



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

**PROCEDURES AND STRATEGIES IN ENGLISH-KURDISH
TRANSLATION OF WRITTEN MEDIA DISCOURSE**

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

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Dedication

This work is dedicated, with sincere love and passion, to my wife, Arazw, and my lovely sons, Yad and Shad, who accompanied me on the journey of doing my PhD studies.

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Upon the conclusion of this study, I would like to express my appreciation to several people and institutions who have guided, assisted and supported me during my PhD studies. First and foremost, special thanks are due to my supervisors at the University of Leeds, Professor Jeremy Munday and Professor James Dickins, for their generous and sympathetic advice and for the invaluable comments and guidance they offered me in the course of this study. Working under their supervision has been a great honour for me, and I am very grateful for all what I have learned from them. I would also like to thank Dr Rauf Mahmoud at the University of Human Development, KRG, Mr Mohammed Sabir at the University of Sulaimani, KRG, for their feedback on various sections of my thesis. Special thanks also go to Dr Lewis Hall, a dear friend and my ex-teacher at the University of Liverpool, for his encouragement and feedback on sections of my work.

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Abstract

The present research explores translation procedures and strategies employed in current English-Kurdish translation of written media discourse. It is located within Toury's (1995/2012) framework of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). The research sets out to contribute to Translation Studies, specifically the study of journalism translation. Despite the fact that translation has been an inseparable part of media and journalism activities for decades, if not centuries, the systematic study of media translation is as recent as the turn of the new millennium. This study focuses on English-Kurdish translation of written media discourse, which has remained largely under-researched.

The study precisely sets out to identify the patterns of translation procedures and the overall translation strategies prevalent in Kurdish translations of English journalistic texts. To do so, a composite model is formulated based on an integration of three influential taxonomies of translation procedures proposed by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995), Newmark (1988) and Dickins, Hervey and Higgins (2002). The model is applied to a set of 45 journalistic texts translated from English into Kurdish, which altogether make a corpus of approximately 75,000 words. A comparative analysis of ST-TT coupled pairs is carried out to identify patterns of translation procedures at the linguistic as well as cultural level. To look at the findings from a different perspective, a research questionnaire is also conducted with English-Kurdish translators working in the Kurdish media. Based on the patterns of translation procedures, the overall translation strategies are then determined.

Analysis in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 leads to the conclusion that literal translation, borrowing and omission are the most frequent translation procedures at the linguistic level, and cultural borrowing, cultural redomestication and calque are the most frequent at the cultural level, keeping in mind that the notion of cultural redomestication constitutes the present study's major contribution to Translation Studies. As for the overall strategies, semantic translation is the predominant orientation of the linguistic aspect of the translation, while foreignization is the predominant orientation of the cultural aspect of the translation.

Keywords: Translation procedures, translation strategies, media discourse, media translation, journalist-translator, the Kurdish media.

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List of Acronyms

BT – Back-translation

DTS – Descriptive Translation Studies

KDP – Kurdistan Democratic Party

KIG – Kurdistan Islamic Group

KIU – Kurdistan Islamic Union

KNN – Kurdish News Network

KRG – Kurdistan Regional Government

PUK – Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

SL – Source Language

ST – Source Text

TL – Target Language

TT – Target Text

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Motivation for the study

In today's globalized world, the role and influence of the media on individuals and society at large are immense. Not a day passes without coming upon breaking news, routine news reports, interviews, etc. that deal with national as well as global social, economic and political issues. "First newspapers, then radio and television, now the internet and other new communication technologies all play an important and ever increasing role in the present-day world" (Tyulenev 2014: 57). As cross-cultural communication, translation figures prominently in today's globalized media. Media translation as a practice is not a new phenomenon but actually dates from the time when newspapers started covering foreign news events centuries ago. The study of media translation, however, is a more recent phenomenon and much of the major research in the area has been conducted only in the past decade (cf. Bassnett and Conway 2006; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Darwish 2009/2010; Schöffner and Bassnett 2010).

With regard to the Kurdish media, the area has remained largely under-researched, something that should come as no surprise given that the Kurdish media is itself in its infancy. Since the publication of the first Kurdish newspaper, *Kurdistan*, in 1898 until the mid-1980s, Kurdish journalism has sporadically witnessed the appearance of different periodicals, published mostly in Sorani Kurdish and in Iraqi Kurdistan. Rapid development in Kurdish journalism has in fact started only since 1992 after the establishment of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in Iraqi Kurdistan. The new millennium, however, has witnessed a robust proliferation in Kurdish journalism at an unprecedented pace. Specifically after the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, opportunities arose for Kurdish society to establish closer contacts with the outside world, something that was achieved mostly through the media. That is where translation came into play as a vital catalyst of development in the Kurdish media.

But translation itself is not unproblematic in the Kurdish context, and it too is a field where systematic research is lacking. Having worked as an English-Kurdish translator and interpreter for several years, I have extensive first-hand experience of the fact that translation between English and Kurdish struggles against abundant constraints that arise at the linguistic as well as the cultural level of discourse. My experience teaching

translation at the University of Human Development in Iraqi Kurdistan has shown me that translators working between the two languages have to be adequately equipped with detailed translation skills so as to apply appropriate translation procedures with the aim of overcoming such constraints. Through observation of the current translation trends in media discourse, mainly from English to Kurdish, I have also noted that such translations suffer serious deficiencies insofar as:

- 1) They lack a consistent and systematic translation approach in the translation process;
- 2) They lack terminological and lexical consistency;
- 3) The quality of some translations suggests that translators may have embarked on the translation task without the necessary skills;
- 4) Some translation products suggest that adequate translation revision might have not been undertaken;
- 5) The translation products are not devoid of ideologically-motivated changes and shifts;
- 6) Some translations lack the overall clarity inherent in the message being communicated.

Nonetheless, despite the crucial role of translation in the Kurdish media and multiple concerns regarding the quality of the translation products, the area has not been particularly touched upon by critics, academics or researchers. Birot's (2015) paper 'The Role of Ideology in Translation: A Study of the Kurdish Media', which evolved as part of this present study, is the only published study of translation in the Kurdish media available thus far. The paper attempts to explore translation shifts motivated by ideological orientations of different media outlets in the Kurdistan Region.

Deficiencies in the quality of the translation products and lack of sufficient research to investigate translation in the Kurdish media have become a source of stimulation for this study, which aims to explore the patterns of translation procedures and overall strategies that characterize current English-Kurdish translations of journalistic texts. Translation procedures are significant techniques employed to make necessary changes and shifts at the textual micro-level in an attempt to produce an intended translation. Any act of translation inevitably involves the use of translation procedures in some form or shape to overcome difficulties and constraints encountered in the translation process. That is because:

Even the simplest, most basic requirement we make of translation cannot be met without difficulty: one cannot always match the content of a message in language A by an expression with exactly the same content in language B, because what can be expressed and what must be expressed is a property of a specific language in much the same way as how it can be expressed.

(Winter 1961: 98, quoted in Baker 2011: 92)

Therefore, translators have to take stock of such difficulties to decide on appropriate translation procedures; without careful employment of translation procedures, producing an appropriate translation is out of the question. Translation procedures are, after all, at the heart of translation skills that competent translators have to acquire.

1.2 Aims and research questions

This study sets out to investigate written media discourse from a Translation Studies perspective and aims to identify the patterns of translation procedures and overall strategies that are employed in a corpus of journalistic texts translated from English into Kurdish. The study's main objectives are:

- 1) to understand the nature of journalistic translation products offered by the Kurdish media;
- 2) to understand the nature of translatorial practices and the institutional setting within the Kurdish media;
- 3) to create a replicable composite model of translation procedures that inclusively cover both the linguistic and cultural aspects of English-Kurdish translation;
- 4) to offer new insights into how to effectively employ various possible translation procedures to tackle translation difficulties at the linguistic level; and
- 5) to heighten (trainee) translators' awareness of cultural encounters and introduce them to cultural translation procedures that can effectively tackle translation difficulties at the cultural level.

In brief, the research is a descriptive translation study of the procedures and strategies that are used in the current English-Kurdish transition of journalistic texts. This is a significant endeavour to find out the current state of translation in the Kurdish media and to feed into applied Translation Studies by offering guidelines for Kurdish translators in the absence of existing resources in that language direction. This

research ultimately intends to lay down a composite model of translation procedures that allows for a thorough analysis of a collected corpus of English-Kurdish journalistic texts but that also has the potential to be tried out on other genres and language combinations. In order to achieve the aims and objectives outlined above, this study specifically sets out to address the following research questions:

- 1) What are the patterns of general translation procedures employed in current English-Kurdish translations of journalistic texts?
- 2) What are the patterns of cultural translation procedures used in rendering cultural terms in such journalistic texts?
- 3) What are the overall translation strategies that can be construed as a result of the patterns of general as well as cultural translation procedures?
- 4) What is the nature of translatorial practices and the institutional setting under which translations are carried out in the Kurdish media? And how do these affect the translation procedures?
- 5) What guidelines can be offered to practising journalist-translators?

Clearly, the study is of a multifaceted nature, covering both textual analysis and institutional study of the Kurdish media. Linguistic and cultural aspects will be dealt with in the textual analysis phase. The institutional study also covers a broad area, investigating different aspects of media translation and translatorial practices as well as the institutional setting under which translations are carried out.

1.3 Organization of the study

The present study will be organized as follows:

Chapter 2 will introduce four key areas that are directly relevant to the study, namely, the Kurdish language and its dialects; a historical background of the Kurdish media; the language of media discourse and its typology; and finally, the translation of media discourse, which is at the core of this study.

Chapter 3 will situate the present study within Toury's (1995/2012) Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) framework, which provides a three-phase methodology. In the first phase, the texts are collected and placed in the context of the TL culture system in order to examine their significance and acceptability. In the second phase, the TTs are mapped onto the STs to identify occurrences of general translation shifts

and ascertain the relationship between coupled pairs of segments in the ST and the TT. At this juncture, linguistic and cultural translation occurrences will be distinguished. In the third phase, the patterns of general and cultural translation procedures will be identified. This will also pave the way for identifying the overall translation strategies in the chosen data. In this way, the methodology will aim to answer the relevant questions addressed above.

Chapter 4 will discuss the relevant theories concerning translation procedures and strategies for the topic under investigation. It will proceed to formulate a composite model of translation procedures to apply in the analysis of the adopted corpus to identify occurrences of translational relationship between ST-TT coupled pairs. The composite model will be based on the integration of three taxonomies of translation procedures proposed by prominent translation scholars, namely, Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995), Newmark (1988) and Dickins, Hervey and Higgins (2002). As for the translation strategies, the chapter will consider the most prominent dichotomous translation approaches that are based on the notion of translation equivalence, namely, Nida's (1964) 'formal and dynamic equivalence', House's (1977/2014) 'overt and covert translation' and Newmark's (1988) 'semantic and communicative translation'. The chapter concludes with a discussion of Venuti's (1995/2008) 'domesticating' and 'foreignizing' translation strategies as an influential method for analysing cultural terms in translation.

Chapter 5 will present the corpus and methodology adopted in the study. It will introduce the journalistic texts that have been chosen, the media outlets disseminating the STs as well as those producing the TTs. The chapter will also present the nature of the qualitative and quantitative methods adopted to carry out a comparative analysis of the ST-TT pairs in terms of translation procedures and strategies as well as investigate translatorial practices and the institutional setting found in the Kurdish media.

Chapter 6 will provide an analysis of the linguistic aspects of the translation by applying the composite model of translation procedures with a view to distinguishing the patterns of general translation procedures. The analysis process involves identifying occurrences of translation procedures, offering critical comments on their effectiveness and, wherever possible, highlighting the nature of the translation difficulty behind the implementation of each procedure.

Chapter 7 will provide an analysis of the cultural aspects of the translation by applying the composite model of translation procedures. The chapter will firstly highlight the interconnectedness of the notion of culture with language and translation; then examine the nature and categories of the cultural terms found in the data; and finally, identify the patterns of cultural translation procedures employed in the translation of such cultural terms.

Chapter 8 will draw out the overall translation orientations prevalent in the chosen journalistic texts, covering both the linguistic and cultural aspects of the data. The patterns of general translation procedures obtained from the linguistic analysis (Chapter 6) will be interpreted in relation to Newmark's (1988) semantic and communicative translation strategies. On the other hand, the patterns of cultural translation procedures obtained from the cultural analysis (Chapter 7) will be examined in relation to Venuti's (1995/2008) domesticating and foreignizing translation strategies.

With information and opinions drawn from a research questionnaire, Chapter 9 will investigate various aspects of translation in the Kurdish media, such as the nature of translation practices, the role of the translator, the institutional setting and the processes undertaken to bring about the final translation product. The chapter will also seek to identify relations, if any, between the external constraints imposed by the institutional setting and the nature of translation procedures identified in the data.

Chapter 10 will conclude the study by presenting an overview of the significant findings that have striven to answer the research questions addressed above; offering guidelines for practicing journalist-translators working in the field of English and Kurdish; highlighting the implications of the findings and aspects of originality and the thesis' contribution to knowledge; and finally, indicating the limitations of the study whilst offering recommendations for further research studies.

Chapter 2: Kurdish Language, Media Discourse and Translation

Introduction

This chapter establishes the background knowledge of four key areas that are directly relevant to the study. First, it provides a brief introduction of the Kurdish language and its dialects as classified by prominent linguists. Secondly, it provides a brief historical/diachronic background of the development of Kurdish media. This section also touches upon some areas of concern in the Kurdish media, including translation practices. Thirdly, the chapter introduces the language of media discourse as well as the approaches taken to study its typology. The chapter ends with an introduction of media translation, which is at the core of this study, and provides a survey of the most prominent and relevant studies of media translation, mostly carried out in the course of the last decade.

2.1 Kurdish language

Kurdish is spoken by an estimated 40 million people – the largest stateless nation on the planet – who live in the Kurdish regions of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Due to their political struggle in these countries, “there are a minimum of 1.5 million Kurds in diaspora”, especially in Europe and North America (Taylor and Skutnabb-Kangas 2009: 171). According to the Kurdish Academy of Language (2011):

The Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-European family of languages. Kurdish dialects are members of the northwestern subdivision of the Indo-Iranic language, Iranian branch of this largest family of language in the world. The Kurdish language is an independent language, having its own historical development, continuity, grammatical system and rich living vocabularies.

Figure 2.1 below shows an approximate distribution of Kurdish-speaking areas in the Middle East.

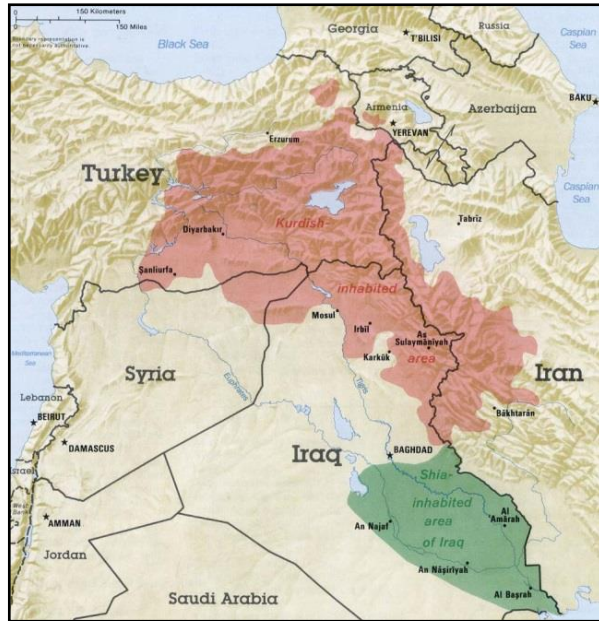


Figure 2.1: Approximate distribution of Kurdish-speaking area in the Middle East (Map courtesy of Professor Joyce Blau, Kurdish Institute of Paris)

Similar to most living languages in the world, the Kurdish language has several dialects. Most linguists distinguish four major Kurdish dialects, although they do not agree on names and a division of the dialects. The different Kurdish dialect typologies are shown in Table 2.1 below:

MacKenzie 1961/1981	Zebih 1967	Nebez 1976	Hassanpour 1992	Izady 1992
Northern Group	Northern Group	North Kirmanci	Kurmanji	North Kurmanji
Central Group	Central Group	Middle Kirmanci	Sorani	South Kurmanji
Non-Kurdish	Hawrami/Dimili	Gorani/Zazai	Hawrami	Dimili
Southern Group	Southern Group	South Kirmanci	Kirmashani	Gurani

Table 2.1: Kurdish dialect typologies (adapted from Kurdish Academy of Language)

Kurmanji (also Northern group/North Kurmanji/North Kurmanji) is the most widespread of the Kurdish dialects, while Sorani (less commonly known as Central Group/Middle Kirmanci/South Kurmanji) is “the most developed standard variety of Kurdish” (Aziz 2011: 51). Since the early 20th century, Sorani has been the predominant language variety in Kurdish literature as well as Kurdish media, due to the relative linguistic freedom the Kurds have enjoyed in Iraqi Kurdistan, where Sorani is the language of the majority, whilst in other parts of Kurdistan (Turkey, Iran and Syria) the Kurdish

language was strictly banned. The official policies made against Kurdish in these countries are what Gunter (2011: 196) terms 'linguicide' or 'extermination'.

In the last two decades, the Kurdish language has experienced a period of revival "with the rise of the Internet, the creation of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in Iraq, and Turkey's evolving more tolerant attitude" (Gunter 2011: 196). For example, Turkey has "abolished the ban on speaking Kurdish, allowed private teaching of Kurdish language in 2004 and set up in January 2009 TRT-6, a public television channel broadcasting in Kurdish" (Akin 2011: 12). Besides, the efforts of thousands of Kurds in the diaspora, especially in Europe, cannot and should not be underestimated in this revival.

It is crucial to point out that this research is carried out exclusively in the Sorani dialect of Kurdish for two major reasons: firstly, the effectiveness and predominance of Sorani in contemporary Kurdish media and literature; and secondly, the researcher speaks Sorani and, thus, has more knowledge of this dialect than others.

2.2 Kurdish media

In 1898, the princely family of Bedirkhan published the first Kurdish newspaper – *Kurdistan* – in Cairo, which is considered the foundation stone of the history of Kurdish journalism. The newspaper was bilingual, published in Kurdish Kurmanci and Turkish, using Arabic script. Although historians are reluctant to label it as nationalist literature (cf. Özoğlu 2004: 36), the newspaper aimed at "[stirring up] feelings in support of the Kurdish people, led by its notables and shaykhs" (McDowall 2004: 90). Miqdad Midhet Bedirkhan, the founder and editor of the newspaper, wrote in the editorial of the first issue of the newspaper:

They [the Kurds] are not aware of what is happening in the world and in their neighbourhood. I have put myself to the task of producing this newspaper - God willing - every fifteen days. I have named it 'Kurdistan'. In this newspaper I emphasise the importance of education and science. Wherever there are great schools and institutions I shall report to the Kurds. I shall also inform the Kurds about any war that is taking place, about the deeds of the great imperial countries, how they fight and how they trade. No one has ever produced a [Kurdish] newspaper like this, mine is a pathfinder.

(Kurdish Academy of Language 2011)



Figure 2.2: Front page of the first Kurdish newspaper, *Kurdistan*, published in 1898 (from Kurdish Academy of Language 2011)

The reason for the first Kurdish newspaper being published in Cairo was that it was not given permission in Istanbul, the Capital of the Ottoman Empire (Sheyholislam 2011: 80). Within four years of its publication (1898-1902), the newspaper moved from Cairo to Geneva and then to London and Folkestone, “possibly because the politically active Badir Khans wanted to be in closer touch with Ottoman exiles in Europe” (McDowall 2004: 90). From the publication of the first Kurdish newspaper until 1985, Kurdish journalism had witnessed 145 publications, mostly published in Sorani and in Iraqi Kurdistan (Hassanpour 1992: 225-239). But Sheyholislam (2011: 81) observes that “[by] 1985, private journalism had disappeared and 11 periodicals published in Iraq, Iran, and the USSR were state sponsored”. Since the Kurdish uprising in Iraq in 1991 and the establishment of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in 1992, there has been a staggering proliferation of media activities.

The new millennium has been a turning point in the openness of Kurdish society towards the outside world. This openness has been partly established through the media, along with other socio-political factors:

[A] cross-border or trans-state Kurdish identity has been strengthening in the past two decades or so primarily due to three factors: political developments in Kurdistan, the expansion of Kurdish diasporas, and the use of satellite television and the Internet among the Kurds.

(Sheyholislam 2011: 79)

Today there are over 40 Kurdish satellite TV channels, dozens of local television and radio stations and hundreds of newspapers and magazines, along with thousands of internet websites, broadcasting and publishing mainly in Kurdish, and, at a lower scale, in Arabic and English. According to the Kurdistan Journalists' Syndicate (KJS), in early 2012 there were 470 printed periodicals in Iraqi Kurdistan, mostly magazines with around 100 newspapers (Hogan and Trumpbour 2013: 21).

These media outlets are mostly based in Iraqi Kurdistan due to the relative freedom which came about after the establishment of the KRG, as compared to other parts of Kurdistan in Turkey, Syria and Iran. The role of the Kurds in the diaspora in promoting the Kurdish media has also been immense. In the course of the last decade or so, they have been able to make use of 'cyberspace' to create a virtual Kurdistan through online activities such as online news, personal websites and blogs, talk forums and the social media (Eliasi 2013: 4). More than a quarter of the Kurdish satellite channels broadcast from the diaspora, for example: *Aso Sat*, *KM TV* and *Rojhalat* are based in Sweden; *Kurd TV*, *MMC* and *Roj TV* are based in Denmark; and *Kurd1*, *MED Nuçê* and *Tishk* are based in France.

In an unprecedented effort, John Hogan and John Trumpbour (2013) from the Harvard School of Law conducted an empirical research project to investigate the Kurdish press from social and political perspectives. They released the final report of the project entitled 'The Press and Political Processes in Contemporary Iraqi Kurdistan', which provides a thorough description of and great insights into current Kurdish journalism. In the report, the socio-political role of the Kurdish press has come under a cloud of criticism; "in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region, there is very little disagreement that the current state of affairs in the press is a cause for serious concern" (ibid: 25). This indication

casts doubt on the role of the Kurdish press as the 'fourth estate' and its function to mediate between people and the government, on the one hand, and to bring about reform in society and politics, on the other. In such a situation, it is the press itself that needs reform first; there is "widespread agreement that newspaper journalism and the conditions under which it operates require reform" (ibid.).

One of the areas of concern identified in the report is that of translation practices in the Kurdish media. Hogan and Trumpbour (2013: 45) refer to the example of the former Consul General of France to the KRG, Frédéric Tissot, who was interviewed by *Awene* in July 2012. The interview was apparently conducted in French and translated into Kurdish. In the interview, Tissot stated that "the principles of democracy are not totally established in Kurdistan", which was translated as "the principles of democracy are not established in Kurdistan", and was used as the headline of the interview. Believing that his message had been radically changed by the removal of the word *totally*, Tissot wrote to *Awene's* editor-in-chief and the company's director, demanding the right of reply and for this to be published in the newspaper. Tissot did not even receive an apology or an explanation. The omission of the word *totally* in Tissot's statement can be considered ideologically motivated; it is used to serve the *Awene's* agenda as an independent newspaper that is critical of the Kurdish authority. Ideological manipulations of this nature are not an uncommon phenomenon in the Kurdish media; one-fourth of all the translators participated in this study admit they make omission for ideological purposes (see Section 9.3.6).

Another crucial aspect of Hogan and Trumpbour's (2013) research that is relevant to the present study is their indication of Kurdistan's coverage in the global media. First of all, most of the English STs adopted in this study are published in the global media and express the viewpoints of international writers about Kurdistan's state of affairs, whether this be social, political or economic (see Section 5.1). According to Hogan and Trumpbour (ibid: 49), critics and commentators in Iraqi Kurdistan are more interested in international reports that are "sympathetic to [Kurdish] cause, to the cause of free-media and to telling the truth about Kurdistan and the behaviour of the nation's leadership". The Kurdish authority, on the other hand, is interested in the presentation of the Kurdistan region in the global media as a free and democratic society, where human rights are respected and the rule of law prevails. For this reason, it uses its diplomatic relations to promote this positive attitude. Consider the positive article 'The dash for modernity' by William Hague, the former UK foreign secretary and the upbeat article 'Kurdistan can be a model for democracy in a troubled region' by the British MP

Robert Halfon. Both articles are translated and published by authority affiliated media outlets – the former by the official website of the KRG representative in the UK and the later by *Rudaw*. Commenting on the nature of the coverage of Kurdistan in the global media, Hogan and Trumpbour (ibid.) conclude that:

Clearly, it is a mistake to believe that all foreign coverage of Kurdish society and politics is wholly benign or completely malicious, naive or cynical. Foreign news stories, opinion pieces and reports of NGOs or academics, for that matter, need to be critically examined on a case by case basis.

The importance of the global reports covering Kurdistan does not only lie in the fact that they represent the viewpoints of foreign authors, but also in the role they play in Kurdish society and politics. “There is the belief among some Kurdish commentators that reports from the outside world have greater authority and impact than home grown produce” (Hogan and Trumpbour 2013: 49). The translation of relevant foreign reports into Kurdish and their publication in the Kurdish media is increasingly gaining currency. Birot (2015: 26) has already identified the trend that each Kurdish media outlet chooses to translate texts that are in line with its ideological stance, with the Kurdish media being divided along the lines of authority, opposition and independent (or so-called independent) media orientations.

2.3 Media discourse

Today media has become an inseparable part of our daily lives. Whether we want to or not, are aware or not, are concerned or not, we live in an environment influenced and even directed to a great extent by the media. On a daily basis, we unavoidably come across tens of news reports, articles, interviews, etc. on TV, on the radio, in newspapers and increasingly on the internet. As Talbot (2007: 3) says:

Very few of us, if any, are unaffected by media discourse. The importance of the media in the modern world is incontrovertible. For some sections of society, at least, the media have largely replaced older institutions [...] as the primary source of understanding of the world.

Media discourse is nowadays seen as an interesting and purposeful ground for various research studies. Due to its multifaceted nature, researchers have taken different approaches to exploring the language of media. Monika Bednarek (2006: 11-12)

distinguishes eight major approaches to media discourse, which are presented below with updated references:

- 1) **The critical approach:** this is associated with the critical study of the relationship between power and ideology, often calling for values such as social responsibility (cf. van Dijk 1988; Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1995; Caldas-Coulthard 2003; Weiss and Wodak 2003; Blackledge 2005; Lahlali 2011).
- 2) **The narrative/pragmatic/stylistic approach:** this is associated with the study of discourse analysis, especially the language structure of news discourse, covering some other aspects such as pragmatic analyses, genre, style and register (cf. Crystal and Davy 1969; Carter 1988; Bell 1991; Almeida 1992; White 1997; Ungerer 2004; Lahlali 2011).
- 3) **The corpus linguistic approach:** this involves the corpus-based study of newspaper discourse (cf. Minugh 2000; Schneider 2000; Biber 2003; Conboy 2007; Cotter 2010).
- 4) **The practice-focused approach:** this is associated with the work done to promote journalism practices (cf. Bell 1991; Reah 1998; Rudin and Ibbotson 2002; Cotter 2010).
- 5) **The diachronic approach:** this is the study of newspaper discourse in terms of historical development (cf. Cotter 1996; Herwig 1999; Schneider 2000; Conboy 2007).
- 6) **The socio-linguistic approach:** this aims to explore the relationship between style and social factors (cf. Bell 1991; Jucker 1992; Conboy 2007).
- 7) **The cognitive approach:** the essence of this approach is the “analysis of the relation between cognitive processes, conceptual metaphor, social meaning, and discourse” (cf. van Dijk 1988).
- 8) **The conversationalist approach:** this involves the investigation of media discourse with the help of conversation analysis methods (cf. Clayman 1990; Greatbatch 1998).

Each of these approaches is geared towards monolingual analysis, but they can be applied to translation as well. For instance, the critical, the corpus-linguistic and the socio-linguistic approaches, amongst others, are important approaches that can be well applied in the translation of media discourse. In fact, since the last decade, there has been a growing body of research exploring media discourse from a Translation Studies perspective (see Section 2.6 below). This present study is an effort to extend the study of media translation to examine Kurdish translations of English journalistic texts.

2.4 Text typology of journalistic texts

Different text types are often related to different strategies of translation (cf. Reiss 1971/2000). For example, legal translation needs a more literal or semantic strategy to achieve accuracy, whereas literary translation may need a more free or communicative strategy so that the translator is able to reproduce the aesthetics of the ST. Therefore, it is crucial to locate the text typology of the chosen corpus on the wide spectrum of text types. Bearing in mind that the journalistic corpus adopted consists of news reports, opinion pieces and interviews, we shall discuss below three prominent approaches to text typology, namely: functional approach, context oriented approach and predominant contextual focus approach.

2.4.1 Functional approach

The pioneer of this categorization is Karl Bühler (1934/1965), who distinguishes three functions of language: 'expression', 'representation' and 'appeal', believing that the language function of any written text can fall into one of these types (1965: 28). Based on Bühler's functional theory of language, Katharina Reiss (1977/1989: 108-109) developed her model of text typology, proposing three text types: 'informative' (writings conveying information to the reader), 'expressive' (creative, artistic and/or imaginative writings) and 'operative' (persuasive writings). Reiss gives examples of a variety of texts (as visualized in Figure 2.3 below) that fall under each text type. According to Reiss (ibid: 108), the 'informative' text-type covers texts with plain communication of facts such as news, knowledge, information, arguments, opinions, feelings, judgements and intentions. Since journalistic texts certainly convey news, information, opinion, etc., they can be categorized under the 'informative' text type. The 'operative' text-type, on the other hand, covers text varieties which involve inducing behavioural responses, as stimuli to action or reaction on the part of the reader. This will definitely subsume political speeches whose main objectives are to persuade the addressee to agree to an argument (Munday 2012b: 112). Hence, journalistic texts might be regarded as a text variety under the 'operative' categorization as well. The dilemma here is that journalistic texts in themselves are of diverse functions and of diverse genres; they have properties of informative as well as operative text types, with news reports being more informative and opinion pieces being more persuasive, and interviews being located somewhere in between.

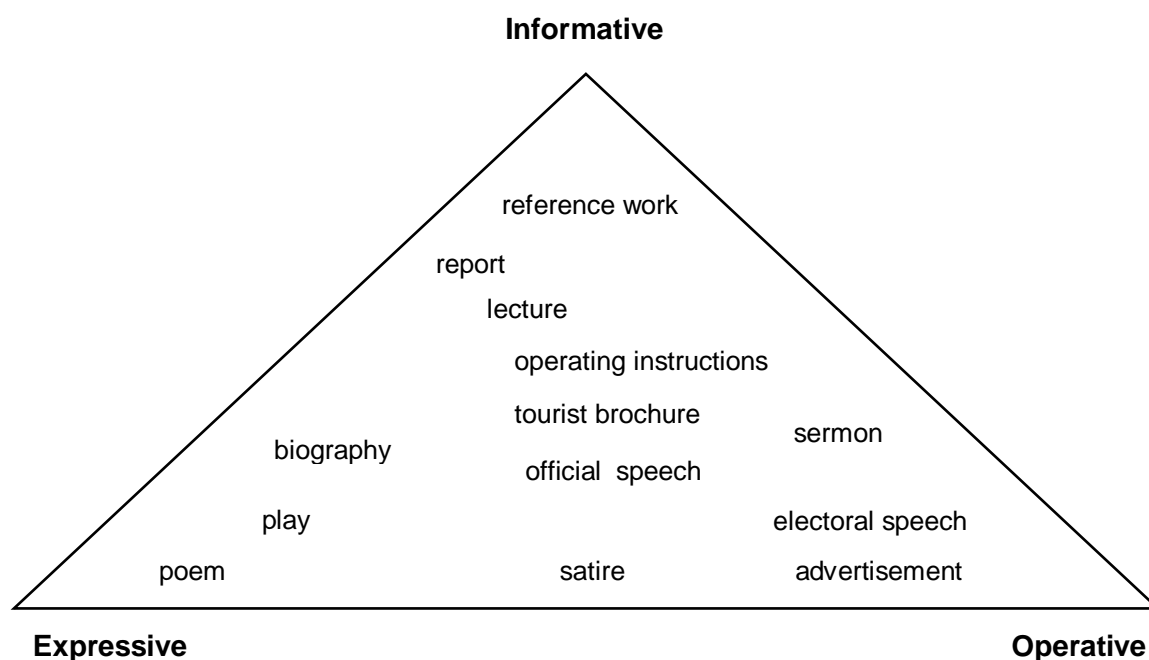


Figure 2.3: Reiss's text types and text varieties (in Chesterman 1989: 105)

2.4.2 Context oriented approach

This kind of classification is based on the notion of 'genre'. Genre itself has been subject of various interpretations and definitions. The most prominent of these definitions is that of J.R. Martin who defines genre from the point of view of systemic functional linguistics as "a staged, goal-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture" (1984: 25). Likewise, emphasizing the cultural factor, Dickins et al. (2002: 175) refer to genre as "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". Dickins et al. (ibid: 178-179) distinguish five traditional Western categories of genre: literary, religious, philosophical, empirical and persuasive, with newspaper opinion columns and editorials being classified as subdivisions of persuasive genre. Texts that belong to persuasive genre "aim at getting listeners or readers to behave in prescribed or suggested ways" (ibid: 179). It is true that opinion articles and editorials have the property contained in the persuasive genre, but the journalistic texts adapted in this study also include news reports (in which information has precedence over persuasion) and interviews (which can be more or less informative and persuasive).

Baker (2011: 123) also takes a context-oriented approach, identifying genre in terms of a "straightforward classification [...] based on the contexts in which texts occur and

results in institutionalized labels such as ‘journal article’, ‘science textbook’, ‘newspaper editorial’ or ‘travel brochure’”. According to this view, if we accept newspaper editorials as a distinct genre, then each of the other journalistic writings such as news reports, opinion articles and interviews should also stand as genres on their own, since there are different conventions in structuring each of these types of journalistic writings.

2.4.3 Predominant contextual focus approach

Taking this approach, Hatim and Munday (2004: 73) highlight ‘expository’, ‘argumentative’ and ‘instructional’ text types. Expository texts tend to inform the audience, argumentative texts tend to persuade the audience and instructional texts tend to present the audience with instructions and direct them. Hatim and Munday (ibid.) argue that the ‘predominant contextual focus’ approach to text categorization “has enabled theorist and practitioner alike to confront the difficult issue of text hybridization”. For example, an editorial is distinguished from a news report on the basis that the language of an editorial is argumentative, while the language of a news report is expository. There can be a degree of argumentation in a news report but it is not sufficient to turn it into a commentary, just as there can be a degree of exposition in an editorial but this is not as predominant as the persuasive force.

In view of this approach, news reports are rather expository, since providing information on events is the predominant focus of a piece of news, regardless of the fact that different media outlets may view the event from different angles. An opinion article or editorial is rather argumentative, since such journalistic writings tend to persuade the audience to believe the opinions presented. Interviews, on the other hand, can be tricky to locate. There are at least two agents involved in any interview: the interviewer (the journalist) and the interviewee (who may be an official, a politician, etc.). In almost all interviews, “the prime aim of the journalist is to elicit information such as facts and opinions about a certain issue, situation or the person themselves” (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002: 40). The aim of the interviewee, however, can be simply to provide information, giving commentary and/or expressing his/her views, which is the case in the transcriptions of the interviews examined in this study [Texts 43, 44 and 45], i.e. the analysed interviews are largely of an informative nature. Alternatively, interviewees may take advantage of the interview to assert their ideas and opinions and try to persuade the audience to accept their views. The interview in that case takes on a persuasive nature. From the point of view of predominant contextual focus approach,

then, journalistic texts can be generally described as having a combination of informative and persuasive properties.

What can be drawn out from the three approaches discussed above is that journalistic texts cannot be fit into any of the above classifications of genre and text types. The fact of the matter is that there are different genres within journalistic texts. Genres in journalism can be viewed in terms of their “stylistic and structural patterns which help us to recognize the meaning and purpose of particular writing strategies” (Conboy 2007: 209). Accordingly, “genre can be used to describe the conventions of hard news, soft news, celebrity news, sports news, features, editorials and commentary, to name but some of the more obvious” (ibid.). The conclusion reached here is that, although all the texts chosen for the purpose of this study are accommodated under the heading of journalistic texts, they can be thought of as falling under three major journalistic genres, namely, news reports, opinion pieces and interviews.

2.5 The language of media discourse

The language of media discourse has distinguishing features such as textual density, rich textual composition, intertextuality and recontextualization. As the most important of these characteristics, we shall elaborately discuss below the two notions of intertextuality and recontextualization in media discourse. ‘Intertextuality’, as Fairclough defines it, “is basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth” (1992: 84). Likewise, in *A Glossary of Contemporary Literary Theory*, Hawthorne (2000: 182) defines intertextuality as “[a] relation between two or more texts which has an effect upon the way the intertext (that is the text within which other texts reside or echo their presence) is read”. Based on these definitions, we can claim that intertextuality is a prevalent property in the language of media discourse, which is marked by its dense and rich textual composition.

‘Recontextualization’, on the other hand, is defined as “the process of reformulating a previous utterance in a new generic context, so that its potential meaning and interpretation is affected” (Blackledge 2005: 121). Blackledge identifies four procedures of recontextualization, namely: addition, deletion, rearrangement and substitution (ibid: 124-26). A news report, for example, undergoes a complicated process of recontextualization by various agents in a news agency; interviews are taken and

summarized by the reporter, the data may need to be translated by a translator or interpreter, and it is then edited down by the sub-editor to produce the final publishable news report. The editing process is a key stage where the recontextualization procedures mentioned above are applied to affix an appropriate headline, to adapt the text to journalistic style of 'inverted pyramid' (see 2.5.2 below) and to further summarize the text to conform to the space allowed.

Although recontextualization and intertextuality are two different linguistic notions, they have much in common. In practical discourse analysis, what counts as an example of intertextuality can at the same time be referred to as an example of recontextualization. However, the two notions can be differentiated on the grounds that intertextuality is concerned with the physical embodiment of one text in another text (i.e. the existence of different voices in a text), whereas recontextualization is more concerned with the function of an extract when reused in a new context (i.e. how these voices play a part and interact with each other to create a new effect).

In media discourse, the most conventional form of intertextuality is direct and indirect reporting from different personae. Direct and indirect reporting are said to have "the function of legitimising what is reported", and are described as "rhetorical strategies used by the media discourse to implicate reality" (Caldas-Coulthard 1997: 59). There does not seem to be a convention in journalism to suggest that direct speech is preferred over reported speech, or the other way round. However, this is an interesting aspect of intertextuality that has significant implications in translation. Newsmakers usually have the freedom to choose between direct or reported speech. Journalist-translators, on the other hand, are sometimes said not to enjoy such freedom, because in principle "[a] direct speech should be conveyed as a direct speech and a reported speech should be reported as a reported speech" (Darwish 2010: 203). Actual translations, however, suggest otherwise; the data concerned contains several examples of transposition based on a change from direct speech to reported speech (see 6.1.3.1.3).

All the textual features discussed above are characteristics of media discourse in general. However, it should be acknowledged that each journalistic genre has its own distinctive features. Given the very broad field of media discourse, which covers the written medium (e.g. newspapers, magazines and increasingly online media) as well as the spoken medium (e.g. press conferences, radio programmes and TV shows), it is of course beyond the scope of this study to include the features of each and every

journalistic genre. We shall therefore delimit the scope of the study to the language of the journalistic genres analysed in the study, namely; opinion pieces (editorials, op-eds and opinion articles/columns), news reports and interviews. It is crucial to point that the study particularly focuses on English (especially UK and US) journalism, as the STs adopted in this study are written by British and American journalists/authors.

2.5.1 Opinion pieces

For the purpose of this study, we shall use ‘opinion pieces’ as a cover term to entail editorials, op-eds and opinion articles. The main principle of all opinion pieces is to express the opinion of an individual author/journalist or a media outlet “to provoke reaction and response and to generate debate” (Conboy 2007: 9). In their details, however, they have considerably different features.

2.5.1.1 Editorials

They are a distinctive type of opinion writing that is “tied to criticism and controversy” (Wahl-Jorgensen 2008: 75) and submitted by the editorial board of a newspaper. Editorials are described as “central to a newspaper’s identity” (ibid: 70), or as Fowler (1991: 209) puts it, “a distinctive ‘voice’ for the newspaper”. It is in the editorials that a newspaper verbalizes, in an authoritative voice, its viewpoints on the socio-political issues of the day. That is perhaps why Santo (1994: 94) claims that “the most precise barometer of a newspaper’s position on political and social questions is assumed to reside on the editorial page – the heart, soul, and conscience of the newspaper”. Fowler (1991: 210-211) attributes a set of features to the language of editorials:

- 1) Emotive vocabulary:** editorials use emotive language, which is established through the use of an abundance of evaluative lexical items, especially adverbs and adjectives, which carry “strong feelings and opinions”.
- 2) Modality:** editorials make use of modality to express the authoritative voice of a speaker. Amongst other modal verbs indicating obligation, “[the] modal auxiliary ‘must’ is a crucial word in editorials, claiming that the source has the right to specify obligations”.
- 3) Generic statements:** editorials make use of generic statements in the form of “descriptive propositions which are supposedly true of any instance of the entities to which they refer”. These generic statements express an authoritative voice, “claiming total and definitive knowledge” of the issues addressed .

- 4) Argumentative language:** An editorial tends to be argumentative, in two senses: (1) “the logical and/or narrative structure of the exposition is highlighted by ‘textual signposts’”; and (2) “the editorial voice strikes a position of rebuttal in relation to other people’s ideas”.

2.5.1.2 Op-eds

Op-eds (abbreviation for *opposite the editorial page*) are peculiar to the US style of journalism; “op-eds were generally assumed to have evolved during the 1920s in the *New York Evening World*” (Zelizer and Allan 2010: 105). Op-eds are similar to editorials in the sense they are also opinion pieces providing commentary and critical analysis of current socio-political issues and events. However, they are different from editorials in that they express the voice of a specific individual such as a politician, a public figure, etc. rather than the voice of the newspaper or the media agency (ibid.).

2.5.1.3 Opinion articles/columns

In principle, opinion articles address public issues and events and both represent the voice of an individual journalist or, occasionally, a non-journalist author. Opinion articles therefore do not serve as an identity or a voice for the paper (which is the case in editorials), neither do they present an authoritative voice (as is the case in op-eds).

It is worth noting that columns are also a type of opinion articles. They are “usually written by the same person or persons, appear in the same length (between 300-800 words), are published on a consistent and predictable cycle in a fixed place in newspaper or journal” (Zelizer and Allan 2010: 21).

2.5.2 News reports

Studying the language of news reports from the news practice perspective, Cotter (2010: 27) asserts that “characteristics of news language are embodied in stylistic consistency, rhetorical accessibility, and brevity as well as appropriate story structure, use of quotes and attribution, and a well-wrought lead”. Other features such as layout, font size, placement of story and visuals are also important elements in the study of news reports. However, these elements constitute the technical aspects of news making, which are rather the duty of the subeditor and not of the reporter or the translator. Apart from the textual editing of a news story (such as correcting spelling and grammar, checking factual accuracy, rewriting copy to conform to a house style,

seeking out potential libels and remove them and devising a headline), subeditors also have the duty to fit copy into a layout, devise standfirsts and captions and handle the illustrations or photographs (Hicks and Holmes 2002: 2). From a discourse analytic perspective, however, the most important features seem to be the linguistic and textual aspects of news reports, such as their structure, the variety of language media used and the way different voices are presented.

First of all, it is wise to start with the distinction between the two major categories of hard news and soft news. Hard news stories are “typically associated with eruptive violence, reversals of fortune and socially significant breaches of the moral order” (White 1997: 1). Material events such as accidents, natural disasters, riots or emergencies, as well as communicative events such as political speeches, interviews and press releases, provide typical information for hard news stories (ibid.). Soft news stories, on the other hand, are defined as “a very heterogeneous residual category, including human interest, scandal, entertainment, and the celebrity stories that now appear even in the most elite newspapers” (Gans 2003: 28). Given the themes of the news reports adopted in this study, they can all be said to belong to the category of hard news.

The language of news reports is different from the language of opinion pieces in that interpersonal meanings are largely eliminated in news reports. Exploring the language of hard news in the mainstream English-language press, White (1997: 5) claims that:

In a significant proportion of ‘hard news’ texts, the author avoids or at least minimizes interpersonal meanings which may act to reveal or to foreground his/her subjective involvement in the meanings being made by the text.

This is not to suggest that news reports are completely neutral and objective. In fact, the process of verbalization of a reportable event or issue in the form of a news report “does not constitute a neutral reflection of ‘the world out there’” (Allan 2010: 98). That is because there are other areas of news making that bring the objectivity of news reports into question such as lack of objectivity in “the routines of source selection”, “the hierarchy of credibility in witnesses and respondents”, the choice as to which story leads and the way of selecting and representing the protagonists (Conboy 2007: 21).

The rhetorical structure of news reports has proved an interesting subject of observation. News reports have a special conventional layout called ‘inverted pyramid’

or 'triangle model'. According to this model, "the most important points, taking into account the writer's angle, are at the beginning with gradually decreasing importance of information in subsequent paragraphs" (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002: 54). The importance of this layout is twofold: (1) "the readers can stop reading when they have satisfied their curiosity – without worrying that something important is being held back"; and (2) "subeditors can cut stories from the bottom up – again, without losing something important" (Adams et al. 2008: 14). With regard to the rhetorical structure of news stories, Rudin and Ibbotson (2002: 54) identify the following four phases:

- 1) **Introduction:** (also called the 'lead' of the news story) this phase presents "a summary of the main points of the story".
- 2) **Explanation:** this phase follows the lead and provides "more detailed information on the participants, description of the circumstances surrounding the story, local angle, etc."
- 3) **Amplification:** this involves an elaboration of the points addressed in the previous two phases usually by providing "background information, quotations, eye-witness accounts, etc."
- 4) **Conclusion:** this phase usually contains no new information, its aim is rather to "[tie up] the loose ends of the story".

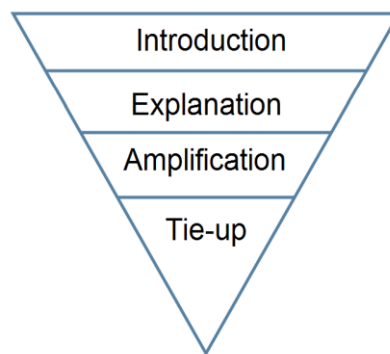


Figure 2.4: Inverted pyramid model of news construction (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002: 53)

As far as translation is concerned, the introduction and explanation phases of a news report have to be preserved even if a journalist-translator has to omit some stretches of the news story due to time or space limitation. The amplification phase can also contain key information which has to be preserved in the translation. For instance, quotations, which "can be the soul of a news story" (Itule and Anderson 1997: 91), usually come in the amplification section and have to be retained. Any necessary omission of

information, then, may occur towards the end of the news report, especially information that is likely to be known by the target audience or information that seems to be of less importance. Interestingly, this is largely reflected in the translation of the corpus adopted; most of the omissions made at the paragraph level occur towards the end of the texts (see 6.1.15.5).

The existence of different voices (*personae*) makes another important characteristic of news reports; “reporters use the voices of the people and groups they report on to tell their story as much as a novelist uses characters or a ventriloquist uses dummies” (Bazerman 2004: 86). A typical news report at least contains the voices of the reporter and the interviewees, who may be victims, survivors, witnesses, experts, government officials, etc. Almost all news reports contain oral interviews, which are transcribed and neatly interwoven in the text so that the whole text appears as a coherent report rather than an interview. The language of news reports, therefore, is filled with spoken extracts transformed into written language. If not eliminated in the process of transformation, the characteristics of spoken language (such as informal expressions, informal grammar, false starts, etc.) would be a controversial issue for news translators: whether they should be preserved or eliminated in the translation process.

All in all, a news report is a product of a very complicated process; a mixture of written commentaries from the reporter and spoken replies from various *personae*, which is transcribed into written language, and the whole story is structured hierarchically from the most important to the least important information. In reporting international news, the transcription process also involves cross language interpretation or translation. One should not forget that after all every draft of a news report will also undergo editorial procedures. Schäffner and Bassnett (2010: 9) summarize all these processes as follows:

[I]nterviews undertaken locally in one language may then be edited down, summarized, passed on via another language, edited down again, transferred into the news agency language, adapted to the house style of a particular publication, shortened to conform to space limits.

As far as news translation is concerned, although all these processes seem to have been completed in a released news report, translation of news reports is not an easy and straightforward process. Given the new context of situation and the nature of the target readership, the organization of the news story may need to be revisited,

old/known information may need to be eliminated and newly emerging information may need to be incorporated. Most importantly, the headline may need to be adapted to attract the TT readers (for the translation of the headlines in the data, see Section 6.2).

2.5.3 Interviews

In journalism, interviews are considered “a major means of obtaining information” (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002: 40). Interviewing is a classic method in journalism, and it is still a prevalent method in various mediums of communication: newspapers, magazines, radio, television and online media. A typical interview involves two main personae: the interviewer, who represents the media outlet, and the interviewee, who is invited to provide information, opinion and/or commentary on a specific event or topic. In an interview, “the prime aim of the journalist is to elicit information such as facts and opinion about a certain issue, situation or the person themselves” (ibid.). With interviews tending to be harsher in modern journalism, interviewers sometimes adopt an “antagonistic view to provoke the interviewee’s response” (Smith and Higgins 2013: 35), which can lead the interviewee to taking a confrontational position (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002: 40). In the transcribed interviews examined in this study, the interviewees tend to express their views and opinions in a voluntary manner.

The chosen data only contains three transcribed texts [Texts 43, 44 and 45] that can be explicitly categorized as interviews. All the three texts are published by the *Gulan Magazine*, which has a special custom of interviewing that is not seen in other Kurdish media outlets. It specifically interviews US academics who are familiar with Kurdish social, political and economic issues. The journalist asks a set of questions prepared in advance. This is in fact a dispreferred technique of interviewing in global journalism, because “the use of pre-written questions often leads the journalist to concentrate on these to the detriment of actually hearing what the interviewee is saying and thus progressing the interview” (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002: 49). Interestingly, in two interviews [Texts 44 and 45] the same set of five questions is addressed. The questions are rather long. Each question starts with a statement of background information followed by the actual question. This is certainly not a standard or typical way of interviewing in world journalism, where short and clear interview questions are preferred. Consider the first question asked in Texts 44 and 45 in the data:

With the approaching [sic] to the US withdrawal time period, self-attack and explosions have increased in Iraq which are obviously signs that Iraq’s security

situation is still not stable enough so as to let US troops to withdraw. According to your opinion [sic], don't you agree that the withdrawal of US troops further endangers the security situation of Iraq?

This special way of forming interview questions seems to be peculiar to the *Gulan Magazine*. The question is a closed one, which can be answered with a simple 'Yes' or 'No', although the way the question is set up presupposes that the interviewee will agree. Journalists are generally discouraged to ask closed questions as they may fail to elicit informative answers (cf. Rudin and Ibbotson 2002: 49). In the case of the interviews by the *Gulan Magazine*, the interviewees are conscious enough to perceive the question as a means of seeking informative answers rather than a plain 'Yes' or 'No' - they actually respond by expressing their opinions on the matter in question.

It is worth noting that the interviews examined in this study are carried out orally, which are recorded and then transcribed. This is explicitly indicated by giving the name of the transcriber at the end of the interviews. It is also evident from the language of the interviews, which has features of spoken language such as: informal expressions (e.g. *I think, I believe, you know, in my opinion, etc.*) false starts (e.g. *well, yes, etc.*), informal grammar (e.g. *I don't think, it doesn't threatening the overall stability of the country, they don't all need to be in the same party, etc.*) and grammatical mistakes which seem to have occurred in the transcription process (e.g. *the constitution for me it sees basically okay, it doesn't threatening the overall stability of the country, that's we saying in Britain, etc.*). In the translation of the interviews, a large number of such informal expressions are eliminated (see Example 6.43).

2.6 Translation of media discourse

Given the fact that journalistic texts are special types of genre that are distinguished by their rich textual nature, the hierarchical structure of their organization, the use of a mixture of spoken and written languages and the existence of different personae, the translation of such texts is both interesting and challenging.

The history of translation in the media goes back to the time when newspapers started to report foreign news. The history of foreign news coverage among German, French, English and American newspapers began as early as the 17th century (cf. Wilke 1987: 152). In the case of Germany, in 1622 the *Wochentlichen Zeytung* in Hamburg presented its readers with about 20 foreign reports weekly. By the 20th century, the

number of foreign reports in German newspapers drastically climbed; in 1906 the *Hamburgischer Correspondent* provided its readers with approximately 500 foreign reports per week (ibid: 154). Although reporting foreign news will inevitably involve translation or interpretation, the report usually appears as a piece of authentic text rather than a translation from the local language where the news event originated.

Despite the long history of the existence of translation in media activities, the area has until recently remained largely under-researched. Schäffner and Bassnett (2010: 9) have a special interpretation for the insufficient research undertaken to explore media translation; they believe that “there are highly ambiguous attitudes to translation prevalent in the world of news reporting, which perhaps explains why so much research in journalism studies to date has failed to engage with translation”. The ambiguity, Schäffner and Bassnett (ibid.) explain, is reflected first in the use of the term ‘journalist’ and not ‘translator’ for the transediting work they perform, and secondly in the lack of training programmes for translators working in journalism.

In the last decade or so, the area of media translation has been given much attention by various translation scholars and researchers. The Warwick project ‘Translation in Global News’ can be seen as a pioneering systematic study of media translation. The three-year project was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) to investigate the role and function of translation in global media. Apart from the valuable insights it offered, the project gave birth to two publications. The first was the conference proceedings (Conway and Bassnett 2006) that included papers presented at the Translation in Global News Conference held at the University of Warwick on 23 June 2006. The second, the final publication, *Translation in Global News* (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009), was another valuable product of the project. The importance of this publication lies in the fact that it is based on empirical research carried out in major global news agencies such as Associated Press (AP), Reuters, Agence France-Presse (AFP) and Inter Press Service (IPS) to examine how translation works in the world of news from within the news agencies. The Warwick project focuses on the processes involved in news translation and the role of translators in these processes as well as their collaboration with other agents in a news agency. For example, it is found that “at the IPS’ desk, journalists and translators work side by side and undertake similar tasks of edition and translation of texts” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 82). Accounting for these metalinguistic aspects is very important in order to portray the whole picture of media translation. To triangulate such aspects in the present study, Chapter 9 will be devoted to examining translatorial practices and institutional setting in the Kurdish media.

Schäffner and Bassnett's (2010) *Political Discourse, Media and Translation* is another important publication that includes ten seminal papers, mostly investigating translation in media and communication. The publication not only reinforces the foundations laid by the Warwick project, but also expands the study of media translation by covering different media cultures as well as different aspects of media translation. The most relevant of these papers are: intercultural shifts in the translation of French political news into English (Brownlie 2010: 32-54); ideological conflict in Greek translations of English news articles (Loupaki 2010: 55-75); the (re)presentation of foreign journalistic articles in the Italian newspapers (Caimotto 2010: 76-93); explicitation in English-Polish translation of political discourse (Gumul 2010: 94-115); legitimization of texts in the translation of politically sensitive issues in the Italian media (Federici 2010: 116-141); institutional setting of broadcast translation in Taiwan (Tsai 2010: 178-197); and finally, the representation of political ideologies through translation and media in the multilingual Belgian society (van Doorslaer 2010: 198-210).

Due to the wide range of possible areas of exploration in journalism translation, research in the field is usually narrowed down to specific issues. One of the most significant of these issues is that of the role of ideology and mediation in media translation (cf. Valdeón 2007a; Darwish 2009/2010; Loupaki 2010; van Doorslaer 2010). For instance, Valdeón (2007a) looks at how the quality UK and US news websites covered the Spanish government's accusation that the separatist militant group ETA was responsible for the 2004 Madrid train bombings, particularly focusing on linguistic features such as textual organization, the use of cohesive devices and, most interesting of all, lexical choices such as 'separatist' and 'terrorist'. The significance of ideological implications in translation has in fact stimulated the exploration of the role of ideology in the Kurdish media (Birot 2015), a paper that has evolved as part of the present study.

It also seems axiomatic that translation of headlines, as a distinctive text type, has attracted significant attention in journalism translation (cf. Nord 1995; Sidiropoulou 1995; Valdeón 2007b; Zhang 2013). For example, Nord (1995) explores the translation of titles and headlines as a text type in their own right. Based on a comparative analysis of a corpus of German, French, English and Spanish, she attributes six functions to titles and headlines, namely: distinctive, metatextual, phatic, referential, expressive and appellative. Likewise, Zhang (2013) investigates the representation of stance in global news headlines translated from English into Chinese. She (ibid: 206-208) argues that the translation of such headlines is marked by a mediating stance

inserted on the part of the translator, which are triggered by three factors: (1) “the consideration of the readership”; (2) “the social value of the target culture”; and (3) the “stance and value positions of the news agency”. Given their importance as a text type or genre in their own right, we shall give special attention to headlines in the adopted corpus and devote a separate section to analysing their translations.

It is noteworthy that the practice of journalism translation is sometimes referred to as ‘transediting’ – a term that was originally proposed by Karen Stetting as “a new term for coping with the grey area between editing and translating” (1989: 371). She (ibid: 376) also proposed the term ‘transeditor’ to give a more active role to translators. According to Stetting (ibid: 373-374), transediting is particularly common in translation practices that involve adaptations such as shortening texts in subtitling, restructuring interviews, improving inadequate manuscripts and drawing on written material in journalism. As far as journalism translation is concerned, the practice seems more relevant in news and interview translation, especially when omissions, additions and adaptations are made to suit the needs of the target readers. Translators working in the converging area between journalism and translation are also sometimes referred to as journalist-translators – a term that has been used by several translation scholars and researchers (cf. Hatim and Mason 1990: 69; Sidiropoulou 2004: 45; Baines 2012: 111; Panou 2014: 199).

Conclusion

To provide information background for our study of English-Kurdish translation of media discourse, this chapter addressed four significant areas directly relevant in the study, namely, the Kurdish language, the Kurdish media, media discourse and translation of media discourse. First, a brief introduction of the Kurdish language and its major dialects was provided. This was followed by an introduction of the Kurdish media and its historical development. The chapter moved on to thoroughly introduce the language of written media discourse and its text types. As a literature review, the chapter ended with a survey of relevant studies of media translation conducted so far. The aim behind this survey is to identify the place and the significance of the present study to build upon relevant studies currently available in the literature. The next step will be to specify the location of the study within the framework of Descriptive Translation Studies.

Chapter 3: Descriptive Translation Studies as a Theoretical Framework

This chapter sets out to establish a theoretical framework for the present study of translation procedures and strategies applied in a set of English journalistic texts translated into Kurdish, as well as the translatorial practices and institutional setting in the Kurdish media. The chapter will situate the study within Holmes's (1988) framework of Translation Studies and its subsequent model of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) developed by Toury (1995/2012). The chapter will end with a discussion of translation norms and laws, which are relevant to our later study of translation procedures at the linguistic and cultural levels, as well as the institutional setting under which translations are carried out.

3.1 Holmes's map of Translation Studies

The study is located within the discipline, or interdiscipline, of Translation Studies. James Holmes's (1988/2004) now classic article 'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies', a research paper originally presented in the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics in Copenhagen in 1972, is crucial not only in developing Translation Studies as an independent, empirical discipline, but also in founding an overall framework by describing the aspects of translation covered in the discipline.

Holmes's framework of Translation Studies can be considered the most comprehensive framework that covers various aspects of the theory and practice of translation. In his expanded published version, Holmes (2004: 176) broadly divides Translation Studies into 'pure' and 'applied' areas of research. At the area of pure research, Holmes (*ibid.*) points out that Translation Studies has two main objectives, which are:

- 1) "to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience"; and
- 2) "to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and predicted".

These two objectives lead to two subdivisions of pure research: (1) Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) and (2) Theoretical Translation Studies (ThTS). Holmes distinguishes three major kinds of research in DTS, as follows:

- 1) **Product-oriented DTS:** this is associated with the study of existing translations. It involves the description of individual translations (i.e. an individual ST-TT pair) and comparative translation description (i.e. the comparison of a certain ST with various translations whether they be in one target language or more).
- 2) **Function-oriented DTS:** this is described as the “study of contexts rather than texts” (Holmes: 177), which is particularly of interest in the description of the function of translations in the TL sociocultural situation. Function-oriented DTS addresses questions regarding the kind of texts chosen to be translated, the time and place of translation and the influence these translations exerted. Holmes terms this area ‘socio-translation studies’ and reveals that, at the time of his writing, this area of research “attracted less concentrated attention” (ibid.). Munday (2008: 11) finds the term ‘cultural-studies-oriented translation’ more up-to-date and believes that this area “is more popular in current work on translation studies”.
- 3) **Process-oriented DTS:** this refers to the translator’s psychology in terms of what is happening in the translator’s mind in the process of transference from one language into another.

Gideon Toury (2012: 4) has developed Holmes’s translation framework into a method for Descriptive Translation Studies and presented it in the form of Figure 3.1:

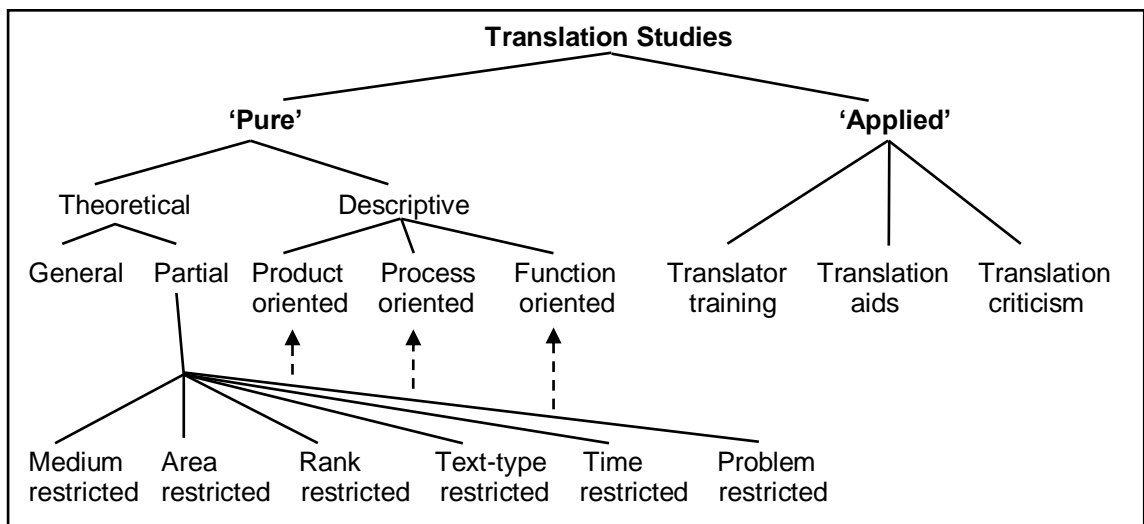


Figure 3.1: Holmes’s map of Translation Studies (from Toury 2012: 4)

Toury (2012: xi) describes Descriptive Translation Studies as “the best means of testing, refuting, and especially modifying and amending the underlying theory, on the

bases of which they are executed". To develop DTS into a systematic discipline, Toury (ibid: 31-33) proposes the following three-phase methodology:

- 1) Placing the text in the context of the target culture system in order to examine its significance or acceptability at both linguistic and cultural levels.
- 2) Mapping the TT onto the ST to identify occurrences of translational relationship between coupled pairs of segments in the ST and the TT.
- 3) Formulating generalizations (based on the findings obtained from phase 2) by reconstructing the process of translation involved in the given pair of texts.

Although these operations are performed first and foremost to understand the nature of the translation product, they also help us retrospectively understand how the translation process works. That is because once the relationship is established between the ST and TT coupled pair, "it may also become possible to speculate on the considerations which may have been involved in making the decisions whose results were encountered at the beginning of the analysis" (Toury 2012: 32).

