work done so far that explores how the Palestinian cultural identity is framed in translations of Palestinian folktales. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, there is neither literature available on J.E. Hanauer's *Tales Told in Palestine*, nor extensive literature on Raphael Patai's *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*. Ultimately, this thesis builds on Palestinian scholars' valuable work and analysis of the Palestinian folktale style and genre.

2.2 Orientalist Research on Palestinian Folklore

In the *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians* (2005), edited by Phillip Mattar, the imperialist connection to early research done on Palestinian folklore by the West is discussed in both the 'Archaeology' section, written by Albert and Lois Glock, and updated by Nancy Lapp, and in the 'Folklore' section written by Inea Bushnaq. According to Inea Bushnaq (2005, p.165), "In Palestine, "land of the Bible," the earliest systematic studies of Palestinian folk customs and beliefs were undertaken by Western Orientalists and biblical scholars". Moreover, "Writing in English, French, and German, early folklorists, who were also interested in archaeology, often were graduates of mission schools" (Bushnaq, 2005, p.165). Hans Schmidt and Paul Kahle published the first volume of their collection of Palestinian folktales in 1918, and the second volume in 1930; the two volumes include both the Arabic transliterations and the German translations of the texts. Reverend James Edward Hanauer published his collection of Palestinian folktales in English in his anthologies, *Tales Told in Palestine* in 1904, and *Folklore of the Holy Land: Muslim, Christian and Jewish* in 1907.

Tawfiq Canaan was one of the first Palestinians to be interested in the study of folklore. The Palestine Oriental Society published many articles on Palestinian folklore; Tawfiq Canaan, Omar al-Barghouthi, and Stephan H. Stephan all wrote for the Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society (Bushnaq, 2005, p.165). According

to Bushnaq (2005, p.165), while they were “proud of their culture...they could not escape the Orientalist temper of their time”.

2.3 Key Research on Palestinian Folktales in Arabic

Although “the West had been fascinated by Palestinian customs as living illustrations of the Bible, the Palestinians looked to their tradition for an identity within the Arab world” (Bushnaq, 2005, p.166). Notable Palestinian scholars who collected and published folktales in Arabic and whose work is immensely valuable include Tawaddud 'Abd al-Hādi, Nimr Sarhan, Omar 'Abdul Raḥmān al-Sārīssi, and Fāyez al- Ġūl. Tawaddud 'Abd al-Hādi published her 1980 book *al- ḳiṣaṣ al- ša'biyyah: al-ḥarārif*. The Arab Institute of Research and Publishing (al-mu'asasa al-'arabiyyah lil-dirāsāt wal našr) published Nimr Sarḥān's *al-ḥikāyah al- ša'biyyah al-filistīniyyah* in 1974 and a study of the Palestinian folktale with a collection of tales in 1988. 'Omar 'Abdul Raḥmān al-Sārīssi published his book, *al- ḥikāyah al-ša'biyyah al-filistīniyyah* (1985; 2004) in Standard Arabic, also via the Arab Institute of Research and Publishing. Fāyez al-Ġūl published three volumes of Arabic folktales in Standard Arabic: *eldunyah ḥikāyāt, min sawālif al salaf*, and *ḥikāyāt min belādi* (1996), and modified the tales for educational purposes.

2.4 Key Research on Palestinian Folktales in English

Notable Palestinian scholars who collected and documented folktales in English include Inea Bushnaq, a Palestinian folklorist raised in Jerusalem and Syria; Bushnaq published a 1986 book, *Arab Folktales*, which is an anthology of tales collected from a variety of Arab countries. Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana published an anthology of Palestinian folktales, *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, printed first in English in 1989 and then published the original tales in Arabic in 2001. Two academic contributions recently published on Palestinian folktales are Nadia R. Sirhan's (2014) *Folk Stories and Personal Narratives in Palestinian Spoken Arabic: A Cultural and Linguistic Study*, and Farah AbouBakr's (2019) *The Folktales of Palestine: Cultural Identity, Memory and the Politics of Storytelling*. In

addition to the cultural and linguistic analysis, Sirhan includes in her book the Arab transliterations of the tales she collected and their English translations.

The first and major work done on Palestinian folktales in English is Muhawi and Kanaana's *Speak Bird, Speak Again* (1989). Moreover, Muhawi's articles provide in-depth analysis of the key properties of the Palestinian oral folktale and his folkloristic theory of translation. *Speak Bird, Speak Again* includes a foreword by Alan Dundes and an introduction by Muhawi and Kanaana. Muhawi and Kanaana's introduction provides contextual information about the narrators, and they creatively transfer to the Target Text key narrative and linguistic devices in the Palestinian folktale. *Speak Bird, Speak Again* also includes extensive footnotes, an afterword after each category of tales, a motif index, and references to international typology. Footnotes are used as a tool for the comparative study of international folklore, for providing a linguistic and historical analysis for the culture specific items in each tale, and for a commentary on the idioms, collocations, and proverbs. Muhawi and Kanaana organize the tales into five categories: 'Individuals', 'Family', 'Society', 'Environment', and 'Universe'. These categories are based on interrelated themes that begin with the smallest unit, the individual, and end with the universe. The rich, contextual analysis of this anthology is influenced by the literary and anthropological backgrounds of the authors. Moreover, their contextually rich approach illustrates the place of the storyteller and the folktale in Palestinian society.

Sirhan's *Folk Stories and Personal Narratives in Palestinian Spoken Arabic: A Cultural and Linguistic Study* is a study that is a first of its kind and includes both a cultural and linguistic study of Palestinian folktales and personal narratives. Sirhan (2014, p.2) includes the two genres of fictional folktales and non-fictional personal narratives so that "the effect of content on language in narration, if any, could be evinced". Furthermore, Sirhan (2014, p.3) collected the oral narratives from both Palestine and Jordan since "...the well-documented displacement of large numbers of Palestinians following the creation of the state of Israel, the main criterion of when choosing the narrators was that he or she be of Palestinian origin, regardless of country or residence of birth".

The personal narratives include “political and Nakba narratives” (Sirhan, 2014, p.3). Sirhan (2014, p.11) suggests that her study allows “the participants to speak for themselves”:

By collecting and analysing the narratives of the Nakba, the Palestinian voice is recorded and from this rich resource we gain insight into the Palestinian perspective of the events which have shattered, fractured and shaped not only their identities, but also their lives.

Sirhan (2014, p.3) also interestingly notes that:

it was found that all of the political narratives were personal and all of the personal narratives were political. This is true particularly of the experience of the Nakba, and not only when the narrator recalled his or her own experience, but even in instance when the experience had been transmitted to the narrator by another, for example a family elder.

Although Sirhan’s rich analysis and insightful observations of Palestinian personal narratives are immensely valuable, for this thesis her work is particularly useful for the understanding and analysis of the Palestinian folktale genre and its main linguistic and cultural properties. In addition to the cultural and linguistic analysis, Sirhan collected tales and presented them in her book, demonstrating the key features she identified in the Palestinian folktale genre. Like Kanaana and Muhawi (1989) who included an Arabic transliteration of one of the tales, Sirhan (2014) also includes transliterations for the tales she includes in her book. Again, like Kanaana and Muhawi, she acknowledges the narrators that provided her with the tales by including their names, gender, age, level of education, and whether their dialect is *madani* (urban), *fallāḥi* (rural), or *badawi* (Bedouin).

Sirhan (2014) provides details of her methodology, insightful observations of her experiences during her field research and in collecting the tales, and linguistic, situational, cultural, and historical contexts. Sirhan (2014, p.3) notes the

significance of the situation that the narratives were embedded in, stating that “It is necessary to examine the locale of the research and to locate the narratives in the settings in which they were narrated”. Sirhan (2014, p.12) examines “how certain sociolinguistic factors, such as age, education or gender, affect linguistic behaviour and the use of language”. Sirhan includes a methodology section in her book in which she details how she collected the tales from the narrators and a section on the language situation in Palestinian to contextualize her analysis. Sirhan (2014, p.10) also included details of the dynamics that took place between herself and the narrators as a researcher. Sirhan further contextualizes her analysis by providing a historical background of Palestine. Sirhan (2014, pp.10 -11) states the main aim of her study, which is:

to record the speech of Palestinians: people whose parents were of Palestinian origin, whether born in Palestine or the diaspora, and who lived in either the West Bank or Jordan. Specifically, the speech of Palestinians when narrating either a factual genre, personal narratives, or a fictional genre, folk tales, was solicited, recorded, observed and analysed.

Sirhan (2014, pp.11-12) further states that her “intention is not to make sweeping generalizations about the Palestinian dialects based on this data or about the society from which they hail, but rather to study PA dialects as they are used in the narration of folk tales and personal narratives.” Palestinian scholars’ efforts in contextualizing the Palestinian experience in history and bringing their ‘voice’ to the fore after being pushed to the background for so long ought to be recognized. Furthermore, scholars making their own experiences during their research and in the field visible is highly significant. For instance, Sirhan’s comments about being unable to reach certain Palestinian populations is important in highlighting a highly problematic and harsh reality of living under occupation and apartheid. Sirhan (2014, p.13) shares the following about her experience:

Although this work’s primary aim was to provide a record of the speech of Palestinians, unfortunately this was done to the exclusion of the Palestinian

Bedouins, primarily because they are hard to access and their land lies in territories surrounded by Israeli settlements or towns, cutting them off from other Palestinians...Another limitation was that we were unable to collect narratives from Gaza, given the impossibility of gaining access; the dialect of Gaza has by necessity been excluded from this treatment.

Farah AbouBakr's 2019 book, *The Folktales of Palestine: Cultural Identity, Memory and the Politics of Storytelling*, is an analysis of Kanaana and Muhawi's *Qūl Yā Ṭayr* and *Speak Bird, Speak Again* that further contextualizes their folktales by connecting them directly to Palestinian memory and examining how Palestinian identity and experience is expressed through the tales. AbouBakr (2019, p.3) takes a "memory and social movement studies" approach in her analysis of "the contribution of the Palestinian folklorist in creating a discourse of cultural resistance" (AbouBakr, 2019, p.3). AbouBakr relates "memory, mainly post-cultural and communicative memory, to cultural identity" and she examines "the narrative of language and folk religion, peasantry and food" (AbouBakr, 2019, p.4). AbouBakr (2019, pp.2–3) notes that to "understand how oral narratives, mainly folktales, contribute to framing the Palestinian memory and identity," she focuses in her book on "the folktales and the storytellers, the role of the compilers in both the Arabic and English volumes and the conceptualization of these two aspects within the theoretical framework of memory and Palestine Studies" (AbouBakr, 2019, pp.2–3).

AbouBakr (2019) contextualizes the folktales in *Speak Bird, Speak Again* historically, connecting the cultural roles of the women who told the tales within their families with the roles of the female characters in the tales; AbouBakr (2019, p.69) thus chooses the tales that "reveal a resilient discourse of strength, continuity and heritage" and demonstrates how women became agents who, through their space, provided social criticism and were agents in the transmission of collective memory. Another valuable contribution is AbouBakr's examination of the paratext employed in both the English and Arabic versions. AbouBakr also includes in her book an interview she had with Sharif Kanaana, the expert anthropologist and co-

compiler of the folktales in *Speak Bird, Speak Again*; the interview provides insight into the processes that went into the making of the book, its purposes, the scholars' approach to the framing and paratextual tools employed in the anthology, the value the tales provide, and the historical background on the topic of Palestinian folk narration between the past and present.

Abou Bakr (2019, p.2) explains that her book “presents an alternative way of advocating the Palestinians’ voice and aspirations” which “...has lacked academic scrutiny and analysis within cultural and memory studies in particular”. She further states that (2019, p.2), “As with other world literatures, Palestinian literature, particularly oral, should be considered worthy of academic and critical evaluation. This is particularly important when forms of orality, such as narratives of oral history, are under constant threat”. She further states that (Abou Bakr, 2019, p.3):

The role of the folklorist deserves not to be ignored, particularly in the Palestinian case, where knowing and sharing knowledge helps to put forward a more accurate image of Palestinian cultural identity. Hence understanding the national and scholarly contexts, together with the compilers’ creation of an extensive folkloric, anthropological, historical and literary apparatus around and within the folktales, is important in helping us appreciate the necessity of documenting folktales, uncovering as they do Palestinians’ rooted culture across time. The fact that the compilers of these collections chose the Palestinian folktale rather than the novel or short story is also significant in understanding their strategy.

2.5 The Contribution of this Research

To the best of my knowledge, this is the only work done so far that compares how the translators of Palestinian folktale anthologies frame the Palestinian cultural identity. The aim is to start a conversation on how Orientalists framed Palestinian cultural identity through their translations of the knowledge they gathered from Palestine, and on the extent of the visibility of, and/or the illusions of visibility created by, Orientalist translators and their agents. It is also important to recognize translators who contest Orientalist translations through their own work,

ultimately fighting against Orientalist, Eurocentric, and racist representations of Palestine.

This research sheds light on how translators of Palestinian folktales frame Palestinian cultural identity through framing devices in juxtaposition with translation strategies. To the best of my knowledge, only Ibrahim Muhawi's discussion of Kwame Anthony Appiah's 'thick translation', a concept which he also applies in his own translations, and Farah AbouBakr's examination of the use of paratext in *Speak Bird, Speak Again* in her 2019 book, *The Folktales of Palestine: Cultural Identity, Memory and the Politics of Storytelling*, explore how the Palestinian cultural identity is framed in the translation of Palestinian folktales. My own emphasis is in examining how translation strategies in combination with paratextual commentary frame the Palestinian cultural identity in translated anthologies of Palestinian folktales. This research highlights the idea that translators can only ever be subjective, and their choices are highly reflective of their own ideologies – this is especially significant in the context of Palestine, where language becomes particularly powerful.

Moreover, in examining three anthologies published in different times, this thesis shows how the translations are re-narrations that not only reflect translator ideology, but more importantly how the translations as social narratives leave an impact on, and have consequences in, the real world. The processes involved in the language and narratives on Palestine need to be examined and made visible, particularly in translation; there remains more to unpack on the language involved historically in the context of Palestine, and how this language, especially in translated texts, contributed in some form or another to how Palestine and the Palestinians are portrayed in academia, in the news, in literature, in movies, and so on.

2.6 Conclusion

In response to the tragic experiences imposed on the Palestinians by the illegal occupation, and the threats of erasing the Palestinian cultural and historical identities which continue until today, Palestinian scholars have made great efforts

to preserve our rich historical and cultural heritage. Valuable work has been done on the Palestinian folktale as a genre including cultural, folkloristic, and socio-linguistic analyses and on the Palestinian folktale as a site of memory that situates the folktales socially in the rich lives of the larger Palestinian community. These scholars play an important role in contesting the Orientalist and imperialist representations of Palestine, and in resisting the occupation's threat to erase the Palestinian historical and cultural identity; they achieve this not only through the preservation of our rich heritage, but also by moving a step beyond documentation and preservation to bringing back the Palestinian 'voice' through the contextualization of the tales socially and historically.

Nonetheless, more research needs to be done on the knowledge that has been gathered from, and published on, Palestine, whether they are translations or texts written originally in the language of the Target Audience, particularly in academic spaces; this helps us understand how Palestine has been historically framed to guide readers in their perceptions on the land and its people within the lens of a specific ideological narrative and to understand for what purposes; this also helps us better understand how conceptual, public, and meta (master) narratives, are constructed and realized into discourses of power that seep their way into academic spaces, media, and news outlets, etc. Were we to achieve genuine change and create a difference, it is not enough to identify discourses of power, but to hold those who participate in it accountable.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

3. The Methodology

I employ a descriptive qualitative research approach in analyzing the different translation strategies used in three selected anthologies of Palestinian folktales. I employ the socio-narrative theory in translation as formulated by Mona Baker who draws her theory primarily from social and communication theory. Building on the understanding that translators and translations play an active role in constructing and maintaining worldviews, and in drawing on concepts from both Translation and Folklore Studies, I examine the translation strategies employed in juxtaposition with paratextual commentary and analysis in the anthologies that frame the Palestinian cultural identity in the folktales. My analysis is contextualized by providing a historical background on imperialist aspirations that drove Orientalist activity in Palestine and by briefly touching upon some background information on the translators and on the translators' agents to shed light on their roles as social agents who participate in a larger complex system of networks.

In this thesis I argue that the translators and their agents frame their own subjective perspectives that either maintain or contest the larger discourses and narratives of their time, and I demonstrate how they do that by examining the ways in which they frame the Target Texts. I also argue that whether a translation is relatively domesticated or foreignized does not necessarily create an Orientalist or accurate translation, and that 'visibility' in translations can often be an 'illusion' – how translators frame the Target Text, and its language and culture, through a juxtaposition of specific choices in translation strategies and paratextual commentary to guide their readers' interpretations demonstrates a far more complex dimension to translator 'visibility'.

Moreover, I use Ibrahim Muhawi's folkloristic theory of translation in which he applies the notion of performance as it is understood in Folkloristic Studies in the field of Translation Studies, as a reference point in my examination of the

translatability of oral style in the Palestinian folktale genre, and to argue that a more authentic translation of folktales would be through a genuine understanding of the folktale as a genre emerging out of a recurring situation and whose key generic properties may be creatively reconstructed in the Target Text to frame the folktale as performance, both as 'action' and 'event', rooted in the rich social life of the Palestinians.

3.1 Baker's Narrative Theory: Translations as Social Narratives

Narrative theory allows us to move beyond the larger discourses made dominant by those in power to focus on the role of the translators in constructing social reality, making them truly visible and holding them accountable for partaking in establishing and/or maintaining harmful and Eurocentric discourses. Mona Baker (2018) explains the difference between narrative as it is used in socio-narrative theory, and discourse as it is defined in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). According to Baker (2018, p.181), narrative and discourse overlap since "narrative analyses frequently refer to hegemonic and other types of discourse, and discourse-oriented analyses often feature references such as corporate narratives". A main difference, however, is the emphasis on text as "concrete oral utterances or written documents" (Wodak and Meyer, 2001;2009, cited in Baker, 2018, p.181), as opposed to narratives that are "realisable across a variety of media" (Baker, 2014, cited in Baker, 2018, p.181), such as "written and spoken text, images, diagrams, colour, layout, lighting in theatre and film, choice of setting, and style of dressing" (Baker, 2014, cited in Baker, 2018, p.181). According to Baker (2018, p.181), this "lends narrative greater versatility in analysing complex instances of translation...".

Furthermore, "narrative also lends itself much more readily to the analysis of paratextual material...and to relating their verbal and non-verbal features to the wider cultural and political context in which the translation is embedded" (Baker, 2018, p.181). This is particularly significant in analyzing how paratextual material frames the folktales and guides how they are read. Equally significant to this study is the fact that "narrative theory recognizes the role that individuals can play in

shaping the world around them to varying degrees and pays equal attention to the personal and the public, the hegemonic and the resistant” (Baker, 2018, p.182), which stands in contrast to how the subject is of interest as a product of discourse rather than as an actor (Baker, 2018, p.182).

Another aspect in which narrative theory is significant to this study is how it challenges the perception of discourse as objectively true; “While discourse is associated with knowledge, and hence objective reality, narrative is associated with stories and hence with fictional accounts” (Baker, 2018, p.183). Narrative “constitutes reality rather than merely representing it, and hence that none of us is in a position to stand outside any narrative in order to observe it ‘objectively’” (Baker, 2006, p.5). This ‘subjectivity’ of translating our own perceptions into our academic and professional work that involves the representation/s of the ‘Other’ impossible to escape and contributes to the construction of our social reality. Thus, “We might conclude that there can be no criteria for assessing narratives and no sensible means for us to establish whether we should subscribe to or challenge any specific narrative” (Baker, 2006, p.5).

Nonetheless, Baker (2006, p.5) argues that “our embeddedness in narrative does not preclude our ability to reason about individual narratives”. It is important to recognize our power and roles in maintaining and/or changing narratives. Without recognizing the powerful role of translators as social actors and holding them accountable, with time and as more scholars and translators recycle those representations, those representations turn motifs available in the repertoire of public and meta-narratives, and thus the endless cycle. Thus, this thesis recognizes both the power of discourses that we are fed throughout our lives that make it impossible to be entirely ‘objective’, and our agency and power to change make the social actors and agents of discourses that create the illusion of ‘truth’ and reliability truly visible by putting their narratives under scrutiny. Baker (2006, p.26) refers to translators and interpreters as “social actors” that “...engage with the narrative world in which they are embedded in a variety of ways”.

The larger question of how Orientalist and Eurocentric representations of the ‘Other’ are constructed in translation and how creativity through knowledge of

the genre is employed to contest those representations is brought to the fore through examining visibility in the folktale translations, specifically in the framing of the Palestinian social, cultural, and historical identities; the translation strategies are examined in juxtaposition to paratext to seek an understanding of how the translators frame the folktales through their lens, creating in the process a framework of interpretation that guides the readers. Translation, “is not a by-product, nor simply a consequence, of social and political developments, nor is it a by-product of the physical movement of texts and people (Baker, 2006, p.6)” – translation is “part and parcel of the very process that makes these developments and movements possible in the first place (Baker, 2006, p.6)”. However, (Baker, 2006, p.26):

many refuse to reflect on the implications of their choices almost as a matter of principle, opting instead to translate any and all narratives in a detached manner, thus helping to circulate and promote them irrespective of their own narrative location. Other set out to contest dominant narratives and subject them to critical reflection. Neither can escape responsibility for the narratives they elaborate and promote through their translation and interpreting work.

Significant here to this thesis is the realization that translation “offers – and has always offered major opportunities for contesting and undermining this very domination” (Baker, 2006, p. 25). As Baker (2006, p.6) states:

narrative theory recognizes that undermining existing patterns of domination can not be achieved by concrete forms of activism alone – demonstrations, sit-ins, civic disobedience – but must involve a direct challenge to the stories that sustain these patterns. As language mediators, translators and interpreters are uniquely placed to initiate this type of discursive intervention at a global level...

Thus, it is important to question the narratives that we are fed, and to make visible the social actors and agents that spread and maintain narratives, by shedding light on how translations are social narratives that are ‘framed’ and

transform into discourses that underlie our everyday lives. Furthermore, while it is impossible to escape our own subjectivity as readers and translators, it is still significant to seek and locate the 'truth' through examining the ways and methods in which social actors and agents frame narratives to guide how texts are read and interpreted to maintain or alter certain views and perceptions of the world around us. As Baker (2006, p.17) states:

The assumption of the constructedness of narratives means that in practice we can neither isolate and independently assess individual elements in a narrative nor assume a default, chronological or logical storyline can be fully separated from the perspective of a given narrator. At the same time, because we have to take a position in relationship to a variety of public, historical and personal narratives in order to act in the real world, we have to make judgements about the veracity and credibility of narratives that touch our lives. In other words, the constructedness of narratives and embeddedness in them do not preclude us from reasoning about them.

In the process of translation, the original message of the Source Text gets distorted in significant ways, due to ideological constraints and the translator's manipulation of difference through strategies that re-frame the cultural images in the Source Text. The translation process is more complex than the dichotomy of 'foreignization' and 'domestication,' which as Tarek Shamma (2014) in his *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference* demonstrates, can both be used 'for' and 'against' the Other depending on the uses. Translators construct their own narratives by framing the folktales through how they choose to reconstruct elements of 'difference and similarity' in the folktale itself, through paratextual material, and through the juxtaposition of the translation strategies with the paratext. According to Baker (2007, p.152), narrative theory is thus a tool that helps highlight individual narratives in their unique contexts which are more complex than the generalized dichotomies in which they are viewed:

To balance the emphasis in norm theory on abstract, repeated behaviour and the streamlining effect of Venuti's dichotomies, what we need is a

framework that recognizes the varied, shifting and ongoingly negotiable positioning of individual translators in relation to their texts, authors, societies and dominant ideologies.

The books analyzed in this thesis are not regarded as self-contained units, but as texts embedded within a larger context, a "broader set of narratives" (Baker, 2006, p.4):

Conceptual or disciplinary narratives are the stories and explanations that scholars in any field elaborate for themselves and others about their object of inquiry; public narratives are stories elaborated by and circulating among social and institutional formations larger than the individual, such as the family, religious or educational institution, the media, and the nation; And finally, meta-narratives are public narratives 'in which we are embedded as contemporary actors in history...Progress, Decadence, Industrialization, Enlightenment, etc.,' including 'the epic dramas of our time: Capitalism vs. Communism, the Individual vs. Society, Barbarism/Nature vs. Civility' (Somers, 1992, p.605).

3.1.1 Paratextual Framing

Paratext plays a major role in the way the translations are framed to guide the Target Readers' interpretation of the tales and the Source Culture. Baker basis her notion of (re)framing on Erving Goffman's notion of framing, and Gerard Genette's work on paratext which she regards as a site of framing. Paratext plays a key role in guiding the readers' perceptions of the Source Culture – both peritextually, through the dust jacket, preface, introduction, footnotes, endnotes, and so on, and epitextually, through reviews, interviews, etc. (Pellatt, 2013). Through paratext, translators situate themselves within the translations in the image that they wish to be perceived, guiding the way the readers perceive the Other. Paratext is a tool that guides the readers' perception of the Source Text, the Source Language, and the Source Culture; it is also employed for both purposes of 'Othering' and for activism. Translators foreground and reinforce certain meanings

over others to achieve their purposes, while on the other end of the communication process, the Target Text Audience has at its disposal a “master discourse that animates issues of identity, similarity and difference across cultures” (Said Faiq, 2016, p.8). According to Lawrence Venuti (2008, p.49), translations:

operate as a performative, creating meanings and values that often transform the foreign text beneath an illusionistic transparency, reflecting the interests of the receiving culture.

3.2 The Data

The anthologies chosen for this research are *Tales Told in Palestine* (1904), *Speak Bird, Speak Again* (1989), and *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* (1998). The first anthology, *Tales Told in Palestine*, published in 1904, is a collection of Palestinian tales retold by Reverend James Edward (J.E.) Hanauer by memory to Hinckley Gilbert Thomas (H.G.) Mitchell, the editor of the book, and therefore we do not have access to the original tales in Arabic. Most of the tales in this anthology are associated with some elements of truth, as the content includes tales of religious and historical figures. The book was published in the early twentieth century and is no longer in publication; this thesis thus cites a reproduction of the original, and which was published in 2015. According to a statement made by the publishers of the reproduction, Forgotten Books (no pagination), this reproduction preserves the original whilst also “repairing imperfections present in the aged copy” (Forgotten Books, no pagination):

This book is a reproduction of an important historical work. Forgotten Books uses state-of-the-art technology to digitally reconstruct the work, preserving the original format whilst repairing imperfections present in the aged copy. In rare cases, an imperfection in the original, such as a blemish or missing page, may be replicated in our edition. We do, however, repair the vast majority of imperfections successfully; any imperfections that remain are intentionally left to preserve the state of such historical works.

The second anthology, *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, published in 1989, is a collaborative work between the two Palestinian scholars, Ibrahim Muhawi, an expert on translation, and Sharif Kanaana, an expert on anthropology and Palestinian folklore. The anthology is a collection of forty-five folktales that include ethnographic and literary glosses. Muhawi and Kanaana published the original Arabic texts for the tales in the anthology, *Qūl yā Ṭayr*, in 2001; thus, the original Arabic texts were published after the translations.

The third anthology, *Arab Folktales in Palestine and Israel*, published in 1998, includes Palestinian folktales collected from various sources, and translated by Raphael Patai. It is divided into three groups of tales according to the period in which they were collected. The first group, the group of tales whose original versions I could locate, were recorded in 1910-1911 and published in 1918 as transcriptions and German translations by Orientalists Hans Schmidt and Paul Kahle. According to Patai, the second group of tales are eight stories read over Jerusalem Radio in 1946-1947, and thus we do not have access to them. Patai selected the third and final group of tales from among a large group of folktales sent to him by Yoel Perez who recorded them in 1982-1984, and which we also do not have access to. The lack of access to the tales in their original Arabic form is problematic as questions of accuracy and credibility come to the fore.

3.2.1 The Texts

The tales in the three anthologies have all been gathered in different ways. The tales in *Tales Told in Palestine* are all retold by J.E. Hanauer orally by memory and transcribed and edited by H.G. Mitchell. This would explain why the tales come across as rephrased, as they sound fluent in their English translations, despite of the culture-specific items transferred in the tales, and why the style resembles an 'English' way of speaking, rather than a Palestinian one. While we have no access to the original Arabic tales told to Hanauer, they are mostly likely to have been told to him in the colloquial Palestinian dialect, like most oral folktales. The style in the English translations, however, is more semi-formal.

The tales in *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, are originally oral tales told by Palestinians in the typical folktale narration setting, and were recorded, transcribed, and selected by Muhawi and Kanaana for the anthology. The tales are available in their Arabic versions in *Qūl yā Ṭayr*. The English translations of the tales employ variations in the linguistic register to create a dynamic quality that adapts to written discourse, to allow for the ‘spirit’ of the original texts as ‘performances’ to shine through the translated versions, beyond the limitations of the oral/written modes; thus, in *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, the translations are not limited to either formal or informal registers, or to styles that exclusively mimic the oral style or completely adapt to written discourse; rather, Muhawi and Kanaana allow for those different registers and styles to influence and ‘contaminate’ each other to recreate the dynamic quality of the Palestinian folktale genre.

The tales in *Arab Folktales in Palestine and Israel* were all collected by Patai from various sources as noted in the previous section, 3.2, ‘The Data’. According to Patai, some of the tales were read over the radio, some were sent to him by Yoel Perez, and the rest were translated from tales transcribed and published by Hans Schmidt and Paul Kahle. We do not have access to the original tales in Arabic for any of them, except for a few of the tales as transcriptions by Schmidt and Kahle. Patai employs a literal translation to maintain the original oral and colloquial style of the Palestinian folktale. However, despite the attempt to retain the original form and style, the translations are exoticized, awkward, and at times even confusing.

3.3 The Translators and their Agents

The way translators view and perceive the Source Culture and Language is biased and subjective since they view things from their own cultural, linguistic, and even academic and occupational background. Analyzing translations through the narrative theory approach allows us to question preconceived notions of translator visibility. Baker (2006, p.106) discusses the active role agents play in constructing interpretive frameworks through framing tools, whereby framing is an “active strategy that implies agency” and is a way to “consciously participate in the construction of reality”. André Lefevere’s notion of translation as rewriting in the

1980s maintains that all those involved in selecting, representing, producing, and receiving the translated texts, such as editors, patrons, critics, reviewers, and readers take part in the rewriting process and act as reframing agents; they are all agents that participate in how the texts are ultimately perceived and interpreted in the Target Culture. All translation agents have the power to form and reconstruct narratives of entire nations and groups of people. According to Lefevere (1992, p.9), translation “is the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting, and ... it is potentially the most influential because it is able to project the image of an author and/or those works beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin”. Lefevere (1992, p.6) maintains that translators and the other translation agents, such as editors and publishers, are:

rewriters [who] adapt, manipulate the originals they work with to some extent, usually to make them fit in with the dominant, or one of the dominant ideological and poetological currents of their time.

3.3.1 J.E. Hanauer and the P.E.F.

Reverend James Edward Hanauer, who retold the tales in *Tales Told in Palestine* (1904), had mixed Swiss and Jewish parentage and was born in Jaffa and raised in Jerusalem. Hanauer’s father was an LJS (London Jews Society) missionary. He was closely connected at a young age to the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF), a British organization whose aims were to accumulate knowledge on Palestine’s landscape, its people, and their customs and beliefs, with a focus on archaeological excavations. J.E. Hanauer’s first link with the PEF was at the age of seventeen in 1867, when he participated in Charles Warren’s excavations in a temporary position; later in the same year, Hanauer accompanied Warren on a trip to central Transjordan as an interpreter and assistant-photographer to Sergeant Henry Phillips. The military worked closely with religious organizations for archaeological digs to create maps and to explore and measure Palestine as a land. J.E. Hanauer’s background is reflected in *Tales Told in Palestine* through the choices he made in retelling the tales and how he framed Palestine and the Palestinians.

Gabriel Polly's Ph.D. thesis, 'Palestine is Thus Brought Home to England': The Representation of Palestine in British Travel Literature, 1840-1914, examines how Palestine was represented in British travel literature between the 19th and 20th centuries and the underlying political motivations behind the genre. Polly also mentions the motivations of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Polly (2020, p.2) states the following:

Explorers, such as those of the Palestine Exploration Fund founded in London in 1865, arrived to survey what they believed were Biblical remains; the tourists and excursionists, wishing to see the sacred locales familiar to them through Scripture, sermons and Sunday schools since childhood, could travel in "personally conducted" groups with local guides (fig. 1.2), or, for the less intrepid, on organised tours such as those led by the Derbyshire-born Baptist preacher Thomas Cook (1808- 1892) beginning in 1869. Biblical scholars were the disputants of traditional topography, feeding on the reports of the 'explorers' to challenge the veracity of the established and previously accepted sacred sites around Palestine. These were the integral ingredients of what Western travellers named the "Peaceful Crusade", behind which lay a complex of attitudes, beliefs and ideas which one traveller-writer, Isabel Burton, summarised as 'Holy Land on the brain'.

According to Lorenzo Kamel (2015, pp.10-11), the PEF had a major role in influencing cultural imperialism in Palestine, stating that it is "one of the most persuasive symbols of the attitude to simplifying the complexity of 'the other'". Moreover, "An overwhelming part of the approaches and actions adopted in the decades in which the PEF flourished were the products of an attempt to (mis)appropriate the biblical past for political and imperial purposes" (Kamel, 2015, p.11). According to Kamel (2015, p.11), the PEF's efforts were largely successful through "dealing with the habits of local populations without passing first through the meaning system that the latter attributed to their social, cultural and religious life". Kamel (2015, p.1) discusses the idea of simplifying 'the others', maintaining that this process of simplification "has had in 'biblical orientalism' one of its most powerful manifestations". Kamel (2015, p.1) also notes how 'Biblical orientalism' is

“an under-researched variant of orientalism”. He defines ‘Biblical orientalism’ as “a phenomenon based on the combination of a selective use of religion and a simplifying way to approach its natural habitat: the ‘Holy Land’” (Kamel, 2015, p.1). Moreover, the PEF produced “a flood of mainly British books, private diaries and maps” between the “1830s and the beginning of the twentieth century” (Kamel, 2015, p.2) – “This enormous production, alongside a wide range of phenomenon such as evangelical tourism, generated the idea of a meta-Palestine, an imaginary place devoid of any history except that of biblical magnificence” (Kamel, 2015, p.2).

According to Kamel (2015, p.1), the process of simplification is “about the ‘tendency to define, indeed rationalize, the other in terms more suitable, comprehensible and useful to the self’. Moreover, the process “developed hand in hand with the increasing British penetration in the region and reached its apex in the five years immediately preceding the British mandate for Palestine” (Kamel, 2015, p.1). Simplification “has two dimensions: it is a mindset, as well as a policy” (Kamel, 2015, p.2). As Kamel (2014, p.8) states:

The interpretation of the meaning and of the history of Palestine that was revealed by the works of the PEF, which were often imbued with a ‘triumphant sense of European superiority’, was quickly transformed into a tool for the legitimization of British political claims on the Holy Land.

3.3.2 J.E. Hanauer and the P.E.Q.

J.E. Hanauer also has publications in Palestine Exploration Quarterly, a publication of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The Palestine Exploration Fund website describes the journal as follows:

PEQ was established in 1865 as the first scholarly society dedicated to the scientific study of what was then generally known as the Holy Land. In 1869, the Fund through its Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement aimed to illuminate the Bible for its readers with scholarly

information about the land of the Bible. PEQ is the Statement's successor and has greatly widened its original scope.

Despite its title, PEQ is concerned not just with Palestine/the land of Israel, but with the wider region of the Levant – its history, archaeology (including biblical aspects), art, languages, natural and earth ethnology, geography and natural and earth sciences. Its contents include reports of archaeological work (especially that supported by the PEF), studies of pottery and other artefacts, examination and interpretation of archaeological sites, publications and studies of inscriptions, ancient texts, archival material relating to the exploration of the Levant, and reviews of books.

3.3.3 J.E. Hanauer, H.G. Mitchell, and the Question of Authorship

Since Hanauer's texts in *Tales Told in Palestine* do not include the original source texts in Arabic, there is no Source Text available. Hanauer memorized the tales narrated to him in Arabic and, according to Hinckley Gilbert Thomas (H.G.) Mitchell – the editor of *Tales Told in Palestine*, and thus a translation agent – Hanauer retold them in English from memory. It is unknown whether Hanauer had written them down prior to telling them to Mitchell, or whether he edited them (mentally or on paper) and re-narrated them to others prior to Mitchell (thus, having practiced retelling the tales in English in a coherent form and skilled method). This complex situation brings to the fore a significant issue – could we consider Hanauer in his retelling of the tales one of the storytellers and thus an author? The fact that in this case the types of texts that are retold in another language are folktales, and thus continuously recycled and retold without being scrutinized for copyright issues as they belong to the whole community in which they are being told, and the fact that they are originally oral texts whose original versions we do not have access to, blur the line between translator and author. Furthermore, the question of Mitchell's own role as editor comes up, since it is most likely that Hanauer's oral narration would contain many gaps that Mitchell would have had to fill in the context of written discourse. Do we consider Mitchell equally involved in the authorship process? These are questions that are directly relevant to this thesis

as they highlight the question of the ethical representation of the Source Text Culture in translation; the question of authorship and visibility is more fully discussed in chapter 5, "‘Visibility’ and its Illusions’.

Mitchell (2015, p.14) demonstrates his awareness of the possible "misconception and sensitiveness on the part of any who may be especially related to the classes of people with whom the stories have to do". Mitchell (2015, p.14) also states that "in some instances, in which popular opinion seemed to me to have expressed itself too bluntly, I have softened or omitted objectionable language". This type of censorship is not uncommon in folklore anthologies, whereby religious ideologies, or sensitivity towards the belief system of the Target Readers, influences the reshaping of the folktale. Some scholars who edit the tales from slang to *fusha*, especially for national, religious, and moral purposes often feel the same way regarding the blunt language of folktales. Furthermore, the softening of the language suggests the power discourse of the patron and the publishing house in addition to the pressures imposed by society. However, Mitchell (2015, p.14) makes it clear that the purpose of the book, is to "furnish the serious student with information with reference to the way in which the people of Palestine look at things," thus finding it "necessary to reproduce them without substantial alteration" (Mitchell, 2015, p.14). The following is a statement by Mitchell regarding his involvement with the texts (Mitchell, 2015, p.15):

Finally, I desire to emphasize the fact, already stated, that the credit of collecting the stories belongs entirely to Mr. Hanauer. He long ago saw their value and began to store them in a wonderful memory. My part, after having persuaded him to let me publish them for him, has been, first to take them down as he told them, and then to copy and arrange them, introducing the notes and illustrations where they seemed desirable. If the book proves as interesting and instructive to others as it has been to me, I shall feel that the time it has cost me has been well expended.

However, it is not clear whether the notes Mitchell introduced in the book are completely his own or were provided by Hanauer as contextual information during the narration and which Mitchell decided to present in the form of notes or

were provided by both. It is also not clear whether the short introductions that precede the tales and that contextualize the texts, or the transliterations in parentheses in the tales themselves, are a part of Hanauer's performance or are included in what Mitchell refers to as the notes introduced in the book. It is possible that the storytellers included contextual material during their narration either as part of the original tales, or for Hanauer as the Target Audience; it is also possible that Hanauer retold the tales with additional information to contextualize the tales for Mitchell as the Target Audience; finally, Mitchell organized and added notes for the Target Audience which he identifies as "the serious student" who wants to learn about how "the people of Palestine look at things". Despite Mitchell's statements about his part in the process, what aspects of the tales were originally part of the tales told to Hanauer and which parts were notes by Hanauer, and which by Mitchell, remains unclear and ambiguous. This demonstrates how translation agents such as editors of texts are involved in how the texts are framed for a specific Target Audience, and equally important is that the exact extent in which modifications are done is also unclear.

While it seems a disadvantage to analyze the Target Text without access to the Source Text, this is an opportunity to examine the role of the translator as re-teller of the Source Text and the invisibility of the translator within the Target Text, particularly with regards to texts collected by Orientalists up to the early twentieth century. *Tales Told in Palestine* is an example of oral texts that were translated and published without the inclusion of a Source Text for reference, particularly during that time period. Tracing the tales in the anthology to other versions documented by other scholars is a study entirely of its own, which I have not undertaken in this research, but which could prove valuable in understanding the extent of changes applied in folktale collections and translations during that time.

The question of authorship in the translation of folkloric items is further covered in chapter 5 of this thesis, specifically section 5.2, 'Visibility and the Question of 'Authorship'', and section 5.2.1, 'The Preventative Censure of the Local Community'.

3.3.1.2 J.E. Hanauer's *Folklore of the Holy Land* (1907)

Hanauer's *Folklore of the Holy Land: Moslem, Christian and Jewish*, published in 1907, was edited by Marmaduke Pickthall, who later became known as Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall after he converted to Islam ten years later in 1917. Pickthall was also a novelist and is well known for his translation of the Quran, *The Meaning of the Glorious Quran*, in 1930. The book was published in London by Duckworth & Co. Pickthall (In Hanauer, 1907, xviii) states:

About one-third of the matter here presented has been published in America in another version, and the chapters on Animal and Plant-lore were originally contributed to the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, from which they are reprinted by permission of the committee.

Again, the Orientalist style of *Tales Told in Palestine* and *Walks About Jerusalem* are also echoed in *Folklore of the Holy Land: Moslem, Christian and Jewish*. Note the following Introduction to the book by Hanauer (Hanauer, 1907, p.xxi):

A MOHAMMEDAN LEGEND

INTRODUCTORY AND APOLOGETIC

"Tainting the air, on a scirocco day, the carcase of a hound, all loathsome, lay in Nazareth's narrow street. Wayfarers hurried past covering mouth and nostrils, and at last, when purer air they reached, in Eastern style they cursed the dog, and the dog's owners' ancestors, and theirs who, bound to care for public cleanliness yet left the nuisance there to poison all around. Then, that same way, there came 'Isa, the son of Mary, of great fame for mighty deeds performed in Allah's Name. He said, 'How lovely are its teeth, so sharp, and white as pearls ': then went his way."

Be the lot, Reader, thine, 'midst many faults to note some beauty shine: some lesson new in Eastern legends old: and,

'mid much dross, to find some grains of gold.

J. E. H.

3.3.1.3 J.E. Hanauer's *Walks About Jerusalem* (1910)

Walks About Jerusalem (1910), a guidebook by J.E. Hanauer, was published by London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews. The book acts as a detailed and highly descriptive guide to Jerusalem as a landscape and its topographical sites and is accompanied by photographs. *Tales Told in Palestine* is framed in a way that echoes British travel literature, with the purpose of linking the landscape with the Bible. The following is an excerpt from Hanauer's "Concluding Remarks" in *Walks About Jerusalem* (Hanauer, 1910, pp.237-238):

This remarkable re-gathering of the Jews to their ancient capital is very suggestive and cannot fail to rouse the attention of every thoughtful student of the Bible. It undoubtedly seems to indicate that the prophetic utterances concerning the final return of the Jews to their own land are being fulfilled literally, in our own days, and under our very eyes. They are returning (in unbelief, it is true), but actually re-peopling "the old wastes, the desolations of many generations." These things should incite us not only to take an interest in the history and relics of the Jerusalem of the past, but eagerly to work with all our powers and talents for the welfare of the Jerusalem and its people of the present day, in full confidence that the Jerusalem of the future will be great and glorious, and the time fast approaching when, according to His gracious and faithful promise, the Lord will "arise, and have mercy upon Zion; for the time to favour her, yea, the set time is come."

