Natural Translators and Trainee Translators in the Context of Societal Bilingualism

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Abstract

This doctoral thesis is an investigation into the process of translation performed by "natural" translators in comparison to MA Translation Studies students, hereon after will be termed trainee translators. "natural" translators were defined following Harris and Sherwood understanding of "natural" translation as: "the translation done in everyday circumstances by people who have had no special training for it" (1978: 155). The research examines bilinguality and diglossia in the context of Kuwait and how these two factors influence the translation process. The research examines the participants' working units as well as the most commonly used strategies in the translation of culture-specific items and in the translation of English passive voice into Arabic. The study also explores the cohorts' perceptions of translation and of the role of the translator drawing from Tymoczko's call to look beyond Western conceptualisations of translation. The study uses think-aloud protocols (TAPs) to monitor and understand the process of translation. Different levels of working translation units were identified among the cohorts which further highlights the importance of translator training. Trainee translators worked on larger segments, mixing different levels of translation units. On the other hand, natural translators worked primarily on smaller units, although some worked on larger units. In terms of strategies, the research explores how time restrictions and the observational method might influence the strategies applied in a translation task. In terms of strategies there were general similarities in the types used, trainee participants and "natural" participants used global and local strategies to complete the task within the time frame. The participants were observed to advocate for an active role of the translator in some instances, however, the authority of the text was also an important aspect that was taken into consideration during the task. This project aims to contribute to existing literature in process-oriented research by comparing the process of translation with that of "natural" translators to academically instructed translators. This research also sets out to make an empirical contribution to the research in translation from English to Arabic.

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1 Introduction

1.1 General Outline

The present thesis is an investigation into the translation process from English to Arabic by bilingual "natural" translators, i.e. untrained bilinguals, and MA Translation Studies students. This research addresses the translation process by adopting tools from the discipline of Translation Studies, but it also draws from Bilingualism Studies in understanding the complexity of the state of bilingualism and its manifestation. The study relies on empirical research involving participants from two cohorts, i.e. bilingual translators, referred to as "natural" translators and MA Translation studies students, who will be termed trainee translators in this research, the participants were recruited in Kuwait. It was observed during my work years in Kuwait that obtaining a degree in a foreign language, or being bilingual was immediately associated with the ability to translate. In fact, many bilinguals and graduates from language schools were employed as translators, myself included. This wide perception that bilinguality equates the ability to translate was one of the reasons behind this research: I wanted to investigate what the differences and similarities between the trained or trainee translator and the "natural" translator are. To observe and compare the process of translation the research employs two main research tools, think-aloud protocols and retrospective interviews. The main aims of the research are to examine the translation process and to understand better participants' perceptions of translation. The secondary set of aims includes examining how bilingualism and biculturalism influence the role of translator, and inform the strategies used in the translation task. The following, more specific questions will also be asked in the course of the research:

- What strategies do "natural" translators apply, particularly for translation of culture specific items, and how do they compare to those applied by trainee translators?
- What unit of translation does the "natural" translator prefer to work with, in comparison to MA Translation Studies students?
- How do "natural" translators perceive translation and the role of the translator in comparison to MA Translation Studies students?

- Considering their bilinguality and biculturalism, do "natural" translator perceive themselves as translators? How do they view translation and translators? How do their perceptions and self-perceptions compare to those of trainee translators?

This research employs two key terms; the first of them is "natural" translation/translator. The concept of "natural" translation is borrowed from Harris and Sherwood (1978), who use the term to mean translation performed by a child or an adult who has had no formal training in translation. This concept will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two. The chapter will also discuss the different views on defining translation, in order to establish broadly how the term is used and then, more specifically, to outline what exactly is meant by "translation" within the scope of my research. The chapter also discusses other concepts, such as translation unit, problem and strategy. Finally, the chapter will discuss what is meant by perceptions of translation and the metaphors of translation and the role of the translator.

The second key term in this research is bilingualism. A key criterion in identifying "natural" translators is the co-presence of bilingualism. As a result, a better understanding of the term was important for this research, particularly in order to be able to specify which of the various forms of bilingualism most closely corresponded to those exhibited by the participants, as well as to understand better the bilingual context in Kuwait. Hamers and Blanc (1989) explained bilingualism as the condition in which one linguistic community has two languages constantly in contact resulting in a situation where these two languages are used in the same interaction and where many individuals of this community are bilinguals. Generally speaking, there are two types of bilingualism, coordinate and compound. The key difference between them lies in how the linguistic codes are organised by the speaker and the manner in which the languages were acquired, i.e. in separate settings or in the same setting. A coordinate bilingual acquires the languages in two different settings, usually at home and in school. On the other hand, a compound bilingual acquires both languages in one setting e.g.: a child with parents who speak two languages would develop both languages simultaneously. Therefore, the words and phrases in a coordinate bilingual's mind are related to their unique concepts. On the other hand, a compound bilingual, who has learned both languages simultaneously and most likely in the same setting, would have the same semantic associations attached to the

same word or phrase in two different languages The participants in this research will be coordinate bilinguals. The participants learnt *ammiyya* Arabic at home, while fusha Arabic and English were learnt at school. A discussion and a typology of "bilingualism" will be provided in Chapter Three, which will also attempt to distinguish between "bilingualism" and "diglossia". This is important because, in the context of Kuwait, and in the Arab world in general, diglossia is a prominent feature of the linguistic landscape. Moreover, in the course of my research it became clear that it would be important for the thesis to observe if the presence of diglossia affects the "natural" translation process.

Chapter Four suggests that to study the process of translation and to be able to compare this process in two cohorts, the use of Think Aloud Protocols (TAPs) is the most appropriate. The chapter explores the achievements and limitations of the use of this methodology tool. Furthermore, the chapter surveys some of the previous TAP studies, particularly the work that has been done to understand the process of translation performed by "natural" participants in comparison to professional translators. The chapter also indicates, through this survey of existing studies, that more work could be done understanding the process of translation from English to Arabic. Moreover, the chapter discusses how these previous TAP studies informed the research design and helped shape the research questions. This research conducted three pilot studies and the experience, together with a review of the methodology employed in past studies, informed the design of the full study. Further details on the methodology are presented in section (1.2.)

The findings pertaining to the two overarching research questions – "How do natural translators translate in comparison to trainee translators?", and "How do they perceive translation in comparison to trainees?" – will be presented in two core chapters. Chapter Five will focus on the process of translation, determining the working translation unit of both cohorts. It will also analyse the main translation strategies used by the members of each cohort, when approaching culturally specific lexis and references. To study strategies for rendering cultural-specific content, the research will employ primarily Baker's (2011) taxonomy of strategies. Another problem that will be analysed with regard to the preferred strategies is the translation of English passive voice forms into Arabic: this is because this grammatical problem emerged as an important feature of a text that was translated by many

participants. In this area the research will draw on the work of Farghal and Al-Shorafat (1996), who argue that, contrary to a widespread belief, passive constructions are commonly used in Arabic; the authors also outline relevant strategies for translating English passives into Arabic. The data for the analysis in this chapter will be drawn from the think-aloud exercise and from comparing the translations products with the source texts.

In Chapter Six the research will explore how the "natural" participants perceive translation and the role of the translator from their experience as "natural" translators. The chapter will analyse participants' perceptions of translation and the role of the translator, including their reasons for choosing a particular text to translate as part of this research (as will be explained below, participants chose one text out of five). The data for the analysis will be drawn from the think-aloud exercise as well as the retrospective interviews. Furthermore, the analysis will link the findings from this research to the popular and scholarly perceptions and metaphors of translations outlined in Chapter Two. During the interview, the participants will be asked to answer a series of questions, such as: "What do you think "translation" is?" and "Based on your experiences, do you see yourself as a translator?" These questions are designed to understand how/if the participants consider their bilingualism and biculturalism as grounds for acting as a translator. The answers to these questions will be compared to the answers offered by MA participants.

1.2   Key Scholarship and Resources

The research draws on a variety of sources as its theoretical and methodological inspirations. It may therefore be beneficial at this stage to summarise some essential points about the scholars and resources that the thesis is particularly indebted to (some of them were mentioned in the chapter synopsis earlier but may nevertheless be repeated here). As stated previously, the present research will attempt to investigate an aspect of the translation process that has been identified as requiring more research. Therefore, the research will draw on several authors to compile the necessary literature and theoretical framework for each of the topics it deals with. As mentioned above, the "natural" translation theory is based on Harris and Sherwood's (1978) definition. For understanding bilingualism, *The Bilingualism Reader* (Wei 2000) is one of the main sources, particularly for distinguishing types and typologies of bilingualism for purposes of this research. Furthermore, translation strategies is

a key concept in the current thesis; while many theorists discussed strategies, this thesis will focus on the widely used classification by Baker (2011). The research will focus in particular on translation strategies used to translate culturally-specific items using Baker's taxonomy for translation strategies on word level.

In terms of the methods used, the existing body of literature that is concerned with TAPs is vast. However, the present research is particularly indebted to the work of Jääskeläinen. This is mainly because other theorists have focused on examining certain translation aspects using think-aloud protocols, for example Krings (1986), Lorscher (1991), Jakobsen (2003) and in the particular case of English/Arabic Translation Saad (2010) and Al-Smael (2000). Jääskeläinen's approach to think-aloud protocols was hypothesis forming. The research takes into consideration Jääskeläinen's recommendations for a successful application of think-aloud protocols, and slightly modifies it to fit the cultural context in Kuwait. Finally, in terms of perceptions of translation and the role of the translator the research will use in particular the work of Tymoczko and Chesterman. Chesterman (1997) described the perceptions and metaphors from a Western point of view, while Tymoczko (2010) argued for the need to move beyond Western perceptions. Taking into consideration that the participants in this research are in a way belonging both to a Western (Anglophone) and a non-Western (Arabic) culture, it is expected that the concepts and perceptions of translations and the role of the translator might be also influenced by the participants' biculturalism.

1.3   Methodology

The research that forms the core of my thesis is empirical and process-oriented. The method of data collection that the thesis applies are, as mentioned previously, think-aloud protocols (TAPs) and retrospective interviews. As noted earlier, the main study was set up involving twenty respondents and all of the participants are coordinate bilinguals. However, the first group is composed of coordinate bilinguals who did not study language nor translation at a University level, while the second group is composed of coordinate bilinguals who all studied translation and/or language and linguistics at University level, and are MA Translation Studies students. The respondents were be asked to choose one text from five texts and to translate it from English to Arabic while thinking out loud. This exercise was followed by a retrospective interview, where the respondents were asked questions about

the translation choices and about their experiences as translators. Finally, the interview explored how the participants perceive translations and the role of the translator.