To locate the present study within Holmes/Toury map of Descriptive Translation Studies, it is crucial to recall that, as addressed in the research questions, the main aim of the study is to identify the patterns of translation procedures and overall strategies employed in the translation of English journalistic texts into Kurdish. The study would take a position in the areas of Theoretical Translation Studies (ThTS) as well as Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) within Holmes's map of translation studies. In terms of ThTS, the research is a partial study which is restricted by: (1) written language medium; (2) English and Kurdish language areas; (3) journalistic texts; (4) one year time-scale (texts published from January 2011 to January 2012); and (5) linguistic and cultural areas of concern.

In terms of DTS, the study is 'product-oriented', 'process-oriented' and 'function-oriented'. Taking the methodology of DTS, the ST-TTs are studied in order to identify the patterns translation procedures and overall translation strategies. In this respect the study is product-oriented. Although the study is essentially a retrospective analysis of translation products, it will also attempt to understand how the translation process works. In this light, the study can be said to be process-oriented. Since we use a multi-method approach, viewing the translation process within its sociocultural framework, the study can also be referred to as function-oriented. In fact, Chapter 7 is wholly devoted to analysing the cultural terms encountered in the data. Discussing the nature

of the procedures employed in translating such terms requires an understanding of translation norms and laws.

3.2 Translation norms

Translations are carried out in a sociocultural setting. They are thus bound to norms, laws and conventions. The concept of 'translation norms' was first introduced by Toury (1978/2004) in his paper 'The Nature and Role of Norms in Translation'. Toury (2012: 63) defines norms, from sociologists and social psychologists' point of view, as:

[...] the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what would count as right or wrong, adequate or inadequate – into performance 'instructions' appropriate for and applicable to concrete situations. These 'instructions' specify what is prescribed and forbidden, as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension.

Hermans (1996: 25) views the concept of 'norms' as the replacement of 'equivalence', the same way as he views 'equivalence' as the replacement of 'fidelity'. Toury, however, views 'norms' as the manifestation of 'equivalence' rather than its replacement, postulating that "the type and extent of equivalence actually exhibited by a translation vis-à-vis its source are determined by norms" (2012: 85).

Translation norms can be process-oriented as well as product-oriented. Process-oriented translation norms, which are primarily concerned with the decision-making process, deal with the procedures and strategies by means of which an appropriate translation can be achieved. Product-oriented translation norms, on the other hand, regulate what a translation must look like in order to be regarded as appropriate in terms of linguistic expressions as well as communicative behaviour in the target culture (cf. Schäffner 1999: 1). According to Toury (2012: 87), "what is available for observation is never the norms themselves, but rather instances of norm-governed behaviour, or – to be even more precise – their end-products". Toury (ibid: 87-88) proposes two sources of data to reconstruct translational norms:

- 1) **Textual sources:** this is the observation of various translation norms in actual translated texts. This will help identify 'regularities of behaviour' (Toury 2012: 64), i.e. patterns of translation occurrences between ST and TT segments.

- 2) Extratextual sources:** this covers prescriptive guidelines for translators and critical understandings and statements made by different agents involved in a translation act or project (such as translators, translation critics, editors, publishers, etc.) around individual translations, translatorial practices and so on.

Toury (2012: 82-3) postulates that three types of translational norms operate at different phases of translation process, namely, initial norm, preliminary norms and operational norms.

3.2.1 Initial norm

Translation will naturally involve two language and culture systems. Toury (2012: 79) asserts that translators may adhere to the ST linguistic and cultural norms, which will lead to translation 'adequacy'. Alternatively, they may adhere to the TT linguistic and cultural norms, which will lead to translation 'acceptability' (Figure 3.2 below). However, "[the] poles of adequacy and acceptability are on a continuum since no translation is ever totally adequate or totally acceptable" (Munday 2012b: 173).

3.2.2 Preliminary norms

These are concerned with the ideology of translation that is reflected in 'translation policy' and 'directness of translation' (Figure 3.3 below). Translation policy focuses on factors that determine the text selection process, i.e. texts from what language, culture or period of time are to be chosen. Directness of translation, on the other hand, examines the degree of tolerance of the TL culture for translating not directly from the SL but an intermediate language in between, for instance, translation from English into Kurdish through Arabic.

3.2.3 Operational norms

Operational norms refer to the translation procedures and strategies adopted in the actual process of translation, which can be described as the nitty-gritty of the TT composition. These norms deal with translation at two levels: 'matricial norms' and 'textual linguistic norms' (Figure 3.4 below). The former governs the composition and textual segmentation of the TT, including omissions, additions and/or relocation of portions of text. The latter governs the selection of textual and linguistic material necessary in the construction of the TT, including stylistic features, lexical choices and so forth.

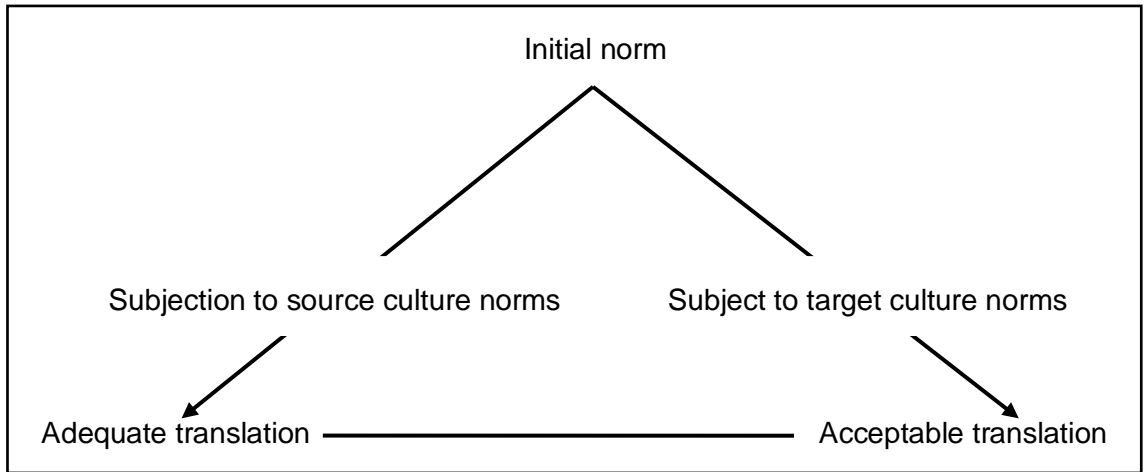


Figure 3.2: Toury's initial norm and the continuum of adequate and acceptable translation (adapted from Munday 2012b: 173)

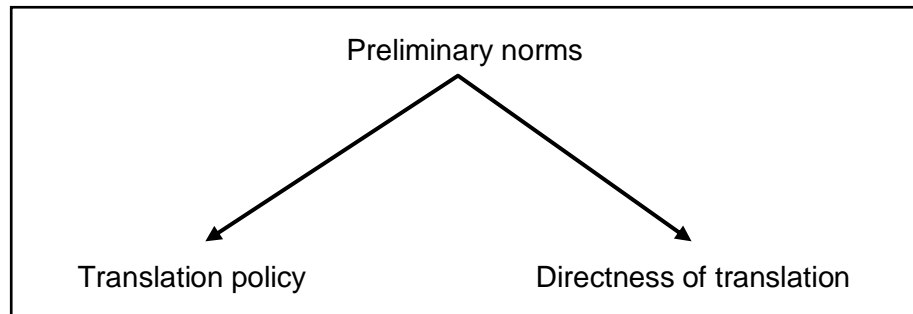


Figure 3.3: Toury's preliminary norms (adapted from Munday 2012b: 174)

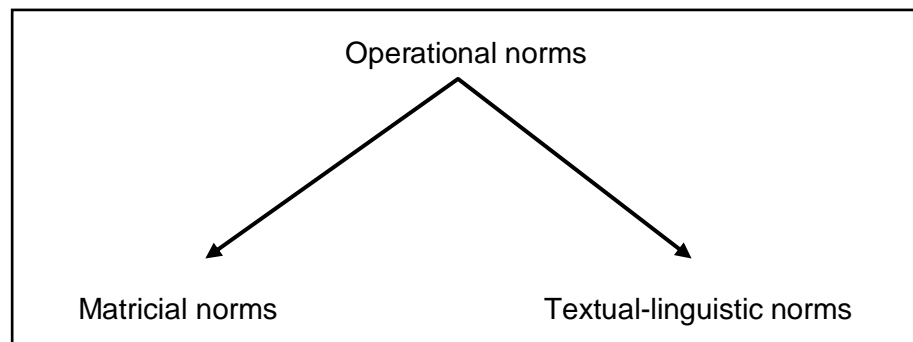


Figure 3.4: Toury's operational norms (adapted from Munday 2012b: 174)

Although the translation norms are defined as three separate sets of norms, they are not independent of each other. The initial norm is determined by preliminary norms. In turn, preliminary norms are strongly related to operational norms; there is “mutual influence [and] even two-way conditioning” between preliminary and operational norms

(Toury: 2012: 83). If we consider the whole act of translation consisting of the three stages of 'what to translate', 'how to translate it', and 'what the product must look like', all the translational norms, then, "affect the entire process of translation" (Hermans 1999: 76).

All the three sets of norms seem to be directly relevant to this study. In the textual analysis (Chapters 6 and 7), where translation adequacy and acceptability will come into play, the initial norm plays an important part. Preliminary norms, especially translation policy, will be directly relevant in the study of translatorial practices and institutional setting (Chapter 9). Last, but not least, in search of the patterns of translation procedures and translation strategies (Chapters 6, 7 and 8), operational norms will come into play. That is because investigating translation procedures and strategies requires an understanding of both matricial and textual-linguistic norms that have been in operation in the process of translation.

3.3 Translation laws

Toury's main purpose behind the norms is to arrive at certain probabilistic 'laws' of translation, hoping that "the cumulative findings of descriptive studies should make it possible to formulate a series of coherent *laws* which would state the inherent relations between all the variables found to be relevant to translation" (Toury 2012: 10, emphasis in original). In this light, Toury (ibid: 303-315) puts forward two exemplary translation laws:

3.3.1 The law of growing standardization

This law states that "textual relations obtaining in the original are often modified, sometimes to the point of being totally ignored, in favour of [more] habitual options offered by a target repertoire" (Toury 2012: 304). The notion of translation law aims, first and foremost, to achieve compatibility between the translation product and the target language and culture norms and behaviours. To this end, translators need to adhere to patterns of linguistic options that are peculiar to the TL system, even if it is at the expense of the linguistic varieties available in the ST. As a result, "there will be a tendency towards a general standardization and loss of variation in style in the TT, or at least towards an accommodation to target culture models" (Munday 2012b: 175). For instance, English words *elect*, *select* and *choose* have one counterpart in Kurdish:

ههلبزاردن. According to this law, the resultant translation usually “manifest greater standardization” than the linguistic choices and patterns of the ST (Toury 2012: 304).

3.3.2 The law of interference

This law states that “phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to be transferred to the target text” (Toury 2012: 310). In other words, the law refers to the manifestation of the ST linguistic features (especially lexical, syntactic and stylistic) in the translation product. According to Toury (2012: 311), the degree of “tolerance of interference” is dependent on sociocultural factors as well as the superiority of one language or culture over another. Thus, “there would be greater tolerance when translating from a prestigious language or culture, especially if the target language or culture is considered to be more ‘minor’” (Munday 2012b: 176). For example, the contemporary Kurdish language, especially in the field of journalism, seems to be receptive of English borrowings (see 6.1.1).

3.4 Discussion of DTS and translation norms and laws

First of all, it should be acknowledged that Toury has helped Translation Studies take shape as an independent, empirical discipline, after its foundation was laid by Holmes. Despite questioning the objectivity of the model due to the *ad hoc* nature of the ST–TT mapping, Munday (2012b: 177) describes Toury’s model of DTS as “an important step towards setting firm foundations not only for future descriptive work but for the discipline as a whole”. Among other scholars who appreciate Toury’s theory is Gentzler (2001: 131), who points out four aspects that have contributed to develop translation studies:

- 1) the abandonment of one-to-one notions of correspondence as well as the possibility of literary/linguistic equivalence (unless by accident);
- 2) the involvement of literary tendencies within the target cultural system in the production of any translated text;
- 3) the destabilization of the notion of an original message with a fixed identity; and
- 4) the integration of both the original text and the translated text in the semiotic web of intersecting cultural systems.

Toury’s DTS has also undergone scholarly criticism. The most prominent critic of the method is perhaps Theo Hermans (1999: 77), who rejects the notions of ‘adequate’

and 'acceptable' translation in favour of 'target-oriented' and 'source-oriented' notions. Likewise, Munday (2012b: 178) criticises the textual analysis process in Toury's model, arguing that "the *ad hoc* nature of the ST–TT mapping inevitably means that Toury's model is not fully objective or replicable". Munday also criticizes the two laws, conceiving them as being "contradictory, or at least pull in different directions: the law of growing standardization depicts TL-oriented norms, while the law of interference is ST-oriented" (2012b: 179).

Nevertheless, Anthony Pym (2008: 321) finds the two probabilistic laws "reasonable to have contradictory tendencies", i.e. the tendency to standardize and the tendency to channel interference. Pym describes both tendencies as "risk-averse strategies" (*ibid.*). In practice, there is always a compromise between the two tendencies, depending on cultural factors and language prestige. If the target literary system has superiority and prestige over the source, the first tendency is likely to prevail. If, however, the source literary system has superiority and prestige over the target, the second tendency is likely to apply.

All in all, Toury's DTS can be considered a practical foundation for translation-oriented comparative analysis of texts. We shall follow the three-phase methodology of DTS (summarized in Figure 5.2) to achieve the main aims and goals set in this study. That is, to identify translation procedures and strategies in the data. In the first phase, sufficient texts are collected from the SL and mapped into their corresponding TTs. In the second phase, the text-pairs will be thoroughly and comparatively analysed to find out the relationship between ST and TT segments. To overcome the *ad hoc* nature of the ST-TT mapping, we shall use a composite model of translation procedures that enables us to systematically identify the nature of the relationship that can be identified between ST and TT segments. In the third phase, generalizations will be formulated to identify patterns of linguistic and cultural translation procedures employed in the data with the ultimate goal of identifying the global translation strategies prevalent in the chosen journalistic texts.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced Holmes's framework for translation and Toury's method of DTS, and located the study within Holmes/Toury map of translation studies. The chapter has also introduced translation norms that are in operation at different phases in the translation process as well as translation laws that come into play as a result of these norms. The chapter, in brief, has established a general theoretical framework for the study. However, for a detailed analysis of the changes and shifts that have occurred in the translation process, precisely to identify translation procedures and overall strategies, we will need other supplementary models of translation analysis, which will be the substance of the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Translation Procedures and Strategies

This chapter explores translation procedures and strategies as two major concepts at the core of this study. In the previous chapter, we established the framework for the study based on Toury's model of Descriptive Translation Studies. However, to overcome the *ad hoc* nature of the model, this chapter sets out to formulate a composite model of translation procedures that will enable us to systematically identify the nature of the relationship that can be identified between ST and TT segments. The composite model (Section 4.2 below), which covers both the linguistic and cultural aspects of translation, will be based on an integration of three particularly influential taxonomies of translation procedures proposed by prominent translation scholars, namely; Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995), Newmark (1988) and Dickins, Hervey and Higgins (2002). As a supplementary resource, wherever necessary, references will also be made to translation procedures proposed by other translation scholars.

As for the translation strategies (Section 4.4 below), the age-old dichotomy of 'literal' and 'free' translation will be referred to as the first step to understand the models of translation approaches evolved as a result of redefining literal and free translations in their contemporary context. This will be followed by the study of 'equivalence' as another relevant concept based on which contemporary translation approaches are established. We shall then consider four most prominent dichotomous translation strategies to identify the most practical of these strategies to apply in the analysis in an attempt to identify overall translation orientation(s) prevalent in the chosen journalistic texts. These dichotomous strategies are: Nida's (1964) 'formal and dynamic equivalence', House's (1977/2014) 'overt and covert translation', Newmark's (1988) 'semantic and communicative translation' and Venuti's (1995/2008) 'domesticating and foreignizing translation'.

4.1 Translation procedures

The core of this study is to identify the patterns of procedures and strategies in the translation of journalistic texts from English into Kurdish. As is obvious, the English and Kurdish languages are not only different in terms of linguistic systems, but also in terms of social and cultural values. Therefore, translators working between the two languages will encounter enormous translation difficulties based on linguistic features as well as

sociocultural differences. To deal with these difficulties, English-Kurdish translators will inevitably have to take a number of translation 'action plans'.

A variety of different terms is used to refer to such action plans, such as translation 'procedures', 'strategies', 'techniques', 'tactics', 'approaches', 'methods', 'principles', 'plans' and so on. Variations between such terms have led to "considerable terminological confusion" in Translation Studies (Chesterman 1997: 87). For the purpose of this study, we shall adopt the two concepts of translation 'procedure' and 'strategy' and make a clear differentiation between the two. Following Delisle et al.'s (1999: 191) definition, a translation procedure is "a method applied by translators when they formulate an equivalence for the purpose of transferring elements of meaning from the source text (ST) to the target text (TT)". Translation strategy, on the other hand, is defined as "a coherent plan of action adopted by translators based on their intention with respect to a given text" (ibid: 192). Munday (2012b: 22) best summarizes the distinction between the two concepts: "a strategy is the overall orientation of a translated text [...] while a procedure is a specific technique used at a given point in a text". Throughout this study, we shall use the two concepts of translation 'procedure' and 'strategy' based on this clear-cut distinction.

In contemporary Translation Studies, different models of translation procedures and strategies have been proposed. Included in these models are Vinay and Darbelnet's (1958/1995) 'translation methods and procedures', Nida's (1964) 'technical and organizational procedures', Catford's (1965) 'translation shifts', Newmark's (1988) 'translation methods and procedures', Baker's (1992/2011) 'translation strategies', Chesterman's (1997) 'syntactic, semantic and pragmatic strategies', Dickins et al.'s (2002) 'strategic decisions', van Doorslaer's (2007) 'translation strategies and procedures', and so forth. For the purpose and scope of this study, we shall consider the following three prominent, comprehensive and coherent models:

4.1.1 Vinay and Darbelnet's (1958/1995) translation methods and procedures

The Canadian-based linguists, Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet, carried out a contrastive linguistic analysis study between French and English in their influential book *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais* (1958). Two decades ago, the book was translated into English as *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation* (1995). In their model, Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995)

propose the two methods of 'direct/literal' translation and 'oblique' translation to refer to the global strategy of translation. They distinguish three procedures in the direct method: 'borrowing', 'calque' and 'literal translation', and four procedures in the oblique method: 'transposition', 'modulation', 'equivalence' and 'adaptation' (these are discussed in detail in 4.2 below).

Insofar as the three translation procedures of borrowing, calque and literal translation can produce an acceptable translation, Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 34) propose a direct or literal method of translation. However, if translators found literal translation unacceptable, they would then have to turn to the oblique method of translation. By unacceptable translation they (ibid: 34-35) mean a literal translation that:

- 1) gives a different meaning;
- 2) has no meaning;
- 3) is structurally impossible;
- 4) does not have a corresponding expression within the metalinguistic experience of the TL; or
- 5) has a corresponding expression, but not within the same register.

Apart from the main procedures mentioned above, Vinay and Darbelnet (1995) also propose a set of supplementary translation procedures, which are: 'economy', 'amplification', 'explicitation', 'implication', 'generalization', 'particularization' and 'compensation'. The complete list of Vinay and Darbelnet's translation procedures is shown in column 1 of Table 4.1 below.

4.1.2 Newmark's (1988) translation methods and procedures

Newmark suggests a set of 15 translation procedures (shown in column 2 of Table 4.1 below and discussed in detail in 4.2 below) to tackle translation difficulties encountered at the textual micro-level during the translation process (1988: 81-91). Newmark believes that in some cases one translation problem may involve two procedures ('couplet'), three procedures ('triplet') or even four procedures ('quadruplet') (ibid: 92). He also acknowledges that, apart from the set of translation procedures, translators may also make use of some other techniques, such as: additions, notes and glosses used for cultural, technical or linguistic purposes (ibid: 91-93).

4.1.3 Dickins, Harvey and Higgins's (2002) strategic decisions

In Dickins et al.'s (2002) model, the term 'strategic decisions' is used to describe the processes taken to deal with translation difficulties that may counter in the process of translation. The model consists of a set of strategic decisions (column 3 of Table 4.1) that are particularly proposed for translating cultural terms and expressions. The strategic decisions range from extremely source-culture bias ('exoticism') to extremely target-culture bias ('cultural transplantation'), with 'calque', 'cultural borrowing' and 'communicative translation' respectively in between, visualized as points in Figure 4.1 below:

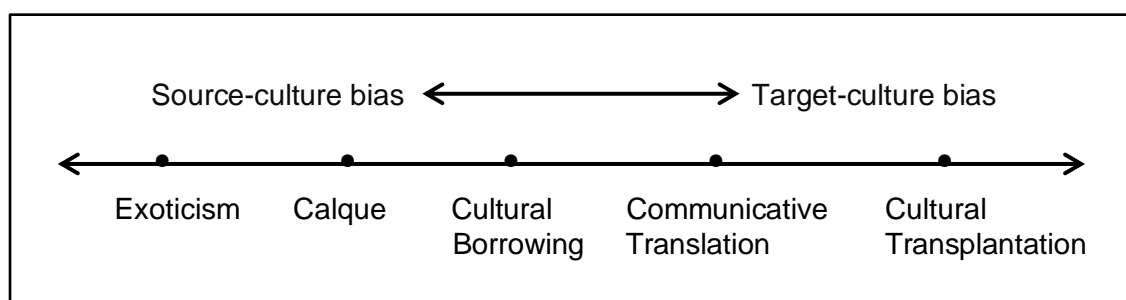


Figure 4.1: Strategic decisions on a continuum between the source and target culture bias (from Dickins et al. 2002: 29)

Aside from the procedures devised at the cultural level, Dickins et al. also suggest a set of translation procedures at the semantic level, such as: (near-)synonymy, generalizing translation, particularizing translation, compensation, translation by omission and translation by addition.

Due to the nature of the themes of the chosen journalistic texts, the English STs contain a considerable number of cultural terms originating from Kurdish (50 different terms, resulting in 178 translation occurrences). In the translation, these terms are simply translated or transferred back to the TL. Since none of the three models concerned above suggests a translation procedure to deal with this phenomenon, we shall introduce 'cultural redomestication' as a procedure to deal with such cultural terms (for more details, see 4.2.25 below).

4.2 A composite model of translation procedures

In this study, we shall adapt the three models of translation procedures mentioned above to create a composite model of translation procedures that covers both linguistic

and cultural aspects of translation, and apply it in the analysis of the journalistic corpus adopted. The three models are tabulated in Table 4.1 below, where the corresponding procedures are matched in parallel, and will be discussed in detail below.

No.	Vinay and Darbelnet's (1995) procedures	Newmark's (1988) procedures	Dickins et al.'s (2002) strategic decisions
1.	_____	_____	Exoticism*
2.	Borrowing**	Transference** Naturalization**	Cultural borrowing*
3.	Calque**	Through-translation**	Calque**
4.	Literal translation	_____	_____
5.	Transposition	Transposition	_____
6.	Modulation	Modulation	_____
7.	_____	Recognized translation*	_____
8.	_____	Translation label*	_____
9.	Équivalence**	_____	Communicative translation**
10.	_____	Functional equivalent*	_____
11.	_____	Descriptive equivalent*	_____
12.	Adaptation*	Cultural equivalent*	Cultural transplantation*
13.	Compensation	Compensation	Compensation
14.	_____	Componential analysis	_____
15.	Economy	Reduction	_____
16.	Amplification	Expansion	_____
17.	_____	Synonymy	Synonymy
18.	Generalization	_____	Generalization
19.	Particularization	_____	Particularization
20.	Explicitation**	_____	_____
21.	Implication	_____	_____
22.	_____	Paraphrase	_____
23.	_____	_____	Translation by omission
24.	_____	_____	Translation by addition

Table 4.1: A composite model of translation procedures

As we shall see below, some procedures duplicate across the three models, others are presented from different viewpoints in a complementary rather than contradictory way. Since, in this study, cultural aspects will be given a special focus and discussed in a separate chapter (Chapter 7), it is crucial to specify 'cultural translation procedures' (i.e. procedures for translating cultural terms) as opposed to 'general translation procedures' (i.e. procedures for translating non-cultural terms). In the table above, the terms marked with a single asterisk indicate cultural translation procedures, whereas the terms left unmarked indicate general translation procedures. Some translation procedures, such as borrowing and calque, can be applied to cultural as well as non-cultural terms. These terms are therefore marked with two asterisks. We shall now discuss and exemplify each of these procedures.

4.2.1 Exoticism

'Exoticism' is considered an extremely source-culture biased type of translation procedure, which sounds foreign in the TL culture. "A TT 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: 29-30). Exotic translation typically occurs when a cultural term or expression is literally translated. Consider the literal translation of the Kurdish proverb *پیاو به تهمای دراوسێ بێت بهیڤ شێو سه‌رده‌نێته‌وه* *He who relies on his neighbour for dinner will go to bed hungry*, which sounds foreign, albeit comprehensible, to English speakers.

4.2.2 Borrowing/transference/naturalization/cultural borrowing

'Borrowing' (or 'transference' in Newmark's model) refers to the use of foreign terms in the TT either to fill a lexical gap or create a stylistic effect or introduce the flavour of the SL culture or avoid a more or less satisfying equivalent term, insofar as the borrowing is understood in the TL (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 31-32). Borrowing is regarded as the simplest of all translation procedures to overcome encountered lexical gaps in the TL (ibid: 31). In the case of borrowing from English to Kurdish, the process requires an additional need for transcription due to the different scripts used in English and Kurdish, e.g. *modern* > *مۆدێرن*.

In our composite model of translation procedures, we shall also subsume Newmark's concept of 'naturalization' in the borrowing translation procedure. According to

Newmark (1988: 82), naturalization “succeeds transference and adapts the SL word first to the normal pronunciation, then to the normal morphology (word-forms) of the TL”, such as the translation of *Thatcherism* into French as *thatchérisme*. This distinction between borrowing and naturalization can be only valid in translations between two languages using the same alphabetical systems. When translating between languages using different alphabets (such as English and Kurdish), a borrowed word would at the same time be an example of naturalization - in both cases the translation involves a change from one alphabetical system to another.

Both cultural and non-cultural terms can be translated by borrowing. In the analysis, non-cultural terms translated by borrowing (e.g. *scenario* > سیناریۆ) will be classified under general translation procedures (6.1.1), and cultural terms translated by borrowing (e.g. *Pentagon* > پنتاگون) under cultural translation procedures (7.3.2).

4.2.3 Calque/through-translation

Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 32) define ‘calque’ as “a special kind of borrowing whereby a language borrows an expression form of another, but then translates literally each of its elements”. Likewise, Dickins et al. (2002: 31) refer to calque as “an expression that consists of TL words and respects TL syntax, [which] is modelled on the structure of an SL expression”. Newmark (1988: 84), on the other hand, uses ‘through-translation’ as a more transparent term for calque. He believes that “literal translation of common collocations, names of organisations and components of compounds” are typical examples of calque (ibid.). In effect, the unit of translation in calque is an expression or a structure - a single word is not considered a calque (unless it is a compound word) and a long stretch of language rarely ever makes a calque. Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 32) distinguish between lexical and structural calques:

- a) **Lexical calque:** this “respects the syntactic structure of the TL, whilst introducing a new model of expression”, e.g. *international relations* > پەيوەندیه نێودهوڵەتیەکان
- b) **Structural calque:** this “introduces a new construction into the language”, e.g. *a three-day trip* > گەشتیکی سێ رۆژه.

Like borrowing, calque can be used for translating both cultural and non-cultural terms. In the analysis, we shall deal with non-cultural terms translated by calque (e.g. *lion's share* > (پشکی شیر) under general translation procedures (6.1.2), and cultural terms

Kurdish the noun precedes the adjective, e.g. *bright future* > داهاتوی گەمش [lit: 'future of bright'].

- 3) **A change in the grammatical structure:** this occurs when a particular SL structure does not exist in the TL, but various alternative structures may be acceptable. For instance, the structure of the English expression *having said that* does not exist in Kurdish, but it can be translated by transposition using other alternative expressions, as such: لەگەڵ ئەوەشدا ['in spite of that'] and سەرەرای ئەوەش ['nevertheless'].
- 4) **A change in the word class:** this can be either obligatory “where literal translation is grammatically possible but may not accord with natural usage in the TL” (ibid: 86), or optional, where the term in question accepts both literal and transposed translations. Consider the optional change of an SL noun to an adjective in the TL, e.g. *articles of constitution* > ماددەی دەستووری ['constitutional articles'].
- 5) **The replacement of a virtual lexical gap by a grammatical structure:** this occurs when what is expressed by a lexical item in the SL can be only expressed by a phrase or a grammatical structure in the TL. For example, the prefix *pro-* is not lexicalized in Kurdish, but it can be replaced by the phrase *in support of*, e.g. *pro-democracy demonstration* > خۆپێشانەدانى پشتگیری دیموکراسی ['demonstration in support of democracy'].

In this study, we shall disregard the first and second types of transposition listed above, due to their direct relation to the basic systemic differences between English and Kurdish (see 5.3.2.1), which should not pose translation difficulties for translators having even the basic knowledge of the two languages.

It is crucial to point out that Newmark uses the terms 'shift' and 'transposition' almost interchangeably. In this study, however, we shall avoid using 'shift' to merely mean 'transposition'. Instead, we shall refer to shifts in their broad and commonly accepted sense as defined by Catford (1965: 73): “departures from formal correspondence [i.e. literal translation] in the process of going from the SL to the TL”.

4.2.6 Modulation

Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 36) define 'modulation' as “a variation of the form of the message, obtained by a change in the point of view”. Similarly, Newmark (1988: 88) refers to modulation as “a variation through a change of viewpoint, of perspective and

very often of category of thought". In principle, the modulation procedure is justified "when, although a literal, or even transposed, translation results in a grammatically correct utterance, it is considered unsuitable, unidiomatic, or awkward in the TL" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 36). Vinay and Darbelnet (ibid.) distinguish between free or optional and fixed or obligatory modulation. In the case of obligatory modulation, the change in the viewpoint is conditioned by linguistic differences, such as when an SL transitive verb has an intransitive counterpart in the TL, e.g. *the factory **is owned** by the state* > کارگاهکەبە **خاوەنی** دەولەت ['the state **owns** the factory']. In the case of optional modulation, however, the change in the viewpoint can be ascribed to the translator's style or preference, e.g. *it is hard to explain* > ئاسان نییە ڕوونی بکەیتەرە ['it is not easy to explain']. In effect, modulation is a very broad procedure, it is divided into ten subcategories (ibid: 249-255):

- 1) **Abstract < > concrete:** e.g. *You can see his **house** on Google Maps* > دەتوانی لاپەرمیەکی تازە لە پەیمۆندیەکانیان **ماڵەکە**ی لەسەر نەخشەی گوگل ببینی ['You can see his **home** on Google Maps'].
- 2) **Explicative modulation (effect < > cause):** e.g. *He is clever* > ئەو زۆر هەوڵدەدات ['He studies hard'].
- 3) **Part < > whole:** e.g. *a new chapter in their relations* > لاپەرمیەکی تازە لە پەیمۆندیەکانیان ['a new page in their relations'].
- 4) **Part < > another part:** e.g. *from head to toe* > لەسەرەوه بۆ خوارەوه ['from top to bottom'].
- 5) **Reversal of terms:** e.g. *the Iraqi people own the oil* > ئەوت مۆلکی خەڵکی عێراقە ['the oil belongs to the Iraqi people'].
- 6) **Negation of the opposite:** e.g. *the reaction was not unexpected* > کاردانەوهکە **چاوەڕوان کراویو** ['the reaction was expected'].
- 7) **Active < > passive:** e.g. *the criminal was punished* > ئەوانبارمکە سزای وەرگرت ['The criminal received punishment'].
- 8) **Space for time:** e.g. *at some point* > ڕۆژێک دێت ['a day comes'].
- 9) **Exchange of intervals for limits (in space and time):** e.g. *No parking between signs* > وەستانی سەیارە سنووردارە ['limit of parking'].
- 10) **Change of symbol:** e.g. *behind the scenes* > لە پشت پردەوه ['behind the curtain'].

It is important to note that Vinay and Darbelnet subsume the conversion form of the general to the particular under 'abstract < > concrete' subcategory. In our composite model, however, we shall deal with this phenomenon as two separate procedures – 'generalization' and 'particularization' – as proposed in Dickins et al.'s (2002) model.

4.2.7 Recognized translation

As a cultural translation procedure, Newmark (1988: 84) proposes ‘recognized translation’ for translating institutional terms that already have an official or the generally accepted translation in the TL. An example of recognized translation is the term *Operation Iraqi Freedom*, which is translated as *پروژهی ئازادی عێراق* [‘the process of Iraqi freedom’], which is an official translation of the SL term.

4.2.8 Translation label

This is basically concerned with the translation of new institutional terms that do not have a conventional or generally accepted translation in the TL. Newmark (1988: 90) defines translation label as “a provisional translation, usually of a new institutional term, which should be made in inverted commas, which can later be discreetly withdrawn”. For example, *the Washington Institute for Near East Policy* is quite unfamiliar in Kurdish translation. Thus, according to this procedure, it can be translated as *پهیمانگای واشنتون بۆ سیاسهتی خۆرهلانی نزیك* [‘Washington Institute for the Policy of Near East’], which is a rather literal translation.

4.2.9 Équivalence/communicative translation

According to Dickins et al. (2002: 17), “[a] communicative translation is produced, when, in a given situation, the ST uses an SL expression standard for that situation, and the TT uses a TL expression standard for an equivalent target culture situation”. This involves the substitution of a fixed SL expression for a fixed expression describing the same communicative situation in the TL but using completely different stylistic and formal structure. Thus, the English idiom *I’m rushed off my feet* can be best translated as *سەری خۆم بۆ ناخوری* [lit: ‘I can’t scratch my head’], which is an equivalent Kurdish idiom describing the same situation in the TL culture.

It is crucial to point out that the communicative translation procedure should not be confused with Newmark’s ‘communicative translation’ strategy. Communicative translation here is a procedure employed at the micro-textual level, typically used for translating fixed expressions such as “public notices, proverbs and conversational clichés” (Dickins et al. 2002: 17). Communicative translation strategy, on the other hand, refers to the overall translation orientation prevalent at the macro-level of a text.

4.2.10 Functional equivalent

Newmark (1988: 83) proposes 'functional equivalent' as a cultural translation procedure which involves the use of a more general, or culturally neutral, word in rendering cultural terms that do not have counterparts in the TL. According to this procedure, the British certificate *A Level* would be translated as *بروانامه‌ی نهمادهمی* ['high school certificate'].

4.2.11 Descriptive equivalent

In 'descriptive equivalent' a cultural element is described in the TL words in a situation where description takes precedence over function (Newmark 1988: 83). According to descriptive equivalent, the translation of the Kurdish cultural term *كلاش* ('klash') would be something like 'hand-made traditional Kurdish shoes made of cotton wool'.

4.2.12 Adaptation/cultural equivalent/cultural transplantation

'Adaptation' is a procedure resorted to when there is a profound cultural gap between the two languages in question. The procedure involves the replacement of an SL cultural term by a TL term that occupies the same position in the target culture. Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 39) describe adaptation as "a special kind of equivalence, a situational equivalence". Newmark (1988: 83), who uses the term 'cultural equivalent' to mean adaptation, speaks of the procedure as an approximate translation where the SL cultural element and its replacing TL cultural element are not complete equivalents. Dickins et al. (2002: 32), on the other hand, use yet another different term – 'cultural transplantation' – to refer to the procedure and describe it as extremely target-culture biased. They state that on a large scale the procedure involves "the wholesale transplanting of the entire setting of the ST, resulting in the entire text being rewritten in an indigenous target culture setting" (ibid.). Dickins et al. (ibid.) refer to the example of *كيس و ليلى* ['Kais and Layla'], in a scene from the short story *النار و الماء* ['the Fire and the Water'] by the Syrian writer Zakaria Tamer, which is rendered by cultural transplantation as *Romeo and Juliet*.

4.2.13 Compensation

According to Newmark (1988: 90), compensation "[occurs] when loss of meaning, sound-effect, metaphor or pragmatic effect in one part of a sentence is compensated in another part, or in a contiguous sentence". Dickins et al. (2002: 40) view compensation

as “absolutely crucial to successful translation”. As an example, consider the Arabic term *الفقه*, which has no conventional equivalent in English. Its transliteration as a cultural borrowing – *fiqh* – would be unintelligible to any but specialist readers. Alternatively, it may be translated as *jurisprudence*, which incurs translation loss; while *jurisprudence* is a legal term, the term *الفقه* has a legal as well as religious (Islamic) connotation. So, without giving a religious sense to the term when translating it into English, significant translation loss will occur. To compensate for the loss, the term is usually translated as *Islamic jurisprudence*, i.e. the word *Islamic* is added to compensate for the religious sense that would otherwise be lost.

The problem with the compensation procedure is that it is dealt with in the literature as a rather theoretical notion and presented with insufficient exemplification. As noted by Harvey (1995: 65) “[c]ompensation is a loosely used and poorly defined concept in much of the theoretical literature [...] and authentic examples of it are rarely given in the literature”. Having realized the need for a systematic study of compensation, Harvey (1995: 78-85) sets out a descriptive framework for compensation that consists of three axes, as follows:

- a) **The typological axis (identifying instances of compensation):** in this axis two types of compensation are distinguished: ‘stylistic’ and ‘stylistic-systemic’.
- b) **The correspondence axis (establishing the linguistic relationship):** this axis is concerned with the linguistic relationship between the ST loss and the TT compensation. Three types of relationship are distinguished here: ‘direct correspondence’ (where the loss and the compensation belong to the same linguistic device), ‘analogical correspondence’ (where the loss and the compensation are not identical but they belong to the same linguistic repertoire), and ‘non-correspondence’ (where the loss and the compensation share no linguistic features).
- c) **The topographical axis (location and distance):** this axis is concerned with the respective location of the loss and compensation. The topographical relationship between the loss and the compensation can be of four types: ‘parallel’ (where the loss and the compensation occur at exactly the same place); ‘contiguous’ (where the compensation occurs in the target text within a short distance from the loss, typically in the neighbouring sentences); ‘displaced’ (where the TT compensation is a long distance away from the ST loss); and finally, ‘generalized’ (i.e. the incorporation of stylistic features to help

naturalize the TT and achieve an overall effect similar to that of the ST, without these features being tied to any specific distance of ST loss).

To carry out a thorough analysis of the compensation translation procedure in the data, we shall adopt Harvey's (1995) framework of compensation. First of all, it is important to point out that, at the typological axis, the model heavily focuses on stylistic and stylistic-systemic effect, taking the semantic aspect for granted, although compensation is also common in dealing with semantic loss. We shall thus modify the typological axis and distinguish between stylistic, systemic and semantic compensation. Regarding the topographical axis, it is practically impossible to identify instances of displaced compensation. This category of topographical axis will then be disregarded in the analysis.

4.2.14 Componential analysis

Newmark (1988: 114) proposes the componential analysis procedure "to compare a SL word with a TL word which has a similar meaning but is not an obvious one-to-one equivalent, by demonstrating first their common and then their differing sense components". To exemplify componential analysis, Newmark (ibid: 117) refers to periodicals in English, French and German, and demonstrates how German lacks an equivalent for English *journal*, thus it uses *wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*. Interestingly, comparing English and Kurdish periodicals by componential analysis would yield the same result: While there are three major types of periodicals in English (newspaper, magazine and journal), Kurdish has only two major types: *رۆژنامه* ['newspaper'] and *گۆڤار* ['magazine']. Through componential analysis this mismatch can be easily pointed out, as demonstrated in Figure 4.2 below.

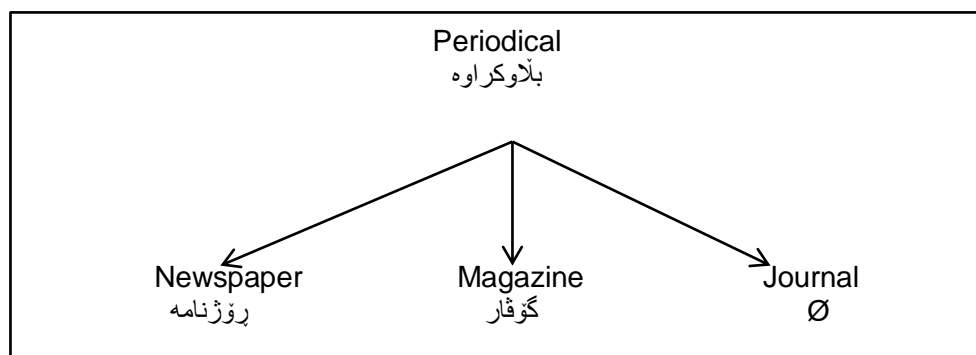


Figure 4.2: Componential analysis of periodicals in English and Kurdish

Componential analysis is normally carried out only on “a word of some significance in the TL text which cannot adequately be translated one to one” (Newmark 1988: 115). This procedure is mainly concerned with the process of translation, which can be performed mentally and manifested in the form of other procedures. For example, as a result of componential analysis, a translator may decide to render *journal* into Kurdish as *گۆفاری زانستی* [‘scientific magazine’], in which case the resultant procedure is ‘expansion’. According to Chesterman (1997: 89) translation procedures “are directly observable from the translation product itself, in comparison with the source text”. Since componential analysis is performed as part of the translation process and cannot be observed from the translation product, it will not be deemed a translation procedure, at least in this study, which is primarily concerned with the translation product.

4.2.15 Expansion/amplification

‘Expansion’ (otherwise known as ‘amplification’) “occurs in translation, when in the contrast of two languages, the SL uses more words for the expression of the same idea than the TL” (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 192). For instance, *politics* as an academic field is normally translated into Kurdish as *زانسته سیاسیهکان* [‘political sciences’]. Expansion is thus merely concerned with the formal properties of language. However, it is an imprecise translation procedure that translators practise either intuitively or on an *ad hoc* basis (Newmark 1988: 90). In view of this, as long as a translation occurrence can be categorized under a different translation procedure (such as paraphrase), we shall not qualify it as an example of expansion.

4.2.16 Reduction/economy

‘Reduction’ (otherwise known as ‘economy’) is the opposite of expansion. It involves the use of fewer words or a more economic expression in the TL to convey the meaning of an SL term or expression (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 193). For example, the conjunction *as well as* is normally translated into Kurdish as *ههروهها* [‘also’].

4.2.17 Near-synonymy

When two words or terms in a given language have the same denotative meaning, they are said to be synonyms, and the phenomenon is called ‘synonymy’. For example, in English, *sofa* and *couch* are synonymous. They even exhibit full synonymy, since they refer to exactly the same range of entities (regardless of the regional differences of use that *couch* is used in the United States, Australia and New Zealand, *sofa* is more

commonly used in the United Kingdom). This is an intralingual instance, but synonymy can also be realized interlingually. For example, Dickins et al. (2002: 53) refer to the semantic relations between *maternal uncle* and Arabic خال, which have the same range of meanings and are therefore fully synonymous. Full synonymy is normally referred to as direct or literal translation. What is interesting in Translation Studies is the use of near-synonymy, where there are always alternative options to choose from.

'Near-synonymy' is defined as "a near TL equivalent to an SL word in a context, where a precise equivalent may or may not exist" (Newmark 1988: 84). For instance, Kurdish does not have a precise equivalent for the word *challenge*. The phrase *the biggest challenge* is thus translated by near-synonymy as گه‌ورترین ناسته‌نگ ['the biggest **constraint**'].

4.2.18 Generalization

'Generalization' (or 'generalizing translation') is proposed in Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 59) and Dickins et al.'s (2002: 56-7) models of translation procedures to refer to the translation phenomenon in which an SL word is replaced by a more general word in the TL, e.g. *an important source of fund* > سهرچاو مه‌کی گرنگی یارمه‌تی ['an important source of **help**']. While the word *fund* is specifically associated with financial assistance, the Kurdish word یارمه‌تی ['help'] is a more general word, referring to any kind of assistance.

4.2.19 Particularization

As opposed to generalization, Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 59) and Dickins et al. (2002: 56-7) propose 'particularization' (or 'particularizing translation') to refer to the translation phenomenon in which an SL word is replaced by a narrower or more specific TL word, e.g. *Dylan was accompanied by two of his relatives* > دی‌لان دوو له ناموزاکانی له‌گه‌ل بوو ['Dylan was accompanied by two of his **cousins**']. Since Kurdish has a ready equivalent for *relative* (خزم), the instance can be considered an example of optional particularization.

4.2.20 Explicitation

Vinay and Darbelnet are perhaps first to introduce the concept of 'explicitation' in translation. They define it as a translation procedure which "consists of making explicit in the target language what remains implicit in the source language because it is apparent from either the context or the situation" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 342). Yet

they only provided it as a supplementary procedure focusing merely on the explicitation of pronouns, with no further elaboration. Decades later, this important translation phenomenon has been extensively explored by succeeding translation scholars and researchers (cf. Nida 1964; Blum-Kulka 1986/2004; Séguinot 1988; Baker 1993/1996; Englund Dimitrova 1993; Schjoldager 1995; Klaudy 1998/2009; Pym 2005; and most recently, Becher 2011). To provide further theoretical background for the procedure, we shall refer to Kinga Klaudy's (2009) model of explicitation typology. Klaudy (2009: 106-107) distinguishes four types of explicitation, as follows:

- a) **Obligatory explicitation:** this is conditioned by “differences in the syntactic and semantic structure of the languages” to avoid producing an ungrammatical TT (ibid: 106). For instance, since Kurdish does not normally use ellipses, English elliptical phrases must be explicitated in translations into Kurdish, e.g. ‘*drivers should not use a mobile phone, **but they do***’ > بەلام نابیت شوفیران مۆبایل بەکار بێنن، بەلام بەکاری دینن [‘drivers should not use a mobile phone, **but they use it**’].
- b) **Optional explicitation:** this is motivated by “differences in text-building strategies” (such as cohesive patterns) and “stylistic preferences between languages” (ibid.). Klaudy (ibid.) argues that, optional instances of explicitation are not employed as a matter of necessity, but to avoid producing an awkward and clumsy TT, however grammatically correct. A typical example of optional explicitation is the replacement of an ST pronoun by its corresponding noun in the TT. For example, the rather implicit sentence ‘*Obviously, **he** didn’t do **it** alone*’, in the data [Text 22],¹ is expressed explicitly in the translation as نۆپاماش [‘**Obama** didn’t achieve **this success** alone’].
- c) **Pragmatic explicitation:** this is encouraged by differences in cultural information and general knowledge shared by members of the SL and TL communities (ibid: 106-7), e.g. *Labour Party* > پارتی کریکارانی بەریتانیا [‘the British Labour Party’].
- d) **Translation-inherent explicitation:** this type of explicitation, Klaudy believes, “can be attributed to the nature of the translation process itself” (ibid: 107). It basically draws upon Blum-Kulka’s Explicitation Hypothesis, presented in her

¹ All the journalistic texts analysed in this study are arranged in numerical order and put in Appendix 2, which is saved on the accompanying CD. So [Text 22] refers to the 22nd ST along with its translation in Appendix 2. The same format is used throughout the thesis to reference examples taken from the adopted corpus.

influential study 'Shifts of cohesion and coherence in translation' (Blum-Kulka 1986/2004). The hypothesis postulates that the process of translation involves a rise in the level of cohesive explicitness in the TT "regardless of the increase traceable to differences between the two linguistic and textual systems involved" (Blum-Kulka 2004: 300). This hypothesis has been later verified by various research studies, such as: Øverås 1998, Englund Dimitrova 1995, Olohan and Baker 2000, Chen 2004 and Kenny 2005, to name but a few.

Among Klaudy's four types of explicitation, her notion of translation-inherent explicitation has been severely criticized, especially for her failure to exemplify it. For instance, Becher (2011: 23) says "it is not clear [...] at all what an instance of this type of explicitation is supposed to look like". This criticism seems to be a valid one; when it comes to the application of the typology in actual translations, one wonders what the difference is between an optional explicitation that is motivated by different stylistic preferences between the two languages and the so-called translation-inherent explicitation which, despite being perceived as a tendency in translations, is not employed as a matter of necessity. What is termed translation-inherent explicitation can be then plausibly subsumed under the optional type of explicitation.

In the analysis of the data, we shall adopt Klaudy's categories of obligatory and optional explicitation, which deal with the linguistic aspects of translation, in analysing explicitation as a general translation procedure (see 6.2.12). Likewise, we shall adopt her pragmatic explicitation, which is directly related to the cultural aspects of translation, in analysing explicitation as a cultural translation procedure (see 7.3.10).

It is crucial to point out that explicitation has been a source of confusion with other similar translation procedures such as expansion and addition. For the purpose of this study, we shall clearly distinguish these procedures in 4.3.1 below.

4.2.21 Implication

'Implication' is the opposite of explicitation; it is a translation procedure that "consists of making what is explicit in the source language implicit in the target language, relying on the context or the situation for conveying the meaning" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 344). Consider the following extract [Text 35] in which the phrase *press freedom in Kurdistan* is translated by implication as *پۆژنامەوانی ئازادی* ['press freedom'], since the co-text already indicates that *the Kurdistan region* is the subject in question:

(4.1) CPJ and Reporters without Borders [...] are giving a great deal of attention to the Kurdistan region and their eyes are on freedom, especially **press freedom in Kurdistan.**

کۆمیتەیی بەرگری لە رۆژنامەنوسان و ریکخراوی پەیمانێزانی بیسنور [...] زۆرتەین کاریان کردووە لە کوردستانی عێراق و چاویان لەسەر ئازادی و بەتایبەتی **ئازادی رۆژنامەوانیە.**

*[‘CPJ and Reporters without Borders [...] are giving much attention to the Kurdistan region and their eyes are on freedom, especially **press freedom.**’]*

Implication can be easily confused with other resembling translation procedures such as reduction and omission. For the purpose of this study, we shall clearly distinguish these procedures in 4.3.2 below.

4.2.22 Paraphrase

‘Paraphrase’, as a translation procedure, involves the explanation of the meaning of a unit or a segment of language which is usually used to avoid a literal translation that would sound unnatural or result in translation loss. Newmark (1988: 90) believes that paraphrase is typically used in the translation of “an ‘anonymous’ text when it is poorly written, or has important implications and omissions”. He also believes that paraphrase “is often used to describe free translation” (ibid: 91). The following is an example of paraphrase, in which the idiom *run the show* is paraphrased as ئێدارەیی پرۆسەکە بکات [‘manage the process’].

(4.2) Neither side trusts the other enough to let them **run the whole show.**

هیچ لایەک وەک پێویست متمانهی بە لایەنەکەیی دیکە نییە بۆ ئەوەی **ئێدارەیی تەواوی پرۆسەکە بکات.**

*[‘No side trusts the other side enough to **manage the whole process.**’]*

Several translation scholars raise concerns about the validity of paraphrase as a translation procedure. For example, while Baker (2011: 41) acknowledges the advantage of paraphrase that “it achieves a high level of precision in specifying propositional meaning”, she points out two of its disadvantages: (1) “a paraphrase does not have the status of a lexical item and therefore cannot convey expressive, evoked, or any kind of associative meaning” and (2) “it is cumbersome and awkward to use because it involves filling a one-item slot with an explanation consisting of several

items". Newmark (1988: 91) also expresses his concerns of the use of paraphrase in translation, stating that he is reluctant to accept paraphrase as a translation procedure, unless "it is used in the sense of 'the minimal recasting of an ambiguous or obscure sentence, in order to clarify it'". Likewise, Chesterman (1997: 104) has a negative view of paraphrase asserting that paraphrase "results in a TT version that can be described as loose, free, in some contexts even undertranslated". Moreover, Delisle et al. (1999: 167) also express concerns that paraphrase will potentially result in unnecessary gain in the translation, asserting "[w]henver a translator uses paraphrase, there is a danger that elements of information not contained in the source text will be introduced into the target text".

Nevertheless, paraphrase is an indispensable translation procedure, commonly used by professional translators. Despite the concerns raised around paraphrase as a translation procedure, translation scholars also acknowledge its practical uses. Baker (2011: 38), for example, refers to paraphrase as a practical procedure for translating concepts that are not lexicalized in the TL. Likewise, Chesterman (1997: 104) views paraphrase as a typical procedure for translating idioms that do not have idiomatic expression counterparts in the TL. Newmark (1988: 91), on the other hand, views paraphrase as an acceptable translation procedure when it is used to clarify "an ambiguous or obscure sentence".

4.2.23 Translation by omission

Traditionally, negative connotations have been attributed to omission in translation, possibly because 'fidelity' was considered the fundamental ethic of translation, whereas "the use of omission may entail not telling the *whole* truth" (Dimitriu 2004: 164, emphasis in the original). Taking on this negative perception, Delisle et al. (1999: 165) define omission as "a translation error where the translator fails to render a necessary element of information from the source text in the target text". However, several contemporary translation scholars view omission or 'zero translation' as a useful translation technique or procedure (cf. Baker 1992/2011: 42-43; Chesterman 1997: 109-110; Dickins et al. 2002: 23 and Dimitriu 2004: 163-174). Dickins et al. (2002: 23), for example, consider 'omission' a translation procedure that "can occur for many legitimate reasons", such as, eliminating information which is not particularly significant and tackling translation difficulties due to cultural differences. Taking a moderate view, Baker (2011: 42) argues that omission may sound a drastic change in the translation, however it is acceptable to omit certain elements (words and expressions), especially if

the meaning conveyed by such elements “is not vital enough to the development of the text to justify distracting the reader with lengthy explanations”.

In practice, omission occurs when a stretch of language, thus a piece of information, is simply left out in the TL without being retrieved from the context or being compensated for in another part of the text. Consider the following extract [Text 36], where the highlighted utterance is omitted. Since the omitted information cannot be retrieved anywhere in the context, the translation is deemed an instance of omission:

(4.3) [...] security forces had regained control of Sera Square and the provincial governorate had banned unlicensed demonstrations, **effectively snuffing out the protests.**

4.2.24 Translation by addition

‘Addition’, as a translation procedure, refers to “translation in which something is added to the TT which is not present in the ST” (Dickins et al. 2002: 24). It is generally easier to justify omission than addition in translation. In media translation, however, additions may be equally justified as omissions, especially when the addition is based on considerations of the cultural or world knowledge of the target audience. Consider the incorporation of the additional information highlighted in the extract below from a news report [Text 40], possibly because the translator may have felt that not all Kurdish readers are aware that the British government (which has the power to enhance the country’s international relations) is led by the Conservative Party.

(4.4) [...] some British officials have vowed to boost their country’s relations with the Kurds.

چەندین بەرپرسی بەریتانی **بەتایبەت بەرپرسانی پارتی پارێزگارانێ باڵی راست** داوای پەیوەندیەکی زیاتری بەریتانیا لەگەڵ هەریمی کوردستان دەکەن.

[‘several British officials, **especially the right wing Conservative Party officials,** ask for more relations between Britain and the Kurdistan Region.’]

4.2.25 Cultural redomestication

Not to be confused with Venuti's (1995/2008) 'domestication' translation strategy, our notion of 'cultural redomestication' is concerned with the translation of TL cultural terms found in the ST. A reasonable procedure to translate such cultural terms is to culturally redomesticate them, i.e. translating or transferring them back to their original corresponding terms in the TL. An interesting example is the Kurdish cultural term *Peshmerga*² found in the English STs. In the translation, the term is transferred back to its original corresponding term in Kurdish *پیشمرگه*. It is noteworthy that the term was originally transferred from the TL to the SL (in our case, from Kurdish to English) by cultural borrowing. When transferring the term back to Kurdish, the translation involves an opposite procedure – that is what we termed 'cultural redomestication'. The whole process is visualized in Figure 4.3 below:

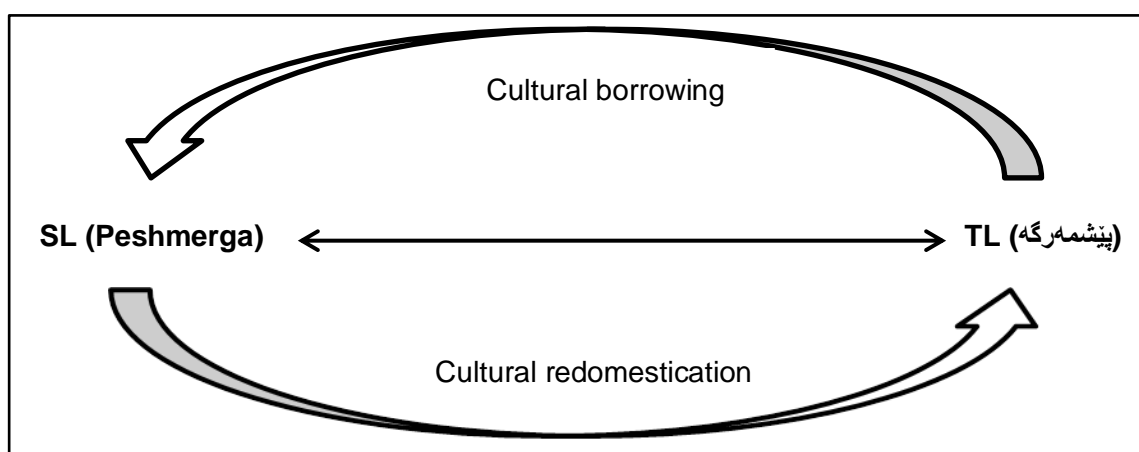


Figure 4.3: Process of cultural redomestication

The Kurdish institutional cultural term *Kurdistan Regional Government* presents a slightly different case of cultural redomestication. The term was originally translated from Kurdish into English by calque. In the data, the term is translated literally back to its original corresponding term in Kurdish *حكومتي ههريمي كوردستان*.

² Interestingly, at the start of this study, the term *Peshmerga* did not seem to be much known in the Western media - it was normally followed by a gloss as *Kurdish fighters*. The recent political changes in Middle East have brought the name *Peshmerga* into the forefront in a way that today the Western media no longer need to gloss the term.

4.3 Demystification between resembling translation procedures

In studying translation procedures, translation researchers unavoidably encounter the issue of fuzziness in the borderline between resembling translation procedures. For example, “when you analyze a translation and you try to say exactly which procedures have been used where, you often find that several categories explain the same equivalence relation” (Pym 2014: 16). It is therefore crucial, for practical reasons, to clearly differentiate between resembling translation procedures. In the current study, this concerned three groups: (1) ‘expansion’, ‘explicitation’ and ‘addition’; (2) ‘reduction’, ‘implication’ and ‘omission’; and (3) near-synonymy vs generalization and particularization.

4.3.1 Expansion, explicitation and addition

First of all, expansion does not involve or suggest extra information but solely deals with the number of word forms. It therefore has formal properties rather than the pragmatic properties of the addition or explicitation. Consider, for example, the term *siblings*, which does not have a one-word equivalent in Kurdish, has to be translated as خوشك و برا [‘sisters and brothers’]. The translation does not affect the semantic aspect of the term; it simply replaces an SL word by three words in the TL to convey the same meaning.

The issue of fuzziness then remains between explicitation and addition, which has actually been the source of different interpretations and views. Klaudy (2009: 104) summarizes these views as follows:

- 1) Addition is considered a more generic concept for explicitation (Nida 1964).
- 2) Explicitation is considered a broader concept encompassing addition (Séguinot 1988; Schjoldager 1995).
- 3) The two procedures are considered to be synonyms, as in Englund Dimitrova’s (1993) model, who uses the term ‘addition-explicitation’.

Each of the views listed above interprets the relationship between explicitation and addition from a specific angle, and thus, each has its shortcomings. The first view disregards the fact that some types of explicitation do not involve or require additional information (e.g. the replacement of pronouns by corresponding nouns). The second view suggests that everything that is added in the process of translation leads to

explicitation. The third view equates explicitation with addition, which disregards cases of explicitation which do not involve addition.

The most plausible mechanism for differentiating between explicitation and addition can be 'information retrieval' principle, i.e. whether a piece of information can be retrieved or inferred from the co-text or the context. The principle is, first, in line with the definition of explicitation; and second, it has been already successfully adopted by translation researchers (cf. Kamenická 2007 and Becher 2011). Becher (2011: 111) openly reformulates the principle from a formal-semantic viewpoint, suggesting that the addition of a term or an utterance can be deemed explicitation in two circumstances: (1) "if the item further specifies a state of affairs (in an inferable way) expressed by the surrounding discourse"; and, (2) "if the item expresses an additional state of affairs (that would be inferable if it were not verbalized)".

This simultaneously suggests that new information that cannot be retrieved from the context or situation can be deemed translation by addition. In this study, we shall deal with explicitation and addition as two distinct translation procedures based on the principle of information inference as reformulated by Becher (2011). To illustrate the procedures, consider the following examples [Texts 28 and 6 respectively]:

(4.5) In addition, **a large British delegation**, including companies from Northern Ireland, will be attending the Erbil International Trade Fair in October.

لهگهئ نهمش شانديكي بازرگاني گهوره بهریتانیا که کومپانیایکانی نیرلهندای باکووریشی تیدایه، له مانگی تشرینی یهکهمی داهاتوو نامادهی پیشهنگای نیودهولتهی بازرگانی ههولنر دهبن.

[*In addition, **a large British business delegation**, including companies from Northern Ireland, will be attending the Erbil International Trade Fair in the coming month of October.*]

As the example illustrates, the phrase *a large British delegation* is translated by explicitation as *شانديكي بازرگاني گهوره بهریتانیا* ['a large British **business** delegation']. Specifying in the TT that the delegation is a *business* one is something that can be easily inferred from the context; a delegation attending a trade fair is most probably a business one.

- (4.6) Hundreds of arrests were made and many were beaten and tortured during their detention.

سەدەھا کەسبەش دەستگیرکران، هەرچەندە زۆربەیان لەدواییدا نازادکران، که زۆربەیان بەتوندی دوچاری لێدان و ئەشکەنجەدان ببونەو لەماوەی دەستگیرکردنیاندا.

*['Hundreds of people were arrested, **although many were later released**, most of them were subjected to beating and torture during their detention.']*

Here, the translator added some genuinely new information: هەرچەندە زۆربەیان لەدواییدا نازادکران [‘although many were later released’]. This information cannot be inferred from the context; it is totally based on the translator’s extralinguistic knowledge. The example is an extract from a news report, where there can be at least two possible reasons for adding such information. First, the ST reporter might have been unaware of this piece of information, which the translator was aware of and found it significant to incorporate in the translation. Secondly, the significant information might have come to light only after the original report was released. In both cases, it seems justified to add the information in the TT.

4.3.2 Reduction, implicitation and omission

First of all, a translation marked by reduction conveys the same meaning of an SL segment with concision and brevity. It involves “the reduction of lexical items to a smaller construction to avoid awkward renditions caused by divergent rhetorical techniques” (Darwish 2010: 140). To exemplify reduction, consider the following extract [Text 36]:

- (4.7) One of Zahir Mahmoud Imam's six sons **was shot to death** during anti-government protests in Iraqi Kurdistan this year.

یەكێك له شەش کۆرەمەکی زاھیر محمود لە درێژەیی خۆشانەکانی دژ بە حکومەت لە کوردستانی عێراق کۆژرا.

*['One of Zahir Mahmoud's six sons **was killed** during protests against government in Iraqi Kurdistan.']*

As the example illustrates, the TL simply uses fewer words to convey the same meaning or report the same event: *was shot to death* > کۆژرا [‘was killed’]. This is an

example of obligatory reduction since the phrase *shot to death* cannot be literally translated into Kurdish without producing an awkward utterance.

As for the difference between implicitation and omission, three relations can be construed, as follows:

- 1) Implicitation which does not involve omission (such as the replacement of nouns by their corresponding pronouns and the translation of an explicit utterance by an implicit one);
- 2) Omission of information which can be inferred somewhere in the co-text or context; and
- 3) Omission of information which cannot be retrieved from the context.