"Already earth begins to hear

Old prophet-tones with int'rest new,

And long foretold events appear

Swiftly unfolding to the view;

And Zion's hope, so long deferred,
 Hastes to its glad fulfilment, when
 According to His faithful word,
 God will remember her again."

(Writer unknown).

3.3.2. The National Value of *Speak Bird, Speak Again* (1989)

Farah Abou Bakr (2019, p.1) notes that "Unlike most Palestinian folktale compilations, Muhawi and Kanaana's work is not just a disinterested record of Palestinian culture, society and folklore but rather an active scholarly – and potentially subversive – attempt to document, safeguard and give voice to Palestinian oral culture for Western, Arab and Palestinian readers". Abou Baker (2019, p.1) states that "In analysing the forty-five folktales, Muhawi and Kanaana's book is the first to consider closely the significance of Palestinian oral narratives in framing Palestinian identity and memory". Interestingly, the English translation of *Speak Bird, Speak Again* was published before its Arabic version. Farah AbouBakr (2019, p.3) states:

As Palestinian compilers, folklorists, translators and scholars, Muhawi and Kanaana did not publish the folktales initially to an Arab audience. Instead, they first published the English translation, SBSA (1989), which has become a reference teaching anthropology of the Middle East – its folklore, society and literature – in both the Arab world and English-speaking countries. Soon after Muhawi and Kanaana sought to extend the national dimension of their project through the publication of an Arabic version, *Qul Ya Tayer* in 2001, targeting Arab audiences in general and Arab students, scholars and universities in particular.

Alan Dundes (1989, ix) notes the value of *Speak Bird, Speak Again*:

Not only are these forty-five splendid Palestinian Arab tales to be savored, but we are also offered a rare combination of ethnographic and literary

glosses on details that afford a unique glimpse into the subtle nuances of Palestinian Arab culture. This unusual collection of folktales is destined to be a classic and will surely serve as a model for future researchers in folk narrative.

Dundes (1989, x) goes on to explain how this anthology “represents a significant departure from nearly all previous anthologies or samplers of folktales”:

Unfortunately, despite the laudable stated aims of these pioneering collectors to preserve unaltered the precious folkloristic art forms of the local peasantry, all too often they actually rewrite or otherwise manipulated the materials so assiduously gathered. One reason for this intrusiveness was the longstanding elitist notion that literate culture was infinitely superior to illiterate culture. Thus, the oral tales were made to conform to the higher canons of taste found in written literature, and oral style was replaced by literary convention...It is precisely because such close attention was paid to the concerns of the humanist and the social scientist alike that this collection of folktales is so special.

Muhawi and Kanaana’s collection has a political value. Even though those tales are not narratives that document Palestinian experiences of dislocation, they are still a witness to the history of the Palestinian people. The nation is associated with culture, and this creative social activity rooted in culture is witness to the social experiences of the Palestinians. As Dundes states (1989, x):

The collection is important for yet another, political reason. These tales belong to a people, the Palestinian Arabs. Whatever one’s view is of the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, it cannot be denied that the event caused considerable dislocation and fragmentation of the Palestinian Arab people. It is somewhat analogous to the colonial powers in earlier times claiming territory which was already occupied. It is perhaps a tragic irony of history that the Jews, who themselves have been forced by bigotry and prejudice to wander from country to country seeking even temporary

sanctuary, have through the formation of a “homeland” caused another people to become homeless.

Farah AbouBakr (2019, p.3) maintains that “Earning comparison with the Grimm Brothers’ collection of fairy tales, SBSA (1989) and *Qūl Yā Ṭayr* (2001) have gained recognition and academic weight within the study of Middle Eastern folklore at both Arab and Western universities”.

3.3.2.1 The Institute for Palestine Studies

Qūl Yā Ṭayr: nuṣūṣ wa-dirāsah fī al-ḥikāyah al-ša‘biyyah al-Filasṭīniyyah (2001) and *Qūl Yā Ṭayr: ḥikāyāt lil’atfāl min al-turāṭ al- ša‘bi al-Filasṭīni* (2020) were published by The Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS). IPS was founded in 1963 in Beirut as an independent, non-profit, research institution. IPS publishes three quarterly academic journals: the Journal of Palestine Studies, Jerusalem Quarterly, and *Mağallat al-Dirāsāt al-Filistīniyyah* (in Arabic). They also publish books, monographs, and documentary collections. It is led by a Board of Trustees and has offices operating in Beirut, Ramallah, and Washington. IPS started out as a vision shared by three Arab intellectuals, Constantine Zurayk from Syria, and Walid Khalidi and Burhan Dajani from Palestine. According to the Institute for Palestine Studies website, the three intellectuals:

sought ways to confront the challenge brought about by the creation of the State of Israel on the greater part of Palestine, the expulsion of its inhabitants, their enduring Nakba, and the expanding threat posed by Israel to the Arab world.

Moreover, according to the Institute for Palestine Studies website:

In an environment where Israel and its supporters had a virtual monopoly over the Israeli-Palestinian narrative, they considered that their specific role pertained to the realm of knowledge and values, and thought it necessary to initiate a sustained collective effort that would preserve, develop and disseminate an accurate account of the conflict from its origins in the

nineteenth century onwards, and provide a powerful case for Palestinian historical rights.

According to AbouBakr (2019, p.54), the Arabic collection of the folktales, *Qūl Yā Ṭayr* (2001), did not include an acknowledgement section – rather, there was instead “a note about the aims and profiles of the Institute for Palestine Studies, which published *Qul Ya Tayer*”, “followed by a thank-you note from the Institute to the Qattan Foundation, the main and only sponsor of this project” (AbouBakr, 2019, p.54). AbouBakr (2019, p.54) also states that, “The fact that the volume was published by the Institute for Palestine Studies and funded by the Qattan Foundation is significant since it highlights the importance of the Arabic collection as a national project”.

3.3.2.2 Children’s Books: *Tunjur! Tunjur! Tunjur!* and *Qūl Yā Ṭayr*

In 2006, Margaret Read MacDonald retold one of the tales in *Speak Bird, Speak Again* and published it as a children’s book in English called *Tunjur! Tunjur! Tunjur!* MacDonald dedicates her book to the teller of the story, Fatme Abdel Qadar, and to “all tellers who share their stories so generously with the world” (MacDonald, 2006). In 2020, the Institute for Palestine Studies published a children’s book of Palestinian folktales compiled by Sharif Kanaana and Ibrahim Muhawi. The book is a great resource for children to learn about the Palestinian heritage in a fun way. Diglossia characterizes the retold tales, combining both Standard Arabic and the local dialect. Diglossia allows the tales to function as both entertaining and educational, and it also allows the tales to function as educational tools on multiple levels; children are exposed to their local dialect which is a key part of their heritage, and which also makes the tales fun and gives them their rhythm, while also being exposed to Standard Arabic.

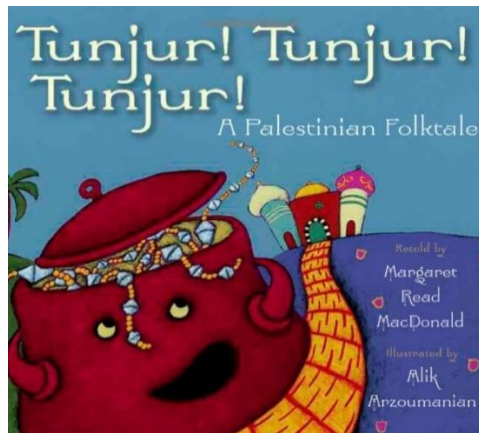


Figure 1 The cover of *Tunjur! Tunjur! Tunjur!: A Palestinian folktale*. The book was published in 2006 by Marshall Cavendish Corporation in New York.

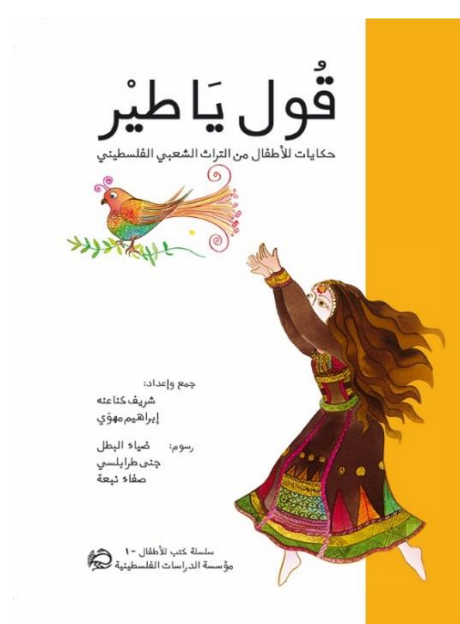


Figure 2 The Cover of *Qūl yā ṭayr: ḥikāyāt lil'aṭfāl min al-turāṭ al-ša'bi al-Filasṭīni*. The book was published in 2020 in Beirut by the Institute for Palestine Studies.

3.3.3 Raphael Patai

Raphael Patai was a cultural anthropologist and Director of Research at the Theodor Herzl Institute of New York (Baker, 2006, p.42). Theodor Herzl was the founder and establisher of the Zionist Organization, also known as the Father of modern political Zionism. Patai's father, Edith Patai, was also a well-known Zionist and scholar; Edith Patai published a biography of Theodor Herzl, founded the Zionist Organization in Hungary, and was the editor of a monthly journal of Jewish

affairs entitled *Mult es Jovo* (Past and Future) from 1910 to 1940. Raphael Patai's publications include a two-volume encyclopedia, *Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel*; the publisher is Herzl Press, a publishing organization of the Jewish Agency for Israel. The Jewish Agency for Israel was established in 1929 as the operative branch of the World Zionist Organization. Raphael Patai received his doctorate in Semitic languages and Oriental history from the University of Budapest, and in 1936 he received a doctorate in Palestinology from the Hebrew University after which he returned briefly to Budapest and was ordained at the Rabbinical Seminary. Raphael Patai also founded the Palestine Institute of Folklore and Ethnology and served as the director of research and editor of its quarterly journal, *Edoth*, which he also founded.

3.3.3.1 Raphael Patai's *The Arab Mind* (1973)

It is essential to note that Raphael Patai is also the author of the 1973 book, *The Arab Mind*, an attempt to provide insight into the Arab psyche and in which he reduces the Arab culture/s to racist stereotypes about the Arabs as a collective. Moustafa Bayoumi (2004) states:

Published a generation ago, "The Arab Mind" follows a genre of books popular in the 19th century that believed that race defines human behavior. These books reduced the histories, politics and cultures of huge groups of people into simple instinct or an unchanging personality. Academia rightly repudiated this approach long ago.

In one review of Patai's book published in *The Guardian*, the author of the article Brian Whitaker (2004) states:

There is a lot wrong with *The Arab Mind* apart from its racism: the title, for a start. Although the Arab countries certainly have their distinctive characteristics, the idea that 200 million people, from Morocco to the Gulf, living in rural villages, urban metropolises and (very rarely these days) desert tents, think with some sort of single, collective mind is utterly ridiculous. The result is a collection of outrageously broad – and often

suspect – generalizations. Patai asserts, for example, that Arabs “hate” the west.

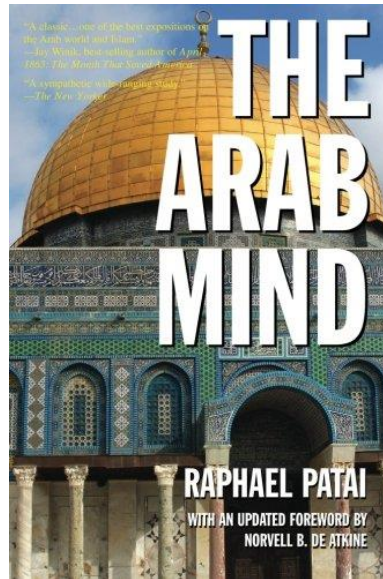


Figure 3 The cover of the revised edition of *The Arab Mind*. The book was published in 2007 by Recovery Resources Press featuring a photograph of al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, Palestine. The Cover Design is by Angel Harleycat and Deborah Miller. ©Cover Photograph 2010 Jennifer Schneider.

This approach of grouping all Arabs into one category and making generalized statements about them is in fact echoed in Patai’s anthology of Palestinian folktales, *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*. Mona Baker (2006, p.42), in reference to *The Arab Mind*, states that “we see that narratives elaborated within the confines of academia can and do permeate public discourse and can further sustain long-term meta-narratives, the fourth type of narrative proposed by Somers and Gibson (see 3.4 on p. 44)”. *The Arab Mind* “is well known in military circles” (Smith, 2004). Moreover, Baker (2006, p.42) notes the following:

Following the Abu Ghraib torture scandals in April and May 2004, Seymour Hersh of the *New Yorker* described Patai’s *The Arab Mind* as ‘the bible of the neocons on Arab behavior. In their [the neocons’] discussions ... two themes emerged – ... one, that Arabs only understand force and, two, that the biggest weakness of Arabs is shame and humiliation’ (Hersh 2004). Another article in *The Guardian* reported a professor at a US military college

describing Patai's book as 'probably the single most popular and widely read book on the Arabs in the US military' and went on to confirm that it is 'even used as a textbook for officers at the JFK special warfare school in Fort Bragg' (Whitaker 2004).

Patai's use of academic space to blur the past with the present, and the fictional with the real, in *The Arab Mind*, has left a horrifying impact in the real world. As will be evident in the following chapters, Patai's *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* is framed as academic scholarly work, whereby Patai uses the folktales as proof of the Arab 'mentality' and to justify his analysis of Arabs in the paratext, his book blurring the fictional content of the tales with statements he makes about Arabs.

3.4 Limitations and Scope for Future Research

Further research that delves more in-depth into the academic, occupational, and ideological backgrounds of the translators and their agents would make a significant contribution to our understanding of their roles as social actors that reframe their translations as social narratives. Moreover, further detailed analysis of the methods and procedures employed in the anthologies, where the original Arabic texts are available and accessible, would contribute greatly to the available research, as this thesis focused more on the overall strategies and approaches that frame the anthologies as social narratives. Ibrahim Muhawi's leading work on the Palestinian oral folktale in the context of translation and his folkloristic theory of translation would prove invaluable in the translation of the key properties of folktales for the purpose of recreating an equivalent effect in the Target Text.

This study was limited by the fact that the Arabic versions of the tales in *Tales Told in Palestine* were not available as the tales were memorized by J.E. Hanauer and retold to the editor of the book, H.G. Mitchell, by memory. It was also limited by the fact that the original sources of Raphael Patai's *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*, other than Hans Schmidt and Paul Kahle's anthology of collected Palestinian tales, do not exist today, or at least are not published or

accessible. On the other hand, Muhawi and Kanaana's 2001 anthology, *Qūl Yā Tayr*, offers the original Arabic versions of the tales in *Speak Bird, Speak Again*.

Nonetheless, I believe the limitation in finding and accessing the Source Texts is in itself a crucial reason to have this discussion to start with, and is central to the argument that how Orientalists dealt with the knowledge they gathered and transferred was ambiguous and lacked true visibility, or rather created an illusion of visibility through the academic guise of presenting the knowledge; the very processes of collecting, documenting, editing, and translating Palestinian folktales by Orientalists bring to the fore important questions on how knowledge on that part of the world was dealt with, including questions that ought to be asked about the role of the translator as a social actor, and how knowledge of the 'Other' is both framed and transmitted – particularly knowledge on minority, under-represented, and oppressed populations.

There is much scope for future research, including a detailed analysis of the translation procedures and methods employed, specifically in *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, since we have both the English versions and original Arabic texts of the tales available. However, the aim of thesis is to compare the overall strategies of the anthologies in juxtaposition to the paratext employed, questioning the processes of collecting and transmitting the tales and the roles of the translators as social actors. Future research that conducts detailed analysis of the translation methods and procedures, where possible, would prove extremely valuable.

3.5 Conclusion

This thesis examines the translations of folktales in the three anthologies as re-narrations, specifically as social narratives that frame the Palestinian cultural identity in ways that reflect the ideologies of the translators and their agents and that reflect (or contest) the larger narratives and discourses within their respective time periods. The translators' backgrounds and their spaces influence the choices they make in framing the texts as social narratives. Thus, this thesis employs Mona Baker's Narrative Theory to show how translations as social agents frame the folktales and consequently the Palestinians and their cultural identity through their

strategic choices of translation strategies in juxtaposition with their paratextual commentaries and analyses, ultimately maintaining, and contributing to, larger public, conceptual, and metanarratives; equally significant is translators' power to contest and subvert Orientalist, Eurocentric, and racist narratives.

Chapter 4

Imagined Geography and the Orientalist Framing of Palestine

4. Introduction

This chapter examines how J.E. Hanauer's *Tales Told in Palestine* (1904) and Raphael Patai's *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* (1998) reflect Orientalist attitudes but in different ways. Both texts are part of a larger system of social networks that sought and spread knowledge about the Arab world, including the landscapes and the customs and beliefs of their inhabitants. While both texts are examples of Orientalist texts, they manifest Orientalist beliefs in different ways. *Tales Told in Palestine* reflects the preoccupation of the western imagination with the Holy Land as the manifestation of religious and imperial aspirations. *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* is an example of texts that rely on the perceived reliability of the academic space and the tools of paratextual framing to guide western readers to perceive the Arab world through a stereotypical lens, while maintaining an illusion of authentic representation through the strategy of literal translation. These texts are a part of a larger discourse on Palestine from the late eighteenth century onwards and are the perfect examples of the relationship between geography, knowledge, and power.

Tales Told in Palestine is rooted in an interest in biblical geography, a field with strong links to imperial aims in the eighteenth century and even until today. The book portrays the Holy Land through the lens of a larger system of intricately woven social networks. Knowledge about the landscape allowed the Orientalists to situate themselves in the Holy Land, though in their own minds they were already inhabiting it. In their minds, the Holy Land had many connotations; it was a mix of hope in times of local distress, aspirations for imperialist power, and aspirations for religious revival and spiritual elevation. For the Palestinians, Palestine as a main religious site of the three monotheistic religions is extremely significant as well, and indeed until today religion forms a significant part of their national identity, but Palestine has also always been their home. For imperial powers throughout history, Palestine was part of a list of aspirations for a future empire; for the

pilgrims it was a spiritual haven, an embodiment of the Torah, the Bible, and the Quran, an accessible Heaven on Earth; and tourists were driven by the experiences and fantasies of those who spoke and wrote of it.

The early modern period that produced *Tales Told in Palestine* was a time of imperialistic ambitions partly fueled by the exotic re-imaginings of the Orient, both geographically and of the people that inhabited these lands. *Tales Told in Palestine* is part of a larger complex social network that produces knowledge which ultimately reinforces the Source Culture at the other, lower, end of the power spectrum. *Tales Told in Palestine* is part of a larger discourse that contributed to the view of the Holy Land as a measurable landscape inhabited by various religious and ethnic groups, and the knowledge produced by such studies helped establish many notions of the Other that would justify imperialism.

Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel is an example of texts that, through creating the illusion of an objective portrait of the Palestinians and their culture, works to legitimize and maintain already established colonial rule in Palestine by dramatizing the differences between the Arabs and the West. Patai guides the Target Text readers' perception of the cultural knowledge provided in the folktales through paratext and by manipulating elements of the folktale genre, particularly its strong connectedness to the past in both the narrative and narrated events, the blurry line between fact and fiction, and the folktale's fantastical motifs, to ultimately echo the entire tradition of stereotypes about the Orient. Patai achieves this by maintaining in his paratextual commentary that while the folktales are mainly fiction and imaginative, they reflect the Arab culture which he frames as inferior by continuously comparing it to the culture of the West, and through justifying his own statements through choosing a literal translation to demonstrate that he kept all the elements of the Palestinian folktale style, thus creating an illusion of reliability. Texts like Patai's maintain Orientalist discourse, keeping it alive and dominant.

Orientalism is at play when the Palestinians are reduced to mere religious and ethnic labels, when they become the background in the landscape of what is perceived as Holy and sacred, while being represented as historically disconnected from the land in meaningful ways such as their deeply historic and sentimental

connection to their land. This is where the abstract concepts of East and West come to play. This is the kind of dominant discourse which has left its legacy until today. It would be an exaggeration to assume the texts on their own create East/West divisions – rather, they are a part of a larger discourse that maintains Orientalist thoughts and practices, reinforcing and maintaining cultural hegemony that in turn encourages Orientalism and its discourses to remain active and dominant. The study of the Orient has accumulated enough wealth of information to become a field of its own, whereby this repertoire of knowledge forms part of a larger discourse that decides the framework of interpretation through which the Orient is approached, studied, and taught.

In a world that struggles with an imbalance of power relations, translation can never be neutral. Translation is a “highly manipulative activity” – it is not an “innocent, transparent activity but is highly charged with significance at every stage; it rarely, if ever, involves a relationship of equality between texts, authors or systems” (Bassnett and Trivedi, 1999, p.2). In fact, “colonialism and translation went hand in hand” (Bassnett and Trivedi, 1999, p.3). Whether they intend to or not, translators can only assume a position of power; they have the power to negotiate and balance power relations. As such, they are social agents with the powerful ability to either reaffirm stereotypes or bring about positive change. Translations are produced within certain historical, cultural, and social conditions; thus, the “text... is embedded within its network of both source and target cultural signs” (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990, p.12). According to Said Faiq (2004, p.12):

Not surprisingly, translation keeps reinforcing the same representations orientalism has created...At the same time, such acts of translation allow orientalism to reassert its status as the indispensable and authorized mediator between Arab/Islamic and Western cultures.

4.1 Orientalism and the Manipulation of Knowledge

Edward Said, basing his notion of Orientalism on Michel Foucault's conception of discourse, maintains that Orientalist discourse, a way of knowing the Orient, is also a way of maintaining power over the Orient. The Orient, according to Said

(1978, p.4), until the nineteenth century referred to India and the 'Bible lands'. The discussion of Orientalism revolves mainly, though not exclusively, around "a British and French cultural enterprise" (Said, 1978, p.3). Said identifies (1978, p.4) the beginning of the nineteenth century up until the end of World War II as the period in which France and Britain "dominated the Orient and Orientalism". However, following World War II, America took over as the dominant power over the Orient, and "approaches it as France and Britain once did" (Said, 1978, p.4).

Orientalism is an ongoing discourse, mainly by western academics and scholars, and thus modeled by their rules and norms, on anything 'East', and that largely determines the texts produced and translated, and how they are translated. The "large body of texts" that may be referred to as Orientalist texts are the result of a certain kind of "closeness", as Said (1978, p.4) puts it, between Britain and France and the Orient (Said, 1978, p.4). As the Palestine Exploration Fund (P.E.F) and other institutions employed for the collection of knowledge about the East show, the dynamic of this closeness was "enormously productive" (Said, 1978, p.4), though it demonstrated, to put it in Said's words, "the comparatively greater strength of the Occident (British, French, or American)" (Said, 1978, p.4).

Said (1978) highlights the important role writing and particularly literary texts play in the process of constructing representations of the Other. According to Said (1978), literature plays a major role in promoting colonialist discourse, demonstrating the link between the nineteenth-century novel and the formation of Empire. The western reader of the early modern period was bombarded with themes, motifs, tropes, and imagery about Arabs and Muslims; the Orient "was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences" (Said, 1978, p.1).

Orientalism is thus "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the orient" and (most of the time) "the occident"" (Said, 1978, p.10). It is not so much that the East and West binary is the only method of distinction so much that it is accepted as the basic distinction in Orientalist discourses. The process of Orientalism is not a simple, direct one;

rather, it involves layers of complex aims and intentions. Many factors contributed to the creation of such a dominant discourse that proceeds to today. Thus, for Said (1978), it is not simply a matter of binary divisions, since these divisions are produced by a system of complex networks of ongoing discourses that weave representations based on the powerful relationship between discourse and knowledge. According to Said (1978, p.11), Orientalism must be examined as a discourse to “understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period”. Since the late 18th century (Said, 1978, p.8):

Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient- dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style dominates, restructures, and has authority over the Orient.

Accumulating knowledge on the Orient meant that travel was a significant part of the process. Although travel and exploration in the Renaissance period were “seen as strictly and unashamedly commercial and exploitative in purpose,” there were new kinds of travelers in the 18th century (Ashcroft et. al, 2013, p.112). According to Ashcroft et. al (2013, p.112), scientific travelers emerged in the 18th century “in search of new geographical and biological information”, and missionaries increased. At the beginning, these scientific travelers were often sponsored by trading companies or linked to government expeditions. However, they “rapidly developed independent scientific and religious institutions to support their work” (Ashcroft et. al, 2013, p.112). This development “allowed them to ostensibly distance themselves from commercial and military expeditions and to portray themselves as harmless knowledge seekers in contrast to rapacious traders and military expeditionary forces of conquest (Ashcroft et. al, 2013, pp. 112-113)”. Accounts of European travel and reports of explorations, however (Ashcroft et. al, 2013, p.113):

helped produce and maintain ideas of Europe itself, ideas framed by Europe's sense of its difference from the places and cultures that were being explored and reported on. The knowledge produced by exploratory travel of these various groups is at the heart of the control of new possessions.

According to Ashcroft et. al (2013, p.113), "Once 'explored' and so 'known', these territories were possessed and able to be catalogued as under the control or influence of one or other of the colonizing powers. Such travel accounts were quickly appropriated to fictional forms". While what was regarded as the new 'scientific' approach in the humanities in the nineteenth century "resulted in a more detailed and accurate representation of foreign cultures than in the past," the "travels and accounts of these travels, whether ostensibly factual or fictionally embellished, were as effectively 'capturing' as commercial exploitation or conquest. Such knowledge also directly facilitated exploitation or intervention" (Ashcroft et. al, 2013, p.113). As Said (1978, p.11) states:

so authoritative a position did Orientalism have that...no one writing, thinking, or acting on the Orient could do so without taking account of the limitations on thought and action imposed by Orientalism.

Orientalist translators produce exoticized texts, as they are extremely oriented towards the Target Text Readers. Orientalists employ imagery that appeals to the imagination, fantasies, and emotions of their Target Text Readers. And while the idea of providing an outlet for fantasy in literature is not wrong or unusual, it calls into question the reliability of the Orientalist in communicating knowledge as a scholar. It becomes problematic when a local image or concept is transformed into a stereotype in the Target Language and Culture if translated without sufficient and accurate contextual information. Orientalists tend to exoticize texts, playing to the imaginations of the readers which entertain stereotypical motifs of Arabs and Muslims. Said's analysis of the binary East/West categories that historically categorized the East as Other in the context of a 'them' versus 'us' discourse that places the West as superior and civilized in contrast to the Orient that are primitive, exotic, and helpless, etc., have been confirmed countless times

in different texts, thus establishing the existence of the larger discourse that situates the East as stereotypically inferior.

4.2 Historical Interest in the Holy Land

From the late 13th century and throughout the European Renaissance, the Holy Land was generally an unexplored and unknown territory; most people that ventured there were pilgrims (Khatib, 2003, p.13). According to Bar-Yosef (2005, p. 24), the rise of the Ottoman Empire in the 15th century limited European accessibility, creating a new political and military reality that “may have enhanced the inclination to imagine the Promised Land in quintessentially local terms”. European interest in the Holy Land had waned down after the defeat of the Crusaders in 1291, but also particularly after the Ottoman conquest in 1516 (Khatib, 2003, p.27). While the 16th Century has been called the 'Golden Age of the Ottoman Empire' (Khatib, 2003, p.27), the 17th century witnessed the beginning of the decline of Ottoman powers. The empire experienced financial difficulties due to currency devaluation and the economy suffered further damage due to external military threats (Khatib, 2003, p.27). The Ottomans neglected Palestine, since it lacked financial and strategic significance during that period, instead directing their attention to the empire in Europe (Khatib, 2003, p.27). It is during this period that Renaissance Europe “began its commercial penetration of the empire, including Palestine” (Khatib, 2003, p.27).

Napoleon's invasion of Palestine in 1799 and his subsequent defeat after only five months with the assistance of Britain resulted in a major political and economic shift in European-Ottoman relations, ultimately leading to the conquest of Palestine by Britain in 1917 (Khatib, 2003, p.30). Prior to 1800, it was unsafe for travelers and thus "often depended on earlier writings, hearsay and inaccurate maps, thereby compounding the misinformation" (Khatib, 2003, p.55). The sudden outburst of writing after 1800 developed initially as a result of Napoleon's campaigns in Egypt and Palestine in 1798-99 (Khatib, 2003, p.55). Napoleon gathered a team of 170 scientists, antiquarians and artists who studied, painted,

and wrote about the region, producing work that in turn aroused Europe's interest (Khatib, 2003, p.55).

It was not only Napoleon's campaigns that brought about western interest in Palestine, but also major changes that occurred in eighteenth and nineteenth century culture; while industrialization produced great material wealth, it equally created a sense of spiritual emptiness: "The emptiness induced a nostalgic, spiritualized feeling about Palestine as the Holy Land, the place in which one's childhood innocence and faith might be recovered" (Idinopulos, 1998, cited in Khatib, 2003, pp.56-67). The wealth spreading to the middle class helped create a new tourist industry for Palestine, and "the Protestant religious revival that swept Britain and America emphasized a scripturally-based faith and inspired the "reborn" to visit the land of the Bible" (Idinopulos, 1998, cited in Khatib, 2003, pp.56-67). This is not to say that none of the scholars, religious institutions, and pilgrims had genuine religious interests and spiritual hopes and intentions, but in working closely with, and in appointing military officials in their excavations, they helped realize the imperial aspirations of the Occident. As Said (1978, p.11) states:

this is not to say that Orientalism unilaterally determines what can be said about the Orient, but that it is the whole network of interests inevitably brought to bear on (and therefore always involved in) any occasion with that peculiar entity "the orient" in question.

The early nineteenth century onwards witnessed an increase in travelers to Palestine, mainly attracted by the proximity of both the Holy Land and Egypt (Khatib, 2003, p.13). This period has been referred to as 'the rediscovery of the Holy Land' by European powers, during which the Ottoman powers steadily declined as the foreign consuls and missionaries in Jerusalem grew in authority (Khatib, 2003, p.30). By the end of the nineteenth century, "Palestine and Egypt had become the most explored, painted, described and photographed areas on earth (Khatib, 2003, p.55)." The commercial and political interests of various European powers and religious communities were manifested through the establishment of powerful consulates which backed capitulations (Khatib, 2003, pp.32-34). Consulates had a major role in expanding European political powers in

Palestine, particularly since Consuls enjoyed special privileges (Khatib, 2003, p.34). Missionary activities increased with the main goal of converting Jews, and Christian schools were established (Khatib, 2003, p.34). Foreign investment followed the establishment of the consulates (Khatib, 2003, p.35). Tourism developed, particularly at Jaffa Gate where the port of Jaffa is located. Thus, "roads were paved, railways were built and hotels and other tourist facilities proliferated, particularly in Jerusalem...improved security facilitated archaeology, directed often towards greater elucidation of the Bible" (Khatib, 2003, p.35).

As Charlotte Whiting (2007, pp. 246-247) notes, the West's preoccupation with the southern Levant and its ancient sites as a "landscape comprised of the biblical narratives mapped out in contemporary Palestine to the exclusion of all else...", "...greatly influenced the development of archaeology" in that area. Interestingly, "most of the archaeological research in this area has been undertaken by scholars from a western background" (Whiting, 2007, p.238). This "... biblically oriented mental image of the southern Levant has had an immense influence...on the development of archaeology in this region..." (Whiting, 2007, p.238). As Raja Shehadeh (2008, p. xii) states,

Palestine has been one of the countries most visited by pilgrims and travellers over the ages. The accounts I have read do not describe a land familiar to me but rather a land of these travellers' imaginations. Palestine has been constantly re-invented, with devastating consequences to its original inhabitants. Whether it was the cartographers preparing maps or travellers describing the landscape in the extensive travel literature, what mattered was not the land and its inhabitants as they actually were but the confirmation of the viewer's religious or political beliefs.

4.2.1 The Imagined Geography of the 'Holy Land'

Eitan Bar-Yosef (2005, p.24) states that "even in the heyday of the medieval pilgrimage movement, only the privileged few could afford to visit Jerusalem". "How, then," asks Bar-Yosef (2005, p.25) "did those men and women, who could never have hoped to go themselves, imagine the Holy Land?". Bar-Yosef (2005,

p.25) suggests that one way this happened is due to certain periods in time when "Palestine's existence as a geographical space – a place one could conquer and rule – was brought closer to home". The Holy Land, unlike "the holy land/ of blessed Walsingham", was located well beyond the sphere of the familiar; but it was within reach nevertheless (Bar- Yosef, 2005, p. 25). Thus, it "is not so much Jerusalem's miraculousness, as its attainability" (Bar- Yosef, 2005, p.25).

The concept of imaginative geography, first mentioned by Edward Said, is a cultural construct formulated through a triangulation of power, knowledge, and geography. Perceptions of places are guided by the most dominant and powerful authorities that form ideas of those places through knowledge, imagination, and even desire. Places are enriched with a certain value through representations, creating a feeling of 'us' versus 'them'. Through the continuous use and circulation of images, texts and narratives, a certain world is created, and a certain sense of authority over this world is established. Imaginative geography involves the way that the foreigner imagines the land, including its people. Before even setting foot on the Holy Land, the pilgrim had already formed a picture in his mind, a kind of fantasy, of what the Holy Land means to him or her on a spiritual and religious level (Bar-Yosef, 2005, p.25).

Jerusalem already existed in the imagination of the folk in the West, as a symbol of hope (Bar-Yosef, 2005, pp.35-36). The Holy Land is ultimately commodified and sold as an image, wherein the land is illustrated and highlighted as the sacred. Distant space thus becomes a 'place' in the imaginations of the people; the land becomes an idea based on hopes, aspirations, and dreams. The main image of the Holy Land has always been the sacred religious site. Maps, guidebooks, travel books, even paintings and photographs were all a means to learn about the land and the people, and to sell the image of the Holy Land as the perfect addition to the empire, and thus ultimately creating a way into the Holy Land. According to Eitan Bar-Yosef (2005, pp. vii-viii), "the fusion between imaginative and empirical geographies, between the literal and metaphorical Jerusalems, is precisely the stuff that English dreams about the Holy Land were

made of". According to Ashcroft et. al. (2013, p.112), 'travel' started as "the imaginative construction of other people and places":

This intermixing of actual exploratory voyages with fictive representations of otherness rooted in the imaginative practice of the Middle Ages persists through and beyond the actual eighteenth-century circumnavigation of the globe and the extensive travels in the land-mass interiors that followed in the nineteenth century.

4.2.1.1 Framing the 'Holy Land' in *Tales Told in Palestine*

Historically, the west has viewed the Holy land as "a land without history, its people and places frozen in a biblical time frame" (Whiting, 2007, p.237). Late eighteenth to twentieth century Palestine as a manifestation of biblical locations and events, fueled the imaginations of pilgrims, tourists, anthropologists and archaeologists, scholars, photographers, painters, Western government and military officials, and even regular people. Charlotte Whiting (2007, p.237) maintains that "For many people in the West, the thought of the southern Levant conjured up images of shepherds and olive trees, of dusty hills and donkeys, of Jerusalem as it existed at the time of King David or Bethlehem at the time of Jesus". Moreover, Whiting (2007, p.237) states that:

The very notion of the southern Levant as a historical land, not a mawkish apparition of the past, a land whose history is continuous with the biblical story yet not limited to it, was foreign to most people, particularly those in the West. Even today few visitors to the southern Levant venture beyond the familiar places associated with the Bible, returning to their homes unaware of any history in the southern Levant that is not connected to the scriptures. The relative lack of interest in the Classical, Medieval, and Post-Medieval past of the southern Levant illustrates this very clearly.

Tales Told in Palestine (1904) portrays the complex interplay between geography, imperial power, and discourse. The anthology is directed at a specific target readership, their desires, and their expectations in the reading experience of

the folktales. The Target Text is framed through the lens of a biblical scholar and anthropologist who worked closely with archaeological institutions and military officials in the age of Empire. The choice of oral narratives in *Tales Told in Palestine* are mainly myths and legends, the tales categorized under the following headings: 'anecdotes more or less historical', 'legends of saints and heroes', 'stories of modern miracles', 'tales embodying popular superstitions', and 'specimens of oriental wit and wisdom'. The choice of the types of oral narratives and how the tales are framed, portray Palestine as a measurable landscape connected to the three monotheistic religions and inhabited by ethnic groups, with little attention given to the tales as performances of skill and almost no attention given to the individual storytellers within this larger community. Ultimately, the subjects studied are to be viewed from a distance, not engaged with as would take place in a live narrative performance of these folktales.

The lack of the presence of the storytellers' unique 'voices' reduces the representation of Palestinians to cultural stereotypes. For the Palestinian community, the Holy Land is more than their religious identities (though they consider their religious identities a significant part of who they are). *Tales Told in Palestine* echoes representations of Palestine by the West as a measurable landscape of mainly religious significance and its people as not more than groups based on religious and ethnic labels further emphasized by an ongoing Orientalist discourse over the centuries. The representations of Palestine made the land seem appealing, and the strategic knowledge gained by the Occident for imperial domination allowed for its strategic occupation. Beyond the Palestinians' religious and ethnic identities, however, their individual 'voices' as human beings with independent thoughts, emotions, and complex experiences are barely represented.

A major way through which *Tales Told in Palestine* functions as an informative text about Palestine is through how the text is organized; for instance, there is an introduction preceding most tales. The introduction and footnotes typically provide important academic and scholarly background information, though "games and deceptions may also be involved" (Pellatt, 2013, p.2). The introduction contains contextual information that functions as background material for the tales. Some of

the tales begin with an introductory paragraph about the main location, background, religious figure, or group, etc. prior to the start of the tales. The introduction is distinguished by the symbol of the colon which follows the introductory statement and prior to the tale itself. In the case of Hanauer's work, the extent to which the information in the introduction belongs to the Palestinian storytellers, Hanauer, or Mitchell is ambiguous.

However, this kind of textual organization suggests some form of distinction between the background information provided by Hanauer and Mitchell, and the Palestinian storytellers who probably did not add such intricate detail to their oral tales, since folktales are normally not this specific (unless Palestinian narrators were informed of Hanauer's scholarly or biblical interest in the tales prior to their narration, thus shaping their performances accordingly). Nonetheless, even within the tales themselves, there is a level of explication and descriptiveness that is more typical of written discourse rather than oral discourse. Such information provides interesting information about Palestine's history that successfully contextualize the tales, though the details of the landscapes and the selection of the tales that are mostly myths and legends, without significant attention given to narrative devices and the storytellers, echoes the historical interest in Palestine to collect information about the land and its people from an orientalist lens. The following two examples are introductions that precede two tales in the anthology:

Ex. (1) In the southern wall of the Kubbet 'es-Sakhra, the mosque that now stands near the site of the ancient temple, on the right side of the door, as one enters, there is a gray slab framed in marble of a darker color. It is the border that first attracts attention, but the inclosed slab only is remarkable. It contains a figure, formed by natural veins in the stone, which, though somewhat faint, is distinct enough to be taken for a picture of two doves perched facing each other on the edge of a vase. With this picture is connected a tale for which the guardians of the mosque decline to vouch, but in which many simple people find literal history. It runs as follows:

- (*Tales Told in Palestine*, 2015, p.81).

Ex. (2) In the winter of 1865-6, while a gentleman was lying ill at the German hospital at Jerusalem, he became acquainted with a peasant from Betlehem who occupied the next bed. This man was suffering from some trouble with his leg which, it may be feared, would necessitate its amputation. One day, while he was waiting for the decision of the doctors, he fell into conversation with his neighbour in the course of which he said: "However learned and skillful the Frank doctors may be, all they know they owe to the great Hakim Risto, who, as all the world is aware, lived in the days of Dhu 'l-Karnayn (the Two-horned, i.e., Alexander), and who was wiser than Solomon, in that he not only knew the language of every beast and bird, but wrote in books many things from which the hakims of our day learn how to cure diseases". The gentleman confessed his ignorance of the great physician. Thereupon the peasant replied: "Is it possible that you have never heard of the famous Hakim Risto? Well, then, if you care to hear it, I will tell you a story of him told me by our priest." He then narrated the following story:

- (*Tales Told in Palestine*, 2015, p.87).

4.2.1.2 Orientalist Illustrations in *Tales Told in Palestine*

H.G. Mitchell, who also edited Hanauer's tales, provided the photographs accompanying the tales in the book. The photographs are in black and white. Most of the photographs available in the book are of topographical sites. One of the main reasons could be that in the early days it was much more difficult to photograph people than stationary subjects due to the long exposure times required for both daguerreotypes and calotypes (Khatib, 2003, pp.232-233). This is one explanation for most of the photographs being of stationary subjects, particularly topographical sites. According to Khatib (2003, p.238):

because of the early problems with long exposure times, photographs of the indigenous population of Palestine only began to appear from the 1860s onwards. But even the subjects were mainly models employed by photographers to create the idea of an exotic orient, rather than to portray the lives of real local people. Thus the images were distorted.

The photographs do not include close-up portraits that are commonly used today—the subjects are typically posing with some distance between them and the camera; they are probably not photographed up close in order to capture the entire Palestinian attire, and to juxtapose the Palestinian figure with the landscape in the background. However, the individuality and ‘spirit’ of those posing is missing in the photos.



THE JAFFA GATE.

Figure 4 A photograph of the Jaffa Gate appears in the beginning of the book, *Tales Told in Palestine*, on the page that comes right before the title page. The illustrations in the book are provided by H.G. Mitchell. Copyright, 1904, by H.G. Mitchell.

According to Khatib (2003, p.231), “the Holy Land was one of the first areas in the world to be photographed”. Jerusalem, especially, “with its religious sites, was highly suited to topographical photography and it is estimated that during the nineteenth century there were as many as 300 photographers active at one time or

another in Palestine” (Khatib, 2003, p.231). There were French, British, American, Russian, German, and Italian photographers in Palestine (Khatib, 2003, p.231). The main interest for some photographers such as Scotsman George Skene Keith was “biblical authentication” – engravings made from Skene's photographs were included in many books (Khatib, 2003, p.231). According to Khatib (2003, p.235):

The interest of Europeans in the Holy Land and its scenes, coupled with the improvements in the photographic process and better travel facilities, led to a rapid increase in photographic activity in Jerusalem. Subjective photographers, prompted by religious and biblical interests, or by scientific and archaeological motives, had been the first to work in Palestine in the mid-nineteenth century. They were joined by a new class of 'commercial' photographers... who were anxious to sell their photographs to tourists.

Moreover, Khatib (2003, p.237) states the following about photography in the 19th century:

To what extent did photography in the nineteenth century depict the real Palestine? No doubt it was much more faithful in its representation of reality than romantic and decorative paintings but, even so, many photographers continued to try to present Jerusalem in a romantic light. Most western photographs were influenced by the photographer's personal impressions and attitudes towards the Holy Land, trying to portray the place and its people as fascinating, picturesque, mysterious and exotic.

4.3 *Kān Yā Mā Kān*, ‘There Was or There Was Not’

In Tawaddud 'Abd al-Hādi's 1980 collection of Palestinian folktales, or *ḥarāʾif*, she explains that a *ḥurefiyye* is originally taken from *ḥurāfa*, and if someone says something that sounds nonsensical or unbelievable, we say *yuḥarīf* or is *ḥirfān* ('Abd al-Hādi, 1980, p.7). The word *ḥurefiyye* signifies imagination, beyond realism ('Abd al-Hādi, 1980, p.7). However, while the folktale is not a realistic text, it carries both surface and deep meanings ('Abd al-Hādi, 1980, p.7). For 'Abd al-Hādi (1980, p.7), folktales address social and behavioral problems, issues related to authority

figures and injustice, moral dilemmas, and past beliefs such as the role of magic in society and the supernatural *ǧūl*. Furthermore, folktales refer to admirable and desirable character traits in Palestinian society, such as bravery, generosity, wise and clever thinking, keeping promises, and making sacrifices. According to Nadia Sirhan (2014, p.49), “Folk tales, from wherever they hail, manage to combine the ordinary with the extraordinary and the remarkable...It is this combination that allows the audience to both identify with the protagonist and live vicariously through him/her”. Furthermore, (Sirhan, 2014, p.49):

even though folktales can be viewed as a window into a society and a culture’s way of thinking, it is important to bear in mind that they are nonetheless believed to be fictional by the majority. They are both insightful and entertaining, and we can learn from them.