1.4   Analysis of Data and Discussion

The data in this research will be analysed quantitatively and qualitatively. The qualitative data analysis will examine the transcripts obtained from the TAPs, the translation products and the interview content in order to extract general trends and present representative examples as well as, where relevant, counterexamples. Back translations and other glosses for Arabic examples will be provided by the researcher. They have also been checked for accuracy by an academic consultant, who is a native Arabic speaker. As signalled earlier, the analysis will first focus on identifying translation units and locating the translation strategies used in the translation of cultural-specific items and the translation of English passives into Arabic (Chapter Five). A quantitative analysis is also performed to establish how prominent some phenomena are, e.g. the frequency of use of each strategy, and to compare them across the two cohorts. The final chapter will discuss the perceptions of translation and the role of translator by analysis of the TAP and interview data and, where relevant, comparing the data to the actual practice as observed in the exercise and the translation product. This chapter will also focus on a qualitative analysis, with some attempts to gauge the frequency of certain responses across the cohorts.

It is believed that the work will offer a valid contribution to the discipline of translation studies. Harris (1977,1980) and Harris and Sherwood (1978) argued that in order to understand better what translation theory brings to the "natural" translation process, empirical study of translation should begin with the study of "natural" translation because "natural" translators are relying primarily on linguistic skills. Therefore, translation is a skill that developed from a natural base, as opposed to learning a second language for example. Bilinguals experience translation in daily activities. As such, the comparative exploration of the "natural" process should yield valuable data for the empirical study of translation in general. Additionally, the research may add usefully to the literature as this pertains to data for translation pedagogy. The current research, as will be detailed in the next chapters, explored and compared the translation strategies used by the cohorts to solve culture-specific problems. The research also underscored the importance of understanding how natural

translators perceive translation and the role of the translator. Ultimately, the research showed how these perceptions influence the role of the translator.

This research proposes to study and compare the translation process of "natural" translators and MA Translation Studies students. As mentioned earlier, it is rather a common belief, which I have observed particularly during my work years as a translator in Kuwait that bilingualism and knowledge of languages were grounds for expecting that the speaker is a translator. Therefore, as an English and Arabic bilingual and a graduate with a BA in Spanish, I was expected to be able to translate an array of texts. The challenges that I have encountered to function as a translator have encouraged me to pursue Postgraduate Studies in Translation. The translation choices that I had to make during these working years resulted in a growing curiosity to understand the difference between practising translation without theoretical knowledge and with the benefit of training and knowledge in Translation theory. This research aims to shed light on these key differences, the translation choices and the process of translation, especially when translating from English into Arabic.

2 An Overview of Selected Terms in Translation

This chapter is focused on providing some background information and a literature review on the key terms related to translation as used in this research. The chapter will begin with a discussion of the term translation, then will proceed to discuss concepts such as translation competence and training. The chapter will then introduce a discussion of non-professional translation. Finally the chapter will discuss key terms used in this research, such as units, strategies and perceptions and how these are linked to the present thesis.

In *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* J. C. Catford defined translation, from a strictly linguistic point of view, as *"*the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language*"* (1965: 20). Catford's definition corresponds to Jakobson's *interlingual translation*. In his 1959 essay "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation", Jakobson systematised translation as falling into three types of activity: intralingual translation, which can be seen as rephrasing what is being said within the same language, interlingual translation, which corresponds to Catford's definition of translation, namely, the substitution of verbal signs by other verbal signs in a different language, and, finally, intersemiotic translation, which is the interpretation of verbal signs by non- verbal sign systems, and essentially refers to the change of medium used to reproduce the words. These broad definitions and classifications of translation activity preceded many more recent attempts to define translation for the purpose of translation study and training. That terminological diversity is acknowledged for example in Shuttleworth and Cowie's entry for "translation" in *Dictionary of Translation Studies*. In the previously mentioned dictionary translation is explained as, *"*Translation [is] an incredibly broad notion which can be understood in many different ways*"* (1997: 181). Munday (2008: 5) also argues that the term translation can refer to different meanings such as the general subject field, the product, i.e. "the reified output of translation activity", or to the process itself: "the act of producing a translation" (2008: 5). The process of translation, according to Munday, involves "the translator changing an original written text (the source text), in the original verbal language (the source language) into a written text (the target text) in a different verbal language (the target language)" (2008: 7).

As has been often acknowledged in Translation Studies that this replacement of textual material from one language by textual material in another is not as simple as it sounds. Many factors come into play while forming decisions about what is the optimum choice in this process of substituting words and longer strings of language. Hatim and Munday, for example, talk about "the ambit of translation" (2004: 6), which comprises three stages, the first stage is the process of transferring a source language text to a target language text performed by a translator or a group of translators in a certain socio-cultural context. The second is the target text which resulted from the previous process and has a function in the socio-cultural context of the target language. The third and final part for Hatim and Munday are the linguistic, cultural, ideological, visual and cognitive phenomena that are an integral part of the first and second aspects.

Today's wealth of approaches to translation emerged from the development of translation theory as an academic subject. The term Translation Theory itself is often associated with Holmes. According to Holmes the objective of translation theory is to develop inclusive theories to accommodate the many existing elements in translation, in order to predict and explain all phenomena related to translation and translating (1988: 72). Different theorists working within this broadly defined field adopted different sets of rules and perspectives. The act of translation ceased to be regarded as a static activity, or simply as transfer of textual material from source to target, and is now seen as an active process. In the transfer of textual material from language A to language B, many factors are to be considered. For example, in the 1960s Nida underscored the importance of the role of the audience in a translation thus making the eventual readers of the translated text one of the main factors of the activity. In the 1970s Toury and Even-Zohar developed the study of translated texts as artefacts of the target culture. According to Toury, "These are on occasion facts of a special status, sometimes even constituting identifiable (sub) systems of their own, but of the target culture in any event" (1995: 29). Furthermore, Toury put forward a working hypothesis of what is translation. According to Toury a translation is what is regarded as a translation and identifies three postulates: source text postulate, which states that for a translation to exist, there must be another text in another culture and language from which the translation derived. The second is the transfer postulate: it rests on an assumption that the process entailed a transfer of certain features from the source text to the target text. The third is the

relationship postulate, which is based on the assumption that if a text is a translation, it also implies that there are relationships that tie it to the original. Toury and other like-minded theorists have also moved the focus of Translation Theory from the prescriptive to the descriptive by their rejection of value-laden statements. In his *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* Toury asserts that being a translator is not simply a reproduction of texts, and that translation activity itself has a cultural significance (1995: 53). The descriptive approach is also associated with the notion of translation norms. The primary argument is that if the translation process is seen as a decision making process that translators make, then these decisions are not random. Therefore, translators make their translation choices with goals in mind, in a certain social context defining what good translation is like and under certain level of pressure. These factors and choices determine the result of the process and the final text shape. This understanding is significant for this research, because the participants' understanding of translation and the role of the translator would determine the strategies used and the translation product.

Another important development was by scholars who were dubbed "functionalists". Notably, a German theorist, Hans J Vermeer, in the 1980s emphasised the role of the "skopos" (purpose) of the translation, and its function in a given translation task, stressing the importance of context and of cultural awareness, as well as the target audience and the commissioner of the translation, in the production of effective translation.

In the 1990s Bassnett and Lefevere advocated the study of a translated text *in situ* in its cultural environment. Their examination of translation reaches beyond language; the focal point is the interaction between translation and culture as well as the manner in which culture constrains the translation and "the larger issues of context, history and convention" (1990: 11). This change from viewing the translation as text in general to the conceptualisation of translation as embedded in its cultural and political context is what came to be termed "the cultural turn" by Mary Snell-Hornby (1990).[1] Translation was regarded as more than a transfer from one language to another. According to Bassnett "it is now rightly seen as a process of

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[1] *Translation, History and Culture* (1990) edited by Bassnett and Lefevere is a collection of essays seminal to the 'cultural turn' in Translation Studies, which includes important works and signals the beginning of an era in the discipline. It features such themes as feminist writing in translation, power practices in and on the publishing industry that seek specific ideologies, also translation and colonisation, and translation as rewriting, etc.

negotiation between texts and between cultures, a process during which all kinds of transactions take place mediated by the figure of the translator" (2002: 6). This modern view required a redefinition of central concepts in Translation Studies, such as equivalence and faithfulness. Translation is seen as a creative rewriting; the target text is no longer subordinate to the original. Venuti further stressed this concept of creativity. He argues that translation "is a reminder that no act of interpretation can be definitive" (1998: 46).

This very short overview of some key literature emphasised the fact that there is no easy way to define the term "translation", and neither does there exist a stable definition of the term unmodulated by chronological or situational context. Many factors are to be taken into consideration when studying and analysing a translated text and the processes by which it comes into being. It is this complexity and the variety of considerations which need to be taken into account when examining the term "translation" that further complicate the answer to the question "Are all bilinguals translators?". It is however, and in light of the previous overview of the advances in the theories of translation, possible to assert that knowledge of languages is not enough to translate. In other words, bilingualism alone does not correspond with the ability to produce a good translation. Furthermore, the previous set of mentioned approaches attest to the fact that knowledge of source and target cultures, as well as an understanding of the purpose of the translation are highly important in a successful translation activity.

2.1   Translation Competence

In light of the previous section, it was established that "bilingualism" does not necessarily equate with the ability to produce a good translation. In order to understand better how competence affects the process of translation within the cohorts in the present research, it is prudent to understand better translational competence, as well as the complexity of it. This section will survey some of the existing theories and explanations on translational competence and show how they pertain to reflection on natural translation.

According to Pym, the notion of "translation competence" has been viewed since the 1970s as: 1) a mode of bilingualism, open to linguistic analysis, 2) a question of market demands, given to extreme historical and social change, 3) a multicomponent competence

involving a set of skills that are linguistic, cultural, technological and professional, and 4) a "super competence" that would somehow stand above the rest (2003: 481). In early studies, translation competence has been regarded as what the translator can express in two languages in terms of abilities, skills and attitudes required to perform an activity. Thus, it has an effect on the various aspects of translator training and consequently the translator's work. This is a view that has been adopted by different authors. For example, Kiraly states that the need to possess specialised as well as cultural knowledge is shared with other professions. However, there are certain aspects that unique to the definition of translation competence such as knowledge how to translate. The innate predisposition to translation, as argued by Harris and Sherwood (1978), is not very much disputed; however, the question of how this competence develops is under debate.

In his influential linguistic theory, Chomsky distinguishes between "performance" which he defined as "the actual use of language in concrete situations" (1965: 4) and "competence", defined as "the speaker's/hearer's knowledge of his language" (1965: 4). In line with this interpretation, according to Pym, the term translation competence could be interpreted as a kind of systemic knowledge corresponding with competence that underlies the performance of translators, "just as grammar underlies the use of speech" (2003: 484). In an effort to separate Translation Studies from Contrastive Linguistics, Koller (1979 in Pym 2003) argues that translation competence differs qualitatively from linguistic competence, in the sense that the translation competence is related to the use of the language, which places "competence" under "performance" in Chomsky's distinction.