The principle of 'information retrieval' can be of great relevance to explain the three relations. Based on this principle, we can safely suggest that the first and second relations lead to implicitation (see Examples 4.8 and 4.9 below, [Texts 45 and 40 respectively]), whereas the third relation leads to omission, i.e. the deletion of irretrievable information (see Example 4.10 [Text 21] below):

- (4.8) And Professor O'Leary also believes that Kurdistan Region doesn't have to wait for Baghdad's government to implement the Article 140, yet Kurdistan Region is entitled to do so by itself...

ههروهها نولیری بیروبوچوونی بهو شئوهیهیه که ههگیز بیویست نییه ههزیمی کوردستان بو جئیهجئیکردنی
مادهی 140 چاوهرئی حکومتی بهغدا بکات و خزی نهو مافهی ههیه...

[‘Also the Professor O’Leary’s opinion is that Kurdistan Region never needs to wait for Baghdad’s government to implement the Article 140, as it has this right...’]

Pronominalization, i.e. replacing a noun by its referent pronoun, is a typical example of implicitation which does not involve omission. In the example above, the noun *Kurdistan Region* is simply replaced by *it*, which exhibits an instance of implicitation since the reader can easily infer from the context that they are reading about *the Kurdistan Region*.

(4.9) The UK's coalition government is headed by **Prime Minister** David Cameron of the Conservative Party.

له حكومهته هاوپه‌پیمانەكەى ئەمڕۆى بەریتانیادا كە لەلایەن دەیفەد كامپیرۆنى سەرۆكى پارتى پارێزگارانى باڵى راستەوه سەرکردایەتى دەكرێت،

['In today's British coalition government which is headed by David Cameron the leader of the right-wing Conservative Party.']

Based on the principle of information retrieval, the omission of the term *Prime Minister* can be regarded as an instance of implicitation. That is because the co-text already suggests that *David Cameron* is a prime minister, given the fact that anybody heading a government holds the position of premiership.

(4.10) Many had long been denied Syrian citizenship, **effectively rendering them stateless**, until early April when Bashar al-Assad granted nationality to 300,000 in an effort to shore up his teetering government.

زۆر بەى كوردەكان لەمەنێژە لەمافى هاوڵاتیوونى سوريا ببەش كراون تا لەسەرەتای مانگی نیساندا بەشار ئەسەد لەهەولێكدا بۆ پشتگیرى كردنى حكومهته لەرزۆكەكەى رەگەزنامەى بەخشى بە 300,000 كورد.

['Many Kurds had long been deprived of Syrian citizenship until early April when Bashar al-Assad, in an effort to shore up his teetering government, granted nationality to 300,000 Kurds.']

As is clear, the utterance *effectively rendering them stateless* is omitted in the translation, which cannot be inferred from the co-text or even the context. It is a piece of information that has been left out either consciously or unconsciously. In both cases, the operation presents an instance of omission.

4.3.3 Near-synonymy vs generalization and particularization

To study the relationship between semantically related lexical items systematically, Dickins (2014: 67-68) suggests three categories of relationship:

- a) **Identity**: when two lexical items have exactly the same semantic range;
- b) **Inclusion**: when the meaning of one lexical item is included in the other; and
- c) **Overlap**: when two lexical items have some semantic features in common but also have features not found in the other.

The first semantic relation is what we conventionally consider literal or direct translation, such as the relation between *sofa* and its Kurdish equivalent قەمناخه, which stands for both *sofa* and its synonym - *couch*.

The second relationship is what leads to the two procedures of 'generalizing' and 'particularizing' translation, where the including element stands for the more general word (i.e. superordinate) and the included element stands for the more specific word (i.e. hyponym). Consider the semantic relation between *taxi* and ئۆتۆمبیل ['vehicle'], in which *taxi* is a more specific word than *vehicle* and *vehicle* is a more general word than *taxi* based on the fact that all *taxis* are *vehicles*, but not all *vehicles* are *taxis*.

The third relation, i.e. semantic overlap, represents what we consider near-synonymy, in which two lexical items share some semantic features but they also have features not found in the other. Consider, for instance, the semantic relation between *doctor* and پەشپۆر ['specialist'] in the sense that some *doctors* are *specialists* but not all of them, and some *specialists* are *doctors* but not all of them.

In the analysis of the three procedures of near-synonymy, generalization and particularization, we shall adhere to the semantic relations outlined above.

4.4 Translation strategies and the notion of equivalence

We defined translation strategies, above, as the overall translation orientation prevalent in a translated text. Almost all modern dichotomous translation strategies hark back to the age-old division of 'literal' (i.e. word-for-word) and 'free' (i.e. sense-for-sense) translation, which had been the two predominant strategies of Western translation since time immemorial up until the middle of the 20th century. This period is described by Newmark (1981: 4) as the 'pre-linguistics period of translation'. The second half of the 20th century, however, witnessed a major turning point in the development of Translation Studies in terms of the systematization of translation as a new discipline as well as the introduction of new approaches and novel insights in the focus of Translation Studies.

The contemporary translation theory has indeed considerably expanded and transcended the old debates over 'literal' and 'free' translation. Munday (2012: 48) argues that, from a modern perspective, the main problem with the old division of literal and free translation is that "the criteria for judgements were vague and subjective" and

the “judgements themselves were highly normative”. Among the most influential translation strategies emerged in the modern history of Translation Studies are: ‘formal’ and ‘dynamic’ equivalence by Eugen Nida (1964); ‘overt’ and ‘covert’ translation by Juliane House (1977/2014); ‘semantic’ and ‘communicative’ translation by Peter Newmark (1988); and ‘foreignizing’ and ‘domesticating’ translation by Lawrence Venuti (1995/2008).

These translation strategies mostly stem from the notion of ‘equivalence’, which is one of the most controversial issues that emerged in the modern history of Translation Studies. Equivalence is viewed as a key concept in translation theory and a useful yardstick in translation practice. Yet it is one of the most debatable concepts that translation scholars have failed to agree on its definition and its status in the field of translation. As Fawcett (1997: 53) puts it, it is “a concept that has probably cost the lives of more trees than any other in translation studies”. Some scholars view it as an unnecessary term and attribute to it no theoretical status, others conceive it as a crucially important element in both the theory and act of translation.

Among those who reject the equivalence is Chesterman, who describes the concept as “the big bugbear of translation theory, more argued about than any other single idea” (1997: 9). Likewise, Snell-Hornby rejects the concept, describing it as an “imprecise and ill-defined” term, hence “unsuitable as a basic concept in translation theory” (1988: 22). Similarly, in her influential book, *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation* (1992/2011), Baker claims that she has adopted the concept of equivalence “for the sake of convenience - because most translators are used to it rather than because it has any theoretical status” (2011: 5). Ironically, though, she has structured the whole book around the concept of equivalence.

Nevertheless, equivalence is a crucial (and perhaps the only) translation yardstick, on the basis of which the meaning and content of a message can be measured in the target language and culture. Translation scholars have already pointed to the importance of equivalence, both in the process and product of translation. In this respect, Catford (1965: 21) asserts that “[t]he central problem of translation practice is that of finding TL equivalents. A central task of translation theory is that of defining the nature and conditions of translation equivalence”. Likewise, Wills (1982: 102) claims that “[in] principle, every translation process is aimed at equivalence, meant to be attained by whatever translation strategy is selected”.

As discussed above, several dichotomous translation strategies have emerged based on the notion of equivalence. In the following, these strategies will be discussed in detail.

4.4.1 Formal and dynamic equivalence

Nida (1964: 159) refers to 'formal equivalence' as a translation strategy that "focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content". According to this strategy, "one is concerned that the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language" (ibid.). Although formal equivalence has some features of literal translation in terms of being primarily concerned with the formal property of a text, it is considered to be more practical than literal translation:

While literal translations tend to preserve formal features almost by default (i.e. with little or no regard for context, meaning or what is implied by a given utterance), a 'formal' translation is almost always contextually motivated: formal features are preserved only if they carry contextual values that become part of overall text meaning (e.g. deliberate ambiguity in the ST).

(Hatim and Munday 2004: 41)

However, Nida and Taber (1969/2003: 201), later referring to the approach as 'formal correspondence', admit that "[t]ypically, formal correspondence distorts the grammatical and stylistic patterns of the receptor language, and hence distorts the message, so as to cause the receptor to misunderstand or to labor unduly hard". Another drawback of formal equivalence is that "such a translation would require numerous footnotes in order to make the text fully comprehensible" (Nida 1964: 159), which is practically implausible with journalistic texts (the data concerned in this study).

In contrast to formal equivalence, Nida (1964: 159) proposes 'dynamic equivalence' (later, 'functional equivalence'), which is concerned with the dynamic relationship of the communication of a message in the SL and TL based on "the principle of equivalent effect". Nida claims that "the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message" (ibid.). This approach offers the translator a degree of freedom to apply various necessary translation procedures in order to achieve "complete naturalness of expression" and ensure that the receptor's response in his sociocultural environment is

similar to that of the original receptor (ibid.). With his approach of dynamic equivalence, Nida is said to have “introduced into translation a third player, namely the readership, which had previously been virtually identified with the translator, or with a vague, imaginary person” (Newmark 2009: 28).

Nevertheless, the approach has come under a cloud of criticism, especially with regard to the issue of ‘equivalent effect’ and the measurement of the effect of the message on the target readers. For example, Newmark (1988: 48) believes that ‘equivalent effect’ cannot be achieved “if there is a pronounced cultural gap between the SL and the TL text”. This is especially true of English and Kurdish, which are not only distant in terms of linguistic systems but also sociocultural differences. Moreover, Dickins’ et al (2002: 19) criticize the degree of freedom provided in dynamic equivalent to make almost every translation shift to achieve equivalent effect:

[...] ‘dynamic equivalence’ might be seen as giving carte blanche for excessive freedom - that is, freedom to write more or less anything as long as it sounds good and does reflect, however tenuously, something of the ST message content.

(Dickins et al. 2002: 19)

All in all, the success of translators in achieving equivalent effect is bound to the nature of the two cultures along with linguistic features and the context in which the translation is carried out. Therefore, “the appropriate response to the theory of dynamic equivalence is neither unthinking acceptance nor outright rejection. It is a translation strategy to be used where appropriate” (Fawcett 1997: 60).

4.4.2 Overt and covert translation

‘Overt’ and ‘covert’ translation strategies constitute the core of House’s (1977/2014) ‘functional-pragmatic evaluation model’, which involves a comparative analysis of the textual profile of the ST and TT, leading to the quality assessment of the translation as a result of identifying ‘mismatches’ or ‘errors’.

An ‘overt translation’ leads to a translation product that overtly presents itself as a translation and not a ‘second original’ (House 2014: 54). Although in overt translation the ST is tied to the source language and culture and specifically directed at members of the SL community, interests in the ST go beyond the SL community (ibid.). House

explains that two types of STs particularly call for an overt translation, namely, historically-linked texts such as sermons and political speeches given at a certain time in history, and timeless texts such as literary works and aesthetic creations (ibid.).

A 'covert translation', on the other hand, "is a translation which enjoys the status of an original source text in the target culture" (House 2014: 56). In this approach the ST is not specifically addressed to the source culture audience, nor is the message tied to the source language and culture (ibid.).

House's model obviously draws on Halliday's register analysis of field, tenor and mode. Theoretically, the nature of the model is very complicated with complex terminology. Practically, too, the model involves a series of complicated operations, which can be summarized as follows:

- 1) The ST is analysed in terms of register, i.e. field, tenor and mode.
- 2) A description of the ST genre is made, based on the register.
- 3) This is followed by a statement of the function of the ST, realized by ideational and interpersonal components of the ST.
- 4) The TT is then analysed in terms of field, tenor and mode, and simultaneously compared to the ST to identify what House (2014: 33) terms 'covertly erroneous errors', i.e. dimensional errors or mismatches and 'overtly erroneous errors', i.e. mismatches of denotative meanings and mismatches of TL system.
- 5) A 'statement of quality' is then formulated as a direct result of the comparison between the ST and TT.
- 6) Finally, the translation can be qualified as 'overt translation' or 'covert translation'.

Despite its complexity, the model can be considered a practical method for translation quality assessment. However, it seems to be of less practical use in this study as the model has little to do with the analysis of translation procedures, which are at the core of this study.

4.4.3 Semantic and communicative translation

Having realized serious drawbacks in Nida's receptor-oriented translation approach, especially in relation to the notion of 'equivalent effect', Newmark develops the two strategies of 'semantic' and 'communicative' translation, which are considered to present his major contribution to Translation Studies. Newmark (1981: 38) believes that

the full principle of equivalent effect is rather 'illusory' and "the conflict of loyalties, the gap between emphasis on source and target language will always remain as the overriding problem in translation theory and practice". To narrow the gap, Newmark proposes semantic and communicative translation as an alternative to Nida's formal and dynamic equivalence. In Newmark's terms (2009: 30), semantic translation attempts "to render, as closely as the semantic and syntactic structures of the target language allow, the exact contextual meaning of the original". Communicative translation, on the other hand, "renders the contextual meaning of the original in such a way that both content and language are readily acceptable and comprehensible to the readership" (ibid.).

Speaking of the relations of the three dichotomous translation approaches mentioned above, Newmark (2009: 30) concludes that:

Nida's functional equivalence and my communicative translation are identical, but [...] House's covert translation, which is similar, stresses the different culture in each of the two languages, rather than the effect on the reader. Nida's formal correspondence is a distortion of sensible translation; House's overt translation and my semantic translation resemble each other, but I put more stress on the possibilities of literal translation.

What makes semantic and communicative translation more practical than the other similar translation approaches is that Newmark (1981: 39-56) provides a detailed description of the two strategies, and makes a clear distinction between them in terms of several parameters, which are summarized in Table 4.2 below:

Parameter	Semantic translation	Communicative translation
Orientation	Focuses on the thought process; it only assists the TL readers with connotations if they are considered to be an essential part of the message	Addresses itself solely to the TL reader; it is thus TL reader-oriented
Culture	Rooted in the original culture	Introduces SL cultural elements into the TL culture
Time and origin	Not bound to any specific time or local space; different generations need different translations	Bound to the period of time in which is it produced and relevant in its contemporary context
Relation to ST	Always 'inferior' to ST due to 'loss' of meaning	Can be 'better' than the ST due to possible 'gain' of force and clarity even if loss of semantic content
Translator's freedom	Does not usually permit corrections and improvements	Permits corrections and improvements such as replacing clumsy with functional syntactic

		structures, removing obscurities, eliminating repetition and tautology, modifying and clarifying jargons, etc.
Use of form of SL	Is marked by 'loyalty' to ST author in such a way that violation of SL norms must be duplicated in the TT	Is marked by 'loyalty' to TL norms; the form of the SL is respected, but not at the expense of the TL norms
Form of TL	More complex, awkward, detailed and concentrated; tendency to overtranslate	Smoother, simpler, clearer, more direct and more conventional; tendency to undertranslate
Appropriateness	Suitable for serious literature, autobiography, 'personal effusion', legal documents, political statements, etc.	Suitable for the vast majority of texts, e.g. non-literary writing, journalism, technical and informative texts, publicity, standardized writing, popular fiction, etc.
Criterion for evaluation	Accuracy of the significance of ST; whether or not the significance of ST is reproduced accurately	Accuracy of the communication of ST; whether or not the ST message is communicated in the TL accurately

Table 4.2: Differentiation of semantic and communicative translation (adapted from Munday 2012b: 71)

Despite the contrasts outlined in the table above, the relation between semantic and communicative translation is a cline rather than a pair of binary poles. Newmark (1981: 40) highlights the important fact that even within the same text there are areas that require semantic translation and areas that are best to be translated communicatively. Taking the example of a news report, it can be claimed that the core information of the news needs to be translated communicatively, whereas quotations and areas of stylistic significance need to be translated semantically. As a result, "all translations [are] in some degree both communicative and semantic" (ibid: 62). In case of conflict between the force and the content of a message, communicative translation should focus on the force and semantic translation on the content. Newmark (ibid: 39) refers to the example of the French public sign *chien méchant*, suggesting that it is mandatory to translate it communicatively as *Beware of the dog!*, because semantic translation ('savage dog') would be less effective in that case. In other cases, communicative and semantic translation may come together:

Communicative and semantic translation may well coincide - in particular, where the text conveys a general rather than a culturally (temporally and spatially) bound message and where the matter is as important as the manner.

(Newmark 1991: 10)

As discussed above, Newmark's semantic and communicative strategies were developed after drawbacks were identified in the previous approaches, especially Nida's formal and dynamic equivalence. Newmark's strategies, with their clear differentiations based on a set of defined parameters, appear to be a practical model for the purposes of our study. Therefore, after analysing the general translation procedures (i.e. procedures used in translating non-cultural terms) in Chapter 6, we shall interpret their patterns in light of Newmark's semantic and communicative translation (Chapter 8) to draw out the overall translation strategies prevalent in the chosen set of journalistic texts.

4.4.4 Domesticating and foreignizing translation

A more recent translation approach is the dichotomous strategies of 'domestication' and 'foreignization', which are put forward by the American literary translator and translation scholar, Lawrence Venuti, in his influential publication *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (1995/2012). Venuti (2008: 1) uses the term 'invisibility' "to describe the translator's situation and activity in contemporary Anglo-American culture". He notes that the theory and practice of translation in Anglo-American culture have been characterized by domestication, whereby the main criterion for assessing the translation is fluency, i.e. close adherence to TL linguistic and cultural norms.

Venuti (2008) traces back the roots of foreignization and domestication to the German philosopher, Friedrich Schleiermacher, who believes that there are only two methods of translation:

Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him; or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him. The two roads are so completely separate from each other that one or the other must be followed as closely as possible [...]

(Schleiermacher 1813/2004: 49)

According to this view, the translator either applies a domesticating translation, i.e. "an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, bringing the author back home" (Venuti 2008: 15), or a foreignizing translation, i.e. "ethnodeviant pressure on those [cultural] values to register the linguistic and cultural

difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad” (ibid). In the case of domestication, the translator is invisible and the translation product sounds fluent and free from traces of foreignness stemming from the SL culture. In foreignizing translation, however, the presence of the translator is visible, which is reflected in reproducing the SL cultural features and identities in the TT, and the translation product signals the foreignness of the ST. Venuti, therefore, advocates foreignizing translation as a form of “resistance to values that prevail in contemporary Anglo-American culture – the canon of fluency in translation, the dominance of transparent discourse, the individualistic effect of authorial presence” (ibid: 30).

Despite Schleiermacher’s seemingly sharp distinction between foreignization and domestication, Venuti (2008: 15) picks upon the fact that Schleiermacher admits (with qualifications like “as much as possible”) that in translation it is impossible to achieve complete adequacy to a foreign text. Other critics also reject the idea of polarity in categorizing domestication and foreignization. Tymoczko (1999: 55-56), for example, believes it is impossible to deal with domestication and foreignization as a binary dichotomy:

A translation may be radically oriented to the source text in representing certain aspects of the source text [...] but depart radically from the source text in other respects so as to assimilate to norms of the receiving culture.

Venuti views foreignization and domestication from a political and ideological point of view. He believes that the domesticating strategy, that is currently prevalent in translations into English in the context of Anglo-American culture, imposes the characteristics of English language and culture upon translations into English at the expense of the linguistic and cultural characteristics of the SL. In other words, the tendency towards domestication gives English language and culture a prestigious position, while undermining the position of the minority languages that constitute the STs. According to Venuti, this phenomenon has created a culture that is:

[...] aggressively monolingual, unreceptive to the foreign, accustomed to fluent translations that invisibly inscribe foreign texts with English-language values and provide readers with the narcissistic experience of recognizing their own culture in a cultural other.

(Venuti 2008: 12)

Following Schleiermacher, Venuti (2008: 16) openly expresses his preference towards foreignization as a form of resistance, claiming that:

[...] insofar as foreignizing translation seeks to restrain the ethnocentric violence of translation, it is highly desirable today, a strategic cultural intervention in the current state of world affairs, pitched against the hegemonic English-language nations and the unequal cultural exchanges in which they engage their global others. Foreignizing translation in English can be a form of resistance against ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism, in the interests of democratic geopolitical relations.

Although Venuti introduced the model of domesticating and foreignizing translation in the context of Anglo-American culture, specifically in translation activities carried out by literary translators working into English, the model “can be productively applied to translating in any language and culture” (2008: 19). We shall, therefore, adopt Venuti’s strategies of domestication and foreignization to investigate the cultural aspects of translation in the chosen journalistic texts. Needless to say, the nature of this study is far different from the context in which Venuti developed his theory; in our study, English takes the position of the ST, as opposed to Venuti’s concerns regarding the hegemony of English as a ‘prestigious’ TL. Moreover, the text type (journalistic texts) that are concerned in our study is fundamentally different from the literary works that constitute the basis of Venuti’s theory. Nevertheless, the theory is thought to be a practical and viable one to analyse the patterns of cultural translation procedures in the data to draw out the overall cultural orientation prevalent in current English-Kurdish translations of journalistic texts.

It is crucial to reiterate, with Tymoczko (above), that the relationship between foreignizing and domesticating translation is that of a continuum rather than binary opposites; “the terms ‘domestication’ and ‘foreignization’ do not establish a neat binary opposition that can be simply superimposed on ‘fluent’ [i.e. adherence to TL linguistic and cultural norms] or ‘resistant’ [i.e. adherence to SL linguistic and cultural norms] discursive strategies” (Venuti 2008: 19). Instead, domestication and foreignization deal with “the question of how much a translation assimilates a foreign text to the translating language and culture, and how much it rather signals the differences of that text” (Munday 2008: 146).

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have studied the two key concepts of translation procedures and strategies. Since the two concepts are the backbone of this study, we considered different models of translation procedures and strategies from the point of view of various translation scholars. As a result, a composite model of translation procedures has been created, based on three prominent models of translation procedures, namely, Vinay and Darbelnet's (1958/1995) 'translation procedures', Newmark's (1988) 'translation procedures' and Dickins et al.'s (2002) 'strategic decisions'. The model covers both linguistic and cultural aspects of translation. With regard to the overall translation strategies, apart from the old-fashioned division of literal and free translation, various modern dichotomies of translation strategies were considered, namely, Nida's (1964) 'formal and dynamic equivalence', House's (1977/2014) 'overt and covert translation', Newmark's (1988) 'semantic and communicative translation' and Venuti's (1995/2008) 'domesticating and foreignizing translation'. Newmark's semantic and communicative translation strategies were found to be the most practical model to interpret the patterns of general translation procedures that can be identified in the data, and Venuti's domesticating and foreignizing translation strategies as the most practical model to interpret the patterns of cultural translation procedures.

Chapter 5: Corpus and Methodology

This chapter sets out to introduce the journalistic corpus chosen to be examined in the study and the methodology adopted to analyse the data. It presents the number and nature of the journalistic texts chosen and introduces the media outlets disseminating the STs as well as those translating and publishing the TTs. The chapter then proceeds to introduce the nature of the qualitative and quantitative methods taken to carry out a comparative analysis of the ST-TT pairs in terms of translation procedures and strategies as well as investigate various aspects of journalism translation in the Kurdish media. To delimit the scope of the study, the chapter also presents a case study of literal translation and highlights areas of basic systemic differences between English and Kurdish.

5.1 Corpus

Translated texts constitute a considerable proportion of journalistic outputs in the Kurdish media. Apart from the traditional news gathering from world news agencies, the Kurdish media have developed a new trend by specifically choosing to translate writings by non-Kurdish authors who present their viewpoints on Kurdish social, political and economic changes and developments. The importance of such writings lies in the fact that they provide interesting insights on how different aspects of Kurdish society are seen and perceived by others in the outside world. Besides, there is a general tendency in the Kurdish media towards foreign journalistic reports dealing with Kurdish affairs, which are considered to have a greater impact than reports produced by the local media (Hogan and Trumbour 2013: 49). The corpus material adopted in this study is based on those writings, which are mostly written in English and published in the global media, such as, *the Guardian*, *the BBC*, *Washington Times* and *Foreign Policy*. The Kurdish media are interested in selecting such foreign journalistic texts to translate into Kurdish due to their significance and relevance to Kurdish readers.

The data collection involved a survey of the Kurdish media to find journalistic texts translated from English into Kurdish during a timescale of one year - from January 2011 to January 2012. Most of the texts are first published in the print media and then made available on their websites. For the purpose of practicality and ease of access, the electronic versions of the source and target texts were taken directly from the websites of the media outlets. As a result, 45 English journalistic texts were collected

along with their Kurdish translations. The STs combined with the TTs make up a corpus of approximately 75,000 words (see Appendix 1), which is stored along with the rest of the Appendices on the CD accompanying the thesis.³ The STs come from 25 different media outlets, whereas their Kurdish translations are published in seven Kurdish media outlets (see Section 5.2 below). Among thousands of journalistic outputs in the source publications, the chosen texts have attracted the Kurdish media due to the significance and relevance of their topics to the target readership. The topics of the chosen texts are broadly of two types:

a) Kurdish-related topics: they revolve around issues related to Kurdish politics, economy, international relations and so forth. Texts of this nature cover news reports about political, social and economic aspects of Kurdish society as well as opinion articles expressing non-Kurdish authors' personal views and understandings of those aspects of Kurdish society. Such texts are mostly written by reporters or authors who are interested in Kurdish socio-political developments, and their writings often reflect their close relationship and familiarity with Kurdish society and politics. For example, among the ST authors are: William Hague, the former UK Foreign Secretary, who has worked closely with the KRG; Meg Munn, who is a British MP and Co-Chair of All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on the Kurdistan Region in Iraq; and Brendan O'Leary, a Lauder Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania, who served as a KRG's constitutional consultant during the writing of the Iraqi constitution.

b) Topics of global interest: they revolve around current international political issues, freedoms, human rights, educational awareness and so on. The importance of such topics lies in the fact that they are usually written by influential figures such as President Barack Obama, Hilary Clinton, Noam Chomsky and Paul Bremer, Thomas Friedman, etc. These writings are often not bound to a specific geographical location but they have a global impact and can be of great importance in raising people's awareness in every society. Moreover, the topics of some of these writings can be related to Kurdish society, albeit indirectly. For instance, Obama's op-ed in the *New York Times* (08 January 2011), 'In Sudan, an Election and a Beginning', focuses on the

³ The reason for including all the chosen texts in the accompanying CD is that some of the Kurdish websites from which the texts were collected have been redesigned since the data collection, but their older archives are no longer available. This is a constant factor with Kurdish online journalistic material.

South Sudan's referendum for independence, a topic that is of great interest to Kurdish people who dream of a similar opportunity to fulfil their aspiration for independence (see 6.1.15.5). In general, such writings express the authors' personal viewpoints, which are not free from the influences of their sociocultural and ideological background.

The nature of the data presents some uncontrollable variables: the STs are written by different authors and are translated by different translators from different media institutions. Moreover, the texts are of three journalistic subtypes: opinion pieces (editorials, op-eds and opinion articles), news reports and interviews. Given the nature of the chosen journalistic texts, it can be argued that the STs are written to provide an educated English-speaking readership with information and personal viewpoints on social, political and economic issues related to Kurdish society as well as global issues of international significance. The TTs, on the other hand, are intended to provide an educated Kurdish readership with information and personal viewpoints on social, political and economic issues related to their own society as well as global issues of international significance (to get insights into the perspectives of the translators on their assumed target readers, see Section 9.3.8).

The STs make a corpus of approximately 40,000 words, whereas their Kurdish translation makes a corpus of approximately 35,000 words. This finding goes against the general perception that "translation tends to be longer than the original" (Berman 2000: 290). There are two major reasons for the discrepancy in the word counts of the ST and TT corpora: firstly, due to the agglutinative nature of Kurdish language, it is normal to have two, three or even four words agglutinated together in the TTs (see Section 5.3.2.1.8 below); secondly, the percentage of omission occurrences (6.8%) in the data is four times larger than that of addition occurrences (1.6%).

The details of the texts adopted are shown in Table 5.1 below, in which the titles, the authors and the publications of the STs are displayed along with the titles and the publications of TTs. The texts are also categorized according to their subtypes, with 34 texts being opinion pieces (editorials, op-eds and opinion articles), eight news reports and three interviews. In the case of the interviews, the names of the interviewees are given as the authors of the STs. Due to space limitations here, the back-translation of the TT headlines is provided in Appendix 22.

Text Type	No.	ST Title	Author	ST Publication	TT Title	TT Publication
Opinion pieces (editorials, op-eds and opinion articles)	1.	Dangerously silent on human rights	Jackson Diehl	Washington Post	ترسناكى بى دەنگ بوون لە مافەكانى مرۆف	Sbeyi
	2.	This Is Just the Start	Thomas Friedman	New York Times	ئەمە تەنھا سەرمەتايە	Sbeyi
	3.	Behind Iraq's protests, a call for better democracy	Daniel Serwer	Washington Post	لە پشت خۆپيشاندانەكانى عىراقە، بانگەوازىك بۇ ديموكراسىيەكى باشتر	Sbeyi
	4.	Is Islam the Problem?	Nicholas Kristof	New York Times	ئايا ئىسلام كېشەكمەيە؟	Sbeyi
	5.	The Arab world's isn't clamoring for our help	Ann Applebaum	Washington Post	خۆ لادان لە عىراقىكى تر	Sbeyi
	6.	IRAQ REFLECTION: The State of the People's Uprising	Michele Naar-Obed	CPT website	حالىتى راپەرىنى ھىمانەى خەلك لە شارى سلېمانى /عىراق	Sbeyi
	7.	Trento's Take: The Other Other Iraq	Joseph Trento	DCbureau	عىراقىكى دىكەى تر	Sbeyi
	8.	Hard times looming for Iraq's Kurds	Sarah Reinheimer	Foreign Policy	كاتە دژوارەكان بۇ كوردەكانى عىراق لە دەرگەوتندان	Sbeyi
	9.	Turkish PM sets out on mission to become leader of Arab world	Patrick Cockburn	Independent	سەرۆك وەزىرائى توركيا لە ھەولەى ئەو دەايە كە بىيىت بە پيشەواى جىھانى عەرەبى	Sbeyi
	10.	Is Iraq the model for the Mideast after all?	Jackson Diehl	Washington Post	ئايا دواى ھەمو شتەك عىراق مۆدېلەكە بۇ خۆرەلەتەى ناوەرەست	Sbeyi
	11.	The Kurdish strategy for Iraq: divide and exploit	Ranj Alaaddin	The Guardian	ستراتىژى كورد لە عىراق: دايش بوون و سودمەند بوون	Sbeyi
	12.	Obama's bold gamble on Iraq	Paul Bremer	Reuters	قومارى بویرانەى ئوباما لەسەر عىراق	Sbeyi
	13.	Obama's Happy Talk Doesn't Change Iraq Reality	Max Boot	Commentary Magazine	قەسە دلخۆشكەرەكانى ئوباما راستى عىراق ناگۆرن	Sbeyi
	14.	In Iraq, a return to old enmities	Editorial Board	Washington Post	لە عىراق، گەر انەو ھەمەك بۇ دوژمنايەتییە كۆنەكان	Sbeyi
	15.	The End, for Now	Thomas Friedman	New York Times	كۆتايى، بۇ ئىستنا	Sbeyi
	16.	The Joy of Teaching in Iraq	Jim Owens	Insidehighered	چىژى وانەوتنەو لە عىراق	Xendan
	17.	In Sudan, an Election and a Beginning	Barak Obama	New York Times	وادەى وەرچەر خانى سودان	Xendan
	18.	How Democracy Can Work in the Middle East	Fareed Zakaria	TIME Magazine	ديموكراسى لە رۆژەلەتەى ناوەرەستدا	Xendan
	19.	Libya and the World of Oil	Noam Chomsky	zcommunications	بەھارى عەرەبى و پىنگەى ديموكراسى	Xendan

Opinion pieces (editorials, op-eds and opinion articles)	20.	Negotiating Kirkuk	Denise Natali	Foreign Policy	دانوستاندن لىبارەى كىركوكە	Xendan
	21.	Kurds May Lead the Way for the Arab Spring	Meghan O'Sullivan	Bloomberg	رەنگە كوردەكان رابەر ايمى بەھارى عەرەبى بىكەن	Xendan
	22.	Obama, abroad, is adrift	Jonah Goldberg	LA Times	سىياسەتى دەرەھە لای ئۆباما	Xendan
	23.	Kurdistan can be a model for democracy in a troubled region	Robert Halfon	The Commentator	كوردستان دەتوانىت بىتە مۇدىلنىك بۇ ديموكراسى	Xendan
	24.	Ethnic interests could trump economic sense	Joost Hiltermann	Financial Times	بەرزەھەندى ئابوورى و نىتىكى	Xendan
	25.	Iraqi Kurdistan Is Booming. Will It Ever Be a Separate State?	Larry Diamond	The New Republic	كوردستانى عىراق لە گەشەكردى خىرادايە: نايا ھەرگىز دەبىتە دەولەتتىكى سەر بەخۆ؟	Xendan
	26.	British MPs: Kurdistan Is Important for Reform In Iraq and Middle East	Nadhim Zahawi and Meg Munn	Rudaw	كوردستان گەنگە بۇ رىفورم لە عىراق و رۆژھەلاتى ناوھەراست	Rudaw
	27.	Change and Tradition	Chris Bowers	Rudaw	گۆران و داوونەرىت	Rudaw
	28.	UK Business In Kurdistan	Chris Bowers	Rudaw	بازرگانى بەرىتانيا لە كوردستان	Rudaw
	29.	The Queen's Birthday	Chris Bowers	Rudaw	رۆژى لەداكىبونی شاژن و كوردستان	Rudaw
	30.	Being a Good Citizen	Chris Bowers	Rudaw	بوون بە ھاوولانتيەكى باش	Rudaw
	31.	Oil and the Balance of Power in Iraq	David Romano	Gulan Magazine	نەوت و ھاوسەنگى ھىز لە عىراقدا	Gulan Magazine
	32.	Article by Professor D'Amato for Gulan Magazine: I remain of the Opinion that Kurdistan Should Become a State	Anthony D'Amato	Gulan Magazine	ھىشتا لەسەر ئەو باوەرەم پىويستە كوردستان بىتە دەولەت	Gulan Magazine
	News reports	33.	The dash for modernity	William Hague	UK/KRG	تەكاننىك بەرەو مۇدىرنىزم
34.		16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence	Hilary Clinton	U.S. embassy	6 رۆژ چالاكى دژى توندوتىژى جىندەرى	Hawlati
35.		"The Other Iraq" not so free after all	Tracey Shelton	Global Post	دواى ئەو ھەموو، عىراقەكى دىكە زۆر ئازاد نىھ	Sbeyi
36.		Kurds angry at corruption they see in their own government	James Calderwood	The National	كوردەكان تۆرەن لەو گەندەلىيەى لە حكومەتەكىياندا دەبىبن	Sbeyi
37.		Silenced Kurdish storytellers sing again	Constanze Letsch	The Guardian	حىكايەتخووانە كوردە بىدەنگراوكان جارىكى تر گۆرانى ئەچرن	Sbeyi

News reports	38.	Why do people set themselves on fire?	Kathryn Westcott	The BBC	بۆچی نارازییە سیاسییەکان خۆیان دەسووتێنن؟	Xendan
	39.	Iraq's Kurds satisfied with autonomy, premier says	Ben Birnbaum	Washington Times	د. بەرھەم سەڵح: ھەموو کوردێک ئاواتی سەر بەخۆییە	Xendan
	40.	British MP: UK-Kurdish Relations Based On Economic Interests	Rozh Ahmed	Rudaw	چۆن ماکوئەڵ، ئەندامی پەرلەمانی بەریتانیای بۆ (روداو): بەریتانیای بەرز موندی لە کوردستانە بۆیە خۆی وەک ھاوپیەمانی کوردستان پیشاندەدات	Rudaw
	41.	UK mission seeks to benefit from Iraq oil boom	Kiran Stacey and Elizabeth Rigby	Financial Times	ھەفتەی داھاتوو 70 بازارگانی بەریتانی سەردانی ھەریەمی کوردستان دەکەن	Rudaw
	42.	Turkish media call for unity following quake	Tim Willcox	The BBC	دوای زەمین لەرزەکان میدیای تورکیا بانگەواز بۆ یەکریزی دەمکات	Kurdiu
Interviews	43.	Michael Knight to Gulan Magazine: The Federal Government is fighting back against the distribution of power to the regions and to the province	Michael Knight	Gulan Magazine	راویژکاری پینتاگۆن بۆ کاروباری عێراق بۆ گۆلان: حکومەتی ئێستای عێراق دەپەیت ھەریەکان و پارێزگاکان ھەر دەستەلاتەیان نەبێت کە دەستور پێی داون	Gulan Magazine
	44.	Steven Zunes to Gulan Magazine: It is unfortunately that many parts of the Middle East are heading in a more democratic direction; see Iraq retrenching into more old style authoritarianism	Steven Zunes	Gulan Magazine	ستیفن زۆنەس بۆ گۆلان: جێی داخە لە کاتیگدا زۆر بەی بەشەکانی رۆژ ھەلاتی ناوێر است ھەنگاو بە ئاراستەیی زیاتر دیموکراسیدا دەنێن، دەبینن لە عێراقدا شێوازی کۆنەکەیی خۆسەپاندن قولتر دەکرێتەو	Gulan Magazine
	45.	Brendan O'Leary to Gulan Magazine: Only a fool would say the break-up of Iraq will never happen	Brendan O'Leary	Gulan Magazine	براندن ئۆلیری بۆ گۆلان: نابێت کوردستان بۆ چارەسەری ناوچە جێناکۆکەکان دەستەوێنێت نو دابنیشیت دەبێت جەمەکە بگرێتە دەست و پیشیاری روون بخاتەر و ئیلتزامی خۆی بەرامبەر ھاوولاتیانی غەیریە کورد بخاتە ئەستوی خۆی	Gulan Magazine

Table 5.1: Details of the journalistic texts adopted in the study

5.2 Media outlets involved in the study

As shown in Table 5.1 above, the STs come from 25 media outlets, mostly based in the UK (such as *the Guardian*, *the BBC*, *Financial Times* and *the Independent*) and the US (such as *New York Times*, *the Los Angeles Times*, *Washington Post* and *Time magazine*). There are also three Kurdish media outlets that published English STs alongside their Kurdish translations. First, *Rudaw*, which publishes mainly in Kurdish, but also has Arabic, English and Turkish sections. The former UK consul to Kurdistan, Chris Bowers, used to write a column for the English section of *Rudaw*, which would also be translated into Kurdish and published in the Kurdish section. Four out of the seven texts taken from *Rudaw* are written by Chris Bowers. Second, the *Gulan Magazine*, which has developed a new trend in the Kurdish media by choosing to interview specifically international experts and professors who are interested in Kurdish social, political and economic issues. The original interviews would be published in the online English section of the magazine and their Kurdish translation would be published in print as well as online. The official website of the KRG representative in the UK is the third Kurdish media that has English and Kurdish sections. For example, William Hague's opinion article about Kurdistan, 'The dash for modernity', is published in the English section of the website and its Kurdish translation in the Kurdish section.

As stated above, the TTs are disseminated in seven Kurdish media outlets, namely: *Sbeiy*, *Xendan*, *Rudaw*, *Gulan Magazine*, *UK/KRG*, *Hawlati* and *Kurdiu*. The chosen media outlets can be seen as a good representation of the Kurdish media; they represent the three main orientations predominant in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq - the ruling parties, the opposition parties and the independent media (cf. Birot 2015: 26), according to the political landscape during the time of data collection.⁴ Besides, they are of the most prominent Kurdish media players. *Rudaw*, which is affiliated with the KDP ruling party, has the motto 'the first and the unrivalled'. *Xendan*, which is affiliated with the PUK ruling party, claims to be the most popular online media in Iraqi Kurdistan. *Sbeiy* belongs to the opposition Change Movement and is considered to be among the

⁴ The political landscape of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq changed after 2013 parliamentary elections; the two former ruling parties (KDP and PUK) as well as the former three major opposition parties (the Change Movement, KIU and KIG) are all now part of the current coalition government, formed in June 2014.

most popular Kurdish media outlets. *Hawlati* is an influential Kurdish newspaper, which is considered “one of the region’s first large-circulation independent papers” (Watts 2014: 159).

In addition to the seven media outlets publishing the TTs, a range of other Kurdish media players have also been involved in the study through responses to a research questionnaire conducted with English-Kurdish journalist-translators working in the Kurdish media (see Section 9.1.3). Overall, therefore, 16 Kurdish media outlets have been involved in the study, which are briefly introduced below (only the first seven are part of the corpus):

- 1) *Hawlati* (www.hawlati.co) is an independent biweekly Kurdish newspaper.
- 2) *Kurdiu* (www.kurdiu.org) is the official website of the KIU, which is now part of the current coalition government.
- 3) *Rudaw* (www.rudaw.net) is a Kurdish media company affiliated with the current Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani, who is also deputy president of the KDP.
- 4) *Sbeyi* (www.sbeyi.com) is the official website of the Change Movement – a newly founded political movement, which is now part of the current coalition government.
- 5) *The Gulan Magazine* (www.gulan-media.com) is a KDP owned and controlled magazine, published in Kurdish, English and Arabic.
- 6) *UK/KRG* (www.uk.gov.krd) is the official website of the KRG’s representative in the UK.
- 7) *Xendan* (www.xendan.org) is a Kurdish media corporation, which belongs to Barham Salih, the former Prime Minister of the KRG (2010-2012) and the PUK’s deputy general secretary.
- 8) *AKnews* was an independent Kurdish news agency launched in 2008 and closed down in 2012.
- 9) *Awene* (www.awene.com) is an independent weekly Kurdish newspaper issued by Awene Printing and Publishing Company.
- 10) *E Kurd* (www.ekurd.net) is an independent online Kurdish media publishing in English.
- 11) *KNN* (www.knnc.net) is a subsidiary of the Wusha Company that belongs to the Change Movement - it consists of a TV satellite channel and a website.
- 12) *Medya Magazine* (www.medyamagazine.com) is an independent online Kurdish media publishing in English.

- 13) *NRT* (www.nrttv.com) is a non-partisan Kurdish media (a TV satellite channel and a website) owned by the Nalia Company.
- 14) *PUK Media* (www.pukmedia.com) is the Central Media Office of the PUK, which is part of the current coalition government.
- 15) *Shar Press* (www.sharpress.net) is an independent online Kurdish media.
- 16) *The Kurdish Globe* (www.kurdishglobe.net) is a weekly English newspaper based in Erbil, Iraqi Kurdistan.
- 17) *The Kurdistan Tribune* (www.kurdistantribune.com) is an online Kurdish media publishing in English.

5.3 Methodology

The study involves a micro-textual analysis of the chosen journalistic texts as well as a research questionnaire to investigate translatorial practices and the institutional setting in the Kurdish media. Both the textual analysis and the questionnaire will involve the two methods of qualitative and quantitative data analysis. As far as the textual analysis is concerned, the identification and categorization of the patterns of translation procedures primarily rely on a qualitative method, whereas the identification of the percentage of each translation procedure to construe the overall translation strategy makes use of the quantitative method. The questionnaire, on the other hand, is designed to elicit both quantitative data (through closed questions) and qualitative data (through open-ended questions). Overall, the textual analysis is predominantly carried out by the qualitative method, whereas the predominant method employed in the questionnaire is that of quantitative analysis. To follow a logical order, the textual analysis will be carried out first, which will then be followed by the questionnaire:

The qualitative stage [...] usually comes first, as you set up and define the concepts and categories you need; and the quantitative aspect comes in later, during the analysis stage – for instance if you want to make claims about generality or compare tendencies.

(Williams and Chesterman 2002: 65)

5.3.1 Textual analysis

The textual analysis will be conducted following Gideon Toury's (1995/2012) framework of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) that consists of a three-phase methodology, as outlined in Chapter 3.

Pursuing this methodology, after collecting the texts, the first step is to carry out an in-depth comparative analysis of the ST and TT coupled pairs manually to identify occurrences of translation procedures and determine their patterns. To analyse the translation procedures systematically, we shall apply the composite model of translation procedures formulated in Chapter 4. Due to the broad range of translation procedures employed in the process of translation, two categories of translation procedures will be distinguished: firstly, the general translation procedures, i.e. procedures performed in non-cultural terms, which will be analysed in Chapters 6; secondly, cultural translation procedures, i.e. procedures performed in cultural terms, which will be analysed in Chapter 7.

After the relationship between the ST-TT coupled pairs is established and an instance of translation procedure is identified, the ST and TT extracts in which the translation procedure occurs will be matched up and the back-translation⁵ of the extract will be provided. Except for borrowing, which can usually be demonstrated at the word level, sufficient co-text (normally a sentence) will be provided to demonstrate each instance of translation procedure in context, in which the area of concern will be highlighted. In the list of findings, which are presented in the Appendices, the translation occurrences are classified according to different categories of translation procedures.

As was indicated above, the STs and TTs were held in electronic format, in which the STs are paired with their TTs and each ST-TT pair is numbered for easy reference (see Appendix 1). In the textual analysis, the *WordSmith* programme (Scott 2008) was utilized as a supplementary research tool. The software as a whole enables generation

⁵ The back-translation consists of a close literal translation which conforms to the TL grammatical rules, unless an example is provided to demonstrate systemic differences between the two languages. In that case, the back-translation may sound unnatural and/or violate the TL grammatical rules, which will then be marked as *lit.* (see Example 5.3 below).

of a list of tokens and types in an ST or a TT, and the concordance facility allows a search for all occurrences of a particular term and its analysis in its context.

Nevertheless, the analysis process is not always straightforward, as it may also involve a manual process. Once a term is found to have been translated by borrowing, the concordance programme can be used to identify the number of tokens of the term in the STs. Since there is no guarantee that the given term is consistently translated by borrowing (or indeed by the same borrowed word) across the data, the next step involves a manual process to identify the procedure employed for translating each token. As an example, when it was realized that the first occurrence of the word *campaign* was translated by borrowing as كه‌مپەين (/kəmpein/), a concordance was conducted to find out all the occurrences of the word in the STs. The result revealed that the term occurred ten times as shown in Figure 5.1 below:

NConcordance

1 a small minority of which have waged a terrorist **campaign** against the government, claim a hi
2 to the military intervention by NATO. When the air **campaign** began last spring, he was on the ve
3 political. They followed what has been a mounting **campaign** by the prime minister, a Shiite with
4 the other Iraq. They even have an advertising **campaign**: Have you seen the Other Iraq? It's
5 of Suleimaniya Province fought a valiant nonviolent **campaign** in the form of street demonstration:
6 independence by Iraq's Kurds would be met with a **campaign** of military pressure, if not outright ε
7 all vacation together. What this Kurdish PR **campaign** omits is that the hospitable Kurds f
8 shisha cafe, Vino's Casino, to organise a prolonged **campaign**, said one of the attendees, a lawye
9 strategizing and learning from other nonviolent **campaigns**. They are in growing pains but firm
10 to lay down their weapons and join in the people's **campaign**. They shared flowers, candies,

Figure 5.1: Concordance result for the term *campaign*, ordered according to the first word right

After this result was achieved, a manual analysis was carried out to identify the translation procedure employed in each occurrence. It was found out that the word was translated by borrowing seven times (occurrences 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10), as presented in the table of findings (see Appendix 5). The rest of the instances were as follows: occurrence 1 was translated literally as هه‌لمەت; occurrence 2 was translated by generalization (*air campaigns* > هه‌رشه‌مان ['attacks']) and occurrence 6 was omitted along with the phrase *a campaign of*. It is important to note that, thanks to the speed and precision of the concordance results, the inconsistency in the employment of translation procedures and the lexical choices in translating the word *campaign* could be easily revealed.

After the patterns of the translation procedures are identified in the previous step, the next course of action will be to draw out the overall translation strategies in the chosen set of journalistic texts (Chapter 8). As discussed in the previous chapter, the translation strategies will be determined according to two paradigms: firstly, the orientation of the general translation procedures will be identified in relation to Newmark's (1988) semantic and communicative translation strategies; secondly, the orientation of the cultural translation procedures will be identified in relation to Venuti (1995/2008) foreignizing and domesticating translation strategies.

In this way, the methodology aims to lead to answering the core questions addressed to understand the nature of current English-Kurdish translation of journalistic texts, namely; the patterns of translation procedures implemented at the linguistic as well as cultural level and the overall translation orientations in the chosen corpus.

5.3.1.1 Units of translation

In any academic discipline, "one of the essential and often the most controversial preliminary step is defining the units with which to operate" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 20). Translation is certainly not an exception; the unit of translation has long obsessed translation scholars and researchers. For example, Newmark (1988: 31) refers to the sentence as a unit of thought, thus a unit of translation:

Since the sentence is the basic unit of thought, presenting an object and what it does, is, or is affected by, so the sentence is, in the first instance, your unit of translation, even though you may later find many SL and TL correspondences within that sentence.

Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 21), on the other hand, define a unit of translation as "the smallest segment of the utterance whose signs are linked in such a way that they should not be translated individually". It is crucial to point out that Vinay and Darbelnet do not consider each and every individual word as a unit of translation; instead, they postulate that units of translation "are lexical units within which lexical elements are grouped together to form a single element of thought" (ibid.). Hatim and Munday (2004: 18) explain that translation units are not fixed across languages; a small unit in one language may be translated by a larger unit in another language, and vice versa. These units, according to Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 27-29), work simultaneously at three levels or 'planes', as follows:

- a) **Lexicon:** this level considers lexical items on their own, regardless of the message they carry or convey. At this level, the lexicon is determined by substituting lexical items as units of translation within the syntactic structure of two parallel texts.
- b) **Syntactic structure:** this level views units of translation as a list of sequenced utterances arranged on a horizontal level. There are various factors that determine the meaning of a unit of translation at this level, such as, particular markers, variations in morphological forms and certain syntactic orders.
- c) **Message:** a message is the verbalization of a situation which cannot be interpreted in light of lexicon or syntactic structure, because the message is seen to come from a higher level of reality – that is of the context.

The division of translation units into three levels, as outlined in Vinay and Darbelnet's model, is of great importance for practical reasons. The model allows for identifying an occurrence of translation procedure within another. For example, the utterance *Land Rover being awarded a significant contract*, in the example below [Text 30], can be seen as a translation unit at the syntactic level, which shows a modulation based on a change from passive to active voice. On the other hand, the term *Land Rover*, within the same utterance, can be considered a translation unit at the lexical level as it is simply transliterated into the TL, which is an instance of cultural borrowing.

(5.1) Land Rover being awarded a significant contract > لاندروفر گرئیہ سٹیک کی کرنگی
 بہ دستہ ہونا [*'Land Rover achieved a significant contract'*]

In this way, an occurrence of one translation procedure can be determined within another. In the example above, an instance of cultural borrowing is identified within an instance of modulation. This is particularly important in the present study, which takes into account every single instance of translation occurrence, whether it be at the level of lexicon, syntactic structure or message.

In practice, the division of translation units with their usually obscure borderlines poses an instant dilemma. Moreover, it is always controversial whether to apply the units of translation to the ST (which does not account for occurrences of addition) or the TT (which does not account for occurrences of omission). Thus, in our study, the issue is particularly relevant in the analysis of the omission and addition translation procedures. To overcome the issue, these two procedures will be analysed based on the textual levels (i.e. words, phrases, clauses, sentences and paragraphs) at which instances of

omission and addition occur. This is a practical approach that takes both the ST and the TT into consideration. The disadvantage, however, is that it treats equally, for example, an instance of omission (or addition) at the word level (i.e. a lexical item) and an instance at the paragraph level (i.e. a bunch of lexical items).

5.3.1.2 Identification and classification of translation occurrences

As discussed in 4.2.4, literal translation is seen as a default translation, i.e. as long as literal translation is possible, the translator translates literally. The selection of a non-literal translation method entails a translation shift. The issue is that, in translating between two languages such as English and Kurdish, which are distant in terms of linguistic and cultural differences, the translator constantly encounters translation difficulties and constraints. It is at this point that other translation procedures come into play as problem-solving techniques and general translation shifts occur. To put it another way, everything that is not a literal translation can be considered a general translation shift. When this is determined, the second step is to identify the type of the translation occurrence and classify it.

The classification of the translation occurrences has been carried out according to two paradigms. The first is whether an occurrence of translation procedure is obligatory or optional (cf. Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 15-16). Obligatory occurrences refer to mandatory shifts and changes in the translation process that are conditioned by linguistic differences between the two languages. Optional occurrences, on the other hand, refer to non-mandatory changes that are chosen among possible alternatives available in the translation process. The second paradigm is that of the subcategories that may be distinguished in each translation procedure. It should be noted that both paradigms are in operation in the analysis of translation procedures such as transposition (see Section 6.1.3) and modulation (see Section 6.1.4), since various subcategories of the two procedures can be distinguished and each subcategory is likely to entail optional and obligatory instances. In other translation procedures, such as omission and addition, the paradigm of being optional and obligatory is irrelevant. An instance of omission, for example, can result in a more serious translation loss than another, but it is obviously subjective to label one instance as optional and another as obligatory.

As far as the first paradigm is concerned, wherever possible, efforts are made to spell out the rationale for qualifying an occurrence of a translation procedure either as

optional or obligatory. Consider the following example [Text 6], in which translating *arrest* (n.) as *دەستگیرکران* ['arrested'] is deemed an obligatory word-class transposition on the grounds that the Kurdish equivalents for the two words *arrest* and *make* do not normally collocate. In the same example, however, rendering *beaten* as *لێدان* ['beating'] is deemed an optional word-class transposition since *beaten* could be literally translated by its Kurdish verb counterpart *لێیاندر*.

(5.2) Hundreds of **arrests** were made and many were **beaten**...

سەدەها کەسێش **دەستگیرکران** کە زۆر بەیان بەتوندی دوچارى **لێدان** ببونەوه...

*['Hundreds of people were **arrested** and many were subjected to **beating**...']*

Although the study is not concerned with translation quality assessment per se, wherever necessary, the quality of the translation produced as a result of employing a given translation procedure will be commented on. The quality will be judged on certain criteria, such as:

- **Appropriate translation:** a translation in which the meaning of an SL term or utterance is effectively conveyed into the TL, without incurring translation loss.
- **Natural or natural-sounding translation:** the production of a stretch of language that sounds natural in the TT; a translation that sounds authentic rather than a translation.
- **Unnatural or awkward translation:** the production of a stretch of language that sounds unnatural in the TT; a translation that does not make sense or read smoothly in the TL.

5.3.1.3 Identification of overall translation strategies

After identifying the patterns of general translation procedures (Chapter 6) and the patterns of cultural translation procedures (Chapter 7), the next step will be to draw out the overall translation orientations in the chosen journalistic texts (Chapter 8). To do so, the general translation procedures will be interpreted in light of Newmark's (1988) semantic and communicative translation, and the cultural translation procedures will be interpreted in light of Venuti's (1995/2008) domesticating and foreignizing translation. The percentage of each translation procedure will be identified along with its orientation towards the relevant translation strategy. The aim behind this significant stage of the

study is to find out the overall translation tendencies in the Kurdish media, taking into account both linguistic and cultural aspects of translation.

The whole processes involved in the methodology for the textual analysis can be summarized in Figure 5.2 below:

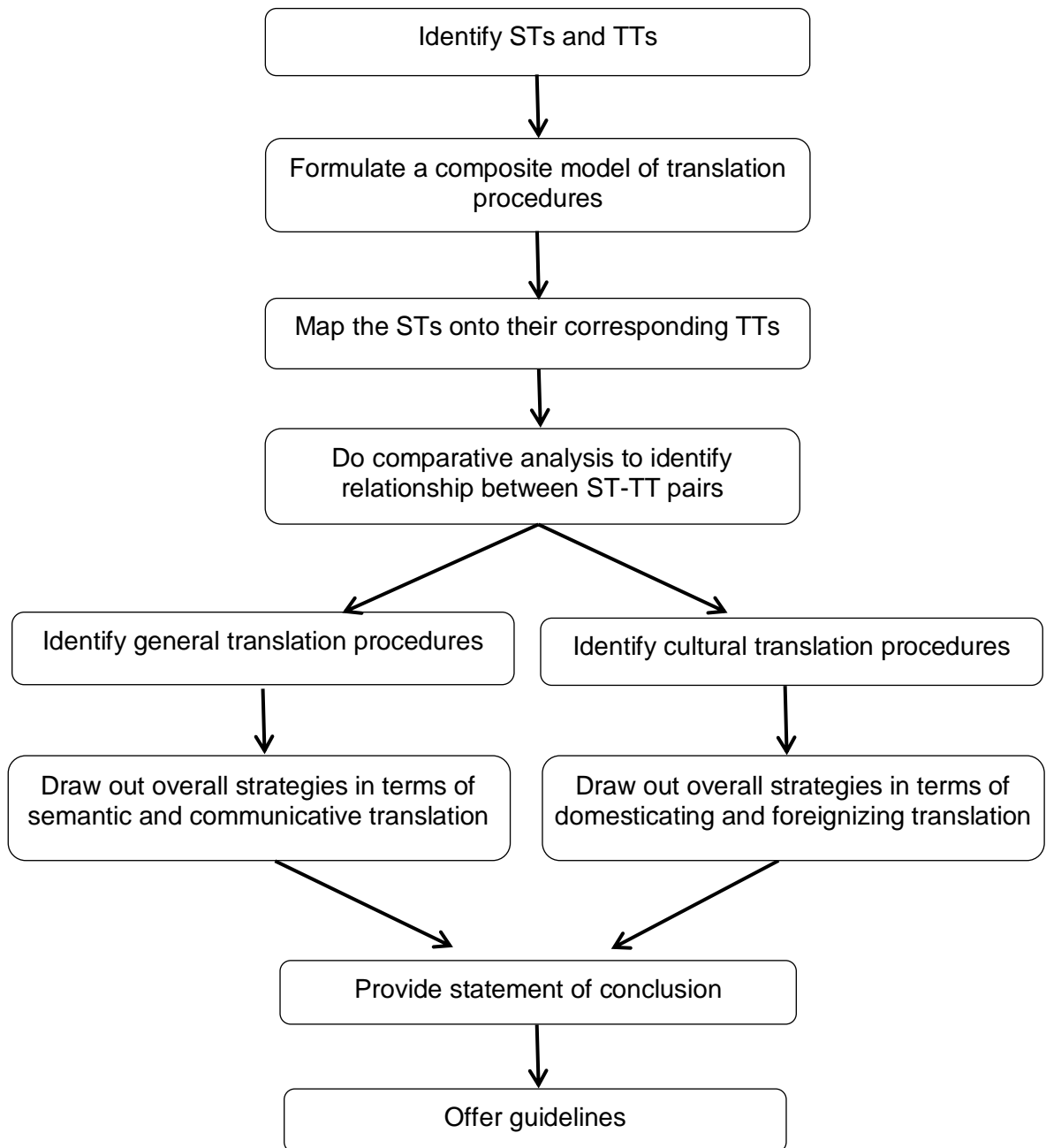


Figure 5.2: Summary of the methodology adopted in the analysis of the corpus

5.3.2 Delimitation of the analysis

To cover all the translation procedures employed in the data is beyond the scope of the analysis. In the following, two necessary actions will be undertaken to narrow down the scope of the analysis. Firstly, we shall exclude procedures that have been employed due to basic systemic differences between English and Kurdish that are unlikely to cause translation difficulties (see 5.3.2.1 below). Secondly, the literal translation procedure is presumed to constitute a considerable proportion of the complete 40,000-word ST corpus concerned, which makes it extremely time-consuming to record each and every occurrence of literal translation. The literal translation procedure will therefore be delimited to the analysis of a representative text (see Section 5.3.2.2 below).

5.3.2.1 Basic systemic differences between English and Kurdish

Different languages have different linguistic systems to form grammatical structures and express categories such as tense, number, person, etc. As a general rule, when translating from one language to another, the TL systemic conventions should be respected. This inevitably involves some obligatory changes and shifts. Some of these shifts are purely due to basic systemic differences between the two languages, which in principle should not cause translation difficulties even for novice or trainee translators. In the following, we shall identify the most relevant patterns of basic systemic differences between English and Kurdish that will be excluded in the analysis:

5.3.2.1.1 Transposition in basic sentence structure: the Kurdish basic sentence structure is SOV, whereas the English basic structure is SVO. Thus, in Kurdish, verbs normally occur at the end of sentences/clauses. This basic grammatical rule is assumed to be respected even in translations carried out by novice translators, for example [Text 21]:

(5.3) The Kurds of the Middle East **have been** long **fighting** for independence.

کوردەکانی ڕۆژھەڵاتی ناوەراست ماوەیەکێ دورودریژە بۆ سەر بەخۆیی **دەجەنگن**.

[lit. 'The Kurds of the Middle East for a long time for independence **are fighting**.']

The translation here not only involves a change in the basic sentence structure, but also a shift from present perfect progressive tense to present progressive.

5.3.2.1.2 Transposition in tenses: Kurdish and English are greatly different in their tense construction. Kurdish does not normally have past perfect progressive, present progressive, present perfect progressive and future tenses. Present simple is normally used to express present progressive and simple future, with the aspect of futurity being indicated by adverbs of time (for a detailed study of Kurdish tenses, see Thackston 2006: 75-84).

5.3.2.1.3 Transposition in possessive construction: there are two types of English possessive constructions: possessive 's structure (e.g. 'Malcolm's legacy') and 'of phrase' structure (e.g. 'the legacy of freedom'). Kurdish, on the other hand, only has 'of phrase' possessive construction. This indicates that, in translating from English into Kurdish, phrases constructed by possessive 's have to be shifted to 'of phrase' structure.

5.3.2.1.4 Transposition in plural construction: as a general rule, Kurdish nouns are pluralized by adding the suffix (ان –), and they are normally expressed in definite form, with the definite article (ـه –) being combined with the plural suffix to form definite plural maker (ـهکان –), e.g. گۆل < گۆلهکان [‘flower > the flowers’]. The relevant point here is that, whereas English definite plural nouns are used in the generic sense (e.g. *the Kurds* refers to Kurdish people at large), Kurdish definite plural nouns are only used when referring to a certain group of people or things. Thus, كوردهكان [‘the Kurds’] indicates a certain group of Kurds. To express the generic sense, Kurdish makes use of nouns in their absolute states, i.e. without any suffixes (cf. Thackston 2006: 8), for example [Text 11]:

(5.4) Of course, **the Kurds** do not have to be part of Iraq and could declare independence tomorrow.

بێ گومان مەرج نیە **كورد** بەشێكی بێت لە عێراق و دەگونجی سەبەینی سەر بەخۆیی خۆی رابگەیەنێت.

[lit. ‘Certainly, **Kurd** does not have to be part of Iraq and could declare independence tomorrow.’]

Therefore, in translating from English into Kurdish, English definite plural nouns are generally replaced by Kurdish absolute nouns. The phenomenon that involves a

change from plural to singular (and vice versa) is considered a type of transposition (Newmark 1988: 85). However, in the analysis we shall rule this out, since it is due to basic systemic differences between English and Kurdish.

5.3.2.1.5 Transposition in noun-adjective order: while English adjectives directly precede nouns (e.g. 'influential talk'), Kurdish adjectives follow the nouns they modify, with the linking preposition *ی* (corresponding to English 'of') in between, e.g. *influential talk* > *ووتاری کاریگەر* [lit. 'talk of influential']. A change in the position of adjectives is considered a transposition (Newmark 1988: 85). In the analysis, however, such a type of transposition will be excluded, because this phenomenon is purely due to basic systemic differences in noun-adjective order between English and Kurdish.

5.3.2.1.6 Transposition in cardinal numbers: Kurdish cardinal numbers are followed by a singular noun, e.g. *16 days of activism* > *16 رۆژ چالاکی* [lit. '*16 day of activism*']. This suggests that all English plural nouns preceded by cardinal numbers have to be shifted to singular nouns in translations into Kurdish. Although a shift between plural and singular is regarded as transposition, examples of this nature will not be considered in the analysis.

5.3.2.1.7 Implication in personal pronouns: Kurdish has independent and dependent pronouns. The independent pronouns stand for English subject pronouns, and the dependent pronouns agglutinate to the verb (in case of intransitive verb) and the object (in case of transitive verb) to indicate person and number. The independent pronouns are present in a sentence only in three circumstances when they are used as:

- a) subjects of equational sentences, e.g.:

من کوردم. > **I'm** a Kurd.