It is significant to distinguish between the mythical elements of a folktale and what is believed to be real within the community. Some supernatural beings that could be present in the folktale, such as *jinn* for example, are considered real in the Islamic faith. That said, the folktale is still understood to be purely imaginative within the Palestinian community, even if it refers to a real setting, certain beliefs, or situations and objects from real life. Moreover, the tales sometimes also include ideas that could have at some point in time reflected an actual belief but that no longer exists. Therefore, anthropologists and translators need to have in-depth background knowledge of the social and situational contexts in which the folktales are produced and need to identify the folktale genre as it is defined by the Palestinian discourse community. This is specifically important to understand the different functions of the tales and to be able to construct the Target Text accordingly.

Moreover, since the tellers received the tales from their mothers and grandmothers, they are not necessarily using their own words (Muhawi, 2004, p.81). The narrator of a Palestinian folktale does not refer to themselves or their personal experiences (at least, not on a conscious or direct level) – rather, the storyteller is narrating a tale that is considered mainly fiction, and if in instances where the line between realistic and fictive events in a tale is blurred, the audience

is reminded by the narrator through interruptive devices that the tale has been transferred to them by another teller, and that the folktale is situated in the distant past and therefore disconnected from the present situation; the disclaimer of competence “in performance serves to strip away any attribution of originality to the narrator” (Muhawi, 2004, p.81). The fact that the folktale is transmitted by memory through other tellers within the community makes it safe for the narrator to tell the tale without worrying that certain exaggerated and fantastical elements and events in the tale are associated with their personal beliefs, values, or even their personal life. The Palestinian narrator employs interruptive devices for specific functions, such as to keep the children engaged, for dramatization, to comment for specific purposes, or even to remind the children that the tale is far removed from reality.

The situatedness of the past in both the narrated and narrative events complicates the divide between reality and fiction in the tales. The tales do reflect reality on some level, influenced by the local culture of the communities that produce the folktales. Sirhan (2014, p.50) refers to Nimr Sarhan’s reflection on localization in Palestinian folktales:

localization and harmonizing the tale within the local context...entrenches it in the memories of the narrator and the audience (the passive tradition bearers of the tales), achieving greater significance and importance because the local stamp brings the content closer and makes it more available to the audience and they continue to be passed on from one generation to the next orally...Thus, in order to make the tale more realistic, narrators frequently locate the tale within their cultural milieu and draw on aspects and places local to themselves and the audience.

However, “some narrators seemed to believe that the tales they were narrating had actually taken place sometime in the past” (Sirhan, 2014, p.49). Examples of such stories are proverb stories which “contextualize the proverb and explain why the proverb is as it is and they are considered true by the Palestinian society” (Sirhan, 2014, p.50). Nonetheless, “even when a narrator believed that the tale had occurred, they still narrated and classified them as folktales” (Sirhan, 2014, p. 50). Sirhan (2014, p.50) notes Nimr Sarhan’s observation that “every narrator narrates

the tale in such a way as to make believe that the tale occurred and is factually true” and she refers to Barthes’ concept of *l’effet de reel*, or “details that have no other function but to convince us that the narrative is true and realistic” (Sirhan, 2014, p.50). The formula “*ala dimmit il-rawi*”, “upon the word of the narrator,” is “proof of this narrative device used by narrators who wish neither to affirm nor deny the truth of the events in the tale” (Sirhan, 2014, p.50).

Patai takes a different approach to interpreting Palestinian folktales, one that is far from objective but which he nonetheless justifies in his introduction to the anthology. For Patai, folktale texts are evidence of a kind of mentality that all Arabs seem to possess. He uses his position of authority as a translator and scholar to his advantage to create an illusion of reliability in *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*. Whether he truly believes himself to be reliable or not does not change the fact that he is a source of maintaining stereotypes about Arabs. Interestingly, Patai’s interest in Palestinian folktales is not supposed to only reflect the mentality of Palestinians, but also the entire Arab world whereby the Palestinians function in his anthology as a symbol for all Arabs. Initially, he states the following about the fictitious and fantastical aspect of folktales in his Introduction (Patai, 1998, p.7):

I am fully aware that to try to reach conclusions from folktales about the mentality of the society in which they are (or were) current is at best a risky undertaking. After all, the folktale is the creation of popular fantasy, where the imagination is allowed to run wild, or at least roam freely, unrestrained by the norms of reality, and where whatever is impossible in real life is not only possible but bound to happen. The folktale is populated by animals and even objects that talk; by flying carpets, horses, and camels; by dwarfs, giants, monsters, demons, and ghouls who are cunning and yet foolish, who alternately threaten and help humans. In the folktale, human beings and demons marry each other and procreate; people fall ill or are killed and miraculously recover; poor men find treasures and grow rich, beggars become kings and kings beggars, caves open and close, and we are taken on visits to strange worlds under the ground and beneath the sea. Given these fantastic settings, would it not be reasonable to assume that the folktale moves in realms that bear no

relation at all to the actual world of those who tell the tales and those who hear them?

Patai (1998, p.8) explains that folktales have aspects of reality in them as well. He does that through a comparison of folktales to science fiction, whereby like folktales, science fiction depends on the imagination; nonetheless, “their inventions are no more than variations of themes well known from this familiar world of ours”. He attempts to illustrate this point through ‘Little Red Riding Hood’ and ‘Snow White’ and the ‘Seven Dwarfs’. According to Patai (1998, p.10), “a similar dual process – of building a story upon the real and adding imaginary features to it – is found in those aspects of the folktale that reflect family relationships”. Patai (1998, p.9) maintains:

What we learn from contemplating the products of science fiction is, in brief, that even the most ingenious writers of the genre, when they set out to imagine worlds other than ours and to invent creatures different from those existing on this planet, inevitably build on what they are familiar with and then transform it somewhat so as to create something new. But they cannot break the constraints of the conceptual framework within which humankind thinks and acts, and in the end they can imagine nothing more than fresh variations on familiar patterns. There is no reason to assume that the creative limitations under which science fiction labors should not hold for the folktale as well. The inventors, enrichers, transmitters, and reciters of folktales may not have set out purposely, as do science fiction writers, to transcend their own conceptual environment, but – however far afield they let their imaginations run – they willy-nilly have had to work with the building blocks found in the physical, social, and emotional worlds of their surroundings.

Palestinian scholars all agree that the tales contain both elements of reality and elements of fiction, and that these elements function in different ways and are employed in the tales for different purposes. The issue with Patai’s approach is that he justifies his stereotypes and racist commentary on Arabs by the fact that the tales reflect some form of reality. For the Palestinian scholars who collected, studied, and translated their country’s folktales, the tales call up memories of the

folktale narrations as rich, social activities. For Patai, however, the folktales are evidence of the Arab mentality he discusses in *The Arab Mind* (1983). Patai (1998, p.10) states that “if folktales reflect their social, cultural, and material milieu, it stands to reason that attitudes, inclinations, values, ambitions, hopes, and fears should also be reflected, that they should be part of the baseline upon which the folktale builds or, to put it differently, should be inherent in the folktale as elements of its structure”. Moreover, Patai (1998, p.11) states that “once we peel away the miraculous casings in which the folktale comes wrapped, we find that the events related in it, the actions of its protagonists, and their presuppositions contain significant pointers to the sociocultural patterns of the society in which the tale is at home”.

4.4 *Kān Yā Makān*, ‘Once Upon a Time’

One of the major reasons folktales are appealing for Orientalist translators is that their structure unbinds them from the grasps of time – folktales with their recurring motifs can survive through many generations. Folktales are based on actions and events, and for many pragmatic and functional purposes do not provide in-depth descriptions of characters or detailed justifications of events, reactions, and responses that occur between characters in the tales. Nonetheless, the purpose and functions of the folktale, and the difference between what is real and what is not, and what is considered acceptable and what is not considered acceptable, and the symbolism, are all factors of the folktale storytelling experience that are understood by the Source Text Audience through ‘shared meaning’ in the community that is associated with the genre. In the instance where these culture-specific motifs and formulas are carried into the Target Text without being appropriately contextualized, the folktale becomes a stereotypical and racist representation of the Source Culture in the Target Text. Displacing from the Source Culture heavily symbolic items that depend on ‘shared meaning’ and on the social and situational contexts that are strongly tied to the text’s genre into the Target Culture which has already historically heavily stereotyped the Arabs, will result in a different effect on the Target Text Readers than that on the Source Text Audience. According to Said Faiq (2004, p.8):

Arab culture and Islam, distanced by time, space and language(s) are usually carried over – made to cross over – into a Western tradition as an originary moment and image within a master narrative of western discourse full of ready-made stereotypes and clichés (cf. Layoun, 1995; Said, 1997).

Folktales are always presented as a reflection of the cultural beliefs of the collective, always connected to whole nations through the culture-specific items in the texts, and through symbols, tropes, and themes. The direct, blunt nature of the folktale when it comes to expressing societal and universal problems, in addition to its connection to a non-specific past, makes the folktale a vulnerable text for the master discourse on Arabs. Translators have the power to frame the folktales in ways that suit their own agendas; translation wields “enormous power in constructing representations of foreign cultures” (Venuti, 1998, p.67). According to Faiq (2016, p.12):

cultural encounters that involve Arabic language (and, by extension, all language and culture that relates to Islam) that are facilitated through translation into mainstream Western languages have been characterized by strategies of manipulation, subversion, and appropriation, with cultural conflicts being the ultimate outcome.

Texts that situate the Arab culture in the distant past help reaffirm stereotypes about the Arabs as backwards, uncivilized, and stuck in the past. Thus, the fact that they are always situated in the past without a specific time of production, makes them even more prone to the manipulations of Orientalist discourse. Sayyid (1997, cited in Faiq, 2004, p.1) states:

Ghosts are the remains of the dead. They are echoes of former times and former lives: those who have died but still remain, hovering between erasure of the past and the indelibility of the present – creatures out of time. Muslims too, it seems, are often thought to be out of time: throwbacks to medieval civilizations who are caught in the grind and glow of 'our' modern culture. It is sometimes said that Muslims belong to cultures and societies that are moribund

and have no vitality – no life of their own. Like ghosts they remain with us. Haunting the present.

4.5 Raphael Patai's Framing of Arab Culture

Patai (1998, p.11) points out that “the folktales included in this book do not mirror the most recent trends in Arab societies; rather, they reflect conditions as they existed in Arab countries up to a few decades ago and as they continue to exist in the most traditional sectors of the present Arab world”. Interestingly, Patai does not mention which “traditional sectors of the present Arab world” these folktales refer to. Said (1993, cited in Faiq, 2004, pp.1-2) states:

Appeals to the past are among the commonest of strategies in interpretations of the present. What animates such appeals is not only disagreement about what happened in the past and what the past was, but uncertainty about whether the past really is past, over and concluded, or whether it continues, albeit in different forms, perhaps. This problem animates all sorts of discussions – about influence, about blame and judgement, about present actualities and future priorities.

Patai (1998, p.11) maintains that figures appearing in fairy tales “often work as externalizations and concretizations of strong emotions”. Patai (1998, p.11) references the following quote by Bruno Bettelheim, in which Bettelheim notes that fairy tales:

Offer figures onto which the child can externalize what goes on his mind, in controllable ways. Fairy tales show the child how he can embody his destructive wishes in one figure, gain desired satisfactions from another, identify with a third, have real attachment with a fourth, and so on, as his needs of the moment require.

He goes on state that this process of externalization and concretization is pronounced in the Arab folktales (Patai, 1998, p.11). Patai (1998, p.12) suggests that the strongest example of this function of folktales in the Arab folktale is:

the presentation of the internal struggle taking place in the breast of the hero before he decides whether or not to commit an evil act. In many an Arab folktale, when the protagonist must choose between good and evil, the story brings on the figure of Satan to carry out the wicked deed or introduces Allah to intervene in the nick of time to drive away Satan and allow the hero to let his intended victim live.

Patai (1998, p.12) goes on to suggest that when Arabs think of committing an evil act, they shift the blame off themselves through blaming these inclinations to evil on Satan:

What such scenes tell us is that when a person enculturated in an Arab milieu is tempted to commit an evil act (such as murder), or actually commits such an act, he finds reassurance in projecting the motivations that prompt him to perform the deed. The responsibility for the evil act is removed from the individual who commits it and is deposited instead in a superior power. This enables the human agent to feel that he himself was merely an instrument of Satan, who overpowered him, and that he therefore bears as little guilt for the murder as does the sword or the gun that inflicted the mortal wound.

Patai (1998, pp.12-22) also discusses how the oppression of women in Arab society is reflected in the folktales. He discusses the themes of marriage, polygyny, and familial relationships, in the folktales, and that mirror society's expectations with regards to how the role of each family member ought to be played out in real life. Patai's focus on the negative aspects of Arab society borders on the hyperbolic. There are times in the Introduction when Patai attempts to portray objectivity in discussing the negative aspects of the Arab culture, as he constantly compares the backwardness of the Arab world to the western civilization. The following example shows a lack of awareness about the general structure of folktales and how they work within the situation of the storytelling event, as well as an exaggerated focus on culture that borders on a complete blindness to the fact that Arabs are humans with feelings and emotions, and who mourn loss just as much as anyone. This example highlights the way the West has historically viewed the East, as statistics rather than humans, that it is okay if Arabs die since they

themselves do not care that they die, that Arabs are only numbers, evil by nature, and they themselves are incapable of mourning loss, which consequently makes it okay for them to be killed by the West. According to Patai, death is not a significant issue in the Arab world. This notion of the lack of sensitivity of Arabs is dangerous, as if Arabs do not feel as strongly as the rest of the world when they lose a loved one, or as if it is acceptable to kill Arabs because Arabs do not view death the way 'We' do. With respect to death, this is what Patai (1998, pp.23-24) has to say:

In the Arab folktale, death is, so to speak, an everyday occurrence. While the protagonist of the folktale does of course, survive, many of the other actors die, and their deaths are usually reported in a matter-of-fact way, as events of no great consequence, about which nothing could be done, and which have to be accepted by the survivors as part of life. It is likely this cavalier posture is the reflection of similar views about death held by Muslim Arabs for many centuries.

Patai goes on to attempt and weave a scientific explanation for this lack of sensitivity towards death by Arabs, through their own cultural views influenced by the Islamic notion that death is destined, that death is "*maktub*," and that Heaven awaits the pious on the other side (Patai, 1998, pp.23-24):

Part of their attitude is anchored in traditional Muslim fatalism: death, like all major events in a person's life, is predetermined, it is *maktub*, and railing against it is useless. Among the other factors that go into what could be called a "soft" attitude toward death is the firm Muslim belief in the pleasures of Paradise awaiting the pious, also the recognition of the precariousness of existence within a natural and social environment full of hazards and, until very recently at least, the resigned acceptance human impotence in the face of illness and the consequent high rates of infant and general mortality and low life expectancy.

Surely, all religions address death and attempt to make it easier for people to accept so that they may focus on life. The way Patai frames this notion as a "soft" attitude toward death completely dismisses the fact that even Muslims

experience sorrow and pain in the loss of loved ones. This example is precisely the problem with a one-dimensional cultural and psychological context that treats groups of people as unfeeling one-dimensional subjects. On the other hand, an in-depth understanding of the situational and social contexts and an in-depth analysis of genre as it is defined by its local discourse community offers a more accurate depiction of the role cultural elements play in the genre, and insight into the structural aspects of the folktale genre itself that for pragmatic reasons, depict violence in a blunter way than other literary genres.

When Arabs are not being depicted as monotonous and insensitive beings, they are portrayed as the total opposite, to the point of portraying the performance of emotion as a robotic ritualized process, to the point of portraying sadness merely as a form of exhibitionism, out of expectation and not genuine sorrow. Patai (1998, p. 25) references Granqvist's description of a group of women mourning a death, in which they were:

weeping loudly, they loosed their hair, jumped up and down on the earthen floor, whirled about, slapped their faces, all the while singing their mourning songs. Thus did the twenty stranger women, and Salem Ethman's mother and his sisters and his wives, and all the women of his flesh and blood"

Patai (1998, p. 25) further elaborates:

Part of the traditional mourning rite calls for the women to pull and even tear out their hair, beat their breasts alternately with the left and the right hand, blacken their faces with soot, and sometimes even put dust and ashes on their heads.

Patai takes a rare ritual confined to one village and describes the entire Arab world based on that one ritual. When Arabs are not being compared to their superior Western counterparts, they are being brushed into generalizations. Patai homogenizes the Arabs, grouping them all into one broad category and giving them qualities that make them alike, creating the impression that all Arabs are the same. Such images are meant to collectivize and generically represent a group of people as a homogenized whole. This results in disregarding the complex

situations and lives of different individuals within a group. Faiq (2016, pp.7-8) states the following about the West's representations of Arabs throughout history:

Negative representations of 'weak' cultures by 'powerful' ones – the latter mostly assumed to be Western – have been part of the scheme of history (the terms 'West' and 'Western' are used here to refer to intellectual framings rather than to geographical places). However, no culture has been misrepresented and deformed by the West like the Arab/Islamic one. Between these two antagonistic worlds, translation remains a prime medium of communication/interaction.

In comparison with the East, Patai also generalizes the entire West, but positively. The West in general is Patai's Target Text Audience (Patai, 1998, p.7):

The many comments and annotations that I have appended to each of the stories seek to elucidate for the Western reader what this telling-and-listening experience must have been...The Western reader is likely to be baffled by many of them.

Said (1978, pp.2-3) defines Orientalism as the way the West employs "the basic distinction between East and West as the starting point for elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions, and political accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, "mind," destiny and so on". The following statements in Patai's Introduction juxtaposing the East and the West are proof of Said's hypothesis on Orientalism. Not only does he compare the East with the West, but also provides a repetitive and continuous reminder of the superiority of the West with every single statement in which the East is negatively portrayed, ultimately emphasizing the inferiority of the East in a subtle manner:

Of course, none of this means that the position of women in the Arab family was comparable to the place women have achieved in recent decades in the West.

- (Patai, 1998, p.14)

What one would not anticipate, and what in fact comes as something of a surprise, is that the Arab folktale frequently tells about children who revere (and presumably love) their parents, even though these parents plan, or actually try, to put them to death...Filial piety, devotion of son to father and of daughter to mother, may be a more powerful factor in the emotional life of young person's brought up in a traditional Arab family than it is in, say, a modern Western family.

- (Patai, 1998, p.15)

The minimizing of emotional involvement and the speediness of the process leading from "boy meets girl" to "boy weds girl" are counterbalanced by a maximizing, as it were, of the wedding itself and by the traditionally prescribed incorporation of the new relationship of the two families into the social structures of the village or tribe. In the West, generations of novelists have focused on the joys and tribulations of courtship, treating what comes later as a negligible consequence. This convention has been characterized by E.M. Forster, in *Aspects of the Novel*, as "the idiotic use of marriage as a finale." By contrast in the Arab world, what passes between the meeting and the winning is passed over as an unimportant preliminary to the great event of the wedding itself and the ensuing developments within the newly constructed family.

- (Patai, 1998, pp.21-22)

In the social order depicted by the Arab folktale, then, violent death inflicted by one person upon another is as common as traffic deaths are in modern Western society.

- (Patai, 1998, p.22)

No unequivocal answer can be given to these questions. One thing, however, is clear: in the traditional Arab moral code, some violations are treated much more severely than they are in the Western world. Especially in the sexual realm, a considerable difference exists...The execution of a Saudi Arabian princess and her lover, portrayed in the film *Death of a Princess*, made this situation well known in the Western world. Many cases like it are known to have happened

down to the present time in the conservative sectors of other Arab countries as well. Equally contrary to the Western sense of justice is the killing of persons in blood revenge, another practice still taking place in tradition-bound sectors of other Arab countries as well.

- (Patai, 1998, p.23)

Precisely because the average age reached by people was very low, the rare person who did attain high old age was honored, even venerated, and –in contrast to the prevailing practice in the Western world where everyone tries to appear younger than he or she really is –people liked to exaggerate their age.

- (Patai, 1998, p.24)

However, if the Arab folktale suggests that the death of a close relative caused the survivors less trauma than it would in the West, this does not mean that death is passed over easily or carelessly in actual Arab folk life.

- (Patai, 1998, p.24)

According to Faiq (2004, pp.12-13), “The discursive strategies and transparencies in translating all that is Arab and Islamic, tend to adopt views of static and timeless societies and peoples, which are turned into naturalized and dehistoricized images within master Western narratives”. Moreover, “The poetics and discourse of translating from Arabic, and mainstream representation and interpretation of Arabs and Islam, lead to what Said (1997: 163) calls 'cultural antipathy'” (Faiq, 2004, p.12). The *One Thousand and One Arabian Nights*, a folkloric text, whose translations from Arabic have been proven by numerous scholars – paradoxically reiterated even by Patai himself in his Introduction – to produce a distorted effect on the Target Text Readers, is proof of the vulnerability of such texts to Orientalist discourses that establish the Target Culture as the authoritative source of knowledge on the Other. Jraissati (2011, cited in Faiq, 2016, p.20) states:

Compared to other regions in the West, the Arab world is known through past colonial ties, intense media coverage and immigrated populations – or by *One Thousand and One Arabian Nights*.

Orientalism thus involves perceiving Eastern cultures as inferior, backward, uncivilized, exotic, and dangerous, and portraying those perceived differences between the East and the West through exaggerated, de-contextualized, and distorted representations of the ‘Other’. Not only does Patai play on those perceived differences between the East and the West, but he also groups all Arab cultures together and makes generalized statements about them in the guise of academia. Faiq (2016, pp.12-13) refers to the media’s role in the “rapid diffusion of subverted translations and coverage of this world”:

suffocating the diversity and heterogeneity of different Arab and Muslim cultures, portraying them instead as a monolith and a homogeneous group, and forming on their behalf a specific cultural identity that creates an otherness of absolute strangers who ‘need to’ be isolated, avoided, and even abominated.

4.6 Conclusion

The folktale’s situatedness in the past and its merging of the fantastical and the real, makes it appealing to Orientalist discourse. In *Tales Told in Palestine*, the foregrounding of the detailed descriptions of Palestine as a measurable landscape and the choice of folk narratives foreground the different ethnic groups and religious beliefs in Palestine, disregarding the folk narratives as performances and social activities that bring people together; this echoes the Orientalist narratives of that time which portrayed interest in Palestine as a Holy Land, and which sought to accumulate knowledge on Palestine. While readability and certain contextualization strategies in *Tales Told in Palestine* make it a successful translation, how Palestine and the Palestinians are framed reflects the imperialist and Orientalist views of J.E. Hanauer’s times.

Although Patai's translation of Palestinian folktales highlights certain stylistic features of the Palestinian folktale genre, it is also an example of imaginative geography in action, reflecting the interplay between geography and discourse within the unequal framework of empire: the difference between 'us' and 'them', and 'here' and 'there', is dramatized, the translations creating "the very reality they appear to describe" (Said, 1978, p.94). Patai's Orientalist discourse guides the readers of his anthology through paratext, especially in his Introduction, so that the Self (the Target Culture) is contrasted sharply with the Other (the Source Culture). Orientalism rationalizes European colonialism by constructing the East as different and inferior, and therefore in need of Western intervention or rescue. Patai's paratextual commentary in *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* thus reflects the Orientalist attitude of East vs. West through his representation of Arabs and Muslims as a monolith and homogenous group reduced to generalized comments of the entire Arab world, and which he continuously contrasts with the West, reducing them to stereotypes and as the inferior 'Other'. Patai ultimately frames the Palestinian historical cultural identity not as a unique and distinctive identity, but as one that only exists as part of a monolithic category void of any complexities and that stands in stark contrast to the West. He thus ultimately creates the illusion of an authentic representation of the Palestinians and all Arabs as uncivilized and backwards.

While J.E. Hanauer contextualizes his folktales through giving detailed descriptions of the Palestinian landscape, we are not offered information about the local tellers that told the tales to Hanauer nor about the social and situational contexts of the folktales as performances and social activities. The tales are mainly framed as informative texts about Palestine, the local tellers rendered invisible, echoing the imperialist interest in Palestine as the 'Holy Land'. Raphael Patai takes advantage of his place of authority in the academic space (and thus perceived reliability), through mainly juxtaposing his paratextual comments on the Arab culture with his literal translation of the tales to demonstrate how the Palestinian folktale reflects the whole Arab world's beliefs and lifestyles, and which he portrays as backward and uncivilized.

Chapter 5

'Visibility' and its Illusions

5. Introduction

This chapter examines how translators create visibility or an illusion of visibility in the Target Text and explores whether the visibility of either the translator or the Source Language and/or Culture in the Target Text necessarily signify accuracy, authenticity, and reliability. Orientalists create an illusion of visibility through paratext in combination with certain translation strategies, though this visibility should not be equated with accuracy, reliability, and authenticity. Translator visibility is not necessarily a sign of reliability and authenticity, whereby visibility in Orientalist translations is often surface level. Orientalist translators of Palestinian folktales either create domesticated translations by replacing the local 'way of speaking' with the style of the Target Language such as in *Tales Told in Palestine*, or by creating extreme foreignizations that create an exotic, alienating, and Othering effect., such as in *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*.

It is impossible for the text and the translator to be separate and unaffected entities: they follow larger institutions of thought such that any text falls under the umbrella of a dominant discourse within its community. A dominant discourse is evident in every field, and Orientalism exemplifies such a discourse: it is the echoes of voices, ideas, theories, and beliefs that are continuously being recycled and that bounce back and forth in the shape of different forms of knowledge. The practice of translation within local and global communities, and the translators and their relationships with both the Source and Target languages and cultures, are all part of larger social networks affected and influenced by a multiplicity of factors.

Tales Told in Palestine reflects the Orientalist purpose of gathering and translating knowledge on the Orient for imperialist agendas and religious purposes; the choice in content, the organization of the context through framing tools, and the Target Text style that resembles the English 'way of speaking' and leaves no trace of the Source Culture dialect, are all factors that function to create an informative

text about the land and the ethnic and religious groups through an Orientalist lens. *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* (1998) demonstrates the stereotype-ridden Orientalist narratives that demonize the 'Other' in contrast to the 'civilized' 'Self' through the guise of an informative text that presents the folktales as a reflection of an 'Arab mentality'. *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* employs a literal translation strategy that Raphael Patai justifies through paratextual commentary.

On the other hand, *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, contests Orientalist translations of Palestinian folktales through 'thick translation' that aims to contextualize the tales historically on multiple levels, seeking visibility on a deep level rather than a surface one. This visibility is demonstrated through including all 'voices' involved in both the Source and Target Texts but also in clearly distancing the speech utterances of folk narrators from the translator's interpretations so that it is clear who is uttering what. The translation strategies and methods in *Speak Bird, Speak Again* are based on an in-depth understanding of the Palestinian folktale genre within the lens of the local discourse community and its key stylistic properties.

5.1 Beyond Dichotomies: The Complexities of Representation

Lawrence Venuti's notions of domestication and foreignization pave the way for a crucial discussion on translation as "a site for raising questions of representation, power, and historicity" (Niranjana, 1992, p.1). According to Venuti (1995), domesticated texts conform to the Target Culture by creating an illusion of 'transparency' that makes the texts appear like they are the original work rather than translations, thus serving the political purposes of the West through translating into Western languages. According to Venuti (1995, p.1), translation typically gives the illusion of transparency when it is void of any foreign elements, thus appearing as if it is the original text:

A translated text, whether prose or poetry, fiction or nonfiction, is judged acceptable by most publishers, reviewers, and readers when it reads fluently, when the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it

seem transparent, giving the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer's personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text — the appearance, in other words, that the translation is not in fact a translation, but the “original.”

According to Venuti (1995), translations typically aim to domesticate the ‘Other,’ forcing the Source Text, Source Language, and Source Culture to adapt to the Target Culture by removing traces of difference. Domestication erases the alterity of the foreign text by adapting it to the expectations and belief systems of the Target Culture, reflecting the Target Culture's desire for the assimilation of the ‘Other’ to what is considered ‘normal’ and ‘moral.’ Translation is so powerful as to shape national identities (Venuti, 1995, p.196). For Venuti (1995), the activity of translation in and of itself is violent, and thus inevitable. However, he also recognizes that the “freelance literary translator always exercises a choice concerning the degree and direction of the violence at work in any translating” (Venuti, 1995, p.19).

Foreignization forces the reader away from her/his linguistic habits and obligations to move within those of the Source Text Author, creating a platform for cross-cultural communication and for engaging with the ‘Other.’ Foreignization allows translation to appear as a “site where a different culture emerges, where a reader gets a glimpse of a cultural other” (Venuti, 1995, p.306). Moreover, foreignizing a text does not imply a word-for-word translation, but rather retaining elements of the original text that are alien to the Target Culture; it is this “resistancy, a translation strategy based on an aesthetic of discontinuity” (Venuti, 1995, p.306) that “can best preserve that difference, that otherness” (Venuti, 1995, p.306). Venuti (1998, p.12) argues for foreignization and considers fluency in the Target Text to be assimilationist:

The popular aesthetic requires fluent translations that produce the illusory effect of transparency, and this means adhering to the current standard dialectic while avoiding any dialect, register, or style that calls attention to words as words and therefore preempts the reader's identification. As a result, fluent translation may enable a foreign text to engage a mass

readership... But such a translation simultaneously reinforces the major language and its many other linguistic and cultural exclusions while masking the inscription of domestic values. Fluency is assimilationist, presenting to domestic readers a realistic representation inflected with their own codes and ideologies as if it were an immediate encounter with a foreign text and culture.

Foreignization, however, depending on how it is employed, may achieve the opposite goal of the one initially perceived by Venuti, by creating an 'exotic' effect that further alienates the Other – this is typically the case with folkloric texts. According to Klaus Roth (1998, p.248), "the vast majority of folklore texts were translated from a non-European (or peripheral European) language into one of the major European languages in an attempt to grasp and make sense of the 'Other,' mostly the 'exotic' oriental cultures". The ways of perceiving 'Other' cultures and translating these perceptions into the Target Language is problematic. Roth (1998, p.252) states that, "while folkloristic translations are 'domestications' almost by definition, scholars usually have the opposite goal". Sometimes retaining the exotic and strange paradoxically domesticates the text, since it fits into the narrative of the 'Other' that is continuously being circulated in the West. As Roth (1998, p.248) states:

Depending on the abilities and intentions of the translators and on their selection... they often function as polarizations of stereotypical images and as promoters of exoticism or orientalism. Popular translations of myths and tales, of songs and epics have often portrayed other peoples in rather simplified terms and have coined lasting images as heroic or primitive, treacherous or naïve, as peaceful or brutal.

Nonetheless, Venuti's concept of foreignization allows the Target Text Reader to move beyond their comfort zone and put the effort into knowing the identity of the Other. Equally important is that it allows the two languages – the two identities – to engage with each other. While ideally this should balance the power relations between the two texts and cultures, representation is far more complicated. Foreignizing translation has the potential of producing an effect of

exoticness and strangeness in the Target Text, further alienating the Source Culture, and domestication excludes the cultural 'Other' entirely by creating an illusion that the text has not been translated – both strategies can be problematic in the representation/s of the Source Culture. However, both strategies also have their advantages and disadvantages, depending on how the translator chooses to employ these strategies.

On the one hand, foreignizing translation may produce an effect of exoticness and strangeness in the Target Text as it emphasizes difference, ironically further alienating the Source Culture. This is especially true when the culture-specific items that are retained in the text have been reproduced in western discourse and media as stereotypes. On the other hand, domesticating translation excludes the cultural 'Other' entirely by removing culture-specific items to provide a familiar and smooth reading for the Target Reader. Unlike domesticating translation, foreignizing translation requires effort on the part of the Target Readers to question representations of the Source Culture and seek knowledge of the foreign culture rather than expect it to accommodate to their own. Issues of representation especially arise when translation agents involved in producing and publishing the folktales claim that the main purpose of presenting the text to the Target Readership is to introduce them to, or offer, 'scientific', academic, and informative knowledge on, the Source Culture. Nevertheless, each strategy has its advantages, depending on how they are employed within the texts. It is indeed possible to translate successfully by transferring and contextualizing certain cultural elements in the Target Text while also ensuring an appropriate degree of coherency and readability.

5.2 Visibility and the Question of 'Authorship'

To an extent, the translator may be considered an author; translators have the power to change the text drastically as they make choices that affect and modify the text for readability and for communicating and clarifying meaning, ultimately creating a new text in the Target Language. Lawrence Venuti (1998, p.43) argues that "Translation can be considered a form of authorship, but an

authorship now redefined as derivative, not self-originating". While translating may resemble authoring in many ways, to blur the line between is a tricky issue, and it could be even argued dangerous. For example, unlike a short story or a novel, a folktale does not have one acknowledged author and is regarded as the product of a collective society since the tales are traditionally passed down from person to person by memory. Thus, in the case of folklore, the authorship belongs to everyone who took part in the transmission. Since "a work of folklore exists in constant flux," (Propp, 1984, p.8), by the time the tale reaches the readers, it has gone through many stages of transcription. Although it is highly patterned, the folktale text resists closure and it undergoes modifications even as it crosses borders to new communities; thus, the problem of copyright does not traditionally apply to folktales. The fact that the text does not have one single and known author, belongs to an entire culture, and is not protected by copyright laws, makes the folktale vulnerable to Orientalist re-narrations in translation.

Anthony Pym (2011) argues for a clear distinction between translating and authoring and maintains that while the translator's creativity cannot be negated, the concept of 'authorship' slights the importance of ethical responsibility. Pym (2011, p.32) refers to Erving Goffman's analysis of authorship in oral narrative, in which Goffman distinguishes between author as creator and the author as "principal," the person "whose position is established by the words that are spoken, someone whose beliefs have been told, someone who is committed to what the words say" (Goffman, 1981, cited in Pym, 2011, p.32). Pym (2011) argues that even though translators are involved in the creative production of meaning, they are still ultimately mediators. Indeed, translating is no easy task, and it involves a lot of creativity that deserves appreciation; however, to blur the line between translator and author is to push the Source Author, Language, Text, and Culture to the background, rendering them more or less invisible, and creating an illusion of the translator as unquestionably reliable in their re-narrations of the Source Text.

Translators ought to be held accountable for the metanarratives they ultimately partake in, as they have real consequences in the world. One of the ways translators perform their ethical responsibility is through making their

strategies visible through paratextual material and by offering 'informative' content on the Source Text, Culture, Language, and Author; however, as this thesis demonstrates, some translators take advantage of their academic space as it conveniently associates their scholarly positions and academic work with reliability and credibility, through the support of translation agents and paratextual material that guides the readers' interpretation process. That is not to say that the translator's role does not include some form of authorship; in fact, the translators' immense role in re-constructing texts needs to be appreciated for the level of creativity and complexities involved in translating that necessarily lead to creating a new text in the Target Culture (and that is no easy task). Moreover, the translator's role as re-writer needs to be also acknowledged to make visible the role of the translator as a powerful agent and social actor that ought to be held accountable – however, the main idea here is that the translator does not have full ownership of the Source Text in the way the Source Author does and is ultimately a mediator – to deny that is to deny the translator's ethical responsibility. Since, in the case of folktale translations, there is no one acknowledged author and the tales belong to the collective community, the texts are vulnerable to Orientalist representations of the Source Culture.

5.2.1 The Preventative Censure of the Local Community

When a folkloric text is translated, it is displaced from the situation of the Source Culture and into the new, different situation of the Target Culture with its own sets of restrictions and expectations. In the case of a text with a known author, the Source Text Author could offer their judgement of the translation; however, in the case of folklore where the whole community takes the place of the author, who is to decide if the new text in its representation of a whole culture is valid and authentic, or if it is a misrepresentation? Therefore, the translated text cannot be simply dismissed as just another variant of the local tale, especially since this would dismiss the powerful agency a translator has in the representation (and thus also, misrepresentation) of the Source Text, Source Language, and Source Culture.

Orientalists often dealt with the knowledge they gathered about the Orient freely. The kinds of modifications done on the data they gathered, and the extent to which those modifications were made, are often unclear. Moreover, the knowledge they produced on the Orient was presented as factual, creating an appearance of objectivity that rendered the subjective and bias positions of the translators and their agents, and the larger agendas they served, invisible. The folktale is vulnerable to Orientalist manipulation because the folktale is a 'poetic' text, filled with cultural items, and has no known author. Since the folktale is considered the cultural product of a nation, the translator has the power to reframe the cultural identity of an entire nation in the Target Text. Moreover, the folktale's structure resists closure, allowing multiple and different text realizations. However, the folktale still undergoes restrictions – after all, for folklore to circulate, the changes need to be accepted, sanctioned, and approved by the local community, or else the new variant falls out of existence and dies. The conventions of performance are understood by the local community through a mutual understanding between the narrator and the audience of the social and cultural codes.

Folklore, according to Roman Jakobson and Petr Bogatyrev (1980), unlike literature which is oriented toward the individual, is oriented toward the community. Folklore is a "special form of creation", whereby "only those forms are retained which hold a functional value for the given community (Jakobson and Bogatyrev, 1980, p.6)". "The environment prunes a created work to fit its taste" (Roman and Bogatyrev, 1980, p.2) – what is rejected by the community becomes "non-functional" (Roman and Bogatyrev, 1980, p.6), "falls from use and dies out" (Roman and Bogatyrev, 1980, p.5). Moreover, single elements or motifs, or "peculiarities of form", "may be rejected or not adopted" by the contemporary community (Roman and Bogatyrev, 1980, p.5). Thus, for a folklore item to continue to exist, it requires the acceptance and sanctioning of the group (Roman and Bogatyrev, 1980, p.7).

Tradition is a "dynamic, multivalent body of meaning that preserves much that a group has invented and transmitted but which also includes as necessary, defining features both an inherent indeterminacy and a predisposition to various

kinds of changes or modifications” (Foley, 1995, xii). However, the changes and modifications made in a translation and how the items are framed and contextualized, would greatly differ from the types of changes and modifications that lead to variants within the Source Text Culture. In folklore, “the preventative censure of the community” is a fundamental principle (Jakobson and Bogatyrev, 1980, p.7) as “there can be no ritual without sanction by the community” (Jakobson and Bogatyrev, 1980, p.8). In the preservation of the traditional, repeatedly calling up traditional content in new situations results in “the adaptation of traditional content and form to new circumstances, allowing change while still maintaining the predominant sense of preservation of larger elements of tradition” (Tymoczko, 1995, p.16).

Since the existence of a work of folklore requires a group to accept it and sanction it for its continuation, if the audience with its sets of beliefs (and linguistic, social, and cultural codes) changes, so would some major aspects of the performance, including the sanctioning and acceptance of the local community – perhaps then, we cannot consider the translated text to be another variant of the local tale except in the technical sense. Nonetheless, a translated folktale could demonstrate the translator’s in-depth knowledge of the linguistic, situational, social, and cultural codes of the local folktale and transfer its genre conventions as they are identified by the local discourse community in an authentic way. Moreover, in the context of translating folkloric texts, members of the local community who are intimately familiar with the particular genre and/or are experts in the subject could provide their reviews and feedback.

5.3 Visibility in the Three Anthologies

Paratextual tools allow translators to be visible in the translations, which helps break the illusion that the translation is the original text and that it has not undergone any modifications. The preface, introduction, foreword, the epilogue or afterword, footnotes, and endnotes, are all visible forms of paratext (Pellatt, 2013, p.2). Less visible, but equally powerful, are the content pages, the index, the titles and subtitles, the chapter synopses, and the blurb on the dust jacket and on the flap (Pellatt, 2013, p.2). Non-verbal paratext includes the visual presentation, such

as illustrations like photos, tables, charts, and diagrams, the dust jacket design, etc. (Pellatt, 2013, p.2). Nonetheless, the use of paratext does not equate with accuracy, authenticity, and reliability, despite this illusion that comes from the associated meaning of authority that comes with the paratextual space. Translators frame the texts in ways that serve specific purposes so that the Target Text fulfills the desired functions, guiding the Target Readers in their interpretations of the text and the Source Culture. Making choices with regards to what to maintain, what to remove, what to add, and organizing the content in very specific ways, are essential factors in guiding the readers' understanding of the Source Text, Language, and Culture. Paratextual commentary further guides the readers to interpret the text and the Source Culture in specific ways.

Moreover, 'visibility' includes not only the translator, but all the participants in the Source Text Situation. Foreignized texts, or texts that retain elements from the Source Language and Culture, allow the Source Language and Culture to be visible in the Target Text. Domesticated texts, on the other hand, create the illusion that the Target Text is the original one; based on this idea, this thesis argues that a domestication does not necessarily imply a lack of foreign elements in the Target Text but rather, that the style of Target Text reads like the Target Language dialect while rendering the dialect of the Source Language and Culture invisible. To the extent that the anthologies retain foreign elements, all three anthologies examined in this thesis do that. However, this thesis considers *Tales Told in Palestine* a domestication despite the culture-specific items in the Target Text, as the style demonstrates an English 'way of speaking' while rendering the Palestinian dialect invisible.

However, while foreignization is important to encourage the reader to put effort into genuinely learning about the Source Language and Culture, it does not necessarily imply accuracy or authenticity. For example, *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* employs an extreme degree of foreignization through a literal translation of the tales; the end result is a product that is exoticized and filled with stereotypes, and far from objective or reliable. Moreover, Patai employs literal

translation in an attempt to prove and justify his statements in the paratext about the Arab culture.

Ultimately, the use of paratext in combination with the translation strategies employed portrays the power of the translator and how she/he chooses to exercise that power for specific purposes and to fulfill certain functions, ultimately creating a sense of reliability and accuracy that are not always necessarily there.

5.3.1 The Dominant Teller: Are the Tales ‘About’ or ‘By’ Palestine?

The translated folktales fulfill different functions. Roman Jakobson (1960) provides a model of verbal communication based on Karl Bühler’s functions of language that provides a useful framework for examining the functions of the Target Texts. According to Jakobson (1960, p.353), there are six factors that determine the function of a text: the addresser, the addressee, the message, the context, the contact/channel, and the code. When the speaker directly expresses their attitude towards what they are speaking about, the function is emotive; when the addressee’s response to a given situation is stressed, the function is conative; when the focus is on the context, the function is referential; when the focus is on the codes shared by those participating in the communication process, the function is metalinguistic; and finally, when the stress is on the message itself (how the code is used), the function is poetic (Jakobson, 1960, pp.354-356). Since language that talks about language provides contextual information, this thesis approaches the metalinguistic function as a subtype of the referential function.

However, although for Jakobson there are six basic functions of language, verbal messages fulfill multiple functions (Jakobson, 1960, p.353). The verbal structure of a message depends primarily on the dominant function (Jakobson, 1960, p.353). Thus, although multiple functions are likely to be present, some functions will be dominant over the rest. Moreover, while the assumption is that the referential function, an orientation toward the context, is the leading function for many messages, “the accessory participation of other functions in such messages must be considered” (Jakobson, 1960, p.353). Thus, utterances and texts have

multiple functions that work simultaneously, and the hierarchy of dominance depends on the text itself and multiple of factors such as norms, intent, and the overall system of networks that surround and inform the narratives.