From the point of view of Harris (1977) and Harris and Sherwood (1978) translation competence is something that increases as bilingual children grow up and perform natural translations. There are other theorists who agree with this contention of Harris. For example, Ballard argues that in teaching translation the "use of two languages at the same time" is the heart of the practice. Ballard (1984: 17 in Pym 2003) and Koller (1979) defined translation competence as "the ability to put together [...] the linguistic competencies gained in two languages" (1979: 40 in Pym 2003). In the context of natural translation, translation competence could be regarded as part of bilingual competence, yet it must not be confused with the translation competence that professional translators possess. The assumption that

translation competence is part of the bilingual competence is nonetheless almost idealistic, as it disregards that while bilinguals are competent in two languages, the level of competency may vary from one language to the other. Research conducted by Valdes (2003) suggests that even equally strong bilinguals do not interpret, in the sense of translating orally, equally well. The findings in Valdes, although relevant to the broader questions of bilingualism and moving between the two languages, will not be analysed in detailed here, primarily because her work was focused on interpreting, while the present research is interested in translation in its written form.

Malmkjaer (2009), in yet another attempt to explain translation competence, affirms that there seems to be an assumption that speaking fluently can relate to writing as well, in the same way that speaking well relates to interpreting. This is a wide spread assumption, and as explained in the introduction, it is one of the reasons why this research is comparing the process of translation between untrained bilinguals as natural translators and trainee translators, i.e. MA Translation Studies students. Furthermore, Toury (1995) argues that dual language competencies do not produce translation competence, and that translation competence is an additional competence that he terms "transfer competence" or the ability to transfer texts. For this specific ability of text transfer, Toury argues, knowledge of linguistic structures is a must, and such knowledge is not part of bilingual competence. Earlier, Toury (1984 in Toury 1995) also suggested that producing an acceptable translation is a learnt skill (1984:89 in Toury 1995) and that the process of written translation is more complex than oral translation. In addition to language knowledge and cultural knowledge, a written translation task requires text type knowledge, contrastive knowledge, real world knowledge, and the ability to write well in the target language. At this point of the discussion, it is noteworthy that the parameters to measure translation quality is something that changes over time, as well as the parameters determining what constitutes a good translation. There have been different notions and norms of what constitutes a good translation over time, e.g. fluency, readability, accuracy, relevance to the audience and client (according to some functionalists), appropriate representation of the source culture (e.g. in postcolonial approaches), stylistic indication of the foreign origin of the text (Venuti: 1995) etc. These considerations on the quality of translation might limit to a certain extent the statement made by Harris that "all bilinguals can translate". Alternatively, it could be asked whether the statement should be narrowed down

to "all bilinguals can interpret" because as seen from the discussion above, translation is more than just an act of substituting lexical material from one language to another. There are additional factors in any translation task.

Another comprehensive account can be found in the work of PACTE (2000). They speak of six subcomponents of translation competence. These are: communicative competence in two languages, which includes linguistic, sociolinguistic and discourse competence, general world knowledge as well as specialist knowledge. Knowledge and skills in relation to the tools used in translation as a profession, such as software knowledge and data base knowledge. Strategic competence that includes "all the individual procedures conscious and unconscious, verbal and non-verbal, used to solve the problems found during the translation process". Transfer knowledge, that is, the ability to transfer the information from the source language text to the target language text while taking into consideration the function of the translation and the receptor's characteristics. Finally, there is also the psycho-physiological competence which was defined as "the ability to use all kinds of psychomotor, cognitive and attitudinal resources" that includes "psychomotor skills for reading and writing, cognitive skills, and psychological attitudes" PACTE (2000: 101-102). This list of requirements clearly includes many features. This study will focus on the strategies used during the translation process in the translation of culture-specific items.

Another approach to understand translation competence can be found in Shreve. Shreve explains that "the term translation competence has come to represent a motley set of academic understandings about what one has to know (and by implication what one has to learn or be taught) to become a translator" (2002: 154). Pym (2003) explains the variety of features in the definition of translation competence as a result of the need to establish the discipline of translation and thus separate it from linguistics and language learning. A definition of translation competence for purposes of this research is a compilation of previous definitions. Therefore, translation competence is used in the thesis to refer to the linguistic competence, as well as the strategic competence, namely, the ability to solve translation problems. However, the research will exclude specialist knowledge of translation because the present research parts from the hypothesis that "all bilinguals can translate". The condition of "naturalness" in natural translators comes directly from the lack of knowledge of translation

industry and theory. Moreover, the second group of respondents will be composed of MA Translation Studies students: these respondents are also coordinate bilinguals but they do possess theoretical translation knowledge in addition to a limited experience in translation and ultimately limited professional knowledge.

Empirical studies, using different methods, such as TAPs, diaries etc., have been conducted since the 1980s attempting to analyse written translations; yet, as observed by Orozco and Albir (2002) the results of these studies could not be generalised. To tackle the process of translation as a whole would be a vast undertaking for any research. Therefore, the present research will attempt to examine the translation process starting from the text choice, followed by the translation unit and finally the problem solving strategies. The focus will be primarily on the strategies that natural translators use to translate culture specific items in comparison to the strategies used by trainee translators. Furthermore, this research suggests that understanding how the participants perceive the role of the translator as well as understanding their perception of translation would be shed light on the natural process of translation. The previous studies have focused on different aspects and different cohorts. Below are some examples of some of these studies. However, Chapter Four will only discuss in more detail selected studies that helped shape this particular thesis. The studies that were chosen for further analysis were those that used similar language pairs and similar categories of participants.[2]

1. Relevance of certain elements during translation process: Dancette and Menard 1996 (comprehension process); Lorenzo 1999a (comprehension process); Königs and Kauffmann 1996; Halskov 1998,1999 (comprehension process); Jensen 1999 (time limit).

2. Translation problems and strategies Kussmaul: 1997, (creativity problems); Kussmaul 1995 (creativity) Gonzalez, Rodriguez and Scott-Tennent 2000; Hansen 1999.

3. Translation competence elements: Tirkkonen-Condit and Laukkanen 1996 (affectivity) Alves 1996 (linguistic and cultural competence)

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[2] The list of studies was adapted from Orozco (2000).

4. Translation competence of the professional translator: Jääskeläinen 1987, 1989; Tirkkonen-Condit 1990; Jääskeläinen and Tirkkonen-Condit 1991; Fraser 1994; Lorenzo 1998, 1999b

5. Translation training: Kiraly 1997 (assessment); Roise 1998; Fox 2000 (Translation diaries)

6. TAPs as measuring tools: Gerloff 1987; Jääskeläinen 1993.[3]

7. Knowledge about Translation, Efficacy of the Process, Decision making and Acceptability: PACTE: (2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2009)

8. Process research in the development of translation competence: Göpferich and Jääskeläinen (2009)

9. Uncertainty, uncertainty managment and metacognitive problema solving in the translation task: Angelone (2010)

Following the steps of prior studies that are concerned with the process of translation, the current research aims to study further the process of translation performed by the natural translator. A number of elements will be taken into consideration, such as the translation strategies applied by the natural translator as opposed to the MA Translation Studies translator, the translation unit both groups work with, time constraints in the translation process and how it may affect the process of translation, and finally how questions such as identity, culture and gender factor in the translation and perhaps inform the decision making process.

In conclusion, and in light of what has been mentioned above, the following observations have been made: bilinguals can translate, studies constituted by Harris (1977), Harris and Sherwood (1978), Malakoff and Hakuta (1991), Gerloff (1988), Jääskeläinen (1993) attest to this ability. Translation studies preoccupied with natural translation so far have focused, as recommended by Harris, on bilingual child translators, and, as a result, the translation that is being produced by a bilingual adult requires further investigation. Especially within the scope of English and Arabic as this research suggests. Chapter Four will discuss in more detail how the present research differs from previous TAP studies. There are many factors to be taken into account before setting out to study the natural ability to translate.

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[3] Some of these studies will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Four

These factors and implications have already been mentioned in the previous sections of the current chapter. The question hence is not whether bilinguals are translators or not, because in actuality, many bilinguals translate in daily activities. The questions that will be asked in this research are: What are the natural tendencies, if such tendencies exist, in these translations? What takes precedence in the translation task that is performed by a natural translator, for example: does meaning takes priority over structure? What are the natural problem solving strategies? What is translation for a natural translator? And what is the role of the translator? To be able to answer this set of questions, in the following section of this chapter it will be important to talk about translator training and education in order to highlight the value that training brings to the process and production of translation.

2.2 Translator Training and Education

Over the years there have been many instances for the need of translator training as a response to specific political or cultural circumstances. There are many examples, going as far back as to second and ninth century institutions such as The House of Wisdom in Baghdad, founded in the eighth century, and the Chinese Institutions for the task of translation of Buddhist texts, mid second century; some centuries later the well-known "escuela de traductores de Toledo" in Spain during the twelfth and thirteenth century was established because of the need to translate Latin, Greek and Arabic texts to the new language of power, "el Castellano" (Baker and Saldanha 2009). The list is ongoing. However, the common factor in these traditions is that translators or interpreters were either bilinguals or language experts considered as masters and taught younger translators the profession holding informal meetings to learn the tools of the trade. Back in those days translation was either a tool for study or sometimes a means of income. Institutional education for interpreters and translators as we know it today dates back to the mid-twentieth century. The oldest school in this respect is the Moscow Linguistic University, which was founded in 1930. Following that there were a number of schools in Europe. The interest kept increasing to the point where expansion programmes are being founded around the world (Caminade and Pym 1998). Taking into consideration that, in its origin, translation was practised by bilinguals could further advocate the importance of the study and examination of translations done by natural or untrained translators in comparison with trainee translators. Such research would yield

valuable insight as to what translator training and education bring to the process of natural translation.

More recently and particularly after the Second World War there was a spur to institutionalise training. According to Munday in 2007 there were 20 institutions in the UK that "offered a combined level of 135 MA programs, even if translation was not necessarily central to them all" (2008: 6). In 2014, when I researched the same term it resulted in 28 institutions in the UK that offer translator training programs both on undergraduate and postgraduate level.

There are several opinions and approaches as to what should take place in a translation class. Kiraly (2000) differentiates between "translation competence" and "translator competence". Bernardini (2004) developed the previous concept to distinguish "translator training" and "translator education".[4] Similarly, Gile's (1995) book on translator and interpreter training is considered a land-mark in the field since its publication.[5]

There are many forms of translator training. The most common one is probably learning by practice while performing a translation task and from being in contact with other professional or expert translators. Experience, according to Pym, is the "most primary level of training" (2011: 475). Other types of translator training include the short term training programs available in the market today, which provide training in translation technology, or

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[4] Bernardini explained the difference between translator education and translator training, where training is linked to translation competence, i.e. linguistic skills that are acquired and enhanced through instruction and practice, and therefore, necessary to achieve an acceptable translation. On the other hand, translator education would encompass different interpersonal skills, such as learning how to work and interact with other translators, project managers, commissioners, clients etc., in addition to the linguistic skills. Consequently, students must not only learn the linguistic aspect of translation but also engage and become active in professional communities. The acquisition of translation competence then is through instruction and practice of translation.
[5] The book surveys the basics required for being a translator and on which training should build such as an acceptable knowledge of the translator's language, competent world knowledge, and a good command of the working languages. Finally a satisfactory knowledge of the principles of translation as well as an acceptable command of translation techniques. Gile also stresses the importance of realising that professional translation is in essence an activity that serves a communicative function. This view of professional translation emphasises that translation involves more than finding a linguistic equivalent. Formal translator training is not mandatory for the practice of translation; nonetheless, it proved to be useful in:
"To help individuals who wish to become professional interpreters or translators enhance their performance to the full realisation of their potential. The other is to help them develop their translation skills more rapidly than through field experience and self-instruction, which may involve much groping in the dark and learning by trial and error" (Gile 2009: 7)

specialised training in a specific domain and specialised terminology, project management etc. Lastly, there are the long-term translation programmes provided by universities at BA level, and MA level. Empirical research in translator training and education is still young and there is yet much work to be done.