- b) emphatic subjects of verbs and topics of topic-comment sentences, e.g.:

ئێوه نه هاتن. > **He** came; **you** didn't.

- c) emphatic possessors instead of possessive pronouns, e.g.:

نیشتمانی ئێمه. > **Our** homeland.

(Thackston 2006: 14-15)

Aside from these three cases above, Kurdish independent personal pronouns are absent in a sentence. Instead, Kurdish uses their corresponding dependent pronouns, e.g. *We don't see a clear policy* > [lit. 'Don't see a clear policy']. As the back-translation demonstrates, the personal pronoun *we* (ئێمه) is missing in the sentence, but in the Kurdish sentence the pronoun is referred to by its corresponding dependent pronoun *ین* suffixed to the verb (نابینین). So, when translating from English into Kurdish, personal pronouns are normally dropped to adhere to the TL conventions. This phenomenon will result in implicitation, i.e. the omission of personal pronouns which can be retrieved from the co-text or the context. However, since the phenomenon has clearly to do with basic systemic differences, we shall not consider such instances of implicitation in the analysis.

5.3.2.1.8 Reduction due to agglutination: Kurdish is an agglutinative language, in which words can be formed by gluing affixes to the stem. The implication of this language feature in translation is that a group of English words may end up being replaced by a single Kurdish orthographic word. This phenomenon will certainly reduce the word count in the translation and result in what Newmark (1988: 90) terms 'reduction' and Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 193) call 'economy' (based on a comparison of the number of word forms alone). The most common categories that form agglutination in Kurdish are:

a) **Tense construction:** e.g.

Allan **has achieved** his goal. > ئالان ئامانجهكهى **بهدهستههناوه**.

b) **Negative construction:** e.g.

Allan **did not achieve** his goal. > ئالان ئامانجهكهى **بهدهستههنا.**

c) **Objective pronouns:** e.g.

Allan **helped them** achieve their goal. > ئالان **يارمهتيدان** ئامانجهكهيان بهدهستههنا.

d) **Possessive pronouns:** e.g.

Allan specified **his goal**. > ئالان **ئامانجهكهى** دياريكرد.

e) **Definitive and infinitive articles:** e.g.

Allan had **a goal**. > ئالان **ئامانجهك**ى ههبوو.

Allan achieved **the goal**. > ئالان **ئامانجهكهى** بهدهستههنا.

5.3.2.2 Case study of literal translation

For the purpose of this study, it is crucial to find out the percentage of the literal translation procedure in the data so that the overall translation orientation in terms of semantic and communicative translation will be drawn out precisely. To this end, Text 27 was chosen as a representative sample text. The text is an opinion piece, *Change and Tradition*, written by the former UK Consul to the KRG. The ST is published in the English section of *Rudaw* and its Kurdish translation in the Kurdish section. Since 34 out of the 45 chosen texts are opinion pieces, it was decided to adopt an opinion piece (as opposed to a news report or an interview) as a representative text. The reasons for choosing Text 27 particularly are: (1) the text is of the average length; and (2) it is one of four opinion pieces written by Chris Bowers, the only ST author who contributed to the corpus with more than one text.

To systematically analyse the text, we shall follow Vinay and Darbelnet's (1995) model of units of translation (outlined in 5.3.1.1 above). Although the main objective behind analysing the sample text is to identify the percentage of the literal translation procedure, the analysis will inevitably involve other translation procedures. Thus, the text is thoroughly analysed in light of the composite model of translation procedures formulated in Chapter 4. The analysis involves aligning ST translation units with their corresponding units in the TT and providing back-translations for the TT units. Moreover, the type of procedure(s) implemented in the translation of each unit is also specified (see Appendix 7 for the table of findings of literal translation).

The analysis shows that the ST consists of 287 units of translation, including the text (the main body of the article) and the para-text (the title, the name of the author and a short profile of the author at the end of the text). 22 units consist of cultural terms, which will be disregarded in this part of the analysis since they will be ultimately discussed in relation to foreignizing and domesticating translation strategies.

The results show that the 265 remaining translation units have resulted in 344 occurrences of general translation procedures. The disparity between the number of translation units and occurrences of translation procedures is due to three major factors: (1) the text contains 16 occurrences of translation by addition, as a longer profile of the ST author is provided in the TT; (2) there are 39 occurrences of explicitation in the text, which are established through incorporating conjunctions (such as *and*, *but*, *or*, *that*, *which*, etc.) into the TT; and (3) there are more than a dozen

instances where two translation procedures are implemented in rendering one translation unit. Since “a generally literal translation may contain elements that are not literal” (Chesterman 2011: 24), the combination of two translation procedures is fairly common in segments generally characterized by literal translation. For example, the phrase *from even ten years ago* is translated fairly literally as *سأل لعمم وپینش 10 لهگهل* [‘from ten years ago’], but within the phrase the word *even* is omitted. The whole phrase is then considered one translation unit involving both literal translation and omission. In the table of findings, the word *even* is marked by a strikethrough to indicate this is the omitted element. The overall results of the general translation procedures in the sample text are shown in Figure 5.3 below:

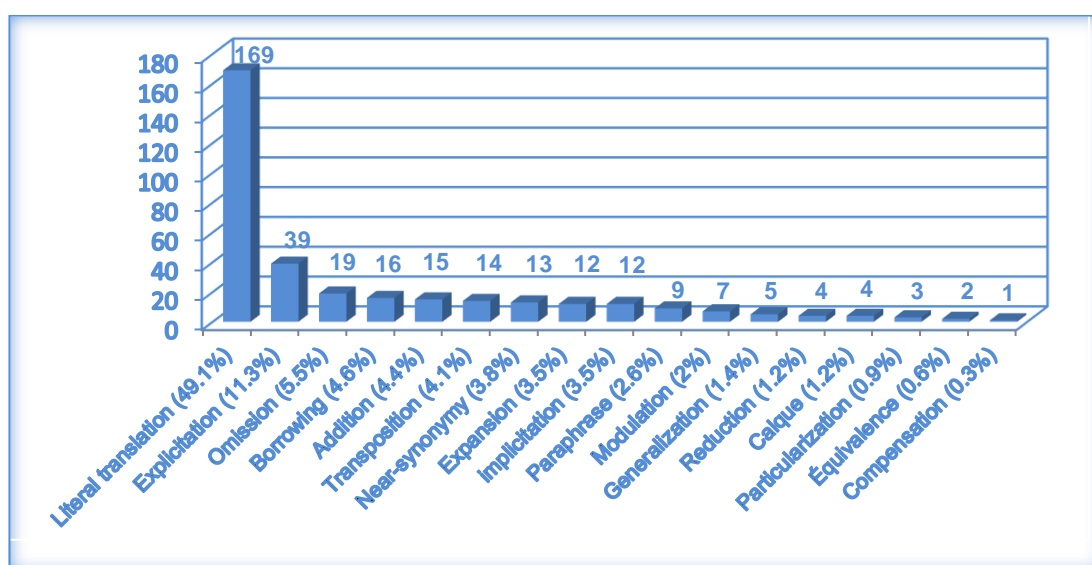


Figure 5.3: Results of general translation procedures in a sample text

As shown in the figure above, 17 general translation procedures have been employed in the translation of the whole text. Literal translation has the highest frequency (169 out of the 344 occurrences), constituting approximately 49% of all the general translation procedures implemented in the translation of the text. Yet, the percentage may be seen relatively low, which can be explained by the linguistic and sociocultural distances between English and Kurdish. That is because, as Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 34) describe, literal translation is particularly common between languages of the same family and common cultural values. When drawing out the overall translation strategies, we shall treat this percentage as giving a rough indication of the whole dataset (see Section 8.1). After literal translation, it is explication, omission and borrowing that also occur relatively frequently. On the other hand, compensation,

équivalence and particularization are the least frequently occurring translation procedures.

As the findings show, the instances of literal translation mostly operate at two levels of translation unit: (1) lexicon (e.g. *the mountains* > چیاکان; *identity* > شوناس) and (2) syntactic structure (e.g. *a strong sense* > ههستیکی بههیز; *from a distance* > له دوورهه). No instances of literal translation are found at the level of message, which is partly due to the fact that different languages have different ways to express a message, and partly because messages are always expressed by means of relatively long stretches of language, while “above the word level, literal translation becomes increasingly difficult” (Newmark 1988: 70).

Although this study is essentially concerned with the patterns and percentages of translation procedures, it is worth referring to the quality of the translation. With regard to the quality of the literal translation, the vast majority of the occurrences can be considered appropriate translations. Out of the 169 occurrences of literal translation, there are only three cases that can be seen as unnatural translations, as discussed below:

(5.5) Sometimes one can see the changes weekly.

ههندیجار پهکێک دهتوانیت ههفتانه گۆرانکاریهکان ببینی.

[“Sometimes one can see the changes weekly.”]

The sentence consists of five translation units: *sometimes/one/can see/the changes/weekly*, all translated literally. The only unacceptable literal translation is the second unit (*one*), because, in the given context, the literal translation of the pronoun *one* does not sound natural in Kurdish. The sentence could be more appropriately translated as ههندیجار دهتوانیت ههفتانه گۆرانکاریهکان ببینی [“Sometimes you can see the changes weekly”], which involves modulation, i.e. a change in perspective from *one* to *you*.

(5.6) I expect the scholars going to the UK to come back with: ideas and ‘know-how’ for change.

لهی خویندکارانه چاوهریدهکهه که دهچنه بهریتانیا و به بیرۆکهی نوێ بینهوه و بزانن چون گۆرانکاری دهکرتیت.

[“I expect from the students going to the UK to come back with new ideas and to know how change is made.”]

The term *know-how* is an informal technical term, which does not have a ready equivalent in Kurdish. In the chosen text, the term is translated fairly literally as بزانی چۆن [‘to know how’]. As a result, its meaning, as well as the meaning of the sentence at large, has changed considerably. The crucial point here is that the poor translation of a translation unit can affect the meaning of the sentence in which it occurs, and it may also affect the whole meaning of the text, especially if the unit is a keyword – which is not the case in the example above. Since the term *know-how* is a near-synonym for the more formal term *expertise*, it could be effectively translated by the near-synonym [‘expertise’] شارەزایی.

(5.7) It is only through debate that society **finds** equilibrium.

کۆمەڵگە تەنیا لە رێگەی گفتوگۆوە هاوسەنگی دەدۆزێتەوە.

[‘Only through dialogue society **finds** balance.’]

The verb *finds* is translated literally as دەدۆزێتەوە, which sounds unnatural. In English, the verb *find* has several meanings, such as, ‘to recover something lost’, ‘to discover or perceive on inspection or consideration’ and ‘to discover or attain by effort’ (Oxford English Dictionary 2015). The Kurdish equivalent for the verb *find* (دۆزینەوە) has a limited range of meaning; it is basically restricted to the first meaning, i.e. ‘to recover something lost’. So, any use of the Kurdish verb is likely to denote the first meaning, while in the given example the verb is used to mean ‘to discover or attain by effort’. The verb could be more appropriately translated by the near-synonym بەدەستەئێنان [‘achieve’].

To interpret the three instances above in terms of Toury’s (2012: 79) translation norms, it can be said that all three instances have produced ‘adequate’ translation in the sense they are SL-oriented, but are ‘unacceptable’ as they violate the TL norms.

5.3.3 Questionnaire

To gain insights into various aspects of translation practices in the Kurdish media, a questionnaire was carried out as a supplementary research method (see Chapter 9). The questionnaire, which was granted ethical approval by the University of Leeds (see Appendix 2), aims to investigate the nature of translation activities, the role of the translator, the institutional setting and the circumstances under which translation is carried out and the processes undertaken to bring about the ultimate translation product in the Kurdish media. The ultimate goal of using the questionnaire is to provide a second perspective to look at the findings obtained from the textual analysis.

This multi-method approach to real-life questions is important, because one approach is rarely adequate; and if the results of different methods converge (agree, or fit together) then we can have greater confidence in the findings.

(Gillham 2007: 2)

To proceed with the questionnaire, contacts were made with Kurdish media outlets that provide journalistic material translated from English into Kurdish, asking to get in touch with translators working between English and Kurdish. The translators were then sent the questionnaire along with the informed consent protocol (Appendix 3) to sign, in which complete information about the nature and the purpose of the questionnaire was provided. Overall, 12 translators answered the questionnaire, representing a wide range of media institutions (16 media outlets in total). The discrepancy between the number of the translators and the number of the media outlets is due to the fact that some of the translators are working or have worked at different media agencies (see Section 9.1.3). This number of participants seems to suffice to derive sufficient data for our purpose. After all journalism translation is not a widespread profession; the number of journalist-translators is far fewer than the number of pure journalists as well as pure translators.

The questionnaire is designed in a semi-structured way that includes multiple choice, close-ended and open-ended questions to yield genuine, worthwhile data. The questionnaire consists of three parts to derive both quantitative and qualitative data (see Appendix 4). The first and second parts look at the translators' personal details and education background, respectively. The aim behind this is to familiarize with journalist-translators as professionals working in the converging area between journalism and translation, specifically in the Kurdish media. The third part, which is the major section of the questionnaire, utilizes a set of close-ended and open-ended questions to explore various relevant and significant aspects of media translation practices, as follows: (1) the text selection process; (2) translation guidelines; (3) institutional setting; (4) the preferred topic of journalistic texts; (5) translation revision; (6) factors behind translation omission; (7) translation aids and resources; (8) assumed target readership; and (9) translators' perspectives on appropriate translation. Wherever possible, the findings will be linked to translatorial practices and institutional settings in other media cultures, specifically in the BBC. For this reason, personal communication via email has been carried out with Susan Fearn, manager of Journalism and Production Training at the BBC College of Journalism International

Centre (BBC Academy), and Najiba Kasraee, editor of the BBC College of Journalism's international websites.

Answers to the broad range of questions addressed in the questionnaire are hoped to help complete the picture of the findings emerge from the textual analysis. This will be achieved by providing a different perspective to explain and/or justify the findings. In this way, the overall findings will lead to an understanding of the nature of translation products and practices in the Kurdish media, as well as a retrospective understanding of the translation process.

Conclusion

This chapter introduced the nature and the make-up of the corpus adopted as well as the media outlets from which the STs and the TTs are collected. It also presented the detailed research methodology adopted, which consists of textual analysis as well as a research questionnaire, with both methods generating qualitative and quantitative data. The approaches taken to identify translation units, translation procedures and overall strategies are thoroughly explained. To delimit the scope of the study to a practical and workable level, two actions were taken. First, areas of basic systemic differences between English and Kurdish are highlighted to be excluded in the analysis, since they do not seem to be problematic even in translations carried out by novice or trainee translators. Secondly, the analysis of the literal translation procedure, which is presumed to comprise a considerable proportion of the procedures, was delimited to the analysis of a representative sample text.

Chapter 6: Patterns of General Translation Procedures

Translation is concerned with moral and with factual truth. This truth can be effectively rendered only if it is grasped by the reader, and that is the purpose and the end of translation.

(Peter Newmark 1991: 1)

In this core chapter, we shall apply the composite model of translation procedures created in Chapter 4 to identify and analyse the patterns of the general translation procedures employed in the translation of the chosen journalistic texts. The process of the analysis involves identifying occurrences of each translation procedure, offering critical comments on the effectiveness of the procedure and, wherever possible, highlighting the nature of the translation constraint inherent in the use of such a procedure. The aim behind this endeavour is first to understand the nature of linguistic shifts at the textual micro-level, thus paving the way for construing the global translation orientation in translations produced in the Kurdish media. Secondly, by introducing the patterns of translation procedures in translations carried out by professional translators, the chapter also aims to offer valuable insights for trainee and novice translators on how to employ various translation procedures effectively to eliminate areas of translation difficulty.

The composite model of translation procedures we have adopted consists of 17 general translation procedures, i.e. procedures used for translating non-cultural terms and expressions. In the previous chapter, we have already analysed literal translation through a representative sample text (see Section 5.3.2.2). In the following, we shall analyse the 16 remaining general translation procedures. The chapter will end with the analysis of the translation of the headlines of the chosen journalistic texts, which will be given a special focus due to the significance of the language and structure of headlines as a special type of text.

6.1 Analysis and discussion of the general translation procedures

To identify and analyse the patterns of general translation procedures implemented in the translation of the adopted journalistic corpus, we shall now apply the composite

model of translation procedures set up in Chapter 4. Overall, the patterns of 16 translation procedures, other than literal translation, are identified, which altogether consist of 4517 translation occurrences. In the following, we shall analyse the pattern of each translation procedure in detail.

6.1.1 Borrowing

In Section 4.2.2, we defined ‘borrowing’ as the use of foreign terms in the TL to fill a lexical gap or create a stylistic effect or introduce the flavour of the SL culture. In this section, we shall only focus on general or non-cultural borrowings, while cultural borrowings will be analysed in the next chapter (see 7.3.2).

First of all, it is crucial to point out that the data contains both old and new borrowings. English loanwords such as بودجه [‘budget’] and پەرلەمان [‘parliament’] and Arabic loanwords such as رەئى [‘opinion’] and ئىرادە [‘will’ (n.)] have been well-established in Kurdish and can be normally used in authentic Kurdish journalistic writing. On the other hand, English loanwords such as پاسىف [‘passive’], فوكەس [‘focus’] and بزنس [‘business’] are new borrowings that sound foreign and unfamiliar to most Kurdish readers. Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 32) contend that “[s]ome well-established, mainly older borrowings are so widely used that they are no longer considered as such and have become a part of the respective TL lexicon”. In this study, however, we shall not distinguish between old and new borrowings, because the criteria for distinguishing the two are always subjective and are based on intuition. Besides, the borderline between the two categories is usually fuzzy. For example, borrowings such as وركشوپ [‘workshop’], ئەمجىندا [‘agenda’] and كەمپەين [‘campaign’], which have come to Kurdish in the course of the last decade or so, may sound familiar to some Kurdish readers and foreign to others. Thus, they are located somewhere between old and new borrowings.

The results show that the terms that generally invite borrowing predominantly include, but are not limited to, political and ideological terms, technical terms and products of technology. Overall, 335 different tokens are translated by borrowing (see Appendix 5), which resulted in 1347 translation occurrences. As visualized in Figure 6.1 below, nearly two-thirds of the borrowing occurrences are from English, numbering 208 terms (including a few cases originally from other languages such as *coup* ultimately from French and *oligarchy* ultimately from Greek). 178 instances of the English borrowings are directly transferred into Kurdish (e.g. *background* > بەلگراوند and *master-plan* > ماستەرپلان). The other 30 instances are indirectly transferred. For example, the term

influence is translated by the borrowing of its near-synonym ههژمبون ['hegemony'] and *firm* is translated by the borrowing of its superordinate term کۆمپانیا ['company']. A smaller, but still large, number of occurrences are borrowed from Arabic,⁶ numbering 128 terms. Since Arabic is not a language involved in the translation, this can be seen as a considerably large proportion of the borrowings, which may be explained by the close social and linguistic interactions existing between Arabic and Kurdish. The Arabic borrowings are also of two types: (1) direct borrowing (109 terms), such as *ambition* > تموح ['ambition']; and (2) indirect borrowing (19 terms), such as translating the term *action* by borrowing its Arabic near-synonym ئیجرائات ['measures'].

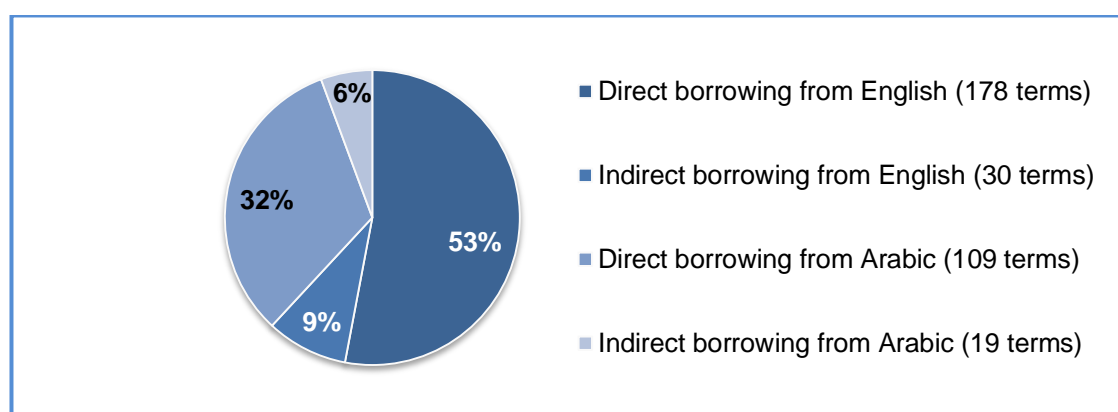


Figure 6.1: Percentages of different types of non-cultural borrowings into Kurdish

As far as the data is concerned, foreign words are used in three circumstances: (1) when translators encounter a lexical gap; (2) when a certain direct equivalent is not commonly used in the TL; and (3) when the borrowed word is considered stylistically more prestigious in the TL. These three circumstances are discussed in detail below:

6.1.1.1 Lexical gaps (lacunae): Vinay and Darbelnet use the term 'lacunae' to refer to "gaps [...] in the target language (TL) which must be filled by corresponding elements, so that the overall impression is the same for the two messages" (1995: 32). Such lacunae are "often associated with the problem of translation difficulties" (Anokhina 2013: 172). Borrowing is usually a handy translation procedure to overcome the issue of lacunae. In the data, lexical items such as *ambition*, *assassination*, *bank*, *blogger*, *budget*, *campus*, *challenge*, *diplomat*, *ideology*, *professor*, *strategy*, *veto* and *workshop*

⁶ The Arabic borrowings are transcribed in a modified version of Arabic alphabet, which is normally used for Kurdish.

are translated by borrowing because they do not have counterparts in Kurdish. In the table of findings, such terms are marked by a dash (—) to indicate a lexical gap, as opposed to those terms that have equivalents in the TL, which are provided in the table. Borrowing is not the only option for translating terms that lack a ready equivalent. In fact, some of these terms can also be translated by near-synonymy, generalization, particularization and/or paraphrase. For example, *challenge* can be normally translated by near-synonymy as بەرپهست ['constraint'].

6.1.1.2 Uncommon TL equivalent: there are several terms in the data that can be literally translated, but their direct equivalents are not commonly used in the TL. The translator has therefore opted for borrowings that seem to be more familiar to TL readers. For instance, ئۆپوزسیۆن (from English *opposition*) is used more commonly than its Kurdish direct equivalent بەرپهستکار سیاسی (Arabic borrowing for *political*) is used more frequently than its Kurdish direct equivalent پۆزەتیف; رامیاری (from English *positive*) is more familiar to a Kurdish general readership than its Kurdish translation ئەرینی, and so forth.

6.1.1.3 Stylistic effect/prestige: here Kurdish has an equivalent but its counterpart borrowing is stylistically more prestigious. For instance, the term *will* (as in '*the will of people*') has a ready equivalent in Kurdish (ویست), but its Arabic counterpart (ئیراده) sounds stylistically more impressive. Other terms like *fate*, *elite* and *mind* are translated by borrowing from Arabic as قەدەر, نۆخبه and عمقل respectively, although they have Kurdish equivalents (هۆش and دەستەبەزێر, چارەنووس). English words are also borrowed for stylistic effect, for example, the word سومبول (from English *symbol*) is used instead of its Kurdish equivalents هێما / نیشانه.

However, apart from the three reasonable circumstances above, borrowing has been also used in situations where Kurdish does have an equivalent and there is no apparent reason for using borrowed words. These usually demonstrate new borrowings that are caused by translation. For example, words such as *balance*, *candidate* and *chance* are translated by borrowing from English, whereas they could be literally translated as هاوسەنگی, پالیئوراو and دەرفەت, respectively. These non-obligatory borrowings can be considered appropriate since they can be understood by the target public. However, what seems inappropriate is that a set of other words (which could be effectively translated by their Kurdish counterparts) have been translated by borrowings which may not be intelligible to target readers. These cases are rather characteristics of translations carried out by certain individual translators, perhaps under the influence

of the SL terminology. For example, فۆکیوس (from English *focus*), کۆمینتاتور (from English *commentator*), کۆلۆم (from English *column*), بیزنس (from English *business*), میشن (from English *mission*), پیرفیکت (from English *perfect*) and ریسک (from English *risk*) can be considered inappropriate borrowings since they are unlikely to be understood in Kurdish and their usage will only lead to interruptions and incomprehensibility in the TT. Another pitfall is that some of these terms are transferred with mispronunciation, e.g. فۆکیوس /fokju:s/ for *focus*, کۆمینتاتور /komentætor/ for *commentator* and کۆلۆم /koliom/ for *column*.

Last, but by no means least, the results show a new trend in borrowing foreign words into Kurdish, which is the change of tendency from Arabic to English borrowings. Until 1990s, while the Kurdish Region was still ruled by the Iraqi central government, Arabic used to have a direct influence on Kurdish. The main reason for this influence was that Arabic was the only official language in Iraq, with Kurdish being recognized only as a “local language” (Hassanpour et al. 1996: 369). After the liberation of the Iraqi Kurdish Region and the establishment of the KRG in the early 1990s, Arabic seems to have discreetly yielded its position in favour of English. Besides, the rapid evolution of the internet and social media in the last decade has also been a significant factor in promoting English, especially among the younger Kurdish generation. In this regard, Birot (2013) observed that:

[...] reducing Arabic teaching material in the school curriculum and promoting English as a substitution for Arabic have resulted in a new Kurdish generation who do not understand Arabic. The promotion of English is driven by the Kurdish government as well as the media, but there is also a general tendency among the new generation to learn English.

Interestingly, this observed phenomenon is well reflected in the findings of borrowing. The data contains a good set of English borrowings, while around three decades ago the Arabic borrowings of such terms would be more common. For example, using English سێڤیل [‘civil’] instead of Arabic مهدهنی; بآانس [‘balance’] instead of تهوازن; میدیا; تیرۆرکردن [‘murdering’] instead of موعارزه; ئۆپۆزیسیون; نیعلام [‘opposition’] instead of نیغتیال; نیغتیال [‘campaign’] instead of كهههه, and so forth. This is an interesting area to be explored in future research from a sociolinguistic viewpoint, which lies beyond the scope of the present study.

6.1.2 Calque

As defined in Chapter 4, a 'calque' is a special kind of literal translation in which a term or an expression is modelled on the SL structure and its components are literally translated. In this section, we shall exclusively deal with non-cultural terms translated by calque, while calqued cultural terms will be studied under the cultural translation procedures (see 7.3.3). The data contains 116 terms translated by calque - 107 cases of lexical calque and nine cases of structural calque (see Appendix 6). Given the fact that some of the terms occur more than once, there are, in total, 180 occurrences of lexical and structural calques in the data, which are discussed in detail below:

6.1.2.1 Lexical calque

As indicated above, the vast majority of calque translation occurs at the lexical level. Most of the occurrences are political terms, compound structures and idioms, as follows:

- a) **Political terms:** given the political nature of the chosen texts, it is not surprising that the findings contain a great number of political terms and expressions translated by calque, such as: *anti-terrorism law* > یاسای دژہ تیرور, *cease-fire* > ناگر, *foreign policy* > سیاست دہر موہ, *rule of law* > حوکمی یاسا.
- b) **Compound structures:** compound words and terms also constitute a considerable proportion of the lexical calques. These involve the direct translation of each individual constituent in the compound, such as: *long term* > دریزخایہن, *starting point* > خالی دەستینیک and *workforce* > ھیزی کار.
- c) **Idioms:** they are language-specific expressions whose meaning cannot be deduced from the meaning of their individual components. Therefore, idioms normally resist literal translation and, in principle, they are unlikely to be translated by calque. Interestingly, though, the data contains 21 idioms that are translated by calque, i.e. they are replaced by TL idioms having similar meaning and form, such as:

- *come to fruition* > ھاتنہ بہر ھم
- *paved the way* > ری خوشکس بوو
- *lion's share* > بیشکی شیر

6.1.2.2.1 Structural calque

Structural calque occurs when a TL structure is modelled on the SL structure while its constituting words are translated literally. There are nine examples of structural calque in the data, which belong to two categories of grammatical structure, as follows:

a) **The English structure *not only... but also*** (نهك تهنها... بهلكو...ش): this is obviously an English grammatical structure, which is borrowed into Kurdish – a typical example of structural calque. The data contains four instances of such a calque, as in the following example [Text 17]:

(6.1) It will have consequences ***not only*** for Sudan, ***but also*** for [...] the world.

که پریشکی نهك تهنها بو سودان، بهلكو بو [...] جیهانیش دهنیت.

[‘It will have consequences ***not only*** for Sudan, ***but also*** for [...] the world.’]

b) **The concise time/age processing structure**: in English, indications of time and age can be expressed concisely, which are particularly common in the language of media. Duplicating these structures in another language results in a calque translation. The data contains five occurrences of such concise structures borrowed into Kurdish, such as: *a two-day visit* > سهردانیکی دوو روزه and *a 16-year-old boy* > گهنجیکی تهنه ۱۶ سالان.

6.1.3 Transposition

In our adopted composite model of translation procedures, we considered ‘transposition’ from Vinay and Darbelnet’s (1995) as well as Newmark’s (1988) viewpoint. Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 36) take a straightforward view of transposition, considering it a change in the word class without changing the meaning of the message. Newmark (1988: 85), however, offers a more detailed explanation, distinguishing five types of transposition: (1) a change from singular to plural; (2) a change in the position of an adjective; (3) a change in grammatical structure; (4) a change in the word class; and (5) the replacement of a virtual lexical gap by a grammatical structure.

The first and second types above will not be considered in the analysis due to their direct relation to basic systemic differences between English and Kurdish (discussed in 5.3.2.1.4 and 5.3.2.1.5 respectively). In the analysis, we shall then apply Newmark’s three remaining types of transposition. Overall, the data contains 262 occurrences of transposition (see Appendix 8) – 60 occurrences represent transposition in

grammatical structure; 169 occurrences involve a change in the word class; and 33 occurrences involve a change from lexical item to a grammatical structure.

6.1.3.1 A change in grammatical structure

Three categories of transposition in grammatical structure are identified in the data: (1) transposition in the construction of conditional clause (8 occurrences); (2) transposition in the construction of direct speech (46 occurrences); and (3) transposition from direct to reported speech (6 occurrences).

6.1.3.1.1 Transposition in conditional structure

While English conditional clauses can be established by different alternative grammatical structures, Kurdish has only one possible structure, which is the 'if clause'. That is why, in the data, different English conditional constructions have been transposed to Kurdish 'if phrase', as illustrated in the example below [Texts 23]:

(6.2) **Should the Assad regime fall**, a political arrangement [...] would give the Kurds a real place at the table.

نهگەر رژیمی نهسههه بروختیت، ریشوئینیکی سیاسی [...] له گفتوگۆکاندا بێگهیهکی راستهقیینه به کوردهکان
دمبهخشیت.

*['If the Assad regime falls, a political arrangement based on power-sharing
[...] will give the Kurds a real status in the dialogues.']*

As the example shows, the SL conditional clause is established by means of the modal verb *should*, which had to be transposed to the Kurdish 'if clause' (نهگەر) in the translation.

6.1.3.1.2 Transposition in the direct speech construction

By nature, journalistic texts, especially news reports, contain an abundance of direct speeches. English and Kurdish demonstrate a discrepancy in their construction of direct speech. In English, there are three possible ways to construct direct speech: (1) the speaker precedes the direct speech, (2) the speaker follows the direct speech, and (3) the speaker comes in the middle of the direct speech, i.e. the split type. In Kurdish, however, the only conventional construction is the first one, i.e. the speaker precedes the direct speech. Thus, examples of the second and third types have to be transposed

in translations into Kurdish, as demonstrated in Examples 6.3 [Text 39] and 6.4 [Text 36] below:

- (6.3) "Should Iraq be dismembered, I can say that it won't be the Kurds who will be the agents of division," **Mr. Salih said.**

د. بهرهم ناشکرایکرد: "نهگهر عیراق پارچه پارچه بیت، دهتوانم بئیم که کورد هۆکار و نامرازی نهو دابهشکردنه نابن."

[***Dr. Braham revealed:*** "if Iraq is dismembered, I can say that the Kurds won't be the cause and means of this division."]

- (6.4) "I don't want a government like this, because they just serve themselves, not the society," **Mr Imam said.** "Some people have everything, but most have very little..."

زاهیر محهمهد دهئیت "حکومەتیکی لهم جورهم ناوئیت چونکه تهنها خزمەتی خویان دهکهن و هیچ بو کومهلگا ناکهن، ههندئ کەس ههمو شتتیکیان ههیه و نهوانی تر بریکی زور کهمیان ههیه..."

[***Zahir Mohammed says*** "I don't want a government like this, because they just serve themselves, not the society, some people have everything, others have very little..."]

The fact that the names of the reported speakers have changed is something having to do with the cultural differences in forms of address in English and Kurdish. This area is dealt with as part of the cultural aspects of translation (see 7.3.7.2).

6.1.3.1.3 Transposition from direct to reported speech

Direct reporting is a feature of media discourse and has the privilege of "legitimising what is reported" (Caldas-Coulthard 1997: 59). In principle, a direct quote ought to be rendered by a direct quote and an indirect quote by an indirect one (cf. Darwish 2010: 203). Any change from direct to reported speech can be considered a textual transposition at the level of discourse. It is, in the first place, questionable whether journalist-translators have the right to convey direct speech as reported speech in the TT. Nevertheless, the data contains six examples of this type of transposition, all involving a change from direct to reported speech, as illustrated in the following example [Text 36]:

(6.5) **"We were not politicians. We were just people with requests,"** Mr Kamal said.

کاروان کەمال دەئێت نێمه سیاسى نەبووین تەنھا کۆمەڵێک خەڵک بووین کە داوامان هەبوو.

[lit. 'Karwan Kamal says **we were not politicians, we were just a group of people who had demands.**']

6.1.3.2 Word-class transposition

The data contains both obligatory and optional categories of word-class transposition, with instances accepting direct translation being classified as optional transposition and instances rejecting direct translation as obligatory.

6.1.3.2.1 Obligatory word class transposition

The findings show that there are 79 instances of obligatory transposition in the word class. Most of these words are transposed because they do not have same word class counterparts in Kurdish. For example, Kurdish does not have an equivalent verb for *destabilize*, it has only the adjective form نائارام ['unstable'] and noun form نائارامیی ['instability']. Therefore, in the translation, the verb is replaced by its derivative noun نائارامیی ['instability']. The adjective *genocidal*, again, does not have an adjective counterpart in Kurdish, thus its noun form *genocide* is used in the translation.

Obligatory transpositions due to lack of same word class equivalent are of various patterns, as follows:

- a) **Adjective > Noun:** *feudal* > دەرەبەگایەتی ['feudalism']; *justified* > پاساو ['justification']
- b) **Adjective > Verb:** *self-governing* > خۆی بەرێوەدەبات ['governs itself']
- c) **Adverb > Verb:** *arguably* > مشتومر دەکرێت ['argued']
- d) **Noun > Adjective:** *financing* (n.) > دارایی ['financial']
- e) **Noun > Verb:** *mention* (n.) > باسکرد ['mentioned']
- f) **Verb > Noun:** *equipped* > کەرەستە ['equipment']; *risked* > مەترسی ['risk' (n.)]

Other cases are obligatorily transposed because of collocational constraints. Collocation is defined as "the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of text (Sinclair 1991: 71). Since the use of collocation "tends to be highly language-

specific” (Altenberg and Granger 2002: 30), translators are likely to encounter translation difficulties inherited in different collocational systems. For example, the word *answer* in the utterance ‘*They readily volunteer answers*’ is a noun and has a noun equivalent in Kurdish وه‌لام, but in the translation it is transposed into its verb form وه‌لام ده‌دهنهوه [‘they answer’]. The transposition in this case is obligatory, since the direct equivalents of the two words *volunteer* and *answer* do not collocate in the TL. Similarly, in Kurdish, the word *share* does not collocate with the nouns *handshakes* and *hugs*. Therefore, the two nouns are translated by their verb forms in the following extract [Text 6]:

(6.6) They shared flowers, candies, **handshakes** and **hugs** with the soldier.

گۆل و شیرینیان به‌سه‌ر سه‌ربازه‌کاندا دابه‌ش ده‌کرد و ته‌وقه‌ه‌یان له‌گه‌ندا ده‌کردن و باوه‌شیان پیا‌دا ده‌کردن.

[‘They shared flowers and candies, with the soldiers and they **were shaking hands** with them and **hugging** them.’]

According to Newmark (1988: 86), obligatory word-class transposition also occurs “where literal translation is grammatically possible but may not accord with natural usage in the TL”. In other words, word-class transpositions sometimes occur not because such words cannot otherwise be translated, but to produce a natural-sounding translation. For instance, it sounds more natural to translate the extract ‘*Natural catastrophes also make us equal*’ as هه‌روه‌ها کارساته‌ سروشتیه‌کان په‌کسانی له‌ نیوانماندا به‌ریا ده‌کهن [‘Natural catastrophes also bring about **equality** among us’]; it sounds more conventional to translate the sentence ‘*The sense of social justice is strongly rooted in the Koran*’ as هه‌یه‌ له‌ قورئاندا ده‌گی [‘Social justice has deep **roots** in the Koran’], and so forth.

6.1.3.2.2 Optional word-class transposition

The majority of word-class transpositions in the data are in fact optional transpositions (90 occurrences), which are of various patterns, such as:

- 1) **Adjective > Adverb:** *clear* > به‌روونی [‘clearly’]; *violent* > توندوتیژانه [‘violently’]
- 2) **Adjective > Noun:** *knowledgeable* > زانیاری [‘knowledge’]; *friendly* > هاوڕێیه‌تی [‘friendship’]; *democratizing* > دیموکراسی [‘democracy’]

- 3) **Adjective > Verb:** *perpetual* > بەردەوامی دەدا ['perpetuated']
- 4) **Noun > Adjective:** *constitution* > دەستووری ['constitutional']; *culture* > کەلتوریی ['cultural']
- 5) **Noun > Verb:** *implemented* > جێبەجێکردن ['implementation']; *rule* (v.) > دەسەڵاتدار ['ruler']
- 6) **Verb > Adjective:** *separates* > جیاکەرەوە ['separating']; *benefited* > سوودمەند ['beneficial']
- 7) **Verb > Noun:** *trust* (v.) > متمانە ['trust' (n.)]; *researched* > لێکۆڵینەوە ['research']

All these cases are regarded as optional transpositions because they could be effectively translated without resorting to transposition. Consider for example, in the given situation, the adjective *knowledgeable* could be translated as the TL adjective *پێزانیاری*; the verb *trust* could be translated as the TL verb *پێکردن*, and so forth.

6.1.3.3 Transposition from lexical item to grammatical structure

This type of transposition corresponds to Catford's level shift (1965: 73-75; 2000: 141-143), i.e. the replacement of a lexical item by a grammatical construction. This is particularly common in the translation of adverbs. Most English adverbs formed by the suffix '-ly' can only be translated into Kurdish by grammatical structures, specifically adverbial expressions, as in the examples below. Interestingly, Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 67) find a similar phenomenon in translating English adverbs into French.

- *highly* > ئاستیکی بەرز ['a high level']
- *ethnically* > لە ڕووی نێتیکیهوه ['in terms of ethnicity']
- *strikingly* > بەشێوەیەکی سەرنجراکێش ['in a striking way']

The data also contains a few exceptional cases where English adverbs formed by '-ly' can be directly translated. Translating such adverbs by TL adverbial expressions presents an optional case of transposition. For example, the adverb *naturally* can be literally translated as *سروشتیانە*, but in the data it is translated by the adverbial expression *بەشێوەیەکی سروشتی* ['in a natural way']. In that case, transposition has been used either for stylistic purposes or as a matter of preference.

6.1.4 Modulation

As defined in Section 4.2.6, 'modulation' involves a change in the viewpoint of the message or of the category of thought, i.e. in the way a subject matter is viewed or a

state of mind is expressed. Pursuing Vinay and Darbelnet's model, we shall distinguish between 'obligatory' and 'optional' paradigms of modulation, with each paradigm being classified into different types of modulation. Overall, there are 230 instances of modulation in the data (see Appendix 9), which are distributed according to different paradigms and types, as shown in Table 6.1 below:

Types of Modulation	Occurrences of obligatory modulations	Occurrences of optional modulations
1. Abstract < > concrete	4	24
2. Explicative modulation (effect < > cause)	0	9
3. Part < > whole	1	36
4. Part < > another part	0	2
5. Reversal of terms	3	5
6. Negation of the opposite	16	26
7. Active < > passive	25	65
8. Space < > time	1	5
9. Exchange of intervals for limits (in space and time)	0	0
10. Change of symbol	8	0
Total	58	172
	230	

Table 6.1: Occurrences of different types of modulation in the data

As shown in the table above, 'negation of the opposite' and 'active < > passive' are the most common types of modulation. This is an affirmation of Newmark's (1988: 88-9) standpoint, who regards 'negation of the opposite' as "a concrete translation procedure which can be applied in principle to any action (verb) or quality (adjective or adverb)". Newmark (ibid.) also regards 'active < > passive' as "a common [procedure], mandatory when no passive exists, advisable where, say, a reflexive is normally preferred to a passive". Overall, the optional occurrences of modulation are thrice larger than the obligatory ones. In the following, we shall discuss the most common types of modulation in the data.

6.1.4.1 Obligatory modulation

Obligatory modulation refers to instances where the change in perspective is mandatory, because direct rendering in that case would result in an unnatural translation.

6.1.4.1.1 Abstract < > concrete

There are only four occurrences of obligatory modulation involving a change between abstract and concrete terms. The reason why this sort of modulation is rare may be due to a lack of theoretical knowledge of translation on the part of some translators that, in some circumstances, it is possible to replace an abstract by a concrete term, and vice versa. An instance of modulation between concrete and abstract occurs in the phrase *medical bills* translated as *خەرجیە تەندروستیەکان* ['medical costs'], where the concrete word *bills* is replaced by the abstract word *costs* in the TL. In fact, Kurdish has the word *پسوله* meaning *bill*, but it does not collocate with *پزیشکی* ['medical']. As a result, the translator resorted to modulation.

6.1.4.1.2 Negation of the opposite

As explained above, negation of the opposite is employed quite frequently (16 occurrences), which are of three major patterns. The first is modulations based on SL negative adjectives in affirmative sentences expressed by positive adjectives in negative sentences in the TL. To illustrate this, consider the following example:

(6.7) No matter how many precautions we take, **we are unprotected** against nature.

هەر هۆکاریکی پیشومخت بگه‌ڕینه به‌ر ناتوانین پارێزراو بێن له کاره‌ساتی سروشتی.

[*'No matter what precautions we take, **we are not protected** against natural disasters.'*]

The second pattern of this type of modulation is based on adverbs carrying a negative meaning, which cannot be expressed directly in the TL. One possible way to overcome this translation difficulty is to negate the sentence. For example, the affirmative sentence '*it is **rarely** an easy process*' is translated by the negative sentence *هەرگیز* *پڕۆسه‌یه‌کی ئاسان نییه* ['it is **not ever** an easy process']. Kurdish has an equivalent for the

adverb *rarely* (بەدەنگەمەن), but the instance is deemed an obligatory modulation since the Kurdish equivalent does not sound natural in the given context.

The third pattern is based on certain SL terms that are naturally expressed by negation in Kurdish, such as: *cost-free* > هیچی تێناچی ['it does not cost anything'] and *terrorist-free* > تیرۆریستی تێدا نییه ['there are no terrorists']. The reason for using negation here is that the Kurdish equivalent for *free* has a limited range of meaning, and cannot be used to mean *clear from*.

6.1.4.1.3 Active < > passive

Obligatory modulation based on a change between active and passive voice is also relatively frequent (25 occurrences). The most remarkable pattern of this type of modulation occurs when a given verb cannot be used in the passive form in the TL, for example:

(6.8) Oil and gas are **owned by** all the people of Iraq in all the regions and governorates.

نەوت و غاز **مولکی** سەرجهەم خەڵکی عێراقن لە هەموو هەرێم و پارێزگاکاندا.

[‘Oil and gas **belong to** all the people of Iraq in all the regions and governorates.’]

The verb *own*, in the example above, does not have a passive form in Kurdish. The only possible way to translate the sentence into Kurdish is to change the voice from passive to active.

The second pattern of obligatory ‘active < > passive’ modulation occurs when the voice is contextually conditioned. For instance, the verb *give* can be used in the active as well as passive voice in both English and Kurdish. In the context of the sentence ‘Iraq **was thus given** a fragile and dysfunctional government’, however, direct translation will only produce an unnatural TT. The sentence is then translated in the active voice as عێراق **پووێ خواوەن** حکومەتێکی لاواز و ناعەمەلی [‘Iraq **has owned** a fragile and dysfunctional government’].

6.1.4.1.4 Change of symbol

There are eight instances of SL idioms and metaphors translated by TL idioms and metaphors expressing the same meaning but using a different symbol. For instance, *behind the scenes* is translated as له پشت پردهوه ['behind the curtain'] and *iron fist* is rendered as دهستی پولايين ['iron hand']. These are considered obligatory modulation, since the TL supposed counterparts are standard metaphors that naturally use a slightly different symbol.

6.1.4.2 Optional modulation

Optional modulation refers to instances where the change in the viewpoint is not mandatory, i.e. the utterance could otherwise be translated appropriately. Translators may apply optional modulation intuitively or as a matter of preference or style.

6.1.4.2.1 Abstract < > concrete

In contrast to obligatory modulation, a great number of examples of optional 'abstract < > concrete' modulation have been identified (24 instances), which are of various patterns. The most common pattern involves the use of 'actor' (concrete) for the 'activity' (abstract), such as:

- *unprofessional journalism* > روژنامه‌نوسی ناپروفيشنال ['Unprofessional **journalists**']
- *media suppression* > روژنامه‌نوساي سهرکونکردنی ['suppression of **journalists**']
- *actions against protesters and media* > روژنامه‌نوسان و ئيجرائات بهرامبر به خو پيشاندهران و ['measures against protesters and **journalists**']

All the examples above demonstrate optional cases of modulation as they could be directly translated without replacing abstract by concrete or the 'activity' by the 'actor'. By using modulation here, the translator has been able to communicate the same message but more directly and to the point; when speaking of '*unprofessional journalism*' it is indeed those who pursue the career of journalism that are unprofessional. Likewise, when speaking of '*media being oppressed*', it is actually the journalists who face the oppression. In the final example, '*actions taken against media*' are rather actions against those who work in the field of media.

6.1.4.2.2 Explicative (cause < > effect)

The data contains nine instances of optional ‘explicative modulation’, i.e. a change from cause to effect, or vice versa. The fact that the data contains no obligatory instances of explicative modulation may suggest that English cause-and-effect clauses can be compatibly expressed in Kurdish. Yet, translators use optional explicative modulation either as a matter of preference or in an attempt to produce a TT that sounds more natural. To illustrate the phenomenon, consider the following example [Text 11]:

(6.9) People sometimes ask me, why **aren’t there more UK businesses here...**

هەندێ جار خەڵك ئێم دەپرسن كە بۆچی نەهۆنده كاری بازرگانی بەریتانیای لێره نابینن...

[‘Sometimes people ask me, why **they don’t see enough British business work here...**’]

The cause clause ‘*aren’t there more UK businesses here*’ is replaced by the effect clause *ئەهۆنده كاری بازرگانی بەریتانیای لێره نابینن* [‘they don’t see enough British business work here’]. This implies ‘there are not more UK businesses here (in the Kurdistan Region); as a result, people do not see enough British business activities’. This change from effect to cause is optional, since the effect sentence could be translated fairly literally as *بۆچی زیاتری بازرگانی بەریتانی نیه لێره* [‘why there aren’t more British business activities here’].

6.1.4.2.3 Part < > whole

The data contains 36 occurrences of ‘part < > whole’ modulation: 25 cases involve the use of whole for part and 11 cases part for whole. Three patterns of this type of modulation are identified in the data. The first pattern involves using *country* for *part of country*, as in the following examples:

- *Cairo* > میسر [‘Egypt’]
- *Washington* > ئەمریکا [‘America’]
- *mainland* > چین [‘China’]
- *town* > کوردستان [‘Kurdistan’]

The idea of using the capital for the country, which is an example of metonymy, is not a new phenomenon in the world of journalism. Throughout the data, English and Kurdish exhibit the same tendency in using the capital for the country, except for the first two examples above, where *Cairo* (part) is substituted by *Egypt* (whole), and *Washington* is

replaced by *America*. In the third example, the term *mainland*, which, according to the context, refers to *Mainland China*, is replaced by *China*. The term could be directly translated as خاکی سەرەکی ['mainland'], but it may be misleading as it can refer to any mainland. In the fourth example, it is surprising to see the word *town* (part), in the sentence '*HSBC has a group of senior investors in town*', translated as *Kurdistan* (whole). In the given context, *town* refers to *downtown Erbil*, the capital of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. A reasonable interpretation for this is perhaps to highlight the name *Kurdistan* in the TT, thus making it more relevant to the target readership.

The second pattern of part < > whole modulation involves using the country for the people of the country, such as:

- *the Americans* > ئەمەریکا ['America']
- *the British* > بەریتانیا ['Britain']
- *the Kurds* > کوردستان ['Kurdistan']

Given the fact that people are part of a country, the examples above can be regarded as whole for part modulation, which are of course optional types of modulation. It is interesting to note that the modulation here also involves a change from animate (the people) to inanimate (the country).

The third observed pattern is just the opposite of the second; the country or a geographical location is replaced by the people, such as:

- *the south* > باشوورییەکان ['the southerners']
- *the villages* > خەڵکی گوندەمکە ['the villagers']
- *Tunisia* > تونسییەکان ['the Tunisians']

The second and third patterns of optional modulation analysed above are an indication of the flexibility of reference to people by their geographical location and vice versa, as if the geographical location is the identity of the people and the people are the identity of their locations.

The findings also contain examples of optional part < > whole modulation which do not fit within any of the patterns above. For example, the phrase *people-to-people connections* is rendered as پەیوەندی تاک بۆ تاک ['individual-to-individual connections']. The instance occurs in a critical article by British MPs Nadhim Zahawi and Meg Munn, who speak of commercial, political and cultural links between the UK and Kurdistan. The

reason to use part (individual-to-individual) for whole (people-to-people) may be to produce a more dramatic and forceful effect in describing such cross-national links.

6.1.4.2.4 Negation of the opposite

Optional 'negation of the opposite' is one of the most frequent types of modulation in the data (26 occurrences). This type of modulation mainly occurs with verbs, adjectives and nouns. For example, the verb *failed* in the utterance '*Allawi and Maliki failed to come to an agreement*' is translated by negation of the opposite as سەرکەوتوو نەبوون ['did not succeed']. Although the verb has a direct equivalent in Kurdish هینان شکست ['fail'], it is translated by negation of the opposite on six occasions by different translators and media outlets, possibly due to its strongly negative connotation. This tendency towards positiveness is also evident in other examples of modulation. Consider, for example, the description of the Kurdistan Region as '*the region is no longer inward-looking*', which is expressed in the TL by a more positive description as ئەو هەریمە کراوەتەوه بەرووی جیهانی دەرەوه ['the region is open towards the outside world']. It can be argued that the instance is ideologically motivated. The text is translated by the official website of the KRG representative in the UK, which is of course affiliated with the Kurdish authority, and it is not uncommon for authority-orientated media outlets to promote a positive image of the Kurdish Region (cf. Birot 2015: 35-36).

6.1.4.2.5 Active < > passive modulation

The data contains 65 occurrences of optional modulation based on a change between active and passive voice, making this the commonest of all types of modulation. In principle, modulation is supposed to retain the meaning of the message being communicated. In the case of 'active < > passive' modulation, however, there is always a significant shift in the way the message is perceived by the target audience. To illustrate the point, consider the following example [Text 36]:

(6.10) Eight civilians and two members of the security forces **died** in Sulaymaniyah and nearby villages during the protests.

له درێژهی خۆپیشاندانهکاندا ههشت هاوڵاتی و دوو ئەندامی هیزه ئەمنیهکان له سلیمانی و شارۆچکهکانی دهوروبهری **کوژران**.

[*During the demonstrations, eight civilians and two members of the security forces **were killed** in Sulaymaniyah and nearby towns.*]

As the example illustrates, the change from active voice to passive voice is established by substituting the transitive verb *کوژران* ['killed'] for the intransitive one *died*. This is indeed a significant change, because “transitivity has the facility to analyse the same event in different ways, a facility which is of course of great interest in newspaper analysis” (Fowler 1991: 71). In the example above, the shift in transitivity has produced a TT that implies that fatal clashes have occurred between the security forces and protesters. More seriously, it suggests that the security forces have opened fire at the protestors. The instance can be considered ideologically motivated, since the translation was carried out by the *Sbeiy*, which was then known for its severe criticisms of the KRG, including the security forces.

6.1.5 Équivalence

Vinay and Darbelnet's (1995) 'équivalence' and Dickins et al.'s (2002) 'communicative translation' are essentially the same. As defined in Chapter 4, it replaces an SL expression standard in a given situation by a TL standard expression occupying a similar situation in the TL culture. The procedure is typically used for translating public notices, proverbs, phraseological repertoire of idioms, conversational clichés and nominal and adjectival phrases (cf. Dickins 2002: 17; Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 38).

By nature, journalistic texts are unlikely to contain conversational clichés and public notices, and they scarcely contain proverbs. Overall, there are 40 occurrences of équivalence, mostly implemented in the translation of idioms, metaphors and nominal phrases (see Appendix 10). The basic criteria in identifying an occurrence of équivalence are: firstly, a fixed, standard SL term or expression is rendered into a fixed, standard TL term or expression; secondly, normally there are no alternative options to choose from.

6.1.5.1 Idioms translated by équivalence

Idiom is defined as “a fixed expression whose meaning cannot be deduced from the denotative meanings of the words that constitute it” (Dickins et al. 2002: 237). Translating idioms by équivalence means replacing an SL idiom by a TL idiom that has a similar meaning but different form. This normally occurs as a second step after it was realized that it is impossible to find a TL idiom having a similar meaning and form. The data contains 25 idioms translated by équivalence, such as:

- *You hit the nail on the head* > ئیوه پهنجهتان خستەر برینهکه [‘You put finger on the wound’]
- *on the backs of* > لهسەر حسابی [‘at the expense of’]
- *all walks of life* > سەرجهه کایهکانی ژیان [‘all fields of life’]

It is noteworthy that, in the case of the first example above, the Kurdish idiom ئیوه پهنجهتان [‘You put the finger on the wound’] has the same meaning as the English idiom ‘*you hit the nail on the head*’. However, the Kurdish idiom carries a negative connotation; it is used to identify the exact point intended but one which is hard to admit. This is exactly the case in the given context, in which the US political researcher, Michael Knight, replies to a Kurdish journalist’s question, describing the Iraqi government’s negative attitude towards the distribution of power in different regions of Iraq, including the KRG [Text 43]:

(6.11) **You hit the nail on the head** [...] the federal government is fighting back against this distribution of power to the regions and to the provinces.

6.1.5.2 Metaphors translated by equivalence

Metaphor is defined as “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is used in a non-basic sense, this non-basic sense suggesting a likeness or analogy with another more basic sense of the same word or phrase” (Dickins et al. 2002: 147). Translating metaphors by equivalence involves the replacement of an SL metaphor by a TL metaphor that has the same meaning but different form. Équivalence is considered a viable procedure for translating metaphors, especially to preserve the stylistic feature of the text. In the data, eight metaphors are translated by equivalence, such as:

- *political **stalemate*** > گری کویرهی سیاسی [lit. ‘political **blind knot**’]
- ***blindsided** by the crisis* > لهم قهیرانهدا گیری خوارد [‘**stuck** in this crisis’]
- *an **ingrained** resistance* > بهرهنگار بونههیهکی رهگ داکوتراو [‘a **rooted** resistance’]

6.1.5.3 Nominal phrases translated by equivalence

The data contains seven occurrences of nominal phrases being translated by equivalence. For example, the technical phrase *domestic violence* occurs three times in the data, and is consistently rendered by the standard technical, legal Kurdish nominal phrase توندوتیژی خیزانی [‘family violence’]. Likewise, the technical term *safe*

haven is rendered as ناوچهی ئارام ['secure area'], which is again a standard technical term that describes the same situation in the TL.

6.1.6 Compensation

As defined in 4.2.13, compensation is used as a procedure to make up for semantic, stylistic or systemic loss that is likely to occur in the process of translation. There are 41 instances of compensation in the data (see Appendix 11), which can be analysed at different levels. Following Harvey's (1995) modified model of a descriptive framework for compensation outlined in 4.2.13, we shall analyse the findings of compensation at the three levels of the typological axis (i.e. identifying types of compensation), the correspondence axis (i.e. establishing the linguistic relationship between the loss and the compensation) and the topographical axis (i.e. the distance between the location of the loss and the compensation).

6.1.6.1 Typological axis

In the adopted model of the descriptive framework for compensation, three types of compensation are distinguished: semantic, stylistic and systemic.

6.1.6.1.1 Semantic compensation

As Nida and Taber (2003: 106) put it, "in any translation there will be a type of 'loss' of semantic content, but the process should be so designed as to keep this to a minimum". Meaning is at the heart of every message; when meaning is lost the whole message will be deficiently transmitted to the receiver. Surprisingly, though, there are only eight instances in the data where a compensation procedure is used to palliate the effect of meaning loss. This suggests that the translators might have not realized the significance of compensation to successful translation. The following is an instance of compensation for semantic loss [Text 16]:

(6.12) News reports out of Iraq **tend to** focus on the same sad, familiar themes of violence, uncertainty and sectarianism.

راپۆرتە هەوڵەکان لە دەرەوەی عێراق **هەمیشە** جەخت لەسەر هەمان چیرۆکە هەوڵە باوەکانی توندوتیژی و ناآرامی و تایفەگەری دەکەنەوه.

[*'News reports out of Iraq **always** focus on the same sad, familiar themes of violence, uncertainty and sectarianism.'*]

The verb *tend to* is not lexicalized in Kurdish. Therefore, the translator had to omit it in the translation, which resulted in the loss of an aspect of meaning, which is the ‘tendency’ of the focus of news reports out of Iraq. To compensate for the loss of this aspect of meaning, the adverb *always* is incorporated in the translation. In fact, this can be seen as overcompensation, since *always* has a stronger meaning than *tend to*. The example is an instance of parallel compensation, in which the compensation occurs in the same place where the loss occurred (cf. Harvey 1995: 82).

Semantic compensation does not always involve the replacement of one item by another. It may also be carried out through incorporation of some element into the TT, as in the ensuing example [Text 36]:

(6.13) Mr Tofiq said the KDP had few supporters in the city and **its undercover agents** incited the crowd to violence so troops would have an excuse to respond with force.

محەمەد توفیق وتی: پارتی لە سلیمانی لایەنگریان کەمە بۆیە لە رینگە **خەڵکانی خۆیانەوه بەنەینی** هانی خۆپیشاندەرانیاندا بۆ توندوتیژی بۆ ئەوەی ببێت بە بەهانهیهك بۆ وه لآمدانهوهی خەلك بەهیز.

[lit. ‘Muhammad Tofiq said: the KDP have few supporters in Sulaimani that is why through **their people secretly** they incited the demonstrators to violence to be an pretext to respond people with force.’]

Having realized that it is impossible to translate the term *undercover agents* into Kurdish directly, the translator translated it by the more general term خەڵکانی خۆیان [‘their people’], which lacks the sense of clandestineness entailed in the term *undercover agent*. This loss of meaning is effectively made up for by incorporating the adverb بەنەینی [‘secretly’] into the TT sentence.

6.1.6.1.2 Stylistic compensation

Stylistic compensation can be used to make up for any loss in the stylistic features of the ST. In the data, however, stylistic compensation is used only on three occasions, specifically to compensate for the loss of metaphorical features, as shown in the two examples below [Texts 39 and 18, respectively]:

(6.14) ...the British government wants to **cement a strong relationship** with the Kurdish region of Iraq.

...حکومتهی بهریتانیا دهره‌نجام خوازیاره که **به‌یوه‌ندیه‌کی کۆنکریتی** و تووندوتۆل له‌گه‌ل کورده‌کانی عیراقدا **دروست بکات**.

[‘...the British government wants to **make a concrete and strong relationship** with the Iraqi Kurds.’]

Since the metaphor *cement* does not have a metaphor counterpart in Kurdish, it is translated by a more general word as *دروست بکات* [‘make’], which results in the loss of the stylistic effect created by the metaphor. To compensate for this loss, the metaphor *کۆنکریتی* [‘concrete’] is incorporated in the vicinity.

(6.15) The conversation would return to **the latest twist** in the peace process.

جاریکی تر ئاراسته‌ی گفتوگۆکان دینه‌وه سه‌ر پرۆسه‌ی ناشتی و **ریسه‌که ده‌بیته‌وه به خوری**.

[lit. ‘The conversations go back again to the peace process and **the yarn turns back into the wool!**’]

Here, the metaphor *twist* cannot be used in a metaphorical sense in the TL and its literal translation does not make sense in the given context. The entire phrase *the latest twist* is then omitted in the translation. To make up for the loss of the metaphorical feature of the text, the translator incorporated the idiom *ریسه‌که ده‌بیته‌وه به خوری* [lit. ‘the yarn turns back into the wool’] into the same sentence, keeping in mind that both metaphors and idioms are stylistic features. The Kurdish idiom has a negative connotative meaning - it is used to describe an action that undoes or reverses what has already been done. So, although the stylistic effect is compensated for, the meaning of the message has actually been distorted. The metaphor *latest twist* could be appropriately translated as *دولین گری کۆیره* [lit. ‘latest blind knot’], which is a different metaphor but carries a similar meaning in the TL.

6.1.6.1.3 Systemic compensation

As explained in Section 5.3.2.1, areas of basic systemic differences between English and Kurdish have been excluded in the analysis. However, there are some specific instances in the data where systemic differences seem to have motivated the decision

to resort to compensation. Due to their significance, such instances are carefully considered in the analysis. The results show that there are 20 cases where compensation is employed for systemic or grammatical loss, most notably to compensate for SL tenses that are missing in the TL. For example, Kurdish normally has no future tense (Thackston 2006: 26) and it only has two present tenses: present simple and present perfect. The present simple is normally used to translate English present progressive as well as simple future (Merchant 2013: 34). To exemplify systemic compensation, consider the following example [Text 19]:

(6.16) The intervention **is being conducted** by the three traditional imperial powers.

ئیسێتا نوێپەر اسبۆ نهکانی لیبیا له لایهن سهی ههیزه ئیمپریالیه تهقلیدییهکهوه **نهنجام دهدرین**.

[*'Now, the operations in Libya **are conducted** by the three traditional imperial powers.'*]

Since the English present progressive tense has to be translated by Kurdish present simple, the translator might have thought that the progressive aspect of the sentence would be lost in the translation. So the adverb *now* is added to give the sense that the action is in progress. Without this compensation, the translation would sound ambiguous, because *نهنجام دهدرین* corresponds to three possible English tenses: 'are conducted', 'are being conducted' and 'will be conducted'. The addition of the adverb *now* seems sufficient to prevent potential ambiguity in the tense.

Another compensatory technique implemented in the data to make up for the loss of progressive tense is the use of phrases that naturally carry a sense of continuity such as *سهرقالی* ['occupied with'] and *خهریکی* ['engaged with']. The following example illustrates the point [Text 3]:

(6.17) Downtown hotels **are replacing** their war-scarred facades...

هۆتێلهکانی ناوهندی شار **سهرقالی چاکردنهوهی** زیانهکانی شهڕن...

[*'Downtown hotels **are occupied with repairing** the war damages...'*]

Here, the present progressive tense is translated by simple present in the TL and the progressive sense is compensated for by adding the phrase *سهرقالی* ['occupied with'].

As stated above, Kurdish does not have a particular tense to indicate the future – present simple is normally used to translate future tenses. However, on four occasions the translators were not content to simply translate English future tenses by Kurdish present simple. Instead, they sought compensation for the aspect of the tense that indicates futurity by simply adding the phrase له داهاتوودا [‘in the future’], as in the ensuing example [Text 15]:

(6.18) As you can see in Syria [...] this is the issue that **will** determine the fate of all the Arab awakenings.