Since the metalinguistic function focuses on the codes and is 'language about language', paratextual material fulfill a metalinguistic function; paratext is the text that surrounds and supports the core text, often including authorial comment and explanatory material, and which has the functions of "explaining, defining, instructing, or supporting, adding background information, or the relevant opinions and attitudes of scholars, translators and reviewers" (Pellatt, 2013, p.1). The use of paratext to describe and explain, and to provide background information, is rooted in academic and scholarly work which is a powerful space for disseminating knowledge. It is important to note that even 'scientific' and 'informative' texts or texts that are claimed to be dealt with in a 'scientific' manner are in fact, also social narratives, in that they are organized and structured in certain ways that guide, influence, and affect the readers to perceive and think in ways that are parallel to the ideologies of the writer, scholar, institution, etc. Even in the choice in content, what is included and what is left out, is an essential part of the framing process.

The folktales in the situation of the Source Culture already fulfill multiple functions – they entertain, inform, educate, persuade, etc. However, when the folktales are re-situated in the context of the Target Language and Culture, the messages behind them change since the audience has changed. For example, Orientalist texts have a dominant referential function, as the purpose is to disseminate knowledge about the Source Culture. Folktales, however, have a dominant poetic function – this is particularly true when they are produced in the oral mode; when transcribed to the written mode, the dominant function often shifts to the educational and behavioral to align with the scholar's and editor's purpose of publishing them. This can be especially seen in folktale books that are transcribed in Standard Arabic as opposed to the colloquial language. Thus, the Target Text style plays a significant role in fulfilling certain functions in the Target Culture.

Paratextual material offer insight into the choices made by the translator, the editor, and the publisher (Pellatt, 2013, p.1). Paratextual elements influence and guide the ways the reader perceives and reads the texts; it is a useful strategy used by many folklorists when they translate the tales they collect and present them in anthologies, as it allows the text to retain its cultural elements and contextualizing them, rather than completely adapting the tales to the Target Culture. Translators employ paratext since “The transition of even the smallest fragment of source text to target text constitutes an explanation, a re-phrasing, a re-structuring” (Pellatt, 2013, p.3). Moreover, the use of glossaries, endnotes, and footnotes is a significant space for cultural negotiation and mediation, a third space where cross-cultural comparisons may take place, and where we may celebrate cultural differences and universal similarities without erasing the ‘Other’. However, paratext may also be used to emphasize differences in a negative way, to alienate and ‘Other’, as Patai does in *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*.

Thus, while the anthologies perform multiple functions, it could be argued that the way the content is organized and framed situates them mainly as informative texts through the dominant use of the referential function (through the metalinguistic sub-function which defines, explains, and so on). Since oral folktales mainly perform a poetic function, the tension between the referential and poetic function is thus emphasized when they are transcribed and translated, creating exoticized and Orientalist texts. Moreover, in de-situating the text and transferring it to a new situation, we now have more participants involved in the text narration; we now have multiple ‘voices’ in the Target Text. Thus, in asking who is visible in the Target Text, we could be referring to multiple entities. The question now becomes, who is the dominant teller, or whose voice is dominating the Target Text? Is the text framed in a way that stresses information about Palestine and the Palestinians as passive subjects, or is it framed so that the message stresses on ‘how’ the codes are used in the folktale, on its ‘poetic’ features that foreground the folktale as an aesthetic product? Or does it attempt to balance both functions?

In *Tales Told in Palestine*, it is not clear who is uttering what. While certain culture-specific items are included, the local dialect or Palestinian ‘way of speaking’

is entirely replaced by the Target Language style and English 'way of speaking' so that the poetic function is no longer existent; the tales are no longer narrated by Palestinians, but by the new teller, J.E. Hanauer, who is telling us about Palestine and the Palestinians. The multitude of voices, which echo in the folktales in Arabic, even as they undergo modifications and are re-told over and over, disappear in *Tales Told in Palestine. Speak Bird, Speak Again* not only has a dominant referential function through the extensive use of paratext, but also a dominant poetic one; by paying equal attention to the poetic elements of the tales through an in-depth understanding of the genre as an aesthetic form, Muhawi manages to create a translation that shifts the positioning of the Palestinian people in the Target Text as mere subjects to be studied to active agents with a heritage rooted in a rich, social life – the Target Text is now both 'about' and 'by' Palestinians. Moreover, Muhawi organizes the content in a way that shows clearly who is uttering what in the new situation. Patai also attempts to retain the style of the oral Palestinian folktale in *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* through a literal translation – however, Patai manipulates the poetic-referential tension through a literal translation of the poetic elements and through juxtaposing the tales with the paratextual commentary that stresses cultural difference negatively; Patai thus emphasizes that the folktales are 'by' Palestinians but frames their utterances in a negative light that stereotypes them, to ultimately justify his own statements 'about' Palestinians and 'about' Arabs in general.

5.3.2 Domestication and the Loss of Dialect

Roth (1998, p.248) maintains that many scholars have noted a "fundamental asymmetry and inequality between languages and speak of a 'European privilege of translation,' which only reflects colonial and post-colonial global power relations". The "asymmetry and inequality between languages" Roth notes can be seen in the "asymmetrical power relationship between the various local 'vernaculars'...against the one master-language of our postcolonial world, English" (Bassnett and Trivedi, 1999, p.13). Folktales are originally oral texts spoken in the colloquial language and reflect the dialect variation that exists in a certain area; thus, folktales reflect certain ways of speaking that depend on the situation in which they are told and to

perform specific functions. One of the unique features of the folktale genre is its special use of language, demonstrating the dialects of the local community. Once oral folktales are translated into another language, they lose the special features of the dialects. Sadhana Naithani (2006, p.19), in reference to the colonial British collections of Indian folklore, states:

One of the main features of the colonial British collection and publication of Indian folk narratives in the second half of the nineteenth century was the transformation of orality not just into written words, but into the written words of another language. As Indian folklore has been textualized, it has moved from dialects to foreign language(s). The reason for and implication of this were the same: the published collections were not meant for those who had told the stories, but for British and other European readers.

Gayatri Spivak (1993, pp.399-400) uses the term 'translatese' to describe how the tendency to over-assimilate texts for western readers in translating to 'hegemonic' languages such as English erases those features within the texts that mark them as different, consequently erasing the identities of the less powerful individuals and cultures:

In the act of wholesale translation into English there can be a betrayal of the democratic ideal into the law of the strongest. This happens when all the literature of the Third World gets translated into a sort of with-it translation, so that the literature by a woman in Palestine begins to resemble, in the feel of its prose, something by a man in Taiwan.

Thus, one of the main issues found in the translations of folktales is the neutralizing effect that takes over the texts: the unique dialect that makes a folktale 'Palestinian' or 'Taiwanese' or 'Indian', etc. and the variations in dialects that occur due to the storytellers' different backgrounds, such as the educational background, the setting (whether it is the private space of the home, or the public sphere), the differences in backgrounds within the same country (e.g., fallāḥi, madani, or badawi), or even differences in gender and age – when folktales are translated into a foreign language, these differences are erased. The markers of difference may

be easily erased, too, since the basic structure of the folktale is universal, making it easily transmittable across geographical and linguistic borders.

We do not have the original texts for *Tales told in Palestine* (1904); however, it is assumed since the tales were told orally to J.E. Hanauer, they were in Spoken, colloquial Arabic. The translated tales in *Tales told in Palestine* are a perfect example of domesticated translations by Orientalists during the time period in which the book was published, which was early twentieth century. Hanauer retold the tales to Mitchell, and the translations appear to be paraphrased so as to get the meaning across. The only words that appear foreign in the book are culture specific items which are transliterated. These words are culture-specific items that typically appear in parentheses in the tales and are contextualized by the tales. However, I still consider the translated tales to be domestications because while there are foreign elements in the book, the texts still appear to be about the Source Culture and not *by* the Source Culture; the dialect, or ‘way of speaking’, is highly significant in the oral folktale; however, in the book we see the English ‘way of speaking’.

Tales Told in Palestine thus reads fluently as it makes heavy use of paraphrasing. The language used in the book is simple in the sense that the average reader may understand it easily, but more formal than the typical folktale. While it uses simple, understandable language, it is more formal than the colloquial and informal language usually employed in folktales. Words such as “hence” and “however” reflect the main function of the book as a piece of academic work rather than a body of folk literature. The translations also do not reflect the Palestinian dialects of the individual storytellers. The anthology reads like an academic book on Palestine; the style is a formal fluent English – while there are culture-specific items, including the names of places and people, all traces of the spoken Palestinian dialect have been erased. The following is an example from an anecdote, entitled ‘An Eye for an Eye’ (Hanauer, 2015, p.55):

It was in vain that the weaver begged for mercy, offering to indemnify the thief for his misfortune. Karakash seemed inexorable. Finally, however, the weaver bethought him of a compromise.

The level of fluency in *Tales Told in Palestine* is the result of paraphrasing the texts, especially since they are from Hanauer's memory. However, it is important to note that although Palestinian storytellers memorize the tales, the narrative devices and formulaic phrases that mark the Palestinian folktale genre are often (though that depends on the skill of the storyteller) depicted more heavily than they are in *Tales Told in Palestine*. Hanauer's book does not place the tales within their performance context that marks them as distinctively Palestinian. As Mitchell explains in the introduction, the main function of the book is informative; it is meant to inform students of the Bible about the different beliefs of the religious and ethnic sects within Palestine. Paraphrasing the tales in the Target Language style affirms the idea that the main message of the book is to provide information about Palestine while disregarding the fact that folktales are also 'by' Palestinians. While the tales are in fact contextualized in an effective way, they do not provide significant attention to any other context besides the broad category of the 'cultural context', thus the tales are stripped of their style – their 'voice.' This reduces the Palestinians to passive subjects to be studied and takes away their agency.

The style in *Tales Told in Palestine* is also the result of the change of the context of situation from performances within the local community, to Hanauer's performance that is influenced by his background as a skillful interpreter, a religious figure, and an anthropologist addressing a professor of theology. Perhaps even before that, the Palestinian narrators' performances were possibly affected by the realization and awareness of Hanauer's scholarly and religious occupation. Further changes were no doubt made in the written context by the editor, Mitchell, who was also a professor of theology, addressing theology students, and thus requiring a more formal tone in delivering the tales. Furthermore, the relative change in the degree of formality is also a result of the detailed descriptions in *Tales Told in Palestine* that are not typically found in oral folktales, and that seem to offer specific locations and even measured distances, calling up the maps, tour

guides, and travel literature that were popular in the period between the turn of the eighteenth century and the twentieth century.

The Target Text's relative formality is also affected by the re-contextualization of the tales from an oral to a written context, a process that plays a significant role in the level of descriptiveness found in the tales that does not typically exist in oral folktales. Transferring every single speech utterance does not equal to no loss of meaning. Nonetheless, although paraphrasing the tales resolves syntactic issues that occur, and may help the translator focus on successfully communicating certain types of meaning in the tales, omitting the unique elements of style creates a monotonous tone – the tone of the text, the Palestinian storyteller's 'voice,' is thus lost. Hanauer's own narrator 'voice,' which reflects his religious background and occupation as an anthropologist, replaces the voices of those before him. Thus, regardless of how well contextualized Hanauer's tales are, they are still told through the Orientalist lens of his time. This is problematic because Palestine is a colonized nation that is still being represented in public narratives as a landscape of which the significance lies merely in its political and religious value, while dehistoricizing and dehumanizing the Palestinians, pushing them into the background.

Another way *Tales Told in Palestine* is domesticated and in which the Source Text dialect is lost is through the placement of the short introductions at the beginning of each tale, with only a colon identifying them as introductions. Since the brief introductions merge seamlessly with the tales, and since the language in the introductions resembles that of the actual tales, it is unclear who is the author of what. Are the short introductions by Hanauer, or his editor, Mitchell, or both? What is evident, however, is that the dialect, the Palestinian 'way of speaking', as it is manifested in the situation of Palestinian folk narratives is completely replaced by the English 'way of speaking'. Except for rare moments, the poetic function does not exist in *Tales Told in Palestine*. The culture-specific items provided in parentheses in the tales have an informative function, and though they are foreign elements retained in the tales, they do not require any real effort on the part of the reader to learn about the Palestinians beyond the ethnic and religious categories.

5.3.3 Paratext and the Illusion of Credibility

In *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* (1998), paratext gives the illusion of reliability by positioning Patai as a knowledgeable scholar. Patai's position in the West as an academic authority on Arab culture offers him the power to disseminate knowledge. Patai takes advantage of his academic position, creating an illusion of accuracy, reliability, and dependability through his academic space. Patai (re)frames the Palestinian cultural and historical identity through paratextual information, using the framing tools to justify his approaches and methods in translating the tales, and juxtaposing his literal translation with his commentary to create an interpretive framework that guides how the readers are to perceive the Source Text Culture.

Patai reframes the national and cultural identity of the Palestinians, and in fact Arabs in general, through the introduction, notes, and comments. Patai relies mainly on paratext to compensate for contextual losses in the Target Text. The introduction justifies Patai's purpose of collecting and presenting the tales and his translation strategy. The comments offer a summary of the tales through a literary analysis that is essentially Patai's interpretations of what the tales are about and what they signify about the Palestinian and Arab culture. They are also explained in a cultural context as they are linked to traditions, and at times references to other sources that may have similar content, or to different versions of the tales, are made. The notes include definitions of some concepts, references to some narrative devices, references to myths and figures in the text that may not be familiar to the audience, sometimes origins of the words, a linguistic analysis, the cultural context, and the use of certain words and phrases, etc. There is also an afterword and references to other sources and materials. Patai (1998, p.7) explains to his Target Audience why he employs paratext:

The many comments and annotations that I have appended to each of the stories seek to elucidate for the Western reader what this telling-and-listening experience must have been. An authentic literal translating such as I have attempted here requires extensive explications of words, turns of

phrase, narrative and descriptive details, and allusions that otherwise would remain cryptic in their lapidary concision. The intended listener of these tales would, of course, have instantly grasped every reference. The Western reader is likely to be baffled by many of them. My notes are intended to supply the reader with the necessary linguistic and cultural context of understanding and enjoyment.

Not being visible in a text as a translator creates an illusion of ‘realness’ and authenticity – as if the text is the original. This limits the extent to which the translator’s choices and ideologies are questioned. However, being visible within a text does not necessarily mean authenticity and reliability. It could also be an illusion of reliability created by paratext. On the one hand, paratext is an effective tool for activism and resistance – on the other hand, it provides a false sense of reliability. Patai positions himself strategically as a scholar through a folkloristic, linguistic, and cultural analysis in the introduction, comments, and footnotes. Paratext leads the readers’ perceptions of the folktales and the culture that produced them, and consequently affects their interpretation of the texts. Patai is first and foremost a reader since he interprets the text and translates according to that interpretation.

5.3.4 Literal Translation and its Illusions

A literal translation is useful and may be a good first translation to be further edited but employing only literal translation for the whole text neglects other significant aspects of the text, since texts are more than their literal meaning. Literal translation focuses on preventing loss, whereas the focus should be on creatively achieving an authentic text that is ‘true’ to the original, where truth does not necessarily mean an exact copy. Translation loss is “the incomplete replication of the ST in the TT – that is, the inevitable loss of textually and culturally relevant features” (Dickins et. al., 2002, p.21). Translation loss occurs “even at the most elementary level. True SL-TL homonymy rarely occurs (since there is almost always some difference in pronunciation across languages), and rhythm and intonation are usually different as well” (Dickins et. al., 2002, p.21). According to

Dickins et al. (2002, p.21), translators “should not agonize over the loss but should concentrate on reducing it”:

Once one accepts the concept of inevitable translation loss, a Target Text that is not even, even in all important respects, a replica of the ST is not a theoretical anomaly, and the translator can concentrate on the realistic aim of reducing translation loss, rather than on the unrealistic one of seeking the ultimate target text.

Nonetheless, literal translation has its benefits. According to Peter Newmark (1988, pp.68-69), literal translation must not be avoided if it secures referential and pragmatic equivalence to the original. Moreover, literal translation “may appear tedious, but there is satisfaction in weighing it against this or that more elegant version and finding it more accurate and economical” (Newmark, 1988, p.74). Newmark (1988) also believes that the more specific or technical a word is, the less likely it is to be affected by the context, which suggests that literal translation is better suited for technical texts than for literary ones.

While Newmark believes that literal translation is the basic procedure, both in semantic and communicative translation, in that translation starts from there, he acknowledges that above the word level literal translation becomes increasingly difficult (Newmark, 1988, p.70). For Newmark (1988, p.70):

literal translation above the word level is the only correct procedure if the source language and the target language meaning correspond, or correspond more closely than any other alternative, and if the meaning of the Source Language unit is not affected by its context in such a way that the meaning of the Text Language unit does not correspond to it.

Furthermore, when there is any kind of translation problem, literal translation is “normally (not always) out of the question” (Newmark, 1988, p.70). Newmark (1988, p.70) states:

It is what one is trying to get away from, yet one sometimes comes back to with a sigh; partly because one has got used to the sound of what at first seemed so strange and unnatural; beware of this.

Dickins et al. (2002, p.29) use the term cultural transposition “for the main types and degrees of departure from literal translation that one may resort to in the process of transferring the contents of an ST from one culture to another”. Literal translation is generally regarded as “the practical extreme of the SL bias” (Dickins et. al, 2002, p.16). Free translation stands at the opposite extreme, where there is maximum Target Language bias, where “there is only a global correspondence between the textual units of the ST and those of the TT” (Dickins et. al, 2002, pp. 16-17). Between these two biases are the faithful, balanced, and idiomizing translations (Dickins et. al, 2002, p.17). A literal translation places the text in danger of exoticism, signaling extreme “cultural foreignness in a TT” (Dickins et al., 2002, p.29). A Target Text marked by exoticism is one which “constantly uses grammatical and cultural features imported from the ST with minimal adaptation, and which thereby constantly signals the exotic source culture and its cultural strangeness” (Dickins et al., 2002, pp. 29-30).

Paradoxically, Patai’s entire argument for employing a strategy on the one extreme end of translation is by arguing against the opposite extreme on the other end, without consideration of any intermediate strategies. Ironically, though Patai attempts to avoid a romanticized translation, the book produces the very effect of exoticism he attempts to avoid. Both exoticism and cultural transplantation, which is on the opposite end of the scale and more of an adaptation than a translation, lead to an inauthentic representation of the Other. While exoticism reinforces difference and strangeness, creating further distance between the source and target cultures, the cultural transplantation erases most traces of the ‘Other.’ Both ultimately achieve dominance over the narrative of the ‘Other’ and control over the knowledge related to the Source Text and Source Culture and their representations. Literal translation, when used to an extreme degree and on the whole text, creates an illusion of authenticity, when in fact it is creating a sense of Otherness in the target text.

Patai (1998) states his three purposes in presenting these tales in his introduction. The first purpose is to display the variety of narrating skills amongst the Palestinian storytellers. The first objective is to “demonstrate the surprisingly

wide range in storytelling skills manifested in the tales. At one extreme of this range are found simple, inept, and primitively presented tales, confined to a single fragmentary scene, hesitantly told, with a limited vocabulary, vague references, confused time sequence, much repetition, faulty logic, and inner contradictions” (Patai, 1998, p.3). According to Patai (1998, p.3), tales of this type suggest that “there took place a decline of the storytelling art, that they represent a last phase in a great tradition about to disappear”. According to Patai, some of the tales recorded by Hans Schmidt as early as 1910-1911 belong to this category of tales. Patai (1998, p.3) states that alongside the gifted, professional storytellers, there are amateurs “with an urge to tell stories for the entertainment of their children, grandchildren, relatives, and friends”. At the other end of the continuum “are found complex, carefully structured and developed sequential tales, reminiscent in certain respects of the famous Thousand and One Nights, rich in vocabulary, detail, motivation, and plot” (Patai, 1998, p.3).

Patai’s second purpose is to “present the English translations of Arab folktales in the very style in which they are (or were) told in the original Arabic” (Patai, 1998, p.4). Patai justifies his use of literal translation through its preservation of the style of the original text. According to Patai (1998, p.4):

such a literal translation of Arab folktales has been long overdue, since the existing English collections of Arab folktales typically present them in stylistic reworkings from which the English reader cannot derive a true idea of how the story sounds in the original, what narrative devices it utilizes, how it expresses what it intends to say, what kind of cultural atmosphere it reflects, and what conceptual and emotional images it conjures up in the minds of its listeners.

He demonstrates his point through comparing two translated texts of the *One Thousand and One Arabian Nights*, “the most cited of the classical Arab folktale collections” (Patai, 1998, p.4). He references one of the translators of the two translations which he compares, Husain Haddawy, who referred to the work of the translators of Arabian Nights that took “unwanted liberties” as “hack versions” (Patai, 1998, p.4). The two translations Patai compares are by Husain Haddawy,

who opts for a literal translation, and Richard Burton who rewrites the passage to the extent of adaptation. Patai (1998, pp.4-5) states the following:

As is evident, Burton practically rewrote this entire passage; deleted such typical Arab similes as “radiant as the moon,” “unveiled bride,” “splendid fish,” and “a morsel of luscious fat”; and added instead several ideas and images that he knew and imagined, would make a greater impression on his English readers. In any case, it is clear that he did not in the least feel compelled to even hew close to the original.

According to Patai (1998, p.5), while Burton’s rendering does convey some general ideas of the Arabic original, it does little else:

How these ideas are articulated in the original, what verbal devices are used by the tale to create interest and tension, how by being succinct and occasionally telegraphic in expression it forces listeners or readers to supply details from their own imaginations –these and many more characteristics of the original Arab art of storytelling are all but lost in the rendering.

Patai goes on to criticize Inea Bushnaq’s translation of a Palestinian folktale, ‘Seven Magic Hairs,’ which is also included in the Schmidt and Kahle collection of 1918. He places Bushnaq’s version next to a literal translation of the same text and notes that “the original is much tighter and rhythmic than Bushnaq’s translation,” and “it has a more consecutive way of saying what it wants to say” (Patai, 1998, p.5). “Nor is it encumbered by the embellishments of a romanticizing English style (“burned with a love of horses;” “shedding tears like a man”),” he adds (Patai, 1998, pp.5-6). Furthermore, he states that “lost in translation, moreover, is the typical Arab manner of expressing a decision by saying (or thinking), “I want to...” (Patai, 1998, p.6). He notes that “many instances in the work of other translators or anthologists, who deviated much farther from the original, could be easily adduced” (Patai, 1998, p.6). Patai (1998, p.6) goes on to add another example in Bushnaq’s text, stating that it shows “... how a “free” translation can occasionally hide a mental construct that forms an important element in popular thinking”. These examples serve the purpose of showing why Patai chose a literal translation.

Patai's final purpose in presenting these tales, and the one he considers "most important," is "to present the Arab folktale as an invaluable source of knowledge of the mental world of traditional Arab culture" (Patai, 1998, p.7). The paradox in Patai's worldview is that for him the only way a translation could misrepresent a foreign culture is through a free translation. While he offers a contextual analysis of the texts for further elaboration of the conditions and meanings of the texts, and to fill in communicative, cultural, and linguistic gaps, he does not consider his own role in maintaining misrepresentations of Arabs through his narrow and stereotypical views.

Rather than consider the different elements within every text as requiring different strategies, Patai only employs a literal translation for the folktales. He criticizes the loss of devices and elements within others' translations but does not offer any insight into how they may be preserved other than through a literal translation. Patai's visibility in discussing his agency as a translator and how he performs that agency, and his refusal to conform to a translation that romanticizes the original Arab texts gives off the illusion of authenticity, accuracy, and reliability. Patai employs literal translation as a way for him to come across as an ethical representative of the colonized Other. According to Patai (1998, pp.6-7), what he has attempted to do is to present translations "as faithfully to the original as possible, thus preserving much of the stories' original atmosphere and allowing what the German biblical scholar Hugo Gressman once called Palestine's *Erdgeruch* ("earth-smell") to come through their English garb." Patai (1998, p.7) states:

I have persisted in this aim even at the cost of occasionally having to use turns of phrase, expressions, and sentence structures that must sound rather unidiomatic in English. I believe the translation of a folktale should be given not as if it had originally been written in the target language but rather as it must have sounded in the mouth of the original storyteller and as the people who listened to it heard it in their own tongue.

The Arabic transcriptions Patai used for *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* were in Spoken, colloquial Arabic – it is also assumed the Arabic

transcriptions we don't have access to are in Spoken, colloquial Arabic. Patai's literal translation is an attempt to translate the original texts which are in spoken, colloquial Arabic in a way that remains true to the dialect of the Source Culture. However, employing only a literal translation for the entirety of the text, especially one that is situated heavily in the culture, will ultimately lead to an exoticized translation in addition to inaccuracies in translating meaning. After all, the more a concept, or a word or phrase, is rooted in a culture, the less likely a literal translation would make sense – here, the translator needs to be creative in the search for equivalents to express the accurate meaning. Moreover, Patai does not address the probability that since these texts were transcribed by others before being translated by him, there may have been some elements that had been modified or edited out, including elements that may provide some essential contextual meanings to the original texts.

Literal translation thus creates an illusion of transparency that makes the translator appear reliable. Since a literal translation neglects the multi-faceted contexts of texts, this leads to the representation of the Source Culture as one-dimensional. Patai attempts to compensate for losses in context through paratext. However, paratext is not as transparent and innocent a strategy as it seems to be and is a tool for ideological motivations. The illusion lies in the reliability associated with paratext as a scholarly and academic device that reflects knowledge and authority, and consequently truth.

5.4 'Thick Translation': Contesting Orientalist Re-Narrations

The translated tales in *Speak Bird, Speak Again* (1989) capture the essence of the Palestinian dialect while also making it in English. The style is colloquial and where cultural equivalents substitute the Source cultural words, the translation is idiomatic except for certain words and phrases from the Palestinian dialect that capture the essence of the folktale style and genre. The fact that *Speak Bird, Speak Again* is not limited to one or two methods but applies a variety of methods depending on factors associated to style, function, and genre conventions, is what makes this translation an authentic one. Muhawi and Kanaana (1989) aimed for

equivalents that reflect the spirit of Spoken Palestinian Arabic. For example, a formal style of speech in English for '*al-salāmu 'alaykum*' would be 'Peace be Upon You', and the response would be equally formal. In a tale entitled 'Half-a-Halving', placed in the category of tales about 'Siblings', the informal equivalent, "Peace to you!" is used (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.93):

The man went forth, and came upon a ghoul. He approached him immediately, shaved his beard, trimmed his eyebrows, and said, "Peace to you!"

"And to you, peace!" replied the ghoul. "Had not your salaam come before your request, I would've munched your bones so loud my sister who lives on the next mountain would've heard it. What can I do for you?"

The social connotation of the greeting is explained in a footnote. Moreover, the variation in dialect is performed by including the transliterated Arabic word '*salām*' in the following statement made by the ghoul, which also means 'peace' and that parallels the English equivalent. In paralleling dialect variations in the translated versions, Muhawi and Kanaana create an 'echo' of the multiple voices of Palestinian folk narrators, thus historicizing the tales through a socio-linguistic approach that reflects the Palestinian 'voice' and spirit. Moreover, the fact that Muhawi includes instances of both idiomatic and literal translations within the same text, creates a form of heteroglossia – not only is the power balance between the languages and cultures restored, but the tales reflect a form of dialogue between the languages and cultures, allowing them to harmonize within the same space, so to speak, rather than alienating or 'Othering' either language or culture.

In the previous example, we also have a somewhat formal sounding 'The man went forth'; Muhawi and Kanaana employ this as an equivalent to a word used commonly in the Palestinian dialect, '*rāh*'. In the context of the story, the man did not just leave, rather he left to go on a journey or mission in search of, or to accomplish, something. The added meaning here is that this man was moving with

purpose or was about to encounter something, or as Muhawi and Kanaana put it, 'come upon'. Thus, the man went 'forth' and came upon a ghou. The word *rāh* when uttered in the context of the Palestinian folktale, activates a 'shared meaning' between the narrator and the audience. Thus, Muhawi and Kanaana contextualize the linguistic, literary, cultural, and social meanings on multiple levels. Such deep contextualization cannot be found in Orientalist translations which may on the surface appear authentic and balanced.

Muhawi (2006, p.370) notes the significance of Anthony Kwame Appiah's (2000) notion of 'thick translation', which Appiah has borrowed from Clifford Geertz' (1973) concept of 'thick description', in the translation of folktales. Appiah (1993, p.817) defines a 'thick' translation as one that "seeks with its annotations and its accompanying glosses to locate the text in a rich cultural and linguistic context". However, Appiah's notion of 'thick' translation differs from Geertz' 'thick description' (Muhawi, 2006, p.370); Appiah's conceptualization of the notion within the context of translation allows for some level of objectivity, whereas Geertz' approach "is not possible in translation because, in translating, we are not speaking in our own but in a 'borrowed' voice which is ours and someone else's at the same time" (Muhawi, 2006, p.370); 'thick description' "entails the inclusion of the participant observer's experience within the scope of the ethnographic description." According to Muhawi (2006, p.370), the only way to view Appiah's concept like Geertz' is to assume that the glosses and annotations "constitute the experiential or subjective element in the translation".

The contextualization strategies in *Speak Bird, Speak Again* may be contrasted with *Tales Told in Palestine* based on Muhawi's analysis of Geertz' 'thick description' as less objective than Appiah's 'thick translation'. *Speak Bird, Speak Again* demonstrates clearly whose utterances belong to whom, to the extent where the reader will also be well aware of the utterances made by the audience members in the folktale performance. While *Tales Told in Palestine* contextualizes the culture-specific items and the cultural context of the tales effectively and communicates the contents of the tales in a readable style, thus creating what

would be considered a successful translation in the technical sense, there is no clear separation between all the entities involved, so that we are not certain who uttered what. Thus, the translator's own subjective interpretation of the tales has clearly heavily modified the Source Tales as they are spoken in the Palestinian dialect.

Appiah's 'thick translation' questions the use of the 'Gricean mechanism,' wherein communicative intentions are realized through inferential meanings derived from conventions. Appiah argues that a literary translation reproduces in the Target Text the key literary properties of the Source Text. The match is never perfect and might be "unfaithful to the literal intentions" of the Source Text so as "to preserve formal features that seem more crucial" (Appiah, 1993, p.816). Appiah (1993, pp.815-816) states that, "for literary translation our object is not to produce a text that reproduces the literal intentions of the author...but to produce something that shares the central literary properties of the object-text".

Muhawi's (2006) understanding of Appiah's 'thick translation' is significant in that he expands the notion to include the performative dimension of the text. Muhawi (2006) acknowledges the different dimensions of any text, its different contexts that make it a complex system of signs in which the different aspects make it more authentic and reflective of history. Since culture in folkloric text is highly performative, it makes sense to also illuminate this dimension in the text through a translation that prioritizes the 'equivalent effect' of the text – and since the performative style in the folkloric text is intertwined with culture, it is simultaneously a cultural equivalent. For Muhawi (2006, p.371), texts – whether they are classics or foreign to the local culture – require 'thick translation', since the aim of thick translation is to present multiple layers of context, and as Muhawi (2006, p.371) points out, the existence of multiple contexts exists in every text and thus is an escapable part of the reading process:

As Appiah notes, reading is a manifold activity because the text exists "as linguistic, as historical, as commercial, as political event" (ibid.:247). It would

follow, of course, that translation has all these dimensions as well, in addition to geographic and aesthetic dimensions, among many others.

Since reading is a manifold activity made up of all these different dimensions then consequently so is translation (Muhawi, 2006, p.371). For Muhawi (2006, p.371), the process of translation emerges or performs in and through history, through ‘thick translation’:

By means of footnotes and glosses, thick translation allows the work and its translation to exist in an organic relation whereby there is a harmonious relationship between the elements, as interlocking parts of an aesthetic process that unfolds dialectically (emerges) in and through history.

For Muhawi (2006, pp. 372-373), a ‘truly’ thick translation must seek to bring out all the layers of the original text, thus including the original text in its original script, a transliteration into the Roman alphabet, a literal translation, a free translation, and even alternate readings for ambiguity in cases where language is not direct and requires explanations and clarifications. Muhawi (2006, p.373) visualizes ‘thick translation’ as a strategy for an “intersemiotic layering” of the text that renders the translation a multi-modal performance, whereby the graphic and the visual smoothly intertwine and work together; thus, multimodality can be achieved visually, through the metalinguistic code, whereby language uses itself as a tool to reflect upon, and talk about, itself, thus having the culture and history of the source text emerge as a form of political resistance.

The oral performance of the original, Source Text, is not only a phonemic, but also a visual representation. Muhawi (2006) envisions the application of ‘thick translation’ as a visual breaking apart or separation of the different layers of the text, so that, for instance, we have the original and the ‘free’ versions, sandwiched between the literal one. In fact, for Muhawi, a true ‘thick translation’ is one where the translator delves into as many layers of meaning as possible, so that it, for instance, includes a version of the text transliterated. For Muhawi (2006, p.373), this is the ideal translation, so that ‘thick translation’ is an “intercultural and

intersemiotic icon of textuality". Muhawi (2006, p.373) mentions the Dome of the Rock as an example of the intersemiotic icon, whereby its architecture includes both the scripture that speaks and the self-referential art; "The effect of a multi-layered translation in which the language of the original is written in a non-Roman alphabet, or in a non-alphabetical system of transcription, approximates the visual panels in an Islamic building" (Muhawi, 2006, p.373). This type of thick translation is the ideal form, according to Muhawi (2006, pp.372-373), as it represents an intercultural and intersemiotic icon of textuality (a textuality that is never entirely free of the echoes bouncing across the strata) that shows visually how meaning arises from the interaction of all the layers making up the icon.

According to Muhawi (2006, p.373), Dennis Tedlock's 'intersemiotic' translation of Zuni oral folktales is an example of an 'iconic' translation. Tedlock's solution for the loss of performative elements in written folktales is by graphically marking the paralinguistic elements that allows the folktales to be performed if read out loud by means of the graphic cues; in the context of Zuni folktales, Tedlock identifies the pause as the key element in the oral delivery of the Zuni folktale genre, and he creates a transcription system whereby graphic 'icons' create an interpretive framework for the reader in terms of how to deliver and 'perform' the Zuni folktales when reading them out loud. However, Muhawi (2006, p.374) maintains that it is sufficient for readers to be able to imagine how the original teller told the folktale; they do not necessarily have to apply a 'thick' reading of Tedlock's text. Building on Muhawi's (2006) argument, a translation should be able to reflect the distinctive style of original teller. For Muhawi (2006, p.374), a performance manifests in a text that "allows itself to be imagined by a potential reader as an utterance coming from a speaking subject other than oneself", thus creating a more objective translation.

According to Muhawi (2006, p.370), the link that connects culture, translation, and performance is missing in Geertz's anthropology, but can be found in cultural studies, specifically in Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (1994), "where translation forms the core of his argument for post-modern culture as a condition of hybridity". Muhawi (2006, p.370) refers to Bhabha's "creative manipulation of the

idea of translation” that allows him “metaphorically to extend the literal meaning of interlingual translation into the domain of cultural translation”; “The transnational dimension of cultural transformation – migration, diaspora, displacement, relocation – makes the process of cultural translation a complex form of signification” (Bhabha, 1994, cited in Muhawi, 2006, p.370). Thus, culture may be located in translation, or “in the interstices created in translation between two languages and two cultures” (Muhawi, 2006, p.370).

Muhawi thus agrees with Bhabha’s view that culture can be found in translation, or in the spaces created in translation between the two languages and cultures. These spaces may be thought of as physical, or graphic, and are manifested graphically as paratextual material such as footnotes, etc. According to Muhawi (2006, p.370), Bhabha's strategy offers “a reverse horizon in which interlingual translation is seen as a process from which the target text emerges as a hybrid construct, contaminated by the cultural values of its source, regardless how domesticating it may be”. It is as if the Target Text in its domestication – or rather, despite of its domestication – is ‘contaminated’ by the Source Text, the Source Text disrupting the illusion that the translated text is the original (Muhawi, 2006, p.370).

Venuti (2012, p.277) describes Appiah’s notion of ‘thick’ translation as one that “is ultimately designed to perform an ideological function in the receiving culture, combating racism, for instance, and challenging Western cultural superiority”. Muhawi (2006, p.371), in his essay 'Towards a Folkloristic Theory of Translation', explains his notion of 'thick translation' as “a form of political power, particularly when the source text comes from a culture, such as that of Palestinian Arabs, that is misunderstood or maligned in the target language”. The translators, as they explained in their anthology, tried to duplicate the narrative rhythm and grammatical structure of the original (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.51). Thick translation offers depth, insight, and makes visible the complex network of connections that might otherwise be reduced to surface level meanings.

5.5 Conclusion

The translations in *Tales Told in Palestine* are domestications despite the Source Culture elements retained, since those elements are contextualized through an overall style that reflects the English ‘way of speaking’ rather than the Palestinian dialect. Moreover, the purpose of the elements retained is to spread knowledge about Palestine while the elements of performance are neglected. *Tales Told in Palestine* includes mainly myths and legends connected to the Palestinian landscape as the birthplace of religion, as the ‘Holy Land’, with minimal attention given to translating the folk narratives as social activities within a situational context. This strips the tales, and ultimately the Target Readers, of the tales’ rich social context, ultimately reflecting an Orientalist style that foregrounds the geographical landscape and pushes the people to the background. Moreover, the overall organization and style of the book creates ambiguity in terms of authorship – it is not clear who exactly is the author of which utterance, and to what extent modifications were made.

Speak Bird, Speak Again contextualizes the Palestinian folktale on multiple levels through paratext and translation strategies that historicize the folktale narratives; this is achieved through an in-depth understanding of the local genre and the social situations that birthed it. Muhawi not only employs paratext cultural, linguistic, social, and historical analysis, but also includes folkloristic analysis to provide a multi-layered contextual analysis. He moreover includes one tale in its transliterated form and shows exactly which utterances were made by the narrators, by the audience members, and by himself, for visibility. Muhawi’s articles about his folkloristic theory of translation and the translation of oral Palestinian folktales provide further visibility with regards to his approach as a translator so that there is no ambiguity in how he translated the tales.

Moreover, by employing cultural equivalents and idiomatic expressions in the Target Language in juxtaposition with transliterated Source Text words and phrases and literal translations of Source Text words and phrases, Muhawi creates

a form of heteroglossia. Moreover, this juxtaposition of literal translations and borrowed words from the Source Culture with cultural equivalents and idiomatic expressions, functions to communicate the meanings of those words and phrases within the text of the tale itself; those words and phrases are further contextualized by social and cultural explanations in the paratext. The translations become a hybrid third space in which the two languages and cultures become involved together in a form of dialogue, ultimately restoring the power balance between the two languages and cultures.

While *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* mimics certain stylistic qualities of the Palestinian folktale through a literal translation, this same literal translation paradoxically exoticizes the Palestinian language and its people to the extent of creating a picture of the Palestinian culture as strange, alien, uncivilized, and savage, an image that is further solidified through the paratext which constantly compares the Arab culture to the western one. *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* employs a literal translation of the folktales to depict the Palestinian culture, which Raphael Patai illustrates as part of the larger Arab world mentality, simplifying the diverse and complex Arab cultures into a monolith. Patai frames the tales and the Palestinian and Arab cultural identities through paratext which offers him a space associated with scholarly authority and credibility. Patai thus foregrounds cultural difference through his paratextual commentary that places the East and the West as binary oppositions, and in juxtaposition with a literal translation that exoticizes the tales. Patai thus frames the Source Culture through the lens of a master discourse that de-humanizes the Orient, his ideas reinforced by creating an illusion of objectivity and authority on the subject.

Chapter 6

The Translatability of Style in the Palestinian Folktale

6. Introduction

This chapter examines the key factors that allow for the translatability of the folktale and underscores the significance of an in-depth genre analysis through the lens of its local discourse community for an authentic translation. According to Ibrahim Muhawi (2004; 2006), the translation of folktales is possible due to various factors; these include the universality of the folktale genre which creates similarities between folktales worldwide and thus aiding their diffusion between the nations, the contamination of the oral folktale by the literate mode which makes the transferal between the two modes of discourse possible, and iterability in the folktale which allows for variations to occur thus suggesting the possibility of translations to also be variants.

Since performance emerges out of an interplay of a multitude of factors within a unique situation, performances have a special quality which Bauman calls the 'emergent quality' of performance that allows new variants to occur in each new retelling. The combination of traditional and new items in each retelling, the freedom to choose alternatives from a limited reservoir of traditional items that key the folktale as a performance, and the creative restructuring of traditional items, are all factors that contribute to the creation of new variants. Since each situation will be unique, with a unique combination of factors interplaying, the individual style of the narrator may be identified in the tale. However, since the individual style of the narrator is restricted by the ground rules of performance determined by the local community, while the translation may also be considered a variant, it nonetheless cannot be regarded as parallel to the local variants since translations incur major changes on the original text for a Target Audience and Target Culture, and thus it may not be approved by the local community of the Source Text.

While a translation could be considered a variant in the sense that it is a form of creative 'retelling', if it is not accepted and sanctioned by the local community that produced the tale and if it is not approved by the local discourse community, this means it does not fit the criteria of the local genre and the needs of the local audience, and thus cannot be considered another variant of the local tale. Moreover, to achieve an authentic translation of the folktale, it is essential to examine the genre in-depth through the lens of its discourse community, and to locate the key properties and devices that frame it as a performance. Doing so allows us to choose translation strategies and methods based on a genuine understanding of the Source Text, Source Language, Source Culture, and Source Audience.

Thus, considering folktale translations variants of the local tales is problematic since the translations present the folktales as belonging to the specific culture from which they gathered the tales, consequently creating the assumption that the translated texts did not alter the ground rules of performance determined by the local community. While in some ways the translator may be considered another performer of the oral narrative, de-situating the folktales from their original context to a new situation with a new Target Audience means that the translator is now a cultural mediator. The major changes incurred on the Source Text can be seen in the three anthologies; this chapter examines how the three anthologies reframe the folktales so that the Target Text Style either completely prioritizes the Target Audience, as in *Tales Told in Palestine*, or creates an illusion of prioritizing the Source Text Style as in *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*, or aims to reconstruct the effect of the Source Text while also maintaining a readable Target Text Style as in *Speak Bird, Speak Again*.

6.1 The Universality of the Folktale

Muhawi (2002, p.347) argues that "the translation of folktales from Arabic into English is facilitated by the fact of the folktale's occurrence as a genre with a recognizably similar style in both cultures". Translatability largely depends on the degree to which the Source Text is embedded in its own culture. While the folktale

is heavily saturated with culture-specific items, it also has universal elements that place it as a global genre. On the one hand, the elements of similarity that exist in folktales worldwide could cause translators to adapt the Source Text to the Target Culture, thus erasing all items of difference; on the other hand, the elements of difference that exist heavily in the Source Text could be exoticized by foregrounding culture difference in a negative way.

6.2 'Iterability' as a Key Factor of Folktale Translatability

The translation of folk texts is possible because of the nature of the genre, of which iterability is one of its fundamental qualities (Muhawi, 2006). According to Muhawi (2006, p.368), the fact that folklore items exist in variation in the traditional repertoire of langue, pre-existing individual performances, guarantees their repeatability, or iterability, though "differently in each case" (Muhawi, 2006, p.368). Moreover, "if a speech genre is iterable in one language, there is a strong likelihood it will also be iterable in another" (Muhawi, 2006, p.368). "Even written and mass media forms," Lauri Honko (1998, cited in Muhawi, 2006, p.368) maintains, "are folklore to the extent that variations occur". In some respects, variation in folklore even resembles variation in translation (Muhawi, 2006, p.376).