An examination of translations done by natural or untrained translators in comparison with trainee translators can also show to what extent translator training and education improve or affect the process of natural translation.

2.3   Non-Professional Translation

While previous sections discussed key aspects of translation from the point of view of translation theory and training, this section will discuss the proliferation of non-professional translation nowadays, in a broader context of contemporary appraisal of non-professionals or amateurs. This is important because natural translators that can be categorised as non-professionals who nonetheless translate in everyday activities and in some instances are contracted based on their bilinguality to translate formally.[6] There used to be a point in time where quality was the only measuring factor in distinguishing the professional work from the amateur work. However, nowadays, quality products by non-professionals are also available. Furthermore, the reliability of publications was to some extent guaranteed as it was possible to trace the material back to a writer or a publisher. Similarly, in the early days of the Internet, checks and balances from the print world were carried over to the digital one, to some level, and the information was still reliable. Nowadays, in contrast, the situation has changed; quality control of Internet content has diminished, almost to non-existent. Materials can be published by anyone, and anyone can translate material. There are numerous examples in the Internet of good translations as there are of bad translations. It must be stated that this case of "bad" translation is not entirely new.[7] In "Translation as a Social Activity. Community Translation 2.0", Pym (2011) wrote that translation has become an activity that people can

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[6] In this research natural translators as non-professionals is used to refer to early career bilingual translators.
[7] In some translations of the seventeenth century the prominent work of literature "El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha" it was observed that the translation of the original had additions and also instances of not very eloquent translation even by translation standards at the time.

get involved in collectively; he uses the term "community translation"**[8]** because it is the term that the editor of the volume prefers, while he actually prefers the term "volunteer translation". Nonetheless non-professional volunteer translation is not new. It had taken place well before interactive technologies. The change now is that with the new collaborative technologies, volunteer work increased significantly. Nevertheless, even though the name given to non-professional individuals performing the translation differs based on the kind and place of translation, the fact remains the same, they all possess a degree of bilinguality that allowed them to perform the translation, they have had no special training in translation yet they are practicing translators, and may end up as professionals in light of their experience.

This promise that anyone can publish or write without the need for expertise or specific skills can be damaging, hence the main argument in this part is about expertise. While it can be argued that in todays world the proliferation of media outlets, the quality of information and the quality of translation cannot be guaranteed, the main subject of the present research is not quality. This thesis suggests examining the translation process, the similarities and differences between the proposed cohorts and problem solving strategies in a more descriptive fashion, without explicitly assessing and comparing the quality of the products. In the following lines, the attempt will be to discuss notions and understandings of expertise. Then I will move on to explain the different levels of expertise in translation, and finally to mention some of the work that was performed in the field of Translation Studies that measured and observed the process of translation performed by experts, professionals and novice translators.

If expertise is to be defined in Translation Studies from the cognitive psychology point of view as "the possession of a large body of knowledge and procedural skill" Chi (1982: 8) then based on that definition all professionals can be considered experts. Later Chi (2006) postulates that expertise can be divided into two groups, these groups are: absolute expertise[9]

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[8] Many terms have been used to refer to this proliferation of "non-professional" translations. Some of these terms can be found in the same issue of Linguistica Antverpiensia New Series- Themes in Translation Studies (2011) Desilets and van der Meer speak of "collaborative translation" and "translation crowdsourcing"; Nataly Kelly uses the term "community translation" Julie McDonough Dolmaya speaks of "crowdsourcing", Alina Secara talks of "fansubbing and crowdsourcing", Renee Desjardins uses the term "social networking".

[9] Refers to exceptionally talented individuals, for example: Athletes and chess players.

and relative expertise.[10] Chi contends that absolute expertise can be identified through several methods. The first method is "…By looking at how well an outcome is received, one can determine who is an expert" (2006: 21). The second method is "some kind of concurrent measure, such as rating systems" (2006: 21). The third method is by "using an independent index, if it is available" (2006: 21). In short, measuring performance is key to measuring expertise. On the other hand, according to Chi, to study relative expertise the approach is to measure the expert performance in comparison to novice[11] performance. This approach proceeds under the assumption that expertise is a level of proficiency that can be achieved.

Jääskeläinen (2010) acknowledges that research in Translation Studies focused on relative expertise. She argues that there have been no studies documenting exceptionally talented translators, yet there are many studies that compare professionals to novices. According to Jääskeläinen, there are three dimensions to the argument of who is professional and who is an expert. The first dimension is purely pragmatic, in the sense that anyone who earns his or her living by translating is a professional translator. However, this definition does not necessarily include the quality of translation. The second dimension is the quality of performance; expertise is defined as: "consistently superior performance in a domain" (Ericsson 2006: 3). Finally, the third dimension that Jääskeläinen talks of is that of specialisation. Jääskeläinen argues that while it is impossible to be an expert and not be specialised, the opposite could happen, as there are many specialists who are not experts. In terms of translation, professionals are expected to be specialised in a particular field or domain, for example: there are medical translator specialists, legal specialists etc. Jääskeläinen concludes that translators could be labelled as: experts, professionals, specialists and generalists.[12]

To understand how expertise is achieved in translation, the study of translation process is important. The study of translation process is not new to the field, but since the 1980s, the interest in understanding how translators work has been increasing. To study solely the

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[10] Refers to the comparison between experts and novices in terms of performance. It assumes that novices can achieve expertise.

[11] Novice has been defined as: "Literally, someone who is new- a probationary member. There has been minimal exposure to the domain" (Hoffman 1998: 84).

[12] Term introduced by PACTE (2009)

product of a translation task did not provide complete data; it did not provide information regarding, for example, the problem solving techniques or the strategies applied in translation. Thus, translation had to be studied from a different angle. The use of TAPS to carry out research on translation activity proved to add valuable insight in revealing the mental processes that take place while performing a translation task. Early studies such as Krings (1986) Gerloff (1986) and Lörscher (1986, 1991) targeted "native" translators, who were primarily language students who did not study translation. The reason behind choosing language students is that it was believed that professional translators' processing could be automated, [13] which was assumed to prevent the professionals from verbalising their thoughts. This focus on language students, however, resulted in the inability to generalise findings. Thus, Jääskeläinen (1987) and Tirkkonen-Condit (1989) focused their research on "novice" translators, who were translation students and professional translators. In the late 1980s and early 1990s the studies focused increasingly on professional translators, (Gerloff: 1988; Krings: 1988; Séguinot: 1989; Jääskeläinen: 1990). The findings of these studies were concerning. They concluded that not all professionals would produce high quality translations. A particularly influential study was that by Gerloff (1988), who summarised her findings as a "translation does not get easier phenomenon" (1988: 54). Henceforth the question of how to define adequately the notion of a "professional translator" surfaced. Lastly in the 2000s the focus was on expertise in translation (Shreve: 2002; Sirén and Hakkarainen: 2002; Englund Dimitrova: 2005; Jakobsen: 2005). The concern was: does professionalism equal expertise in translation? Since then, the notion of expertise became central to research in the field. Perez-Gonzalez and Susam-Saraeva argue that while expertise is understood as

> [T]he capacity to deliver a consistently superior translation/ interpreting performance […] other evidence indicates that formally trained professional translators - with over reliance on routine approaches to problem solving - occasionally fail to exhibit that level of superior performance (2010:151).

A prominent example of the studies that investigated the difference between professionalism and expertise is the study performed by Siren and Hakkarainen (2002). The research examined the features of the expert translation process "viewing expertise in translation as a specific case of expertise in general" (2002: 71). The study was conducted with

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[13] Cognitive psychology research showed that repeated practice tends to automatize the cognitive processes.

four experts and two non-expert translators and the aim was to study the effect that different competence profiles could have on the process of translation and on the outcome of translation. The results concluded that increasing experience does not necessarily make translation easier.

There are many definitions of expertise, and there are different levels of professionalism as can be seen from the short survey that was conducted here. However, not all have been studied to the same degree. The work of the natural and untrained translators are yet to undergo a thorough study and analysis in regard to the process of the translation when compared to the sizeable literature devoted to the same processes where professional translators have been the object of enquiry. The fact that there are many labels as to who is an expert and who is professional, in addition to the focus on the process of translation that distinguishes an expert translator from the novice and the professional, but similar nuanced categorisations have not been offered for natural translators or trainee translators also attests to the previous claim.

This impression is further confirmed by available bibliographies. Jääskeläinen (2002) surveyed in her "Think-Aloud Protocols in Translation Studies: An annotated bibliography" the studies that examined translation process and have used TAPS. She listed a hundred and eight studies that investigated different aspects of the translation process, with different subject groups; out of those, only seven examine the process of translation performed by the "native[14] translator" and five of those investigated competent bilingual participants. The studies are very briefly summarized below, some of these studies will be discussed further in Chapter Four:

- Olshtain (1986) investigated "Translating noun-compounds from English to Hebrew". The subjects in the study were five "naïve" bilinguals (English/Hebrew), used as one source of data, one native speaker who interpreted the meanings of the English compounds into Hebrew, in addition to five non-professional translators. The studies did not compare this process of translation with a professional translator.

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[14] Native was defined in Hoffman as: "one who is totally ignorant of a domain".
[14] The translators in this study were classified as professionals.

- Lörscher (1993) investigated "Translation process analysis"; the subjects were advanced language students, professional translators and bilingual children were included later in part of the study. The objective was to describe translation strategies used by the subjects.

- Fraser (1993) investigated community translators who translated a leaflet from English into ethnic minority languages.[14]

- Gerloff (1987) conducted a pilot study that investigated five intermediate-level language students and one competent bilingual. The purpose was to use the data to create a method that identifies the unit of analysis in translation.

- Gerloff (1988), "A look at the translation process in students, bilinguals and professional translators"; as the title states the subjects were of different translation competence levels, namely novice translators, competent bilingual and professional translators. Gerloff analysed the data in terms of time spent on translation task, units of analysis, problem solving techniques and the quality of translations.

- Wilton (1996), "Bilinguals and the translation process"; this case study examined three balanced bilinguals, who have had no formal translator training. The purpose of this research was to investigate Harris and Sherwoods's natural translation hypothesis and the subjects were asked to perform written translations.[15]

To sum up, based on the definitions, challenges and the studies mentioned earlier, it can be observed that while there is a growing interest in the process of translation performed by subjects with varying degrees of professionalism, expertise and lack thereof, the following gap has been identified: there was a lack in the studies that compare the process of translation performed by natural translators, as identified by Harris and Sherwood, to the process of translation performed by "novice" translators, identified in this research as translation students at Masters level and referred to as "trainee" translators, especially using the English-Arabic language pair.[16] Chapter Four, will list and discuss the TAP studies that informed this

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[15] Details of this study were not available. It is listed as explained in Jääskeläinen(2002)
[16] A total of three think-aloud studies dealing with English Arabic language pairs has been identified. These are discussed in chapter 3.

research. In light of the discussion above, the research will attempt to contribute findings in this area.