ههروهك له سوريا [...] دهبينين، ئهوه ههمان مهسهلهيه كه له داهاتوودا چارهنووسى ههموو راپهرينه
عهرهبييهكان ديارى دهكات.

*[‘As we can see in Syria [...] this is the same issue that **in the future** determines the fate of all the Arab uprisings.’]*

6.1.6.2 Correspondence axis

Regarding the relationship between loss and compensation, two types of correspondence are identified in the data. The first is ‘direct correspondence’ (Harvey 1995: 79), where the loss and the compensation belong to the same linguistic device, such as the compensation of metaphor by another metaphor (as in Example 6.14 above). The second is ‘analogical correspondence’ (ibid: 81), where the loss and the compensation are not identical but they belong to the same linguistic repertoire, such as the compensation of metaphor by idiom (as in Example 6.15 above). It is worth mentioning that all the examples of systemic compensation in the data belong to analogical correspondence, since they are compensated for by non-grammatical elements such as the incorporation of adverbs (as in Example 6.16 above) and phrases (as in Example 6.17 above).

6.1.6.3 Topological axis

With regard to the respective location of the loss and the compensation, there are a few examples of ‘parallel’ compensation, in which the loss and the compensation occur at the same place (as in Example 6.12 above). The vast majority of the occurrences, however, belong to ‘contiguous’ compensation (Harvey 1995: 82), where the compensation occurs within a short distance of the location of the loss in the TT. No

examples of 'displaced compensation' (ibid: 83) are identified in the data, because it is practically impossible to relate loss in one part of a text to compensation in another.

The fourth category of the topological axis is 'generalized compensation' (Harvey 1995: 84), which involves the incorporation of stylistic features to help naturalize the TT and achieve an overall effect similar to that of the ST, where the incorporation of such features is not tied to any specific distance of the ST loss. Idioms are typical examples of generalized compensation; "whereas one inevitably loses many idioms in the process of translation one also stands to gain a number of idioms" (Nida and Taber 2003: 106). It is again practically impossible to link the incorporation of stylistic features, such as idioms, in one part of a text to stylistic loss in another, unless one carries out the translation themselves. However, it can be arguably claimed that the incorporation of idioms in the paraphrase translation procedure represents this type of compensation (see Example 6.39 below).

6.1.7 Reduction

The reduction translation procedure involves the use of fewer words or a more economic expression in the TL to convey the meaning of an SL term or expression. In Section 4.3.1, we clarified that 'reduction' does not lead to the implicitation of an aspect of the meaning or the message conveyed, which is the case in 'implicitation', neither does it leave out information in the translation, which is the case in 'omission'.

Due to the anisomorphism of languages, there is no guarantee that a term or expression in one language has an appropriate equivalent in another language with the same economy. Long stretches of language may be best translated by smaller stretches in another language, and vice versa. This area of translation is dealt with importantly in the translation job market, where charging rates are normally set on the basis of ST word counts. In translation theory, however, this area has been given very little attention. Exploring this procedure can be crucial in raising translators' awareness of how to effectively translate a stretch of language that cannot be naturally translated into the TL with the same economy. After all, the objective behind implementing reductive translation procedure is "to convey the meaning of the source text in a natural target language form" (Darwish 2010: 140). The data shows that there are 95 instances of reductive translation: 28 obligatory cases and 67 optional ones (see Appendix 12). These are discussed in detail below:

6.1.7.1 Obligatory reductive translation

As seen above, obligatory instances of reduction are fairly few given the relatively large data concerned. Therefore, it can be said that only occasionally English terms and expressions require reduction when translated into Kurdish. A remarkable pattern of obligatory reduction in the data is the replacement of phrases indicating indefinite quantity by lexical items, because they lack corresponding counterparts in the TL, for example:

- *a rash of* > چەندین ['several']
- *a wide range of* > چەندین ['several']
- *a great deal of* > زۆر ['much']

Another pattern involves the replacement of conjunctions made up of 'as ... as' structure by lexical items because of a lack of an equivalent grammatical structure in the TL, for instance:

- *as well as* > هەروەها ['also']
- *as soon as* > لەگەڵ ['with']
- *as simple as possible* > ئاسان ['easy']

Concision of the pre-modifying grammatical structure, which seems to be peculiar to English, is another area that can be rendered by reduction in translations into Kurdish, e.g. *gender-based violence* > توندوتیژی جیندەری ['gender violence']. Alternatively, and more commonly, this particular term can be also translated by expansion (see 6.1.8.1.2).

6.1.7.2 Optional reductive translation

Overall, there are 67 cases of optional reductive translation, which are of four patterns, as follow:

6.1.7.2.1 Reduction in formal/technical terms

This pattern involves a change from a formal to informal style, which occurs when an informal term is more commonly used in the TL than its formal variation, for instance:

- *public services* > خزمەتگوزارییەکان ['services']

- *water supply* > ئاو ['water']
- *radio station* > رادیۆ ['radio']

Each of the instances above could be translated literally (e.g. *public services* > خزمەتگوزاری گشتی), but the reductive informal variant of the terms seems to be used more commonly than their formal variant in the TL. It is important to highlight the fact that what is considered informal in the TL may not necessarily be perceived as so in the SL. For example, in Kurdish رادیۆ ['radio'] is considered an informal word to refer to *radio station*, whereas in English *station* is seen as the informal variation for *radio station*.

6.1.7.2.2 Reduction for the purpose of idiomaticity

Opting for idiomaticity in translation is often seen as an effective way to bring about fluency and naturalness in translation. Reduction is one of the translation procedures that can be implemented to achieve idiomaticity in the TT. Consider the following examples, in which the reductive translation is marked by strong collocation in the TL:

- *Tony Hayward's deal for oil assets* > تۆنی هەبوود گرێبەستی نهوتی ['Tony Hayward's oil contract']
- *how much money stands to be made* > چەندێک یارە پەیدا بکەیت تۆ ['how much money to be earned']

6.1.7.2.3 Reduction to avoid tautology

Reduction is a useful translation procedure to eliminate a tautology that might otherwise sound too repetitive and awkward. Consider the ensuing examples, in which the reduction obviously used to avoid tautology:

- *counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism* > تیرۆریزم و یاخیبوون یەهنگار بوونەوهی ['counter insurgency and terrorism']
- *The federal government, with the producing regional and governorate governments* > فیدرالی و هەرێمەکان و پارێزگا بەر هەمەپێنەرەکان حکومەتی ['The federal, regional and the producing governorate governments']

6.1.7.2.4 Reduction due to translators' idiosyncrasy

The rest of the instances of optional reductive translation, which cannot be interpreted in light of any of the patterns above, may be simply due to the translators' style and

preference to produce a translation having brevity and concision. The following is an example of reductive translation due to translators' idiosyncrasy, in which the message is expressed more concisely in the TT [Text 42].

(6.19) We should act right now if we want to win **the hearts of our brothers of Kurdish origin**.

دمبیت هەر ئیستا دەست بەکار بین، ئەگەر بمانهویت دلی برا گوردهکاتمان بیهینهوه .

[*'We should act right now if we want to win **our Kurdish brothers' hearts**.'*]

It is worth mentioning that reductive translation often involves transposition, specifically a shift in the word class. Shifts of this nature are unavoidably classified under the transposition procedure too (see 6.1.3.2), because they are relevant to both procedures.

- *young people* > گەنجان ['youths']
- *criminal offences* > تاران ['crimes']
- *Kurdistan's **natural beauty*** > سروشتی کوردستان ['Kurdistan's **nature**']

6.1.8 Expansion

The expansion translation procedure involves the use of more words in the TL to express the meaning of an SL term or expression. It is therefore concerned with the formal properties of language, rather than the pragmatic ones. In Section 3.4.2, we clarified that 'expansion' does not lead to the explicitation of an aspect of meaning or the message conveyed, which is the case in 'explicitation', neither does it incorporate extra information in the translation, which is the case in 'addition'. The data contains 249 occurrences of expansive translation: 117 obligatory instances and 132 optional ones (see Appendix 13). These are thoroughly analysed below:

6.1.8.1 Obligatory expansive translation

As the findings show, there are a relatively large number of English terms and structures that need to be translated by longer stretches of language in translations into Kurdish. The findings of obligatory expansion correspond to Vinay and Darbelnet's (1995: 192) claim that expansion can be implemented to fill a lexical or structural lacuna.

6.1.8.1.1 Expansion to fill a lacuna in the lexicon

Overall, there are 100 instances of expansive translation where SL lexical items do not have direct equivalents in the TL or their direct equivalents do not naturally occur in a given context. Paraphrase may be considered another possible procedure to translate such lexical items, but is not as effective as expansive translation in terms of economy. The following are examples of expansive translation in the lexicon:

- *potential* > هیزی شاراوه ['hidden force']
- *judiciary* > دهسه لاتی دادوهریی ['judicial authority']
- *constituency* > ناوچهی هه لێژاردن ['election area']

The expansive translations of some of these terms have been standardized in Kurdish, and can be found in reliable bilingual dictionaries. Consider *The Azadi English-Kurdish Dictionary* (2009), for instance, which offers expansive translations for English terms such as *potential* > هیزی شاراوه ['hidden force'] and *constituency* > ناوچهی هه لێژاردن ['election area'] – exactly the same way as translated in the data. This may indicate that the translators have made use of bilingual dictionaries.

6.1.8.1.2 Expansion to fill a lacuna in the structure

The second type of obligatory expansive translation occurs when an SL structure requires more words in the TL to naturally express the same idea. Expansion due to structural discrepancies is considerably less common than expansion due to lexical gaps - only 17 cases out of the 117 occurrences of obligatory expansion are structural-based. For instance:

- *gender-based violence* > توندوتیژی له سههر بنه مای جیندەر ['violence on the basis of gender']
- *oil-rich Kirkuk* > کهرکوکێ دهو له مه ند به نهوت ['rich-with-oil Kirkuk']
- *a now-armed resistance* > بهر هه لستیه کی سو پایی تازه دروستبوو ['a recently set up military resistance']

As the examples illustrate, structural discrepancy mostly occurs in the translation of phrases marked by concision of the pre-modifying grammatical structure. As Kurdish does not normally have such concise structures, phrases of this nature necessarily require more words in the translation. An exception may be the term *gender-based violence* which also accepts reductive translation (as explained in 6.1.7.1 above). The

term occurs four times in the same text [Text 2]. Three occurrences are translated by expansion consistently and one occurrence by reduction.

6.1.8.2 Optional expansive translation

As was seen above, the number of occurrences of optional expansion is slightly higher than that of obligatory ones. Although, in principle, it can be simply avoided, the use of optional expansive translation is not entirely unnecessary or pointless; it may help produce a natural, idiomatic and/or stylistically expressive translation. The occurrences of optional expansion in the data are of four patterns, as follows:

6.1.8.2.1 Expansion based on empty words

With 35 occurrences, expansion by making use of empty words is a remarkable pattern of optional expansion in the data, which is based on two 'empty words' in the TL:

a) شت ['thing'], e.g.:

- *It's logical* > شتیکی لۆژیکیه ['It's a logical thing']
- *It is hardly new* > شتیکی نوئ نیه ['It is not a new thing']
- *It was inevitable* > ئەوه شتیکی حەتمی بوو ['It was an inevitable thing']

b) کار ['work'], e.g.:

- *to do business* > کاری بازرگانی بکات ['to do business work']
- *open for business* > کراوبه بو کاری بازرگانی ['open for business work']
- *management advice* > راویژکاری کاری ئیداری ['management work consultancy']

As the examples illustrate, establishing expansion by adding such empty words in the given context does not seem to have any semantic importance or stylistic prestige. However, since such empty words are commonly used in Kurdish, they may be useful to signal a sort of naturalness.

6.1.8.2.2 Expansion based on binomials

Binomials are conjoint phrases consisting of a pair of synonyms or near-synonyms with the same part of speech that function together as one unit (Toury 2012: 133-134). There are 19 lexical items in the data that are replaced by binomials in the TL, for instance:

- *ambitions* > خواست و وویست [‘wills and wants’]
- *royal palaces* > کۆشک و تهلاری پادشایهتی [‘royal **palaces and mansions**’]
- *their place in society* > جینگه و پینگه پان له کۆمهڵگا [‘their **place and status** in society’]

Binomials are fairly common in Kurdish. Expansive translation by binomials is particularly important to produce a translation that is natural-sounding and idiomatic. Binomials are also stylistically important not least because the conjoint pairs strongly collocate with each other, but also because some binomials use alliteration and thus produce a special sound effect, as in the last example above: جینگه و پینگه /dzegə u pegə/.

6.1.8.2.3 Expansion for the purpose of idiomaticity

Opting for idiomaticity is one of the most viable techniques to produce a natural-sounding translation. The data contains 15 instances of expansive translation that are marked by idiomaticity or a strong collocational bond, such as:

- *trade* > ئالوگۆری بازرگانی [‘commercial exchange’]
- *greater freedom* > فهزای نازادی گهورهتر [‘greater **environment of freedom**’]
- *It is an honour for us* > جینگه ی شانازییه بو ئیمه [lit. ‘it is **a place of pride** for us’]

Idiomatic expressions are language-specific, which cannot always be demonstrated by back-translation. For instance, the Kurdish phrase جینگه ی شانازییه, in the last example above, is an expressive idiomatic expression in Kurdish, while its back-translation [‘a place of pride’] barely makes sense in English.

6.1.8.2.4 Expansion ascribed to translators’ idiosyncrasy

Regarding the rest of the instances (63 occurrences), it is hard to justify why expansive translation has been employed. However, one can safely claim that such instances reflect the translator’s style and/or preference to employ expansive translation even where literal translation does work. Some examples of expansion ascribed to translators’ idiosyncrasy do not actually demonstrate any merits in being rendered by expansive translation; one may wonder what the point is in translating *Americans* as هاوآلاتیانی ئهممهریکا [‘American citizens’]; *nine Turks* as نو کەسی تورک [‘nine Turkish people’] and *English* as زمانی ئینگلیزی [‘English language’].

6.1.9 Near-synonymy

As defined in Section 4.2.17, translation by near-synonymy involves the replacement of an SL word by a near-equivalent in the TL, based on the semantic relationship that the SL word and its replacing word in the TL have some semantic features in common but also have features not found in the other.

There are 536 occurrences of near-synonymy in the data, which is the highest number of occurrence after borrowing. Similar to most other translation procedures, obligatory and optional categories of near-synonymy are identified, as discussed below.

6.1.9.1 Obligatory near-synonymy

Near-synonymy involves a slight deviation from literal translation, and thus represents a slight shift in translation. There are 228 instances of obligatory near-synonymy in the data (see Appendix 14 A). These are employed where literal translation does not work for various reasons, such as: the term does not have a direct equivalent in Kurdish or its supposed equivalent has a limited range of meaning or it is restricted by collocational constraints.

6.1.9.1.1 Near-synonymy to fill a lexical lacuna

Lack of one-to-one equivalent for some lexical items is considered a general difficulty in translation. Near-synonymy is usually a practical procedure to tackle this issue. The findings show that 84 instances are translated by near-synonymy, simply because the term in question does not have a ready equivalent in the TL. For example, the word *abuse* is not lexicalized in Kurdish. It is therefore translated by near-synonymy as *توندوتیژی* [‘violence’] in the phrase ‘*the abuse that traps so many women and girls around the world*’. The use of such a near-synonym sounds perfect in that context, since the extract comes from an op-ed, ‘16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence’, that focuses on the issue of gender-based violence against women.

The findings show that near-synonymy has been used quite freely, or rather loosely, in the data. Consider, for instance, the translation of different occurrences of the term *reputation* by different translators and media outlets, as shown in Figure 6.2 below:

N Concordance

- 1 entire Middle East but also with his own historical **reputation**. True, the pullout from Iraq is popular
- 2 Our consultants and engineers have a global **reputation** for delivering world-class projects, as
- 3 [against journalists] because this is damaging the **reputation** of the Kurdistan region and its of the
- 4 region and its of the Kurdistan region and its **reputation** of freedom." While harassment again
- 5 Well, Egyptians were never as docile as their **reputation** suggested. Egyptian society has spæ
- 6 about American general officers who peddle their **reputations** to sell wars and military hardware. ٦
- 7 new era. Today, it seems too little, too late. But his **reputation** will depend in large part on what sort

Figure 6.2: Concordance result for the term *reputation*

As the concordance result shows, the word *reputation* occurs seven times in the STs. A manual analysis shows that various procedures have been used in the translation of the word not only by different media outlets, but also within the same media outlet. Occurrences 1 and 2 are translated by the near-synonym **ناوبانگ** ['fame']; occurrences 3 and 7 are rendered by the two different Arabic borrowings **شەخسیات** ['personality'] and **سومعه** ['reputation'], respectively; occurrences 4 and 5 are omitted along with the phrases in which they occur (*'its reputation of freedom'* and *'as their reputation suggest'*, respectively); and, occurrence 6 is translated by its Kurdish near-synonym **كەسایەتی** ['personality'].

These findings confirm the hypothesis made at the beginning of this study that one of the deficiencies in the translations produced by the Kurdish media is a lack of lexical and terminological consistency.

Finally, it should be clarified that what is referred to here as a lexical gap does not necessarily mean they are not available in reliable bilingual dictionaries – one usually finds them translated by a near-synonym. For example, in *The Azady English-Kurdish Dictionary* (2009: 815), *reputation* is rendered by near-synonymy as **ناوبانگ** ['fame'].

6.1.9.1.2 Near-synonymy due to limited range of use

There are 96 terms translated by obligatory near-synonymy due to a limited range of use on the part of their supposed TL equivalents. The limited range of use can be because a term is restricted in its range of meaning. For example, the adjective *poor* has two main senses: (1) 'lacking sufficient money' and (2) 'of a low or inferior standard or quality' (Concise Oxford English Dictionary 2011). Its Kurdish counterpart **هەژار**, however, can only be used in the first sense. Thus, the phrase *poor service*, in which the adjective *poor* is obviously used in its second sense, is translated by near-synonymy as **كەمی خزمەتگوزاری** ['lack of services'].

Limited range of use can be also because a term is restricted in its range of word formation. This occurs when a certain SL item has greater potential for generating various word forms or conversions as compared to its supposed TL counterparts. For instance, Kurdish has an equivalent for the word *engineer* when it is used as a noun (ئهندازیار), but it does not have a one-to-one equivalent when used as a verb. In the data, the term occurs twice as a verb in the phrases ‘*the declarations it has engineered*’ and ‘*engaged in engineering a census*’, and both cases are translated by near-synonymy as *دارشتن* [‘to draw’]. Likewise, the word *key* as an adjective does not have a corresponding equivalent in Kurdish. The term occurs three times, two occurrences being translated as *گرنگ* [‘important’] and the third one as *دیار* [‘prominent’].

6.1.9.1.3 Near-synonymy due to collocational constraints

As stated earlier (see 6.1.3.2.1), collocation is a language-specific linguistic phenomenon; words collocate differently in different languages. This requires translators be on the alert and avoid a literal translation that may produce a marked collocation in the TL. In most cases, near-synonymy functions as a useful procedure to eliminate discrepancies in collocational preferences between the two languages.

There are 48 words and terms in the data that had to be translated by near-synonymy due to collocational constraints. For example, the two words *ئازادی* [‘freedom’] and *قسەکردن* [‘speech’] do not collocate naturally in Kurdish. The phrase *freedom of speech* is then effectively translated by near-synonymy as *ئازادی رادەربەرین* [‘freedom of expression’]. Likewise, none of the four Kurdish direct equivalents for the adjective *hard* (سەخت/زەحمەت/قورس/رەق) collocates with the verb *گۆڤگرتن* [‘listen’]. Thus, *listening hard* is translated as *بەجوانی گۆڤدەگرتن* [lit. ‘listening nicely’].

A final remark regarding the obligatory use of near-synonymy is the translation of some SL metaphors by TL non-metaphorical near-synonyms, which can be the subject of criticism. Semantically, there is nothing wrong with translating metaphors by sense. Stylistically, however, it produces a T that is less expressive than its ST, such as:

- *this will not **shield** him from the consequences* > *ئەمە ئۆباما لە دەرئەنجامەکان **نایارئیزی*** [‘this will not **protect** Obama from the consequences’].
- ***virgin** territory* > *خاکی **بەکارنەهاتوو*** [‘**unused** territory’].

6.1.9.2 Optional near-synonymy

The data contains 308 words and terms that are translated by optional near-synonymy (see Appendix 14 B). The use of such a high proportion of optional near-synonyms may demonstrate a degree of freedom or flexibility in making lexical choices when translating from English into Kurdish. On the other hand, it may reflect the fact that translation is not a word-by-word process; translators normally render utterance by utterance or sentence by sentence, concentrating on the meaning and fluency of the utterance rather than individual words (cf. Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 21; Newmark 1988: 30-31). Nevertheless, the many instances of optional near-synonymy may bring into question the accuracy of the translation in the data concerned, especially instances that would be better off translated literally. For example, the expression *social injustice* can be directly translated as the standard expression *نادادگەری کۆمەڵایەتی*, which is also a calque. In the data, though, the expression is unnecessarily translated by near-synonymy as *نایەکسانی کۆمەڵایەتی* ['social inequality']. It is true that *social injustice* and *social inequality* are considered to be almost synonymous, but the two concepts are not sociologically quite the same.

Although it is generally not clear whether near-synonymy is employed consciously or unconsciously, there are a few cases where near-synonymy resulted in a stronger collocational tie in the TL, such as: *public's attitude* > *رهێ گشتی* ['public opinion']; *international affairs* > *پەيوەندیه نێودهوڵەتیهکان* ['international relations']; and *in times of trouble* > *لەکاتە دژوارەکاندا* ['in the hard times']. This, of course, has a positive effect in producing idiomaticity in the translation.

Nevertheless, the optional use of near-synonymy can also be criticized for several instances that seem to be ideologically motivated. An interesting example is the translation of the word *family* when it refers to the two Kurdish families that head the two major Kurdish political parties: *Talabani family* referring to Jalal Talabani's party (PUK) and *Barzani family* referring to Masoud Barzani's party (KDP). On five occasions, the word *family* referring to the two political parties is translated by the ideologically loaded near-synonym *بنەماله* ['clan'], as exemplified below [Text 7]:

(6.20) Its two main political **families** grow wealthier by the day on the oil riches [...] The Talabani and Barzani **families** have made a temporary peace as they divide up the riches of power...

ئەو دوو **بنه‌ماله** سیاسیه رۆژ به رۆژ دەولەمەندتر دەبن لەسەر حسابی سامانی نەوت [...] **بنه‌ماله**ی بارزانی و تالەبانی نائشتیهکی کاتیان دەستەبەر کردووە، چونکە سەرۆتی ئه‌و ولاته دابه‌ش ده‌کەن...

*[‘These two political **clans** grow wealthier day by day on the oil riches [...] The Talabani and Barzani **clans** have made a temporary peace as they divide up the wealth of the country...]*

It can be strongly argued that the term *clan* has a pejorative connotation, especially when it is used in the context of system of governance. In that context, it denotes a clan-based rule rather than a democratic system of power. In the above extract, the word *family* occurs twice and both occurrences are translated as **بنه‌ماله** [‘clan’]. The first propositional sense of the term *family* sounds quite positive, referring to related people who live together in peace and in a caring environment. However, when the term is used to describe a political system, it will carry a rather negative connotation. In the example above, translating *family* by the near-synonym **بنه‌ماله** [‘clan’] sounds even more negative in its description of the nature of the ruling system in the KRG. The text is translated by the *Sbeij*, which is an influential media outlet belonging to the then opposition Change Movement. The Movement used to constantly criticize the then two major ruling parties for not making efforts to institutionalize the system of governance. The use of the pejorative term *clan* in the translation (and in the Movement’s narratives in general) to describe the two ruling parties is indeed ideologically motivated as it represents the Movement’s political and ideological attitude towards authority in the KRG.

6.1.10 Generalization

In Section 4.2.18, we defined ‘generalization’ as a procedure in which a specific SL lexical item (i.e. hyponym) is translated by a more general TL lexical item (i.e. hyperonym or superordinate), and the semantic relationship between the two lexical items is that of inclusion, i.e. the meaning of the SL word is included in the meaning of the substituting TL word. As discussed in the previous section, when encountering lexical gaps, translators ideally seek to find appropriate near-synonyms. However, “in

the absence of plausible synonyms, translating by a hyponym or hyperonym is standard practice and entirely unremarkable” (Dickins et al. 2002: 56).

Overall, the data contains 208 occurrences of generalization: 149 occurrences are obligatory and 59 optional (see Appendix 15). These are elaborately discussed below:

6.1.10.1 Obligatory generalization

The instances translated by obligatory generalization are of two major patterns. The first is the use of generalization in rendering lexical items that do not have precise counterparts in the TL. For example, the English word *boom* suggests a growth or development specifically in economic activities, but Kurdish does not have an equivalent to specifically imply economic development. Hence, the term is translated by the more general words گەشەپێدان ['development'] and پێشکەوتن ['progress']. Similarly, Kurdish does not have a specific word meaning *fellow*, thus *senior fellow* is translated by generalization as ئەندامی بالە ['senior member']. This is deemed as an instance of generalization based on the principle that, in an institution, all fellows are members but not all members are fellows.

The second pattern of obligatory generalization occurs when certain TL equivalents naturally carry generic meaning, and are thus used as cover terms to render a set of SL terms throughout the data. For example, the Kurdish adjective گەورە is used as a cover term to translate *great, big, large, huge, colossal, sizeable, extraordinary, remarkable* and *significant*. These English adjectives have more or less different meanings. For instance, “**great** is only used in abstract concepts, meaning ‘*very good*’, ‘*magnificent*’, [and] the difference between **big** and **large** is one of register, with the latter being more formal” (Husni and Newman 2013: 93, emphasis in original).

Likewise, the Kurdish adjective گەرنگ ['important'] is used as a cover term to translate *pivotal, major, crucial, key* and *significant*. Although most of these adjectives do not have precise counterparts, they accept different translations depending on the context. For example, *pivotal* is translated as گەرنگ ['important'] in the sentence ‘*this pivotal state in the heart of the Arab world*’, but it is translated as بەهێز ['strong'] in the phrase a ‘*pivotal security relationship*’ – each choice is appropriate in its given context.

As far as such a pattern of generalization is concerned, the TTs demonstrate a more generic sense as compared to the STs. The phenomenon of using Kurdish words as cover terms also suggests that there is a great deal of flexibility when translating from

English into Kurdish. For example, the Kurdish word سنوور is used as a general term to render *border*, *boundary*, *limitation*, *frontier* and *confine*, while these English words have considerably different meanings and complex uses:

Both **border** and **frontier** denote the dividing line between two countries. Originally, **frontier** was the term used if there were customs, passport checks, etc. Today, however, **border** is used in these contexts as well, **frontier** being restricted to figurative meanings, when it refers to **limits**. **Boundary** is used to delimit smaller areas.

(Husni and Newman 2013: 93; emphasis in original)

By contrast, this phenomenon poses a real challenge for translators working from the opposite direction (i.e. Kurdish > English). For instance, for the word سنوور, the translator has to find the most appropriate alternative among *border*, *boundary*, *limitation*, *frontier* and *confine*, depending on the context.

It is worth mentioning that generalizing translation usually involves a degree of translation loss, since details are likely to be omitted from the ST (Dickins et al. 2002: 56). For example, both words *murder* and *assassination* are translated by generalization as كوشتن ['killing']. While the word *killing* is a very general term, the two words *murder* and *assassination* have specific connotations; the former refers to “the unlawful premeditated killing of one human being by another” and the latter is even more precise, referring to “murder[ing] (an important person) for political or religious reasons” (Oxford Dictionary of English 2010). The reason why these terms are translated by generalization is that they do not have one-to-one counterparts in Kurdish. In fact, both terms could be translated more appropriately as تيرۆرکردن [lit. 'terrorizing'], which is an English borrowing appeared in Kurdish, specifically after 9/11, to cover both *murder* and *assassination*. The borrowing is made up of the root تيرۆر (a borrowing as well as a false friend of English *terror*) combined with the Kurdish gerund-forming suffix کردن.

6.1.10.2 Optional generalization

Instances identified as optional generalization are those that could be literally translated but, for whatever reason, the translator chose to render them by generalization. There is apparently no need to translate these instances by generalization. There is no reason, for instance, for translating *ministers* as بهرپرسان

['officials'], since it could be directly translated as (وہزیران). Likewise, the word *column* is translated by generalization as وتار ['article']. It is true that "English has many hyponyms under *article* for which it is difficult to find precise equivalents in other languages" (Baker 2011: 20), but in the case of Kurdish, *column* can be precisely translated as ستوون.

Generalization can be a useful procedure to translate words that lack one-to-one counterparts in the TL. However, it can be criticized if the superordinate is "unnecessary, or contextually inappropriate, or misleading" (Dickins et al. 2002: 56). This is particularly relevant to the occurrences of optional generalization which are often better off avoided, especially if the superordinate is too general. For example, *Tunisian street vendor* [Text 2] is translated as هاو لاتی تونسی ['Tunisian citizen'], which is too general a translation that can mean any individual person of the approximately 11 million Tunisian population. In fact, the term *street vendor* is of focal importance in the given context; it refers to the working class Tunisian young man, Mohamed Bouazizi, whose self-immolation in protest at being prevented from selling fruit and vegetables on the streets led to popular uprisings and marked the start of the Arab Spring. The term could be more appropriately translated as میوهفروش ['grocer'].

6.1.11 Particularization

As defined in 4.2.19, 'particularization' involves the replacement of a general SL lexical item (i.e. hyperonym or superordinate) by a semantically more specific lexical item (i.e. hyponym) in the TL. Particularization is the least frequently occurring translation procedure in the data, with only 35 terms being rendered by particularizing translation: 7 instances are obligatory and 28 instances are optional (see Appendix 16).

6.1.11.1 Obligatory particularization

Obligatory particularization is used in two circumstances. The first is when the TL lacks a one-to-one equivalent for an SL superordinate. For example, the term *theocracy* does not have an exact counterpart in Kurdish, thus the phrase *Iranian-style theocracy* is translated as ولاتیکی شیوه ئیرانی ئیسلامی ['Iranian-style Islamic country']. *Theocracy* is a general term that can refer to any religion, but it is replaced by a more specific term ئیسلامی ['Islamic'] in the TL.

The second circumstance for using obligatory particularization is when an SL word or term has a direct equivalent, but its use is contextually-conditioned. For example, the

term *forced marriage* is translated by particularization as بهزۆر بهشوودان, which is hard to back-translate as the TT expression specifically suggests the case of *females* being forced to marry men against their will. The term could be directly translated as هاوسەرگیری زۆرهملی which applies to both genders. In the data, the term occurs in the context of gender-based violence, which specifically addresses the issue of women being oppressed in several parts of the world. Thus, the term has to be translated by particularization to reflect the fact that, in the given context, it is meant to describe the case of females' marriage against their will.

6.1.11.2 Optional particularization

Optional particularization is used when a match between an SL superordinate and its TL counterpart can be achieved, but for some reason the translator chose to replace the SL superordinate by a hyponym in the TT. For example, *the parliament building* is translated by particularization as ته‌لاری په‌رله‌مان ['the parliament palace']. As is obvious, the word *building* is a superordinate that covers every type of building, including *palace*. Although it is an optional case of particularization, the translation sounds more expressive and demonstrates a strong collocational tie in the TL.

Like several other translation procedures, optional particularization does not seem to have been used consistently in the data. Consider the ensuing example [Text 38], where both generalization and particularization are used in the same sentence:

(6.21) Speaking on Monday after the initial **incident** in Egypt, Mr el-Hamalawy said the government would try to paint the attempted **suicide** as an isolated political act by a mentally unstable individual.

شایانی باسه ئەم وتانەمی "الهمالوی" دواى یەكەم **خۆسووتاندن** له میسر دین و له درێژەدا وتی حکومەتی ئەم وڵاتە هەموڵێداوه ئەم رووداوه وەکو **رووداوێکی** دەروونی لێکبداتەرە.

*[It is worth mentioning these words of el-Hamalawy come after the first **self-immolation** in Egypt, and in the detail he said the government of that country has tried to interpret this **incident** as a mental health-related incident.]*

As the example illustrates, the word *incident*, which is a general term meaning any happening that is unpleasant or even violent, is translated by particularization as خۆسووتاندن ['self-immolation'], with the specified meaning being inferred from the context. In sharp contrast, the word *suicide*, which is a specific term, is translated by

generalization as *ڕووداو* ['incident']. One of the reasons for avoiding the word *خۆکوژی* ['suicide'] may be its strong association with terrorist attacks, which is not the case in the given context.

6.1.12 Explication

'Explication' is a translation procedure that is characterized by expressing explicitly in the TT what seems to be only implicit information in the ST. In Section 4.3.2, we set explication apart from addition based on the information retrieval principle that explication involves the incorporation of extra information which can be retrieved from the context or situation, whereas addition involves the incorporation of genuinely new information. In the analysis of explication as a general translation procedure, we shall adopt Klaudy's (2009) explication typology outlined in 4.2.20, and categorize the findings according to obligatory and optional explications:

6.1.12.1 Obligatory explication

According to Klaudy (2009: 104), obligatory explication results from discrepancies in the syntactic and semantic aspects of the SL and the TL. The findings show that there are only 31 instances of obligatory explication as opposed to 226 instances of optional explication (see Appendix 17 A). The obligatory cases can be categorized into three patterns: (1) explication in substitution and ellipsis (17 occurrences); (2) explication in incomplete grammatical structures (5 occurrences); and (3) explication in numbers referring to people (9 occurrences).

6.1.12.1.1 Explication in substitution and ellipsis

Substitution and ellipsis are two different grammatical phenomena, but they are both related to cohesion. The former involves the replacement of one item by another, and the latter involves the omission of an item which can be retrieved from the context (cf. Baker 2011: 196). In translations into Kurdish, almost all substituted and elided terms used in English should undergo syntactic explication. To illustrate explication in substitution, consider the following example [Text 13], in which the verb *hope* in the second sentence is substituted by the verb *do*. Since substitutions based on the verb *to do* are peculiar to English, *do* should be replaced by a more specific verb when rendered into Kurdish.

(6.22) I hope Obama's optimism is vindicated. **I really do.**

هيوام وایه گهشبینیهکهه ی ئوباما راست دهر چیت. **به راستی هیواخوام.**

*[‘I hope Obama’s optimism is vindicated. **I really hope.**’]*

As for ellipsis, let us look at the following example [Text 30], in which the word *important* is omitted in the second sentence but its meaning is clear and can be easily retrieved from the previous sentence. Since Kurdish does not normally have ellipses, the elliptical structure is explicitated in the translation:

(6.23) It doesn't sound important. **But it is.** It is what good governance is all about.

ئهمهش بێدهچی شتیکی گرنگ نهی، **به لام گرنگیشه،** حکومهتی باشیش لهم جوره کارانهوه دهردهکهوئیت.

*[‘It sounds like an unimportant thing. **But it is important,** and good government is seen from these kinds of work.’]*

6.1.12.1.2 Explicitation in incomplete grammatical structures

Formal written Kurdish expects grammatical completeness, which is not the case with English in which sometimes incomplete grammatical structures convey complete meaning. To exemplify this, consider the following extract [Text 19]:

(6.24) The U.S., U.K. and others intervened to block it [a charge against Gadhafi].
Asked why, Crane said, “Welcome to the world of oil”.

ئهمریکا و بهریتانیا و ولاتانی تریش تهدهخولیان کرد بۆ سرکردنی تۆمهتهکه، **کاتیکیش لهو بارهیهوه پرسیار له**
کرهین کرا، له وهلامدا وتی: "بهخیربین بۆ جیهانی نهوت".

*[‘America, Britain and other countries intervened to freeze the charge, and **when Crane was asked about that,** in response he said: “Welcome to the world of oil.”’]*

When translating into Kurdish, the incomplete grammatical structure ‘*Asked why*’ sounds ambiguous and raises the question ‘*Who is asked the question?*’. To avoid producing a TT that is potentially vague, the incomplete SL grammatical structure is explicitated through its replacement by a complete grammatical structure which clearly indicates that it was *Crane* who was asked the question.

6.1.12.1.3 Explicitation in numbers referring to people

Brevity is a preferred style in English news reporting. The following extract demonstrates a typical example of English news reporting, in which three incidents are reported (*killing, injuring and arresting*), but the word *people* is mentioned only once. Kurdish, on the other hand, tends to be repetitive; it requires the repetition of the word *people* in stating the second and third incidents:

(6.25) Protest leaders say 10 people have so far been killed, more than **500** injured and more than **900** arrested...

سه‌کرده‌کانی خۆپیشانان ده‌لێن 10 کهس کوژراون و زیاتر له **500 کهس** برینداربوون و **900 که‌س** ده‌ستگیرکراون...

[*‘Demonstration leaders say 10 people have been killed, more than **500 people** have been injured and **900 people** have been arrested...’*]

6.1.12.2 Optional explicitation

Overall, the data contains 226 instances of optional explicitation (see Appendix 17 B), which is disproportionately larger than the obligatory ones (31 instances). Optional occurrences of explicitation are indeed more interesting from the point of view of Translation Studies because translators always have choices to make. The optional occurrences of explicitation in the data fall under two main subcategories: (1) explicitation through cohesion; and (2) semantic explicitation as a general tendency in translation.

6.1.12.2.1 Explicitation through cohesion

The topic of cohesion, as Newmark (1991: 89) puts it, appears to be “the most useful constituent of discourse analysis or text linguistics applicable to translation”. This is because cohesive patterns do not appear to be a universal phenomenon; what looks like a normal pattern in one language may sound odd when applied to another. One of the most prominent models of cohesion is that put forward by Halliday and Hasan in their seminal book *Cohesion in English* (1976). They distinguish between five major cohesive devices in English: reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion. We have already discussed substitution and ellipsis, which presented obligatory cases of explicitation (6.1.12.1.1). Lexical cohesion (i.e. the repetition of a

lexical item in the immediate context) appears to be irrelevant here since it does not lead to explicitation. In the following, then, we shall discuss reference and conjunction, which present optional cases of explicitation.

a) Explicitation in reference

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 31) use 'reference' as a cohesive device to retrieve a participant or an entity in the preceding part of a text, stressing that "the cohesion lies in the continuity of reference, whereby the same thing enters into the discourse a second time". This corresponds to Dickins et al.'s notion of 'grammatical anaphora', defined as "the replacement of previously used words and phrases by expressions referring back to them" (Dickins et al. 2002: 129). Consider the following example [Text 22], where, the pronoun *he*, in the second sentence, is a reference or an anaphoric element replacing *Obama*.

(6.26) **Obama** has succeeded in toppling one of the most loathsome creatures on the international stage. Obviously, **he** didn't do it alone.

Since cohesion patterns are language specific, chains of reference differ from one language to another, which paves the way for explicitation or implicitation in reference. In this light, Hoey (1991: 15) claims that "there are languages where no explicit mention need be made of topic once it has been established, [but] in English, at least, it is necessary to refer to one's topic in successive sentences". As far as reference is concerned, the most common pattern of cohesion in English is "to mention a participant explicitly in the first instance, for example by name or title, and then use a pronoun to refer back to the same participant in the immediate context" (Baker 2011: 191). Kurdish, on the other hand, accepts, or rather prefers, repeating the participant.

The data contains 51 cases where SL pronouns are replaced by nouns in the translation, which obviously involves explicitation. Interestingly, all the cases are based on third-person pronouns (e.g. *he*, *she*, *it*, *they* and *them*). This seems quite normal, since "[t]hird-person pronouns are frequently used to refer back (and occasionally forward) to an entity which has already been introduced (or is about to be introduced) into the discourse" (Baker 2011: 191).

To exemplify explicitation in reference, consider the following extract from a *Washington Post* report based on an interview with Barham Salih, the former KRG Prime Minister [Text 39]:

(6.27) **Mr. Salih** said his priority now is to promote U.S. investment in the oil-rich region. "America and the West in general have had a troubled relationship with the Muslim world," **he** said.

بەریز **د. بەرھەم** وتی ئیستا ئەولەویەتی ئەو بریتیه له پەرەپێدانی وەبەرھێنانی ئەمریکی له کەرتی نەوتی
ھەریمی کوردستاندا. "**د. بەرھەم** روونیشیکردووه: "ئەمریکا و رۆژئاوا بەگشتی پەيوەندیەکی پرکێشەیان ھەبە
لەگەڵ جیھانی ئیسلامدا."

[lit. 'Respected **Dr Barham** said his priority now is to promote American investment in the region's oil sector. **Dr Barham** also explained: "America and the West in general have a troubled relationship with the Muslim world."']

Let us set aside for the moment the fact that the proper name *Mr Salih* is translated by cultural adaptation as *د. بەرھەم* ['Dr Barham'] to conform to TL cultural norms - this will be discussed in the next chapter (see 7.3.7.2). The direct translation of a proper noun when first mentioned in a text is what we normally expect in translating into almost all languages. The second mention of the noun is when different styles of establishing reference usually come into play. English uses a pronoun to trace the participant, whereas in Kurdish the noun can be repeated as a matter of style and not necessity. The fact of the matter is that Kurdish has a tendency to be more repetitive in its use of proper nouns than English. Nevertheless, it is often acceptable to follow the English pattern of reference.

b) Explicitation through the incorporation of conjunctions

Explicitation in conjunction is carried out by incorporating 'conjunctions' (otherwise known as 'connectives') into the translation with the subsequent effect that the TT displays a greater degree of networking and connectedness between clauses, sentences and/or paragraphs. The main relationships established by conjunctions are: additive (e.g. *and, in addition, moreover, etc.*); comparative (e.g. *likewise, similarly, in the same vein, etc.*); contrastive (e.g. *but, however, by contrast, etc.*); causal (e.g. *so, as a result, consequently, that is why, etc.*); temporal (e.g. *first, then, afterwards, etc.*); and continuative (e.g. *it is worth mentioning, of course, anyway, etc.*).

The data contains 74 cases of explicitation based on incorporating conjunctions into the TT, which are particularly common in two specific circumstances. The first is when two or more ST sentences are merged into one sentence in the TT by means of a conjunction, as in the following example [Text 19]:

(6.28) True but irrelevant. The same could be said about Iraq under Saddam...

ئەمە راستە، بەلام لەجی خۆیدا نیە، **چونکہ** دەکرا ئەمە لەبارەى عێراقەوه بووتریت که لەژیر دەسه‌لاتی سەدامدا
بوو...

*[‘This is true, but not reasonable, **because** this could be said about Iraq under Saddam’s authority...’]*

The second circumstance is commonly used in linking different items of information in structuring news reports. Kurdish news reports are marked by cohesive density in text-building. This is also reflected in translating news reports from English into Kurdish. Consider the conjunction شایانی باسه [‘it is worth mentioning’] in Example 6.21 above, which is used to link the statement to the information mentioned in the previous part of the report.

6.1.12.2.2 Semantic explicitation

Semantic explicitation is in the core of what Klaudy (2009: 107) has termed ‘translation-inherent explicitation’. This type of explicitation can be ascribed to the nature of translation and translators’ natural tendency to produce a TT that is more explicit than the ST. According to Blum-Kulka’s (2004: 300) Explicitation Hypothesis, “[t]he process of interpretation performed by the translator on the source text” leads to a tendency towards explicitation as a general phenomenon. Semantic explicitation is usually established through the incorporation of extra information into the TL. That is why it is likely to be confused with translation by addition. However, it is principally different from addition, since the additional information in semantic explicitation is deemed retrievable from the context or situation. The data contains 99 instances of semantic explicitation, nearly half of all the optional occurrences of explicitation. To illustrate semantic explicitation, consider the ensuing example [Text 23]:

(6.29) Ultimately, a democracy can be judged by its respect for property rights, religious tolerance [...] a free press, and a vigorous political opposition.

دوچار بەهۆی ریزگرتنی له مافەکانی مولکداریتی، لیبوردەیی ئایینی [...] میدیابەکی ئازاد و ئۆپۆزیسیۆنیکی
سیاسی بەهێز **هەریمی کوردستان دەتوانریت بە دیموکراسی لەقەڵەم بدریت.**

*[‘Ultimately, because of its respect for property rights, religious tolerance [...] free media and a strong political opposition, **the Kurdistan Region can be considered a democracy.**’]*

The example is an extract from the opinion article 'Kurdistan can be a model for democracy in a troubled region', which positively describes the Kurdistan Region for religious tolerance, the rule of law, free media, etc. The article also indicates that these traits account for a healthy democracy, leaving the reader to reach the premise and conclude that the KRG has a democratic system. The TT, however, explicitly concludes that the KRG can be regarded as a democratic system as it has all the traits of a democracy. Since the text is translated by the authority-affiliated *Xendan* corporation, the occurrence can be seen as a form of 'legitimization', which is achieved by "positive self-representation" (Schäffner 2004: 145).

In the example above, the explicitation involves the name *Kurdistan*. In fact, the findings reveal that, wherever possible, semantic explicitation is used to highlight the name *Kurdistan*, presumably to personalize the article or news report and make it more relevant to the target readership. The notions of 'personalization' and 'relevance' are indeed two important principles of newsworthiness (Bednarek 2006: 18; Allan 2010: 72-73).

6.1.13 Implication

As defined in Section 4.2.21, 'implication' is a translation procedure in which explicit ST information is expressed implicitly in the TT, provided that the meaning is apparent from the context. The data contains 58 occurrences of implication (see Appendix 18), which are just a quarter of the instances of explicitation (256 occurrences). In other words, explicitation tends to prevail in the journalistic texts concerned. Therefore, this study verifies the general assumption that explicitation is a trait of almost all translations, irrespective of the language pairs in question.

All the instances of implication identified in the data are optional; they could be rendered by literal translation or other translation procedures that do not involve implication. The findings can be classified into two major types: (1) implication in cohesion, which has to do with the surface level of discourse; and (2) semantic implication, in which an explicit state of affair in the ST is expressed implicitly in the TL, including cases of omission where the information can be inferred from the context.

6.1.13.1 Implication in cohesion

The cohesive shifts leading to implication are reflected in the implication of reference and the omission of conjunctions.

6.1.13.1.1 Implication in reference

We have already defined the concept of 'reference' (in Halliday and Hasan's sense) as a linguistic device through which a participant is traced in the preceding part of a text. Implication in reference basically involves the replacement of a ST proper noun by its corresponding pronoun in the TL. There are only seven examples of such a pattern of implication in the data. Consider the following example [Text 22], in which the ST extract explicitly mentions the referent (*Obama*), while the referent is replaced by its corresponding pronoun (*he*) in the translation:

(6.30) Shortly after **Obama's** swearing-in, and his initial executive order to end coercive interrogation techniques...

ئەو دواى سوئندخواردنى بە ماومىهكى كەم، يەكەم فرمانى خۆى بەراگرتتى شىوازى لىنچىنەهوى بەزۆرى
زىندانى دەرکرد...

*['Shortly after **his** swearing-in, he issued his first order to end the coercive way of prison interrogation...']*

6.1.13.1.2 Implication through the omission of conjunctions

As the addition of conjunctions leads to explicitation at the surface level of discourse, the omission of conjunctions leads to implication in the way different parts of a text are knitted together. There are 22 instances in the data that reflect this type of implication. Consider the following example [Text 22], in which the ST extract is linked to the preceding part of the text through the conjunction *of course*, but such a textual linkage is missing in the TT as the conjunction is omitted in the translation.

(6.31) **Of course**, had he been a Republican, many on the left would have denounced yet another neocon war for oil.

ئەگەر ئوباما كۆمارىش بووايه ئەوا رووبەرۆوى رەخنەيهكى توند دەبووه له لايەن چەپەكانەوه بەهۆى چوونە
ناو جەنگىكى تر له جەنگەكانى پارىزگارە نوێهەكان لەپیناوى نەوتدا.

['If Obama had been a Republican, he would have faced severe criticism by the leftists for going into another of new conservative war for oil.']

6.1.13.2 Semantic implicitation

The data contains 29 examples of semantic implicitation. This occurs when a piece of ST information is omitted in the TT but can be inferred from the co-text or the context. Consider the following example [Text 38], where the omission of the phrase *his sister* is considered implicitation, because its meaning can be inferred from the co-text, specifically from the phrase *my brother*.

(6.32) "My brother is alive in all of us [...]" **his sister** Leila Bouazizi told the BBC Arabic service in an interview.

لعيلا بوعزيزي له چاوينكهنوتنيدا لهگهل بي بي سي وتي: "براکهم زيندوه و لهگهل ئيمه دايه..."

["Leila Bouazizi said in an interview with the BBC Arabic service: "My brother is alive and with all of us..."]

6.1.14 Paraphrase

Paraphrase is used as a translation procedure that involves the explanation of the meaning of a word or a segment for which a literal translation may or may not be available. Despite the concerns raised around paraphrase as a translation procedure (discussed in 4.2.22), translation scholars acknowledge its practical uses in various circumstances, such as: in translating concepts that are not lexicalized in the TL (cf. Baker 2011: 38), in translating idioms that do not have idiomatic expression counterparts in the TL (cf. Chesterman 1997: 104) and in translating ambiguous utterances (cf. Newmark 1988: 91).

Overall, there are 242 occurrences of translation by paraphrase in the data (see Appendix 19). Largely in line with the practical uses of paraphrase outlined above, the findings of translation by paraphrase are of three major patterns: (1) paraphrase of lexical items (102 occurrences); (2) paraphrase of idioms and metaphors (30 occurrences); and (3) paraphrase of ambiguous and/or complex utterances (110 occurrences).

6.1.14.1 Paraphrase of lexical items

Among the 102 occurrences of lexical items translated by paraphrase: 68 occurrences can be classified as obligatory and 34 occurrences as optional. The obligatory instances occur in two situations. The first is when an SL item is not lexicalized in the

TL. For instance, the term *entrepreneurial* has no ready counterpart in Kurdish, it is therefore translated by paraphrase in the example below [Text 21]:

(6.33) And, if the Kurds of Iraq are any indication, they are also **entrepreneurial** and welcoming of U.S. and Western investment.

ههروهه کوردهکانی عێراق **حهز به بیزنس دهکهن** و پيشوازی له وهبهرهینانی ئهمریکی و رۆژناوایی دهکهن.

*['Also the Iraqi Kurds **are interested in business** and are welcoming of American and Western investment.']*

The second situation in which obligatory paraphrase occurs is when an SL item is lexicalized in the TL but its literal translation does not sound natural in a given context. The following example illustrates this point [Text 21]:

(6.34) Next door in Syria, about 2 million Kurds have struggled to preserve their ethnic identity against [...] government acts to force **assimilation**.

له سوریا-ی دراوسیدا نزیکه 2 ملیۆن کورد خهباتیان کردوه بۆ پاراستنی ناسنامهی ئهتنبیکی خۆیان لهژێر [...] کردهوهکانی حکومهت تا زۆریان لئهیکات **لهبۆتهی عهرهیدا بتوینهوه**.

*['Next door in Syria, about 2 million Kurds have struggled to preserve their ethnic identity against [...] government acts to force them **meld in the Arab pot**.']*

The term *assimilation*, in the example above, has a Kurdish counterpart (هاوشیومکردن), but in the given context literal translation sounds awkward. Depending on the context, the term is translated by paraphrase as *له بۆتهی عهرهیدا بتوینهوه* ['to meld in the Arab pot'], based on the Kurdish idiom *توانهوه له بۆتهی* [lit. 'to meld in the pot of'], meaning to lose your personal characteristics and identity and become assimilated to those with dominant power.

Optional instances of paraphrasing lexical items occur when an SL term is lexicalized in the TL and can be literally translated, but, for inexplicable reasons, the translator opted for paraphrase. For instance, the term *covering* in the following extract [Text 2] is translated by paraphrase as *ههوال دهربارهی بلاو دهکاتهوه* ['reports news about'], despite the fact that the term has a specialized jargon counterpart in Kurdish *رۆموالکردن*:

(6.35) The Arab TV network Al Jazeera has a big team **covering** Israel today.

تۆرى تەلەفزیۆنى ئەلجەزیرە لەمڕۆدا خاوەنی تیمێکی گەورەیه که هه‌وآل دهرپاره‌ی ئیسرائیل پلاو ده‌کاته‌وه.
[‘Al Jazeera TV network has today a big team **reporting news about** Israel.’]

6.1.14.2 Paraphrase of idioms and metaphors

Idioms are considered to be language-specific expressions; it is only occasionally possible to find an idiom with similar meaning and form in the TL (Baker 2011: 76). Paraphrase, among other translation procedures such as compensation, functions as a practical procedure for translating idioms, although this may result in a stylistically less expressive TT. There are 20 idioms in the data that are translated by paraphrase. Consider the following extract [Text 30], in which the idiom *the buck stops* is effectively paraphrased as به‌رپرسیاره [‘is responsible’].

(6.36) Either they don’t care that they are detracting from Kurdistan’s natural beauty [...] or they expect someone else to pick it up for them. Who? Of course, **the buck stops with the state**.

ئەوان رهنگه هه‌چ گرنگی به‌وه نه‌ده‌ن که سروشتی کوردستان ناشرین ده‌کهن [...] یان چاوه‌ڕێده‌کهن که‌سێکی دیکه بۆیان هه‌لبگرێته‌وه. کێ؟ بێگومان حکومه‌ت به‌رپرسیاره.

[‘They don’t seem to care that they uglify Kurdistan’s nature [...] or they expect someone else to pick it up for them. Who? Of course, the **government is responsible**.’]

Like idioms, metaphors are also considered to be language-specific expressions; it is only occasionally possible to find a metaphorical counterpart in the TL that has the same form, meaning and effect. Paraphrase is often used as a practical procedure for translating metaphors. The data contains 10 metaphors translated by paraphrase, as in the following example [Text 25]:

(6.37) **Investment is pouring in**, not just from a vast array of Turkish companies, but from American oil companies like Exxon...

له هه‌موو لایه‌که‌وه روو له کوردستان ده‌کریت پۆ کاری وه‌به‌ره‌تێان نه‌ک به‌ته‌نیا له‌لایهن کۆمپانیا تورکیه‌کانه‌وه به‌ئکو له‌لایهن کۆمپانیا ئهمریکی وه‌کو ئیکسون...

[‘**Kurdistan is visited from all sides for investment**, not just by the Turkish companies, but also by American companies like Exxon...’]

The metaphor *pouring in* rejects literal translation and lacks a conceptual metaphor counterpart in Kurdish. Therefore, the whole phrase *investment is pouring in* is translated by paraphrase as له ههموو لایهکموه پروو له کوردستان دکریت [‘Kurdistan is visited from all sides’]. It is noteworthy that the translation also involves explicitation, which is realized by the incorporation of the term *Kurdistan* so that the TT sounds more relevant to the target readership.

6.1.14.3 Paraphrase of ambiguous and/or complex utterances

The data contains 110 utterances (phrases and sentences) that are translated by paraphrase. The obvious reason for using paraphrase in such cases is the ambiguity or the complexity of the ST utterances, especially if and when literal translation would sound awkward. For instance, in the example below [Text 38], the highlighted utterance is complex both semantically and structurally and its literal translation into Kurdish would only result in an awkward translation. It is therefore translated by paraphrase, which sounds fluent and natural in the TL.

(6.38) Prof Esposito says that even **some Islamic scholars will argue that such acts will not necessarily be seen as simply the taking of a life**, but as a demonstration of protest against social injustice.

پروفیسور سپوزیتو دهئیت ژمارهیهک زانای نیسلامیش نههکاره به خوکوژی نازانن، بهلکو به نارازیبیونی دهزانن بهرامبهر نایهکسانی کومه لایهتی.

[‘Professor Esposito says [that] **a number of Islamic scholars do not consider this an act of suicide**, but as a protest against social inequality.’]

One of the positive aspects of using paraphrase is that the language of a paraphrase typically sounds natural in the TT. This is particularly important in journalistic writing, which is supposed to be clear and fluent. Moreover, paraphrase can be used as a tool to compensate for some sorts of stylistic loss, for example by introducing idioms in the paraphrase to compensate for loss of idioms in other parts of the text. In the data, there are several instances of paraphrase that demonstrate this kind of compensation, for example [Text 3]:

(6.39) The situation for youths in these countries is depressing; **the level of loss of sense of purpose is stunning.**

بارودۆخی گهنجان لهم ولاتانهدا زۆر ناخۆشه. **ههستی، بێ سوودی و داماوایی بآلی کیشاوه بهسهریاندا.**

[lit. 'The situation for youths in these countries is very bad. **The sense of uselessness and misfortune has spread its wings over them.**']

The underlined utterance is obviously translated by paraphrase, which entails the idiom بآلی کیشاوه بهسهریاندا [lit. 'has spread its wings over them', meaning *has overwhelmed them*]. The actual procedure used here is paraphrase, but its implication is that of compensation, provided that the translator is aware of a loss of idiom or stylistic effect in another part of the text and incorporates a different idiom into another part of the text by means of paraphrase to make up for the loss.

6.1.15 Translation by omission

Despite the negative perceptions about 'omission' in translation (as discussed in Section 4.2.23), it can sometimes be used as a practical translation procedure to avoid repetition, to overcome the issue of lacunae and to tackle cultural encounters (see 7.3.12).

The findings of omission are very broad both in terms of the textual levels of the omissions as well as their purposes of use. We shall categorize the findings according to the textual levels of the omissions and, wherever possible, indicate the presumed purpose of using omission (for the possible factors of using omission in translation in the Kurdish media, see Section 9.3.6). Since examples of omission can be indicated within the ST alone, for the purpose of brevity, we shall not provide the TT or its back-translation.

Overall, 598 occurrences of omission are identified at various textual levels (see Appendix 20): the word level (311 occurrences), the phrase level (199 occurrences), the clause level (48 occurrences), the sentence level (25 occurrences) and the paragraph level (15 occurrences).

6.1.15.1 Omission at the word level

Lack of counterparts for some words and terms in the TL is a common translation constraint. When encountering with such a constraint, translators usually try to find an

appropriate translation procedure that prevents meaning loss as much as possible, such as borrowing, near-synonymy, paraphrase, etc. However, translators may also choose to omit a particular word or term if its meaning is “not vital enough to the development of the text to justify distracting the reader with lengthy explanations” (Baker 2011: 42).

The majority of the omissions at the word level, in the data, demonstrate a lack of ready equivalent in the TL, such as: *dissident*, *would-be*, *potential*, *typical* and *notoriously*. The data also contains lexical items which have counterparts in the TL but, for some inexplicable reason, have been omitted in the translation, such as: *senior*, *relatively*, *new*, *energy* and *obvious*.

In addition to meaning, some words also carry values (cf. Carter et al. 2001: 69). Omitting such words in translation will undoubtedly affect the evaluative value of the text. The data contains 311 occurrences of omission at the word level, 193 instances of which are value-laden words. The most influential approach to studying value-laden lexical items is the Appraisal Theory (Martin and White 2005), which was originally proposed to study language evaluation in linguistics. Later, several translation scholars applied the theory in translation (cf. Abbamonte and Cavaliere 2006; Zhang and Qian 2009; Maher 2010; Munday 2012a; Zhang 2013). According to the theory, appraisal consists of three resources, with each resource entailing different parameters, as shown in Figure 6.3:

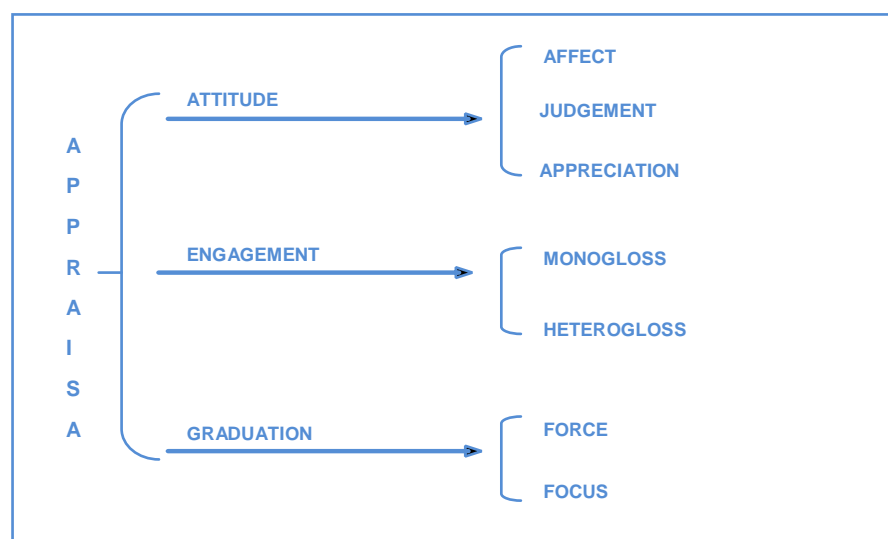


Figure 6.3: An overview of appraisal resources (adapted from Martin and White 2005: 38)

Based on the appraisal system, we shall identify the patterns of value-laden lexical items that are omitted in the translation:

a) Attitude: this is considered the most important domain of appraisal, and consists of three parameters: (1) 'affect', which is concerned with human feelings and emotional reactions; (2) 'judgement', which is related to the evaluation of human behaviour; and (3) 'appreciation', which is concerned with the evaluation of things (Martin and White 2005: 35). The findings of omission do not contain instances of affect, but they contain 30 instances of judgement and 70 instances of appreciation. The following are examples of judgement and appreciation, respectively:

- *John McDonnell is hard-working and **sincere***
- *the **stunning** ancient artefacts*

The evaluative word *sincere*, in the first example above, is an instance of judgment – social sanction, describing the veracity of the agent in question: *John McDonnell*. The evaluative word *stunning*, in the second example, is an instance of appreciation – reaction, describing the quality of the subject in question: *ancient artefact*. In both instances, the omission of the evaluative words in the translation will reduce the attitudinal meaning of the TT.

b) Engagement: this is concerned with the writer/readers or speaker/listeners positioning in dialogism, whether it be in spoken or written discourse. It specifically refers to “the stance adopted by the text producer to a phenomenon or object and the relative position the producer allows to the text receiver” (Munday 2012a: 33). The two basic parameters of engagement are ‘monogloss’ and ‘heterogloss’. The former constricts response, for example with reporting verbs such as *indicate* and *demonstrate* “that do not allow for easy disagreement” (ibid.). The latter is ‘dialogically expansive’ allowing for various possible interpretations, for example with modal adverbials such as *probably* and *merely* (ibid.).

The most prominent pattern of engagement is realized through counter-expectancy indicators which add in a value judgement and provoke attitude. Overall, 66 of these indicators are omitted in the translation, mostly unjustifiably, such as:

- *why they can't **simply** head out on their own as an independent nation*
- *a quake **eventually** hitting the country's biggest city Istanbul*

The elements highlighted in the examples above are crucial indicators of evaluation. They are purposefully used in the STs to establish an engaged interaction between the writer and reader. Omitting such indicators in the translation will certainly reduce the TT's evaluative meaning.

c) Graduation: “[this] has to do with adjusting the degree of an evaluation – how strong or weak the feeling is” (Munday 2012a: 37). Graduation is realized through the two axes of gradability ‘force’ and ‘focus’. Force is concerned with the degree of intensity or amount of the evaluation (e.g. *highly exaggerated*). Focus, on the other hand, is related to prototypicality of the evaluation (e.g. *typical Mideast oil economy*). Force makes the most remarkable pattern of graduation in the data, with 32 words describing the intensity of evaluation being omitted in the translation. The omission of such words will result in TTs that are less evaluative in terms of intensity, or non-evaluative at all. It is reasonable to question the legitimacy of omitting these value-laden words, especially because these are essential lexical items found cross-linguistically.

This is not to claim that omission is always negative as it results in some sort of translation loss. In fact, omission may occur for pragmatic reasons, such as the omission of indications of time and place in news reporting, especially in today's fast changing world where news stories rapidly emerge and disappear. Since there is always a gap between the time an original news report is released and the time its translation is produced and disseminated, the omission of past time indications is a strategic technique to give a sense of immediacy to the news story. Consider the following example [Text 14], in which the indication of past time is omitted so that the new story sounds recent in the TT, bearing in mind that ‘recency’ is a factor of newsworthiness (Bednarek 2006: 16).