It is thus this iterability and special kind of movement that allows speech acts to be re-iterated in different modes and languages. If we consider texts as utterances, then the Source Text is capable of multiple realizations (Muhawi, 2006, p.376). According to Muhawi (2006, p.376), "Whether the folklore item is presented in oral performance or visually in the form of a text or a picture, what makes it a folklore item as such is the fact that it exists in multiple realizations". According to Muhawi (2006, p.368), iterability is the reason for the fluidity of folk texts as they transfer back and forth between written and spoken texts and is what makes their successful translation possible:

The Derridean concept of iterability has a dual significance in this context. It explains variation from a non-folkloristic perspective, putting it at the very core of how language functions, and it serves as a conceptual bridge

connecting speech and writing. It thus also serves as a link between translation and folkloristics: if a speech genre is iterable in one language, there is a strong likelihood it will also be iterable in another.

Thus, for Muhawi, iterability is a link between translation and folkloristics; if speech can be repeated with differences in one language, it follows that it can also be repeated with differences in another language. Thus, we can perceive the Target Text as a new version of the same item, with both continuous and new elements.

6.3 The ‘Contamination’ of the Oral Folktale by the Literate Mode

In his article, ‘On Translating Oral Style in Palestinian Folktales’, Muhawi (2004, p.75) maintains that since the Palestinian folktales included in *Speak, Bird Speak, Again* have been “orally performed in the Palestinian dialect within the social context of the Arab extended family, rendering them into print in English involved translation not only from one language into another but also from one semiotic system into another – from oral narrative into text”. According to Muhawi (2004, p.90), “the folktale as a genre lies between prose and poetry, between orality and literacy, and here lies its potential for translatability”. Muhawi (2006, p.366) argues that the translation of folklore genres would not be possible if the oral and literate modes of discourse “did not have enough in common to enable interlingual and cultural transfer”. Moreover, “It is as if orality in the folktale, “by virtue of its form, is already contaminated by writing” (Muhawi, 2004, p.89). According to Muhawi (2004, p.79), there being a “recognisable folktale style” and the ‘contamination’ of the oral folktale genre by textuality and the print medium, are factors that make the folktale highly translatable. Moreover, this translatability “may have had a large part to play in the diffusion of the genre across cultures”, and thus for Muhawi (2004, p.79), translators of folktales should “aim as much for a target *style* as for a target language”.

Following Sandor Hervey and Ian Higgins’ understanding of “the phonic/graphic dimension of discourse” (Muhawi, 2006, p.369), Muhawi (2006,

p.369) approaches the issue of translating orality “more as a continuum than a binarism”. All signs have a dual phonic/graphic nature that “acts as an indispensable guide to the practical translator and has great discursive potential, as well as a wide range of applicability” (Muhawi, 2006, p.369). Muhawi (2004, p.80) reiterates Wallace Chafe and Deborah Tannen’s (1987, cited in Muhawi, 2004, p.80) statement that rather than there being a “single, absolute difference between speech and writing”, there are only “dimensions of variation” (Chafe and Tannen, 1987, cited in Muhawi, 2004, p.80), a fact that would allow translators to “draw on the dimensions of written discourse that most approximate, or echo, speech” (Muhawi, 2004, p.80). Muhawi (2006, p.369) thus aims to “demonstrate that a folkloristic theory of equivalence must posit a two-way movement across the phonic/graphic continuum”, whereby “In translation, the oral becomes literate, while the newly created written version harkens back phonically to its oral double” (Muhawi, 2006, p.369).

6.3.1 Interpersonal Involvement and Folktale Style

According to Roger Abrahams (1976, p.200), performer-audience relationships range “from the personal interactions of conversation to the total distance or “removal” of performer from the audience, as in the presentation of objects of art like a folk painting”. Oral folktales are not considered ordinary conversations or spontaneous speech since there is a degree of disconnectedness between the narrator and the audience. In folktale narration, “the teller is not involved directly with the audience; the genre stands between them” (Muhawi, 2004, p.89). Involvement, in folktale storytelling, is created through narrative and linguistic devices. For example, the use of third person pronouns and situating the narrated event in the past function in maintaining distance between the narrators and their audience in Palestinian folktale performances. Such devices center the audience’s attention on the story itself. Thus, while there is interaction and involvement with the audience, there remains significant distance between the narrator and the audience. According to Abrahams (1976, p.200):

The progress from the more interpersonal to the more removed involves a passage from the smaller and more intimate forms invoked as part of direct and spontaneous discourse to the larger and more symbolic genres, which rely upon a profound sense of psychic distance between performer and audience.

Deborah Tannen (1985) maintains that interpersonal involvement is one of the factors that determines if what is communicated is closer to spoken or written communication. Texts are situated within a spectrum that determines how close they are to oral and written discourse, depending on the level of narrator-audience interpersonal involvement. Spoken discourse is highly fragmented, but also a highly contextualized and involved activity, whereby the speaker is highly involved with the audience or the receptive moment, whereas written discourse is less so. The writer explicates to clarify as much as possible since there is no editing or re-writing once the text is published. Hence, written discourse focuses less on interpersonal involvement and more on the information conveyed. Tannen (1985, p.129) refers to casual conversation and expository prose as typical modes of spoken and written language respectively – casual conversation is "context-focused" while written discourse is "message-focused":

There is something typically written about message-focused communication, for it is the innovation of print that made it common to communicate on a large scale with others who are not in one's immediate context. And there is something typically oral about interpersonal involvement. In communication with others with whom one has a close social or personal relationship, it is hard to focus on information exclusively, because the importance of the relationship is too keenly felt to be ignored.

According to Muhawi (2004, p.89), since the narrator of oral literature is more detached from their audience than would be the case in a spontaneous conversation with another person, or in the case of someone narrating personal accounts. Muhawi (2004, p.89) demonstrates that the folktale style, "though oral, is not spontaneous like conversation; nor is it improvised like personal narratives":

folktale orality is highly mannered, replete with grammatical, rhetorical, and narrative patterns of all sorts...this kind of patterning – which is responsible for the durability, formal stability and wide geographic spread of the folktale – endows it with the formal characters of writing. It is as if orality in the folktale, by virtue of its form, is already contaminated by writing.

Thus, according to Muhawi (2004, p.89) the translatability of oral folktales into written form in another language is indeed possible since “oral literature resembles writing more than it does spoken language”, and since “there are oral elements in all discourse, whether spoken or written” (Muhawi, 2004, p.90). Furthermore, Muhawi (2004, p.90) states that:

literacy is not strictly defined chirographically, either in terms of manuscript or print culture, for the highly elaborate grammar of any language is already a form of literacy, just as the conventions of folk narrative, orally transmitted from one generation to another, also represent a kind of literacy.

6.3.2 The Folktale as Verbal Art

Folkloric texts are “culturally saturated forms of verbal art” (Muhawi, 2006, p.365). The main distinguishing feature of ‘verbal art’ is that it is not ordinary conversation – it is “highly stylized” language employed for a specific communicative purpose. Oral literature “is a form of communication which uses words in a highly stylized, artistic way” (Murphy, 1978, p.113). Moreover, William Murphy (1978, p.114) states the following:

The more stylized speech forms in a culture are usually differentiated by linguistic labels. These are the labeled verbal genres which the analyst typically glosses as ‘myth,’ ‘folktale,’ ‘legend,’ ‘song,’ ‘proverb,’ etc. However, because all speech can be viewed in terms of artistic and expressive qualities, oral literature is best understood as “the more highly organized, more expressive end” of a continuum between a stylistic and referential dimension [Hymes (83) p. 50].

William Bascom (1955, p.247) notes that “verbal art differs from normal speech in the same way that music differs from noise, that dancing differs from walking, or that an African stool differs from a block of wood”. Hence, the stylistic conventions distinguish verbal art from conversational speech (Bascom, 1955, p.247):

In verbal art it is only necessary to compare myths, folktales, proverbs, and riddles with the direct statements of ordinary speech to see a similar concern with the form of expression, over and above the needs of communication. Among these distinctive features may be the form of statement, the choice of vocabulary and idiom, the use of obsolete words, the imagery of metaphor or simile, the set number of repetitions, the formalized openings and closings, the incorporation of cultural details, conventionalized greetings, or directional orientations, and other stylistic features which are absent in ordinary conversation.

6.4 The Importance of Genre Analysis in Translation

An in-depth knowledge of the genre is one of the most crucial factors contributing to the success of a translation. For translators, knowledge of genres, which includes many aspects such as the text’s social context, mode, content, and purpose, and so on, helps them make sense of the functions of the Source Text. For example, the characteristics of a technical text differ from that of a literary one. More specifically, the elements of a folktale differ from those of, for example, a short story. Moreover, the key properties of a Palestinian folktale will differ from those of an American folktale, despite the similarities in the structure of the folktale as a universal genre. By understanding the genre, particularly as it is defined by the local discourse community, the translator will form a better idea of the text’s purpose and functions, and consequently locate suitable strategies. Genre analysis helps translators shape a Target Text that is more authentic to the essence of the Source Text which is structured within the conventions of the Source Language and Source Culture. An in-depth genre analysis helps locate the key properties of a text that are essential to creating an equivalent effect in the Target Text.

Moreover, since genre allows for a clear structure to categorize meaning, it not only affirms and enables meaning but also restricts the deduction of meaning that is incompatible with the situation out of which genre arises (Frow, 2006, p.10). The "structuring effects" of genre produce meaning, and "shape and guide, in the way that a builder's form gives shape to a pour of concrete, or a sculptor's mold shapes and gives structure to its materials" (Frow, 2006, p.10). According to Muhawi (2006, p.368), "since each rendition of a particular folklore item is an instance of its iterability within its genre, the "appearance of spontaneity" remains just that: an appearance". Genre is thus "a basic condition for meaning to take place" (Frow, 2006, p.10). According to John Frow (2006, p.10), "genre matters" because:

it is central to human meaning-making and to the social struggles over meanings. No speaking or writing or any other symbolically organized action takes place other than through the shaping of generic codes, where 'shaping' means both 'shaping by' and 'shaping of': acts and structures work upon and modify each other.

Genre "is not just a matter of codes and conventions", rather "it also calls into play systems of use, durable social institutions, and the organization of physical space" (Frow, 2006, p.12). Moreover, Ali Almannā (2016, p.42) maintains that "In any society, individual texts are produced and perceived according to the norms and conventions formed over time by virtue of the recurrence of certain institutionalized properties". Thus, genres are "conventionalized forms of text that reflect the functions and aims of each sociocultural activity, thus providing the language user with precise references and indications of the relevant social occasions of a community at a given time" (Almannā, 2016, pp.42-43). The job of a genre "is to mediate between a social situation and the text which realises certain features of this situation, or which responds strategically to its demands" (Frow, 2006, p.14). Genre is thus 'strategic', as it "interacts with the demands of an environment" (Frow, 2006, p.14). Hence, genre not only reflects how we shape

meaning, but it also has the power to maintain and reinforce meaning. It is a typified, structural action, based on strategic conventions (Frow, 2006, p.14), and in the context of translation, generic conventions “help translators expect the lexical items, syntactic structures, register, style, content, intended readers and the like which are normally used in such a genre” (Almanna, 2016, p.43).

Muhawi (2006, p.368) maintains that “the narration of a traditional genre of oral narrative, such as a folktale, legend or myth, is not a new invention but a performance, an individual iteration of a type that exists in free variation” and thus “follow[s] the laws of the genre”. Thus, an understanding of the genre conventions of the Source Text are essential for creating an equivalent effect on the Target Audience. Gaining an in-depth understanding of the key properties of the Source Text that create a ‘special kind of meaning’ which guides their interpretation, and which may be re-created in written texts and in different languages, is thus important. Loyalty to the genre is thus necessary in the translation of folklore items, especially since this specific genre calls for competence in performing to an audience (Muhawi, 2006).

6.4.1 The Importance of the Local Discourse Community

In every society, genre classification depends on cultural conventions. It is thus important to define the features of the folktale through the lens of the local discourse community, since the features of a given genre are culturally determined conventions and norms used for a communicative purpose. A genre is made up of a class of communicative events, “the members of which share some set of communicative purposes recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre” (Swales, 1990, p.58). Moreover, “this rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style” (Swales, 1990, p.58). Furthermore, according to Dickins et. al (2002, p.175), genre is “a category to which, in a given culture, a given text is seen to belong, and within which the text is seen to share a type of communicative purpose and effect with

other texts". Muhawi (2004, p.81), referring to a "specific example of text" from *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, states:

The teller's performance here, as everywhere else in Palestine, consists primarily in the deployment or adaptation of the communicative resources of the dialect, the 'culture-specific constellation of communicative means' (Bauman, 1977:22), to the needs of the genre.

Elliot Oring (1986, p.134) believes that the folklorist should be "primarily concerned with the place of folk narrative in some larger context of belief and behaviour," rather than with the text on its own. Moreover, Dan Ben-Amos (1976) proposes the idea of 'ethnic genres', cultural modes of communication that contain features specific to the local community in which they emerge, like specific vocabulary and rhetorical features, symbolic meanings, types of characters, views on reality, and so on. However, to avoid de-historicizing and stereotyping the local culture in the Target Text, it is important to transfer and contextualize the cultural features accurately, and any description given about the local culture that produced the genre should clearly and accurately demonstrate through the lens of the local discourse community how the features of the genre function within a particular communicative event to achieve a specific communicative purpose.

6.4.2 The Importance of the Situational Context

"The patterns of genre," are shaped by the type of situation, "and in turn shape the rhetorical actions that are performed in response to it" (Frow, 2006, p.14). Genre depends on 'situation,' since genre acquires "meaning from the kinds of situations it relates to (Miller, 1994, cited in Frow, p.16), and "embodies the type of recurring situation that evokes it and provides a strategic response to that situation" (Coe et al., 2002, cited in Frow, p.14). As Frow maintains, genre is 'based' on situation; it 'acquires meaning' from situation, it 'embodies' situation, it is 'evoked by' situation, and it provides a 'strategic response' to that situation (Frow, 2006, p.15). Folktale performances are traditions that have survived through recurring social activities and thus the value of folk items lies in their place within

the broader frame of history and the meaning processes associated with the purposes behind their uses and how they function within specific situational contexts, and not as static items and artifacts. Bauman (1975, p.298) states:

We view the act of performance as situated behavior, situated within and rendered meaningful with reference to relevant contexts. Such contexts may be identified at a variety of levels – in terms of settings, for example, the culturally-defined places where performance occurs. Institutions too – religion, education, politics – may be viewed from the perspective of the way in which they do or do not represent contexts for performance within communities. Most important as an organizing principle in the ethnography of performance is the event, or scene, within which performance occurs (see, e.g., Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1974).

In 1923, Bronislaw Malinowski coined the term 'context of situation' and "noted that a language could only be fully understood, i.e. have meaning, when these two contexts (situation and culture) were implicitly or explicitly clear to the interlocutors and hearers" (Katan, 1999, p.72). 'Situation' refers to the use of language in its direct context since language is not experienced in isolation. According to Michael Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan (1989, p.6), Malinowski "needed a term that expressed the total environment including the verbal environment, but also including the situation in which the text was uttered". The context of situation is thus "the environment of the text" (Halliday and Hasan, 1989, p.6). The concept of the 'context of situation' may be viewed in parallel to the narrative event. While narrated events are "the events recounted in the narratives", narrative events are "the situations in which the narratives are told" (Bauman, 1986).

The context of situation is realized through the register. Frow (2006, p.16) views Michael Halliday's linguistic concept of 'register' as "roughly equivalent to that of genre"; register is "the configuration of semantic resources that the member of a culture typically associates with a situation type. It is the meaning potential that is accessible in a given social context" (Halliday, 1978, cited in Frow, 2006, p.16). Meaning here "refers not only to thematic content but to the complex of thematic,

formal and rhetorical dimensions” (Frow, 2006, p.16). Ali Almanna (2016, pp.150-151) explains register as follows:

in linguistics, register is defined as a variety of a language used for a particular purpose or in a particular social setting (cf. Halliday 1964; Halliday and Hasan 1976; Zwicky and Zwicky 1982; Gregory 1988, among others). In a formal setting, for example when communicating with other people, an English native speaker may well opt for formal lexical items (such as *‘father’* instead of *‘dad’*), formal syntactic structures and so on.

With the uprooting of the folktales from their immediate context, and therefore a change in the register, the style of the Source Text, and the ‘shared meanings’ between the narrators and their audience embedded within the immediate context, have also changed. Since the folktale is the product of a social situation, referring to the context of situation as it is manifested through the notion of ‘register’ in translation is essential. However, for Malinowski, knowledge of the situational context alone is not enough, as we need both the situational and cultural contexts in the understanding and interpretation of any text (Halliday and Hasan, 1989, p.7). Malinowski believed that for “any adequate description, it was necessary to provide information not only about what was happening at the time but also about the total cultural background” (Halliday and Hasan, 1989, p.7). The reason for Malinowski’s belief is as follows (Halliday and Hasan, 1989, p.7):

involved in any kind of linguistic interaction, in any kind of conversational exchange, were not only the immediate sights and sounds surrounding the event but also the whole cultural history behind the participants, and behind the kinds of practices that they were engaging in, determining their significance for the culture, whether practical or ritual.

The cultural and situational contexts are thus intertwined. The movement of texts between spaces and places is complex because it involves multiple layers of meaning. In considering how language is used within a specific time and place, we ought to view the individuals who produced these texts, not as stereotypical, static, and void caricatures, but as complex human beings interacting with the world

around them, both within the wider context of culture and within the more immediate context of the social situation that produced the texts. It is thus evident that every text has an immediate and social context which ought to be fully understood by the translator. Without an accurate, complete, and authentic picture of both the wider context of culture and the more specific context of situation, the text is reduced to an item scattered and floating around as if in a vacuum, and people are reduced to labels, statistics, and stereotypes.

6.5 The Assumption of Responsibility to an Audience

Richard Bauman (1984, p.3) “constructs a framework for a performance-centered approach to verbal art” basing his framework “on the understanding of performance as a mode of speaking” (Bauman, 1984, p.3) and thus approaches the “folkloric performance as a communicative phenomenon” (Bauman, 1984, p.4). Performance is thus defined not only as an organizing principle but also as a mode, or way, of speaking (Bauman, 1975, p.290); Bauman (1975, p.299) refers to performance as “a kind of speaking” that “will be subject to a range of community ground rules that regulate speaking in general”; however, “there will also be a set of ground rules specific to performance itself” (Bauman, 1975, p.299). Ben-Amos (1977, p.12) states that “while there is a personal style in the delivery of folklore, it is subject to the cultural constraints and conception of excellence in narrative and poetic performance”. Cultural and societal expectations and restrictions means not only that there are features and conventions shared by all the narrators of a specific genre within a community, but also that the performances need to conform to certain rules and standards. According to Elliot Oring (1986, pp.134-135), “folk narratives are the productions of individuals, produced during social interactions, and informed by surrounding cultural traditions”. Essential to Bauman’s understanding of performance is that it brings certain members of a society “together in culture-specific and variable ways, ways that are to be discovered ethnographically within each culture and community” (Bauman, 1984, p.5).

Folktales are thus imbued with complex layers of meaning that are linked to certain aspects of culture. Although they have their individual styles, storytellers

are affected and influenced by culture, such that their styles are informed by that knowledge. The kind of interpretive framework performance establishes and how we interpret the communication that constitutes performance is based on our understanding of performance as “a mode of spoken verbal communication” (Bauman, 1984, p.11). Based on this understanding, performance “consists in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence” (Bauman, 1984, p.11). Moreover, “this competence rests on the knowledge and ability to speak in socially appropriate ways” (Bauman, 1984, p.11). Bauman (1984, p.11) also refers to this concept as an “assumption of accountability” directed towards “an audience for the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content”. From the audience’s perspective, the performer’s “act of expression...is thus marked as subject to evaluation for the way it is done, for the relative skill and effectiveness of the performer’s display of competence” (Bauman, 1984, p.11).

A translator, like the folktale narrator, has an assumption of responsibility to an audience. Texts “occur in a given situation in a given culture in the world, and each has a specific function and an audience of its own” (Leppihalme, 1997, p.3). The translator’s assumption of responsibility is to both the Source Text and Target Text audiences – this involves producing a text that communicates the message effectively to the Target Audience without violating the norms of the Source Text Style or destroying the features that endow the original text with its unique quality.

6.5.1 The Narrator’s Disclaimer of Competence

The folk narrator is constantly being evaluated for their communicative competence, and as such the way they use language is determined by cultural and societal expectations. According to Muhawi (2004, p.80), the narrator’s disclaimer of competence is one of the keys to the performance of Palestinian folktales. The storytellers of the Palestinian (magical) folktale are typically women, a factor that plays a major role in the folktale’s style; in the context of Palestinian folktales, “we are dealing with the speech of a woman who claims she does not know how to speak well” (Muhawi, 2004, p.80). The disclaimer of competence in performance

“serves to strip any attribution of originality to the narrator” (Muhawi, 2004, p.81); The narrator would have “received the tale from her mother” (Muhawi, 2004, p.81) and therefore “is not necessarily even using her own words” (Muhawi, 2004, p.81). Moreover, “We cannot take the narrator at her word, for the disclaimer is basically a traditional concession ‘to standards of etiquette and decorum, where assertiveness is disvalued’ (Bauman, 1977:23)” (Muhawi, 2004, p.80). Muhawi (2004, p.80) maintains that “Though folktales serve an important function in the socialization of children and in acquainting them with their culture”:

the purpose of the disclaimer is to put brackets around the act of narration itself, rendering it discursively ambiguous and affirming its amateur status. It prompts listeners to treat it as a form of play, and of course, as we know from the activity of, say, telling political jokes, play is serious business.

According to Muhawi (2004, p.80), the disclaimer of competence in performance has “a significant bearing on readability and translation”. However, “it would be ludicrous for the translator to disclaim linguistic competence” since “while the teller can be playful, translation itself is not a form of play” (Muhawi, 2004, p.80). The solution is thus “to take advantage of what Hatim and Mason consider the ‘inherent fuzziness’ of linguistic registers to communicate as much of this spirit of playfulness as the target style will allow” (Muhawi, 2004, p.80). According to Muhawi (2004, pp.80-81), this is possible to achieve because “this play is incorporated in the text itself by various linguistic and pragmatic means, many of which lend themselves comfortably to translation”.

6.5.2 Narrative Rhythm in the Palestinian ‘Magical’ Folktale

The pragmatic nature of the folktale largely determines its style, creating a narrative based on cultural semiotics. Muhawi (2004) notes a playful quality in the Palestinian ‘magical’ folktale that is most often mainly told by female narrators in the private space of the home. According to Muhawi (2004), the hesitancy experienced by Palestinian female narrators during folktale narration, and that is a result of certain traditional cultural codes, creates the genre’s playful quality.

Moreover, this quality of 'play' is part and parcel of the genre's style and is based on narrative rhythm. According to Muhawi (2004, p.83), the main feature of 'narrative rhythm' is verbal economy which is achieved through a combination of repetition and variation. Repetition is a teaching device and variation keeps the folktales fun for the children; it therefore makes sense that repetition and variation are "the two elements best suited to hold a child's attention" (Muhawi, 2004, p.83). Thus, for Muhawi (2004, p.83), "repetition and variation are major tropes, or keys, of Palestinian folk narrative performance, and it is their combination which gives rise to the characteristic narrative rhythm" and as such it is narrative rhythm that we ought to "seek to duplicate in translation" (Muhawi, 2004, p.83).

6.6 The Emergent Quality of Performance

According to Lynne S. McNeill (2013, p.11), "When a cultural expression is (re)created anew each time it gets shared, it varies a bit, and it's this variation that allows us to identify a particular cultural form as folklore. Got that? Variation is the marker that we look for when trying to identify the folk process". Folklore is based on both variation and continuity. A folkloric text "is essentially a version or a single telling of a tale, a recitation of a proverb, a singing of a folksong" (Dundes, 1980, p.23). Barre Toelken (1996) identifies the twin laws of folklore that explain the interplay between change and retention of traditional elements. Toelken (1996, p.39), in *The Dynamics of Folklore*, mentions "two forces, or qualities" of folklore, the dynamic and the conservative. According to Toelken (1996, p.40), while dynamism "comprises all those elements that function to alter features, contents, meanings, styles, performance, and usage as a particular traditional event takes place repeatedly through space and time", conservatism (Toelken, 1996, p.39):

refers to all those processes, forces, and attitudes that result in the *retaining* of certain information, beliefs, styles, customs, and the like, and the attempted passing of those materials, essentially intact, through time and space in all the channels of vernacular expression.

Each new variant that results from the process of selection and combination develops within a specific context. Each new folktale variant is based on a new 'combination' of elements from a huge 'selection' of constant and variable elements (linguistic, social, cultural, and generic codes and conventions). Jakobson and Bogatyrev (1980) argue that folklore and linguistics are analogous and suggest that the langue/parole distinction can be applied to folklore. In folklore, the relationship between each new creation and its objectivization into variants by different individuals, is analogous to the relationship between langue and parole (Jakobson and Bogatyrev, 1980, pp.9-10). Folklore, as it exists in collective memory is like langue, "extrapersonal and leads only a potential existence" (Jakobson and Bogatyrev, 1980, p.9), whereas a particular variant can be compared to parole, an "individual, particular speech act" (Jakobson and Bogatyrev, 1980, p.4). According to the two linguists, in folklore, langue refers to the metonymic system of traditional codes that exist within a community, whereas parole is the particularization of these codes which turns the codes into the message (Jakobson and Bogatyrev, 1980, p.9):

Like langue, the folkloric work is extrapersonal and leads only a potential existence; it is only a complex of particular norms and impulses, a canvas of actual tradition, to which the performers impart life through the embellishments of their individual creativity, just as the producers of parole do with respect to langue.

Each new variant is thus an act of 'parole;' it is the result of a selection of variable elements that exist in 'langue,' the selection based on a complexity of factors in which the communication process depends on. Thus, each new variant contains contextualized 'local' features of the direct social environment of that specific speech act and its ground rules. The social and cultural acceptance of the new variant leads to its repetition so that it enters the collective memory, or 'langue.' Each community has its own 'langue' – socially and culturally approved sets of codes. Each new variant is an individual act of speech or utterance, the result of choice, what creates individual 'style.' A new variant is born from a

creative selection and combination of approved linguistic, social, cultural, and generic codes; it is essential to bear in mind that new variants “become facts of langue after the community, the bearers of a particular langue, has sanctioned them and accepted them as being generally admissible” (Jakobson and Bogatyrev, 1980, p.4).

Every society has its ‘langue’, the repository of codes, in the collective consciousness of the community, and its ‘parole’, which is the creative and unique performances of speech utterances by the individual members of the community. The reason a tale can retain its traditional form despite all the retellings is because oral literature has a fixed structure characterized by formulaic language, repeated themes and motifs, metaphors, and so on (Kellogg, 1973, pp.56-57). This fixed structure or patterning of the folktale is made up of content that also function as structure, and which is iterated and called up again and again from the reservoir of ‘langue’. Parole, the performance of the speech utterance, is essential to the survival of ‘langue’, the repository of traditional knowledge. Since this knowledge exists in the collective memory of the community, for the tales to continue to exist, they need to be continuously retold. The dynamic nature of folklore ensures the continued and lively use of traditional knowledge and materials. Muhawi (2006, p.368) states that:

The fact that an item of folklore exists in variation – that is, it pre-exists individual performance – guarantees that it is repeatable, or, to use Derrida’s term, iterable. It would not exist if it were not iterable – capable of repetition but differently in each case.

Performance is the result of a combination of ground rules and a unique and new setting that creates what Bauman refers to as an ‘emergent quality of performance’. The ‘emergent quality of performance’ is a complex interplay between many factors such as the audience, culture, and individual creativity, resulting in newness with each retelling. Performance is thus the creative application of traditional formulas and patterns – it is ‘parole’, or the individualistic speech acts of storytelling, as they are selected from the culture’s reservoir of ‘langue’. This interplay between the old and the new is part of the nature of folklore

that could also be considered in the context of translation, but not without taking into consideration the ethical implications of this approach; a variant within the local community would have to remain loyal to the cultural, societal, and situational codes to be accepted by the group, whereas a translation might have to procure major changes that may not necessarily be approved by the Source Text community from which the tale was taken.

6.7 Style in the Three Anthologies

“Folklore circulates,” and even folktales transformed into written texts can “be drawn into the orbit of this circulation” (Propp, 1984, p.8). Thus, even when rendering folktales from oral to written forms, they remain dynamic, unstable, and changeable. In folklore, there is only “infinite variety and infinite repetition” (Calvino, 1980, xvii). However, while change and newness is part and parcel of the very nature and structure of a folktale, allowing for multiple realizations of any one tale, variants still must be accepted and approved by the local community to continue to circulate. Changes made in the translation of a folktale text might incur losses of meaning and style, changes that may not necessarily be approved by the local community to which the folktale belongs. Moreover, since translated folktales and folktale anthologies are presented as belonging to a specific culture, an authentic translation of the Source Text and an accurate representation of the Source Culture are naturally expected. Each of the three anthologies examined in this thesis constructs a specific style in the translated tales that brings up questions of authenticity and accuracy.

6.7.1 Style in *Tales Told in Palestine* (1904)

The content in *Tales Told in Palestine* clearly influences the style of the texts; types of narratives in the anthology include, but are not limited to, legends, anecdotes, and superstitions. However, while those genres may place more importance on the referential content than would the magical tales, as oral narratives they still differ from ordinary conversations or written discourse and

would employ conventional narrative and linguistic devices that would 'key' the narratives as performances. Murphy (1978, p.114) states:

The definitional emphasis on the stylistic and artistic qualities of an oral literary form does not imply that referential meaning is insignificant; rather, it underlines the fact that with oral literature referential meaning is expressed in a highly stylized linguistic form.

In *Tales Told in Palestine* there is no trace of the Source Text style, despite the transferred culture-specific items. Moreover, there is no reference to the tellers who told Hanauer the tales. Thus, while the book presents the tales as 'Tales Told in Palestine' and thus belonging to the Palestinian culture, the 'voice' of the Palestinian tellers is not reflected in the translated tales. Thus, the style of speaking in *Tales Told in Palestine* reflects an English way of speaking rather than a Palestinian way of speaking. Moreover, since Hanauer's retellings were from memory and the tales as he heard them in Arabic are not provided, there is no way of knowing exactly the extent of the changes made to the Arabic oral texts.

6.7.2 Style in *Speak Bird, Speak Again* (1989)

In Muhawi's view, the assumption of responsibility to an audience, for the translator, "connotes the production of a text that reads comfortably and sounds 'natural' without violating the norms of folktale style as generally recognized within the community or destroying the features that endow the original text with its particular quality" (Muhawi, 2004, p.80). This view is reflected in *Speak Bird, Speak Again* that is readable but nonetheless keeps essential features of the Palestinian folktale genre. The anthology echoes language variation characteristic of the folktale genre, employing variations of formal patterns in the Palestinian dialect and of equivalent variations in English. This approach helps contextualize meanings within the text of the tale itself, and not just through the paratext. The voices of the Palestinian tellers are included in *Speak Bird, Speak Again* not only in the tales themselves through the key features of the Palestinian dialect that reflects their

social backgrounds and grounds the tales in their specific genre, but also in the paratextual material in which details of the narrators are given.

6.7.3 Style in *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* (1998)

Patai attempts to demonstrate the style of the Palestinian folktale genre through a literal translation. This results in an exoticized translation that reads awkwardly in English, creating at times confusion in meaning. Moreover, a literal translation employed as the only strategy for the whole folktale text would leave out and distort multiple levels of meaning. Such a translation for this specific genre wrongly assumes that there is only one surface level of meaning in the folktale. The use of formal and special features in the folktale text are based on 'shared meanings' between the narrator and the audience that are approved by the community to be employed for this specific genre. Formal patterns have a specific communicative purpose, and should the meanings be distorted, the text no longer makes sense within the local community, nor does it achieve the community's approval. The symmetry of formal patterns "fixes the attention of the audience to the performer in a relationship of dependence that keeps them caught up in his display" (Bauman, 1984, p.16). The power that lies in employing formal patterns is in eliciting audience participation "through the arousal of an attitude of collaborative expectancy", since grasping "the trend of the form...invites participation" (Bauman, 1984, p.16). A literal translation may replicate some key features, but it may also distort meaning altogether or omit layers of meaning beyond the referential which would be problematic.

Performance is "a way of speaking" that highlights "the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content" (Bauman, 1975, p.293). Bauman (1984, p.9) states that "performance sets up, or represents, an interpretive frame within which the messages being communicated are to be understood", and that this frame "contrasts with at least one other frame, the literal" (Bauman,1984, p.9). Bauman (1984, p.9) moreover states that in verbal art:

there is something going on in the communication interchange which says to the auditor, “interpret what I say in some special sense; do not take it to mean what the words alone, taken literally, would convey”.

Although Patai employs paratextual tools to contextualize and make up for losses in meaning, the translation remains exoticized. Moreover, his own Orientalist approach in the paratextual commentary through which he contrasts the East with the West further alienates the Source Text Culture.

6.8 Conclusion

According to Muhawi (2004; 2006), the folktale is translatable because of its existence as a universal genre, because of the ‘iterable’ nature of the genre, and because of the resemblance of oral literature to written discourse. However, while change is part and parcel of the process of the retelling of oral narratives, for a folklore item to circulate, it must be approved by the community as it belongs to the whole group and not one author. Moreover, the multiple layers of meanings in a folklore item are understood by the local audience as they share with the narrator an intimate understanding of the cultural, social, situational, and generic codes. Thus, while a translation of a folktale may be considered a variant in the technical sense, it should not be automatically paralleled with the local variants of a tale; folktale translations incur major changes on the original text due to the change in culture and target audience, changes which may not necessarily be approved by the local community. It is important to conduct an in-depth analysis and gain true understanding of the various contexts that produced the text to create an authentic translation; this is particularly significant due to the ethical implications of presenting translations as accurate and authentic variants produced by a culture when in fact the translator will likely reframe the tales and the cultural identity of the local people in a way that reflects the translator’s own subjective views and that fulfills a specific agenda.

Chapter 7

Framing Palestinian Folktales as Performances in Translation

7. Introduction

In the previous chapter in this thesis, Chapter 6, I discussed the translatability of style in the oral Palestinian folktale. This chapter builds on those essential concepts of style in the Palestinian folktale and examines the ways in which the three anthologies frame the translated Palestinian folktales as performances; Ibrahim Muhawi's analysis of the "narrative practice of Palestinian tellers" leads him to his view of "performance as style rather than style as performance" (Muhawi, 2004, p.86). Muhawi (2004, pp.86-87) justifies his view, and in reference to an example from a translated tale in *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, as follows:

Though the language of the example is close to that used in ordinary speech, it is as we have seen a form of what Palva (1992) calls 'artistic colloquial Arabic', a literary language whose sound harmonies and highly patterned syntax remove it from ordinary conversation. Therefore, an informal, conversational style relying on the use of colloquialisms would not necessarily be the appropriate register in English. To the extent that it is a mimetic sign of Palestinian verbal culture, which relies heavily on speech acts characterised by repetition of ritualized expressions and politeness formulas, folktale style will embody or enact some forms of repetition in order to reach its audience...The expression becomes pragmatically charged only with the repetition. In other words, the aesthetics of the Palestinian dialect, and what we have in this and other oral narrative texts is a form of mimesis, or translation, of certain (socio-pragmatic) feature of the dialect into aesthetic facts of narration.

Thus, to translate the folktale as a performance that creates a certain effect on its audience, the translator ought to reproduce those elements of the Palestinian dialect that manifest in the narratives as "aesthetic facts of narration" and the

structures that create the narrative rhythm which marks the style of the Palestinian folktale as a form of verbal art that brings the narrator and audience together. Moreover, since the folktale is de-situated in translation and thus linguistic and cultural instances of 'shared meaning' are lost in the Target Text Language and Culture, it is equally important to provide contextual information connected to fill in the meaning gaps in the Target Text which are connected to the social processes surrounding the folktale narratives. This chapter thus examines the ways, and the extent to which, the three anthologies frame the folktales as 'performances', as verbal art that emerges "in the social interaction between performers and audiences" (Bauman, 1990, pp.59-60).

While the tales in *Tales Told in Palestine* are effectively translated, the tales are rarely framed as 'performances'; the 'voices' of the original Palestinian tellers are rendered invisible as the overall style is that of an 'English' mode of speaking, despite the culturally borrowed items in the Target Text. Moreover, the paratext rarely includes information on the local Palestinian tellers who are consequently pushed to the background. Raphael Patai employs a literal translation of the folktales in *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* to reconstruct the style of the Palestinian folktale in the Target Text and to show how the folktales are a reflection of the Arab culture; while Patai's emphasis on reconstructing 'style' in the Target Text foregrounds the tales as a form of 'verbal art', the tales are overall framed as a direct reflection of the Palestinian and Arab culture through juxtaposing the literal translation of the tales with his paratextual commentary. Paradoxically, the strategy of employing only a literal translation for the whole texts creates a lot of confusion, inaccuracies, and ambiguity in meaning, and exoticizes the Source Language, Source Culture, and Source Text. The folktales selected in *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, by Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana were based on popularity and the narrative skills of their tellers. The fact that the tales were selected for their demonstration of narrative skill, in combination with a translation strategy based on reconstructing the key and conventional properties of the Palestinian folktale genre, as well as the use of extensive paratextual commentary, are all factors that framed the tales as 'performances' of communicative competence and as rich

social activities that bring together the narrators and the audience, and reproduced an equivalent 'effect' in the Target Text.

7.1 Performance as an Interpretive Frame

Performance is a culturally defined "mode of speaking" (Bauman, 1984, p.3) that constructs meaning for the social experience of folktale narration as an activity as it shifts the attention "from study of the formal patterning and symbolic content of texts to the emergence of verbal art in the social interaction between performers and audiences" (Bauman, 1990, pp.59-60); the performance-centered approach thus resulted in a "fundamental reorientation from approaching folklore as materials to folklore as communication" (Bauman, 1975, p.290). According to Richard Bauman (1986, p.3):

Oral performance, like all human activity, is situated, its form, meaning, and functions rooted in culturally defined scenes or events – bounded segments of the flow of behavior and experience that constitute meaningful contexts for action, interpretation, and evaluation. In the ethnography of oral performance, the performance event has assumed a place beside the text as a fundamental unit of description and analysis, providing the most concretely empirical framework for the comprehension of oral literature as social action by directing attention to the actual conduct of artistic verbal performance in social life.

Since oral performance is "rooted in culturally defined scenes or events" (Bauman, 1986, p.3), it is important to examine the narrative and linguistic elements and devices that frame the folktale as a 'performance' within its specific local community, especially since as Bauman (1984, pp.10-11) maintains, performance is "a distinctive frame, available as a communicative resource... to speakers in particular communities". Bauman (1975) borrows Erving Goffman's notion of frame, partially based on Jurgen Ruesch's concept and Gregory Bateson's concept (which Bateson borrowed from Ruesch and further developed), for his theory of 'frame analysis' which refers to the set of metacommunicative cues

that determine how an activity is to be interpreted. Metacommunication refers to the implicit or explicit messages in communicative interaction that carry instructions and context for how other messages ought to be understood and interpreted (Muhawi, 2006, p.366). It is thus through the frame that participants organize any social activity. As Bauman (1975, p.295) states, any instance of framing, including performance, is based on culturally conventionalized metacommunication:

In empirical terms, this means that each speech community will make use of a structured set of distinctive communicative means from among its resources in culturally conventionalized and culture-specific ways to key the performance frame, such that all communication that takes place within that frame is to be understood as performance within that community.

7.2 Keying Performance

In a performance, ‘keys’ cue the event and evoke action; both the narrator and the audience take their cues on how to act, react, and interact based on these cues. By ‘keying’ the special features of the Source Text through keying devices, we signal or cue a specific event or performance within a specific situation. ‘Keying’ is based on a pattern of organization it follows – it is based off some reality for the purpose of some situation. Performance is keyed through culturally conventionalized metacommunication – communication that provides instructions for how something should be interpreted (Bauman, 1975, p.295). According to Bauman (1975, p.295), a performance is framed through aesthetic features such as special language, phonic features, physical gestures, and formulaic phrases that distinguish it from ordinary discourse. Bauman (1975, p.295) lists ‘etic’ methods for framing any performance: (1) special codes; (2) special formulae that signal performance; (3) figurative language; (4) formal stylistic devices; (5) special prosodic patterns of tempo, stress, pitch (6) special paralinguistic patterns of voice quality and vocalization; (7) appeal to tradition; and (8) disclaimer of performance.

Since these cues are based on cultural conventions, both the narrator and the audience are aware, through both implicit and explicit messages, of the generic conventions and the rules for interaction. Framing the folktales as verbal art

emerging out of a specific social and situational context is significant in contesting Orientalist translations – Retaining only referential content while pushing to the background the elements and devices that frame the folktale as a ‘performance’ frames the Palestinian culture as a passive subject to be studied, disregarding the agency of the Palestinians and their active roles as narrators and storytellers. In neglecting the social situation out of which the tales emerged and in leaving out those conventional features that marks it as distinctively Palestinian in style, the folktale’s significance in the Target Culture becomes restricted to the referential content as information on the ‘Orient’ rather than as the creative product by individuals in a culture.

It is also important to provide explicitly stated contextual information about the social and cultural contexts that produced the tales, since the Target Audience will not be familiar with the ‘shared meanings’ between the narrator and the audience and that are inherent in the local folktale genre. Moreover, in leaving out the elements of the Palestinian folktale that frame it as a social activity, the Palestinian culture is dehistoricized, and the transferred culture-specific items are framed as static, un-moving, and un-changing, as if they had come out of a void. Thus, by ‘keying’ performance through the linguistic and narrative devices that comprise ‘texture’ within the text itself and that signal how the tales are to be interpreted, and by providing key contextual information surrounding the individual storytellers and the folktale performance as a social event rooted in culture, the Target Text may also be framed as a performance.

7.2.1 Keying Performance through Interruptive Devices

According to Muhawi (2004, p.85), “The folktale, being an oral genre... grants the narrator much freedom in the use of interruptive devices”. Moreover, “The interruptive key, one of the most important communicative means available to tellers for creating a dramatic effect and evoking wonder springs from the living voice of the narrator in performance” (Muhawi, 2004, p.85). Thus, interruptive devices “heighten the dramatic impact of the narrative” (Muhawi, 2004, p.85). According to Muhawi (2004, p.85), interruptive devices “may take the form” of

interjections, exclamations, rhetorical questions, invocations, and editorial comments, or of direct address to the audience. While “repetition is available to male as well as female tellers...the frequent and artistic use of these interruptive structures, particularly the invocatory ones, is more characteristic of women’s speech than men’s” (Muhawi, 2004, p.85). Therefore, interruptive devices, alongside repetition, are part of the Palestinian folktale style, particularly the ‘magical’ folktale that mainly belongs to the domain of women. Furthermore, “This balance must also be kept in the translation so as to maintain the individual style of each narrator and the tone of wonder on which the art of the folktale is based” (Muhawi, 2004, p.85). For Muhawi (2004, p.85), the ideal telling manages to reach a balance in the use of interruptive structures; “While excessive use indicates an immature narrator, scant use renders the narration flat and lifeless” (Muhawi, 2004, p.85). Thus, in effectively reproducing the key devices and elements in the Palestinian folktale in the Target Text, the individual ‘voices’ of the narrators may be retained in the translation.

7.2.2 Keying Performance in the Target Text through Paratext

The paratextual tools employed in the translations, like the interruptive devices in the Source Texts, are a form of metacommunication that guide the readers to interpret the tales in a certain way. However, the frame created by the translator greatly differs than the one created by the folktale narrator. The folktale narrator already shares with the audience cultural and social meanings and thus focuses on the narrative as ‘verbal art’, and any associated informative, persuasive, educational, and moral meanings are conveyed and function through the tales themselves and through the narrative and linguistic strategies. The Target Text Readership may not be aware of the extra layers of meaning and the Target Text may lose the depth that the Source Text has, or there may occur distortions in meaning that lead to confusion or inaccuracies. Thus, the translator often finds her/himself required to include footnotes, for example, to provide essential context to the Target Text.