2.4 Translation strategies

One of the main objectives of this research is to explore and compare the process of translation performed by natural translators and MA Translation Studies students and translation strategy was identified as a key facet of decision-making and cognitive processing during translation. Each translation task may require different strategies and each translator may have their own approach or a set of strategies to perform the translation. Applying TAPs as a research tool facilitates investigation of the translation process by the two groups of translators as it is expected that they will verbalise their decision-making, thus indicating some of the strategies they consider using to complete the translation task. Also, their translations are read alongside the originals by the researcher to infer what strategies were used in the translation. In what follows, a brief chronological account of relevant theoretical approaches to translation strategies will be provided.

Although strategy is an essential part of the translation process many theorists refrain from offering their own definition and resort to describing what could be considered as a strategy.[17]

Krings defined translation strategy as a "translator's potentially conscious plans for solving concrete translation problems in the framework of a concrete translation task" (1986: 18). Later, Lörscher explained strategy as "a potentially conscious procedure for solving a problem faced in translating a text, or any segment of it" (1991: 8). In this definition Lörscher speaks of consciousness as a factor for determining if the translator is working with a strategy. Later still, and building on this definition, Cohen states "the element of consciousness is what distinguishes strategies from these processes that are not strategic" (1998: 4).[18] Therefore, if

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[17] For example, Lörscher adapts the definition given by Færch, Claus and Gabriele Kasper. Hatim and Munday (2004) refrain from providing a definition yet provide a historical background of the term.

[18] For more definitions and distinctions see also Bialystok (1990) Lörscher (1991) Chester (1997), Chesterman (2005) and Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002).

consciousness is a factor that determines if the translator is working with a strategy, what could be the unconscious effort applied by the natural translator be termed?

Jääskeläinen (1990) in her thesis deals with subjects' attention units. She characterised translation strategies as: "a set of loosely formulated rules or principles which a translator uses to reach the goals determined by the translating situation in the most effective way" (1990: 15). This definition given by Jääskeläinen is similar to the definition proposed in earlier years by Kail and Bisanz: "for present purposes, then, strategy refers to a set of internal cognitive procedures, a set that can be modified and is presumed to account for observed patterns of behavior" (1982: 240). This understanding of strategies by Jääskeläinen is perhaps the most applicable for this research. Therefore, the research will apply this notion of strategies, in addition to the classification of strategies in Jääskeläinen (1997) which will be discussed later in the section.

Jääskeläinen considered strategies as "a series of competencies, a set of steps or processes that favour the acquisition, storage, and/or utilisation of information." (1999: 71).

Furthermore, Jääskeläinen takes into account not only the process but also the product of translation, thus dividing strategies into two categories, the first set of strategies relating to what happens to the texts and the second set relating to what happens during the process of translation. The product related strategies according to Jääskeläinen involve basic tasks such as the choice of the source text and the development of a method or approach to translate it. Jääskeläinen asserts that the process related strategies are "a set of loosely formulated rules or principles which a translator uses to reach the goals determined by the translating situation" (1993: 116). Jääskeläinen, in line with Séguinot (1989) and Lörscher (1991), opts for the division of translation strategies into two groups: global strategies and local strategies. She explains that "global strategies refer to general principles and modes of action and local strategies refer to specific activities in relation to the translator's problem solving and decision making" (2005: 16). Global strategies could be decided upon in relation to a translation brief, where available, while local strategies are employed in accordance with the global strategy and designed specifically to handle the translation problem. Furthermore, visà-vis local translation strategies, Chesterman (2005) distinguishes between comprehension strategies and production strategies. The former refers to the cognitive analysis of the source text, while

the latter deals with production of the target text. The present research is concerned with production strategies, because it is expected that the verbalisation will explain primarily the reason and the process of the decision making, although it is expected that part of the comprehension strategies will also be present.

The general classification of strategies as a series of competencies that Jääskeläinen provides is perhaps more applicable to this research. While the participants might not be aware or consciously applying certain strategies, they are more likely to acknowledge in the TAP exercise the problems they are encountering and how they plan to solve those problems according to the purpose of the translation. Similarly, observing the behavior of the participants in the TAP exercise is likely to show how both groups of translators apply process related strategies. Opportunities for observing and drawing conclusions about the application (or intuitive use) of process oriented activity will start with the text they choose to translate in the proposed exercise, followed by how they decide to translate it and finally the product of their translation.

Based on this assumption, the next lines will explore these categories of global and local strategies. According to Jääskeläinen, literal and free translation strategies are part of the global strategies. She bases this explanation on the fact that the translator has to take into account the purpose of the translation and how in theory it should affect the target reader. The choice of the global strategy will in turn affect the translation process. Local strategies on the other hand refer to the specific problem solving strategies. Jääskeläinen argues that as the translator gains experience and develops translation competence, what used to constitute a translation problem for the translator will cease to be a problem. This means that local strategies, as experience increases, become semi-conscious or even unconscious. This is an issue that will be discussed in Chapter Four as it is one of the major arguments against the use of TAPs as a research tool (unconscious processes escape verbalization in thinking aloud). However, as will be argued in Chapter Four, this point does not affect the groups studied in my research, because neither of them has the sufficient experience in translation to the extent where the procedure is automised. Therefore, it could be expected that the participants would provide verbal data as to what a translation problem is, if such a problem is acknowledged, and what their strategy to solve the problem is.

I have reviewed some of the meanings understood by "strategy" within analysis of translation theory in order to demonstrate where there is an overlap between the processes described in the literature and the activities that can be studied in my field work through use of TAPs and interviews. It has been especially important to stress the role of conscious decision making in the understanding of what strategy is and is not because, as I remarked at the opening of this chapter, the work of natural translators by definition problematises the artifice inherent in strategy, i.e. consciousness. For example, Jääskeläinen's classification is the most applicable to this research, in the sense that these are strategies that are observable and can be tested using TAPs as proposed in this research.

In conclusion, one of the primary purposes of this research is to investigate and compare the process of translation as performed by natural and MA Translation Studies trainee translators. A major part of the translation process is the choice of strategy and the procedure that the translator will use to perform the translation in line with the translation brief that has been provided. However, the choice of the strategy and procedure, as well as the reason behind the choices made, is to be further examined using the verbal accounts of the translators.

2.5   Translation Unit

Another aspect of the translation that will be observed in the TAP exercise is the translation unit. The following lines will proceed to explain what is understood by translation unit in the field of Translation Studies. This step is a vital one since my research aspires to identify the working translation unit for the natural translator and compare it to that of the MA Translation Studies trainee translator.

A translation unit has been defined differently in accordance with the approach used in the analysis. Vinay and Darbelnet defined the 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" (1995: 352). This definition has been criticised from three angles; firstly, it was regarded as being prescriptive, secondly, it was stated that it was based on an idealized view of translations and, finally, that it focused on the source language (Ballard 1997).

Malmkjaer, discussing process-oriented translation studies, defined translation unit as "the stretch of source text on which the translator focuses attention in order to represent it as a whole in the target language" (1998: 286). This definition given by scholars in cognitive research is particularly relevant to the present research because the participants are expected to verbalise the unit of translation they are working with while performing the translation task. Moreover, the definition given by Alves and Goncalves that a unit of translation is "a segment in constant transformation that changes according to the translator's cognitive and processing needs" (2003: 10-11) is noteworthy. On the basis of this definition the researcher cannot identify the translation unit in advance, and thus a translation unit can only be identified in real time processing while the translator is translating. According to this definition, using TAPs can help shed light on the translation unit according to the translator. Therefore, the use of these definitions of unit of translation in this research will also allow the researcher to further analyse and compare the working units of both the natural translator and the MA Translation student. However, a problem may arise if this definition is applied, because, as has been observed in previous studies, subjects verbalise primarily what they encounter as a problem in translation rather than the working unit. Some researchers have equated a translation unit to translation problem, for example, Livbjerg and Mees defined translation units as "any word or phrase in the source text, or any aspect of such a word or phrase, which is verbalised by any single participant and for which he or she expresses any degree of doubt about its proper translation" (2003: 129). The number of pilot studies and the number of participants in this research are limited and the results are far from conclusive. However, the findings can be considered as a point to be examined further and perhaps by using more sophisticated research tools such as key-stroke logging, eye tracking etc. The second pilot study which was conducted with an MA Translation Studies student further evidenced the explanation given by Livbjerg and Mees. The previous observation was also evidenced by Barbosa and Nieva who suggested that "translation units are not so much defined by problems as demarcated by problems which cause breaks in the translation flow" (2003: 1389). Finally, Hatim and Munday defined the unit of translation as: "the linguistic level at which source text is recodified in target language. It may be the individual word, group, clause, sentence or even a whole text" (Hatim and Munday 2004: 17). This last definition by

Hatim and Munday is also applicable, because it is based on a strictly linguistic level and can be observed using TAP protocols and further confirmed by the interviews.

The use of key-stroke logging in recent years has been applied to explore the way in which translators divide their translation segments. It has been assumed that the distribution of pauses in the process of translation gives, as stated by Jakobsen, "an indication of how much is being processed at any one time" (2005: 173). However, such advanced resources are not readily available for this research. In order to be as specific as possible in identifying the working units, the researcher will be audio recording the exercise, and observing the pattern and behaviour of the participants during the exercise. Afterwards, the interview will discuss with the participants what has been observed in terms of working unit in both source text and target text, as well as what appeared to be a translation problem.

Despite these attempts to define translation unit, the fact remains that the translation unit is dynamic and it is best not to equate it with a structural unit. However, and as evidenced in previous studies, such as Gerloff (1988), Kiraly (1990), Krings (2001) and Lörscher (1991-1993), it can be concluded that professional translators have the tendency to focus on source text units of higher rank than semi-professional or nonprofessional translators. More recently Barbosa and Nieva documented that foreign language learners translating into their first language, process longer translation units than less advanced students (2003: 183). Jakobsen also documented that expert translators work with longer translation units when translating from the foreign language to their first language than when they are translating from their first language to the second language, and in both cases experts translate longer segments than translation students (2005: 183).

In conclusion, and because of the different definitions and approaches to the understanding of translation unit, in this research the translation unit will be identified in terms of the working unit. Accordingly, the translation unit will be considered as the block which I observed participants in my study to be working with in the course of the exercise, and as posited by them through the TAPs, for example: hesitations, slips of the tongue, and pauses. Despite the limitations of the TAP method that have been outlined previously, I will attempt to fill in the gaps in the observational method by following up the exercise with interviews. The data gathered during the observation method and interviews will allow the

research to progress to more specific questions, such as: do these units of analysis correspond to what researchers already know about production and comprehension units? Does translator training affect the size of the translation unit? And to what extent does the translator training influence the decision of the translator?