(6.40) “The Americans pulled out without completing the job they should have finished,” Iyad Allawi [...] told the Reuters news agency **Tuesday**.

6.1.15.2 Omission at the phrase level

There are 199 occurrences of omission at the phrase level, a phrase being defined as “a single element of structure typically containing more than one word, and lacking the subject-predicate structure typical of clauses” (Crystal 2008: 367). The omitted phrases are of various formal types, such as: noun phrase (e.g. ‘*Kurdish PR*’), verb phrase (e.g.

'to create stability'), time adverbial phrase (e.g. 'at the moment') and place adverbial phrase (e.g. 'around the world').

The omission of phrases is likely to affect the overall meaning of the message communicated. Consider the following example [Text 35], in which the omission of the adverbial phrase *in the city of Sulaymaniyah* has resulted in the loss, or rather the distortion, of the meaning of the message:

(6.41) Over the same period, the Iraqi Association for Defending Journalists received 226 reported violations of press freedom **in the city of Sulaymaniyah**...

The ST clearly states that 226 cases of press-related violations have been reported in Sulaymaniyah alone, whereas the TT rather implies that these cases happened all over Iraq, since the Iraqi Association for Defending Journalists is a national organization operating across the country.

The omission of phrases may also affect the stylistic or rhetorical effect of the text. For example, in the following extract [Text 5], the phrase *a deficit of* occurs three times. The repetition in that case can be considered a rhetorical anaphora, i.e. "the repetition of a word or words in successive or closely associated clauses or phrases for a rhetorical purpose" (Dickins et al. 2002: 129). The omission of the phrase in the second and third occurrences has resulted in the loss of the anaphoric sense.

(6.42) ...the root causes of Arab state dysfunction [...] were identified in the 2002 Arab Human Development Report as a deficit of freedom, **a deficit of** knowledge and **a deficit of** women's empowerment...

Nevertheless, a positive interpretation for omitting the phrase *a deficit of*, in the example above, can be to avoid repetition, which seems to be a legitimate reason for omission at least in journalism translation, which is constrained by time and space limitations.

Another characteristic of omission at the phrasal level, in the data, is to eliminate informal expressions. There are 24 instances where informal expressions are omitted in the translation, such as *I think* (12 occurrences), *you know* (5 occurrences), *kind of* (4 occurrences). The vast majority of these instances occur in the three interviews published by the *Gulan Magazine* [Texts 43, 44 and 45], and represent more of an editing convention than a translation one. The interviews are conducted orally and then

transcribed intact, maintaining the informal expressions which are characteristics of spoken language, such as false starts, hesitation fillers, and interactive fillers. Most of these informal expressions, which do not accord with the TL convention of journalistic writing, are omitted in the translation. Consider the following example [Text 43], where the two underlined informal expressions are omitted in the TT:

(6.43) So, **I think** in every election there might be promises and they give something to the provinces, **you know** they give petro-dollars to individual provinces.

This is not to argue that the TTs are free from informal expressions; in fact some of the informal expressions are reproduced in the translation. The matter of the fact is that the interviews are marked by heavy use of informal expressions, and omission seems to have been used to reduce the density of those informal expressions in the translation.

6.1.15.3 Omission at the clause level

A clause is defined as “a unit of grammatical organization smaller than the sentence, but larger than phrases, words or morphemes” (Crystal 2008: 78). Traditional approaches to linguistics distinguish between main (independent) clause and subordinate (dependent) clause. There are 48 occurrences of omission at the clause level, mostly subordinate clauses, for instance [Text 36]:

(6.44) ...the provincial governorate had banned unlicensed demonstrations, **effectively snuffing out the protests.**

The information carried in subordinate clauses does not necessarily mean it is less important or less relevant. In the sentence above, for example, the omitted clause carries significant information; it implies that the government has been able to put an end to the protests as a direct result of banning unlicensed demonstrations.

6.1.15.4 Omission at the sentence level

There may be different reasons for omitting full sentences in the translation of journalistic texts, such as time limitation, space limitation, the issue of relevance, etc. Overall, 25 sentences are completely omitted in the data. Omitting complete sentences is more common in translating, or rather transediting, news stories to suit the target readership. Text 39 in the data, which is a news report from *The Washington Times*, is an example of transediting in which four non-consecutive sentences are omitted. The

following is an extract from the news report, where the highlighted sentence is completely left out:

(6.45) Mr. Salih [...] said the Kurds have shown they are more concerned with Iraq's stability and survival "than many of their Arab compatriots who are fighting it out over power in Baghdad."

The Kurdish leader was referring to the political struggle between Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, a Shiite, and the Sunni-dominated bloc led by former prime minister Ayad Allawi.

As is clear, the second sentence is the reporter's comment to provide elaboration or explanation on the interviewee's speech. The reason for omitting this sentence may be the fact that the ST gives information about the Arab compatriots that are fighting over power, as well as information about their respective sects which are bound to be known by the target readers. After all, in journalism, especially news reporting, familiar information is less essential and can be safely omitted in the translation to save time and/or space. In the example above, it can also be argued that the Kurdish media publishing the TT seems to be more interested in maintaining the interviewee's (the then KRG Prime Minister) own statements rather than the ST reporter's elaboration on these statements.

6.1.15.5 Omission at the paragraph level

Strikingly, 15 paragraphs have been completely omitted in the translation, all occurring in three texts [Texts 17, 19 and 41]. The first and second texts are opinion pieces written by Barack Obama and Noam Chomsky, respectively. The third text is a news report in *The Financial Times*.

The fact that all the three texts are published in online Kurdish media presupposes that they are not omitted due to space limitations. In fact, all the paragraphs omitted occur towards the end of the texts, which suggests that they are of less importance based on the 'inverted pyramid' structure of journalistic writing. A second reasonable interpretation is that the omitted paragraphs seem to be of less relevance to the target audience. Consider Obama's opinion piece, 'In Sudan, an Election and a Beginning', which talks about South Sudan's 2011 referendum on whether the region should stay as part of Sudan or declare independence. The article is indirectly related to the Kurdish cause and political question, because the Kurdish people in the four parts of

Kurdistan find themselves in a similar position to that of the people of South Sudan, being ruled by larger neighbouring powers against their will, and thus they wish to have a similar chance to determine their future in a referendum. The article consists of 13 paragraphs. In the translation, paragraphs 8, 11, 12, 13 have been completely omitted. The reason for choosing to omit the paragraphs towards the end of the article might be the fact that these paragraphs elaborate on US-Sudanese relations and the technical aspects of the process of the referendum, which seem to be of limited relevance to the Kurdish readership.

Eliminating irrelevant, insignificant and/or superfluous information is a common feature of journalistic texts, whether they be authentic or translated. Journalistic writings seek to present stories concisely, not only in print journalism which is constrained by space limitations, but also in online media to maintain the readers' interest throughout the news story. In so doing, journalists have to eliminate irrelevant or insignificant information. This is also true in translation; "translators leave out the elements relating to content that they consider to be of secondary importance and retain only the essential information" (Dimitriu 2004: 167).

News reports usually need to be tailored to suit the purpose of the target readership. It is therefore not surprising to find that information is omitted, adapted or even added in the translation of news reports. However, omitting paragraphs in opinion pieces, such as those by Obama and Chomsky, raises a series of genuine questions: do translators have the right to omit a set of paragraphs in an opinion piece completely? Would the ST authors be happy to have paragraphs of their pieces clipped in the translation? Does this omission not affect the global meaning of the piece? Does this have anything to do with fidelity and the ethics of translation?

From the translators' (or the media outlets') perspective, omitting whole paragraphs in translation might be seen as a way of coping with the time constraints under which they operate. Alternatively, they may see it as an editorial practice to meet the needs of the target readers. As for the ST authors, if they ever find out that whole paragraphs of their pieces are skipped in translation, they may perceive it as an alteration of the global meaning of their pieces and a distortion of the coherent message they intended to get across. Whether or not this can be regarded as an ethical practice, journalist-translators omit stretches of language that they see as less important and/or less relevant to the target readers.

6.1.16 Translation by addition

In Chapter 4, we defined addition as a translation procedure based on the incorporation of genuinely new information which cannot be retrieved from the situation, the co-text and/or the context. This feature sets addition apart from explicitation, in which the incorporated information can be retrieved either from the context or situation. Translation by addition is perhaps the least explored of all translation procedures. Like omission, some researchers attribute negative connotations to addition. Delisle et al. (1999: 115), for example, define addition as a “translation error where the translator introduces into the target text superfluous information or stylistic effects not in the source text”. Nevertheless, in certain circumstances, additions “may legitimately be incorporated into a translation” (Nida 1964: 227).

The data contains 139 instances of addition, which occur at various textual levels: the word level (44 occurrences), the phrase level (37 occurrences), the clause level (30 occurrences), the sentence level (24 occurrences) and the paragraph level (4 occurrences). In the following, we shall analyse translation by addition at each textual level and, where possible, identify the presumed purposes for using addition.

6.1.16.1 Addition at the word level

Adding words in the transfer process is likely to result in translation gain. Likewise, adding value-laden words is likely to result in gain in the evaluative value of the text. There are 44 instances in the data where individual words are added in the translation, with 32 of them being value-laden words. The added value-laden words cover all the three resources of the Appraisal Theory (discussed in 6.2.15.1.1): attitude, engagement and graduation.

The most remarkable pattern of attitude is that of the appreciation parameter, with 14 added value-laden words describing non-human elements, such as:

- ***brutal*** civil war
- two stable and ***co-existing*** neighbours

The insertion of these evaluative words in the translation makes the TT more evaluative, and the invoked attitudes produced by these words of course express the translators' viewpoint and not that of the ST author. Consider the first example, above, which refers to the Sudanese civil war. The ST author does not explicitly state the

nature of the war. Describing the war as *brutal* in the TT by all means expresses the translator's attitude and intervention.

With regard to engagement, the most crucial example is the translation of the Muslim Brotherhood's slogan *Islam is the solution* as ئیسلام تهنه‌ها چاره‌سه‌ره [‘Islam is the only solution’]. The slogan originally reads (in Arabic) الاسلام هو الاحل [‘Islam is the solution’]. In terms of evaluation, by incorporating the adjunct *only* into the slogan, the Kurdish translation underlines a value that counters the readers' potential challenge or disagreement. This is a clear intervention on the part of the translator, whether it be consciously or unconsciously.

The most prominent pattern of graduation in the data is that of force, i.e. intensification of the evaluation, which is carried out by adding the Kurdish intensifier زۆر, which can be translated as *very* and *much* depending on the context, as in the examples below:

- *Kurdistan is **very** important in terms of political reform*
- *Kurdistan spent **much** political capital on the Iraqi presidency*

6.1.16.2 Addition at the phrase level

The data contains 37 occurrences of addition at the phrase level. The vast majority of these are noun phrases, but there are also a few examples of verbal and adverbial phrases. The following example [Text 19] is an instance of addition at the phrase level, which is introduced by the translator into the TT, presumably based on their knowledge of the events.

(6.46) ...a cease-fire and **a no-fly-zone decision** was imposed on Gadhafi's forces, on the other hand, the rebels were helped to advance towards the West of Libya.

6.1.16.3 Addition at the clause level

Overall, 30 occurrences of addition at the clause level are identified, which are mostly subordinate clauses. In the following extract [Text 6], the two highlighted subordinate clauses are examples of addition at the clause level:

(6.47) The demonstrators, **that numbered 5,000 people each day**, appealed to the soldiers to lay down their weapons and join in the people's campaign, **which was of the interest of all people of Iraqi Kurdistan**.

The translation above is an interesting example of 'translator mediation', i.e. "the extent to which translators intervene in the transfer process, feeding their own knowledge and beliefs into their processing of a text" (Hatim and Mason 1997: 147). From a journalistic point of view, the first clause added, '*that numbered 5,000 people each day*', may be justified if it is a piece of information that the ST reporter was not aware of, or a piece of information that emerged only after the release of the ST. However, translator mediation is generally perceived as a negative phenomenon through which translators may insert their personal interpretation or standpoint into the translation. In the example above, for instance, the underlying message behind the first added clause gives the impression that the protests were massively popular, which represents the translator's point of view. The second added clause, '*which was of the interest of all people of Iraqi Kurdistan*', again reflects the translator's personal attitude, by taking the public's side against authority. It is crucial to point out that, in journalism translation, such ideological shifts may actually represent the editor or the particular media outlet's perspective.

As indicated above, addition is not always ideologically motivated. There are various circumstances under which additions occur for pragmatic reasons, such as when there is a profound gap between the ST and TT readers' knowledge of a particular event. For example, in the case of news reporting, "some information can be presupposed since the author can rely on an audience to be familiar with it and thus be able to infer information which the author just implied" (Schäffner and Bassnett 2010: 8). So, what is familiar to the ST readers may not be known to the TT readers. The following extract [Text 43] is from a news report about the London riots in 2011. The ST only briefly refers to the events, since the details are assumed to be already known to the British audience. In the Kurdish translation, however, the details are added (the highlighted area), most probably because the translator perceived that Kurdish readers might have not been aware of the background information and the details of a series of events happened in the UK.

(6.48) They should clean up the litter here." Simon meant by litter the looting and riots in Britain two weeks ago **that reached many big cities in Britain such as London, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool [where] rioters looted most well-known shops, and set on fire police stations, historical sites...**

It is important to highlight that it is not always an easy task to introduce new information in the translation process; it requires the translator to have good knowledge of what has been covered in the source report and what has happened afterwards.

6.1.16.4 Addition at the sentence level

The data contains 24 instances where full sentences are added in the TT. Addition at the sentence level commonly occurs in translating, or rather transediting, news reports. The highlighted sentence in the following extract [Text 6] is an example of addition at the sentence level, which seems to be ideologically motivated:

(6.49) Now, the struggle is being fought on the political level, but politics is a dirty game as politicians tend to fight for their own agenda, marginalizing the people and paying lip service to their demands. **In this part of the world, the political authorities give little opportunity to those who are considered the backbone of society.**

The news report was published in the *Sbeiy* at a time when, inspired by the Arab Spring, popular protests erupted in Iraqi Kurdistan. As indicated earlier, the *Sbeiy* is affiliated with the Change Movement, which was then an active opposition party, openly supporting the public protests. The sentence added implies that power holders in the Middle East, including Kurdistan, are oppressive towards citizens, who are described as the backbone of society. This idea obviously represents the Change Movement's political stance in relation to power and the public. The addition here can therefore be ascribed to the ideological affiliation of the media institution behind the translation. The instance shows how addition can be utilized as a manipulative device to insert ideological remarks – a phenomenon that casts doubt on the faithfulness of the translation.

6.1.16.5 Addition at the paragraph level

In translation, it is highly unexpected to add paragraphs within the body of a text. No paragraphs are indeed added within the actual body of the texts concerned. However, four paragraphs are added as a 'paratext', i.e. auxiliary textual material surrounding the text proper (cf. Genette 1997: 2). All the added paragraphs are profiles of ST authors: Michele Naar-Obed, the author of Text 6, is introduced in a paragraph; Larry Diamond, the author of Text 25, is introduced in two short paragraphs; and Anthony D'Amato, the author of Text 43, is briefly introduced in the ST, but more elaborately in the TL, with a

paragraph being added. The idea of using more elaborate profiles of ST authors in the TT originates from the fact that the target readers are unlikely to be familiar with the ST authors. The role of the translator, in that case, is not only to engage with language transference, but also to cater for the target readers' needs and provide them with a more detailed profile of the ST authors.

6.2 Translation of the headlines

Headlines of course are a separate study in themselves, being radically different from the rest of newspaper reporting language.

(Crystal and Davy 1990: 180)

Headlines are particularly interesting components of journalistic texts. They are “a kind of paratexts which occupy a privileged place of pragmatics and strategy in news reports” (Zhang 2013: 396). Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 176) refer to headlines as “an unusual extralinguistic conception of information” that poses real translation problems.

Studying the language of news media from a linguistic point of view, Allan Bell (1991: 189) attributes two major functions to English headlines: (1) summarizing the news events; and (2) attracting the readers through the use of “common rhetorical devices such as alliteration, punning, and pseudo-direct quotes, especially in the popular press”. Because of their distinguishing characteristics, we shall explore the translation of the headlines of the chosen journalistic texts separately (see Appendix 22), applying the composite model of translation procedures formulated in Chapter 4.

In the translation of headlines, it is important to maintain the two functions of headlines as much as possible. The fact that a headline works in one language does not necessarily mean its literal translation works in another language. Therefore, translators may need to adapt, reword or even replace a headline to ensure it reflects the content of the text and attracts the target readers.

In the data, the translation of the headlines is of five patterns: literal translation (14 headlines); literal translation plus another translation procedure (20 headlines); structural shift (3 headlines); use of multiple translation procedures (2 headlines); and, adaptation (6 headlines). The percentage of each pattern is shown in the Figure 6.4 below:

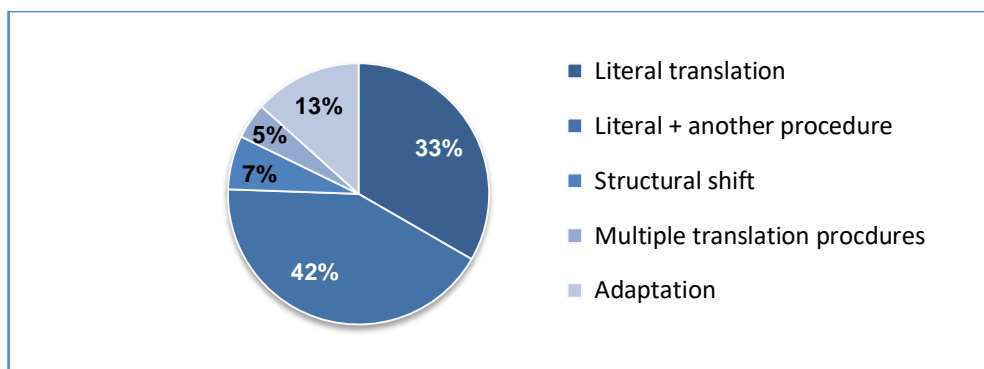


Figure 6.4: Procedures implemented in the translation of the headlines

As demonstrated in the figure above, 75% of all the headlines are rendered by literal translation either fully or partially. Only 25% of the headlines have undergone major changes, where the structure of the headline is shifted, or a combination of multiple translation procedures is utilized, or the headline is completely substituted.

6.2.1 Literal translation

Nearly one-third of all the headlines (14 cases) are translated completely literally. Literal translation of headlines seems to be the easiest translation procedure, but not necessarily the most effective one. The degree of importance and relevance of the topic of a journalistic text usually varies from the ST to that of the TT. It may be occasionally possible to effectively translate a headline by literal translation, as in the translation of the simple and straightforward headline *Change and tradition* (گۆران و (داوونهریت). In general, however, by literally translating headlines, journalist-translators may run the risk of producing a headline that does not make sense in the TL, and thus does not catch the target readers' attention. Consider the literal rendition of the headline *The end, for now* (کۆتایی، بۆ ئێستا), which does not seem to attract or interest Kurdish readers at all. Such a headline needs to be adapted or fully replaced so that it makes sense to TT readers and invokes their interests.

6.2.2 Literal translation plus another procedure

There are 20 headlines which are rendered by literal translation plus another translation procedure. Literalness is a pervasive trait in the translation of such headlines, but another translation procedure is employed in smaller units within the headline. Several types of such translations are distinguished, such as:

a) Literal translation + explication

(6.50) The Queen's birthday > و کوردستان شازن له‌دایکبوونی روژی [‘*The Queen's Birthday and Kurdistan*’]

The headline above is rendered by literal translation, coupled with an explication. The explication is carried out by bringing into the headline the word *Kurdistan*, bearing in mind the theme of the article is about the upcoming celebration of the Queen's birthday as part of the activities undertaken by the British Consulate in the Kurdistan Region. As demonstrated in Example 6.29 above, highlighting the name *Kurdistan* through explication is a remarkable phenomenon in the translation of the journalistic texts concerned. And headlines are in fact the most effective place for such an explication so that the TT sounds more relevant to the target readers.

b) Literal translation + transposition

(6.51) Dangerously silent on human rights > ترسناکی بی دهنگ بوون له مافه‌کانی مروث [‘*Danger of being silent on human rights*’]

Here, the whole headline is translated literally, but the word *dangerously* is transposed as ترسناکی [‘danger’]. Without the transposition, the translation would rather sound awkward.

c) Literal translation + near-synonymy

(6.52) Behind Iraq's protests, a call for better democracy > له پشت خویشاندانه‌کانی عیراقوه، بانگه‌وازیك بو دیموکراسیه‌کی باشتر [‘*Behind Iraq's demonstrations, a call for a better democracy*’]

The word *protest* is translated by the near-synonym خویشاندان [‘demonstration’], otherwise the whole headline is translated literally.

d) Literal translation + implicitation

(6.53) British MPs: Kurdistan is important for reform in iraq and middle east > کوردستان گرنگه بو ریفورم له عیراق و روژ‌هه‌لاتی ناوه‌راست [‘*Kurdistan Is Important for Reform In Iraq and Middle East*’]

It is clear that the ST headline is a quote from some British MPs, but this information is omitted in the TT headline. This is an instance of implicitation, since the omitted information can be retrieved from the details of the news story. The advantage of removing the phrase *British MPs* is twofold: firstly, the TT headline now looks more concise; and secondly, it starts with the word *Kurdistan*, which instantly relates to the target readers.

6.2.3 Structural shift

Linguistic studies distinguish between two main types of headline structure: nominal and verbal headlines, depending whether or not a verb is present in the headline (Ungerer 2000: 55). Verbal headlines are generally considered more effective than nominal ones. Evans (1979: 26) claims that “[h]eadlines must live. Most headlines without a verb are only half alive. They tell the reader nothing and produce an effect of dullness and monotony”. Similarly, Wimer and Brix point out that “the verb more than any other factor is the key to a successful headline” (quoted in Ungerer 2000: 55).

The translation of three headlines in the dataset involves a shift from verbal to nominal structure, i.e. from a complete sentence to a phrase. In light of the above argument, a shift from verbal to nominal structure is likely to affect the effectiveness of the headline, as in the example below:

(6.54) Ethnic interests could trump economic sense > بەرزەهەندى ئابوورى و ئىتتىكى *[‘Ethnic and economic interest’]*

The ST headline above emphasizes the importance of ethnic interests over economic ones, but this meaning is lost after the ST verbal headline is shifted into a nominal one in the translation. The TT headline actually looks like a generic topic, which is unlikely to grab the readers’ attention.

6.2.4 Multiple translation procedures

Because they employ a combination of several different procedures, the translations of two headlines are quite complicated. Consider the following headline, in which multiple translation procedures are implemented:

(6.55) British MP: UK-Kurdish relations based on economic interests

جۆن ماكدونال، ئەندامی پەرلەمانی بەریتانیا بۆ (رووداو): بەریتانیا بەرژمۆهەندی لە کوردستانە بۆیە خۆی وەك
هاوپەیمانی کوردستان پیشاندەدات

[*John McDonnell, member of British Parliament, to Rudaw: Britain has interests in Kurdistan that is why it shows itself as an alliance of Kurdistan*]

Overall, five procedures are used in the translation of the headline above, namely: explicitation, modulation, implicitation, transposition and addition. Explicitation is elaborately used in the translation of the term *British MP*; the name of the PM as well as the name of the media outlet is overtly stated in the TT. The second procedure is modulation: the elliptical passive voice sentence *UK-Kurdish Relations Based On Economic Interests* is expressed in the TT in active voice (Britain has interests in Kurdistan). The same stretch of the headline also involves implicitation (*economic interests > interests*) as well as transposition (*Kurdish > Kurdistan*). Lastly, the clause '*that is why it shows itself as an alliance of Kurdistan*' is incorporated into the TT headline, which expresses the translator's interpretation of the outcome of the UK-Kurdish relations. Since this information does not exist anywhere in the ST, the instance can be considered translation by addition.

6.2.5 Adaptation

In journalism, headlines are usually written by subeditors, since they are skilled in using language to attract readers' attention to a story (Smith and Higgins 2013: 71). The same process can also be true of translated journalistic texts; after the whole text is translated, it can be then furnished with an appropriate headline. Interestingly, six headlines in the data exhibit a felicitous adaptation of the SL headlines - two news reports and an interview. The following is a news report headline, which is completely adapted in the TL:

(6.56) UK mission seeks to benefit from Iraq oil boom > هەفتەى داھاتوو 70 بازرگانى بەریتانى
سەردانى ھەریمی کوردستان دەکەن
[*'Next week 70 British businesses will visit Kurdistan region*]

The ST headline occurs in *The Financial Times*, which is obviously aimed at British readers. Taking the target readership into consideration, the translator (or the editor) might have found the lead of the ST more appropriate as a headline in the TT,

especially after substituting the word *Iraq* by *the Kurdistan Region*. The headline now sounds more relevant to the target readers as it specifically refers to the Kurdistan Region where UK businesses aim to invest.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we applied the composite model of translation procedures in the analysis of the chosen journalistic texts to identify the patterns of general translation procedures. The model has proven viable and practical to cover almost all the general linguistic shifts occurring in the translation of the dataset. As a result, the patterns of 16 general translation procedures have been identified. The data has also proven rich and full of insightful and thought-provoking examples. Efforts were made to analyse each translation procedure in detail and classify its subcategories. Although quality assessment was not of the focus of the study, efforts were also made to highlight occurrences of appropriate translation as well as occurrences that can be improved on or even criticized for deficiencies. Since headlines are generally considered a special type of text, they were analysed separately. It was found that literal translation is the predominant procedure in translating the headlines, but a quarter of the headlines underwent major translation changes and adaptation. This chapter was concerned about the patterns of translation procedures employed at the linguistic level of the corpus. In the next chapter, we shall identify the patterns of translation procedures employed at the cultural level.

Chapter 7: Patterns of Cultural Translation Procedures

In fact, differences between cultures [may] cause more severe complications for the translator than do differences in language structure.

(Nida 1964/2004: 145)

Culture is an inseparable part of language and all languages are marked by an abundance of cultural terms, items and references. Failure to implement appropriate procedures when translating cultural elements embodied in a message results in failure to communicate the message effectively. In this chapter, we shall explore the connection of culture to language and translation; examine the nature and categories of cultural terms in the chosen journalistic texts; and most importantly, identify the patterns of cultural translation procedures used in translating such cultural terms.

7.1 Culture, language and translation

The notion of 'culture' is a central concept in various academic disciplines, such as: anthropology, sociology, linguistics, Translation Studies, etc. The American anthropologist, Ward Goodenough (1964: 36), defines 'culture' from an anthropological point of view, as follows:

As I see it, a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves. Culture, being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of the end product of learning: knowledge, in a most general, if relative, sense of the term [...] we should note that culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behaviour, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them. As such, the things people say and do, their social arrangements and events, are products or by-products of their cultures – they apply it to the task of perceiving and dealing with their circumstances.

This is a definition of culture in a broad sense, whose focus revolves around issues, such as: understanding what is normal and appropriate among the members of a

certain social group; behaving in accordance with these norms; and, understanding the organization of elements constituting society whether it be things, people, behaviour or emotions. In line with this definition, Vermeer (1987: 28) defines 'culture' more briefly as "the entire setting of norms and conventions an individual as a member of his society must know in order to be "like everybody" – or to be able to be different from everybody".

Language can be seen as an inseparable element of culture. In his definition of culture, Newmark refers to language as a crucial medium of expressing culture. For Newmark (1988: 94), culture is "the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression". In fact, it has long been established that language and culture are closely interrelated, or as Malinowski (1923/1949: 305) has put it, "language is essentially rooted in the reality of the culture". One of the early theories of the interconnectedness between language and culture is the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis of Linguistic Relativity, which postulates that:

Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection.

(Sapir 1949/1985: 162)

According to this view, then, one needs to have both language and social knowledge in order to understand and communicate a message effectively with other members of society. For instance, to fully understand a message such as '*carry coals to Newcastle*', it is not only the English language knowledge that is needed, but also the socio-historical background knowledge. "The larger cultural context is of utmost importance in understanding the meaning of any message; for words have meanings only in terms of the total cultural setting" (Nida 1964: 244). And of course social background knowledge alone does not work, as we also need a language to express it.

Reiterating the fact that language and culture are closely interconnected, Snell-Hornby (1988/1995: 39) claims that "[l]anguage is not seen as an isolated phenomenon suspended in a vacuum but as an integral part of culture". Similarly, in her *Translation*

Studies, Bassnett refers to Lotman's description of the relationship between language and culture: "No language can exist unless it is steeped in the context of culture; and no culture can exist which does not have at its center, the structure of natural language" (quoted in Bassnett 2013: 25). Bassnett goes on to conclude that:

Language, then, is the heart within the body of culture, and it is the interaction between the two that results in the continuation of life-energy. In the same way that the surgeon, operating on the heart, cannot neglect the body that surrounds it, so the translator treats the text in isolation from the culture at his peril.

(Bassnett 2013: 25)

Given the dynamic relationship between language and culture, the implications of culture are also relevant in translation, because translation is not only a cross-linguistic activity but also a cross-cultural communication. In this regard, Larson (1998: 470) suggests that "translation from one language to another cannot be done adequately without a knowledge of the two cultures as well as the two language structures". Likewise, Nord (1997: 34) views translation not only as comparing two different language systems, but also two different cultures:

Translating means comparing cultures. Translators interpret source-culture phenomena in the light of their own culture-specific knowledge of that culture, from either the inside or the outside, depending on whether the translation is from or into the translator's language-and-culture.

Perceiving translation as comparing cultures essentially raises the question of translatability, that is, whether all that is expressed in a language can be reproduced in another language. Roman Jakobson (1959/2004: 115) has already argued that "[a]ll cognitive experience and its classification is conveyable in any existing language". He (ibid: 116) believes that "[l]anguages differ essentially in what they must convey and not in what they may convey". Thus, a message produced in an SL culture can be reproduced in a TL culture, but only with the help of necessary translation procedures.

7.2 Categories of cultural terms

Bearing the above definitions of culture and its relevance to translation in mind, we shall now investigate the cultural terms found in the data concerned. First of all, as with

most theoretical concepts, translation scholars and researchers do not agree on a specific term to address cultural items in translation. The terms used in the literature are: 'cultural terms' (Newmark 1988), 'culture-specific items' (Aixelá 1996), 'realia' (Schäffner and Wieseemann 2001), 'culture-specific references' (Davies 2003) and 'culturally specific items' (Dickins 2012), to name but the most prominent. In this study, we shall adopt Newmark's (1988) choice, 'cultural terms', and follow his model of cultural categories to systematically classify the cultural terms occurred in the corpus. Newmark (ibid: 96-102) distinguishes between nine categories of culture, as discussed below:

7.2.1 Ecological/geographical culture

This refers to geographical and ecological features, such as: plains, the seasons, rain and hills. Depending on the country, terms and words related to ecological features can carry local colour meanings. The data contains 22 instances of geographical terms, e.g. *sub-Saharan Africa*, *the Middle East* and *North Africa*. Despite Newmark's (1988: 96) claim that "[g]eographical features can be normally distinguished from other cultural terms in that they are usually value-free, politically and commercially", most of the geographical terms found in the data are used in a political context. For example, *the Middle East* and *North Africa* are used in the political context of the Arab Spring.

7.2.2 Material culture

Any tangible object that is related to a specific social community can be considered part of the material culture. Newmark (1988: 97-98) identifies four major types of material culture, namely: 'food', 'clothes', 'houses and towns' and 'transport'. While from an anthropological point of view material objects are not considered 'culture' as such (see Goodenough's definition of culture above), from the perspective of Translation Studies material culture is viewed not only as a category of culture, but an interesting and challenging one, which often presents a case of 'untranslatability'. However, due to the political nature of the chosen journalistic texts, there are only 12 examples of material culture in the data, such as: *t-shirts*, *dollar* and *Land Rover*.

7.2.3 Social culture

Although Newmark does not elucidate what he means by social culture, his exemplification purports to revolve around three major areas of culture: (1) different settings in society (e.g. 'cafés', 'supermarkets', etc.); (2) social classifications or

stratifications (e.g. 'the working class', 'white-collar workers', etc.); and (3) leisure activities (e.g. 'bull-fighting' in Spain and 'basketball' in the US). Forms of address (e.g. *Sir, Mr., Ms.*, etc.), which are a challenging cultural area in the data, can also be safely subsumed in the social culture category. Overall, the data contains 25 instances of cultural terms belonging to the social culture, e.g. *Ms.*, *shisha café* and *upper-caste Indian students*.

7.2.4 Social organization (political and administrative)

Newmark (1988: 99) believes that "[t]he political and social life of a country is reflected in its institutional terms". He distinguishes three major layers of political titles from top to bottom: (1) the titles of a head of state (President, Prime Minister, King); (2) the name of a parliament (National Assembly, Chamber of Deputies and the US Senate, etc.); and (3) a government inner circle designated as a 'cabinet' or a 'council of ministers', which consists of different ministries ('Home Office', 'Foreign Secretary', 'State Department', etc.). Given the topics of the chosen texts, this type of cultural terms is by far the most frequently encountered category of culture in the corpus. Approximately 204 cultural terms found in the data can be classified as belonging to social organization, such as: *The British Council, the Oval Office, Secretary of State, Conservative backbencher, Justice and Development Party, Minister of Natural Resources*, etc.

7.2.5 Historical terms

With regard to historical terms, unless they have accepted translations, Newmark (1988: 100) proposes, they are not to be translated but transferred. In academic writings, the transference can be followed by a descriptive or functional term (ibid: 101). The data contains only six historical terms, which are normally calqued into Kurdish (i.e. they have accepted translations), e.g. *World War I* > جەنگی جیهانی یەکەم.

7.2.6 International institutional terms

Established international institutional terms can be among the least problematic cultural terms in most languages, because "[they] usually have recognized translations which are in fact through-translations [calques], and are now generally known by their acronyms" (Newmark 1988: 101). The data contains 27 international institutional terms, mostly translated by calque, such as: *United Nations* > نەتەمۆه یەکگرتووہ; *European Union* > ئەنجومەنی ئاسایشی نەتەمۆه یەکگرتووہکان and *U.N. Security Council* > یەکییتی ئەوروپا.

7.2.7 Religious terms

Religious terms can be seen as one of the most interesting areas of culture from the point of view of translation. Each religion has an enormous number of specific terms that are familiar to its followers, but may not be understood by followers of other religions. As a general principle, peculiar terms and concepts of world religions can be transferred when they are of interest in the TL (Newmark 1988: 102). The data contains nine religious terms, mostly originating from Islamic culture, which are rather used in a political context, such as: *Jihad*, *Koran*, *riba*, *Sunni*, *Shiite*, etc.

7.2.8 Artistic terms

As the term suggests, this category of culture refers to any features, products or material objects that represent the art of a specific cultural community. The choice of procedure for translating artistic terms depends on “the putative degree of knowledge of the readership” (Newmark 1988: 102). For educated readers, such terms can be simply transferred, but different artistic names can be also translated or even naturalized (ibid.). One does not expect to encounter many artistic terms in journalistic texts whose focus is particularly on political and economic issues. The data contains only three examples of artistic terms, namely, *The Godfather* (US popular culture), *pop music* and the Kurdish cultural term *dengbêj* (‘epic story reciter’).

7.2.9 Gestures and habits

As for gestures, Newmark (1988: 102) refers to examples such as: ‘doing a slow hand-clap to express warm appreciation’, ‘nodding to dissent or shake their head to assent’ and ‘giving a thumbs-up to signal OK’. Gestures, in general, are characteristics of interactive and face-to-face communication, which are unlikely to occur in written journalistic texts. It is not therefore surprising that the data has no examples of gestures and habits.

Overall, the corpus contains 308 different cultural terms that belong to eight cultural categories, as visualized in Figure 7.1 below.

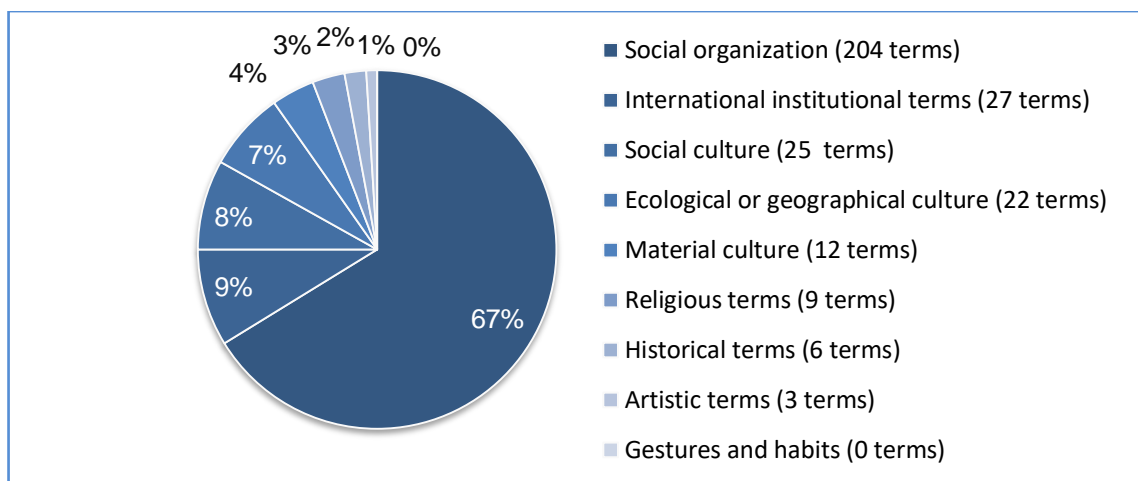


Figure 7.1: Categories of cultural terms and their frequencies in the data

The category of social organizations, which covers a wide range of political and administrative areas, is the most frequently occurring cultural category – it comprises two-thirds of all the cultural terms in the corpus. International institutional terms demonstrate the second highest frequency of the cultural categories, making up 9% of the overall cultural terms. Social culture comes as the third most frequent cultural category, accounting for 8% of the cultural terms. Cultural terms belonging to other cultural categories do not occur frequently, but this does not mean they do not have significant impacts on the cultural aspects of the translation. For instance, there are only three instances of artistic terms in the data (1%), making it the least frequently occurring cultural category, yet they result in 17 translation occurrences due to repetitions.

It is crucial to point out that the above categorization of cultural terms is by no means straightforward and clear-cut. There is a fuzzy borderline between some cultural categories, such as that between social organizations and international institutional terms. For instance, the term *the Carnegie Endowment* can be regarded as an American social organization since the organization was established in the US. More convincingly, the term can be classified under the cultural category of international institutional terms, as the organization operates worldwide having headquarters in Moscow, Beirut, Beijing and Brussels, in addition to Washington D.C. Likewise, there is a fuzzy borderline between historical terms and the political subcategory of social originations. For instance, *the Persian Gulf War* is considered an historical term since it first and foremost marks a point in history. However, it is also referred to as a politically sensitive term, used by Iranians and rejected in the Arab World, who use the term *the*

Arab Gulf War instead. After all, the classification above is only a tentative one to offer an outline of the nature and categories of cultural terms encountered in English journalistic texts translated into Kurdish.

7.3 Procedures for translating cultural terms

The 308 cultural terms identified in the data have resulted in 804 occurrences of cultural translation procedures. There are two reasons for the inconsistency between the number of the cultural terms and the occurrences of the translation procedures employed. Firstly, dozens of terms occur frequently, which may and may not be translated consistently by the same translation procedure throughout the data. For example, the term *CIA* occurs twice, the first occurrence being translated by calque as نازانسی ههوالگری ناوهندی ['Central Intelligence Agency'] and the second by cultural borrowing as سی ئای ئه‌ی. Secondly, the translation of a large number of cultural terms involves two translation procedures simultaneously. For instance, the term *Duke University* is rendered as زانکۆی دیوک له ئەمهریکا ['Duke University in America'], which involves calque as well as explicitation.

Given the fact that cultural terms in journalistic texts belong to diverse cultural categories, translators will inevitably have to utilize various translation procedures to render them effectively. Applying the composite model of translation procedures created in Chapter 4, we shall now proceed to identify the patterns of translation procedures implemented in translating the cultural terms in the data.

7.3.1 Exoticism

As defined in 4.2.1, exoticism involves the borrowing of the grammatical and cultural features of the ST into the TT with little or no adaptation. It is thus source-culture oriented and sounds foreign in the TL culture. There are only six occurrences of this type of cultural translation in the data (see Appendix 23.1). For example, the cultural term *litter louts*, which is part of British social culture, does not have an equivalent in Kurdish. Needless to say, there are people in Kurdish society who are 'litter louts', but they are not specifically labelled. The term is translated with minimum adaptation as نازاوه‌گیرانی پاشماوه ['litter troublemakers'], which sounds exotic and foreign in Kurdish. Likewise, the expression *mission accomplished* occurs twice in Texts 13 and 14. The term is an allusion to George W. Bush's 2003 'Mission Accomplished' speech, following the invasion of Iraq. Given the context in which it is used, the term can be seen as

being specific to American political culture that marks a point in the US political history. Both occurrences are consistently translated as *میشنه کهمان به دهستهینا* [‘we achieved the mission’] by the same media agency (*Sbeiy*) and the same translator. The translation sounds exotic especially because the word *mission* is simply transferred into the TL, which does not seem to be understandable on the part of the target readers, unless one understands English. One possible way to translate the term more appropriately would be to replace it by the Kurdish expression *ئامانجه کهمان به دهستهینا* [‘we have achieved the goal’], which has a more or less similar meaning. The disadvantage, though, is that the TL expression lacks the cultural connotation entailed in the SL term.

7.3.2 Cultural borrowing

This procedure is drawn on Dickins et al.’s ‘cultural borrowing’ (2002), but it also covers Vinay and Darbelnet’s ‘borrowing’ (1995) and Newmark’s ‘transference’ and ‘naturalization’ (1988). The procedure normally involves the transliteration of English cultural terms into Kurdish, which may be pronounced roughly the same as in the SL, or they may be naturalized and pronounced slightly differently due to discrepancies between the English and Kurdish phonology and alphabet. The data contains 94 terms being translated by cultural borrowing, which resulted in 196 occurrences since some of the terms occur frequently (see Appendix 23.2).

In the data, the instances of cultural borrowing are the most diverse of all cultural procedures in terms of the various cultural categories covered, which are:

- **International institutional terms:** e.g. *NATO, IMF, OPEC*, etc.
- **Social organizations:** e.g. *BBC, MI6, PBS*, etc.
- **Material culture:** e.g. *dollars, T-shirts, Jerusalem stone*, etc.
- **Religious terms:** e.g. *Koran, Sunni-Shiite, riba, jihad*, etc.
- **Geographical culture:** e.g. *Tripoli, Heliopolis, Straits of Hormuz*, etc.
- **Artistic terms:** e.g. *pop music* and *Mario Puzo’s The Godfather*

Proper names constitute a prominent pattern of the terms translated by cultural borrowing.⁷ First of all, whether or not to translate proper names is a controversial

⁷ In considering proper names, people’s names (such as *George* and *McDonnell*) and names of places (such as *London* and *Istanbul*) are disregarded in the analysis, unless a name is considered culturally challenging and/or interesting, such as people’s names requiring cultural

issue among translation scholars and researchers. One of the early considerations of the issue of proper names in translation is perhaps that of Zabeeh (1968: 69), who views proper names as “international items which belong to no specific language”, believing they cannot and should not be translated. Christina Nord, on the other hand, believes that the idea that proper names are untranslatable is rather a perception, because “looking at translated texts we find that translators do all sorts of things with proper names” (2003: 182). In fact, translating proper names is largely genre specific; literary texts allow more freedom and creativity in dealing with proper names than non-literary texts (cf. Nord 2003: 183; Newmark: 1988: 215).

In non-literary texts, such as journalism, the general rule is to borrow proper names rather than translating or substituting them. Despite the fact that it is considered the simplest of all translation procedures (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 31), in the data, cultural borrowing has not always been implemented in a simple and straightforward manner. Some of the proper names are borrowed through transliteration, i.e. adapting to the TL alphabet, such as *BBC* > بی بی سی, *Pentagon* > پنتاگون and *ExxonMobil* > نیکسون موبیل. Other cases are transferred verbatim, i.e. incorporating proper names in their English script into the Kurdish TTs.

The vast majority of the terms borrowed verbatim are names of British or UK-based companies such as: *Heritage*, *Gulf Keystone*, *Sterling*, *BP*, *Parsons Brinkerhoff*, *HSBC*, *Standard Chartered* and *Consultancy for Conservation*. Such terms mostly occur in two texts [Text 28 and 29], which are written by Chris Bowers, the former British Consul General in Erbil, and translated by *Rudaw*. While serving as the British Consul General in Kurdistan, in most of his writings, Bowers focused on economic development in the Kurdistan Region and the role of Britain and British companies in that development. That is why his writings are marked by numerous British cultural terms. These terms represent the phenomenon that Catford (1965: 99-103) terms ‘cultural untranslatability’. The verbatim transference of these terms can be justified not only because they do not have equivalents in the receptor language, but also because they denote a single referent and also have legal validity.

adaptation as part of forms of address (see 7.3.7.2) and cities that have different recognized names in different languages, e.g. *Heliopolis* and *Tripoli* which have different names in Arabic (عین شمس and طرابلس, respectively).

Translating cultural terms by borrowing is a typical translation procedure when encountering with cultural gaps. However, this does not always guarantee an appropriate translation. An interesting example is the cultural term Mario Puzo's *The Godfather* in the following extract [Text 7]:

The equivalent of Mario Puzo's *The Godfather* is playing out in the Kurdish region of Iraq. Its two main political families grow wealthier by the day on the oil riches. They build huge mansions back home with large staffs and private jets. They own radio and television stations and control the media. The Talabani and Barzani families have made a temporary peace as they divide up the riches of power and use former American generals and diplomats to tend to the details of keeping Washington happy enough so the Kurdish gravy train does not run off the tracks.

The extract occurs in the critical article 'The Other Other Iraq' written by Joseph Trento, who is president of the Public Education Center, based in Washington D.C. The audience are basically educated American people. Trento uses a metaphor to introduce the two Kurdish families, Talabani and Barzani, to American readers by comparing them to *The Godfather*, which is an American crime fiction novel written in 1969 by Mario Puzo – it is perhaps better known as a film (based on the novel). Since *The Godfather* is a cultural term, being part of American literary culture, it is hard to translate it into other languages, except by cultural borrowing. The translator does not seem to have understood the term, since he has erroneously translated the phrase *Mario Puzo's The Godfather* as *ی گاندفاذر (ماریو پوزو)* ['The Godfather's Mario Puzo']. What makes the translation of this cultural term a failure is a lack of cultural knowledge on the part of the translator.

To add to the complexity, the whole setting will change in the translation; Kurdish readers are familiar with the two families, but they do not have a clue about *The Godfather*. The translation will also involve a shift in the function of the text; whereas the ST aims to introduce the families to American readers, the TT aims to reflect how the two Kurdish families are depicted and seen in American society. The objective of the ST has been accomplished since the ST readership is familiar with the target domain in the metaphor, which is *The Godfather*. The objective of the TT, however, has not been achieved because, although the TT audience is familiar with the source domain in the metaphor, which is the two Kurdish families, they may not have any understanding of the target domain. For the target readers, thus, the two families are compared to a 'thing' or an 'entity' that is unknown in Kurdish culture and society. The

translator could have used explicitation by translating the term as ‘the Godfather crime fiction novel’ so that the target readers at least know that this ‘thing’ is a crime fiction novel. Beyond that, it is not the translator’s duty to introduce the novel and its theme to the target audience.

Mario Puzo’s *The Godfather* is an example of popular culture. In fact, popular culture seems to be a challenge in translating media discourse not only between English and Kurdish, but also other languages. In this respect, the practising Japanese broadcast translator, Akira Mizuno, speaking from experience, asserts that “translation of popular culture presents one of the greatest challenges to Japanese broadcasters” (quoted in Katan 2009: 81). Understanding SL popular culture is dependent on the target readers’ general knowledge of the SL culture, and sometimes very up-to-date knowledge may be a specific problem, as well as the connectedness and exposure between the source and target language societies. These are factors that translators do not have control over.

Apart from English cultural terms, the data also contains quite a few cases of Arabic and Turkish cultural terms. The Arabic terms were originally borrowed from Arabic into English in the STs. In the Kurdish translation, they are again translated by cultural borrowing. Such terms are *al Qaeda*, *Fayyadism*, *mullah*, *jihad*, *Koran*, *riba*, *Sunni* and *Shiite*. Most of these Arabic cultural terms are nowadays common in Western media coverage (cf. Moreton 2010: 77). It is worth mentioning that translation by cultural borrowing here (which sounds the only possible option) does not always guarantee that the denotative as well as connotative meanings of the terms are effectively conveyed. Let us consider the emotive term *jihad*, which, Moreton (ibid: 81) points out, has acquired negative connotations of ‘holy war’ and ‘violence’ in the non-Muslim world (especially in the Western media), whereas it has a positive denotative meaning among (moderate) Muslims as it also implies inner struggle with faith.

There are also several Turkish words in the data, which are translated by cultural borrowing. The first is the term *Mavi Marmara*, which refers to the Turkish aid ship bound for Gaza in 2010 in an attempt to break the Israeli-Egyptian blockade of the Gaza Strip. The second is the term *AKP*, which stands for the Turkish political party *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* [‘Justice and Development Party’]. The term occurs twice and both occurrences are translated by cultural borrowing as ناك پارتى [‘AK Party’]. The party is actually better known in Kurdish by the official name پارتى داد و گهشهپيدان [‘Justice and Development Party’]. The rest of the Turkish terms translated by cultural borrowing

are names of Turkish newspapers, as shown below. All these terms occur in Text 42, which is a news report by the BBC, covering the call of the Turkish media for unity after the 2011 devastating earthquakes in the Kurdish region of Turkey.

- *Zaman* > زەمان رۆژنامەى [‘**Zaman** newspaper’]
- *Posta* > پۆستە رۆژنامەى [‘**Posta** newspaper’]
- *Hurriyet* > حورریەتە رۆژنامەى [‘**Hurriyet** newspaper’]
- *Sabah* > سەباح رۆژنامەى [‘**Sabah** newspaper’]
- *Vatan* > وەتەن رۆژنامەى [‘**Vatan** newspaper’]
- *Radikal* > رادیکال رۆژنامەى [‘**Radikal** newspaper’]
- *Star* > ستار رۆژنامەى [‘**Star** newspaper’]

Etymologically, the names of all these newspapers originate from other languages: *Zaman*, *Hurriyet*, *Sabah* and *Vatan* come from Arabic *زمان*, *حرية*, *صباح* and *وطن* respectively; *Posta* comes from Italian; and *Radikal* and *Star* come from English *radical* and *star*, respectively. As the translations illustrate, the transferred names are also explicitated simultaneously – an example of Newmark’s couplets (1988: 91), i.e. combining two translation procedures to deal with a single translation issue.

7.3.3 Calque

Calque is typically used for translating institutional terms, some idioms and collocations and components of compound. Only institutional terms seem to be directly relevant to cultural aspects of translation, although it is debateable whether institutional terms can be considered cultural terms or not. In his early *Approaches to Translation Studies* (1981), Newmark treated institutional terms and cultural terms separately but in connection with each other, stating that they “shade into each other” (1981: 70). In his later publication, *A Textbook of Translation* (1988), however, he treated institutional terms under the category of culture. Based on that, we shall also deal with institutional terms as an important component of cultural terms.

Calque is an ideal procedure for translating transparent institutional terms that have a recognized literal translation in the TL. The data contains 75 terms translated by calque, which resulted in 142 occurrences due to repetitions (see Appendix 23.3). Most of the calqued elements are social organizations and international institutional terms, such as:

- *Deputy Prime Minister* > جیگری سەرۆك وهزیران
- *first Gulf War* > جهنگی كهنداوی یهكهم
- *Industrial Revolution* > شۆرشى پيشهسازى
- *international community* > كۆمهنگای نێودهولتهتى
- *international law* > ياسای نێودهولتهتى

These examples do not require back-translation, because they are transparent and literally translated terms. This corresponds to Pym's (2010/2014) notion of 'natural equivalence', which suggests that "on some level, a source text and a translation can share the same value" (2014: 7). Natural equivalence is reciprocal in nature, thus *international law* is the equivalent of ياسای نێودهولتهتى, and vice versa.

However, other instances are more complicated, where the translation involves a second translation procedure, such as cultural borrowing or explicitation, along with the calque:

a) Calque plus cultural borrowing: e.g.

- ***Brookings** Institution* > دامهزراوهى برۆكينز
- ***Georgetown** University* > زانكۆى جۆرج تاون
- *University of **Oxford*** > زانكۆى نۆكسفۆرد
- ***Nobel** peace prize* > خهلاتى نۆبېلى ناشتتى

All the highlighted words in the institutional terms above are cultural terms that can be translated only by cultural borrowing, which is embodied in the calqued translation.

b) Calque plus explicitation: e.g.

- *Amnesty International* > رێنخراوى لێبوردنى نێودهولتهتى ['Amnesty International **organization**']
- *Consulate General* > بهریتانیا كونسولخانهى گشتى ['**The British** General Consulate']
- *Human Rights Watch* > رێنخراوى چاودێرى مافهكانى مرۆف > Watch **organization**']

The data contains several institutional terms known by their acronyms, such as *UN*, *PM*, *EU*, etc. Since Kurdish does not normally have acronyms, the translation of such terms can be tricky. The general rule is that pronounceable acronyms are simply borrowed by transliteration, e.g. *NATO* > ناتۆ and *UNESCO* > یونسكو. Unpronounceable

acronyms, on the other hand, are typically translated by calque, i.e. by literally translating each constituent word in the acronym, such as: *EU* > یهکیتی ئهروپا ['European Union'].

7.3.4 Recognized translation

According to Newmark, recognized translation is to “use the official or the generally accepted translation of any institutional term” (1988: 89), which is not the literal translation of the term. There are only five terms in the data that are rendered by recognized translation, which resulted in 100 translation occurrences due to high frequency of some of the terms, as shown below:

- *White House* > کوشکی سپی ['White Palace'] (2 occurrences)
- *Arab-Israeli conflict* > کیشهی عههه-ئیسرانیل ['Arab-Israeli problem'] (1 occurrence)
- *IMF* > سندوقی درای نیودهوآهتی ['International Monetary Box'] (1 occurrence)
- *the UK* > بهریتانیا ['Britain'] (67 occurrences)
- *the US* > ئهمریکا ['America'] (29 occurrences)

These cultural terms are qualified as recognized translation on the basis that they have non-literal, established translation in the TL. These terms are supposed to be translated consistently by different translators, except for *the UK* and *the US* which also accept calque translation, as *شانشینیی یهکگرتوو* ['the United Kingdom'] and *ویلایهته یهکگرتوو مکهان* ['the United States'], respectively.

7.3.5 Translation label

This 'provisional' translation procedure is typically used in the translation of new institutional terms which do not have a fixed, established translation (Newmark 1988: 90). Although it may simply involve the literal translation of the constituent words in the term, the translation is not considered a calque until it is used frequently enough and standardized in the TL. Overall, there are 18 new institutional terms in the data that have resulted in 22 occurrences of translation label (see Appendix 23.5), which can be grouped into two categories:

7.3.5.1 Transparent new institutional terms: these are fairly literally translated, entailing the transference of one or more of their constituent words, such as:

- *Arab Human Development Report* > راپورتیهکانی گهشهیی مرؤیی عههه

- *Bristol University's Gender Studies Centre* > سهنته‌ری توئیزینه‌وه‌ی جینده‌ر له زانکۆی بریستل
 - *Centers for Disease Control* > سهنته‌ری کۆنترۆڵکردنی نه‌خۆشیه‌کان
 - *Bahrain Center for Human Rights* > سهنته‌ری مافه‌کانی مرۆف له به‌حرین
 - *Washington Institute for Near East Policy* > په‌یمانگای واشنتۆن بۆ سیاسه‌تی خۆره‌ه‌لاتی
- خواروو

Since these terms are explicit and transparent, they have been effectively literally translated, including the transference of some words: *report*, *centre*, *control*, *Bristol* and *gender*. Transferring these words is quite normal, as they have become relatively established in Kurdish. It is noteworthy that if these institutional terms are used frequently enough, they will eventually become instances of calque translation.

7.3.5.1 Complex new institutional terms: these can be considered among the most challenging cultural terms encountered in the data. Consider the term *All-Party Parliamentary Group on Kurdistan*, a grouping in the UK Parliament that consists of MPs from all political parties whose mission is declared on the grouping's official website (www.appgkurdistan.org.uk) as “[promoting] friendship and understanding between the people of the Kurdistan Region in Iraq and Great Britain and to encourage the development of democratic institutions in the Kurdistan Region.”

The term occurs four times, the first occurrence in Text 23 translated by *Xendan*, and the other three occurrences in Text 27 translated by *Rudaw*. The issue with the term is that it is used in different variations even in the ST, as shown below. The first and fourth instances indicate that the term refers to the *APPG on Kurdistan*. This indication is very useful to avoid potential confusion, because the UK parliament has different groupings under *APPG*, for example: *APPG on Immigration*, *African APPG*, *APPG on Drones*, etc. The second and third instances are used in the form of acronym as *APPG*, without indicating what grouping it belongs to. Surprisingly, each occurrence is translated differently, as follows:

- *All-Party Group for Kurdistan* > [‘the group of all the British fractions’] گرووپی هه‌موو فراکسیۆنه‌کانی به‌ریتانیا
- *APPG* > [‘The group of parties in the British Parliament’] گرووپی پارتیه‌کانی نیو په‌رله‌مانی به‌ریتانیا
- *APPG* > [‘the group of the British parties’] گرووپی پارتیه‌کانی به‌ریتانیا

- *All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on the Kurdistan Region in Iraq* > Ø

As is obvious, there is no consistency in the translation of the term even in the same text, translated by the same media outlet. The translations offered in the first three occurrences more or less give the meaning of the term. Yet, they can be criticized for deficiencies as they do not suggest that we are talking about the APPG assigned to Kurdistan. The last instance occurs in a brief profile of the ST authors, who are introduced as: ‘*Nadhim Zahawi MP and Meg Munn MP are Co-Chairs of All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on the Kurdistan Region in Iraq*’. In the translation, the authors are simply introduced as *نازم زه‌هاوی و مینگ مۆن، هەردووکیان ئەندامی پەرلەمانی بەریتانیان* [‘Nadhim Zahawi and Meg Munn are members of the UK parliament’]. That is, the underlined utterance is entirely omitted, which has actually affected the overall meaning of the text. Within the body of the text, which is an opinion article, the authors do not indicate at all that they are members of the APPG – it is only in the profile they do so. While this significant piece of information is omitted in the translation, the target readers may wonder what the relation might be between the authors and the APPG for Kurdistan, which is a key element in the article.

It is important to clarify that what we designate as new institutional terms here are not necessarily newly coined terms. They also include long-established institutional terms which are new in the context of Kurdish translation, i.e. an individual translator is unlikely to find established Kurdish translations for them. Consider, for instance, the translation of the names of the two world-leading universities below:

- *Massachusetts Institute of Technology* > *په‌یمانگه‌ی ته‌کنیکی ماساشوسیتس* [‘Massachusetts Technical Institute’]
- *London School of Economics* > *کۆلیژی ئابووری لڤندن* [‘London Economics College’]

As the back-translation shows, both terms are poorly translated. The first translation gives the impression that the establishment is a technical institute (په‌یمانگه‌ی ته‌کنیکی). In the Kurdistan Region’s system of education, technical institutes are low-ranking establishments, which only offer two-year courses and only award diploma degrees – they are more or less equivalent to UK Community Colleges. The translation of the second term gives the impression that the establishment is a college (کۆلیژی), but in the Kurdistan Region’s system of higher education, a college is only part of a university, with a university consisting of several colleges. In brief, the names of the two top world universities have been greatly distorted, partly because these names are new in

Kurdish translations, and partly, we may claim, due to the translators' lack of general knowledge of the world. They failed to recognize that these are two world-leading universities and not institutes or colleges, whatever their names may seem to suggest.

Interestingly, the two quasi-institutional terms *post-American revolutions* and *supra-Kurdish state* are newly coined even in the STs. The first is coined by Fareed Zakaria in his eloquent article 'How Democracy Can Work in the Middle East', published in *Time* magazine [Text 18] and the second by Larry Diamond in the article 'Iraqi Kurdistan Is Booming. Will It Ever Be a Separate State?' [Text 25]. To attest this, a Google search was carried out, and the result suggested that these two terms have been used for the first time in the articles written by these two authors, respectively. *Post-American revolutions* is literally translated as شۆرشى پۆست ئەمەریكا ['post-American revolution'], with the prefix *post* being borrowed. The term, which sounds like a political concept, is ambiguous both in the ST and TT, because one wonders which revolutions are actually meant by the term. *Supra-Kurdish state* is also fairly literally translated as دەولەتتیکى گەورەى کوردی ['a great Kurdish state'], which has produced an unfamiliar expression, however understandable. The term could be more effectively translated as کوردستانی گەورە ['the Great Kurdistan'], which is a standardized term to refer to the Kurdish goal of building a great state based on the integration of the four parts of Kurdistan in Iraq, Iran, Syria and Turkey.

7.3.6 Communicative translation

Communicative translation or *équivalence* is one of the translation procedures that can be implemented for standard cultural terms as well as non-cultural expressions. We have already found 25 occurrences of the procedure, containing standard expressions and idioms which do not particularly have cultural connotations (see 6.1.5). The data, however, contains no cultural elements translated by communicative translation. As far as the procedure is concerned, the translation can be strongly criticized because some of the cultural terms and expressions omitted in the data (see 7.3.12 below) could be well translated by communicative translation. For instance, the cultural term *God bless* could be translated communicatively as خوا بپارێزێ ['may God protect'] and *Cross your fingers* as بەختتیکى باش ['good luck'].

7.3.7 Cultural adaptation

This essential cultural translation procedure is dealt with in all the three models of cultural translation procedures adopted, but each model uses a different term for the practice: 'adaptation' in Vinay and Darbelnet's (1995) model, 'cultural equivalent' in Newmark's (1988) model and 'cultural transplantation' in Dickins et al.'s (2002) model. Although these terms can be used interchangeably, we shall use the term 'cultural adaptation' to refer to the phenomenon in the data, since this is a broader term to conveniently accommodate all instances of cultural adaptation for cultural reasons. Overall, the data contains 35 occurrences of cultural adaptation (including repetitions), which are of two categories: certain institutional terms and forms of address (see Appendix 23.6):

7.3.7.1 Cultural adaptation of social organizations

In the data, six terms, which belong to the cultural category of social organizations, are translated by cultural adaptation. First, the term *chief prosecutor* is a general term used in the US legal system. Its equivalent in the Kurdish legal system is *سەرۆکی دهستهی داواکاری گشتی* ['the head of the public prosecution committee']. The translator opted for cultural adaptation, though the term could be translated fairly literally as *داواکاری گشتی* ['public prosecutor']. The second term is *riot police*, which is translated by its Kurdish cultural equivalent (i.e. cultural adaptation) as *پۆلیسی چالاکیه مه‌دنییه‌کان* ['civil activities police']. The Kurdish cultural term refers to a quite recently established special unit of the police forces that has similar duties as the English *riot police*. The third example is the translation of the British intelligence institutional term *MI6* as *دهزگای زانیاری* ['Intelligence Corporation'], which is a Kurdish intelligence agency belonging to the PUK political party. The translation can be thus regarded as a prime example of cultural equivalent. The final example of cultural adaptation rests on different education systems; the term *high schools* is translated as *خویندنگا ئامادیه‌کان* ['preparatories', informal for *ئامادیه‌یه‌کان* = 'preparatory schools'], however these are two different terms belonging to two different education systems. The ST term is part of the US education system (as the text is written by an American author), which is a school for children aged 14-18. Its Kurdish cultural equivalent, however, is a school for children aged 15-18. One significant difference between these two types of school is that students normally spend 4 years in a US high school, whereas students normally spend 3 years in a Kurdish preparatory school.