Paratextual commentary may provide context to the folktale narratives as social activities; it may provide the readers with linguistic and cultural analysis of the narrative and linguistic devices and culture-specific items in the tales; it may clarify and define words and concepts, and include the multiple layers of meanings associated with the culture-specific items and the narrative and linguistic devices; it may be used to provide folkloristic analysis to the tales; it may include key details and descriptions of the storytellers present in the folktale performance event, and provide key details surrounding the situational context. Hence, paratextual commentary may add depth by filling gaps that may result from transferring the tales to a new situation and allow the Palestinian 'voice' and the Palestinian folktale's 'effect' to shine through the Target Text.

In considering the translation as a social narrative unavoidably influenced by the translator's and the translation agents' ideologies and agendas, ultimately framing the Target Text, Language, and Culture, in specific ways, the translator may also be viewed as performing for the Target Readers, though a different kind of performer than the folktale narrator. The translator stands as a mediator between cultures, whereas for the folktale to survive it must perform within the confines of the Source Text Culture. Moreover, while some losses are inevitable in translation, and are not necessarily always negative, there is a definite position of power that the translator holds that allows her/him to frame the Target Text to guide the readers' interpretation of the Source Text in ways that may not always be ethical.

Another issue with employing extensive paratextual commentary is the overload of information that grounds the Target Text as dominantly referential and academic while pushing the aesthetic function of the tales to the background. Thus, the translator may have to find creative translation strategies and methods to create an equivalent 'effect' in the Target Text and retain the aesthetic and poetic function. Thus, it is not so much that losses and gains are negative – in fact in certain situations they may help produce more authentic translations; rather, it is about strategically choosing what to keep, modify, add, or remove, to remain

authentic to the Palestinian folktale genre, to create an equivalent effect in the Target Text, and to contextualize the tales in their social and cultural contexts.

7.3 Performance in *Tales Told in Palestine*

Contextualization in translation fills a communicative gap and provides necessary information to the Target Audience. The general style of the translated narratives is readable, formal English, that contextualizes the transferred cultural items. While many culture-specific items are transferred into the Target Text, including formulaic religious and cultural expressions used to contextualize the different religious and ethnic groups' beliefs and worldviews, the overall style of telling the tales is a fluent formal English that creates the sense of reading a text about Palestinians rather than by Palestinians, although there is necessarily an aesthetic and creative quality in telling oral narratives, even in verbal art forms such as legends of saints; this sense of domestication is further enhanced by the paratextual commentary that frames the tales as reflections of the Palestinian cultural and religious identities while largely neglecting to portray the social side of the oral storytelling performances, the individuals meeting and gathering to share tales.

Readability plays a significant role in *Tales Told in Palestine*, whereby endnotes are employed so as not to disrupt the reading of the tales. In *Tales Told in Palestine*, parentheses are used to include the transliteration of certain culture-specific items; rarely, however, is parenthesis used to portray an emotion or aside comment made by the storyteller. However, there is one example of parentheses used in the tale, 'A Remedy for Shrewishness', which portrays a way of speaking in the Palestinian dialect and which is also a cultural equivalent in informal English speech (Hanauer, 2015, p.200):

When you have been absent (say) six months, get some one to send me a report that you are dead.

It is important to note that the kinds of tales in *Tales Told in Palestine* are categorized as follows: 'anecdotes more or less historical', 'legends of saints and

heroes', 'stories of modern miracles', 'tales embodying popular superstitions', and 'specimens of oriental wit and wisdom'. The labels suggest a focus in performance on the referential rather than the aesthetic – thus, in *Tales Told in Palestine*, we are not expecting the playfulness that is in the magical folktales. An oral folktale legend about a religious figure is going to have different communicative purposes than the magical tale, and thus while the legend may also be considered a form of 'verbal art' in that the legend is significantly different from ordinary conversation and the narrator is evaluated by an audience for their communicative competence and skills of performance, there are significant differences between both types of tales that marks them as distinctively different styles.

Performance, moreover, is not limited to the notion of 'play', and all forms of oral literature make use of narrative and linguistic devices that mark them as distinctively different from ordinary conversation. Thus, while such tales as those selected for *Tales Told in Palestine* will stress the referential items in a much greater degree than magical tales would, the style of an oral legend would still have a distinctive style that may be lost in written discourse and in translation. Effectively reproducing a style in the Target Text that is equivalent to that of the Source Text allows for the 'voices' of the tellers to shine through the translations, so that the Palestinian narrators with their range of storytelling skills are portrayed in the translations, rather than function merely as texts that provide information about Palestine. The referential content is certainly significant, but in excluding the 'human' element involved in the storytelling activities, and in neglecting in the Target Text the narrative and linguistic skills employed in the Source Text, the individuals that told those tales are rendered invisible.

7.3.1 Information about the Tellers

It is important to note that J.E. Hanauer retold the tales to Mitchell from memory, and likely retold the tales in the way he assumed his audience (in this case Mitchell) wanted them to be received (i.e., academically rather than aesthetically, with the focus on the Palestinian landscape as the birthplace of religion). Therefore, in this case, in which the stories are told in English, and not in

Arabic, and Hanauer is retelling the stories to H.G. Mitchell (presumably his only audience during the retelling of the tales as we have no sure way to know if there was anyone else present during the retellings), this is not the typical audience-narrator relationship in Palestinian folktale performances. Moreover, the kinds of tales here are significant, since the referential content play a central role in the performance of tales surrounding religious and historical figures.

The title of the book, *Tales Told in Palestine*, suggests that the tales included are popular and commonly told in Palestine and thus belong to the collective, rather than to individual tellers. More specifically, the tales are introduced as belonging to social, religious, or ethnic groups and are referred to as “the Moslems”, “the Kurds”, “the Mohammedans”, “the Jews”, “the Christians,” “the peasants”, etc. For example, the following is included in the introduction to the tale, ‘David and Uriah’ (Hanauer, 2015, p.78):

One of the most prominent objects in Jerusalem is the massive structure near the Jaffa Gate, called the Tower of David. The Moslems say that the king built it for a private oratory, and connect with it a curious version of the story of his sin against Uriah. This is it:

Another example is from the tale, ‘St. George and the Dragon’ (Hanauer, 2015, p.84):

The story of St. George and the Dragon is of course, well known in Palestine. The following is the form in which it is told by the Christians:

Rarely are details of the people who told the narratives to Hanauer included. Even when the tellers are referred to, they are rarely named. For example, the tale, ‘The Kurds of Hebron’, is preceded by the following statement (Hanauer, 2015, p.34):

The following, told by the shaykh of a village not far from Hebron, seems to be such a bit of unwritten history:

Another example is from the tale, 'The Maidens' Chambers' (Hanauer, 2015, p.36):

The origin of this latter name is explained by a legend of which a woman from 'Akur gave the following version:

7.3.2 Recreating the Dramatic Effect

Retaining certain elements in the tales, such as interruptive keys, recreates in the Target Text the dramatic effects of the narrator's delivery in the performance event, thus producing a certain effect on the Target Text Audience. In *Tales Told in Palestine*, the use of interjections and invocations by characters in the tales' dialogues create a dramatic effect during the reading of the tales. Moreover, the use of emotive language, punctuation, and sometimes even italics, to portray the characters' emotions and attitudes, provide the tales with an aesthetic quality connected to the tone of delivery, a quality that is metonymic of the performance event itself.

There is an instance in *Tales Told in Palestine* where Mitchell attempts to retain the expressive meaning in the context of the storytelling event that includes Hanauer as the storyteller and himself as the audience, through an exclamation mark placed in parenthesis mid-sentence. This specific example conveys a tone of surprise and disbelief over the narrated event (Hanauer, 2015, p.68):

One day he was standing on Jebel 'esh-Shaykh (Mt. Hermon), it occurred to him to step across the valley to the range of Lebanon. Acting on this impulse, he "put his best foot forward" and landed (!), not on the mountain, as he intended, but far on the other side of them in the Mediterranean.

The ditty, a feature of Palestinian folktales, is retained in the tale 'St. George and the Dragon' and is translated as follows (Hanauer, 2015, p.86):

“The people gathered, all, intent
To see the princess as she went.”

The transliteration of the ditty is included in a footnote (Hanauer, 2015, p.219):

Bint el-melek bitidarrāj, Wa-kull ‘en-nas bitifarraġ.

7.3.3 Aside Comments

There is an instance in one of the tales included in *Tales Told in Palestine* in which parenthesis is used to include an aside comment made by Hanauer. The aside comment is regarding a character, the neighbour, and how some say the character is in fact the sister and not the neighbour (Hanauer, 2015, p.123):

One day, when her husband brought her the liver and lights of a sheep and gave them to her to cook, she felt the need of a knife so keenly that she went a neighbour (some say it was her own sister) whose husband was very wealthy in lands, houses, and slaves, and cattle, and begged her for the load of one of hers.

7.4 Performance in *Speak Bird, Speak Again*

In the introduction to *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana (1989, p.1) explain the rationale behind the forty-five tales they selected and included in the anthology from “approximately two hundred tales”, which is the tales’ “popularity and the excellence of their narration”. In selecting the tales that demonstrate excellent narration skills, Muhawi and Kanaana frame the Palestinian folktale not only as a portrait of the culture but as an established genre with its own unique conventions – thus, we see the tales here as not mere reflections of a culture but as tales produced by skilled Palestinian individuals and storytellers who actively and creatively comment on their realities through their communicative resources. Muhawi and Kanaana (1989, pp.9-11) also give some information on the tellers that have provided them with the “largest number of tales” and link this

information with the tellers' narrative styles and abilities. Thus, we not only have insight to the Palestinian folktale as a genre of verbal art emerging out of 'performance' but also insight to some of the tellers and their narrative skills.

Muhawi and Kanaana also provide the typical setting in which narration of the 'magical' folktale takes place to provide contextual information of the situation from which the folktale genre emerged in the Palestinian society. Muhawi and Kanaana also discuss the Palestinian folktale as a genre, distinguishing it from the other forms of oral narratives, and providing key concepts in the Palestinian dialect that establish the interpretive frame through which the tales should be analyzed, and which they explain to the readers. In explaining the typical setting in which folktale narration takes place and introducing and explaining the key words and phrases, they not only clearly demonstrate the interpretive framework they base their analyses and translation strategies on, but they also situate the Palestinian folktale as a genre that has emerged from a recurrent situation in the Palestinian society and show how it functions. Moreover, they show how the style of narration, the special language employed, and the use of narrative and linguistic devices, function within this recurrent context of situation and how those elements reflect the Palestinian cultural and social attitudes and beliefs.

Moreover, the 'Notes on Presentation and Translation' that precedes the tales provides the rationale behind their stylistic choices and place an emphasis on recreating the aesthetic function of performing folktales in the Target Text. This section locates Muhawi and Kanaana's main approach to translating the tales. Their key concern in translating the tales is to provide the necessary contextual information and analyses without disrupting the aesthetic and entertainment functions of reading the Palestinian folktale narratives. Muhawi and Kanaana (1989, p.51) state:

Following the scheme articulated in the Introduction, the tales are divided into groups, each of which is followed by an afterword. This commentary follows rather than precedes the selections in order not to interfere with the reader's individual response to the tales. Likewise, we hope that the

enjoyment of a first reading will not be interrupted by the footnotes. Notes have been provided to explain or explore many of the terms and concepts found in the tales. Extensive cross-referencing should allow readers to pursue particular topics, and Footnote Index provides even more comprehensive surveys.

Muhawi and Kanaana (1989, p.51) maintain that “A translation must sound natural in the target language while still remaining faithful to the original”. To achieve that goal, they note that “In rendering colloquial Arabic into English, the translator must decide on the linguistic level, or tone, that best conveys the spirit of the original” since “A too-formal translation distorts that spirit, and a heavily colloquial one is equally deleterious” (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.51). Muhawi and Kanaana (1989, p.51) also express a concern for stylistic issues in the translation of the folktales, and state the following:

In addition to purely linguistic considerations, there are also stylistic ones. Many stylistic features of oral performance cannot be duplicated in print without destroying the fluency of the narrative. Among these, for example, are comments reflecting the teller’s own viewpoint (included in parentheses) in the midst of speech uttered by one of the characters. Literary oral narrative, when translated for print into another language, obviously undergoes in reality a process of double translation: the first is from one language to another, and the second is from one medium into another.

The solution for Muhawi and Kanaana (1989, p.51) to both the linguistic and stylistic issues “lies in steering a middle course between standard and informal speech, avoiding intrusive colloquialisms on the one hand and expressly “literary” diction on the other.” The translation, “in short, must sound good to native ears when read out loud” (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.51). Thus, the main concern for Muhawi and Kanaana in translating the tales is to reproduce the ‘effect’ of the Source Text in the Target Text so that the Target Text Readers may enjoy the Palestinian folktales as narrative performances of ‘verbal art’. Readability, for Muhawi and Kanaana, then, does not prevent from an authentic and meaningful

translation; rather, it is at times necessary. Moreover, the extensive use of paratextual commentary and analyses in combination with the key narrative and linguistic features of the Palestinian folktale frame the tales meaningfully in the Palestinian society and culture, resulting in a text that is clearly the aesthetic and creative literary product of the Palestinian culture that also offers a complex portrait of that culture.

7.4.1 A Dynamic-Rhetorical Approach to Translation

Style in folktales is a “dynamic interplay between the highly conventional and formulaic style received from tradition and the creativity of the individual narrator” which results in “a diversity of narrative styles” (Muhawi, 2004, p.83); Moreover, “even if a narrator is not very competent or creative, there is an acknowledged folktale style which makes it theoretically possible to recover in translation at least some of the individual features that distinguish the narrative style of one teller from another” (Muhawi, 2004, p.83). In their ‘Notes on Presentation and Translation’, Muhawi and Kanaana (1989, pp.51-52) state that “The philosophy of translation articulated here assumes that the tellers must tell their own tales, with as few interruptive intrusions as possible”, and therefore (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.52):

No liberties are taken with the text by adding invented material or by censoring scatological references through euphemistic substitution or excision. Necessary departures from the literal intent of the text are either included in square brackets in the body of the tale or footnoted – or both.

However, while the translation “follows the original very closely, attempting where possible to duplicate its narrative rhythm and grammatical structure” (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.51), literal translation cannot be employed as a strategy for the entirety of the text; thus, “Necessary departures from the literal intent of the text are either included in square brackets in the body of the tale or footnoted – or both” (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.52). Moreover, Muhawi and Kanaana (1989, p.52) state the following:

Although the translations remain faithful to the literal meaning of the originals, they are not word-for-word translations. All dialogue in the tales, for example, is introduced in the originals by the word *qāl*, “to say.” *Qāl* is translated in a variety of ways (as “said,” “spoke,” “answered,” “replied,” “called”), depending on the context. We feel that following the text too literally here will yield a turgid translation that is not faithful to the original either in letter or spirit. In rhythms, gestures, and intonations oral narration holds the attention of the listener; the verbal text, seen on the printed page, does not by itself (so to speak) tell the whole story.

Thus, Muhawi and Kanaana aim to portray the narrators’ unique styles that result from a combination of the elements of tradition and individual creativity by including a variety of equivalents where meaning would not be distorted – this reproduces an aesthetic effect, allowing the Palestinian folktale to function as ‘verbal art’ in the Target Text.

7.4.2 Reconstructing Narrative Rhythm

Muhawi and Kanaana (1989) reconstruct narrative rhythm in the Target Text through the narrative rhythm that occurs in the folktale due to the repetition and parallelism of sounds, words, and phrases. Retaining these elements and translating them effectively through a structure based on repetition and parallelism recreates the quality of intensified stylization typical of folktales. This quality adds the dramatic element to folktales, and by effectively translating this narrative structure, the effect on the Source Text Audience may be replicated on the Target Text Audience. The following are some examples of narrative rhythm created by parallelism and repetition in *Speak Bird, Speak Again*:

- “O milk, thicken! thicken! and tie up their joints so they can’t move.”
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.88)
- flint, spark and spark!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.88)

- bran, fly and fly!"
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.88)
- "Here's the halvah! Here's the halvah!"
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.88)
- "Sharpen, O my scythe, sharpen!" and started to the tree down
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.97)
- "Look! Look! They all shouted. "There's a bird, and it's speaking!"
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.101)
- "Speak, bird!" they clamored, "Speak again! How beautiful are your words!"
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.101)

7.4.3 Transferring Interjections and Onomatopoeic Sounds

Muhawi and Kanaana (1989) borrow many of the interjections employed in the Source Text and transfer them to the Target Text as transliterations. These transliterations reflect the expressive use of dialect in the Palestinian folktale genre, while also producing fun sound effects in the Target Text. Borrowing interjections from the Source Language and Culture allows the readers to appreciate the different ways cultures express their emotions and to become even more engaged with that element of newness. Not all interjections have to be substituted with cultural equivalents as they can be understood contextually.

The interjections portray the expressive meanings within the tales, a quality that is especially appealing to children. Though interjections are mostly found in the dialogue of the characters rather than as expressions of the narrators' emotions, they still mimic the prosodic features of the Source Text. The interjections, expressive of emotions, maintain rhythm and keep the audience involved and engaged through short onomatopoeic sounds. Moreover, they allow the children to

imagine the characters' experiences and their attitudes towards those experiences through visualizing their emotional reactions and responses. Interjections are used often in children's books, as the sounds are quite engaging and appealing to children's ears. Borrowing interjections from the Source Text may be considered a creative gain for the Target Text, as the new simple yet fun sounds portray an element of newness that engages the audience. Moreover, interjections provide a cue for the reader to portray expressive emotions through intonation, rather than read the text monotonously. Furthermore, the use of exclamation marks and italics also portray intonation, as in, for example, *Yallah!* (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.67). Examples of interjections in *Speak Bird, Speak Again* include the following (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989):

- "Eh!" he exclaimed...
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.56)
- "Yee!" exclaimed the mother...
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.57)
- "Heh! Heh! Heh!" she chuckled
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.66)
- "Hanh!" snapped the mother when they came home.
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.89)
- "Ha!" what did you see?" they asked him the morning.
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.94)
- "Ah, yes!" responded the ghoulah.
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.108)

The following example of a transferred onomatopoeic sound that portrays the sound of a flying bird also produces a fun quality in the Target Text (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.115):

- Putting the scarves in her beak, she tricked the girl, and – frrrr! – away she flew.

(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.115)

7.4.4 Rhetorical Questions

Rhetorical questions create suspense and emphasize a certain event or situation that the storyteller deems interesting or significant to the plot and which requires the audience's attention, thus suggesting the subtle influence of the storyteller on the audience by strategically placing focus on certain aspects of the tale. The following is an example (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.97):

She looked, and behold! Where was he? He was already on the outskirts of the town. She came running after him, and almost caught up with him. What was he to do?

7.4.5 Formulaic Openings and Endings

Tales that employ culturally conventional formulaic openings and endings allow for some level of narrator-audience interaction and key the folktales as performances. Those interactive formulas function as a signal to start and end the folktale, cuing the transportation from the real to the fictive world and vice versa, thus separating fiction from reality. Muhawi and Kanaana (1989) include in the Target Text different variations of the formulas, demonstrating the dynamic nature of the genre and the narrators' unique styles. Moreover, such formulas may even convey information about the narrators' backgrounds. The following are some examples of formulaic openings that allows for some level of narrator-audience interaction (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989):

- Teller: Testify that God is One!
Audience: There is no god but God.
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.55)

- Teller: Allah has spoken and His word is a blessing!
Audience: Blessings abound, Allah willing!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.84)

- Teller: Testify that God is One!
Audience: There is no god but He!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.89)

- Teller: Allah is the only God!
Audience: There is no god but He!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.115)

- Teller: We are blessed with plenty!
Audience: Blessings abound, Allah willing!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.175)

- Teller: [Not] until you testify that God is One!
Audience: There is no god but God.
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.150)

- Teller: Once Upon a time – but first a prayer of peace for the Virgin!
Audience: Peace be to her!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.188)

- Teller: Once Upon a time, O my listeners...but not until you bear witness that God is One.
Audience: There is no god but God!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.230)

- Teller: May Allah bless the Prophet!
Audience: Allah bless him!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.241)

- Teller: Once there was a king – and Allah’s the only true King. Let him who has sinned say, “I beg Allah for forgiveness!”
Audience: May God grant us remission from our sins!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.244)

- Teller: Once upon a time...O my listeners, let him who loves the Virgin hail her with blessings of peace!
Audience: Peace be with her!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.255)

- Teller: Testify that Allah is One!
Audience: There is no god but God.
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.281)

- They had a wedding celebration that lasted seven days and seven nights. Music was playing and people were dancing. Our master married our mistress – and may every year find you in good health!
Audience: And may Allah save your tongue!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.248)

There are also variations of closing formulas in the Palestinian folktale reservoir that portray the differences between narrators’ styles. Moreover, note the use of the second person pronoun ‘you’ in some of them. The following are examples from *Speak Bird, Speak Again* (1989):

- This is my story, I’ve told it, and in your hands I leave it.
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.59)

- Hail! Hail! Finished is our tale.
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.62)

- The bird has flown, and a good evening to all.

(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.65)

- Then he lived happily with his wife, and he made her brother a sultan – and may you wake up to blessings in the morning!

(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.93)

- The bird has flown, and a good night to all!

(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.121)

- The bird of this tale has flown, and now for another one!

(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.125)

- We ate from their feast, left them, and came home.

(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.150)

- The bird of this tale has flown, and now it's someone else's turn.

(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.159)

- And there we left them and came back.

(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.177)

- They lived happily, and there we leave them and come back here.

(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.181)

- They lived happily ever after, and may Allah make life sweeter for all my listeners!

(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.188)

- And may every year find you in good health!

(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.198)

- The bird of this tale has flown – and a good evening to all!

(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.227)

- The bird of this tale has flown; one of you owes another one.
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.234)
- Its bird has flown, and now for another one!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.241)
- Its dust has scattered, and now for another one!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.254)
- After that they lived in bliss and happiness, and may Allah save the mouths
of my listeners!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.261)
- The bird of this tale has flown; are you ready for the next one?
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.285)
- Thereafter he and his son-in-law lived in comfort and bliss, and may Allah
make life sweet for all my listeners!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.317)

7.4.6 Direct Forms of Address in the Tales

Muhawi and Kanaana (1989) retain those subtle moments during the performance where the narrator addresses the audience into the Target Text; direct forms of address are indicated through the sudden shift from the third-person to the first-person and second-person personal and possessive pronouns:

- Picking her up, my little darlings, the mother took the lid off and found the
pot full of honey. Oh! How pleased she was!
(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.57)

- Toward the end of the night, you might say, he pulled the feather out of his pocket and stuck it into the wall. If the teller isn't lying, that feather lit up the whole room.

(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.70)

- He answered, you might say, "A piaster for a quarter of a kilo."

(Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.88)

7.5 Performance in *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*

Raphael Patai's overall strategy, as he explains in the introduction to *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* (1998), is a literal translation, a strategy he chooses to retain the formal properties of the Arab folktale in the translation. For Bauman (1984, p.8), the problem of fixating only on the formal features of the text "places severe constraints on the development of a meaningful framework for the understanding of verbal art as performance, as a species of situated human communication, a way of speaking". Thus, while the formal properties are significant, the priority is to reconstruct the key properties of the genre in a way that portrays how those properties function effectively and purposefully within their interpretive frame and in a way that effectively reproduces the effect they create in the Target Text through maintaining their meaningfulness. Performance is a "distinctive frame, available as a communicative resource for speakers in particular communities" (Bauman, 1984, pp.10-11), and thus ought to be meaningful; performance "sets up, or represents, an interpretive frame within which the messages being communicated are to be understood" – this interpretive frame "contrasts with at least one other frame, the literal" (Bauman, 1984, p.9).

The translation of the tales in *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* produces an overall exoticized effect that portrays a strange and alien 'Other' highlighted by difference. Moreover, the texts create some confusion in meanings connected to the plot and some cultural phrases (which he attempts to compensate for mainly in the footnotes and at times using square brackets). Patai attempts to reconstruct aspects of the performance that are a result of the inherent properties

of the folktale narrative style. In fact, his literal translation does at times succeed in reproducing a certain rhythmic quality. Nonetheless, while Patai's literal translation does manage to mimic in the Target Text certain stylistic effects in the oral Palestinian folktale, he does so at the expense of accuracy in meanings and an overall awkward style that obstructs the flow of the narrative. Moreover, employing literal translation as a strategy for the whole text wrongly portrays the Source Culture as static and one-dimensional, as many layers of meanings are lost. Even when losses in meaning are compensated for in paratextual spaces, the situational and social contexts are still missing which strips any of agency away from the storytellers.

Since the tales in *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* (1998) were taken from different sources, Patai would not have had contextual information about the performance events including information about the tellers. However, where information about tellers is available, he includes it below the tale's title. For example, the tale 'Allah's Dispensation' is "*Told by Sh'hāde il-Khūri, a Christian teacher in Rāmallāh*" (Patai, 1998, p.37). Moreover, he states the name of the person who recorded the name and the date the tale was recorded or read on the radio. For example, the same tale, 'Allāh's Dispensation', was "*recorded by Hans Schmidt, 1910-11.*". Moreover, Patai comments on some of the narrators' skills.

7.5.1 Reconstructing Stylistic Effects through Literal Translation

One way in which the Palestinian folktale creates a suspenseful and dramatic pace is through the rhythmic patterning of utterances, through parallelism and repetition, that are rooted in the Palestinian oral dialect. In Palestinian folktale narration, competent and skilled narrators create a certain 'pace' that keeps the audience involved and on their toes. Patai's literal translation mimics in the Target Text certain aspects of the Palestinian oral dialect recreating in certain instances stylistic intensification and dramatization of events.

However, cultural expressions are an integral part of folktales, and literal translations do not always convey the accurate, implied, or associated meanings.

Such expressions might come across as confusing and awkward in the Target Text since the readers may not be familiarized with them, which could cause an exoticized effect in the translation. Note the following excerpt from the tale, 'The Jinn's Gratitude', as an example (Patai, 1998, p.46):

One day merchants went to Shām. They said they wanted to have a camel driver. They hired this one, and went. On the way they came to a well. They lowered him, so that he should give them to drink. The *raṣad* said to him, "What brought you from the land of the humans to the land of the jinn?"

He said, "By Allāh, O my lord, I am a stranger and ignorant."

The *raṣad* said, "Where are you going?"

He said, "To the land of Shām."

He said to him, "Will you bring me a basket of dates with you?"

He said, "Upon my head and my eye, O my lord!"

In the example above, the literal translation, "Upon my head and my eye" does not convey the meaning of the Arabic expression *على راسي وعيني*. The expression means, 'with pleasure'. However, Patai (1998, p.49) explains it in the footnote as follows:

Meaning, "I swear upon my head and my eye."

7.5.2 Use of Punctuation in the Target Text

Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel, like *Tales Told in Palestine and Speak Bird, Speak Again* makes use of punctuation. In introducing some aside comments, Patai sandwiches the asides between EM dashes. Moreover, Patai sometimes uses square brackets in the tales to clarify implicit meanings that would be lost in written discourse. The use of commas also helps create a certain pace, cuing a slight pause which stands in contrast to the full stop. Moreover, the use of exclamation marks and interjections cue intonation and helps the reader to avoid a monotonous tone during the reading of the tales.

7.6 Conclusion

Due to the nature of folktales as pragmatic, oral narratives, and the fact that they are social activities that emerge within specific situational contexts, the folktale style has elements that will naturally frame the folktales as performances. Thus, in framing the translations as 'performances', it is not only essential to effectively translate the special properties of the tales and the narrative and linguistic devices that key the tales as culturally conventionalized 'verbal art', but to also maintain accuracy of meanings in the Target Text and contextualize the tales to portray their emergence as a genre due to an active and rich social life within the Palestinian community.

Therefore, the issue is in not finding a balance between maintaining the aesthetic function of the folktale as a literary genre and translating the multiple layers of meaning accurately. Loyalty to style and genre also necessarily equates a loyalty to 'meaning'; it is not only sufficient to transfer those elements that frame the tales as performances, but to also consider *how* to transfer them in a way that maintains accuracy in the meanings conveyed. Moreover, it is important to allow the 'voices' of the Palestinian storytellers to shine through the Target Text. In approaching the folktale as a 'performance' of 'verbal art' with an assumption of responsibility to an audience, and as a text that emerges historically out of a situational and social context, we give back the Palestinians their agency in telling their stories rather than reconstructing them as passive subjects to be studied.

Moreover, those memories of storytelling events recurring over time and throughout history to form a local genre are proof that Palestine was not an empty landscape and that the Palestinians had rich social lives. In translating the properties of the Palestinian folktale genre that frame it as both a social activity and as an aesthetic product that results from this communicative event, we frame the folktales as artistic cultural heritage emerging out of historical memory, rather than re-framing them as Orientalist narratives intended to explore the psyche and culture of a passive inferior Other in contrast with the powerful superior Self.

However, as seen in Patai's translation, while a literal translation for the entirety of the folktale text may reflect some stylistic aspects of narrative style, the result would still be an Orientalist translation since losses and inaccuracies in meaning would create confusion and an exoticized effect.

Reconstructing the special genre properties into the Target Text gives the readers the opportunity to be involved in the more complex aspects of the live performance, to view the tales as rich social activities rather than mere reflections of culture. Portraying the Palestinian narrators' individual styles of performance sheds light on how the Palestinian folktale is organized and patterned creatively by individual narrators. Furthermore, paratext may be utilized to provide contextual information with regards to the individual narrators, the performance event, and to explain the implicit and explicit devices that key the tales as 'performances' regardless of the type of oral narrative, as this allows the tales to be presented as the creative retellings of individuals and not just as reflections of culture. While the tales in *Tales Told in Palestine* are certainly readable and flow rather smoothly, a quality which would allow the tales to be effectively read out loud in a performance setting, the lack of contextual information related to the oral narratives as social activities and the overall 'English' style renders the tales in *Tales Told in Palestine* as domestications despite the transliterated Arabic words and phrases included in the translations.

While J.E. Hanauer contextualizes the historical aspects of Palestine in *Tales Told in Palestine*, focusing mainly on the legends of historical and religious figures and the Palestinian landscape as the birthplace of religion, and therefore as 'Holy Land', the minimal attention given to the situational and social contexts of the narratives as social activities pushes the Palestinian storytellers and their narrative skills to the background. This creates an Orientalist style that reduces the sacredness of Palestinian life in comparison to the sacredness of the landscape as a site of religious and political value. In *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, Muhawi and Kanaana reconstruct the folktale narratives as verbal art emerging from rich social activities rooted in Palestinian culture through a rhetorical-dynamic approach,

whereby the creative translation of the genre's key properties frames the Palestinian folktales as performances of narrative skill. Moreover, accuracy to multiple layers of meaning is assured through paratext where it is not possible to do so in the tales themselves. While *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* attempts to replicate the style of Palestinian folktales through a literal translation which mimics the narrative style, thus providing insight into some of the performative aspects of folktale narration, this same literal translation paradoxically exoticizes the Palestinian language and its people, creating a picture of Palestinian culture as strange and alien – an image that is further solidified through the paratext, which constantly compares the Arab culture to the western one.

Chapter 8

Translating Culture-Specific Items in the Palestinian Folktale

8. Introduction

This chapter explores how each anthology translates culture-specific items including the material culture, motifs, allusions, archaisms, etc., and how the Palestinian culture is framed in the anthologies through the translation of culture-specific items. Translating culture-specific items can be challenging since, as Peter Newmark (1991, p.25) states, “many words are profoundly affected by their contexts both linguistic, cultural and situational and cannot be translated in isolation”. Culture is concerned with “the production and the exchange of meanings – the ‘giving and taking of meaning’- between the members of a society or group” (Hall, 1997, p.2), and therefore depends on its members interpreting meaningfully what is happening around them and ‘making sense’ of the world through shared concepts that enable them to interpret the world in broadly similar ways. Transferring those items to a new situation may cause losses or distortions of meaning.

This chapter examines how cultural difference is foregrounded, and how the Arabic language and Palestinian culture are exoticized, through the translation of culture-specific items. In addition to the paratext, the three anthologies frame the Palestinian cultural identity through the poetic and referential aspects of the tales. The ways culture-specific items are framed in the Target Text and how they function to achieve specific purposes reveals a lot about the translators’ ideologies and the Target Readers’ expectations. Since the three texts have a dominant informative function, paratextual elements are used heavily, and therefore the choices the scholars/translators/editors make in explaining, clarifying, and describing meanings, and how they compensate for losses in meaning, are explored. Each of the three anthologies demonstrates the ideological values inherent in them through the paratextual strategies and procedures employed, ultimately fulfilling specific functions.

8.1 The Search for Equivalence

One of the central themes in Translation Studies is the search for equivalence. The notion of 'equivalence' in translation was first thought of in terms of interlingual synonymy. Susan Bassnett (2002, pp.37-38) states, more generally, that "Equivalence in translation...should not be approached as a search for sameness, since sameness cannot even exist between two TL versions of the same text, let alone between the SL and TL version". Bassnett here not only underlines that interlingual synonymy is likely to prove illusory, but that different languages are, by definition, not the same at other levels than the semantic –in phonology, morphology, syntax, discourse structure, etc. Umberto Eco (2001, p.9) similarly states that "Equivalence in meaning cannot be taken as a satisfactory criterion for a correct translation ... we cannot even accept the naïve idea that equivalence in meaning is provided by synonymy". According to Eugene Nida (1964, p.156):

Since no two languages are identical, either in the meanings given to corresponding symbols or in the ways in which such symbols are arranged in phrases and sentences, it stands to reason that there can be no absolute correspondence between languages. Hence, there can be no fully exact translations. The total impact of a translation may be reasonably close to the original, but there can be no identity in detail.

Full equivalence, therefore, is a problematic notion, since it is motivated by the illusion that it is possible to equally retain all levels of meaning in the Target Text. For instance, it is impossible to transfer the full text of the folktale as it exists in the oral mode without enduring some form of loss, since the elements that make an oral text cohesive differ from those that make a written text cohesive. A more realistic aim is to achieve an 'equivalent effect', which is defined as "a similar effect on the TT receiver as the ST is deemed to have on ST receivers" (Hatim and Mason, 2013, p.240). This does not refer directly to different language levels, at which, as noted, 'equivalence' (i.e., sameness, or very near close near-identity) are largely impossible, but to the psychological reaction of the reader/hearer. It thus

provides a more realistic criterion for equivalence than do views of equivalence based on semantic sameness (or sameness / very close similarity at other language levels). And while there is no such thing as full equivalence, translators still ought to be 'true' to the essence of the Source Text, and to be aware of the importance of how their choices have a strong impact on the ways they frame the Source Language and Culture.

8.2 The Translation of Culture-Specific Items

Mary Snell-Hornby (1995, p.41) states that "the extent to which a text is translatable varies with the *degree* to which it is embedded in its own specific culture, also with the distance that separates the cultural background of source text and target audience in terms of time and place". According to Eugene Nida (1964, p.130), cultural elements are as significant as linguistic elements, noting that "differences between cultures may cause more severe complications for the translator than do differences in language structure". According to Mona Baker (1992, p.21), "the source-language word may express a concept which is totally unknown in the target culture. The concept in question may be abstract or concrete; it may relate to a religious belief, a social custom, or even a type of food. Such concepts are often referred to as 'culture-specific'". Culture-specific items are items within the text so heavily grounded in one culture that they do not necessarily have equivalents in other cultures, and therefore may be more easily taken out of context.

The question of how to translate culture specific items is among the main issues in translation theory. Peter Newmark (1988) argues that unless a cultural equivalent exists among the Source and the Target Languages, the culture specific item becomes problematic. Moreover, differences in factors such as geographical locations, religions, ideologies, and social classes make it difficult to translate culture specific items from one language to the other. For Peter Newmark (1988), the main issues in translating are not grammatical, but rather lexical, i.e., words, collocations, and fixed phrases or idioms. Among the challenges a translator faces in translating folktales are the culture-bound words and expressions such as

idioms, fixed expressions, collocations, and proverbs. Proverbs, for instance, may reflect wisdom or give insight into the ideals and customs of societies. Such rhetoric could be so deeply rooted in the culture that it would be incomprehensible to, or at least misunderstood by, some Target Language Readers. The main issue with lexical items is that they are sometimes taken out of context or are made to stand out in a way that changes or creates new connotative and associative meanings that may not necessarily exist in the Source Text. Thus, it is essential to understand the culture-specific items of a certain language within context to decide how to recreate these items in another language and culture without altering the items' multiple layers of meaning.

Moreover, when a text has many specialized or unfamiliar words, unusual grammar, or other linguistic anomalies, this complicates the features of the text that are perceived as literary. These are "risks shared by both translators and writers of post-colonial and minority-culture literature" (Bassnett and Trivedi, 1999, p.29). Including content that is unintelligible to the Target Audience, and/or including extensive paratextual commentary, compromises the reception of the text as literature. On the other hand, removing the distinctive qualities of the Target Text culture and language or adapting the text to the standards of the receiving culture raises ethical questions. Folktales carry a wealth of cultural elements while also resisting finality as they move so easily between cultures. Since folktales can be read and interpreted from so many different angles, the concept of re-writing folktales to prioritize the functions of the Target Text over those of the Source Text becomes problematic. It is essential here to emphasize the importance of the ethical representation of other cultures, which should not be taken for granted, even if the genre itself has a certain level of 'fluidity'.

8.3 Foregrounding Cultural Difference in the Target Text

A primary feature of translation is the existence of difference, since if there were no differences, there would be no need to translate in the first place. There needs to be enough of both shared elements and differences for translation to take place without becoming domesticated to the point where the Source Culture is

invisible nor foreignized to the point where the Source Text is exoticized. Dickins et. al. (2002) propose that cultural transposition has a scale of degrees, starting with the category of exoticism and ending with the category of cultural transplantation. Exoticism happens when the degree of adaptation to the Target Culture, both grammatically and culturally, is minimal. At the other end of the scale, opposite of exoticism, is cultural transplantation. Here, the whole text is rewritten for the Target Culture so that it becomes more of an adaptation than a translation. According to Dickins et. al. (2002, p.32), “by and large, normal translation practice avoids the two extremes of wholesale exoticism and wholesale cultural transplantation”. They also advise considering the “alternatives lying between them on the scale” to avoid the two extremes (Dickins et. al., 2002, p.32); the two extremes in translation create an illusion of binary opposition, whereas in real life the world is a complex interplay of a multitude of factors.

As the name ‘exoticism’ suggests, this strategy results in alien and strange elements in the translation. Exoticism is a problem in that it could alienate a culture by foregrounding and highlighting it as an ‘Other’. When a feature of a culture is exoticized, it turns into a stereotype recycled in the media and literature. Even when only parts of the tale are exoticized, the entire tone and mood of the tale is affected. The folktale raises this issue because it already has exaggerated elements, in and of itself, in the Source Language; the fictive and fantastical aspect of the tale and the fact that it is connected to the past may make the Source Text appear exotic even to Source Text Readers. The combination of fantastical and cultural elements creates an even more alien and exoticized view of the Source Culture in the eyes of the Target Culture. Literal translation often produces the effect of exoticism; nonetheless, as Dickins et. al. state (2002, p.30), “sometimes the nature of the ST makes it virtually impossible to avoid exoticism in the TT”. Even when the translation “as a whole is not marked by exoticism, a momentary foreignness” is introduced into the Target Text through exotic elements (Dickins et. al., 2002, p.31). According to Dickins et. al. (2002, p.32), the “nature of the text may make the use of exoticism more or less unavoidable”.

The exoticizing effect which is visible in cultural texts such as folkloric texts is the result of a tension between the poetic and the referential function, a tension further intensified in how culture-specific items are expressed through stylized language. The more a poetic text is embedded with cultural items and the more explicitly connected the text is to a specific culture as a product or reflection of the culture, the easier it is for the text to be manipulated to fit an ideological purpose. Roman Jakobson (1960, pp.370-371) recognizes this tension that occurs between the poetic and referential functions:

Ambiguity is an intrinsic, inalienable character of any self-focused message, briefly a corollary feature of poetry ... The supremacy of poetic function over referential function does not obliterate the reference but makes it ambiguous. The double-sensed message finds correspondence in a split addresser, in a split addressee, and besides in a split reference, as it is cogently exposed in the preambles to fairy tales of various peoples, for instance, in the usual exordium of the Majorca storytellers: "Aixo era y no era" (It was and it was not).

The poetic function is dominant when the text focuses on the message for its own sake, which is the case in certain forms of 'verbal art' in which narrators are evaluated for their communicative ability. Poetic features distinguish verbal art from ordinary conversations – they create an effect on the reader due to what Geoffrey Leech (1981) refers to as 'deviation' from how language is ordinarily used. With literature, language is deviated but with a purpose (Leech, 1981). By deviating from how we ordinarily use language, certain ideas, meanings, and concepts are 'foregrounded' – they are brought to the fore, bringing attention to them; foregrounding is a stylistic strategy that brings certain aspects of a text to the fore to draw attention to them (Mukarovsky, 1970). While folktales are clearly distinct from ordinary conversations, folktale style is based on the stylized expressions of cultural items through the dialect; thus, in the folktale, ordinary language is stylized and patterned in a certain way that calls up the genre. Moreover, content is significant in the folktale; as William P. Murphy states (1978, p.114):

the definitional emphasis on the stylistic and artistic qualities of an oral literary form does not imply the referential meaning is insignificant; rather, it underlines the fact that with oral literature referential meaning is expressed in a highly stylized linguistic form.

Foregrounding thus already occurs in folktales through the fantastical elements, motifs, allusions, archaic words, rhetorical devices, and special language, etc. In the translation of folktales there is double deviation, since now these elements are expressed in a different language and culture. This is problematic because the elements that are already foregrounded in the folktale are now further exaggerated, heightening the risk of exoticizing the tales and consequently the Source Culture. In providing situational and social contexts in the paratext that situate the cultural items in a specific social event (rather than have the items appear de-historicized and as if they are static items floating in a vacuum), and in foregrounding the individual storytellers as skilled and creative narrators and performers, this extreme exaggeration of difference may be avoided and a balance created as the human element and the individual voices behind those cultural narratives are allowed to shine through authentically.

Thus, foregrounded elements, sometimes subtly and sometimes not so subtly, guide readers' evaluation of what they are reading and their interpretations. Moreover, texts that have both the poetic and referential functions equally dominant may be easily manipulated to influence, affect, and persuade through exaggerating cultural difference.

8.3.1 The Folktale's Susceptibility to Exoticism

Many items in folktales can easily be exoticized in the Target Text, including motifs. Motifs are "those details out of which full-fledged narratives are composed" (Thompson, 1955, p.10). Motifs can be specific characters, animals, supernatural beings, places, and objects (Thompson, 1950, p.753). According to Thompson (1977, p.415), the motif "is the smallest element in a tale having the power to persist in tradition". Furthermore, "In order to have this power it must have something unusual and striking about it" (Thompson, 1977, p.415); unusual

customs or traditions may also be motifs. Thus, according to Thompson (1950, p.753), "The ordinary processes of life are not motifs":

To become a real part of the tradition, an element must have something about it that will make people remember and repeat it. It must be more than commonplace.