2.6   Translation Norms

At the outset of this research the concept of translation norms was not part of its design. However, it was observed during the task that a research focused on the role norms play in the translation from English to Arabic could yield valuable data. This brief section will attempt to explain how, subconsciously, norms may play a role in the translation process performed by natural and trainee translators. Toury (1995) defined norms as:

> The translation of general values or ideas shared by a community-as to what is right or wrong, adequate or inadequate- into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations. (1995: 55)

Toury's aim was to distinguish trends of translation behaviour, to understand the translator's decision making process; and ultimately reconstruct the norms that were operating during the translation task. Norms can be regarded as socio-cultural constraints specific to a culture or a society. These are usually acquired through education and social contact. In Toury's view norms are positioned between rules and idiosyncrasies. Baker (1998) explains that norms are "options that translators in a given socio-historical context select on a regular basis" (1988: 164). Toury focused on norms as a descriptive category. He explains that the initial norm is the general choice made by the translator. Therefore, translators can either adapt to the norms of the source text culture and language or the target text culture and language. In light of this general choice, the resulting text can either be adequate or acceptable. Furthermore, Toury discusses operational and preliminary norms. Operational norms describe both the presentation and linguistic matter of the target text, while operational norms refer to text selections and the directness of translation. Similarily, Chesterman asserts that norms "exert a prescriptive pressure" (1997: 68). He proposes another set of norms, product norms and professional norms. Product norms according to Chesterman are determined by the readers expectations of translation, i.e.: what a translation should look like. These factors are governed by the translation tradition in the

target culture, the discourse conventions of similar genre in the target culture and finally ideological considerations. On the other hand, professional norms "regulate the translation process itself" (1997: 67). They are determined by what is expected. During the task, some of the decisions the translators from both cohorts made can be interpreted in light of these norms. For example, text choice could be analysed in light of Toury's operational norms. Also the variety of language used in the translation could be analysed through Chesterman's discourse conventions.

This very short discussion was included as it explains how norms influence the translation process. Chapters Five an Six will discuss the findings of the research, and some of the findings can be interpreted through translation norms. However, this research did not focus on norms as such.[19]

2.7   Perceptions of translation and translators

This chapter of my thesis discussed translation as one of the two modes of language competence that underpin my research into natural translation. This part of the second chapter will introduce a discussion of the perceptions of translation and of the translator. One of the aims of the present research is to understand better how natural translators perceive their daily translational activities. Furthermore, the research aims to understand if this condition of bilingualism, biculturalism and daily translational activities are consciously perceived by the respondents as translations. Therefore, a better understanding of the perceptions of translation and translators is necessary. This brief overview will serve as a reference point for the analysis of the perception of the role of the translator. Finally, the analysis of TAPs and the translation strategies used by the participants are expected to help understand how the perceptions of role of translator might be reflected in the act of translation.

Tymoczko (2014) highlights the need to move beyond Western conceptualisations of translation. She uses the term "Western" to discuss to the set of ideas and perspectives that originated in and are dominant in Europe, the United States and Australia. Similarly, the

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[19] Detailed data analysis through the lense of norms could not be included in this research as it was noted at a late stage.

present research will use the term Western to refer to the concept not a geographical direction or location. Furthermore, Tymoczko explains that these concepts could benefit from a different view of translation. The Western conceptualisation of translation has long benefited from the view of translation as an act of transfer, and carrying across, from Latin "transferre" or Greek "metapherein". This view had constantly placed the translator "between" cultures. The translator in light of this understanding is neutral, and could be seen as alienated from the process of communication he or she is facilitating. Furthermore, as the concepts evolved historically, they were also influenced by a view of language and nation that privileged the view of uniting a nation under a single language, encouraging monolingualism. Such views implies sameness of the message, as well as a passivity of the translator. Therefore, these views are hardly representative of an international discipline. She further illustrates the previous point by providing examples from around the world about the word "translation". Tymoczko evidenced how the meaning of "translation" in a specific culture influences not only the practice of translation but also the role of the translator in a particular culture. For example, Tymoczko explains that in India there are two common words for translation, the first one is "*rupantar*" which literally means "change in form", and the other is "*anuvad*" which means "speaking after" or "following" (2010: 68). According to Mukherjee these terms do not imply fidelity or faithfulness to the original (1994: 80). Furthermore, Mukherjee argues that the concept of faithful rendering is a direct result of the arrival of Christianity in India.

Another prominent example in Tymoczko, and particularly of interest for the present research, is that of the Arabic word for translation "*tarjama".* Tymoczko argues that the term in Arabic tradition refers to biography. According to Tymoczko this could be linked to the early Syriac Christian translators of the Bible. On the other hand, Arab scholars, provided additional meanings of "translation". For example, Alzaban (1991) argues that Arabic scholars debated the origin of the word *tarjama* in Arabic. In Arabic, the most prominent views are that it may derive from تفسير /tafseer/ [to explain]. Al-Zabidi, author of the renowned Taj al- Arus[19], explains in this most cited Arabic dictionary that *tarjama* is, in my back translation, 'to explain what is said in another tongue'. On the other hand, An-Nawawi (1991) clarifies *tarjama* as تعبير /ta'abeer/ [expression]: the expression of one language by another language. Other scholars, such as Ibn Manzor, state that *tarjama,* as explanation, can occur within the same language. Thus *tarjama* can also be taken to mean يبلغ [to communicate]. In light of these two views Al-

Zaban (1991) argues that *tarjama* in Arabic has three pillars, the first is المترجم [the translator] who is described as an Imam or the person who has the necessary knowledge of what the texts means. The second is the المترجم له [the text] and finally المترجم به [the title that the translator uses to refer to the translated text]. The latter has two types, the first is a text, and the second is an interpretation of the oral speech.

Therefore, as observed from this short account that "translation" in Arabic, more specifically in Classic Arabic, also resists a simple definition. Nonetheless, all these meanings involve an active translator. Not only that, but also the translator must possess a certain level of knowledge to be able to communicate the meaning intended. As such, the translator in Arabic tradition is an active figure. More recently, Baker, in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, explains that in the case of Arabic language, many of Arabic speakers were bilinguals. The languages spoken in Arabian Peninsula[20] were Arabic in daily contexts in addition to other languages for trade and learning (2011: 328) (e.g. Syriac and Aramaic). It can be observed in the meaning of the word in Arabic how translation is linked to narrating, explaining and expression. Tymoczko explains that it could indicate that "the role of the translator is seen as related to that of a narrator. In turn this suggests the powerful potential of the translator's agency, because the translator is one who "tells" and hence frames the material being translated" (2010: 70).

Another non-Western view in Tymoczko (2010) explains when investigating close analogues for the word "Translation" in Malayo-Polynesian (a subgroup of the Astronesian languages, including Tagalog and Malay) that closest approximation in Tagalog is *pagsalin*.

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[19] 18th Century Arabic dictionary.
[20] Currently Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states and Yemen.
The root *salin*, means "to pour the contents of one container into another container" (Barbanza 2005: 250) as quoted in Tymoczko. According to Tymoczko,

> [the action of pouring] signified by *salin* contrasts with transferring solid material
>
> from one place to another place (where solid materials remain unchanged in the

transfer process). *Salin* is used only for the transfer of materials requiring a container, such as liquids, or small granular solids, such as rice (2010: 74).

These materials change form in accordance with the shape of the container holding them. When conceptualised in such a way, the process of translation thus excludes fidelity as one of the main attributes of the translation process. Barbaza argues that when translation is seen this way, it strongly suggests taking control and reshaping the source text to one's needs and interests (2005: 250). Therefore, this view of translation in Malay implies that the translator is an active figure.

It can be argued from the previous examples that the meaning of translation in each culture is probably based on what the culture in question understood of translation at a moment in time. This view affects by extension the role of the translator in that specific culture. However, it is reasonable to postulate that taking into consideration the globalisation and modernisation that contemporary understanding of translation in non-Western languages have also moved towards the Western understanding of translation as a spatial transfer, and sameness of the message to mention a few. The present research is interested in understanding the natural participants' views about translation and the role of the translator.

The previous sections also discussed the differences in perceptions of translation between the Western concepts and the Arabic concept and how these perceptions influenced the view of the translator's role in a given translation task. To further understand how those elements interact, this section will discuss some of the prominent metaphors used to describe the figure of the translator, and then a tentative attempt will be made to link these metaphors to translation strategies. Generally speaking, as individuals we act in our daily life as we perceive ourselves, or as we perceive our roles to be. Therefore, this research will work under the assumption that in accordance with how the participants perceive the role of the translator, this role may be reflected in some of the strategies used to translate the texts, even though it is understood that translators are not necessarily consistent in their choices and factors other than their views of the role of the translator may impact on textual decisions too. The metaphors discussed here will be drawn mainly from the influential accounts by two

prominent scholars: Chesterman (1997)[20] and Bassnett (1996). The research will draw mainly from Western accounts and perceptions, this is because these accounts are well-known in the field of Translation Studies, although it is hoped that in the future non Western metaphors will be better described and widely available for researchers in the field working in English.

The first metaphor to be discussed is: "the translator as a builder" (Chesterman 1997: 21). If translation is thought of as "carrying across", then what is being carried across is the meanings inside the words and sentences. Therefore, these units are storehouses for meaning, and are ultimately the building blocks out of which language is constructed. The translator is thought to de-construct the original structure, the source text structure, and use the same bricks to build another structure elsewhere, the target text structure. In this metaphor the bricks are not the words themselves but the meaning these words represented. Because the translator used the same bricks, then equivalence is guaranteed. This metaphor prompts the question of whether approximately analogous words in discrete languages can ever share exactly the same range of semantic properties. While it is possible to accept initially that "as long as meanings were conceived of as absolute, objectively existing out or up there, it was easy to answer yes" (Chesterman 1997: 21), realistically it is difficult to accept that all words, in every context at all times will achieve this level of equivalence. Along the same lines, it would be also difficult to keep the adherence not only to literal rendering of the words but also the structures in which the words are formed. If the previous view is observed during the translation process, the retrospective interviews would help in understanding the participants' rationale for the strategies they use. Similarily, it would further illustrate if concepts such as fidelity and loyalty are part of the natural translators understanding of translation and possibly part of the translation training MA participants have received.

The metaphor "translation is copying" and the translator is a "copier" (Chesterman 1997: 23) is also dominant. In this metaphor translators have no authority over the text. This view further illustrates Tymoczko's stance on Western conceptualisations of translation as

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[20] Chesterman (1997) argues that "translations are survival machines for memes" (1997: 5). He borrows the concept from sociobiology, where memes are understood as "a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of imitation" (1997:5). He further argues that: "memes encapsulate concepts and ideas about translation itself and about the theory of translation" (1997: 7). Chesterman categorises memes into four categories, namely: theoretical concepts, norms, strategies and values. This research will draw from the metaphors that Chesterman used in the description of these translation memes.

alienating to the translator. The research will attempt to understand if for the natural translator the concept of "authority" over the text exists.