7.3.7.2 Cultural adaptation of forms of address

Different cultures have different norms in using forms of address. With English and Kurdish not being an exception, the data contains 29 occurrences of forms of address rendered by cultural adaptation due to discrepancies in the way forms of address are used in the two languages. Titles like *Mr*, *Mrs*, *Ms* and *Miss* are specific to English social culture. The title *Mr* has two cultural substitutions in Kurdish. The first is كاك (*kak*), which is an informal title used before males' names to show respect and politeness, e.g. **Mr Imam** > كاك زاهير [**kak** Zahir']. It is noteworthy that *kak* is normally followed by a given name, as opposed to *Mr*, which is normally followed by a family name. Besides, it cannot be naturally used for non-Kurdish names. The second, and more formal, cultural substitution for *Mr* is بەرێز (*barez*, literally meaning 'respected'), as in **Mr Barzani** > بەرێز بارزانی [**respected** Barzani'] and **Mr. Salih** > بەرێز د. بەرھەم [**respected** Dr Barham'], keeping in mind that *Mr Salih* is better known as *Dr Barham* in Kurdish society. The Kurdish cultural substitution for *Mrs*, *Ms* and *Miss* is خاتوو (*xatw*), e.g. **Ms Bayan** > خاتوو بەیان [**xatw** Bayan'].

Having said that, adaptation in forms of address from English into Kurdish does not always mean replacing *Mr* by its cultural equivalent, but it can also be achieved by using other forms of address that are normal in the TL culture. For instance, one can use the given name alone, or the given name followed by family name. It can be arguably said that the status of the addressee determines whether or not to use a title. As seen above, the title *Mr* was replaced by its cultural equivalent بەرێز (*barez*) when addressing Mr Barzani, the President of Kurdish Region of Iraq, and Mr Salih, the former KRG Prime Minister. This is unlikely to happen when addressing ordinary citizens. For example, *Mr Kamal*, mentioned in Text 36, is simply translated as کاروان کەمال [*Karwan Kamal*']. That is, the title is omitted and the family name is preceded by the addressee's given name so that it accords with the TL conventions of forms of address.

7.3.8 Functional equivalent

Functional equivalent is a culture-neutral translation procedure that involves an explanation of the function of the ST cultural item by using culture-neutral words in the TL. There are nine instances of cultural terms translated by functional equivalents (see Appendix 23.7). For example, the US institutional term *Secretary of State* is translated by culture-neutral words as وەزیری دەرەوێ ئێمەریکا [*American Foreign Minister*] and the

UK political cultural term *backbencher* as ئەندام پەرلەمانی بەریتانی [‘British member of parliament’]. We mean by ‘culture-neutral’ here words that are not bound to any specific culture. If it were not for the explicitation (realized by adding the words *American* and *British*), one would not know that the two cultural terms above refer to the US and UK political systems. Likewise, the religious term *clerics* (specific to Christianity) is translated by the culture-neutral term پیاوانی ئایینی [‘religious men’], which can be used to refer to leaders of any religion. It is interesting to note that the term *clerics* in the ST was originally used to refer to Muslim religious leaders. While the ST (published in *the Washington Post*) aimed at the US readership, the author may have wanted to use a religious term that is already familiar to the readers.

7.3.9 Descriptive equivalent

Descriptive equivalent “involves a fairly precise description of what is meant by the Source Culture element” (Dickins 2012: 54-55). It is similar to a functional equivalent in the sense that both procedures involve neutralization, i.e. using culture-neutral words in the TL. However, they are effectively different in that descriptive equivalent involves the description of a cultural item itself rather than its function, because in translation “description sometimes has to be weighed against function” (Newmark 1988: 83). Exploring the two procedures comparatively, Dickins (2012: 55) concludes that “[d]escriptive equivalent’ in Newmark seems to answer the question ‘What is it?’ while ‘functional equivalent’ seems to answer the question ‘What does it do?’”.

The data contains eight occurrences of descriptive equivalent (see Appendix 23.8). For instance, the term *the Oval Office*, which refers to office of the President of the United States in the White House, is translated by a descriptive equivalent as نووسینگە شێوە هێلکەییەکی کۆشکی سپی [‘the white palace oval-shaped office’]. Likewise, the institutional term *Status of Forces Agreement*, which refers to the agreement between US and Iraq to withdraw US military forces from Iraq after the US invasion of Iraq, is also translated by a descriptive equivalent as رێکەوتنامەی ئەمنی ئێوان عێراق و ئەمریکا [‘security agreement between Iraq and America’].

7.3.10 Cultural explicitation

Explicitation is another translation procedure that can be carried out on both cultural and non-cultural terms. To avoid any potential confusion, we shall use ‘cultural explicitation’ when dealing with cultural terms translated by explicitation.

We have already discussed Klaudy's (2009) viable explicitation typology, which distinguishes between four types of explicitation: obligatory, optional, pragmatic and translation-inherent (see 4.2.20). Pragmatic explicitation corresponds to what we designate here as 'cultural explicitation', which results from differences between the cultural and world knowledge shared by members of the SL and TL communities. For instance, "names of villages and rivers, or of items of food and drink, which are well known to the source language community may mean nothing to the target language audience" (Klaudy 2009: 107).

The data contains 57 occurrences of translation by cultural explicitation (see Appendix 23.9). It is crucial to point out that most of these terms are translated by couplets. For example, the term *the Conservative Party* is translated as پارتی پاریزگارانی بهریتانیا ['the British Conservative Party'], which involves both calque and explicitation translation procedures. However, we will avoid using the term 'couplets' in describing such instances, because it is vague and too general; it does not tell us what two translation procedures precisely are in question. Instead, we shall indicate each translation procedure specifically. For example, translating *the Guardian* as رۆژنامهی گاردیان ['the Guardian newspaper'] simultaneously involves cultural borrowing (realized by borrowing the word *Guardian*) and explicitation (realized by adding the word *newspaper*). Likewise, translating *British Labour Party* as پارتی کاری ئۆپوزسیۆنی بهریتانیا ['the opposition British Labour Party'] involves calque and explicitation at the same time. The explicitation might have resulted from the translator's understanding that some target readers might not know that the British Labour Party is in opposition.

In principle, explicitation first and foremost aims to express SL cultural terms, which are assumed to be unfamiliar to the TT readers, more explicitly in the TL. The data, however, contains six instances where explicitation is carried out in TL cultural terms, such as:

- *Erbil* > شارێ ههولێر ['the city of Hawler']
- *Mahabad* > کۆماری مه‌هاباد ['the Republic of Mahabad']
- *the Citadel* > قه‌لای ههولێر ['the Hawler Citadel']

While TL readers are supposed to be familiar with their own cultural terms, it is plausible to argue that explicitation in that case is made for stylistic purposes. In Kurdish, it sounds stylistically more impressive to say *the city of Leeds* rather than *Leeds*; *the country of Belgium* rather than *Belgium*, and so on. It is noteworthy that the

TL cultural terms translated by explicitation can at the same time be considered examples of cultural redomestication – the next translation procedure.

7.3.11 Cultural redomestication

Interestingly, the findings show there are a significantly large number of Kurdish cultural terms (50 different terms, resulting in 178 translation occurrences) found in the English texts (see Appendix 23.10), which could not be conveniently interpreted in light of any of the cultural translation procedures in the composite model adopted. In the translation, these terms are simply translated or transferred back into their original corresponding terms in Kurdish. These terms were originally borrowed from Kurdish into English either by calque (i.e. literal translation of the constituent words in the term) or by cultural borrowing (i.e. transference from Kurdish into English). In the case of the former, cultural redomestication involves the literal translation of the term back into Kurdish. In the case of the latter, it involves the transference of the term back into Kurdish. Consider the term *Human Capacity Development Programme*, which is part of the Kurdistan Regional Government's plan of higher education, and thus an institutional term pertaining to administration in Kurdish society. In the data, it is literally translated back into its corresponding Kurdish term *بەرنامەی گەشەپێدانی تواناسازی مرۆیی*.

More interestingly, the Kurdish cultural term *dengbêj* in the Kurmanji dialect (predominantly spoken in the Kurdish regions of Turkey and Syria) is used as a key word in a *Guardian* news report entitled 'Silenced Kurdish storytellers sing again' [Text 37]. The term *dengbêj* is peculiar to Kurdish folklore, meaning epic story singer/reciter. Since the term does not have a cultural correspondent in English, the reporter chose to transfer it into English by cultural borrowing, which sounds exotic in the English ST. Having realized that the term is unfamiliar to an English audience, the reporter defined the term as '*professional reciters of epics*', which is a rather unsatisfactory explicitation since it does not indicate that the term pertains to Kurdish folklore. The term occurs 15 times in the same text and all the occurrences are consistently transferred back into Kurdish as *دەنگبێژ*, which is an example of cultural redomestication.

The majority of the terms translated by cultural redomestication are Kurdish institutional terms, such as: names of political parties (e.g. *the Change Movement* > *بزووتنەوەی گۆران*), civil organizations (e.g. *Metro Center to Defend the Rights of Journalists* > *سەنتەری میترو بۆ*), administrative bodies (e.g. *Minister of Natural Resources* >

پێشمەرگه > *Peshmerga* and national cultural terms (e.g. *Newroz* > *Newroz* (وێزیری سەرچاوه سروشتیهکان > *Newroz* > *Newroz*, etc.).

In principle, this phenomenon should not pose translation challenges, because terms translated by cultural redomestication are already familiar in the target language and culture. This does not mean that translating these terms is always easy and straightforward. For example, the Kurdish word *Newroz* is translated as *رۆژی نهورۆز* [‘the day of Newroz’], which involves cultural redomestication and explicitation at the same time. *Newroz* is actually a one-day annual festival (occurring on March 21), which is celebrated in Kurdish society (as well as several other nations in the Middle East and Central Asia). Another interesting term is *Sera Square* which is a historically significant square in the heart of Sulaimani, the cultural capital of the KRG. The term was recently rebranded as *سەرای ئازادی* [‘Sera of Freedom’], where thousands of protestors gathered demanding freedom, the rule of law and reformation at a time when the Arab world was boiling and the Arab Spring reached its peak in 2011. Probably in solidarity with the protesters, the translator used the recently rebranded name for the square when translating the term back into Kurdish by cultural redomestication.

Finally, we need to demystify some uncertainties regarding the cultural redomestication procedure. One may claim that translating *Human Capacity Development Programme* as *بەرنامەی گەشەپێدانی تواناسازی مرویی* is a calque and translating *dengbêj* as *دەنگبێژ* is a cultural borrowing. This would be valid only if the cultural terms occur in Kurdish STs translated into a TL (such as English). However, since the Kurdish terms occur in texts written in a foreign language (English) and they are translated or transferred back into Kurdish, the phenomenon can be best described as ‘cultural redomestication’. Cultural redomestication is essentially different from calque and borrowing in that it produces a domesticating translation, whereas calque and borrowing result in a foreignizing translation.

7.3.12 Omission for cultural reasons

In addition to the list of procedures above, omission can also be considered a procedure for translating, or rather eliminating, cultural terms (cf. Ivir 1987; Dimitriu 2004; Dickins 2012). As a cultural translation procedure, “omission involves avoiding the normal problems associated with translating a culturally specific element” (Dickins 2012: 56). In 4.2.23, we discussed various circumstances under which omission can be justified. Dickins et al. (2002: 23) argue that “[c]ultural difference provides another area

in which simple omission may be a reasonable strategy”. Likewise, Dimitriu (2004: 167) asserts that translators may use omission to eliminate cultural encounters “whenever an extralinguistic (cultural) presupposition in the source text is not understood by the target language audience, and the cultural item does not fulfil an important function”.

The data contains 51 occurrences of cultural terms which are apparently omitted for cultural reasons (see Appendix 23.11). Such terms are culturally bound and usually do not have counterparts in the TL, such as: *the fringe* (a reference to the fringe of the UK Labour Party’s conference); *local authorities* (administrative units within some countries such as the UK); the term *the Rt Hon* (the Right Honourable: an honorific style given to certain British senior officials such as ministers); *business class ticket* (an unfamiliar expression in the Kurdish system of transportation); *God bless* (religious and typically American spoken expression); *Cross your fingers* (an English cultural idiom that does not have a ready cultural equivalent in Kurdish); *PX* (Post Exchange: retail stores in the US military camp); *junior MPs* (in the British parliamentary system). These terms are specific to the SL culture and mostly present challenging translation difficulties.

Nevertheless, the data also contains cultural terms that could be translated into Kurdish but for some reason they have been omitted in the translation. For example, the English cultural title *Mr* is omitted 23 times, while it could be translated by cultural adaptation as explained above (7.3.7.2). Likewise, *Persian Gulf War* could be well translated as *جەنگی کەنداو* [“the Gulf war”], but it is omitted in the phrase ‘*the imposition of no-fly zones after the 1991 Persian Gulf War*’, possibly because it is a politically sensitive term. The sensitivity lies in the fact that whereas Iran considers the gulf to be Iranian and refers to it as *the Persian Gulf*, Arab countries consider it an Arab gulf and refer to it as *the Arabian Gulf*, or simply *the Gulf*. The omission of the term in the Kurdish translation can be seen as what Dickins (2012: 56) considers to be a “problem-avoidance oriented” translation procedure.

Omitting cultural terms, for whatever reason, will incur transition loss as it reduces the cultural connotations embodied in the ST. However, depending on the context, some cultural terms are more important than others, thus their omission will be more impactful in translation.

Conclusion

The cultural terms identified in the corpus cover a wide range of categories and require an array of translation procedures to be rendered effectively. A large number of the cultural terms are transparent institutional terms, which usually have universal connotations rather than being rooted in the tradition of a specific cultural community. Such terms do not seem to be particularly problematic in translation. Likewise, a relatively large number of the cultural terms originate from the TL, which again should not pose translation difficulties as they are already familiar to the translator as well as the TL readership. Since the translation of these terms could not be interpreted in light of any of the translation procedures in the models adopted, or in the literature at large, we have proposed the term 'cultural redomestication' to define the phenomenon. The cultural areas that are found posing translation difficulties in the data are: cultural lacunae, differences in forms of address, complex new institutional terms and popular culture. Finally, the omission of several cultural terms, which seem to be challenging from the viewpoint of translation, indicates that, whether omission is considered an acceptable translation procedure or not, translators occasionally resort to it as a way of eliminating cultural difficulties in translation. This results in reduction in the cultural connotations of the ST and produces a translation that is relatively culturally neutral as compared to its ST.

Chapter 8: Overall Translation Strategies in the Journalistic Corpus

After identifying the patterns of general translation procedures in Chapter 6 and the patterns of cultural translation procedures in Chapter 7, we shall now proceed to deduce the overall translation strategies prevalent in the English-Kurdish translations of journalistic texts, taking into consideration both linguistic and cultural aspects of translation. To this end, general translation procedures will be discussed and interpreted in relation to Newmark's (1988) semantic and communicative translation strategies, which are considered his major contribution to the field of translation. Likewise, the cultural translation procedures will be examined in relation to Venuti's (1995/2008) domestication and foreignization, which are two primary translation strategies for determining cultural orientations in translation. This will be performed by identifying the general tendency of each translation procedure towards communicative or semantic translation orientation and, in the case of cultural translation procedures, towards foreignizing or domesticating translation orientation.

8.1 Discussion of the general translation procedures

The general translation procedures are the ones that are employed in the translation of non-cultural terms. In Chapter 5, we analysed a representative sample text and found out that approximately 49% of the text was rendered by the literal translation procedure (see Section 5.3.2.2) - the highest percentage of all the translation procedures employed in the sample text. In Chapter 6, we applied the adopted composite model of translation procedures to analyse the dataset. As a result, we identified the patterns of 16 general translation procedures, other than literal translation. Having accepted the percentage of literal translation in the sample text as representative of the data, we can claim that the 16 general translation procedures (which consist of 4517 translation occurrences) constitute the remaining 51% of translation occurrences in the whole data. The overall results of the general translation procedures, including the number of translation occurrences and the percentage of each translation procedure, are shown in Figure 8.1 below:

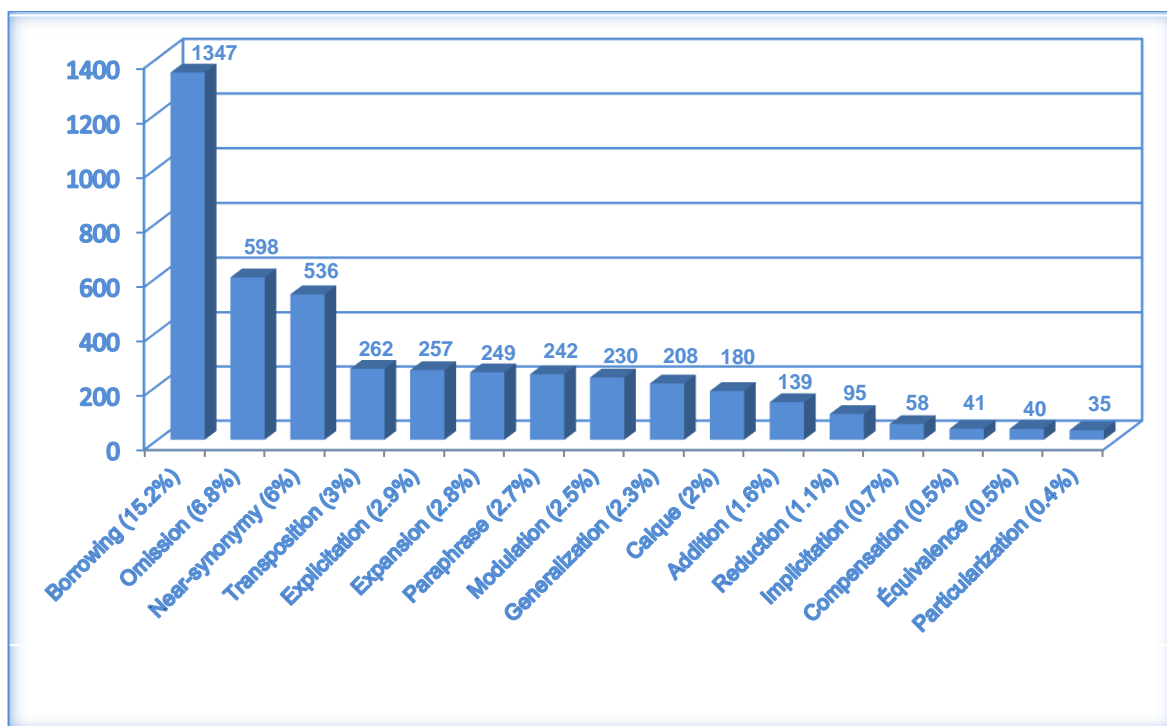


Figure 8.1: Overall occurrences of general translation procedures

As the figure shows, the most frequently occurring translation procedures (after literal translation) are borrowing, omission and near-synonymy, respectively constituting 15.2%, 6.8% and 6% of the overall translation occurrences. The least frequently occurring translation procedures are particularization, équivalence, compensation and implication, each making up less than 1% of the overall translation occurrences. The rest of the translation procedures locate somewhere in between. These results roughly correspond to the findings obtained from the sample text (see Figure 5.3), where, after literal translation, it is explicitation, omission and borrowing that are the most frequent translation procedures, and particularization, équivalence and compensation are the least frequent. Moreover, in both the sample text and the dataset, explicitation occurs more frequently than implication; omission occurs more frequently than addition; and expansion occurs more frequently than reduction. However, there are two remarkable differences in the frequencies between the findings obtained from the sample text and the findings in the dataset:

- 1) In the sample text, explicitation is at the top of the most frequently occurring translation procedures (after literal translation), while in the dataset borrowing is by far the highest frequency.

- 2) In the sample text, impication occurs quite frequently, constituting 3.5% of the occurrences, whereas in the dataset it is one of the least frequently occurring procedures.

To find out the overall translation orientation(s) in the chosen journalistic texts, we shall discuss the tendency of each general translation procedure towards semantic or communicative translation. In their model of translation procedures, Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 31) clearly associate literal translation, borrowing and calque with the direct/literal method of translation, and they associate transposition, modulation and equivalence with the oblique method of translation.⁸ This ultimately suggests that the three procedures of literal translation, borrowing and calque tend towards a semantic translation, as semantic translation is a broader literal-oriented translation strategy. Likewise, the three procedures of transposition, modulation and *équivalence* tend towards a communicative translation, since it is a broader communicative-oriented translation strategy.

Speaking of semantic and communicative translation, Pym (2014: 32) states that “[t]he semantic kind of translation would look back to the formal values of the source text and retain them as much as possible”. That is, in semantic translation the ST is considered to be of central importance and one has to translate keeping close to the values of the ST. This claim reiterates the fact that literal translation, borrowing and calque will ultimately produce a semantic translation. Likewise, Pym (ibid.) asserts that “the communicative kind would look forward to the needs of the new addressee, adapting to those needs as much as necessary”. Taking this view, we can claim that the vast majority of the translation procedures that involve a deviation from direct translation tend to produce a communicative translation, with different procedures presenting different degrees of communicativeness. In the following, each of the general translation procedures will be further discussed to precisely identify their orientations in relation to semantic and communicative translation strategies. The procedures will be ordered from strongly semantic-oriented to strongly communicative-oriented.

⁸ Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 39) also associate ‘adaptation’ with the oblique method, but they propose it as a cultural translation procedure, which we shall study in relation to the cultural aspects of translation.

8.1.1 Borrowing

As shown in Figure 8.1 above, after literal translation, borrowing is the most frequently used translation procedure, comprising 15.2% of the entire general translation procedures. It is also the most strongly semantic-oriented translation procedure. In the data concerned, a lack of technical terms in areas such as politics and technology (see 6.1.1) has been a major factor for using borrowing, but we should not also forget that a lack of Kurdish language policy to regulate the use of loanwords or purify Kurdish of them has also made the language receptive of foreign words. The lack of terminology in some fields is considered a general translation difficulty, which is not actually specific to Kurdish. In this regard, Kasraee (2014), the editor of the BBC College of Journalism's international websites, believes that "one of the most difficult aspects of broadcast translation is the selection of the right vocabulary, because due to a lack of scientific, political and social development, some languages do not have the right terms" (personal communication).

In the analysis of borrowing, we discovered that the majority of the occurrences were English borrowings (62%), but Arabic borrowings were also of considerable importance (38%), given the fact that the translation has been carried out between English and Kurdish. The use of Arabic borrowings is certainly due to the influence of the Arabic language as well as Islamic culture upon Kurdish language and society. If it were not for the general tendency to learn English and use English borrowings as a new trend in Kurdish society (see 6.1.1.3), the percentage of Arabic borrowings would be expected to have been even higher. In the data, borrowed words are largely used to fill lexical gaps and to connote prestige, but there are also borrowings which can be ascribed to translators' preference. In all these cases, the use of borrowing is considered direct translation that will strongly lean towards semantic translation.

8.1.2 Calque

It almost goes without saying that the calque translation procedure will result in a semantic translation. As its definition suggests, calque is a special type of borrowing as well as a special type of literal translation; it involves the borrowing of a term or a structure by literally translating its component elements. The vast majority of the occurrences of calque in the data are lexical calques, especially political terms, compound structures and idioms. The overall instances of calqued translation constitute only 2% of the general translation procedures. It is noteworthy that this

number excludes instances of cultural terms translated by calque, which will be studied in relation to foreignizing and domesticating translation (see 8.3.2 below).

8.1.3 Literal translation

As stated above, literal translation is the most frequently occurring translation procedure in the data, comprising nearly half of all the occurrences of the general translation procedures. It is also the translation procedure that first and foremost leans towards semantic translation. In the models of translation procedures adopted in this study, literal translation is regarded as a default translation procedure that can be deviated from only when literal translation does not work (cf. Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 288; Newmark 1988: 70). This implies that literal translation does not always result in an appropriate translation. In fact, the quality of the literal translation in the data can be questioned given the abundance of instances of inappropriate literal translation, which either sound unnatural in the TL or do not make sense at all. Examples 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7 in the analysed sample text represent this sort of inappropriate literal translation.

Inappropriate literal translation is particularly acute in the translation of idioms and metaphors. When translators fail to recognize an idiom, they may intuitively use literal translation, which is often an improper way of handling idioms in translation: “The real danger comes in translating an idiom literally, since the result will usually be nonsense in the receptor language” (Larson 1998: 126). The adopted data is not free from inappropriate literal translations of idioms. An example from the corpus [Text 26] is the idiom *a storm in a teacup*, which is translated literally as *كۆڭزەلۆكەمبەكە لە نێو كۆپىنك چادا* [‘a storm in a cup of tea’]. While the idiom is culture specific, its literal translation does not make sense to Kurdish readers. Thus, the message carried in the idiom does not come across effectively in the translation.

Literal translation of metaphors can be equally problematic. As Newmark (1988: 104) claims, “[w]hilst the central problem of translation is the overall choice of a translation method for a text, the most important particular problem is the translation of metaphor”. Metaphors are said to “give rise to difficulties in translation between any two languages, but where the languages concerned are as relatively different culturally and linguistically [as English and Kurdish] the difficulties are sometimes quite pronounced” (Dickins et al. 2002: 146). Metaphors in general resist literal translation, especially because the image used in a metaphor tends to differ from one language to another.

As an example, the metaphor *fat cat* in the phrase '*land sales to **fat cats** of the regime*' is literally translated as *ئەو بيشيلانهی رژيم* [...those **cats** of the regime']. By literally translating the metaphor here, the resultant translation sounds nonsense. The translator might have realized that literal translation of *fat cat* would sound ridiculous in Kurdish, and he would have then dropped the adjective *fat* to reduce the nonsense. Yet, the translation does not make sense in the TL, since the term *cat* has a different metaphoric sense in Kurdish, referring to people who are unappreciative of favours done to them.

Although such inappropriate literal translations are individual examples rather than reoccurring patterns, they have had negative implications on the translation product. Literal translations of this nature may have contributed, at least partly, to the lack of overall clarity in some translations - an area of deficiency in the current English-Kurdish translation of journalistic texts that was hypothesized at the onset of this study.

8.1.4 Implication

Implication is one of the least commonly occurring translation procedures in the data, making up only 0.7% of the translation occurrences. Given the fact that overall explicitation occurrences were found to be over four times more frequent than overall implication occurrences, our empirical study confirms the general assumption that explicitation is a universal feature of all translations, regardless of the language pairs involved. The gap between the percentage of implication and explicitation in the data corresponds to Klaudy and Károly's (2005: 14) claim that "translators – if they have a choice – prefer to use operations involving explicitation, and often fail to perform optional implication".

In fact, all the occurrences of implication identified in the data are optional. This suggests that, in translating journalistic texts from English into Kurdish, translators do not necessarily have to implement implication. The two patterns of implication identified are implication in cohesion and semantic implication. Implication does not lead to semantic translation, since it involves a deviation from literal translation. It may be then considered a procedure that leans towards a communicative translation, although it does not seem to improve the communicative nature of the translation outstandingly. Implication is then generally better off avoided, unless an instance is conditioned by systemic differences between the SL and the TL.

8.1.5 Near-synonymy

Near-synonymy is one of the most frequently occurring translation procedures in the data, constituting 6% of all the translation occurrences. Obligatory instances of near-synonymy are employed where literal translation does not work either because the SL term is not lexicalized in the TL or its supposed equivalent has a limited range of use or it is restricted by collocational constraints. In all these cases, near-synonyms are used to produce a natural-sounding TT. As for optional instances of near-synonymy, apart from a few instances which have produced idiomaticity, there seems to be no merit in translating them by near-synonymy. Since near-synonymy involves a slight deviation from literal translation, it tends to result in a communicative translation, with obligatory occurrences being more purposeful and more communicative than optional occurrences. The findings of optional near-synonymy actually reveal a contradiction between the theory and practice of translation. In theory, near-synonymy “is only appropriate where literal translation is not possible” (Newmark 1988: 84). In practice, however, translators use near-synonymy even in situations where there is no justifiable reason to do so.

It is noteworthy that the free or loose use of near-synonymy paves the way for variation, and thus inconsistency, in the use of terminology – a deficiency in current English-Kurdish translations of journalistic texts as was hypothesized at the outset of the study. Additionally, optional near-synonymy is one of the translation procedures in the data which has been utilized as a means of ideological manipulation (see Example 6.20).

8.1.6 Generalization

Generalization constitutes 2.3% of all the general translation procedures in the data. It is a viable translation procedure to render words and concepts that are not lexicalized in the TL. As far as generalization is concerned, the most interesting phenomenon found in the data is the use of certain Kurdish words as cover terms to translate a set of SL lexical items. For instance, the Kurdish adjective گرنگ [‘important’] is used to render *pivotal*, *major*, *crucial* and *significant*. This phenomenon corresponds to Toury’s law of growing standardization (discussed in 3.3.1). Generalizing translation, obligatory or optional, will produce a TT that lacks specificity and conveys a more generic meaning. It is thus a translation procedure leading to a communicative translation, because, as

Newmark (1991: 12) notes, one of the features of communicative translation is that it is under-translated through the use of 'hold-all' terms, i.e. generalization.

8.1.7 Particularization

Particularization is the least frequently occurring translation procedure in the data, making up only 0.4% of the overall translation occurrences. The small percentage of particularization may be due to the fact that hyperonyms usually do not present translation difficulties; "languages tend to have general words (superordinates) but lack specific ones (hyponyms), since each language makes only those distinctions in meaning which seem relevant to its particular environment" (Baker 2011: 20). The same interpretation may also explain why the frequency of generalization (2.3%) is nearly six times higher than that of particularization. Particularizing translation is applied when an SL hyperonym lacks a one-to-one counterpart in the TL, or to provide more specific and precise information to the target readers. Particularization is thus oriented towards the TL and the target readers, which is a characteristic of communicative translation.

8.1.8 Expansion

Expansive translation represents 2.8% of all general translation procedures implemented in the corpus. Obligatory expansion is employed to fill a lexical or structural lacuna, where the resultant translation adheres to the TL system. The optional occurrences of expansion in the data also have implications in the TT; such expansions are employed to produce idiomaticity, for example through binomials (e.g. *aspirations* > هیواو خواسته‌کان ['wishes and wills']). Given the fact that all these features are traits of communicative translation, expansive translation, obligatory or otherwise, can be considered an aspect of communicative translation.

8.1.9 Reduction

Reductive translation represents 1.2% of the all translation occurrences implemented in the data. One-fourth of the instances are obligatory, which are mostly employed to overcome differences in constructing certain structures between the SL and the TL, such as English conjunctions made up of 'as ... as', which do not exist in Kurdish. In such cases, reduction aims to produce a less awkward and more natural-sounding TT, in which the resultant translation adheres to the TL system. The optional occurrences of reduction in the data also have significant implications in the TT; they are used to

produce idiomaticity, to avoid clumsiness and to eliminate repetition. All these features qualify reductive translation as a procedure belonging to communicative translation.

8.1.10 Transposition

Transposition constitutes 3% of all translation occurrences in the data. It is usually resorted to in situations where literal translation proves impossible due to grammatical discrepancies between the SL and TL systems. In such a case, transposition makes translation possible without compromising meaning. It may also be used where literal translation sounds unnatural, albeit grammatically correct. Vinay and Darbelnet refer to transposition as a procedure that “shows a very good command of the target language” (1995: 246). Transposition, therefore, makes for a natural TT rendering, in which the guiding question is “how would the target language naturally express it?” (Salkie 2001: 437).

In the data, transposition is implemented when translators have to make a change in grammatical structure or a change in word class to produce a natural-sounding translation. It is also implemented where lexical gaps can normally be filled in by grammatical structures in the TL. Since transposition essentially aims to produce a TT that sounds natural and conforms to the TL system, it can be considered a procedure leading towards communicative translation.

8.1.11 Omission

Omission is the third most frequently occurring translation procedure, after literal translation and borrowing, comprising 6.8% of all the general translation procedures employed in the dataset. Although translation by omission does not involve the transference of meaning in its conventional sense, it can have implications for how much information is transferred and how the resultant translation looks like. Omission seems to be a common characteristic of journalistic translation, especially when translators work under constraints of time and space (see 9.3.6). They have to thus prioritize, translating the most significant pieces of information and possibly leaving out the least significant ones. In the data concerned, the procedure is so excessively implemented that even very prominent ST authors, such as Obama and Chomsky (see 6.1.15.5), are not spared omission.

Despite the negative perceptions associated with omission in translation, we identified several presumed purposes for using omission in the data, such as omission for

pragmatic reasons (see Example 6.40), omission to avoid repetition (see Example 6.42) and to eliminate informal expressions (see Example 6.43). These are operations carried out in the process of translation that can be generally ascribed to the freedom that translators enjoy in communicative translation. For example, in communicative translation, the translator has the right “to eliminate repetition and tautology” (Newmark’s 1981: 42). Having said that, omission can still be seen as a translation procedure that incurs translation loss in the semantic aspect as well as the evaluative value of the text, and some certain instances of omission may also incur distortions that will definitely affect the overall meaning of the text (see Example 6.41).

Finally, the omission of a fairly large number of value-laden words in the translation raises the question whether it is the nature of the Kurdish language to be naturally less evaluative than English, or whether this has to do with the nature of translations carried out between English and Kurdish. It can be intuitively said that Kurdish is as evaluative as English in nature. However, for this claim to be proven, one would need to carry out a comparable corpora analysis between non-translated English and Kurdish journalistic texts.

8.1.12 Addition

Addition represents 1.6% of all general translation procedures employed in the data. Like omission, addition is perhaps more commonly used in the translation of journalistic texts, especially news stories, than any other text types. This is more so in today’s fast-changing world, where, by the time a news report is translated, new and significant information may have come to light. Again, as with omission, translation by addition does not involve transference of meaning in the conventional sense. Yet, it is considered a translation procedure that results in translation gain.

In the data, some instances of addition seem to have been used to cater for the target readers by providing them with more information at the paratextual level, such as the four paragraphs added to introduce the ST authors to the target public (see 6.1.16.5). This orientation towards TT readers is of course a feature of communicative translation. In fact, additions always lean towards communicative translation; phrases, clauses, sentences and paragraphs added in translation usually have the features of natural and authentic texts, while “‘naturalness’ is essential” in all communicative translation (Newmark 1988: 26).

8.1.13 Explicitation

Explicitation comprises 2.9% of all the general translation procedures employed in the data. The instances of explicitation are carried out at three levels: grammatical level (e.g. explicitation in substitution and ellipses), discursual level (e.g. explicitation through cohesive devices) and semantic level (i.e. semantic explicitation). At all the three levels, explicitation is implemented to produce a TT which is clear and intelligible to the target readers. Explicitation is thus strongly oriented towards the TL and the target readership; “[t]he ultimate motivation is the translator’s conscious or subconscious effort to meet the target reader’s expectations” (Pápai 2004: 145). This is a feature of translation that qualifies explicitation as a procedure leading to communicative translation. Besides, explicitation is “a technique of resolving ambiguity, improving an increasing cohesiveness of the ST” (ibid.), while it is in communicative translation that translators have the right to “clarify ambiguities” (Newmark 1991: 12). Speaking of the use of explicitation, Larson (1998: 495) goes a step further and views explicitation not only as the translators’ right but, in some circumstances, as their duty in translation: “implicit information should be made explicit if the receptor language necessitates it in order to avoid a wrong meaning, or in order to present the material in natural form and pleasing style”.

In the data concerned, the implications of explicitation go beyond the TL language and the target readership; it is a primary translation procedure through which the translation can be manipulated to make the resultant TT more relevant to the target readership, which is mainly reflected in highlighting the name *Kurdistan* in the TTs (see Example 6.29). That is why the term *Kurdistan* occurs 187 times in the ST corpus, whereas its Kurdish correspondent *كوردستان* occurs 208 times in the TT corpus.

Given the fact that explicitation occurrences are over four times more frequent than implicitation occurrences (see 6.1.13), our empirical study reaffirms the general assumption or hypothesis that explicitation is a universal of translation, i.e. explicitation is a characteristic of all translations regardless of the language pairs involved (cf. Blum-Kulka 1986/2004; Baker 1993; Mauranen and Kujamäki 2004). It is important to point out that despite the general tendency to accept this assumption as a valid one, the notion of the universality of explicitation has been also subjected to criticism and cynicism (cf. Pym 2014: 77-78 and Becher 2011: 63-64). It is thus not clear whether the fairly large proportion of explicitation in our data (especially in comparison to implicitation) is due to the translation-inherent nature of explicitation or due, at least

partly, to the nature of Kurdish journalistic writings, which may demonstrate a greater degree of explicitness than English journalistic writing.

What stimulates us to question whether all the occurrences of explicitation in the data are motivated by the universal nature of explicitation – if such a claim is valid – is that English journalistic texts are said to naturally demonstrate a low degree of cohesive explicitness. In this regard, observing English journalistic texts, Baker (2011: 205) contends that conjunctions are relatively infrequent in journalistic discourse, partly because of “the need to give an impression of objectivity” and partly because of “[r]estrictions on space and the need to avoid giving an overt explanation of reported events which risks the danger of legal suits and liability”. On the other hand, Kurdish journalistic writings, especially news reports, are marked by intensity in text-building and cohesive explicitness. However, to prove whether or not the cohesive explicitation has resulted from different styles in journalistic writings between English and Kurdish, a comparable corpus analysis would be needed to investigate the degree of explicitness in non-translated English and Kurdish journalistic writings.

8.1.14 Compensation

Compensation again is one of the least frequently occurring translation procedures in the data, accounting for only 0.5% of the overall general translation occurrences. Compensation “may be used to make up for any loss of meaning, emotional force, or stylistic effect which may not be possible to reproduce directly at a given point in the target text” (Baker 2011: 86). Hatim and Mason (1990: 239) precisely refer to the procedure as “the making good of some communicative loss by substituting equivalent effects”. Thus, compensation is always triggered by translation loss. In the data, the procedure is specifically used to make up for translation loss in the semantic, syntactic and stylistic aspects of the STs. Therefore, compensation can be deemed a translation procedure lending itself to communicative translation.

The infrequent use of compensation should not indicate that translation loss did not occur in the process of translation. In fact, great semantic loss has incurred in the translation of the chosen journalistic texts, evidenced by the large number of omission occurrences at various textual levels. Likewise, the translation has been also subjected to great loss in the evaluative values of the STs incurred by the omission of evaluative lexical items (see 6.1.15.1) – a significant translation loss that could be easily avoided or compensated for by means of alternative translation procedures. The discrepancy

between the high degree of translation loss and the low percentage of compensation may possibly be ascribed to the lack of theoretical knowledge of compensation on the part of journalist-translators working between English and Kurdish. This claim can be further reinforced by the fact that only one out of 12 translators participated in the questionnaire has studied a degree in translation (see Section 9.2).

8.1.15 Paraphrase

Paraphrase accounts for 2.7% of the overall translation occurrences. It is mainly used to translate words and terms that are not lexicalized in the TL, idioms and metaphors that do not have equivalent counterparts in the TL, and utterances that cannot be translated literally due to their semantic ambiguity or syntactic complexity. Despite concerns regarding its validity as a translation procedure, the advantage of using paraphrase is that it is always processed in a natural language – a language that is free from linguistic influences of the SL. In fact, paraphrase exhibits a free form of translation and it tends to look like authentic writing rather than a translation. All these features qualify compensation as an essential translation procedure that leads to communicative translation, because “in communicative translation you have to use a language that comes naturally to you” (Newmark 1988: 36).

8.1.16 Modulation

Modulation makes up 2.5% of the overall translation occurrences in the data. It is established by a change in the viewpoint; it makes translation possible after a word or an utterance is found impossible to produce a natural-sounding TT when translated literally. Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 246) state that “[the] regular use of modulation can be seen as the touchstone of a good translator”. Modulation is employed to avoid a translation that is “unsuitable, unidiomatic or awkward in the TL” (ibid: 36). The procedure is strongly TL reader-oriented, and the guiding question is “how would a speaker of the target language naturally conceive of it?” (Salkie 2001: 437). Given the fact that modulation is oriented towards the TL and the target readers, it can certainly be classified as a procedure leading towards communicative translation.

8.1.17 Équivalence

Équivalence involves the translation of a standard SL expression by a standard TL expression that has similar meaning but different form. It almost goes without saying that équivalence makes for a communicative TT rendering. Équivalence is the

translation procedure in which the effect of the message takes precedence over its linguistic form, while concentration on the message and effect-orientedness being features of communicative translation (Newmark 1991: 11). However, because the use of equivalence is limited to the translation of certain standard expressions (e.g. proverbs, public notices and conversation clichés), which do not normally occur in journalistic texts, the percentage of equivalence occurrences in the data (0.5%) seems too small to have any significant impact on the overall translation outcome.

8.2 Overall translation strategies at the linguistic level

After identifying the percentage of each translation procedure and discussing their tendencies in relation to semantic and communicative translation, we shall now draw out the overall orientation in the translation of the chosen journalistic texts. As discussed above and presented in Figure 8.2 below, the procedures identified in the data locate on a continuum between semantic and communicative translation strategies. The three procedures of borrowing, calque and literal translation, which altogether constitute approximately two-thirds of the entire translation occurrences (66.2%), strongly lean towards the semantic side of the continuum. The rest of the translation procedures, which comprise approximately one-third of the translation occurrences (33.8%), can be graded on the communicative side of the continuum, where they show different degrees of communicativeness. Procedures such as equivalence, modulation, paraphrase, compensation and explicitation demonstrate a strong tendency towards communicative translation, whereas procedures such as particularization, generalization, near-synonymy and impication demonstrate a less strong tendency.

Having said that, the two approaches of semantic and communicative translation have not been used systematically across the data. For example, omission at the paragraph level is a characteristic of translations carried out by certain individual translators; additions, especially for ideological purposes, are a characteristic of some translations carried out by the *Sbeiy*; using unfamiliar English borrowings is commonly found in translations carried out by certain individual translators, and so on.

To interpret the results in terms of Toury's translation norms, it can be claimed that the general translation procedures are predominantly geared towards 'adequate translation', with nearly two-thirds of the translation occurrences being carried out by the direct method of translation, thus orientating towards the SL. By contrast, only one-

third of the translation procedures are geared towards 'acceptable translation', with 33.8% of the translation occurrences being carried out by the oblique method of translation, thus orientating towards the TL and/or target readers.

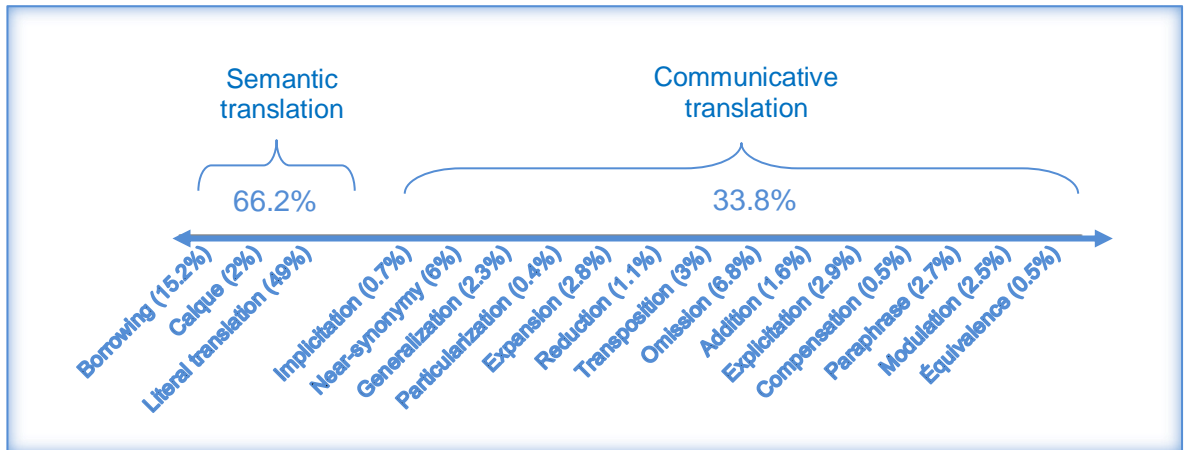


Figure 8.2: General translation procedures on a continuum between semantic and communicative translation

The fact that, in the data, the relationship between semantic and communicative translation is that of a continuum well supports the idea that the two strategies are not mutually exclusive - a translation can be partly communicative and partly semantic:

There is no one communicative or one semantic method of translating a text - these are in fact widely overlapping bands of methods. A translation can be more, or less, semantic - more, or less, communicative - even a particular section or sentence can be treated more communicatively or less semantically.

(Newmark 1991: 10)

It is crucial to point out that, in the discussion above, the three procedures of borrowing, calque and literal translation are strictly defined in relation to semantic translation. If we take a broader viewpoint, it is possible for a literal translation to be considered an instance of semantic and communicative translation at the same time. In fact, "there is no reason why a basically semantic translation should not also be strongly communicative" (Newmark 1991: 11). Likewise, the borrowing translation procedure may produce a translation that is semantic and communicative simultaneously, especially established borrowings that are normally used in authentic texts in the TL. Calque is yet another translation procedure that is literal in nature (thus resulting in a semantic translation) but may also produce a natural-sounding translation

instantaneously (thus resulting in a communicative translation, too), especially those calques that have become standardized in the TL.

Taking into account the general translation occurrences in the overall data, the translations produced in the Kurdish media may be said to entail more translation loss than translation gain. The loss is not only limited to the meaning conveyed, as it also covers the evaluativeness of the language of the texts. On the other hand, the TTs display greater explicitation than the STs. This is an interesting finding that is in line with the general assumption that translations tend to be more explicit than original. The translations can be also viewed as a not so precise version of the STs, given the fact that a considerably large number of lexical items are translated by near-synonyms (6% of the translation occurrences). The frequent use of near-synonymy should not suggest that Kurdish is generally not a resourceful language in terms of terminology; in fact the majority of the words rendered by near-synonymy have counterparts in Kurdish. They could be thus directly translated to achieve a greater accuracy in the translation, while accuracy is considered an unnegotiable characteristic of journalistic translation:

Accuracy is a prerequisite in journalistic work in general and journalistic translation in particular, whatever the language, the community or the political outlook of the newspaper, the magazine or the news agency might be. Such accuracy should not be sacrificed - at any rate - for the sake of speed or for achieving a journalistic scoop.

(Aal 1991: 58)

The characteristics identified above suggest that translations in the Kurdish media are not necessarily a precise version of the STs. The instances of ideologically motivated shifts by means of different translation procedures, such as near-synonymy (see Example 6.20), explicitation (see Example 6.29) and addition (see Example 6.47), will further bring into question the quality and fidelity of current English-Kurdish translations in the Kurdish media. That is because, in principle, “translation is a noble, truth-seeking profession and that a translation must not mislead readers factually nor deceive them with false ideas” (Newmark 2009: 21).

8.3 Discussion of the cultural translation procedures

In the previous chapter, we identified the patterns of translation procedures employed in rendering cultural terms encountered in the data. Overall, 308 different cultural terms were identified, which resulted in 804 occurrences of cultural translation procedures. The overall results of the occurrences of cultural translation procedures implemented in the dataset are visualized in Figure 8.3 below:

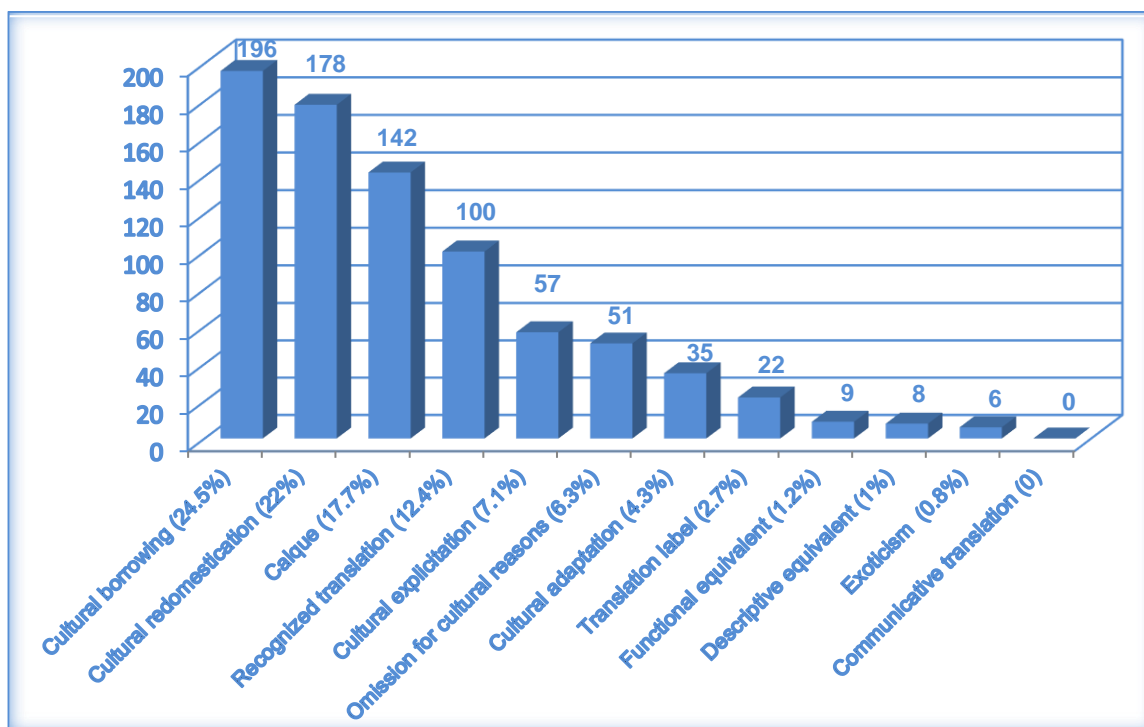


Figure 8.3: Overall occurrences of cultural translation procedures

As the figure shows, cultural borrowing, cultural redomestication, calque and recognized translation occur very frequently; cultural explicitation, omission, cultural adaptation and translation label occur fairly frequently; and, functional equivalent, descriptive equivalent and exoticism occur infrequently.

8.3.1 Cultural borrowing

Cultural borrowing displays the highest percentage of the occurrences of cultural translation procedures in the data, constituting nearly a quarter of all the occurrences (24.5%). This high frequency may be due to the fact that borrowing is obviously the most straightforward procedure, simply involving the transference of terms from the SL into the TL. Cultural borrowing from English into Kurdish normally involves a

transliteration (e.g. *pop music* > موسیقای پۆپ), but the data also entails instances of cultural terms being transferred verbatim, especially brand names (e.g. *Jaguar*, *Shell* and *HSBC*). It goes without saying that cultural borrowing produces a foreignizing translation; it introduces foreign cultural terms into the TL, in which the degree of foreignness depends on whether or not the term is already known in the TL.

8.3.2 Cultural redomestication

Cultural redomestication represents a major contribution from the present study to the cultural aspects of translation. We introduced cultural redomestication as a procedure for translating or transferring TL cultural terms that are found in the STs back into the TL. Cultural redomestication makes the second highest frequency of the cultural translation occurrences (22%). The rationale for this is quite predictable; the English STs contain a large number of Kurdish cultural terms as their topics mostly focus on issues related to the Kurdish social, economic and political life. In the translation, such terms had to be translated back into their original corresponding terms in Kurdish. Cultural redomestication is strongly TL culture-oriented, thus resulting in a domesticating translation.

8.3.3 Calque

Calque has the third largest percentage (17.7%) among the translation procedures implemented at the cultural level. This comes as no surprise given the political nature of the chosen texts which contain a large number of institutional terms, while calque is considered an ideal procedure for translating transparent and standard institutional terms (see 7.3.3). Calque is another translation procedure that certainly lends itself to foreignizing translation; it introduces foreign cultural terms into the TT by literally translating their constituting elements.

8.3.4 Recognized translation

Recognized translation also occurs fairly frequently (12.4%). In fact, there are not many terms in the data that need to be translated by this translation procedure, but the two terms *the UK* and *the US*, which are translated by recognized translation as بەریتانیا ['Britain'] and ئەمەریکا ['America'], occur very frequently. Recognized translation is used in translating cultural terms that have established non-literal translations in the TL. It therefore introduces foreign cultural terms into the TL and produces a foreignizing translation.

8.3.5 Cultural explicitation

Cultural explicitation comprises 7.1% of the overall cultural translation procedures in the data. It is usually implemented as a supplementary translation procedure. For example, a term is translated by cultural borrowing and at the same time explicitated, e.g. *Detroit* > شاری دیترویت [‘the city of Detroit’]. Cultural explicitation is a tricky translation procedure; it may lead towards foreignization as well as domestication depending on individual examples. The vast majority of the occurrences of explicitation (51 out of 57) are carried out on SL cultural terms, which are preserved in the translation. These occurrences obviously result in a foreignizing translation. The remaining 6 occurrences are carried out on TL cultural terms found in the STs, e.g. *Awene* > رۆژنامەى ئاوينه [‘Awene newspaper’]. In the translation, these instances preserve their orientation towards the TL culture, and thus present a case of domesticating translation.

8.3.6 Omission for cultural reasons

Omission for cultural reasons accounts for 6.3% of all the occurrences of cultural translation procedures in the data. Omitting cultural terms in translation will reduce the cultural connotations of the STs. For example, the title *the Rt Hon* (in *the Rt Hon William Hague*) is deleted because it does not have a counterpart in the TL culture. Omission as a cultural translation procedure presents a controversial case in relation to the overall translation strategy. Dickins (2012: 56) claims that “[o]mission can be regarded as domesticating in that it removes mention of the foreign element”. However, it may be better categorized as a neutralizing translation procedure based on the grounds that the resultant translation does not particularly lead towards either of the two strategies of foreignization or domestication.

8.3.7 Cultural adaptation

Cultural adaptation makes up only 4.3% of the occurrences of cultural translation procedures. In cultural adaptation an SL culture-specific term will be replaced by a cultural term that occupies the same cultural situation in the TL and conforms to the TL cultural norms. Cultural adaptation is implemented when translating or borrowing an SL cultural term would sound unintelligible and unfamiliar in the TL. In that case, the use of a cultural counterpart in the TL – a typical example of domestication – can be a viable option to produce a TT that is natural, familiar and intelligible to the target readers. Newmark, who uses the term ‘cultural equivalent’, contends that the procedure “is more

inaccurate than most kinds of translation, but at the first reading or hearing, it is the most effective procedure for achieving explanatory success in an information text” (2010: 176). Cultural adaptation is considered to be strongly oriented towards the TL culture, thus resulting in a domesticating translation.

8.3.8 Translation label

Translation label, which is proposed by Newmark (1988: 90) as a provisional procedure for translating new institutional terms, comprises 2.7% of the cultural translation occurrences. For example, the institutional term, *Pew Research Center*, which is new in the context of Kurdish translation, is translated literally as *ناوهندی توێژینهوهی پیو*, which is considered as translation label. If the translation is used frequently enough to become standardized, it will then become an instance of calque. New institutional terms rendered by translation label preserve their cultural connotation in the TL. Translation label, therefore, introduces foreign terms into the TL culture and represents a case of foreignizing translation.

8.3.9 Functional equivalent

Functional equivalent is one of the least frequent cultural translation procedures, accounting for only 1.2% of the overall cultural translation occurrences. A functional equivalent replaces an SL cultural term by a culture-free term in the TL. For example, the term *backbencher*, which is specific to the UK political culture, is translated as *ئەندام* *پەرلەمان* [‘member of parliament’], which is a neutral term in the sense that it is not bound to any one specific culture. A functional equivalent, therefore, “occupies the middle, sometimes the universal, area between the SL language or culture and the TL language or culture” (Newmark 1988: 83). In other words, it is orientated towards neither of the two strategies of foreignizing and domesticating translation.

8.3.10 Descriptive equivalent

Descriptive equivalent is again one of the least frequently occurring translation procedures, comprising only 1% of the overall cultural translation occurrences. This is a ‘culture-neutral’ translation procedure that involves “a fairly precise description” of an SL cultural element in the TL (Dickins 2012: 54-55), such as the description of the term the *Oval Office*, rather than translating or transferring it into the TL, as was seen in 7.3.9. The description of cultural terms in the TL will only result in cultural neutralization. Therefore, like functional equivalent, descriptive equivalent is not

orientated towards either of the two strategies of foreignizing or domesticating translation.

8.3.11 Exoticism

Accounting for only 0.8% of cultural translation occurrences, exoticism is the least frequently occurring cultural translation procedure in the data. The procedure involves the literal translation of an SL cultural term that “constantly signals the exotic source culture and its cultural strangeness” in the TL (Dickins et al 2002: 29-30), such as the translation of the British social-cultural term *litter louts* as نازاوهگيرانى پاشماوه [‘litter troublemakers’]. Exoticism is strongly orientated towards the SL culture, thus resulting in a foreignizing translation.

8.3.12 Communicative translation

Communicative translation involves the replacement of an SL expression that is standard for a situation by a TL expression that is standard for an equivalent situation in the TL (Dickins 2002: 17). It is therefore orientated towards the TL culture and results in a domesticating translation procedure. Surprisingly, though, no instances of communicative translation are identified in the data. The data in fact contain several cultural terms that could be rendered by the communicative translation procedure, but for an inexplicable reason they are omitted in the TT. This can be seen as an area of deficiency in the translation of the data concerned (see 7.3.6).

8.4 Overall translation strategies at the cultural level

Based on the translation procedures employed at the cultural level, we shall now proceed to draw out the overall cultural orientations of the current English-Kurdish translations of journalistic texts in terms of the two strategies of ‘domesticating translation’ and ‘foreignizing translation’ proposed by Venuti (1995/2008). It is crucial to point out from the outset that Venuti uses the two translation strategies in connection to translator’s invisibility in a broad context which covers sociocultural as well as linguistic aspects of the languages in question. In our application of Venuti’s theory, however, we shall specifically focus on the sociocultural aspects realized by cultural terms, as the linguistic aspects have already been studied in relation to semantic and communicative translation.

As discussed above, exoticism, cultural borrowing and calque are strongly orientated towards the SL culture. Therefore, they ultimately result in a foreignizing translation. The vast majority of cultural explicitation instances, where explicitation is carried out on SL cultural terms, also produce a foreignizing translation. Likewise, cultural terms rendered by translation label and recognized translation preserve their SL cultural connotations, and their implications are, again, that of foreignizing translation.

On the other hand, functional equivalent and descriptive equivalent are described as neutralizing or culture-neutral translation procedures (cf. Newmark 1988: 83; Dickins 2012: 55) in the sense that they do not lean towards the SL or TL culture, but result in a TT that is culturally neutral. In other words, they do not produce a foreignizing or domesticating translation. Likewise, omission also can be considered as a neutralizing translation procedure given the procedure does not particularly lead towards either of the two strategies of foreignization or domestication.

Finally, cultural redomestication, communicative translation, cultural adaptation and some occurrences of cultural explicitation are orientated towards the TL culture. Therefore, they ultimately result in a domesticating translation – a phenomenon criticized by Venuti (2008: 12), believing that it undermines SL cultural values by eliminating them in favour of TL cultural values.

Having identified the orientation of each cultural translation procedure in terms of foreignizing and domesticating translation strategies, the overall results can be summarized in Figure 8.4 below:

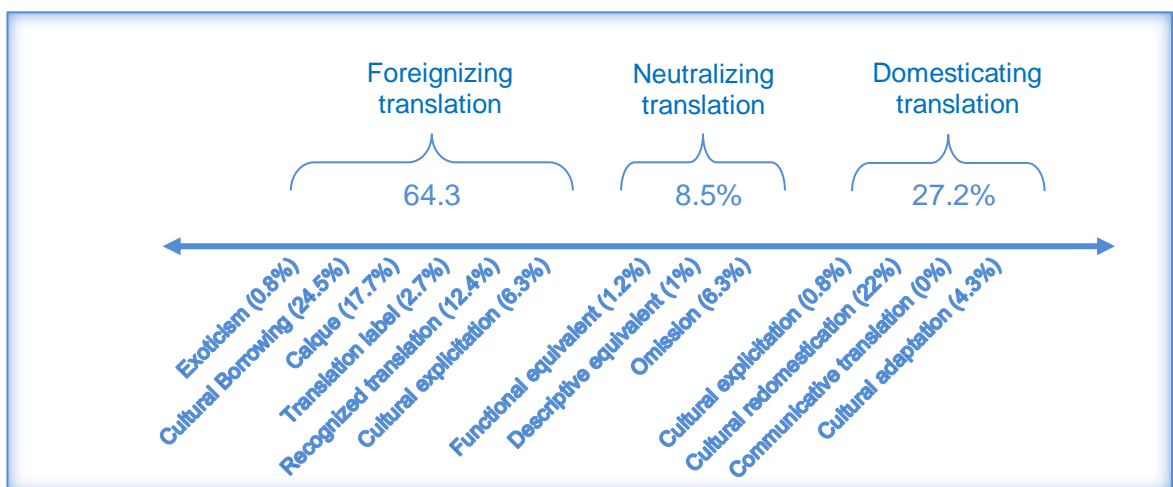


Figure 8.4: Cultural translation procedures on a continuum between domesticating and foreignizing translation

As the figure shows, approximately two-thirds (64.3%) of all the cultural translation occurrences, in the journalistic texts concerned, are orientated towards foreignizing translation. That is, the predominant cultural orientation in the data is that of foreignizing translation. However, the translated texts as a whole do not seem to demonstrate such a degree of foreignness. This can be ascribed to two factors. On the one hand, a large number of the cultural terms are transparent institutional terms, which can be regarded as belonging to 'universal culture' rather than any one specific culture. On the other hand, a large number of cultural terms that are translated by borrowing and calque have become normalized in Kurdish journalism such that these terms can be normally found in authentic texts.

Domesticating translation, on the other hand, constitutes just over a quarter (27.2%) of the occurrences of cultural translation procedures implemented in the chosen journalistic texts. The vast majority of the translation occurrences leading towards domestication are realized through cultural redomestication, which is based on the translation of TL cultural terms found in the STs. Cultural adaptation is a more radical translation procedure leading towards domestication; it involves a major shift from SL cultural norms to TL cultural norms.

The findings also reveal that cultural neutralization can be considered the third orientation that lies between foreignization and domestication. Cultural 'neutralism' (or neutralization) is referred to as "an intercultural contact or relationship that is the source of neither benefit nor harm for the parties involved" (Tyulenev 2014: 39). Cultural neutralization in the data comprises 8.5% of the cultural translation procedures, being carried out through functional equivalent, descriptive equivalent and omission. In the case of functional equivalent and descriptive equivalent, SL cultural terms are replaced by culturally neutral terms and expressions in the TL. In the case of omission, however, SL cultural terms are eliminated in the process of translation, which reduces the cultural connotations of the STs.

To interpret the findings in terms of Toury's translation norms, it can be argued that 'adequate translation' is the predominant translation norm in the data concerned, with nearly two-thirds (64.3%) of the cultural translation occurrences orientating towards the SL culture (foreignization). By contrast, just over a quarter of the cultural translation procedures result in 'acceptable translation', with 27.2% of the cultural translation occurrences orientating towards the TL culture (domestication). The rest of the cultural translation occurrences (8.5%) are labelled as 'neutralizing translation', which cannot

be explained in terms of Toury's adequate and acceptable translation norms as they do not particularly lean towards either the SL culture or the TL culture.

The results of our empirical study further confirm the fact that foreignizing and domesticating translation are not mutually exclusive and a translation product may demonstrate a combination of the two strategies (cf. Venuti 2012: 19), as well as the possibility of having the third orientation, specifically cultural neutralization, between the two strategies. Yet, the ultimate result is that foreignization is the prevalent orientation in current translations of English journalistic texts into Kurdish.

As a final remark, the predominance of foreignization in our study cannot be seen as a way of imposing English cultural values upon journalistic texts translated from English into Kurdish. As discussed previously, Venuti (2008: 12) criticizes the notion of domestication and translation fluency in the context of Anglo-American literary translation, which, he believes, imposes British and American cultural values upon foreign texts. In other words, domesticating translation will give a higher status to the TL culture (usually English) at the expense of the SL culture (usually minority languages). However, in the context of journalism translation, which is the focus of our study, the predominance of foreignization cannot be understood as the imposition of British and American cultural values in translations produced in the Kurdish media. The reason for this is that journalism in today's globalized world is characterized by universality; most cultural terms found in journalistic texts, at least in the data concerned, carry a universal meaning rather than a cultural identity of a specific community. Hence, a journalistic text produced by the BBC does not necessarily represent British cultural identity, neither does a text from the Kurdish media necessarily carry Kurdish cultural identity.