Thus, it is this quality of unusualness that makes the motif memorable, giving the motif its second characteristic, the "power to persist in tradition" (Thompson, 1977, p.415). Thompson (1950, p.753) demonstrates the qualities of a motif through the following example:

A mother as such is not a motif. A cruel mother becomes one because she is at least thought to be unusual. The ordinary processes of life are not motifs. To say that "John dressed and walked to town" is not to give a single motif worth remembering; but to say that the hero put on his cap of invisibility, mounted his magic carpet, and went to the land east of the sun and west of the moon is to include at least four motifs – the cap, the carpet, the magic air journey, and the marvelous land.

Furthermore, archaic words which are typical of folktale texts may be problematic. The presence of archaic words creates an exoticized effect in the Target Culture, just as it does in the Source Culture. J.E. Hanauer told the tales to H.G. Mitchell between 1901 and 1902, and they were published in 1904. Some of the words that were used in Palestine in the early twentieth century are likely no longer used in Palestine or not commonplace. It is likely that anyone interested in seeking out this anthology, as it is no longer being published, will have a scholarly interest in Palestinian folktales and the Palestinian culture, specifically the early modern period or prior to that. One benefit of such studies that were made during this period and earlier, is that today we have access to archaic words that are no longer used, and we can see them used in context in the narratives. On the other hand, if archaic words are integrated within a text in a certain way, they produce an exotic effect that in the Target Text further alienates the Source Culture

The Target Culture may not be aware of the archaic and controversial use of a term, or its connotations. The archaic term “Mohammedan/s” for instance, is used in *Tales Told in Palestine*, and suggests a following or worship of the prophet Muhammad, reflecting the wrong belief widespread in the past in the West that Muslims worship Muhammad. The word ‘Mohammedan/s’, which is mostly archaic now, reflects the way religion was viewed as a difference marker between identities. While the use of the term ‘Mohammedan/s’ may have been deemed inoffensive in the past, it is considered inappropriate today by many. However, it is still used by some Muslims around the world. Nonetheless, it may be interpreted as worshippers of Muhammad rather than followers. The term ‘Orientals’ is also used in *Tales Told in Palestine* in reference to people from the East, which is also considered inappropriate today by many.

8.3.2 The Exotic Effect of Cultural Borrowing

Cultural borrowing is the transferal of the Source Text expression verbatim into the Target Text. Over time, a borrowed word may become part of the Target Language dictionary and an “established TT expression” (Dickins et al., 2002, p.34). Cultural borrowing is frequently used in historical, social, and political texts. According to Peter Newmark (1988, p.82), in regional works, cultural words are often transferred to “give local colour, to attract the reader, to give a sense of intimacy between the text and the reader – sometimes the sound or the evoked image appears attractive”. Newmark (1988, p.82) maintains that the following cultural categories are normally transferred:

names of all living (except the Pope and one or two royals) and most dead people; geographical and topographical names including newly independent countries...unless they already have recognized translations...names of periodicals and newspapers; titles of as yet untranslated literary works, plays, films; names of private companies and institutions; names of public or nationalized institutions, unless they have recognized translations; street names, addresses, etc.

An example of cultural borrowing is transliteration. Translators resort to transliteration for different reasons, the most important of which is to introduce concepts from the Source Language and Culture to the Target Language and Culture with their original pronunciation as accurately as possible, due to the absence of an adequate equivalent in the Target Culture. When cultural borrowing is used excessively in the text, it can create an extreme sense of exoticness; a solution is to “add a glossary at the end of the book, or to use footnotes or endnotes,” (Dickins et al., 2002, p.33) and “it is sometimes possible to insert an explanation, or partial explanation, into the TT alongside the cultural borrowing, normally as unobtrusively as possible” (Dickins et al., 2002, p.33). Thus, transliterations could be accompanied by footnotes, endnotes, or a glossary to bridge any semantic gaps and provide context.

8.4 *Tales Told in Palestine*: Illustrating the ‘Holy Land’

In *Tales Told in Palestine*, detailed locations with descriptions of distance are given in the short introductions or notes preceding the tales (and sometimes in the tales themselves) to provide context for the tales that center around actual places and monuments in Palestine. This is an effective strategy to contextualize the tales and provide the necessary background information. Moreover, while the extent to which the tales in *Tales Told in Palestine* are detailed in the anthology is not typical of oral narratives, it is important to note that oral forms such as legends of saints, for example, will naturally have a different register than the magical tales told in the private space of the home. For example, tales that aim to explain why certain places were named a certain way or how certain phrases and expressions have become part of the dialect will contain more referential content; by providing the necessary background information, the tales are contextualized for the readers. Moreover, transcribing oral narratives may require explication in certain parts to construct a text that is logical and makes sense, since oral discourse is structured differently than written discourse due to pragmatic reasons and therefore also contextualizes meanings in different ways.

While the tales are contextualized effectively, the way the tales are framed is typical, and reflective, of Orientalist texts. Without access to the original tales in Arabic, and with almost no information about the tellers, and with an overall style that is similar for all the tales (since Hanauer in this case is the re-teller of all the tales), it is not clear how accurate those tales are since we do not know the extent of changes incurred in the retellings; it is not clear who uttered which statements exactly. Moreover, the style of narrating the tales is just like the style of the short introductions or notes preceding the tales, so that even with the tales' dramatic effects due to the plots and the characters' dialogues, and even with the transferred transliterated words and phrases, it is impossible to tell the extent of which the tales have been modified to create a certain 'effect' on the Target Text Readers. For instance, in the anecdote, 'The Queer Folk of Dayr Es-Senne', the colon used throughout the book to separate the short introductions from the tales that follow them is not used. Note how in the following excerpt from the anecdote, Charles Warren is referred to in the tale itself, rather than referred to in an endnote (Hanauer, 2015, pp.2-3):

The Queer Folk of Dayr Es-Senne

A little below the Well of Job, on the right as one goes down the valley, there is a recess in the bank which, in dry weather, if it were noticed, might be taken for a gravel-pit. Here, however, in the winter water comes to the surface in considerable quantities. Hence the place is called 'Ayn Lozeh. It is the place where years ago Warren, on being told by a peasant that it was an entrance to the bowels of the earth, excavated and found the wonderful tunnel described in "The Recovery of Jerusalem," 275ff.

Still farther down the valley, on the other side and toward the top of the ridge that forms the northern back...

An endnote is included, however, to give further information about what the peasant told Warren (Hanauer, 2015, p.2018):

The fellah said that the descent was by forty steps the last two of which were of precious metal.

While it is important to contextualize the tales, and which *Tales Told in Palestine* does so well, not being able as readers to identify which utterances belong to the Palestinian tellers Hanauer heard the tales from and which belonged to him and Mitchell, and not knowing to what extent changes have been incurred on the tales, is reflective of the Orientalist style of presenting information gathered from the East. While Hanauer may be considered another narrator who creatively adapted the tales for his audience – in this case, Mitchell – the ethical implications of presenting the texts as tales told by Palestinians and which reflect their religious and cultural beliefs, and without providing the original tales in their Source Text Language, ought to be considered.

Nonetheless, it is significant to note here that Hanauer retold the tales in English from memory to the editor, Mitchell, who wrote down the tales; this would naturally incur significant changes on the texts. However, this emphasis and focus on foregrounding Palestine in the introduction, in the brief introductions or notes that precede the tales and which are separated from the tales by a colon (and sometimes through explication within the tales themselves), and in the endnotes, as a 'Holy land' inhabited by different religious and ethnic groups, with very little attention being given to the individual tellers who told the tales to Hanauer or to the situational contexts from which those tales would emerge and re-emerge, is quite reflective of the Orientalist approach to gathering and presenting cultural knowledge on the East; the reader is guided throughout the anthology to view people from the East, and their traditional and religious beliefs, as subjects to be studied and categorized based on ethnic and religious groups, rather than to view them as skilled narrators of verbal art that navigate social situations and events, and that retell the tales they heard to fulfill certain social functions. Rather than portraying the social aspect of telling and re-telling the tales which would give insight into the individuals roles as skilled narrators, Palestinians are grouped according to their ethnic and religious backgrounds, their beliefs reflected through the tales and their agency stripped of them.

Thus, a translation being a domestication or foreignization is not in itself a positive or negative thing; rather, the way that the Source Text, Source Language,

and Source Culture, are framed strategically by either creating an exoticized Target Text, or by constructing the Target Text using an overall ‘English’ style or ‘voice’ that overpowers that of the Palestinians, rendering their voices invisible as it is pushed to the background. Thus, a translation can be successful in filling communicative gaps and may even be an effective translation on multiple levels; however, it is still necessary to consider how translators and their agents frame the Source Text, Source Culture, and Source Language, and what aspects of the texts they foreground and what aspects they push to the background to fulfill specific functions and meet their specific Target Audience’s expectations. Moreover, while Hanauer retold the tales to Mitchell in English and from memory, and thus it would be expected for the tales to be told in an ‘English’ style or ‘way of speaking’, the fact that the readers do not have access to the original tales that were told to Hanauer in Arabic, and with no attention given to the individual narrators who shared the tales with Hanauer or the situations in which those tales were told, there remains questions of the tales accuracy. Overall, the style in which the tales were retold and presented in *Tales Told and Palestine* is demonstrative of Orientalist texts that portray only certain aspects of the Eastern world, while neglecting other equally significant aspects.

8.4.1 Culture-Specific Items in *Tales Told in Palestine*

In *Tales Told in Palestine*, most of the transferred cultural items in the tales are italicized and placed in brackets, except for the characters and figures’ names, and the names of places and concepts that are familiar to the Target Text Audience; moreover, the words and phrases in brackets are preceded or followed by their equivalents in English. The following are some examples that show how the transferred cultural items are presented in the tales (Hanauer, 2015):

- He sent for the council (*‘ulema*) and inquired of its members how the dream was to be interpreted, but none of them could give him any clue to its meaning (Hanauer, 2015, p.19).

- Tradition says that the great Jewish poet, Rabbi Jehuda Levi, of Toledo, who wrote many hymns, especially the elegies (*kinoth*) for the month of 'Ab, met his death under its shadow (Hanauer, 2015, p.21).
- For his supper the jan brought him a dish of rice and lentils (*'imjederah*), of which they urged him to partake (Hanauer, 2015, p.120).

In some instances, however, the borrowed word or phrase is not placed in brackets, and instead the equivalent in English is placed in brackets, as in the following example (Hanauer, 2015, p.165):

- The guardian of the place, whom we will call Shaykh 'Iflani (So-and-so), was an elderly man, and a general favorite in the surrounding district (Hanauer, 2015, p.165).

Moreover, brackets are used to introduce certain words and phrases the first time they appear in the text, or are introduced for the first time without a bracket but followed by the English equivalent in brackets; afterwards, however, they appear in the text in their transliterated form but without the brackets (Hanauer, 2015, p.183):

- We are all known in the convent by Scripture names. Mine is 'U'fur lana ḥaṭayana (Forgive us our trespasses). When you come to the convent you would only have to inquire for 'U'fur lana ḥaṭayana, and they would immediately fetch me." (Hanauer, 2015, p.183).

While foreign words are transferred within brackets or followed by the English equivalents in brackets, loan words or foreign Arabic words that have become a part of the English language, such as *sultan*, *shaykh*, etc. have been employed directly in the folktales.

Moreover, the equivalents that accompany the transferred items in *Tales Told in Palestine* are typically partially synonymous or near-synonymous rather than fully synonymous – they are hyperonyms, which are examples of generalizing translation, whereby “the TT expression has a wider and less specific denotative

meaning than the ST expression” (Dickins et al.,2002, p.56). For example, in the tale ‘The Talking Door’, the word ‘cap’ is used as an equivalent of the word *ṭarbush*. While a cap is a subcategory of, or a type of, hat, there are many kinds of caps; the *ṭarbush* is a specific kind of cap. A cap, unlike a hat, and as is the case with a *ṭarbush*, though, does not have a brim – using the word ‘cap’ therefore is probably more accurate than the use of the word ‘hat’. Nonetheless, a ‘cap’ falls under a wider lexical set in which, technically, a *ṭarbush* could be included.

Moreover, the hyperonyms employed as equivalents for the items that fall under material culture, such as food and traditional clothes, are not accompanied by further details. This reflects the fact that while there is an interest in the material culture in Palestine, the religious beliefs of the Palestinians, and particular in connection to the landscape, is prioritized whereby more details and descriptions are offered.

8.5 *Speak Bird, Speak Again: A Thick Translation*

In Speak Bird, Speak Again, Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana use paratextual tools such as footnotes, parentheses, the preface, the introduction, an afterword after each group of tales, etc. extensively to give detailed linguistic, cultural, ethnographic, and folkloristic analyses. Muhawi and Kanaana explicate some of their translation strategies and choices in the paratext, portraying their visibility as translators. Where words and phrases are transferred from the Palestinian dialect, paratextual commentary and analyses contextualize the words and phrases.

Furthermore, Muhawi and Kanaana (1989) employ various strategies depending on the items’ contextual meanings on how they function to fulfil the genre’s communicative purpose. Moreover, subtle nuances in meanings influence the translation strategies employed in the anthology. For example, in the tale ‘Ṭunjur, Ṭunjur’, when the female pot is addressed directly, she is addressed as *Ṭunjur* and the pronoun ‘she’ is employed in reference to her. On the other hand, when *Ṭunjur* is referred to as the object, it is referred to as ‘the pot’ and the pronoun ‘it’ is employed.

8.5.1 Culture-Specific Items in *Speak, Bird, Speak Again*

One of the conventions of the folktale that makes it translatable is the fact that many of the characters in the tale are described by their gender, role in the family, how young or old they are, their main character traits, their physical traits, or their occupation. Oral folktales are not as descriptive as written forms of literature, so that descriptions that do exist in the tales are pragmatic and essential to the plot. Examples of character names in *Speak Bird, Speak Again* that maintain the characters' main traits even in their translated forms, are *Precious One* (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.62) and *Worn-out One* (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.62). '*The town crier*' (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.102), *Little Nightingale the Crier*, and *Ma'ruf the Shoemaker* (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.106) are also translated to convey the main character trait or occupation; thus, conveying the characters' names and descriptive traits in the Target Text is essential to the tales' plots. In *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, the name of the main character, *nuṣ nṣeis*, which is also the title, is translated as *Half a Halving*. The name refers to the physical attributes of the main character whose physical appearance is portrayed as half a human; the name is hyperbolic to portray how small he is.

In *Speak Bird, Speak Again* (1989), *El-Šhaṭir Ḥasan* is translated as 'Clever Ḥasan'; the name *Ḥasan* is not substituted for a cultural equivalent and the descriptive part of his name is translated to portray the meaning since *Ḥasan's* cleverness is essential to the plot. In transferring the characters' names as they are, is essential in calling up the Palestinian folktale tradition, since characters are rarely given names or descriptions unless those descriptions are essential to the plot. *El-Šhaṭir Ḥasan*, for instance, is well-known in the Palestinian society; rather than substituting *Ḥasan's* name for a cultural equivalent, the name *Ḥasan* is transferred directly. Transferring the motif thus calls up the Palestinian folktale tradition and allows the Palestinian folktale genre to become exist in the West as a distinct genre.

Muhawi and Kanaana (1989) transfer many other cultural items directly into the tales in transliterated form and which are accompanied by explanatory

footnotes. For example, it is common for people in the Palestinian community to refer to each other as ‘the mother of [the name of the child]’ and ‘the father of [the name of the child]’. The words “*im*” and “*abu*” mean ‘mother’ and ‘father’, respectively; thus, *im ‘Ali* means ‘Ali’s mother and *abu ‘Ali* means Ali’s father. The following titles from *Speak Bird, Speak Again* are examples (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989): “*Im ‘Esme*”, “*I’m ‘Ali and Abu ‘Ali*”, and “*Im ‘Awwad and the Ghouleh*”. Examples of transferred items include “*Yallah!*” (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.67), and ‘ghouleh’, female ghoul (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.88).

Many culture-specific items in *Speak Bird, Speak Again* (1989) are considered loan words, such as ‘vizier’ (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.71), ‘jinn’ (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.71), ‘sheikh’ (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.84), ‘ghoul’ (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.84), ‘halvah’ (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.88), ‘henna’ (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.106), and ‘kohl’ (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.115). Nonetheless, paratextual commentary is provided for context. Couplets are also employed; for example, *N’ayyis* is transferred into the Target Text and is accompanied by the descriptive equivalent in English in parenthesis (Little Sleepy One). This couplet procedure is also employed in the titles *Sumac! You Son of a Whore, Sumac! And Jummez, Bin Yazur, Chief of the Birds*. Moreover, many colloquial expressions and phrases in the informal Palestinian spoken dialect are translated literally, and explained in the footnotes with their transliterations, such as in the following examples:

- “O so and so!” O son of the people!” (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.75)
- I’m the son of King So and So.” (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p. 81)
- “Such and such says my father.” (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p. 98)

- “Father, here! I’ve done this and that. Marry our neighbor.” (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.99)
- “He’ll blacken my face.” (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.99)
- “Ah, yes!” responded the ghoulah. “You should know that Little Nightingale the Crier is a bird in such and such an orchard. Better wait till my sons come. You can’t reach him on your own.” (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.108)

In *Speak Bird, Speak Again* (1989) idiomatic expressions are also used as equivalents to recreate the effect on the readers and engage them, such as “What in the world are you?” (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.57), and “Don’t waste your breath!” (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p.75).

8.6 Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel: A Literal Translation

In *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* (1998), Raphael Patai employs a literal translation to reconstruct the stylistic properties of the Palestinian folktale genre. While this is an effective strategy for some parts of the tales, creating a suspenseful effect in certain instances, employing only a literal translation for the whole text creates confusion. Nonetheless, Patai employs paratext to compensate for some losses in cultural and linguistic meanings, or for elaboration, and for folkloristic analyses and literary commentary. Nonetheless, a lot of meanings are in fact lost.

Patai (1998) uses parentheses mainly in the endnotes; he employs them mainly in the form of couplets where he includes the literal equivalent in brackets, or he places the original Arabic word in brackets the word is not transferred directly into the Target Text. Moreover, Patai sometimes uses parentheses in the endnotes to add additional comments about differences in linguistic usages between Arabic and English. The following is an example (Patai, 1998, p.42):

The Arabic text has *ghalyūn*, a synonym of *nārajīla* (“narghile”). Once one finishes smoking (or, as the Arabic has it, “drinking”) the narghile, one knocks it out, so as to remove the tobacco ashes from its top.

Patai (1998) also uses endnotes to share implicit meaning that may be lost on the readers. For example, in *The One-Eyed Ghoul*, Patai explains that the terms ‘kettle’ and ‘trough’ used in the tale implicitly convey that the Ghoul was superhumanly large. Furthermore, the couplet, ‘Arabic kubaybat (“meatballs”)’ is followed by an explanation of the implicit meaning behind the use of *kubaybat*. Patai (1998, pp.13-14) provides an endnote for the following example, “*He slaughtered a young animal...*” and states in the endnote that the literal word in Arabic is *thinni* and gives the literal equivalent, “toothy”, and explains the meaning of the word.

In some cases, Patai employs square brackets in the translated folktales as a strategy where ellipsis has occurred, to avoid the loss of certain meanings or to clarify confusion that results from ellipsis which occurs naturally in the Palestinian colloquial oral dialect in combination with a literal translation. The following is an example in the first tale in the anthology, ‘The One-Eyed Ghoul’, (Patai, 1998, p.31):

They went around him all day long, and he, with the one [eye] of his Noble One, watched, and they could not outwit him.

In the case of the above example, however, there remains confusion even with the use of the brackets. The actual meaning is that God, with all his powers, has willed for this creature only one eye but blessed it with extraordinary vision, proving that nothing is beyond God’s abilities. The semantic confusion occurs in that the translation suggests that the Ghoul’s eye is connected to God in the literal and physical sense, paradoxically linking the two together in character, and as a result portraying them both as evil. There are other instances in the book where losses of meaning are not compensated for, and the translation ends up creating exotic effects. For example, “He returned among the sheep, in order to watch him, and his snoring was like a wadi.” (Patai, 1998, p.32), also in ‘The One-Eyed Ghoul’,

has no accompanying explanation for transferred word, “wadi”, which literally means ‘valley’ and which implies in this context that the ghoul’s snoring was so loud, it echoed as if he were snoring in a valley. In the same tale, “groped for him” is an awkward turn of phrase in the following sentence: “That one cried aloud, and groped for him throughout the night, while threatening him.” (Patai, 1998, p.32).

8.7 Conclusion

In *Tales Told in Palestine*, the culture-specific items are transferred into the texts, sometimes in brackets and sometimes without, but always contextualized in the short introductions or notes preceding the tales and in the endnotes. Moreover, an overall domesticating style sandwiches the transliterated words and phrases. While these are two contradictory methods within the same text, they do create a certain balance. Moreover, while some oral folktales may refer to surroundings that evoke memory, they typically do not provide extensive descriptive details of landscapes like those provided in *Tales Told in Palestine*; nonetheless, it makes sense that the culture-specific items are contextualized through those added details to make them readable and understandable within the context of the narrative itself.

However, while *Tales Told in Palestine* contextualizes the tales effectively, Palestinians are not represented beyond the ethnic and religious context of the folktales, creating an overall Orientalist text. The main aim of the anthology is to provide a primarily anthropological reading of the folktales. It is evident from the contextual considerations in the translated folktales that the strategies employed are more heavily reader-oriented, specifically aiming to increase the knowledge of the biblical scholar. The whole collection of texts in *Tales Told in Palestine* is framed mainly around the religious and ethnic aspects of the Palestinian culture: historical anecdotes, legends, miracles, superstitions, etc. are all insights into culture. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge the significance of anthropological efforts undertaken to understand ethnic and religious groups, as they add to our understanding of the world and the different people that inhabit it.

However, how the tales are framed reflects the imperialist agendas of Hanauer's time.

Speak Bird, Speak Again creates a multi-dimensional, multi-layered representation of the Palestinian language and culture through translation strategies that portray the key elements of the genre and its dynamic nature and contextualizing the genre through extensive paratextual commentary and analyses. Moreover, the dynamic quality of the folktale genre is reflected through a strategic and creative juxtaposition of the Arabic and English languages to portray a form of dialogue occurring between them and consequently a metaphorical dialogue between the larger cultures they represent. There are two forms of faithfulness in *Speak Bird, Speak Again*: One is faithfulness to the Palestinian culture, which is achieved through academic analysis, heightened visibility and the foregrounding of agency, and the transferal of key linguistic, cultural, and narrative devices in the Palestinian folktale genre. The second is a faithfulness to the Target Text Audience through an understanding of the folktale as a universal genre that functions dynamically to place significance on achieving a certain effect on the audience.

In *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*, a literal translation is employed to portray the Palestinian folktale style, and as a result paradoxically creates a highly exoticized Target Text. *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* demonstrates how a translation can foreground difference only to misrepresent the Other rather than be faithful to the Source Text, and that some form of domestication in the text does not necessarily render the Source Language and Culture invisible – the key seems to be in not only finding a balance between those two strategies within any text, but also in the studied choices translators make about which parts of the texts they could domesticate to aid the reading process and facilitate the effective communication of meaning, and which to foreignize to remain true to the Source Language, Source Culture, and the Source Text's genre. Ultimately, the chosen translation strategies and the ways translators frame the translations with their own criticisms, analyses, opinions, commentary, and so on, shape the overall effect on the Target Text Audience.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

9. Overview

This thesis adopts a qualitative descriptive method of analysis to examine how the Palestinian cultural identity is framed in the translations of Palestinian oral folktales in the three anthologies, *Tales Told in Palestine* (1904), *Speak Bird, Speak Again* (1989), and *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel* (1998). Thus, this thesis examines how the translators employ paratextual tools in juxtaposition with translation strategies to construct an interpretive framework that guides the way readers interpret the tales, and through them Palestinians and their cultures. The aim has therefore been to shed light on the different issues that come up in translating and transcribing oral Palestinian folktales, demonstrating how the translations are in fact social narratives framed through various translation and framing strategies to fulfill specific functions in the Target Text Culture. This thesis thus employs the concept of framing as it is applied in Mona Baker's Narrative Theory and Richard Bauman's theory of Performance. Since this thesis examines the cultural representations of the colonized Other – here, Palestine – the thesis thus also employs Edward Said's concept of Orientalism and Imagined Geography. Moreover, this thesis employs Ibrahim Muhawi's insightful and significant work on the translation of the Palestinian folktale.

9.1 The Questions this Thesis Raises

Translation Studies is such a revealing and insightful field, requiring constant in-depth analysis and investigation of texts in their multiple levels of meaning – it constantly questions and reveals. Moreover, the fields of Translation Studies and Folklore Studies have so much in common as they bring to the fore important questions of the tensions that exist in the representations of the 'Other'. Bringing the fields together helps illuminate notions of originality, authenticity, and creativity, through the realistic lens of a world based on communicating effectively with

others, and what that means in terms of ethically representing others. The reality is that there will not always be clear answers; however, such studies provide an opportunity to place under the microscope the complexities inherent in translating and translations, and to question how Source Texts, Source Languages, and Source Cultures, are framed implicitly and explicitly. Linking concepts from Translation Studies and Folklore Studies opens doors for dialogue and allows us to explore pathways of communication and their hindrances, something that this world is very much in need of today, as it has always been. Human beings, after all, are essentially social beings.

Ultimately, both the fields of Translation and Folklore Studies share the concept of 'movement' at their heart, forcing our attention upon language as code, as usage, as a powerful force, as a creative medium, as the very thing that moves us as people and communities, and shapes and reshapes the world as we know it. We interpret messages communicated to us by others through a subjective lens shaped by our own experiences and knowledge, projecting our own views in the process. As Mary Snell-Hornby (1995, p.40) states, "language is an expression both of the culture and the individuality of the speaker, who perceives the world through language". We all look for meaning for different reasons and read meaning in different contexts. When people narrate, they create meaning by taking disconnected events and turning them into a well-connected, meaningful story.

Similarly, when people listen and read, they are offered a wealth of new and different insights and perspectives that they, in turn, employ to reflect on their own life experiences, thoughts, and emotions. As readers, we are involved in the processes of meaning-making since meaning arises in the process of interpretation. Every time we listen to, read, or watch a performance, we are offering an interpretation of it, a process that requires going back to our cultural registry. However, not only do readers interpret meaning, but also re-shape certain meanings, reinforcing some of them in the process. This thesis aimed to demonstrate that translators, like all individuals, and very much like storytellers, project their own selves through stories and texts, translating parts of themselves and the world around them, reframing texts to conform to their own ideologies.

Culture is about shared meanings and the expression/s of those meanings in a multitude of complex contexts. Culture is not simply traditional ideas and beliefs associated with geographical landscapes: for the locals, culture is intertwined with memory, so that land symbolizes a mother's womb, and an olive tree stands witness to a peasant's hours of demanding work – so that love for land is a result of physical and emotional connections and experiences. To an outsider, heritage can be taken for granted as 'things', or a stagnant set of beliefs boundless to time and space; for locals, culture is the result of complex and deeply contextualized collective experiences and memories. Folklore is rooted in collective social experiences associated with shared meaning between the members of a community; every community will produce its own sets of meaning associated with its social activities, materializing their own collective memories and experiences.

Folklore items are in constant 'movement', their survival depending on a continuous recycling of texts. According to Lynne S. McNeill (2013, p.11), "defining folklore is as much about understanding how it moves as understanding what it is". Roger D. Abrahams (1976, p.195) states that for folklore to continue to exist, the use of traditional items alone is not enough; rather, those items must be enacted effectively. Similarly, translation is the movement of a text from one situation to another, entailing necessary changes to function effectively within the new situation. In the same way the storyteller shapes a story to the approval of her local community, the translator typically locates her work within the confines of her Target Culture and discourse community to seek the approval of her Target Readers. The translator thus reconstructs the Source Text into a Target Text that will cater to different textual expectations and cultural knowledge.

Translation is a complex movement of messages between spaces and places – a transferral of messages between languages, cultures, and peoples. This movement thus implies changes that will unavoidably influence the ways in which texts are re-shaped to fulfil their new functions. If we were to view translators to be (on some level) performers, through their assumption of responsibility to a Target Audience, then we would also expect of the translator to possess communicative competence. Like storytellers, translators' ability to communicate competently and

effectively in socially appropriate ways undergoes judgement and evaluation, a fact that influences the choices translators make. For instance, some storytellers, folklorists, translators, and editors may choose to omit taboo items for one reason or another, while others may opt for euphemisms to communicate the message. This fact highlights the audience's crucial role in the shaping of narratives. Moreover, in the same way Palestinian narrators employ certain linguistic features and choose narrative devices from their traditional reservoir in each unique storytelling situation, translators similarly make strategic choices to frame the new texts in ways that appeal to, and engage with, the new audience. Since translators are primarily concerned with the effective communication of the original texts' meanings and overall message, they cannot ignore Target Readers' expectations, and consequently base many of their linguistic and stylistic choices on readability and their readers' familiarity with the content. Mona Baker (1992, p.219) states that:

Whether a text is judged acceptable or not does not depend on how closely it corresponds to some state of affairs in the world, but rather on whether the reader finds the presented version of reality believable, homogenous, or relevant.

Translators play a significant role in maintaining and disseminating different types of narratives both in their direct communities and on a global level. Translators' ideologies and loyalties will influence the decisions they make and the way they frame texts. This is particularly significant in contexts of social and political injustices, in translating texts that belong to a people who are disadvantaged in a power conflict and are therefore inevitably reduced by the media and global community to stereotypes. When translating into the language of the more powerful, the power struggle between the languages and cultures is more visible, and translation instantly becomes an important act that either promotes or subverts the narratives woven by the colonial and imperial powers. Sharing a nation's cultural heritage, for example, is in and of itself an ideological act. In the context of colonized and occupied countries, attempting to 'capture' history, through images, videos, recordings, and in books, is a powerful form of resistance.

Various factors may pull the text in different directions, such as the “individual style or idiolect of the SL author” (Newmark, 1988, p.5), and the translator’s views and prejudices “which may be personal and subjective, or may be social and cultural, involving the translator's 'group loyalty factor', which may reflect the national, political, ethnic, religious assumptions, social class, sex, etc. of the translator” (Newmark, 1988, p.5). How and when to employ specific translation strategies is subjective and depends on many influencing factors; thus, one cannot prescribe one ‘correct’ way of translation. Ultimately, each translator makes choices based on many factors that are not always made visible to the readers. However, those choices do reveal the translators’ ideologies and do have consequences.

Translation may be defined as “the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)” (Catford, 1965, p.20). Translations, however, are not merely recreations or modifications – they are a “specific kind of creative or re-creative achievement” (Klaus Roth, 1998, p.245). As Roth (1998, p.245) states:

Viewing the translator's Job as an act of recreative transformation is, in principle, correct. But subsuming translation under 're-creation' or 'modification' does not do justice to the specific competences and to the achievements of the translator who, by virtue of his linguistic skills and through a process of poetic creation, makes foreign worlds accessible and intelligible; he achieves this by replacing unfamiliar sounds and concepts with familiar ones, by re-telling and re-writing, by altering and adapting, and, if necessary, by reducing and adding. Translators are cultural mediators, be they ordinary folk, or be they poets, professionals or scholars. Their activity should therefore be appreciated as a specific kind of creative or re-creative achievement.

Texts cannot be ‘accurately’ and ‘faithfully’ translated into other languages while retaining exact sameness – employing a literal translation for an entire text will result in new meanings and thus produce a different ‘effect’ on the Target Text Readers. Moreover, depending on the type of text translated, there is risk for

confusion, awkwardness, exoticness, and ultimately Orientalist discourse, as was demonstrated in Raphael Patai's *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*. Thus, losses in the message are inevitable since "sources and receptors never have identical linguistic and cultural backgrounds" (De Waard and Nida, 1986, p.42). The notion of equivalence has historically shifted from an unrealistic emphasis on equivalence on the micro-level to a more realistic and achievable equivalence on the macro-level: A translator who aspires to achieve total lexical and/or textual equivalence is now perceived as chasing a mirage since total equivalence at any level of language is impossible while relative equivalence at any level is possible. The notion of equivalence thus brings up the issue of compensation for the inevitable losses in meanings that will occur in translation.

At the core of this thesis lies the essential concept shared by both Translation and Folklore Studies, that of movement. Movement necessarily means changes in the situation and the adaptability to this new situation, and as such brings forth the essential questions surrounding loss, newness, creativity, and the extent of which changes occur. The choices made by the translators juxtaposed with their own statements in which they make their analyses and assumptions frames the 'Other' in specific ways that offer insight into the ideologies and belief systems of the translators. The inevitability of some forms of loss, the necessity for some degree of adaptability for functionality and practicality, and the impressive and applaudable skill of creativity, should not undermine and erase crucial questions of ethics, agency, and the accountability of translators in their representations of the Source Text Culture.

The core question of this thesis, therefore, is how do we translate the tales authentically, if 'movement' in both Translation Studies and Folklore Studies signals some form of difference, change, and newness, and thus consequently suggest that the very existence of a folkloric text or translation relies on change? I understand authenticity to be different from the traditional notion of 'faithfulness' as it is understood historically in Translation Studies. I perceive 'authentic' not as 'identical' or 'exact', but as 'real' and 'genuine' in essence. How do we identify the essence of a text? This thesis aimed to demonstrate mainly through Ibrahim

Muhawi's work on the translation of the oral Palestinian Folktale that the essence of a text is found in its 'genre', which may be paralleled to Michael Halliday's notion of 'register', and specifically as it is understood by the Source Text's local discourse community; a genre is shaped through repetitive and structured situations based on the group's cultural and social needs, and is consequently defined by the specialized discourse communities within the culture that decided that this genre was important enough to be classified as a 'genre' with its own specific elements. It is thus crucial for translators of folktales to aim for an in-depth understanding of the key properties of a genre and its functions, as viewed and defined through the lens of the local community that produced it. It is also crucial to prioritize communicating the various levels of meaning in the text that contribute to an authentic representation of the Source Text genre and Source Text culture, and to aim for deep visibility in our choices of strategies and methods. Only then would we be able to effectively translate the 'Voice' of the culture we are representing.

Thus, in translating the creative products of cultures and communities, 'truth' does not lie in only my understanding of the Source Text Culture, but in actively understanding the genre as it is constructed by the local discourse community that believed it significant enough to be classified in the first place. In the context of cultural products, I believe discourse communities to include everyone involved in the social activity that birthed this 'genre' and the experts from within the local community who are not necessarily limited to experts in the scholarly or the academic sense, but that have also lived the experience of the social activity first-hand and are able to provide insight into the 'shared meanings' of the community that are often lost on those of us observing from a place detached from the intimate spaces of 'memory'.

Moreover, I believe the significance of examining translation products and processes within the context of Folklore Studies not only lies in the shared core concept of the movement of items between places and spaces, but also in the unique ability of folklore items to illuminate questions and debates within the field of Translation and bring them to the fore in a highly visible way. The instability and unpredictability of the dynamic 'movement' of items between languages, modes,

and cultures often results in more questions than answers, perhaps due to the complexity of the systems of networks in our world, and to the complex nature of social perceptions, beliefs, and interactions – perhaps this instability and unpredictability of change and movement is bound to create questions that far outnumber the answers we have. However, I believe the more questions we propose and address about the complexities of movement, the closer we are to mediating genuine understanding of the Self and the Other, and the complex ways we all interact and communicate. Thus, while we may never achieve perfect translations or communicate with each in an ideal, perfect, sense, we can certainly aim for achieving more authentic translations, and authentic and genuine methods of communication.

How does Folklore Studies illuminate some of the core debates and questions in Translation studies? In my thesis, I aimed to pinpoint those aspects of translating folktales that make the representation of the Source Text Culture so complicated. Traditionally, translation is mainly examined from a linguistic perspective – however, linguistic systems are bound to the cultural systems that birthed them, and language in turn maintains, reinforces, and at times even disrupts to an extent powerful enough to shake the core of entire belief systems and cause some form of change. Thus, essentially, when we speak of translation, our core concern is the underlying cultural and social meanings of texts and how they shape, and are shaped by, language. Folktales are an excellent choice to examine the essential questions of readability, accuracy, authenticity, visibility, agency, and the question of the translator's role as mediator and creative 'author.'

Folktales illuminate many crucial questions in Translation Studies. Folkloric items are associated with the collective rather than with individual narrators, and thus the Source Text Culture is made more visible in folkloric translations for the Target Text Audience's evaluation, thus bringing to fore questions of the (mis)representations of the Source Text Culture and the culture-specific items heavily imbued in the folktales. Moreover, since folkloric items escape copyright laws due to their association with cultures rather than individuals, and due to their fluid nature which allows them to transgress boundaries easily and rapidly, this

also brings up questions of accuracy in translation, and the extent of the translators' and narrators' visibility in the translations. Furthermore, the folktales are traditionally oral and are first transcribed into written discourse prior to their translations, which brings up questions of loss and issues of cohesion in translation. Additionally, the folktale is considered a form of verbal art, which brings up questions of translating the poetic and performative elements and how to translate those key elements and properties creatively and authentically, and how different methods and strategies employed in translating them may lead to constructing different effects in the Target Text. Overall, in examining the translations of folktales, we shed light on the role the translator plays as social agent, as mediator, and as creative 'author.' Thus, this thesis employs some of the main concepts in Folklore Studies and Translation Studies to demonstrate the striking similarities in both fields, and how through an inter-disciplinary approach they can both benefit each other, particularly in the context of translating texts from colonized, occupied, under-represented, and minority cultures.

9.2 The Aims of Each Chapter and the Conclusions Formed

Chapter 1 introduced the key concepts and historical shifts that contextualize the Palestinian folktale and its translations historically; this chapter demonstrated how the Palestinians became agents of change by taking agency of their heritage and folklore to contest Orientalist narratives on Palestine as a landscape and on the Palestinians and their historical and cultural identity. Chapter 2 is a review of the key literature that is available, to the best of my knowledge, on the major work done on the Palestinian folktale, including in the context of translation, all of which helped guide this thesis. Studies on the Palestinian folktale as a genre, and its purposes and functions, and the collections of Palestinian folktales, provided necessary historical, cultural, and generic information. Sharif Kanaana's and Ibrahim Muhawi's work on the Palestinian folktale as a genre and its translation was intrinsic to this thesis. Moreover, Nadia Sirhan's cultural and linguistic analysis of Palestinian folktales proved valuable for an understanding of the essential features of the Palestinian folktale genre, and Farah Abou Bakr's cultural analysis of Palestinian folktales narratives of collective memory was also

insightful, particularly her discussion of how paratext was employed in *Speak Bird, Speak Again*.

Chapter 3 is a discussion of the research methods employed in this thesis, and it introduces the key data on the three anthologies examined and relevant background information on the translators. Furthermore, it introduced Mona Baker's narrative theory which guided the study I undertook in this thesis. This chapter thus set the ground for the discussion throughout this thesis which aims to demonstrate how the folktale translations function as social narratives framed in specific ways by the translators and their agents; thus, the key concepts of paratextual and framing tools and the roles translation agents play in the construction of the Target Text and the framing of the Source Culture are also included in this chapter.

Chapter 4 explored the concept of Orientalism in the context of Palestine and examines some of the different ways Orientalist discourse is evident in the two anthologies, *Tales Told in Palestine*, and *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*. It is important to note the purpose of this thesis was not to undermine, either J.E. Hanauer or Raphael Patai, as translators, in the formations of their anthologies – the aim was not to decide what makes a 'good' or 'bad' translation. What I aimed to do was to demonstrate that Orientalist discourse manifests in different ways and is the result of the framing of the 'Other' through specific choices. By being aware of the different ways Orientalist discourses are constructed through the choices we make in framing texts, we become more aware of the power and agency we have as translators, and the consequences of those choices. Such awareness allows us to more closely evaluate our decisions in our representations of in folkloric translations is the Source Text Author, the Source Text Language, and the Source Text Culture.

Chapter 5 demonstrated how translations may be Orientalist discourses, whether they are domesticated or foreignized, and despite the translators' 'visibility' through paratext. I argued that we ought to move beyond the binary oppositions of domestication and foreignization to how the translation strategies and methods juxtaposed with paratextual commentary frame the folktales, the Source Text

Language, and Source Text Culture. I also argued that translators can be a part of Orientalist discourse, even while being visible as translators through paratext and even by choosing to create 'foreignizing' texts, which can be seen in Raphael Patai's juxtaposition of his own comparisons between the East and the West in his paratext and his literal translation that is at times awkward, confusing, and quite exoticizing. Thus, I argued in this chapter that foreignizing translations are not necessarily authentic simply by disrupting the systems of the target language and culture through introducing foreign elements – foreignization can exoticize and alienate the Source Language and Source Culture, at times creating Orientalist texts like some domestications would.

In Chapter 5, I showed how Patai contradicts himself by attempting to portray visibility and professionalism in the paratext, while simultaneously framing the texts so that readers interpret the tales from an angle of continuously comparing the East with the West. On the other hand, the domesticating style in *Tales Told in Palestine*, wherein the foreign elements in the translated tales are limited to the culture-specific items and are contextualized by a formal, readable style in English, while the local Palestinian narrators are not given any visibility neither in the tales nor in the paratext, is also an Orientalist approach to knowledge collected from and on the Orient – the entire function of the tales has now changed to a dominantly informative function with the tales functioning as knowledge on the Palestinian landscape and religious and ethnic groups presented to a Western audience, while the social and aesthetic functions of narrating the tales are rendered invisible. The 'voices' of the local tellers are completely lost, and thus they are no longer agents producing and sharing cultural heritage but passive subjects to be studied and evaluated by the Target Text Audience.

In chapter 6, I focused on the translation of the Palestinian oral folktale as a genre, and thus referred to Ibrahim Muhawi's work in this area to shed light on the translatability of the oral folktale style. The aim was to highlight the essential question of whether folktales and the narrators' individual styles are in fact 'translatable'. Mainly guided by Muhawi's work, I argued that folktales are in fact, translatable, following Muhawi's main argument that the folktale genre allows for

translation based on key elements that result in it being 'verbal art': the fact that the folktale as a universal genre allows for its translatability, the element of iterability that gives folktales their 'emergent quality' since repetition means there will be different contexts of situation in each new performance allowing new variants of folklore items to emerge, and shared elements in both orality and written discourse rooted in rhetoric. Moreover, narrators in the Palestinian folktale, and unlike in conversations, distance themselves from the situation of the narrated event, due to the high degree of rhetoric that renders the folktale as verbal art, through the narrative and linguistic devices of the genre; thus, by focusing on rhetoric, which is a common feature between oral and written aesthetics, the 'effect' of the folktale may be successfully translated. Furthermore, since folktales are cultural products, the rhetorical features are also the cultural features of the texts. Thus, this chapter demonstrated that for oral tales to be translated, the rhetorical elements that are unique to the Palestinian folktale genre ought to be transferred to create the same 'effect' on the readers, and that it is in fact not necessary to transfer every single item into the written text if it will not contribute to the essential properties of the genre, as this may prevent the 'spirit' of the text from shining through the new text and from creating a similar effect on the Target Text Audience.

In chapter 7, I examined how the three anthologies frame the folktales as performances and how much of the folktale narration as a social activity is included in the new texts, and what this means for the culture that is being represented in the translations. In viewing the tales as forms of verbal art emerging out of social activities, the issue of how to authentically translate the Source Text as a genre that fulfils a communicative need in the local community from which it emerged, and which fulfils its functions through creating a certain effect on the Source Text Audience, is brought to the fore. Identifying the key narrative and linguistic properties of the Palestinian folktale genre allows us to reconstruct the Source Text as a specifically Palestinian genre, but in a different language. This allows us to create a more authentic translation through which the Palestinians' individual 'voices' shine through, rather than push them to the background while the English 'way of speaking' dominates in the texts. If we perceive folktales as representations from the broad lens of culture, while neglecting the social and situational contexts

and how those items function in different situations, we de-historicize those cultural items and end up constructing broad stereotypes. I thus argued that individual narrators and the unique situations out of which the tales emerged, the takes as both 'action' and 'event' ought to be brought to the foreground, rather than pushed to the background as is the case in most folktale anthologies. Thus, the fact that it is difficult to locate the original author of a tale should not prevent us from diligently contextualizing each unique performance event that produced a new variant.