Another metaphorical value discussed in Chesterman, and generally in Translation Studies is the image of the *"belles infideles"*, a view which dates back to the 17th century and in which the main concern is the target audience reception of the translation. According to Chesterman, the translations had "a strong target reader orientation, this inevitably led eventually to translations of inordinate freedom, perhaps 'belles' [beautiful] but frequently 'infideles' [unfaithful]." (1997: 25). In this view, translations are portrayed in gendered terms. The translations are portrayed as female. Furthermore, the reference to translation strategy, "close" is faithful while "free" is unfaithful, evokes strict and possibly hypocritical, societal norms, where women were viewed primarily in terms of their looks and where their sexual life was scrutinised and they were more likely to be stigmatised for extramarital relationships than men. This view further emphasised the passive role of the translator. Chamberlain (1988) demonstrates the extent to which the translator's fidelity to the text is portrayed in gendered terms. In order for a translation to be beautiful it has to be unfaithful to the original. Similarly the translator in this metaphorical expression is feminised as opposed to the masculinised author, Chamberlain was critical of this view. Chamberlain argued that this view established a parallel between a view of an inferior position of women as "reproducers" as opposed to the male "producers", as such, translators are passive imitators of the content produced by the authors. Moreover, Bassnett argues that this metaphor devalues translation, as a kind of poor (although attractive) substitute for the original. All these expressions place the translation in an inferior position to the original. Furthermore, by placing the translation in an inferior position the role of the translator suffers and as a result is reduced to a lower status than the original author: a view that is strikingly different than what has been discussed earlier in this section. In the Arabic tradition, the translator is an expert on the subject that is translated. As such, the translator is placed in the same category as the original author/speaker. The strategies that can be linked to the previous metaphor "belles infideles" could be replacement of terms, paraphrase, perhaps some omission, and cultural substitution. These strategies are normally linked to target oriented approaches. The target oriented approach assumes the importance of the target culture, language and audience. These can also correspond with a

sense of national or ethnic superiority and cultural imperialism. However, the reasons could be different as the next example will show.

Another prominent, although non-Western, metaphor is translation as cannibalism (Vieira: 1999). In this metaphor the main interest is the acceptability of the target text to target readers. This metaphor originated in the 1920s and Brazilian Translation Studies used it as representative of the experience of colonisation. This metaphor reflects how, in an act of liberating rebellion, the colonisers and their literature are metaphorically devoured to be better suited for the taste and traditions of the native people, while still retaining some "nourishment" of the famous foreign originals. If the participants are to opt for this approach in translating a text, a radical rewriting can be expected.

Other metaphors used to describe the figure of the translator shifts the attention back to the source text. The first metaphor outlined in this section was primarily focussed on the source text and the translator was seen as a builder, moving lexical and semantic components, or bricks, from one place to another. The second metaphor as explained by Chesterman (1997: 25) is the translation as a beautiful but unfaithful woman. A view that is primarily target text oriented. The section also discussed some strategies that may be associated with some of the metaphors and translators' self-perceptions more than others. The third metaphor of translation can be seen as to achieve some sort of compromise between faithfulness to the source and investment in the target culture. It is a metaphor of translation as creation and of the translator as "an artist who shapes language" (Chesterman 1997: 27). The idea here was that translation of literature should aim at a style that is strange and foreign to the reader, so the reader can experience and feel the translation and its foreign origin.[21]
There are two points that need to be considered here, the first stresses the function of language as a vehicle of expression rather than as a component in its own right. The second point is that translations which avoid a target-oriented adaptation enrich the target language.

The metaphor, the translator as an artist, can be linked to the keywords "visibility" and "invisibility" as discussed by Venuti (1996). Venuti uses the notion of invisibility to refer to the translator's situation in the contemporary Anglo-American culture. According to Venuti, this

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[21] This metaphor is applied mainly when translating literature.

invisible condition is created by two interrelated factors; the first is the strategy of fluent, idiomatic translation that creates an illusion of transparency. The second one is how these target texts are read in the target culture. Namely, the target text is judged acceptable if it reads fluently and without foreign stylistic peculiarities. However, Venuti strongly advocated translations that introduce stylistic peculiarities to signal the foreign origin of the source text. Bassnett explains that the role of the translator can be reassessed in terms of analysing the intervention of the translator in the process of linguistic transfer (1996: 22). Some of the strategies that may be found to achieve this effect on the reader are, for example, using loan words, bending the original style or the syntax of the target text, and perhaps using different registers e.g. slang, archaisms etc. Consequently, this view is perhaps the least applicable to this research, as the participants are either natural translators with very little professional experience, or trainee translators with less than five years of experience in translation. As explained in the previous lines, the translator as an artist metaphor pertains primarily to literary translation and has little relevance to the text types and the translations done in this research. However, it can be argued that some aspects are perhaps relevant, for example it is expected that natural translators would negotiate between more source-oriented and more target-oriented style. The participants might also link ideas about exposing readers to another culture or a foreign language.

Translation can also be said to be a form of communication. The dominant metaphor often associated with this view is that of translation as sending a message to someone. This view shifts the previous focus on source and target texts and seeks balance between source and target, rendered as sender as receiver, with the translator in the middle. The translator in this instance is a mediator with a relationship to both the writer and the reader. A level of loyalty is also expected. The term loyalty in Translation Studies is heavily charged. Despite frequent readings of translation as carrying across as implying passivity, historically translators and interpreters have been regarded with suspicion as it was feared they would be loyal to one side, the well known view "traduttore traditore" (translator traitor). This concept of loyalty also resonates with Nord's functionalist approaches. She argued that translators should be loyal to the people involved in a translational exchange, she compares loyalty, which is to people, with fidelity, which is linked to the text. This view of the translator is relevant to my research because the participants were observed in the exercise to debate between loyalty

to the reader and fidelity to the source text, thus, proving their importance in a translation activity. Prominent theorists in Translation Studies have enlarged on the notion of communication within translation: Nida (1964) and Nida and Taber (1969) focus on the overall communicative situation and the translator's use of notions from information and communication theory. Reiss and Vermeer (1984) stress that the communicative efficacy of a translation is determined by the level at which it fulfils its *skopos* or goal. For Reiss and Vermeer what matters in a translation is the purpose of the translation and not the purpose of the original. Other scholars like Holz-Mänttäri place the translator at the center of a communicative chain that runs from the commissioner to the receiver. The translator here is regarded as a cultural mediator who has authority and bears responsibility for the target text (1984 cited in Chesterman 1997). Participants in my research study, and particularly natural translators, firmly believed that the translator is indeed a communicator and a mediator between two cultures with duties and obligations towards both the original text and the prospective reader. This was also further demonstrated by the type of strategies used in the translation exercise, for example, loans and explanations as will be seen in Chapter Five.

According to Bassnett, another view of the translator has also been prominent: one that regards the role of the translator as a creative writer, a "force for good" (2002: 4), and an intercultural mediator that ensures the translated text survives through time. This view regards the translator as an important asset to the diffusion of culture. To fulfil the tasks that correspond with this mediatory metaphor of translation, the strategies that can be used here are many. Building on the previously mentioned, it can be observed how the writer metaphor is marked by the interest in the receiver rather than the source text. The interest here is to examine and study the texts that the target culture designates as translations and compare those with non-translated texts in the same culture. Once this is done, the source text can be examined in comparison to the target text to study the decisions made by the translators. This approach appears in the works of many translation theory scholars, for example, Toury, Even-Zohar, Holmes, Lefevere and others. An important aspect of this view is its descriptive approach as opposed to the prescriptive. The focus of my research is to examine what translations *are like*, and not what they *should* be like, in the context of societal bilingualism. Many discussions around translation practice are based around prescription and translation as a professionalised activity; looking at the practice of individuals who effectively *act* as

translators but who do not easily conceive of themselves of translators has necessarily taken me into the realm of description, and has raised questions about the disjuncture between prescriptive theory and observational practice.

The metaphor, of the translator as a communicator, is queried and tested by the comparison between trainee translators, MA Translation Studies students, and natural translators that this thesis has set out to examine. The natural translators' lack of experience, or minimal experience in translation is a very important factor because the participants presumably have no strong preconceptions about translation norms and quality. Furthermore, natural translators can be seen as not only translators but also translation readers or users as they have certainly read translated texts and perhaps have some expectations about translation from a reader's perspective. Being bilingual and therefore bicultural, the participants are considered to possess a unique view of not only what their target culture expects from a translation, but also what their source culture meant to say in the first place.

This chapter explored an array of terms and concepts relating to translation. It has also explored how these terms interplay together and influence the research. The chapter began with a discussion of the term *translation*, then proceeded to discuss translation competence, training and non-professional translation. Then chapter proceeded to discuss translation units, strategies and perceptions and their importance to this research as well as how will they be used in the present thesis.

3 Bilingualism: Key Concepts

Bilingualism has been associated with a person who is able to express himself/herself equally well in two different languages. In other words, bilingualism has been defined from a prescriptive point of view as the active and productive use of two languages. Beardsmore, in contrast, opted for a descriptive view of bilingualism and has established a distinction between a "receptive bilingual" and a "productive bilingual" with each term corresponding to the skill that the individual has actually mastered (1982: 13-17).

Bilingualism is a key term in this thesis. In order to understand how the term bilingualism can be associated, broadly speaking, with translation, a better understanding of the term is

necessary. What is equally important is to clearly distinguish between bilingualism and diglossia. Thus, this chapter will focus on defining and explaining bilingualism and how it can be associated with translation, as well as comparing bilingualism and diglossia. I will also discuss briefly the sociolinguistic background in Kuwait to clarify the linguistic situation of the participants. I will also discuss one of the studies that have investigated the correlation between bilingualism and translation and argue why this thesis is different to the previous studies that have linked bilingualism with translation.

3.1 Bilingualism and Diglossia

The general concept of bilingualism, according to Hamers and Blanc (1989), refers to the condition in which one linguistic community has two languages constantly in contact resulting in a situation where these two languages are used in the same interaction and where many individuals of this community are bilinguals.

The next section sets out to explain briefly what diglossia is. A German linguist Krumbacher first used the term in 1902. In his book, *Das Problem der Modernen Griechen Schriftsprache* cited in Zughoul (1980: 201), Krumbacher explained the origin, nature and the development of diglossia, using the Greek and Arabic cases as examples. The term, which was modelled on the French "diglossie", which, in turn, derives from the Greek "diglossos" (Ferguson 1959, cited in *The Bilingualism Reader* 2000: 33), refers to the use of two or more varieties of the same language by some speakers in different conditions. These linguistic varieties exist simultaneously throughout the community; each of them has a clear role within the society. In diglossia there are some basic considerations to be taken into account, firstly, the phenomenon takes place within one language; secondly, the use of each of the varieties takes place in certain areas and circumstances that, interestingly enough, do not overlap. Thirdly, in diglossia, one of the varieties is regarded as a high language because it is the variety used in literary contexts, newspapers, schooling, writing etc. The other variety is seen as less privileged; it is more of a spoken language, used in familiar contexts and in other situations such as folk literature, televisions shows, etc. Fishman explains the main feature that differentiates diglossia from bilingualism: "bilingualism is essentially a characterisation of individual linguistic behaviour whereas diglossia is a characterisation of linguistic organisation at the socio-cultural level." (2000: 51). Moreover, the distinction also carries a political

dimension, where one of the varieties of the language could be treated as inferior and is not used in prestigious settings.