Conclusion

This chapter was concerned with the overall translation orientations in the chosen journalistic texts. The global translation orientations at the linguistic level are drawn out in terms of semantic and communicative translation based on the patterns of the general translation procedures identified in Chapter 6. The results reveal that semantic translation is the prevalent strategy in the current English-Kurdish translation corpus of journalistic texts, with nearly two-thirds of the translation occurrences resulting in a semantic translation. Communicative translation, on the other hand, accounts for approximately one-third of the translation occurrences. The difference between the

translation procedures leading towards a communicative translation is that of degree. At the cultural level, the global translation orientations are drawn out in terms of domesticating and foreignizing translation based on the patterns of cultural translation procedures identified in Chapter 7. The results show that foreignization is the prevalent strategy in the data, constituting two-thirds of the cultural translation occurrences. Domestication, on the other hand, makes up one-third of the cultural translation occurrences. And a proportion of 8.5% of the translation occurrences demonstrate cultural neutralization - the third orientation between foreignization and domestication. It was also concluded that the two notions of foreignizing and domesticating translation in journalistic translation do not have the same politicized implications as they do in the context of literary translation.

Chapter 9: Journalist-Translators and Translatorial Practices in the Kurdish Media

In Chapters 6, 7 and 8, we have conducted a textual analysis to understand the nature of journalistic translation products in the Kurdish media in terms of translation procedures and overall strategies. However, to understand the nature of media translation as a whole, it is not only the actual translation products that matter, but also the translators as well as the media institutions. To look at the results obtained from the textual analysis from a different angle, we conducted a research questionnaire (for the details of the questionnaire see 5.3.3). The questionnaire is provided as a supplementary research method to gain insights into various aspects of translation in the Kurdish media, such as translatorial practices, the role of the translators, the institutional setting, and the processes undertaken to bring about the ultimate translation product.

The questionnaire consists of three parts to derive both quantitative and qualitative data (see Appendix 5). The first and second parts look at the translators' personal details and education background, respectively. The third part, which is a major part of the questionnaire, is devoted to investigating different translatorial practices and identify the role of different agents that play a part in translation practices in the Kurdish media.

9.1 Translators' personal details

This part of the questionnaire consists of a set of factual questions about the translators' personal details: gender, age, the media outlet(s) where they are working or have worked, professional job titles and years of experience. The demographics of the participants obtained from the questionnaire are shown in Table 9.1 below:

Translators	Gender	Age group	Media institution	Professional career/job title	Years of experience
Participant 1	Male	21-25	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• KNN• Sbeiy	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Journalist	1-3

Participant 2	Male	31-35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kurdiu • Sbey 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journalist • Translator 	4-6
Participant 3	Male	21-25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Xendan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journalist • Translator 	1-3
Participant 4	Male	21-25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rudaw 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journalist 	4-6
Participant 5	Male	36-40	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PUK Media • Rudaw • Xendan • NRT 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journalist • Journalist-translator • Transeditor • Translator 	7-9
Participant 6	Male	36-40	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hawlati • KNN 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journalist • Transeditor 	1-3
Participant 7	Male	31-35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ekurd • KNN • Kurdistan Tribune • Medya Magazine 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journalist-translator 	4-6
Participant 8	Male	21-25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rudaw 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Translator 	1-3
Participant 9	Male	31-35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gulan Magazine • Kurdish Globe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journalist-translator 	7-9
Participant 10	Male	31-35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gulan Magazine 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Translator • Transeditor 	7-9
Participant 11	Male	31-35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awene • Shar Press 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journalist • Transeditor 	7-9
Participant 12	Male	26-30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kurdiu • AKnews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Translator • Journalist-translator 	7-9

Table 9.1: Participants' demographics

9.1.1 Translators' gender

First of all, it is interesting to see that all the participants are male. This may not be a coincidence; it rather reflects the nature of journalism profession in Iraqi Kurdistan, where only recently has female participation in journalistic activities begun - mostly in the area of TV presenting. In their empirical research study on the status of press and political processes in Iraqi Kurdistan, Hogan and Trumbour (2013: 89-94) have already pointed to various factors behind lack of female participation in the Kurdish press, such as lack of self-confidence of women themselves, social and family

constraints placed upon them, and the nature of the press industry in Iraq Kurdistan, which is markedly masculine.

9.1.2 Translators' age group

The age group of the participants falls into four categories: 21-25 years old (4 participants), 26-30 years old (1 participant), 31-35 years old (5 participants) and 36-40 years old (2 participants). Most of the participants in their 30s have 7-9 years of experience. That is, they had also started to work in translation profession while in their 20s. This seems to be an average age for people in general to start a professional career:

Adulthood in today's world normally begins in the professional world in the early twenties when young people try to find work. Translators and interpreters do not seem to be an exception [...] Nearing the completion of their degree, people start their professional careers at the same time trying to arrange their personal life.

(Tyulenev 2014: 58)

9.1.3 Translators' media institutions

The participants were also asked to indicate the media institution(s) they are currently working at or have worked at previously. The results show that they come from 16 different media outlets (column 4 in Table 9.1 above), which can be seen as a good representation of the Kurdish media, as discussed in Section 5.2. They include six of the most prominent Kurdish media institutions, namely: *Rudaw*, *Sbeiy*, *KNN*, *Xendan*, *Hawlati* and *Awene*. Besides, they represent the three main orientations of the ruling parties, the opposition parties and the independent media that are predominant in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq.

9.1.4 Translators' professional job titles

The question about professional career was designed to find out how people, who carry out translation in journalism, refer to their professional job title(s). To this end, the participants were given a set of job titles relevant to journalism translation, namely: translator, transeditor, journalist-translator, journalist and editor. Since it is possible for one and the same professional to hold more than one title in their career, the participants were given the freedom to choose more than one option. As the results

show (column 5 in Table 9.1 above), no participant considers himself an editor; only one participant refers to himself a translator alone; two participants refer to themselves as journalists alone; and two participants refer to themselves as journalist-translators alone. The rest of the participants indicate that their profession can be described in terms of two, three or even four professional job titles. Taking these multi-professional job titles into account, overall, seven participants consider themselves journalists; six participants consider themselves translators, four participants refer to themselves as transeditors in addition to being a journalist or a translator; and four participants describe their professional job title as journalist-translators.

Schäffner and Bassnett refer to the highly ambiguous attitudes to translation in the world of journalism which, they believe, is partly manifested in “the avoidance of the word ‘translation’, with journalists/translators referring to themselves as journalists only” (2010: 9). In the BBC, for example, translation is carried out by journalists who have translation as one of their range of skills, and are referred to as ‘broadcaster journalists’ (Fearn 2015, personal communication). In the case of the Kurdish media, the ambiguity is further complicated by the fact that people carrying out the translation mostly consider themselves multi-professionals. Consider participant 5, for instance, who considers himself a journalist, journalist-translator, transeditor and translator, all at the same time.

9.1.5 Translators’ experience

According to the Barcelona-based research group PACTE, ‘year of experience as a translator’ can be a criterion for the degree of expertise in translation. Based on that, to see how far the translators are competent in their translation career, they are asked about their years of experience. The results show that four participants have experience ranging between 1 and 3 years; three participants have experience of between 4 and 6 years; and, five participants have experience of between 7 and 9 years. These findings (column 6 in Table 9.1 above) suggest that there is a fairly close correlation between the age of the participants and the years of experience they have. Three out of four participants having 1-3 years of experience are aged between 21 and 25 years. On the other hand, four out of five participants with 7-9 years of experience are aged between 31 and 40 years.

Since different media agencies may have different institutional norms, which will build into the translators’ experience, they were also asked about the number of media

outlets they have experience with. It turned out that four participants have experience of working only with one media outlet; six participants have experience of working with two media outlets, either at the same time (such as those working at the two subsidiaries of the *Wusha* company: *KNN* and *Sbeiy*) or consecutively; and two participants have experience of working with four media outlets. It was indicated above that there is a fairly close correlation between the age and the experience of the participants. These two criteria are also roughly correlated with the number of the media institutions each translator works at. All the three participants that have experience of working with only one media institution fall into the age group of 21-25; two of them have experience between 1 and 3 years and the third has 4-6 years of experience. On the other hand, the two participants who work at four media institutions fall into the age groups of 31-35 and 36-40 years old, and have 4-6 and 7-9 years of experience, respectively. In other words, the older a participant is, the more years of experience he would have and the more media outlets he would have experience with.

As a general hypothesis, “the degree of expertise in translation (i.e. translation competence) is reflected in both the process and the product of translation” (PACTE 2011: 34). The fact that the translators have different levels of experience, and thus different degrees of competence, may explain why the data contains both areas of appropriate translation (where translation procedures are successfully employed) and areas of deficiency (where meaning is lost or distorted).

9.2 Translators’ educational background

This part of the questionnaire again consists of a set of factual questions to understand the participants’ educational background, specifically, the degrees they hold, the awarding institutions and whether they studied translation (practice and/or theory) as part of their degrees. The aim of this part of the questionnaire is to find out whether there is any relation between the participants’ academic background and their translation profession, and how this may affect the translation product. The answers about the academic degrees and the awarding universities/institutions are tabulated below:

Participants	Academic Degrees and Awarding Institutions
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Participant 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BA in International Studies, American University of Iraq, Sulaimani (KRG)
Participant 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BA in English Language and Literature, University of Sulaimani (KRG) • MA in TESOL, University of Liverpool (UK)
Participant 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BA in English Language and Literature, University of Sulaimani (KRG)
Participant 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BA in Journalism, Leeds Trinity University (UK)
Participant 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BA in English Language and Literature, University of Sulaimani (KRG)
Participant 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MSc in Middle East Politics, University of London (SOAS) (UK)
Participant 7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BA in English Language and Literature, University of Human Development (KRG)
Participant 8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diploma in Computer Science, Institute of Computer Science in Erbil (KRG)
Participant 9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BA in Translation, University of Salahaddin (KRG)
Participant 10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BA in English Language and Literature, University of Salahaddin (KRG)
Participant 11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BA in English Language and Literature, University of Sulaimani (KRG)
Participant 12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BA in English Language and Literature, University of Salahaddin (KRG)

Table 9.2: Participants' academic degrees and awarding institutions

As the results show, surprisingly, there is only one participant who holds a degree in translation – participant 9 who has a BA in Translation from the University of Salahaddin. Seven participants did a BA in English Language and Literature. The four remaining participants hold different degrees: BA in International Studies; BA in Journalism; MSc in Middle East Politics; and Diploma in Computer Science. In addition to a BA in English Language and Literature, participant 2 also holds an MA in TESOL. Apparently, participant 6 also holds an undergraduate degree besides his MSc in Middle East Politics, but he did not make mention of this in his answers to the questionnaire. It is interesting to see that three participants hold a degree from UK universities, which suggests that they have experience of living in British society and are familiar with British culture. Such experience and familiarity is certainly of great interest from a Translation Studies point of view.

As seen above, only one participant did a degree in translation, while eight of the eleven remaining participants studied translation as part of their degrees. Seven participants, who hold a BA in English Language and Literature, studied translation theory and practice as a module, and one participant, who holds a BA in International

Studies, studied translation practice as part of his degree. As their educational background suggests, the vast majority of the participants either studied English language in Iraqi Kurdistan or did other degrees in the UK, both cases indicating that the participants are likely to be highly competent in English language. It would seem that English language capacity is of greater importance than academic discipline for work as an English-Kurdish translator for Kurdish media.

The academic backgrounds of the translators show that none of the translators has a combination of both translation and journalism skills. This is not a norm in world media institutions. For instance, to work as a 'broadcast translator' in the BBC, one is required to have some kind of journalism qualification and/or solid experience and should also have translation as one of their range of skills (Fearn 2015, personal communication). A lack of proper training that combines both translation and journalism skills can be the reason for some of the areas of deficiency in the translation of the journalistic texts concerned.

9.3 Translation and translatorial practices

This part of the questionnaire aims to understand the nature of translation practices, the institutional setting and the role of different agents in the Kurdish media. To this end, a set of close-ended as well as open-ended questions are addressed, mostly revolving around the notion of translators' agency - a new concept developed in sociological approaches to Translation Studies. 'Agency' is defined as "willingness and ability to act", with 'willingness' being related to "consciousness, reflectivity and intentionality" and 'ability' to the "constraints and issues of power(lessness)" (Kinnunen and Koskinen 2010: 6). Paloposki (2010: 88) conceives translator's agency as "the translator's everyday practices, decisions and even routine chores [...] as well as their freedom of choice to decide for themselves on certain issues". Translator's agency then refers to the extent to which translators have willingness and ability to take action and make decision in their translation practices, as opposed to the extent of the institutional constraints imposed upon them. One of the ultimate goals of this section is to investigate the role of different agents and their influence on the translation products.

9.3.1 Text selection process

The text selection process is a significant phase in translation practices; it is at the core of translation policy, which in turn is part of Toury's (2012: 82) preliminary norms.

Studying English translations of German journalistic texts, Schäffner (2005: 154) argues that the text selection process, rather than the linguistic make-up of texts, determines which voices or viewpoints the target readers will have access to. In this light, the first question regarding translatorial practices in the Kurdish media says: “In your media institution(s), who makes the choice of what should (or should not) be translated?”. The supposed agents that play a role in the text selection process can be the translators themselves or, more likely, the institution. It is also possible that the two parties make the decision in conjunction with each other. Four participants indicated that the translator himself decides what to translate; three participants pointed out that the media institution makes the choice of what to translate; and five participants state that both the translator and the media institution play a role in the text selection process. This suggests that, in most Kurdish media institutions, translators enjoy a degree of freedom in selecting the preferred texts to translate. However, this does not mean that translators in such media institutions work arbitrarily; as the translators explain (see 9.3.2 below), they are conscious of the policy and ideology of their media institutions and the demand of their audience. These are two important aspects they take into consideration when making a decision.

9.3.2 Translation guidelines

Translation is subject to internal constraints, which are reflected in linguistic and cultural differences, as well as external constraints, which are determined by institutional guidelines, amongst other factors such as time and space limitations (discussed in 9.3.6 below). To understand how institutional guidelines work in the Kurdish media, three related questions were addressed: “Is there a set of translation guidelines at the media institution(s) you work?”; “If so, who has set up the guidelines?”; “And what are some of the major requirements outlined in the guidelines?”. The results show that only 5 out of the 12 participants indicate that there are guidelines in their media institutions. A translator from *Rudaw* states that the guidelines are set by the ‘editorial board’ and one of the major requirements is “to collect background information of the events addressed in a news report based on international journalistic standards”. A translator from *Xendan* states that the guidelines are set by the media institution, but translators themselves can also have their own guidelines. According to this translator, the guidelines stress the clarity, accuracy, credibility and honesty of the translation. A *Hawlati* translator says that the guidelines are set by the media institution and the focus of the guidelines is accuracy, fairness and thoroughness. A translator from the *Gulan Magazine* states that the guidelines are

set by “the head of the media institution”, and a major requirement is to “respect the [Kurdish] social values and not to translate swear words”. A former translator of *AKnews* says that the guidelines are set by the directors of both the English and Kurdish desks, and a major requirement is “to convey the core message of the subject matter”. In this respect, this Kurdish media outlet is fairly similar to the BBC, where “the commissioning work is done by the day desk editor” (Kasraee 2014, personal communication).

As stated above, 7 out of 12 respondents indicated that they do not have a set of guidelines for translation activities in their media institution. Although this may suggest that translators enjoy a degree of freedom, it does not necessarily mean that translation at such institutions is carried out randomly. Translators are likely to self-censor and have a set of their own guidelines, as a *Xendan* translator stated above. Yet the lack of a set of guidelines in some Kurdish media outlets can be the reason for inconsistencies in the use of terminology and the employment of translation procedures even in translations carried out in the same media – an area of concern in the current English-Kurdish translation of journalistic texts as hypothesized at the outset of this study.

As was seen above, translators from different media institutions refer to different agents behind the guidelines, such as: the editorial board, the institution’s head and the directors of the English and Kurdish desks. The major requirements outlined in the guidelines mainly revolve around the traditional concepts and issues raised in Translation Studies, such as: accuracy, honesty (fidelity), conveying core message (content), clarity, etc. However, in two cases the guidelines have a different focus. First, in the case of *Rudaw*, journalistic standards seem to prevail by requiring translators to seek background information on the events. Second, in the case of the *Gulan Magazine*, sociocultural aspects of translation seem to be seriously taken into account at the micro-textual level by not directly translating swear words and expressions. As far as the data is concerned, this is the most outstanding case of censorship in translation activities in the Kurdish media. A swear word or expression can be censored either by toning it down or completely omitting it in the translation. An interesting example occurs in the following extract [Text 36], in which the swear expression *don't give a damn* is censored by toning it down and translating it as گرنگی نادن [‘don’t care’]:

(9.1) ...foreign powers, such as the US, "**don't give a damn** about what happens here" because they want to portray Kurdistan as a stable democracy to justify the invasion of Iraq.

ههزه دهرمكبهكانى وهكو ئەمەریكا **گرنگى نادهن** بهوهى چى پروودهدات له كوردستان چونكه ئەمەریكا دمیووینت كوردستان وهكو هەریمیكى ئارام پیشان بدات وهك بههانهیهك بۆ داگیرکردنى عێراق.

*[‘...foreign powers such as America **don't care** about what happens in Kurdistan because America want to show Kurdistan as a stable democracy to justify the invasion of Iraq.’]*

9.3.3 Institutional setting

With regard to the institutional setting in which translations take place, the translators were asked whether they work individually or as a team with other translators. The answers reveal that each of the 12 translators participated in the questionnaire works on his own. This should not suggest that media translation is a boring and highly individualistic job; in fact the whole atmosphere of media translation seems to be a busy and interactive one. For example, one translator explained that although he works on his own, he stays in contact with a group of editors online. Likewise, two translators indicated that they have access to consult with a native speaker of English, who works in a different section of the same media institution. Three other translators stated that, in the process of translation, they have access to consult with translator colleagues (see 9.3.7 below).

9.3.4 Preferred journalistic topics

The topics of the textual material investigated in this study are primarily concerned with Kurdish political and economic issues, but there are also texts dealing with international politics which may have a direct or indirect impact on Kurdish politics (see 5.1). To see whether it is actually a trend that such topics are given top priority in translation practices in the Kurdish media, two related, open-ended questions were asked: “What topics are usually chosen to translate in your media institution(s)?” and “Why are these topics chosen?”. Nine participants responded that ‘political’ issues are at the core of their translation in their respective media institutions. Seven participants directly state that political topics make up the most prominent topics of the texts they translate. Two participants referred to topics dealing with ‘oil issues’, while in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq oil itself is a source of political and economic issues. Apart from the topics of

politics and oil (which are interrelated in the context of Kurdistan Region affairs), two participants also referred to topics focusing on Kurdish economic development and international affairs, respectively. While most participants referred to one or two topics, one participant listed several specific topics that constitute the topics of his translations: “the Kurdish issues, events that matter for Kurdish readership, changes that are related to their region, politics, economy and their future”. By contrast, two participants seem to have had a vague understanding of the topics of the texts they translate: one stated that most of the texts he translates are news reports and opinion articles ‘about Kurdistan and Iraq’ written by foreign media; the other participant indicated that the texts he translates cover ‘a wide range of topics’.

With regard to the reason(s) for choosing to translate such topics, the participants refer to four major factors:

- a) **Consideration of the target readership:** five participants refer to the importance/relevance of political and economic topics to the readership (for a discussion of the assumed target readers, see 9.3.8 below). One participant even reveals that the media institution where he works considers politics and oil-related issues important topics for their readers based on the feedback they received from the audience.
- b) **Media institutions’ agency:** four participants indicate that they translate writings of a political nature because the main concern of their institution is politics. It is worth recalling that three of these participants previously indicated that their media institutions make the decision of what texts are to be translated. The fourth participant indicates that both the media institution and the translator make the decision in collaboration with each other.
- c) **Translators’ agency:** not many professionals have the chance to be able to fulfil their personal interests within their career. However, two translators who participated in the study seem to have such a chance. One participant states that it is part of his personal interest to translate political topics. The second one indicates that he translates political topics to fulfil his (political) mission and perhaps responsibility: “I want to raise awareness among individuals about the current political situations in Iraqi Kurdistan as the region is undergoing a massive change in terms of politics and economy”.
- d) **Newsworthiness (news values):** one participant states that writings by foreign authors about Kurdistan and Iraq make a good source of journalistic information. This idea is in line with what Hogan and Trumbour (2013: 49)

found in their research project investigating the Kurdish press: “[t]here is the belief among some Kurdish commentators that reports from the outside world have greater authority and impact than home grown produce”. Another participant, who refers to oil issues as the most significant topic in his translations, believes that “oil is an important and the most discussed issue in Iraq and Kurdistan region”. This fairly short statement can be linked to three rules or principles of newsworthiness (cf. Allan 2010: 72-73), namely: ‘conflict’ (in the sense that oil issues constitute a major source of conflict in Kurdish-Iraqi political relations), ‘relevance’ (in that oil production is directly related to the lives and prosperity of the target audience) and ‘continuity’ (in that the issue of oil is already in the news and any new progress in this regard builds upon the information that has been already transmitted to the audience). It is important to point out that newsworthiness is ultimately related to the consideration of the readership discussed above. In other words, an issue or event is newsworthy if and when it is assumed to be of interest, importance and/or relevance to the audience.

9.3.5 Translation revision

In the world media, the process of translation revision is as important as the translation process itself. Consider the BBC, where for accuracy reasons on all fronts, every story has to have a second pair of eyes (Fearn 2015, personal communication). One of the hypotheses raised at the beginning of this study is that the quality of translation products in the Kurdish media suggests that the translated texts may not undergo proper revision. The next two questions are intended to give an insight into this important aspect of translation: “Are the translations in your media institution revised?”, “If so, by whom?”. All the 12 translators responded that the translations get revised. However, six of them indicate that the translations are revised by ‘the translator himself’. This might be a factor behind concerns regarding the quality of some of the translations in the Kurdish media. One translator indicated that the revision is carried out by the translator himself as well as another translator. In another case, the revision is carried out by the translator himself as well as a commission.

The revision process is a stage where collaboration between translators and editors may be required. In this regard, a translator, who mainly works in the direction of Kurdish to English, indicated that the translation would be first edited by a native speaker of English and then the translator himself would carry out the final check in

order to “avoid any contradiction, misunderstanding and/or misinformation”. There are three cases indicating that translators do not involve themselves in the revision process at all. In one case, the revision is carried out by a commission; in the other two cases the revision is conducted by the editor. This raises the question of whether the process can actually be called translation revision or editing, and whether the editor has translation skills at all.

9.3.6 Factors behind translation omission

During the course of the textual analysis, we found that a large number of omissions occurred at various textual levels (see 6.1.15). The acceptability of omission in translation is genre- and purpose-dependent. In journalism, there are sometimes legitimate reasons for omission, where omission would suggest the translator’s role meshes with that of the editor. To see whether or not the translators are conscious of the omissions they make in the translation process, and to understand the reason or justification for such omissions, the next two questions were asked: “Do you sometimes have to omit some parts of a text (such as words, expressions, sentences or even paragraphs)?”, “If yes, for what reason?”. Strikingly, 10 out of 12 translators admit they sometimes make omission in the translation process. As for the reason for omission, the participants were given five options that are assumed to be possible factors behind the omission. The results are as follows: omission for ideological reasons (3 translators); sociocultural reasons (3 translators); time limitation (5 translators); space limitation (4 translators) and omission due to translation difficulties (4 translators). It is worth mentioning that these factors do not equally apply to all the translators; while one translator claims that he only makes omissions when faced with a space limitation, another translator admits that he makes omissions for reasons of ideological implications, space limitation, time limitation and translation difficulties. These findings are to a great extent in line with the results of the textual analysis, for example omission for presumed cultural reasons (see 7.3.12), which makes up a considerable proportion of the cultural terms. Although it cannot be clearly construed from the textual analysis, the omission of a large number of clauses, sentences and paragraphs in the data may be ascribed to time and space limitations. The fact that translators are aware of the influence of their ideological orientation, manifested in omission, may well explain the instances of ideological manipulation in the data and the hypothesis that translations in the Kurdish media are not devoid of ideological remarks.

The participants were also given the opportunity to name any other reason(s) for resorting to omission. One translator indicated that he sometimes has to omit words or expressions 'to avoid verbosity', i.e. deleting the word or expression rather than rendering it into a cumbersome stretch of language. In theory, such an omission is acceptable only when "the meaning conveyed by a particular item or expression is not vital enough to the development of the text to justify distracting the reader with lengthy explanations" (Baker 2011: 42). In the case of interviews conducted by the *Gulan Magazine*, a translator explains that he usually translates audio recorded interviews and, as he sometimes encounters difficulties in hearing the voice clearly, such elements have to be skipped. In sum, there are all sorts of reasons for omission in translation, some of them specific to a particular translator, others to the nature of the texts, such as translating audio recorded texts.

9.3.7 Translation aids/resources

The availability of various translation aids/resources can be regarded as an important asset to help with the success of the translation process. The next question touches upon this crucial aspect: "What are the translation aids/resources available to you in the process of translation?". The translators were presented with the following list of translation aids/resources and asked to choose as many answers as applicable:

- Bilingual dictionaries
- Computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools
- Monolingual (English) dictionaries
- Native speakers to consult with
- Online resources
- Translator colleagues to consult with
- Other (please specify):

As the results show in Figure 9.1 below, none of the translators use computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools. This comes as no surprise since such tools are so far unavailable to aid with Kurdish translation. In fact the use of computer-assisted translation tools can help reduce many of the deficiencies identified in the textual analysis. For example, they can help overcome time constraints, thus reduce omissions triggered by time limitations. They can also help apply translation procedures more systematically and achieve consistency in the use of lexical items.

However, all the translators make use of online resources, including the use of online dictionaries. Seven translators indicated that they use English monolingual dictionaries, as opposed to five translators who use bilingual English-Kurdish dictionaries. The fact that around half of the translators work without hard copy dictionaries might be justified by the fact that, thanks to the online revolution, reliable monolingual and bilingual dictionaries are nowadays available online. Yet, it should be acknowledged that hard copy dictionaries still remain an essential translation aid, as evidenced by the fact that around half of these translators make use of them. Beside dictionaries, two translators have access to an English native speaker for consultation in the process of translation. Likewise, two translators have access to consult with translator colleagues. Having other professionals around to consult with would make the media translation setting a cooperative and interactive one, which can be considered a kind of 'collaborative translation' (cf. O'Brien 2011: 17).

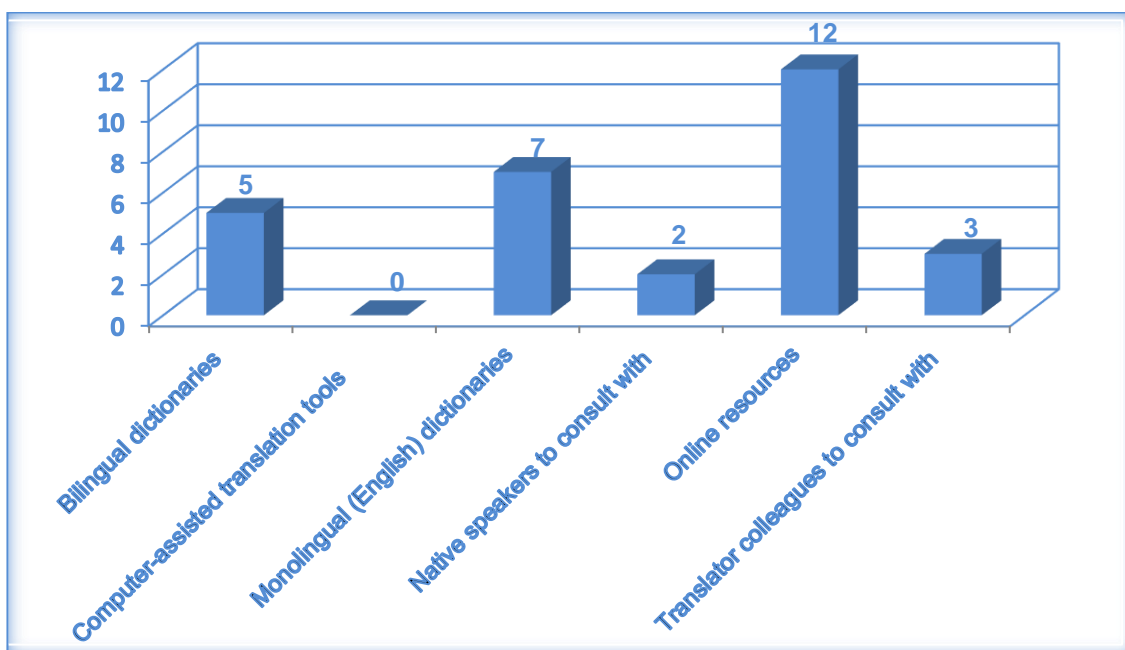


Figure 9.1: Translation resources and aids utilized in the Kurdish media

9.3.8 Assumed target readership

Understanding the purpose of the translation is of great importance in any act of translation, and the purpose is largely determined by the nature of the target readership. "The purpose of the TT is always a major factor to be taken into account in deciding a strategy" (Dickins et al. 2002: 207). Hans Vermeer (1978) introduces skopos theory into Translation Studies to examine the purpose of translation from a

functionalist approach. *Skopos*, a Greek word meaning 'aim' or 'purpose', is "a technical term for the purpose of a translation and of the action of translating" (Munday 2012b: 122). Vermeer (1987: 29) believes that "[t]o translate means to produce a text in a target setting for a target purpose and target addressees in target circumstances".

In Section 5.1, it was argued that the translated journalistic texts employed in this study are intended to provide educated Kurdish readership with information and personal viewpoints on social, political and economic issues related to their own society as well as global issues of international significance. And we have already seen that translators working in the Kurdish media are to some extent conscious of the target readership, for instance in the text selection process (see 9.3.1 above). However, to fully understand the nature of the target readership, the next question touches upon this important aspect of translation to find out whether or not the translators have a clear idea of who their assumed target readers are.

The results show that some translators have a clear understanding of their target readers, indicating that their readers are: politicians (four participants indicated this), students of politics, university students, investors and young people. Other translators have a quite general idea about their target readers, claiming that their assumed readers are: "Kurdish users of the internet worldwide and readers of local newspapers"; "all types of people"; "readers of different ages as it depends on what I translate"; "readers from within the Kurdistan region of Iraq as well as readers from abroad, especially the UK"; "educated people who are interested in the news and politics"; and "members of the public and those who are interested in news and current affairs". Interestingly, three participants refer to their readers as being among the journalistic community. One claims that, in addition to Kurdish readers, foreign media outlets are also interested in his translations; a second participant refers to 'international journalists' as his readers in addition to politicians and investors; and a third participant regards mainstream journalists to be among his readers.

The idea of imagining journalists as being among the assumed readers of translated texts may come from the fact that journalists are supposed to be serious readers of journalistic products, at least for two genuine reasons: firstly, to be aware of current events and states of affairs at the national and international level; and secondly, to seek information from other media outlets to recontextualize and/or use them as a source of information. Therefore, journalistic texts, translated or otherwise, are not only aimed at a public readership who may not have a clue of how the world of journalism

works from the inner circle, but also journalists themselves who recontextualize and build upon journalistic outputs available to them.

9.3.9 Translators' perspective on appropriate translation

To understand the translators' perspective on appropriate translation in journalism and to identify relations, if any, between the theoretical perspective and the translators' perspective on appropriate translation, the participants were asked two open-ended questions: "As a translator, what do you think makes an appropriate/successful translation in journalism?", "How do you personally try to achieve this?". The results show that the perspective of most of the translators focuses on the traditional translation concepts, such as: delivering the exact message of the ST, avoidance of word-for-word translation, aiming at fluency, accuracy and naturalness, and working with honesty and faithfulness. Some translators refer to a combination of features that make a journalistic translation appropriate. For example, one translator believes that "an appropriate translation is one that reads naturally, that is accurate and fluent, one that sounds as if it is an authentic text and not a translation". Another translator believes that the translator's knowledge and capacity determine the success of the translation: "language proficiency and following the world news consistently alongside cultural knowledge of both the source and target languages bring meaning and success to translation in journalism". This quote touches upon three crucial aspects of media translation: (1) competence in both the SL and TL; (2) constant interact with journalistic texts; and (3) cultural knowledge of both the source and target language communities. Similar ideas are also presented by other translators. For example, one translator highlights the need for sufficient knowledge of both languages in question to achieve an appropriate translation; another translator refers to the importance of the techniques of journalistic writing in both the SL and TL to produce an appropriate translation; a third translator believes that an appropriate translation is one that takes into account the cultural aspects of translation.

To get an insight into the participants' strategic plans, they were also asked how they would try to achieve what they perceive to be an appropriate translation. It turned out that the translators have very different views on how to achieve their desired translation outcome. For example, the only translator who holds a degree in translation refers to combining his theoretical background knowledge and his experience: "I try to take into consideration the theories I learned at university and things I faced in my career". Another translator states that he tries to achieve accuracy, fluency and naturalness in

the translation by “using words and expressions that are familiar to the target readership and avoiding literal translation where it sounds unnatural”. For another translator, the revision process is very important to bring about fluency: “I read out the translation to find if there are any unfamiliar or incomprehensible words or expressions”. In other cases metalinguistic factors are taken into account to achieve an appropriate translation, as one translator claims:

I mostly depend on the time and place in which specific articles, reports or interviews are written and published. The mood, ideological affiliations and background information of the writer are also an important pillar because they influence the writer’s psyche.

Strangely, some translators have only a vague idea of how to achieve the quality of translation they aim at. One translator, who believes accuracy is the most important feature in journalistic translation, states that he tries to achieve accuracy “by being serious and fair”, without explaining how a translator’s seriousness and fairness would bring about translation accuracy. A second translator states that a successful journalistic translation is one that is marked by ‘impartiality’ and that he tries to achieve this by trial and error, specifically, “writing, making mistakes and learning not to repeat the same mistakes”. It is questionable, though, how these processes can lead to impartiality in journalistic translation.

Conclusion

This chapter was devoted to providing a second angle to look at the findings achieved from the textual analysis. The chapter is based on a research questionnaire answered by 12 translators working in journalism translation between English and Kurdish representing a wide range of Kurdish media outlets. The questionnaire has three parts. The first part depicted the demographics of the participants, who exhibit a great degree of diversity in terms of age, media institutions they work at, professional job titles and years of experience. The second part of the questionnaire was concerned with the translators’ educational backgrounds. Although they come from fairly diverse educational backgrounds and may have different skills, they all seem to have one characteristic in common, which is proficiency in the English language. The third part, which is a major part of the questionnaire, explored various relevant and significant aspects of media translation to understand the nature of journalism translation, translatorial practices and the institutional setting in the Kurdish media. Answers to

these quests have yielded interesting findings that explain many of the deficiencies identified in the textual analysis, for example omissions due to time and space limitations, inconsistencies in translation approaches due to lack of prescribed guidelines in some media outlets, and so forth.

Chapter 10 : Conclusion, Limitations and Recommendations

10.1 Conclusion

The main aim of this study has been to identify the micro-level patterns of translation procedures and overall strategies in current English-Kurdish translations of journalistic texts. For this reason, 45 authentic journalistic texts, translated from English into Kurdish, were collected from a wide range of media outlets. To analyse the texts systematically and to cover both linguistic and cultural aspects of translation, a composite model of translation procedures was formulated. The model has been based on an integration of three prominent models of translation procedures proposed by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995), Newmark (1988) and Dickins, Hervey and Higgins (2002). The composite model was then applied to the texts so as to identify the patterns of general and cultural translation procedures dealt with in Chapters 6 and 7, respectively. Based on these patterns, overall translation strategies were deduced in Chapter 8. To support the findings obtained from the textual analysis, a research questionnaire was completed, the purpose of which was to investigate the nature of journalism translation, translatorial practices and institutional setting in the Kurdish media.

10.1.1 Overview of significant findings

To further elucidate the significant findings of the present study, we shall return to the research questions that were addressed at the outset of the study so as to identify to what extent adequate answers to these questions have been found. The questions are as follows:

1) What are the patterns of general translation procedures employed in current English-Kurdish translations of journalistic texts?

The composite model of translation procedures that was formulated consists of 17 general translation procedures, i.e. procedures used for translating non-cultural terms. A case study of the literal translation procedure, through the analysis of a representative sample text, suggested that literal translation constitutes approximately 49% of the sample text (see 5.3.2.2) and, by extension, of the journalistic texts concerned. Having accepted this percentage to be representative of the whole data,

the remainder of the 16 general translation procedures would constitute the other 51% of the overall translation occurrences (with reference to the percentage of each translation procedure, see Figure 8.1). Based on their frequencies, these procedures can be broadly grouped into three patterns: highest, middle and lowest frequencies. However, it should be acknowledged that the impact of any procedure may vary and cannot be purely based on an accumulation of occurrences. For instance, the use of explicitation may be considerably more impactful than the use of transposition; an instance of omission can be more impactful than an instance of implicitation, and so on.

a) Highest frequency: borrowing, omission and near-synonymy show the highest frequency of occurrence, respectively constituting 15.2%, 6.8% and 6% of the overall translation occurrences.

Borrowings show the highest frequency after literal translation. The majority of the borrowings are from English, which is not surprising given that the STs are in English. A minority, but still a considerable proportion, of the borrowings are from Arabic, which can be explained by the close interactions existing between Arabic and Kurdish societies. Borrowing is used as a practical translation procedure to tackle lacunae in the lexicon. The two most interesting phenomena with regard to borrowing are: (1) some individual translators have taken it upon themselves to introduce new English borrowings into the TL; and (2) despite the fact that Arabic borrowings constitute a considerable proportion (38%), the results show a new trend of changing tendency from using Arabic borrowings to English borrowings. For example, English words such as سڨڨڨل [‘civil’], بالانس [‘balance’] and ميديا [‘media’] are borrowed, whereas a couple of decades ago their Arabic borrowings would be commonly used in Kurdish.

Omission, which occurs at various textual levels (see 6.1.15), also demonstrates a high frequency of occurrence. Although it is claimed that omissions are not as numerous and varied as additions (cf. Nida 1964: 231), the occurrences of omission in the data are over four times more frequent than the occurrences of addition. Omission tends to result in translation loss, as opposed to addition which tends to result in translation gain. This suggests that, in the journalistic texts concerned, the overall ‘translation loss’ is over four times greater than the overall ‘translation gain’. In other words, the TT readers received less information as compared to the ST readers.

In the chosen journalistic texts, the omission of a large number of value-laden words is an area of real concern; it suggests that the language of translated texts in the Kurdish

media is not as evaluative as their STs. The issue is particularly acute in the translation of opinion articles (which comprise the majority of the chosen texts), because the use of evaluative language is an intrinsic feature of opinion articles intended to persuade the reader to accept the author's views and opinions. Consequently, when the evaluative value of the language is reduced, the force of the arguments being presented in the text will also be weakened. Nevertheless, there are several legitimate reasons for the appearance of omission in journalism translation. In the data examined, omission has been used, often effectively, to overcome lexical lacunae, to eliminate repetition and irrelevant information, to eliminate informal expressions that do not accord with the TL convention of journalistic writing and finally for pragmatic reasons. Some of these practices are significant in journalistic translation not least to produce a concise TT, but also to cope with time and space limitations imposed upon journalist-translators. However, given the very large number of omission occurrences, the translations are not immune from significant meaning loss.

Near-synonymy again shows a high frequency of occurrence. It has been used mandatorily when an SL term is not lexicalized in the TL or when its supposed equivalent has a limited range of use or it is restricted by collocational constraints. In the majority of cases, however, there appears to be no particular reason for using near-synonymy, which merely results in a translation that is more imprecise than its ST. Near-synonymy is one of the translation procedures in the data that have been used for ideological purposes (see Example 6.20) – a phenomenon that brings into question the impartiality of translation practices in Kurdish journalism.

b) Middle frequency: the seven translation procedures of transposition, explicitation, expansion, paraphrase, modulation, generalization and calque can be referred to as having middle frequency of occurrence, each comprising between 2% and 3% of the overall translation occurrences.

Transposition is an important translation procedure to produce a TT that conforms to the TL linguistic and grammatical conventions. A shift in the word class is the commonest type of transposition in the data. Transposition also occurs in the construction of two grammatical structures: (1) transposition in the direct speech construction, which is a significant type of transposition to engender a TT that accords with the TL grammatical structure; and (2) a change from direct to reported speech, which can be a subject of criticism, especially in news translation. Direct speech

provides a news report with legitimacy and credibility, and a shift from direct to reported speech in the process of translation will affect the credibility of the news story.

Explicitation is carried out at the grammatical, discoursal and semantic levels (see 6.1.12). Since the occurrences of explicitation are over four times larger than those of implicitation, it can be concluded that explicitation is a general trait of current Kurdish translations of English journalistic texts. In other words, English-Kurdish Journalist-translators attempt to present ST information more explicitly in TT and seek tighter cohesion in the TT. Therefore, our empirical study further enhances the general hypothesis that explicitation is a universal of translation. As an interesting phenomenon, explicitation has been dramatically utilized in highlighting the name *Kurdistan* to make the topic of the texts more personalized and relevant to the target readership (see Example 6.29).

Expansion is another important translation procedure which has been employed effectively in the data. Obligatory expansion has been used to fill a lexical or structural lacuna. Optional expansion, on the other hand, has been used to produce idiomaticity and binomial expressions in the TT (see 6.1.8.2), both practices are important to produce a fluent translation.

Paraphrase is used as a practical translation procedure to render words and terms that are not lexicalized in the TL, to translate idioms and metaphors that do not have equivalent counterparts in the TL and to translate utterances that cannot be rendered literally due to their ambiguity or complexity. Paraphrase has the advantage of producing a natural-sounding TT. The disadvantage, however, is that it undertranslates. For example, in the case of idioms and metaphors, any attempts at paraphrase will reduce the stylistic effects of the ST in the translation.

Modulation is a broad translation procedure that consists of 10 subcategories (see 6.1.4), the most prominent of which in the data are: abstract < > concrete, part < > whole, negation of the opposite, and active < > passive. The procedure has been used effectively to avoid an awkward translation by simply changing the perspective in the way a term or an utterance is expressed. In principle, modulation ought not to alter the meaning of the message being communicated, but, in real terms, a change in perspective (especially a change in transitivity) will have considerable implications for the way the message is perceived by the target audience – a phenomenon that can be seen as being ideologically relevant (see Example 6.10).

Generalization has been applied mandatorily to translate words and concepts that are not lexicalized in the TL. An interesting phenomenon regarding generalization is the use of certain Kurdish words as a cover term to translate a set of SL lexical items (see 6.1.10.1). Consequently, a variety of SL lexical items ended up being translated by a single TL cover term (e.g. *great, big, large, huge, colossal, sizeable, extraordinary, remarkable* and *significant* > گهوره ['great'/'big'/'large']). The disadvantage of employing generalization is that it will produce a TT that lacks specificity and conveys a more generic meaning.

Calque has been employed effectively both at the lexical and structural levels. The majority of the occurrences are lexical calques, which are commonly used in translating political terms, compound structures and idioms. The importance of calqued translation is that it demonstrates brevity in form and accuracy in meaning.

c) Lowest frequency: the six translation procedures of addition, reduction, implicitation, compensation, *équivalence* and particularization show the lowest frequency of occurrence, each constituting between 0.4% and 1.6% of the overall translation occurrences.

Addition is usually associated with translation gain, and can have a significant impact on the translation product. Journalism translation naturally involves additions when a text is edited or adapted for the TT audience. This can be justified particularly in two circumstances: firstly, when the addition is provided to fill in a gap in the knowledge of the target readers; secondly, when the addition is based on new information that has emerged after the ST was published, which is rather prevalent in news translation. In the data, however, the procedure has been also utilized as a means of intervention on the part of the translator (or editor) to impose his/her personal viewpoint or ideological stance. Additions of this nature are particularly common in translations carried out by the *Sbey* (see Examples 6.47 and 6.49).

Reduction is used when an SL structure can be expressed in the TL with greater economy. In the data, reduction has been used effectively to produce idiomaticity, to avoid awkwardness and to eliminate repetition. Yet, the procedure seems to have assumed a very limited usage - the data contains a higher number of structures naturally requiring an expansive translation rather than a reductive one.

Implication is one of the least frequently occurring translation procedures. Its low frequency further reinforces the conclusion that explicitation, as a translation universal, is a characteristic of current English-Kurdish translations of journalistic texts. The discrepancy between the frequencies of explicitation and implication may be explained by the fact that, while explicitation aims to make the TT more intelligible to the target readers, there is no apparent reason for translators to opt for implication.

Compensation is also characterized by a low frequency, a feature which further strengthens the conclusion that translations in the Kurdish media generate noteworthy translation loss. The more frequently compensation is implemented, the more occurrences of translation loss will be prevented. The insufficient use of compensation suggests that translators currently working in the Kurdish media may not have sufficient theoretical knowledge of the procedure, or may not understand its importance to successful translation.

Équivalence is among the least frequent translation procedures. This should come as no surprise given the fact that équivallence is typically used in the translation of certain standard expressions, such as proverbs, public notices and conversation clichés, none of which normally occur in journalistic texts.

Particularization is the least frequent of all translation procedures covered in the data. Together with the high frequency of generalization, this does not necessarily suggest that Kurdish is not a resourceful language: it is rather due to the fact that translators may simply find it easier, and potentially safer, to select a more general word than a more specific one.

2) What are the patterns of cultural translation procedures used in rendering cultural terms in the chosen journalistic texts?

To identify the patterns of cultural translation procedures employed in the data, the composite model of translation procedures was applied to the chosen journalistic texts. As a result, the patterns of 12 cultural translation procedures were identified (with reference to the percentage of each cultural translation procedure, see Figure 8.3 above), which can be broadly grouped into three patterns based on their frequencies, as follows:

a) Highest frequency: the cultural translation procedures that show the highest frequency of occurrence are: cultural borrowing (24.5%), cultural redomestication (22%), calque (17.7%) and recognized translation (12.4%).

Cultural borrowing is the most frequently-found cultural translation procedure in the data, constituting nearly a quarter of all the cultural translation occurrences. What is more, it is the most comprehensive translation procedure in terms of the categories of cultural terms rendered by means of cultural borrowing. The vast majority of the borrowings are English terms, but Arabic and Turkish borrowed terms are also commonly found in the data. Cultural borrowing from English into Kurdish normally involves a transliteration due to differences in alphabet between the two languages. Extraordinarily, though, the data also contains SL cultural terms, especially names of brands and companies, which are transferred into the TL verbatim. These cases represent Toury's adequate translation, which respects the SL linguistic and cultural norms at the expense of those of the TL. However, we have argued that the transference of these terms verbatim can be justified because they denote a single referent and also have legal validity.

Cultural redomestication is a significant contribution of this thesis to Translation Studies (see 7.3.11). The procedure deals with an aspect of culture in translation that has not been discussed before in this manner. We have introduced cultural redomestication as a translation procedure with the aim of describing the phenomenon of translating TL cultural terms found in the STs, in which the term is translated or transferred back into its corresponding form in the original language. Owing to the fact that the topics of the chosen texts predominantly focus on Kurdish socio-political issues, the data contains a large number of translation occurrences based on Kurdish cultural terms, such as *Peshmerga*, *Newroz*, *the KRG*, etc. In translation, these terms are translated back into Kurdish, i.e. they are culturally redomesticated. Given the large number of terms requiring cultural redomestication, the procedure displays the second highest frequency (22%) among the cultural translation procedures.

Calque shows the third highest frequency of occurrence, comprising approximately one-sixth of all cultural translation occurrences. Due to the political nature of the texts, the data contains a large number of institutional terms that are effectively rendered by calque. Whenever an institutional term contains a cultural word that is virtually untranslatable, the calqued translation also embodies cultural borrowing (e.g. *Nobel Peace Prize* > (خه‌لاتی نۆبێلی نأشتی).

Recognized translation is the fourth most frequent cultural translation procedure (12.4%). Recognized translation is implemented in the translation of cultural terms that have non-literal, established translation in the TL. In fact, there are only five cultural terms translated by recognized translation, but they reoccur with high frequency (see 7.3.4).

b) Middle frequency: the cultural translation procedures that clearly show middle frequency of occurrence are: cultural explicitation (7.1%), omission for cultural reasons (6.3%), cultural adaptation (4.3%) and translation label (2.7%).

Cultural explicitation is employed rather as a supplementary translation procedure to explicitate a cultural term that is already translated by a different translation procedure such as cultural borrowing or calque. In other words, all instances of cultural explicitation are examples of couplets, i.e. the implementation of two translation procedures in one translation unit. In principle, cultural explicitation ought to be applied to render SL cultural terms more intelligible or digestible to members of the TL community. The data, however, also contains examples of cultural explicitation implemented in TL cultural terms. Explicitation in such cases is most likely made for stylistic purposes.

Omission for cultural reasons is usually implemented as a problem avoidance procedure. The omission of some cultural terms, such as titles like *Mr*, *Mrs* and *Sir*, does not seem to have significant impact on the overall meaning of the texts. However, the omission of several contextually significant cultural terms, such as social organizations like *local authorities* and *community colleges*, can be the subject of criticism as this will undoubtedly reduce the overall meaning and cultural connotations of the ST.

Cultural adaptation is different from the rest of cultural translation procedures in that it involves a drastic change from SL cultural norms to TL cultural norms. In the collected data, the two prominent areas that are effectively translated by cultural adaptation are: (1) names of certain social organizations (see 7.3.7.1); and (2) forms of address, including titles of respect (see 7.3.7.2), which present a huge social gap between English and Kurdish societies.

Translation labels are exclusively made use of in rendering new institutional terms. The procedure has been implemented effectively in translating transparent new institutional

terms (7.3.5.1). However, in translating complex new institutional terms, especially those that do not have a standard variation even in the ST, the procedure does not seem to have been applied appropriately (see 7.3.5.1).

c) Lowest frequency: the least frequently occurring cultural translation procedures are functional equivalent (1.2%), descriptive equivalent (1%), exoticism (0.8%) and communicative translation (0%).

By their very nature, the journalistic texts chosen do not contain many cultural items that need to be translated by functional equivalent or descriptive equivalent. The infrequent use of exoticism, however, may be on account of the nature of journalism translation in which general understanding is more important than exoticism as a marker of cultural identity. The notion of cultural exoticism might be of more interest in other text types such as literary translation, in which cultural identity is of greater importance.

Finally, no instances of communicative translation have been recorded. In fact the data contains several cultural terms that could be rendered by communicative translation (see 7.3.6), but for some reason the translators chose to omit them. As far as the cultural aspects of translation are concerned, the omission of such terms can be deemed yet one more area of deficiency in current English-Kurdish translations of journalistic texts.

3) What are the overall translation strategies that can be construed as a result of the patterns of the general as well as cultural translation procedures?

With regard to the overall translation strategies, the conclusion reached was that the general translation orientation in the chosen journalistic texts is located on a continuum between semantic and communicative translation strategies (see Section 8.2). It was specifically concluded that the three procedures of literal translation, borrowing and calque all orientate strongly towards semantic translation, constituting approximately two-thirds of all the general translation occurrences. The rest of the general translation procedures (i.e. implicitation, near-synonymy, expansion, reduction, omission, addition, generalization, particularization, compensation, explicitation, paraphrase, transposition, modulation and *équivalence*), which altogether account for approximately one-third of the general translation occurrences, orientate rather towards communicative translation. However, translation is not a fixed phenomenon; that is to say, one cannot

easily refer to one part of a text as translated semantically and another part as communicatively achieved, but the two strategies are to some degree interwoven across each text. Even the procedures on the communicative side of the continuum do not demonstrate the same strength of tendency; while procedures such as *équivalence*, modulation, paraphrase, compensation and explicitation seem to be strongly orientated towards communicative translation, other procedures such as implicitation, near-synonymy, expansion and reduction seem to be less so, with the rest of the procedures lying somewhere between these two poles but within the same orientation.

As far as the cultural translation procedures are concerned, we concluded that the cultural orientation in the chosen journalistic texts lies on a continuum between foreignizing and domesticating translation strategies (see Section 8.4). On the foreignization side of the continuum are the cultural translation procedures of exoticism, cultural borrowing, calque, translation label, recognized translation and the vast majority of the occurrences of cultural explicitation. These cultural procedures orientate towards the SL culture and account for nearly two-thirds of the overall cultural translation occurrences. On the domestication side of the continuum lie the translation procedures of cultural redomestication, communicative translation, cultural adaptation and a few instances of cultural explicitation. Such procedures have a tendency to orientate towards the TL culture and constitute just over a quarter of the overall cultural translation occurrences. Between the two orientations of foreignizing and domesticating translation lies the third cultural orientation termed 'cultural neutralization', which is established by the cultural translation procedures of functional equivalent, descriptive equivalent and omission. These procedures, which make up 8.5% of the cultural translation occurrences, do not particularly lean towards either of the two strategies of foreignizing or domesticating translation.

4) What is the nature of translatorial practices and the institutional setting under which translations are carried out in the Kurdish media? And how do these affect the translation procedures?

To gain insights into various aspects of translation and translatorial practices in the Kurdish media, a research questionnaire was conducted in Chapter 9, which was responded to by 12 representative English-Kurdish translators from a wide range of Kurdish media institutions. As their educational backgrounds suggest, the translators do not have a combination of translation and journalism skills. What they have in

common is competency in the English language. This suggests that there is a need for a translation training course specifically aimed at journalist-translators.

Furthermore, the translators also demonstrate a significant diversity in their degree of experience and in the way they approach and practise translation as well as in the institutional setting under which they work. Likewise, they seem to have different perspectives as to what counts as appropriate translation in journalism. Most of their views revolve around traditional translation concepts such as accuracy, fluency, faithfulness and naturalness. To achieve what they perceive to be an appropriate translation, they mostly refer to conventional ideas of having an adequate knowledge of the SL and TL, of the cultural awareness of the two languages and of familiarity with journalistic writing styles in both the SL and the TL. This diversity in their understandings of what constitutes an appropriate translation and their views on how to achieve it may go some way to explaining why translations in the Kurdish media seem to have been produced via a translation process that lacks a consistent and systematic approach, as was hypothesized at the beginning of this study.

Translators working in the Kurdish media have a wide range of useful resources available to them. Some translators have access to consultations with translator colleagues and native English speakers who work at their media institutions, which is very important to create a cooperative and interactive translation setting. Translators also have access to different translation aids, such as online recourses and bilingual and monolingual dictionaries. Nevertheless, they lack access to compatible computer-assisted translation (CAT) and/or translation memory tools, which are not available for Kurdish translations to date. Such tools can be very useful to overcome some of the deficiencies identified in the data, especially to overcome omissions triggered by time constraints and to apply translation procedures more systematically.

As for the role of different agents taking part in the act of translation, in certain media institutions, translators play an essential role in the text selection process, such as those working with *Sbeiy* and *KNN*. In other cases, the media institution exercises the ultimate decision-making, as in *Awene* and the *Gulan Magazine*. In the case of *Rudaw*, *Xendan* and *Hawlati* both the translator and the media institution have a part to play. With regard to translation guidelines, different media outlets seem to have adopted quite dissimilar systems. The findings uncovered the fact that not all Kurdish media outlets have a set of defined instructions for translators. While media players such as *Rudaw*, *Hawlati* and the *Gulan Magazine* do have a set of guidelines, others like *Sbeiy*,

KNN and *Awene* do not have anything explicit. The lack of a set of prescriptive instructions in such media outlets may suggest that translators enjoy a degree of freedom. This, however, does not imply that translations at such institutions are carried out randomly or on an *ad hoc* basis. Translators may sometimes self-censor and compile their own set of guidelines, as indicated by a *Xendan* translator (see 9.3.2). However, we have also argued that the lack of such precepts in some Kurdish media may be the reason for inconsistencies in terminology and the translation procedures employed.

5) What guidelines can be offered for practising journalist-translators?

Based on the findings of the present study, especially on those deficiencies identified in the data, we shall offer a set of guidelines for future translations of English journalistic texts into Kurdish. Utilizing the most practical results of the study, the following guidelines can be offered in regard to journalist-translators:

- a) To produce a natural-sounding translation, translators should avoid inappropriate literal translations, especially when dealing with idioms and metaphors.
- b) For translation products to be comprehensible, translators should avoid borrowings that might well seem unintelligible to the target readers, especially if such borrowings have ready-made equivalents in the TL.
- c) In order to achieve a high level of accuracy, which is considered a prerequisite in all journalism translation, translators should avoid near-synonymy and generalization unless there is a reasonable motivation to do so, e.g. to overcome collocational constraints and lexical gaps.
- d) Translators should not make a shift from direct to reported speech in the process of translation, as this will affect the credibility and trustworthiness of the journalistic text.
- e) For journalism translation to remain impartial, translators are strongly encouraged not to impose their own ideological views onto their translation practices, especially at the textual micro-level, where ideologically motivated shifts are so subtle that they can easily be misleading.
- f) Translators ought not to omit words, terms and pieces of information that are both significant and relevant to the overall meaning or evaluative values of the text.

10.1.2 Implications of the findings

It is hoped that this study will offer useful insights for translation practitioners and trainee translators on how to effectively employ a wide range of translation procedures to overcome translation difficulties that may arise at the linguistic and cultural levels. Moreover, through our composite model of translation procedures, coupled with the wealth of examples analysed, we feel confident that this thesis will function as a theoretical and practical foundation in its attempt to help systematize translation practices in the Kurdish media.

The study is also intended to help raise awareness among Kurdish readers that the current translation products that they read in the Kurdish media, especially those translated from English, are not necessarily a 'true' version of the STs. Although the translations have generally succeeded in conveying the foreign authors' opinions and attitudes to Kurdish readers, they may be viewed as approximate translations. The most critical concern is that the translations contain areas where the message is distorted by additions that do not exist in the STs, by omitting significant information that exists in the STs or, occasionally, by making ideologically-motivated shifts.

10.1.3 Aspects of originality and the thesis' contribution to knowledge

One of the most crucial aspects of this thesis is our intention to represent a breakthrough in English-Kurdish studies from a Translation Studies perspective; previously, to our knowledge there is no academic research (books or journal articles) available dealing with translation between English and Kurdish, except the researcher's own paper, 'The Role of Ideology in Translation: A Study of The Kurdish Media' (2015), which, again, developed as part of the present study.

Likewise, this investigation is purposefully intended as the first serious study of Kurdish media discourse from a Translation Studies perspective. The implications of the findings are also meant to be relevant to Kurdish journalism since the identification of various shortcomings in the current translation practices could well be a basis for reform in an important aspect of the Kurdish media – translation.

Given the fact that explicitation occurrences are over four times more frequent than implicitation occurrences, this empirical study reaffirms the general hypothesis that explicitation is a universal of translation. This hypothesis has been attested in

translations between English and several European languages (cf. Mauranen and Kujamäki 2004). The originality of this study is then reflected in extending the study of translation explicitation and attesting the hypothesis in translations carried out between English and Kurdish. The result of which, interestingly, confirms findings from previous studies that explicitation can be conceived as a universal of translation, i.e. explicitation is a characteristic of all translations regardless of the language pairs concerned.

Another important aspect of originality is the introduction of the notion of cultural redomestication into Translation Studies to deal with the translation of TL cultural terms found in STs. This phenomenon was traditionally seen as a cultural borrowing or calque. The importance of the cultural redomestication procedure is that it provides a new perspective to interpret such a phenomenon, and it can be effectively applied to any language pairs. For example, translating Arabic cultural terms found in the Western media (such as *Tahrir Square*, *fatwa*, *jihadi*, etc.) back into Arabic is considered a borrowing or transference, but the phenomenon can be more accurately explained in terms of cultural redomestication.

Yet the most significant aspect of originality in this study is the formulation of a composite model of translation procedures that covers both linguistic and cultural aspects inherent in translation. The model is based on an integration of three classic taxonomies of translation procedures, viz: Vinay and Darbelnet's (1995) translation procedures (originally applied to English and French), Newmark's (1988) translation procedures (originally applied to English and French as well as English and German) and Dickins, Hervey and Higgins's (2002) strategic decisions (originally applied to English-French by Hervey and Higgins, and extended by Dickins to English and Arabic). The present study then goes on to claim novelty in combining these three taxonomies into an integrated model and extending it, effectively, to Kurdish translations of English journalistic texts. With the clear definition and exemplification of each translation procedure, the importance of the present composite model is that it is replicable for future descriptive translation studies and can be carried out in other language pairs and on other genres. Moreover, the model is comprehensive in nature that covers almost all translational changes and shifts that may occur in translation. Thus, this current model of translation procedures transcends the previous models (which are generally limited in their scope) in a way that prospective translation researchers will not need to go back to the older models of translation procedures.

10.2 Limitations of the study and recommendations

This study has particularly investigated English-Kurdish translation of written media discourse, specifically focusing on translation procedures and overall strategies. The textual material adopted has been limited to 45 English journalistic texts along with their Kurdish translations (albeit a corpus of 75,000 words), collected from a wide range of media outlets. The investigation is thus also limited to one direction of translation (English > Kurdish). The findings throughout the research have inspired us to recommend further relevant research to overcome the deficiencies identified in the translation and answer further questions raised in the course of the research study. The most significant recommendations concern:

- a) A need to investigate patterns of translation difficulties that entailed the use of the procedures identified in the chosen journalistic texts. Over the bulk of this study, we referred to various translation difficulties at the linguistic level (which covers lexical, semantic and syntactic areas) as well as cultural level (in which cultural lacunae, some proper names, forms of address and popular culture are found particularly problematic). Further investigation will enable the thorough categorization of translation difficulties in English-Kurdish translations of media discourse.
- b) A compelling provision of a training course specifically intended for journalist-translators. Despite the areas of successful translation, the data also contains a significant number of deficiencies, such as translation loss/gain, ideological manipulations and inconsistencies in the use of translation procedures, which can be ascribed to a lack of apposite training in journalism translation. Although the present study has painstakingly devised a practical composite model of translation procedures as a putative theoretical and practical foundation for journalism translation, further research will clearly be needed to expertly design a cogent training course for journalist-translators working between English and Kurdish.
- c) A need to develop and introduce computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools and/or translation memory tools into a putative translation career in the Kurdish media. The importance of this is twofold: first, the potential impact of these tools will be immense as translation loss at various textual levels can be greatly reduced; secondly, this will help systematize translation practices by overcoming inconsistencies in the use of terminology and the employment of translation procedures.

- d) An insightful inquiry to look more closely at English and Arabic borrowings from a sociolinguistic perspective. The tendency towards a change from Arabic to English borrowings, as observed in the data, could certainly be an interesting area for further research from a sociolinguistic viewpoint. The research might be carried out not only on translated discourse but also on authentic Kurdish writings.
- e) A need for a comparable corpus analysis study. One of the major findings of this study is that the TTs demonstrate a higher degree of explicitation at the grammatical, semantic and discursal levels than the STs. With regard to the discourse level, it is not clear whether cohesive explicitation is due, at least partly, to differing styles in journalistic writings between English and Kurdish. Likewise, the omission of a large number of value-laden words in the data raises the question as to whether it is the nature of Kurdish to be naturally less evaluative than English, or if it has to do with the nature of the translations carried out between the two languages. Both issues necessitate the use of a comparable corpus analysis to identify the degree of explicitness and evaluativeness in non-translated English and Kurdish journalistic writings.

It would be difficult to challenge the opinion that the study has succeeded in unearthing a number of interesting phenomena in current Kurdish translations of English journalistic texts and has generated new insights to further extend the investigation of media discourse from a Translation Studies point of view. The most crucial point to reiterate is that current English-Kurdish translations of written media discourse have areas of strength as well as areas of deficiency. Thanks to the effective use of a range of translation procedures, the translations can be said to have sufficient strengths to play a significant role as a gap-bridging activity between the English-speaking world and Kurdish society, specifically to pass on ideas, opinions and attitudes of English journalists and authors to the Kurdish readership. Nevertheless, the deficiencies identified in the study (such as the sometimes inappropriate and inconsistent use of certain translation procedures, the loss of meaning and instances of ideological manipulation) are keenly in need of reform.

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