Therefore, the answer to making these translations more 'authentic', and for the individual narrators' 'voices' to seep through, I argued, is to locate the key elements – those generic properties – that frame the tales as performances, and to reconstruct them in the Target Text to create an equivalent frame, both explicitly and implicitly, through translation strategies and paratextual tools. In framing the Target Text as a performance using the key generic properties of the Source Text, the Palestinian folktale genre may be appreciated in the new situation of the Target Culture and Target Language as a creative form of literary genre produced by the Palestinians, rather than frame the tales as Orientalist texts that frame the Palestinians and their cultural identity as passive spectacles to be evaluated by the Target Text Culture. In framing the tales as only reflections of cultural and ethnic identities, while neglecting them as communicative activities with aesthetic and social functions, the agency of the narrators in the Source Culture is rendered invisible, and so is their communicative competence and skill. I argued that this approach is relevant to any type of oral narratives – even if the referential content is dominant in an oral narrative, translators ought to be more transparent and visible with regards to the situations in which the narratives were retold to them, and make visible the individuals who narrated those variants, even if they are only variants.

In chapter 7, I argued that while J.E. Hanauer transferred culture-specific items in the tales, and thus may be regarded as a foreignization in the technical sense, the words are enveloped, and contextualized, by an English 'way of speaking', that domesticates the tales; despite the existence of those items in the tales, the overall style reads as an English mode of speaking that creates the

sense that the tales were told by someone other than a local Palestinian narrator. And in fact, this would perhaps be expected since the tales were retold by Hanauer to Mitchell in English by memory. Should Hanauer effectively communicate the content of the narratives to Mitchell on the spot, he would have to rephrase in English, and fluently. However, one notes that the overall choice of the types of narratives and the foregrounding of certain cultural categories over others, such as religious items and descriptions of religious landscapes, over other type of categories, is reflective of Orientalist texts of their time. Moreover, despite the dramatic effects that exist in some of the tales and which portray certain aesthetic qualities of the Source Texts, the content included in the paratextual commentary which focuses on the religious and historical content, while rarely addressing the stylized use of language by local narrators in those specific forms of verbal art and rarely providing information on the individual narrators which Hanauer heard the tales from, and not providing any information on the settings and situations in which such tales are told, are all factors that frame the narratives as informative tales on Palestinian ethnic and religious groups, and on the links between the landscapes and religious stories, while not giving any form of agency to the individuals who tell those tales.

While the types of narratives chosen for the anthology play an important role in prioritizing the referential over the poetic, such as legends of religious and historical figures, which have more elements of truth than, say, magical tales, they are still distinct from ordinary conversation, and thus those conventions that separate them from the magical tales, and the stylized language used to tell them, could be elaborated on. 'Performance' does not necessarily frame texts as 'play,' as this depends on the type of oral narrative and how it functions in its specific local community, but it will certainly frame the tales as a communicative activity that employs certain generic conventions and linguistic and narrative properties that will necessarily separate those tales from ordinary conversation. Nonetheless, it is also important to consider that the tales will be told differently depending on the narrator's skills, whether this skill refers to Hanauer as a narrator who retold the tales to Mitchell, or even the narrators who retold the tales to Hanauer. Without having access to the original texts in Arabic, there is no sure way of knowing the

extent to which changes have been incurred on the tales Hanauer gathered in the Palestinian local dialect.

Reconstructing in the Target Texts the key generic properties of the original performance that frame the folktales as ‘performances’ provides us implicitly with information about the takes as social activities and their ground rules. Keying the traditional openings and endings in the Target Text, for example, frames the tales as performances to be interpreted in some special sense, as those formulas signal the entrance into a fictional world, setting the pace for a special kind of communicative activity that is about take place and which sets it apart from the regular rules of ordinary conversations and interactions. In creatively keying in the Target Text the main narrative and linguistic devices that mark the oral narrative as a specific genre that fulfils a communicative need, the translator recreates for the Target Text Audience an effect equivalent to that created by the Source Text. Since oral narratives are a form of verbal art distinct from ordinary conversations, effectively reproducing their essence is essential to creating an authentic translation. Moreover, in creatively reconstructing those key properties in the Target Text, the translations are framed as performance implicitly, and not only explicitly. Thus, the style in the actual text of the tales may be relatively domesticated, while remaining true to the essence of the Source Text.

Translators may also explicitly frame the folktales as performances through paratextual tools, and to compensate for certain losses of meaning where they might necessarily occur in the Target Text. The issue of visibility comes up in the use of framing tools used in spaces surrounding the tales in the anthology, and the use of explication in the texts of the tales themselves. Visibility here not only refers to how transparent translators are in clearly stating their methodologies in gathering the tales and the overall data they base their analyses on, and the strategies and methods they employed in their translations, but also the visibility of the individual narrators in the Target Text – this includes any relevant background information and the narrators’ individual styles and ‘voices’. While this might be tricky in translating narratives that do not have one author and which belong to the collective, approaching the tales as variants which have emerged out of unique

performance situations makes it possible to locate individual style. Thus, it is equally significant to approach the tales not just as portraits of culture, but to give equal attention to the tales as social activities and as unique situations out of which those variants emerged.

Speak Bird, Speak Again recreates the effect of the Source Text on the Source Text Readers in the Target Text through the creative reconstruction of the genre conventions in the tales, keying narrative and linguistic devices that frame the Palestinian folktale as a performance, and that give the genre its narrative rhythm quality. Muhawi and Kanaana employ a rhetorical-dynamic approach in the translations to construct an equivalent effect in the Target Text, employing various equivalents for the culture-specific items in the Target Text, prioritizing literal meanings where possible, but also including idiomatic expressions in the Target Text Language for some level of readability, to allow the Target Text Audience to enjoy the unique qualities of the Palestinian folktale genre. However, they also simultaneously frame the anthology as an academic text through the extensive use of paratextual material that offers a cultural, socio-linguistic, and folkloristic analyses of the tales.

Equivalents in translation could thus be perceived, on some level, as variants in folklore. Variants are different forms of the same tale created by each new retelling and which result from the unique factors involved in each new performance event, portraying the narrators' individual styles; variants in the narratives that occur on the word and phrase level – for example, the different narrative devices and formulaic phrases and expressions that exist in the culture's traditional reservoir and which all have the same function, thus allowing for narrators to choose from them – could be paralleled to translators' choices in equivalents on the word and phrase level which also portray some aspect of their individual styles. Moreover, translators are expected to choose equivalents in the Target Text Language that will be authentic to the meanings of the items they are replacing.

In *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*, Patai attempts to reproduce the Palestinian oral folktale style through a literal translation; while certain aspects of

the style have been reproduced in the anthology, the overall effect is an exoticized one. By limiting himself with only a literal translation strategy, many of the meanings in the tales are lost beyond the literal. Moreover, literal translation does not always produce an accurate translation, and therefore there are at times inaccuracies. Furthermore, by employing only a literal translation approach, there are instances in the Target Text in which the effect produced is that of an awkward and confusing reading, thus paradoxically creating a text that does the opposite of what it was intended to in terms of accuracy and effect. Nonetheless, the literal translation approach does work in certain aspects of the tales, whereby the suspenseful pace that accompanies the unfolding of events through the folktales' narrative rhythm and the instances of dialogue between the characters. Thus, a literal translation does not necessarily equate accuracy; often, employing only a literal translation for an entire text produces an exoticized effect rather than an effect equivalent to the one created by the Source Text.

In chapter 8, I examined the translation of culture-specific items. I argued that there is an inescapable tension between the poetic and the referential functions in the translations of folkloric texts. Folkloric texts are strongly linked to the past, which already embeds them with elements of difference even within the Source Language and Culture itself. Moreover, 'magical' folktales are particularly heavily imbued with referential elements while also containing fictive and magical elements such as wise talking animals, ghouls, humans with half bodies, magical objects, unrealistic events, and other strange motifs that make folktales stand out. The folktale is thus pulled in two directions, between the real and the fictive, the referential and the poetic. Folktales are thus vulnerable to Orientalist and exoticized translations, since there is constant tension between the 'poetic' through special language, motifs, and plots that are at times hyperbolic, magical, and beyond our imagination, and the referential where we also have localized elements of the real physical world, relevant real-world social and universal themes, and pragmatic language, which, while poetic, is still delivered in the simple, everyday colloquial language of the Palestinian local dialect.

In chapter 8, I argued that the three anthologies framed cultural difference in different ways, portraying different degrees of tension between the poetic and referential elements in the translations. The types of oral narratives selected by the translators also play a significant role, since magical tales will naturally have more of such tension. Thus, in this chapter I mainly looked at the different strategies employed in the translation of culture-specific items and in what ways the three translations diminished or foregrounded certain types of difference. Moreover, the chapter explored the ways paratextual tools are employed in the three anthologies to compensate any losses of meanings with relation to culture-specific items and the ways in which certain items are foregrounding, contextualized, and analysed.

While *Tales Told in Palestine* successfully contextualizes some of the culture-specific items in the tales, the overall way of speaking in the translations is an 'English' rather than a Palestinian one, rendering the voices of the Palestinian tellers invisible despite the transferal of some culture-specific items in the Target Text. Thus, while some culture-specific items are transferred in the tales, technically creating a degree of foreignization, the overall style of narrating the tales is a fluent formal style in English that erases the local Palestinian dialect and replaces it with an English 'way of speaking'. The problem is not with the readability, fluency, or even degree of formality, so much as with the lack of visibility in connection to the tales aesthetic and other functions; there is no attention given in the anthology to the individual Palestinian narrators, there are only rare instances where relevant background information about them is shared, no commentary on the narratives as 'performances' as they are clearly distinct from ordinary conversations, no commentary on the stylized language or devices which must have been employed to some degree and on some level in the original tales in Arabic, no descriptions of the different situations in which the tales were shared with Hanauer, and no information on the tales' functions except as mirrors of cultural and religious beliefs in Palestine, etc.

Nonetheless, it is important to note here that it is possible that differences in the narrators' skills would have affected the tales' styles and rendered them closer to the style of ordinary conversations. Another influencing factor, besides

Hanauer's rephrasing of the tales in English, is the fact that some of the tales may have been associated to a large degree with truth by the narrators and may have come up as part of an ordinary conversation with Hanauer, and therefore largely resemble ordinary conversations to begin with. Ultimately, the fact that we have no access to the original tales in Arabic leaves us with no actual evidence of the extent to which changes were incurred on the tales Hanauer heard. Nonetheless, what is certain is that how the tales were framed in the anthology, from the selection of tales to the information foregrounded in the tales and paratextual commentary, the anthology was meant to reflect Palestine as a measurable landscape strongly connected to the three monotheistic religions, while pushing the individuals to the foregrounding. The exclusion of the 'human' and social aspect of those cultural stories, in addition to the lack of visibility with regards to how the tales were collected and our inability as readers to access the original tales as they are told in the local Palestinian dialect, are factors that mirror the Orientalist attitudes of gathering and presenting information on the Orient and reflect the imperialist attitudes of Hanauer's time.

Muhawi and Kanaana, in *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, create a hybrid space in the folktales and position themselves as cultural mediators between the two worlds of the Source and Target Languages and Cultures. Idiomatic expressions in English and their variants, are juxtaposed with the transferred culture-specific items (and the literal translations) and latter's' variants, to create a form of dialogue between the languages and cultures, in which both the idiomatic expressions and borrowed items (and literal translations) are contextualizing each other; Muhawi envisions the folktale translation as another version of the original tale in which the voices of all the narrators that told it echo through, and thus essentially perceives the translation of a folkloric item to be, on some level, a variant, that now functions in a new setting. However, the extensive paratextual commentary grounds the tales as belonging to a specifically Palestinian oral folktale genre. Muhawi and Kanaana portray a deep level of visibility of both roles in collecting the tales, selecting them, and translating them, and also the visibility of the individual narrators, their individual styles and their skills, through a socio-linguistic, cultural, and folkloristic analysis of the tales in the paratextual space, and foreground the

'voices' of the individual Palestinian narrators through allowing their individual styles to shine through the tales by creatively reconstructing the tales in their new situation as an identifiable and distinct Palestinian folktale genre to be appreciated and enjoyed in its own right in its new hybrid space. In using both idiomatic expressions and cultural equivalents, and literal translations and transferred culture-specific items, together in the tales, and basing their choices for different parts of the texts on achieving accuracy in the multiple layers of meaning, allows the folktales to be performed in meaningful and enjoyable ways in the Target Culture. Thus, creating a Target Text Style in the Target Text, so long as it does not overpower, or push the Source Text Style to the background, allows the Source Text 'effect' to be reproduced in the Target Text Culture and appreciated as a distinct genre to be enjoyed. Moreover, this approach of focusing on the genuine, real, meaningful, and authentic, in translation, rather than prioritizing one extreme over the other, helps balance out the poetic and referential functions so that they work together for a more realistic Target Text that moves beyond 'presenting' and 'representing' the Source Language and Culture, to dynamically engaging with them.

Thus, instead of creating an Orientalist text that pushes the Palestinian language and culture to the margin, and that treats the Palestinians as spectacles to be observed by the Target Text Audience, Muhawi and Kanaana maintain the Palestinian narrators' agency by reconstructing the key properties of the Palestinian oral folktale genre and by foregrounding the narrators' skills and competence. Muhawi and Kanaana thus centre the Palestinian folktale as both 'action' and 'event', as a meaningful and contextualized, rich, social activity rooted in, and emerging from, collective memory. Thus, in creatively reconstructing in the Target Text the key generic properties of the narratives that frame them as 'performance', the translated folktales exist in the Target Culture not only as decontextualized texts but as social activities that come alive in the Target Language. Thus, their approach in translating the folktales shifts our attention from limiting ourselves to one strategy or method as opposed to another, to a focus on constructing a meaningful Target Text that authentically reproduces the Source Text genre in the Target Text Culture, allowing the languages and cultures of the

Source Text and Target Text to interact and intertwine in non-ambiguous and meaningful ways, both implicitly and explicitly.

Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel is a commentary about the Arab culture and psyche, and in which the Arab culture becomes a spectacle for a West he illustrates as 'civilized' in comparison to the Arab world. In *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*, I argued that the poetic-referential tension in the translations creates an exoticizing effect that results in awkwardness and confusion, due to the employment of a literal translation strategy for the entirety of the texts and in juxtaposition to Patai's own commentary which contrasts the East with the West. Patai employs paratext to compensate for losses in meaning and for cases where confusion may occur due to the literal translation. However, while his literal translation was successful in conveying meaning in some parts of the tales, it was not an effective strategy in others. In folktales, fiction and reality are so intertwined that the poetic-referential tension is already high – thus, a literal translation for the entirety of the folktale text foregrounds elements of difference to an extreme level. In juxtaposing the exoticized literal translations of the magical and fantastical tales with his own comments in which he constantly makes generalized comments about the Palestinians and Arabs as a whole and contrasts them with what he illustrates to be a superior West, difference is further emphasized, pushing the Palestinian culture and people into the margins.

9.3 The Significance of this Research

In a world where we are continuously attempting to locate our identities as individuals with unique 'voices,' as members of families, neighbors, various communities, societies, cultures, and as global citizens, we face many internal and external struggles given that this world centers around social interactions. Language is a powerful tool that allows us to voice our realities, our achievements, our struggles, and our hopes and dreams. Language, and by extension translation, provides us with opportunities to maintain, or transform realities, its transformative effects extending far beyond our individual selves with the potential to influence the world at large; and therefore, *how* we use it is just as important as using it. It is a

powerful tool that may be utilized to protest the unequal power dynamics such as the case of the colonization of Palestine, in which the Zionist narrative works to diminish the Palestinian identity and culture. By creatively finding ways to shift this narrative into one where the Palestinians' voices are heard, both as a collective and the individual voices of its people, we create space for the Palestinians to be truly heard, rather than stripping them off their agency and limiting them to representations and stereotypes. I believe the significance of this research lies in its shedding light on the social aspect of the representations of the Palestinian cultural identity. This is particularly important in the field of translation since translation has always played a crucial role in the long deep-rooted history of colonization and imperialism, although this role as demonstrated in this thesis, is often subtle and not always visible. And while this thesis does not examine narratives that center around the Palestinian struggle, it aims to show how powerful language is in its fragility, in that it can be molded in various, often subtle, and indirect ways, seeping deeply into our public narratives and global discourses, maintaining, and reinforcing, imperialist agendas.

Language also has the power to change existing narratives and create new ones that transform our world to the better. Translation is a powerful space where we can meet to find enough similarities and discover ways to connect genuinely and authentically, while also celebrating our differences, and in doing so we hold the power to subvert those unequal and unfair systems of oppression and colonialization. By choosing to examine the translation of Palestinian folktales, I attempted to show how language is used in various ways in translation to frame difference, whether to foreground it, diminish it, or seek a balance, in a world that sadly seems to struggle with difference and is obsessed with limiting how we identify ourselves by continuously identifying the Self, whatever that Self might entail, only in contrast with an Other. It is important to note that language, both verbal and non-verbal, is so powerful a tool that in it lies the potential to foreground our shared human experiences and struggles.

In examining three anthologies produced by different scholars and published during different time periods, and which frame the Palestinian culture in rather

different ways, we shed light on scholars' and translators' agency in representing the Other and the role they place in public and meta narratives. In a way, we can view translation strategies, methods, and tools, through the lens of performance, as 'keys' that frame the translations as social narratives.

This thesis is not in any way meant to dismiss the individuals who represent other cultures through language and translation, or their tremendous efforts; after all, not only is it unavoidable, but it is also crucial to use language to represent ourselves and our experiences, our communities, and our joys and struggles in this world – and as individuals in a world where difference exists, it should be acknowledged and celebrated. Rather, what this study calls for is for us to be aware of the power of language and translation, and its effects on its readers, and that we must find ways to be genuinely and authentically visible as agents and to continuously search for ways to mediate conversations and allow for others 'voices' to be heard, rather than exclude them. It also calls for us to be more conscious readers who question how oppressed, under-represented, minority, and colonized cultures are being represented and pushed to the margin.

Undertaking a comparative study of three anthologies that differed in how they collected the tales, the situations in which they were retold, and even the unequal amount of data that exists when it comes to the three books and the scholars' own notes on their translation strategies, was not an easy task. Therefore, I sought to achieve visibility with regards to the issues I encountered with the texts. For example, in *Tales Told in Palestine*, J.E. Hanauer took the role of storyteller as he re-narrated the tales from memory, and while this brings up so many interesting questions about folktale translation, it also creates some limitations. However, as explained in my introduction, I approach the book as a translation and believe it to be highly reflective of how local texts were transferred into the Target Culture, and how problematic I believe this to be since academic interest in texts from the Holy Land has historically been heavily tied to imperial interests.

While we might not have access to all the original texts in Arabic which were gathered from Palestine and translated, examining the ways this transferred knowledge is framed is crucial to further our understanding of how Orientalist

narratives continue today, both in subtle and direct ways, and how Palestinians in the media, news outlets, academic spaces, etc. continue to exclude Palestinian 'voices' and strip Palestinians of their agency in representing themselves and voicing their experiences. Not only is Palestine currently still under colonization, but it has also historically been at the centerfold of imperial interest in the West, and consequently at the receiving end of stereotypical images and tropes; the emotionally charged lens through which the 'Holy Land' has been universally perceived plays a major role in the ways scholars and translators frame all things connected to Palestine.

9.4 The Limitations and Scope for Further Research

A significant limitation in this study was the unavailability of the original Arabic texts for the tales in *Tales Told in Palestine* and for part of the tales in *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*, either as audio files, transcriptions, or transliterations. Thus, I noted in different parts of the thesis where this limitation would raise an issue in my analyses; for example, I noted that while we do not have access to the original Arabic texts that J.E. Hanauer gathered, his style is retelling the tales would naturally be influenced by the fact that, in the event (or events, perhaps) in which he was retelling the tales to H.G. Mitchell, he naturally took the role of storyteller, and retold the tales from memory, and therefore it would make sense for him to communicate the tales effectively to Mitchell that he would rephrase the tales in English in a way that would be clear to J.E. Hanauer, and thus would naturally be domesticated on some level.

I also noted in my critique of the style in *Tales Told in Palestine*, which prioritized contextualizing the referential items over keying the tales as performances emerging from rich, social, activities that highlight the relationship between the audience and the narrators during the narrating event, that the choice in content, whereby the majority of the types of tales have more or less associations with truth, would also influence the style of narrating; another factor I mentioned was also the fact that while Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana chose the tales that best demonstrated the narrators' skills and communicative

competence for *Speak Bird, Speak Again*, it is possible that Hanauer heard the tales from individuals who did not have any, or much, experience in narrating the tells, or 'performing' them (or they retold the tales the same way they were told to them). Ultimately, there is no certain way of knowing without access to those texts. However, as demonstrated in my thesis, the paratextual devices and commentary play a crucial role in guiding the Target Text Readers' interpretation of the tales and their perceptions of the Palestinians and their cultural identity. Moreover, the fact that we do not have access to the original texts in Arabic, in combination with other factor, such as the lack of clear visibility in terms of the extent of changes made and to what extent H.G. Mitchell incurred changes to the tales (despite his statement with regards to this point in the introduction to *Tales Told in Palestine*, there is still ambiguity to the types of changes incurred), and the fact that very little attention was provided in the book to the local Palestinian tellers as individuals or to the 'human', social aspect of Palestine, and beyond the ethnic and religious categories, is in itself reflective of the Orientalist attitudes of gathering knowledge on the Orient and presenting it, and the imperialist ambitions that drove such publications. Thus, it is particularly crucial to examine the translations of texts that lack visibility and transparency in terms of *how* they were gathered, and in terms of the individuals involved in producing the texts, particularly the texts of colonized, oppressed, occupied, minority, and under-represented, groups, as those texts are more vulnerable to manipulation and distortions. Thus, the fact that we may not have access to the original texts in the Source Text Language (it is important to note here that even transcriptions of Source Texts produced orally may not be accurate), should not prevent us from examining the translations and how they are framed, as that sheds light on the problematics of Orientalist translations.

There is much scope for further research; in-depth analyses on the role of translation agents in the framing of texts gathered from Palestine would be incredibly insightful to better understand the processes in the dissemination of knowledge about Palestine and how Palestinians are represented in public, conceptual, and meta narratives, through the mode of translation. Moreover, this thesis did not provide a detailed analysis of the translation methods and techniques employed in the anthologies; rather, it focused on the overall strategies in

juxtaposition with the paratextual commentary; thus, detailed analyses of the translation methods and techniques employed in folktale translations would also prove to be immensely insightful.

Bibliography

- Aarne, A. and Thompson, S. 1961. *The types of the folktale: A classification and bibliography*. FF communications, Vol 184. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
- Abrahams, R.D. 1976. The complex relations of simple forms. In: Ben-Amos, D. ed. *Folklore genres*. Austin and London: University of Texas Press, pp.193-214.
- Abubaker, F. 2019. *The folktales of Palestine: Cultural identity, memory and the politics of storytelling*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Abu-Ghazaleh, A.M. 1973. *Arab cultural nationalism in Palestine during the British Mandate*. Beirut: The Institute for Palestine Studies.
- Al-Barghuthi, A. 1979. *Ḥikāyāt jān min Bani Zeyd*. Jerusalem: Bir Zeit University Press.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., and Tiffin, H. eds. 2013. *Postcolonial studies: The key concepts*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Aiken, E.J. 2010. *Scriptural geography: Portraying the Holy Land*. Tauris Historical Geography Series. 1st ed. London and New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Almanna, A. 2016. *The Routledge course in translation annotation*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Appiah, K.A. 1993. Thick translation. *Callaloo*. **16**(4), pp.808-818.
- Baker, M. 1992. *In other words: A coursebook on translation*. London: Routledge.
- Baker, M. 2006. *Translation and conflict: A narrative account*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Baker, M. 2007. Reframing conflict in translation. *Social Semiotics*. **17**(2), pp.151–169.
- Baker, M. 2018. Narrative analysis and translation. In: Malmkjær, K. *The Routledge handbook of translation studies and linguistics*. London and New York: Routledge, pp.177–193.
- Ball, J. 1954. Style in the folktale. *Folklore*. **65**(3-4), pp.170–172.
- Bar-Yosef, E. 2005. *The Holy Land in English culture: 1799-1917*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.
- Bascom, W. 1955. Verbal art. *The Journal of American Folklore*. **68**(269), pp.245-252.

- Bassnett, S. and Lefevere, A. eds. 1990. *Translation, history and culture*: London: Pinter.
- Bassnett, S. and Lefevere, A. 1998. *Constructing cultures: Essays on literary translation*. United Kingdom: Multilingual Matters.
- Bassnett, S. and Trivedi, H. 1999. Introduction: Of colonies, cannibals, and vernaculars. In: Bassnett, S. and Trivedi, H. eds. *Postcolonial translation: Theory and practice*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bassnett, S. 2002. *Translation studies*. 3rd ed. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bauman, R. and Briggs, C. L. 1990. Poetics and performance as critical perspectives on language and social life. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. **19**, pp.59–88.
- Bauman, R. 1992. *Folklore, cultural performances, and popular entertainments: A communications-centered handbook*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bauman, R. 1975. Verbal art as performance. *American Anthropologist*. **77**(2), pp.290–311.
- Bauman, R. 1984. *Verbal art as performance*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.
- Bauman, R. 1986. *Story, performance, and event: Contextual studies of oral narrative*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bauman, R. 2004. *A world of others' words: Cross-cultural perspectives on intertextuality*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Bayoumi, M. 2004. *Confessions of an Arab mind*. [Online]. [Accessed 30 August 2022]. Available from: <https://progressive.org/op-eds/confessions-arab-mind/>
- Ben-Amos, D. 1971. Toward a definition of folklore in context. *The Journal of American Folklore*. **84**(331), pp.3–15.
- Ben-Amos, D. 1976. Analytical categories and ethnic genres. In: Ben-Amos, D. ed. *Folklore genres*. Austin and London: University of Texas Press, pp.215–242.
- Ben-Amos, D. 1977. Introduction: Folklore in African society. In: Lindfors, B. ed. *Forms of folklore in Africa: Poetics, gnomic, dramatic*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp.1-36.
- Benjamin, W. 2012. The translator's task. In: Venuti, L. ed. *The translation studies reader*. New York: Routledge, pp.75-83.
- Bhabha, H.K. 1994. *The Location of culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Bottigheimer, R.B. 1986. *Fairy tales and society: Illusion, allusion, and paradigm*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Bushnaq, I. 1988. *Arab folktales*. United States: Random House USA.
- Bushnaq, I. 2005. Folklore. In: Mattar, P. ed. *Encyclopaedia of the Palestinians*. New York: Facts on File, Inc., pp.162–167.
- Cachia, P. 2011. *Exploring Arab folk literature*. United Kingdom: Edinburgh University Press.
- Calvino, I. 1980. *Italian folktales: Selected and retold by Italo Calvino*. New York: Pantheon.
- Catford, J.C. 1965. *A linguistic theory of translation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chafe, W. 1982. Integration and involvement in speaking, writing, and oral literature. In: Tannen, D. ed. *Spoken and written language: Exploring orality and literacy*. Norwood: Ablex, pp.35-53.
- Chafe, W. and Tannen, D. 1987. The relation between written and spoken language. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. **16**, pp.383-407.
- Dawkins, R.M. 1951. The meaning of Folktales. *Folklore*. **62**(4), pp.417–429.
- Davis, M. and Ben-Arieh, Y. eds. 1991. *With eyes toward Zion – III: Western societies and the Holy Land*. United States of America: Praeger.
- De Waard, J. and Nida, E. 1986. *From one language to another: Functional equivalence in bible translating*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson.
- De Fina, A. and Georgakopoulou, A. 2011. *Analyzing narrative: Discourse and sociolinguistic perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dégh, L. 1995. *Narratives in society: A performance-centred study of narration*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Dickins, J. Hervey, S. Higgins, I. 2002. *Thinking Arabic translation*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Doughty, A.A. 2006. *Folktales retold: A critical overview of stories updated for children*. North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc.
- Dundes, A. 1965. *The study of folklore*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Dundes, A. 1980. *Interpreting folklore*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Dundes, A. 1989. Foreword. In: Muhawi, I. and Kanaana, S. *Speak bird, speak again*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, x-xv.
- Dundes, A. 1993. *Folklore matters*. United States: University of Tennessee Press.

- Dundes, A. 1997. The motif-index and the tale type index: A critique. *Journal of Folklore Research*. **34**(3), pp.195–202.
- Eco, U. 2001. *Experiences in translation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- El-Nimr, S. 1993. Oral history and Palestinian collective memory. *Oral History*. **21**(1), pp.54–61.
- El-Shamy, H.M. 1995a. *Folk traditions of the Arab world: A guide to motif classification*. Vol 1. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- El-Shamy, H.M. 1995b. *Folk traditions of the Arab world: A guide to motif classification*. Vol 2. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- El-Shamy, H.M. 2004. *Types of the folktale in the Arab world: A demographically oriented tale-type index*. United States: Indiana University Press.
- Faiq, S. 2004. The cultural encounter in translating from Arabic. In: Faiq, S. ed. *Cultural encounters in translation from Arabic*. United Kingdom: Multilingual Matters, pp.1-13.
- Faiq, S. 2016. Through the master discourse of translation. In: Taibi, M. ed. *New insights into Arabic translating and interpreting*. Bristol, Buffalo, and Toronto: Multilingual Matters, pp.7-21.
- Fine, E.C. 1994. *The folklore text: From performance to print*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Firth, J.R. 1957. *Papers in linguistics: 1934-1951*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Foley, J.M. 1995. *The singer of tales in performance*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Foliard, D. 2017. *Dislocating the Orient: British maps and the making of the Middle East, 1854–1921*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Frow, J. 2006. *Genre*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Garry, J. and El-Shamy, M. eds. 2016. *Archetypes and motifs in folklore and literature: A handbook*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Geertz, C. 1973. *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Genette, G. 1997. *Paratexts: Thresholds of interpretation*. Literature, Culture, Theory, Vol 20. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gibson, J.C.L. 1978. *Canaanite myths and legends*. 2nd ed. London and New York: T&T Clark International.
- Goffman, E. 1986. *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

- Haase, D. ed. 1996. *The reception of Grimms' fairy tales: Responses, reactions, revisions*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Haase, D. 2010. Decolonizing fairy-tale studies. *Marvels & Tales. JSTOR.* **24**(1), pp.17–38.
- Hall, S. ed. 1997. *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London, Thousand Oaks, and New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. English Language Series. London: Longman.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1978. *Language as social semiotic: The social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1985. *An introduction to functional grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hanauer, J.E. 1904. *Tales told in Palestine*. Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham.
- Hanauer, J.E. 1910. *Walks about Jerusalem*. London: London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews.
- Hanauer, J.E. 1935. *Folklore of the Holy Land: Moslem, Christian, and Jewish*. London: Sheldon.
- Hanauer, J.E. 2015. *Tales told in Palestine*. United States: Forgotten Books.
- Harding, S.A. 2012. "How do I apply narrative theory?": Socio-narrative theory in translation studies. *Target.* **24**(2), pp.286-309.
- Hartland, E.S. 1900. *Mythology and folktales: Their relation and interpretation*. London: David Nutt.
- Hatim, B. and Mason, I. 2013. *Discourse and the translator*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hymes, D. 1996. *Ethnography, linguistics, narrative inequality: Toward an understanding of voice*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Hymes, D. 1981. *"In vain I tried to tell you": Essays in Native American ethnopoetics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Jackson, R. 1981. *Fantasy: the literature of subversion*. London and New York: Methuen.
- Jakobson, R. 1959. On linguistic aspects of translation. In: Brower, R. ed. *On translation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 232-239.
- Jakobson, R. 1960. Closing statement: Linguistics and poetics. In: Sebeok, T. A. *Style in language*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, pp.350-377.

- Jakobson, R. and Bogatyrev, P. 1980. Folklore as a special form of creation. *Folklore Forum*. **13**(1), pp.1–21.
- Jones, S.S. 1995. *The fairy tale: The magic mirror of imagination*. New York: Twayne Publishers.
- Institute for Palestine Studies. *About IPS: History*. [Online]. [Accessed 18 August 2022]. Available from: <https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/about/history#>
- Kamel, L. 2014. The impact of 'Biblical Orientalism' in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Palestine. *New Middle Eastern Studies*. **4**, pp.1-15.
- Kamel, L. 2015. *Imperial perceptions of Palestine: British influence and power in late Ottoman times*. London and New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd.
- Kanaana, S. 2007. *Half a century of Palestinian folk narratives*. [Online]. [Accessed 25 July 2022]. Available from: <https://palestine-family.net/half-a-century-of-palestinian-folk-narratives/>
- Katan, D. 1999. *Translating cultures: An introduction for translators, interpreters and mediators*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
- Kellogg, R. 1973. Oral literature. *New Literary History*. **5**(1), pp.55-66.
- Khatib, H. 2003. *Palestine and Egypt under the Ottomans*. Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Leech, G. N. and Short, M. H. (1981) *Style in fiction*. London: Longman.
- Lefevere, A. 1992. *Translation, rewriting, and the manipulation of literary fame*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Leppihalme, R. 1997. *Culture bumps: An empirical approach to the translation of allusions*. Topics in Translation, Vol 10. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Litvak, M. 2009. *Palestinian collective memory and national identity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Long, A.C. 2014. *Reading Arabia: British Orientalism in the age of mass publication, 1880-1930*. New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Malinowski, B. 1923. The problem of meaning in primitive languages. In: Ogden, C.K., and Richards, I.A. eds. *The meaning of meaning: A study of influence of language upon thought and of the science of symbolism*. London: K. Paul, Trend, Trubner, pp. 296-336.
- Mattar, P. ed. 2005. *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians*. New York: Facts on File, Inc.
- McDonald, D.A. 2013. *My voice is my weapon: Music, nationalism, and the poetics of Palestinian resistance*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- McNeill, L. 2013. *Folklore rules: A fun, quick, and useful introduction to the field of academic Folklore Studies*. Logan: Utah State University Press.

- Mitchell, H.G. 2015. Introduction. In: J.E. Hanauer. *Tales told in Palestine*. United States: Forgotten Books.
- Moscrop, J.J. 2000. *Measuring Jerusalem: The Palestine Exploration Fund and British interests in the Holy Land*. London and New York: Leicester University Press.
- Muhawi, I. and Kanaana, S. 1989. *Speak bird, speak again: Palestinian Arab folktales*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press.
- Muhawi, I. and Kanaana, S. 2001. *Qūl yā ṭayr: nuṣūṣ wa-dirāsah fī al-ḥikāyah al-šaʿbiyyah al-Filistīniyyah*. Beirut: Muʿassasat al-Dirāsāt al-Filastīniyah.
- Muhawi, I. 2002. Performance and translation in the Arabic metalinguistic joke. *The Translator*. **8**(2), pp. 341-366.
- Muhawi, I. 2004. On translating oral style in Palestinian folktales. In: Faiq, S. ed. *Cultural encounters in translation from Arabic*. United Kingdom: Multilingual Matters, pp.75-90.
- Muhawi, I. 2006. Towards a folkloristic theory of translation. In: Hermans, T. ed. *Translating others*. Vol 1. 1st ed. London: Routledge, pp.365-379.
- Muhawi, I. and Kanaana, S. 2020. *Qūl yā ṭayr: ḥikāyāt lilʾaḫḫāl min al-turāṭ al-šaʿbi al-Filistīni*. Beirut: Muʿassasat al-Dirāsāt al-Filastīniyah.
- Mukarovsky, J. 1970. Standard language and poetic language. In: Freeman, D. C. ed. *Linguistics and Literary Style*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp.40-56.
- Murphy, W.P. 1978. Oral literature. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. **7**, pp.113–136.
- Muslih, M.Y. 1988. *The origins of Palestinian nationalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Naithani, S. 2006. *In quest of Indian folktales: Pandit Ram, Gharib Chaube, and William Crooke*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Naithani, S. 2010. *The story-time of the British empire: Colonial and postcolonial folkloristics*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Niranjana, T. 1992. *Siting translation: History, post-structuralism, and the colonial context*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press.
- Newmark, P. 1976. The theory and the craft of translation. *Language Teaching*. **9**(01), p.5.
- Newmark, P. 1981. *Approaches to translation*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Newmark, P. 1988. *A textbook of translation*. New York: Prentice-Hall International.
- Newmark, P. 1991. *About translation*. London, United Kingdom: Multilingual Matters.

- Nida, E. 1945. Linguistics and ethnology in translation-problems. *WORD*. 1(2), pp.194–208.
- Nida, E. 1964. *Toward a science of translating: With special reference to principles and procedures involved in Bible translating*. Netherlands: Brill.
- Nida, E. 2002. *Contexts in translating*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Nimr, S. 2007. *Ghaddar the ghoul: And other Palestinian stories*. Great Britain and the USA: Frances Lincoln Children's Books.
- Nord, C. 2005. *Text analysis in translation: Theory, methodology, and didactic application of a model for translation-oriented text analysis*. 2nd ed. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Ong, W.J. 2002. *Orality and literacy: The technologizing of the word*. 2nd ed. London and New York: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Oring, E. ed. 1986. *Folk groups and folklore genres: An introduction*. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press.
- Oring, E. ed. 1989. *Folk groups and folklore genres: A reader*. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press.
- Pappe, I. 2006. *The ethnic cleansing of Palestine*. England: Oneworld Publications Limited.
- Patai, R. 1998. *Arab folktales from Palestine and Israel*. United States: Wayne State University Press.
- Pellatt, V. 2013. Introduction. In: Pellatt, V. ed. *Text, extratext, metatext and paratext in translation*. UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp.1-6.
- Polly, G. 2020. *'Palestine is thus brought home to England': The representation of Palestine in British travel literature, 1840-1914*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Exeter.
- Propp, V. 1968. *Morphology of the folktale*. 2nd ed. Wagner, L.A. ed. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Propp, V. 1984. *Theory and history of folklore*. Theory and History of Literature. Vol 5. Liberman, A. ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Pym, A. 2012. *On translator ethics: Principles for mediation between cultures*. The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Robinson, D. 2014. *Translation and empire: Postcolonial theories explained*. Translation Theories Explained. 1st ed. London and New York: Routledge.
- Roth, K. 1998. Crossing boundaries: The translation and cultural adaptation of folk narratives. *Fabula*. 39(3–4), pp.243–255.

- Said, E. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Sarhan, N. 1974. *Al-ḥikāyah al-ša'biyyah al-Filistīniyyah*. Beirut: Al-Mu'assasah al-'Arabiyyah li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Našr.
- Schacker, J. 2003. *National dreams: The remaking of fairy tales in nineteenth-century England*. United States: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Schmidt, H. and Kahle, P. 1918. *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina*. Vol 1. Germany: Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Schmidt, H. and Kahle, P. 1930. *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina*. Vol 2. Germany: Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Shaheen, J.G. 2003. Reel bad Arabs: How Hollywood vilifies a people. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. **558**, pp.171-193.
- Shamma, T. 2014. *Translation and the manipulation of difference: Arabic literature in nineteenth-century England*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Sheety, R. 2015. *Stealing Palestine: A study of historical and cultural theft*. [Online]. [Accessed 22 August 2022]. Available from: [Stealing Palestine: A study of historical and cultural theft | Middle East Eye](#)
- Shehadeh, R. 2008. *Palestinian walks: Notes on a vanishing landscape*. Great Britain: Profile Books Ltd.
- Sirhan, N. 2014. *Folk stories and personal narratives in Palestinian spoken Arabic: A cultural and linguistic study*. United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, L. 2004. *Inside the Arab mind*. [Online]. [Accessed 22 August 2022]. Available from: [What's wrong with The Arab Mind. \(slate.com\)](#)
- Snell-Hornby, M. 1995. *Translation studies: An integrated approach*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Spivak, G. 2012. Can the subaltern speak? In: Venuti, L. ed. *The translation studies Reader*. New York: Routledge, pp.397-416.
- Steiner, G. 1998. *After babel: Aspects of language and translation*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Stephanie, S.R. 2011. *Inventing the Holy Land*. United Kingdom: Lexington Books.
- Suleiman, Y. 2003. *The Arabic language and national identity: A study in ideology*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.
- Suleiman, Y. and Muhawi, I. eds. 2006. *Literature and nation in the middle east*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Swales, J.M. 1990. *Genre analysis: English in academic and research settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Tannen, D. 1982. The oral/literate continuum in discourse. In: Tannen, D. ed. *Spoken and written language: Exploring orality and literacy*. Norwood: Ablex, pp.1-16.
- Tannen, D. 1985. Relative focus on involvement in oral and written discourse. In: Olson, D., Torrance, N., and Hildyard, A. eds. *Literacy, language and learning: The nature and consequences of reading and writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.124-147.
- Tawaddud, A. 1980. *Al-ḥarāʾif: al-ḵiṣāṣ al-šaʿbiyyah*. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ruṣd.
- Thompson, S. 1950. Motif. In: Leach, M. and Fried, J. eds. *Funk & Wagnall's standard dictionary of folklore, mythology, and legend*. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, p.753.
- Thompson, S. 1955. *Motif-index of folk literature*. Vol 1. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Thompson, S. 1977. *The folktale*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Todorov, T. 1975. *The fantastic: A structural approach to a literary genre*. United States: Cornell University Press.
- Todorov, T. 1977. *The poetics of prose*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Toelken, B. 1996. *The dynamics of folklore*. United States of America: Utah State University Press.
- Tymoczko, M. 1995. The metonymics of translating marginalized texts. *Comparative Literature*. **47**(1), pp.11-24.
- Tymoczko, M. 2003. Ideology and the position of the translator. In: Calzada-Pérez, M. ed. *Apropos of ideology: Translation studies on ideology-ideologies in translation studies*. London and New York: Routledge, pp.182–200.
- Tymoczko, M. 2014. *Enlarging translation, empowering translators*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Tymoczko, M. 2016. *Translation in a Postcolonial Context: Early Irish literature in English translation*. London and New York: Routledge.
- UNESCO. 2004. *About intangible heritage*. [Online]. [Accessed 11 November 2015]. Available from: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003>
- Venuti, L. 1993. Translation as cultural politics: Regimes of domestication in English. *Textual Practice*. **7**(2), pp.208-223.
- Venuti, L. 1995. *The translator's invisibility*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Venuti, L. 1998. *The scandals of translation: Towards an ethics of difference*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Venuti, L. 2008. Translation, interpretation, canon formation. In: Lianeri, A. and Zajko, V. eds. *Translation and the Classic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.27-51.
- Venuti, L. 2012. 1990s. In: Venuti, L. ed. *The translation studies reader*. New York: Routledge, pp.269 – 280.
- Whitaker, B. 2004. 'Its best use is as a doorstep'. [Online]. [Accessed 15 August 2002]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/may/24/worlddispatch.usa>
- Whiting, C. 2007. Geographical imaginations of the 'Holy Land': Biblical topography and archaeological practice. *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*. **29**(2-3), pp.237–250.
- Zipes, J. 2002. *The irresistible fairy tale: the cultural and social history of a genre*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Zipes, J. 2006a. *Fairy tales and the art of subversion*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Zipes, J. 2006b. *Why fairy tales stick*. New York: Routledge.
- Zipes, J. 2012. *The forgotten tales of the Brothers Grimm*. [Online]. [Accessed 10 October 2015]. Available from: [The Forgotten Tales of the Brothers Grimm – The Public Domain Review](#)