Kuwait, where the participants are from, is a primarily Arabic speaking country where English is widely spoken too. Thus, bilingualism and diglossia go hand in hand in this context. This situation adds yet another question to the set of research questions addressed in the thesis: how does diglossia influence the translation process of a natural translator?

The Arabic speaking countries are in a state of diglossia (Rosenbaum 2001: 8). The varieties in Arabic include *Classical Arabic* which refers to the language of the Holy Script or Qura'an, *fusha* or *Modern Standard Arabic*, which refers to the high language, or prestigious language that is used in official communications, correspondence and literature. The third variety is called *ammiyya,* which refers to the low variety of language. This is the unofficial language that is used, as mentioned earlier, in personal interactions, unofficial communications and folk literature. *Ammiyya* has been used widely in drama, and modern writers often mix elements of *ammiyya* into written prose.[22] This exploitation of the state of diglossia puts both language varieties together and creates new styles of writing, thus resulting in a style that quite possibly presents a problem for the translator and the reader as well. This is mainly because *ammiyya* also differs from one country to another. Therefore, understanding the different varieties of *ammiyya* and specific cultural references as well as understanding *fusha* is important for a successful translation. Furthermore, a reader that is not well educated in *fusha* might find distinguishing the elements of these two varieties difficult and perhaps even confusing.

The participants in the research will translate from English to *fusha* Arabic. Chapter Four will explain in depth the task. The research will explore if and how diglossia affects the translation process. Is it possible that diglossic participants perform a double translation, first from English to *ammiyya*, as the more familiar and intuitive variety, then from *ammiya* to *fusha*? The analysis will also cover whether diglossia may cause difficulties in translation and in distinguishing between structures and vocabulary of *ammiyya* and *fusha* when translating.

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[22] I will discuss further the Arabic diglossia later in this chapter under diglossia in Kuwait.

Bilingualism, on the other hand, has been studied through categories, dichotomies and scales (Romaine 1989: 11). Many factors are to be taken into consideration in the study of this particular manner of language use. Bloomfield emphasised that the criterion for bilingualism is "native-like control of two languages" (1933: 56), and, later, Haugen pointed out the importance of considering the ability to produce an utterance of one language in a complete and meaningful manner in another language as a part of the study of bilingualism (1953: 7). Haugen's definition was later nuanced by Diebold (1961) who introduced the term "incipient bilingualism" to describe the first stages when two languages come into contact, thus raising the question of the absolute minimal proficiency required for an individual to be termed bilingual, and at the same time opening up the possibility for an individual to be called quasi bilingual, in the sense that he or she may be able to understand what is being said in one language yet be unable to produce a meaningful utterance in this particular linguistic system. An example of this particular case would be the child of parents with two different languages: the child could understand the mother's language but, given the fact that he/she never had to use it, the child will understand what the mother says but would answer back in the language that he/she normally uses. Another example would be the child of immigrant parents, who could speak fluently the parents' language, yet is unable to read or write in that language. Therefore, passive and active knowledge of a language are not always matched.

Once we take into account these considerations, the definition of 'bilingualism' given by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as: "speaking two languages fluently" appears to be inadequate in understanding and analysing this linguistic phenomenon. Mackey (1968: 555 in Romaine 1989: 12) determines that a study of bilingualism must take into account the relativity of this concept since the point at which a speaker of a second language becomes bilingual is either arbitrary or impossible to determine. Mackey considered bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages. However, he considered four important factors in the study of bilingualism, namely: degree: that is the level of proficiency; function, which is concerned with the purpose for which an individual uses the language; alternation, which is concerned with the extent to which an individual alternates between two languages; and, finally, interference which is concerned with how well the bilingual speaker keeps the languages separate or if these languages are fused.

These factors are interrelated which means that they cannot be studied independently from one another, for example, an individual's level of proficiency in one language would determine how often he/she would use the language, and also the circumstances in which this language is being put into use. To assess the level of proficiency in language A and language B, and to determine if the speaker possesses the same skill in both languages, some areas must be put to the test. Mackey outlines a matrix (1968: 557 in Romaine: 1989) which could be used to measure the degree of bilingualism. Mackey identifies the skills and levels that should be assessed in both languages. The skills in this matrix are: listening, reading, speaking, and writing; the levels are lexical, semantic, stylistic, and graphic. The different results in proficiency in those levels would result in different degrees of bilingualism. Wei shows (2000: 6, 7) that there are almost thirty-seven types of bilinguals, the distinction that is made here, in most cases, takes account of the different levels mentioned before by Mackey.

Romaine points out that more recent studies within sociolinguistics have put the emphasis on another aspect in the measurement of the degree of bilingualism, that of communicative competence. This skill differs from the skills outlined in Mackey because "a speaker might know how to vary his or her speech in culturally appropriate ways to make requests, but might not know the times and places at which it was appropriate to make a request" (1989: 14).

The literature on bilingualism in the 1950s and 1960s focused on measuring bilingualism in quantitative terms, which is to say measuring it objectively; hence the focus on measurable aspects of the language, such as vocabulary, grammars etc. Macnamara (1967) proposed the following four categories of tests to measure bilingual ability quantitatively, which are: rating scales, flexibility tests, dominance tests and fluency tests.

Notions or classifications, for example, balanced bilingual[23] and dominant bilingual[24], which were based on the dimension of bilinguality, such as linguistic, social, developmental and cognitive dimensions, along with the tests that have been designed to measure them, have

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[23] Balanced bilingualism "Occurs when a speaker's mastery of two languages is roughly equivalent and where this ability may match that of monoglot speakers of the respective languages if looked at in broad terms of reference" (Beardsmore 1986:9).

[24] Dominant bilingualism also referred to as (unbalanced) occurs when the individual's proficiency in one language is higher than that in the other language(s) (Butler and Hakuta 2004:115).

been proved to present problems. Fishman (1971 in Beardsmore 1986: 9) argued that bilinguals are seldom equally fluent in both languages and in all subjects. This is reflected by the idea that in a given society the functions of a language are often imbalanced; in other words, a society that used two languages equally well in all possible contexts, would be monolingual, because no society needs two languages for the exact same set of functions. More recently John Edwards (2013) argued that it is easy to encounter definitions of bilingualism that reflect primarily to the question of degree. For example the definition discussed earlier by Bloomfield (1933) argues that bilingualism only exists where two developed fluencies are found. Weinreich (1953) was vague in matters of degree of bilingualism. Finally Haugen (1953) emphasised the importance of producing complete and meaningful utterances in a second language. Edwards (2013) argues that these views and other similar views are rather restrictive. Even if the ability to gauge bilingual or multilingual capacities with some accuracy existed, other problems would still remain, i.e.: problems of labelling. To expect that individuals would fit in a neat and small number of categories of abilities is rather simplistic. Another problem, according to Edwards would be what terms ought to be used, in his own words:

> There even remains confusion as to what term ought to be applied to those much sought-after individuals whose bilingual capacities are great: they have been described as *balanced bilinguals*, *ambilinguals,* and *equilinguals*, among other terms. The first has become the most common, and its use need not imply solely Steiner-like perfection; even a rougher equivalence of fluencies, however, still implies a category in which most bilingual or multilingual individuals cannot be placed. The capabilities of most of those who may reasonably be styled as 'bilingual' fall well below any line of equivalence. (2013:13)

There are a number of other useful distinctions, for instance, receptive (or passive) and productive (or active) bilingualism; the distinction here is between understanding a language –spoken or written – while not being able to speak or produce utterances, and being able to do both. Other terms that have been used are additive or subtractive bilingualism. Additive bilingualism takes place when both languages are useful and valued. On the other hand, subtractive bilingualism occurs in a setting where one language is more dominant "where one is on the ascendant and the other is waning" (2013: 13). These distinctions are mentioned as

an example of the diverse terminology, and to attest to the fact that defining and categorising bilingualism is still debated and a subject of inquiry of many researchers'.

This then proves that the notion of balanced bilingualism is an idealistic notion. This is a major issue in the differentiation between diglossia and bilingualism, as stated earlier. Diglossia refers to two varieties of one language, with a clear distinction and separation of where and when each variety is used, while in bilingualism, it is about two different languages, which could be closely related or as distant as possible and where the domain of use of each language is not clearly defined. Ambits of use could overlap, yet not in a way that would overrule the existence of the second language and cause monolingualism.

3.1.1   Bilingualism and diglossia in Kuwait

The official language in Kuwait is Arabic. It is spoken by all Kuwaiti citizens. It is spoken in the region of the Middle East as well as in North Africa (Rosenhouse and Garol 2008:835). The Arabic language had an interesting development throughout the years. Unlike the Greek language where there exists two varieties of language, high and low varieties, Arabic, as mentioned previously has three. The importance of Arabic language can be classified through five levels: cultural, linguistic, strategic, chronologic, and regional (Farghaly and Shaalan 2009: 14: 2). On the cultural level Arabic language is associated with Islam and with a highly valued body of literature. On the strategic level, Arabic is the fifth spoken language in the world (CIA 2016), the region is well known for the massive oil reserves that are critical to the world's economy. The Arab world is also home for the three monotheistic religions' sacred sites. Chronologically speaking, the Classic Arabic is the language that was spoken by Arabs over fourteen centuries ago, the Modern Standard Arabic (*fusha* hereon after) is the evolving variety of Arabic (Farghaly and Shaalan 2009: 14:2). *fusha* is a form of Arabic with borrowings, and innovations to accommodate the constantly changing needs of its speakers. Lastly on the regional level, Arabic has as many dialects as there are countries in the Arab League (*ammiyya* hereon after).

The existence of three varieties of Arabic that are clearly classified in their own domain of use exhibits a true diglossic state (Farghaly 2005). The Classic Arabic is the variety used in Muslims' daily recitations, while *fusha* is the variety used in formal situations, for example

news, publications, speeches and also by educated people in formal settings. The last form of Arabic, the dialect or *ammiyya*, which also vary from region to region and country to country, is the variety used in familiar contexts and folk literature. An average Arab could use the three varieties of Arabic on a daily basis. Farghaly and Shaalan (2009) speak of true diglossia that has four features. The first is the specialised function of each of the varieties. The second feature is prestige, where knowledge of the high variety of the language is normally indicative of a person's educational level. The third feature is concerned with the manner of acquisition of each variety, the low variety is normally learnt at home, it also lacks specific grammatical rules, and assumed to be acquired "naturally". The Classic Arabic and *fusha* are both learnt at school. The fourth and final feature is the existence of a sizable body of literature in the high variety that is respected by the speech community.

The Arabic script might be another feature that needs to be taken into consideration in this study. The shift between scripts while translating might slow down the process of translation. Absence of capitalization, and minimal punctuation are perhaps challenges that participants might have to overcome in the exercise.

Finally, and before proceeding to explain the bilingual situation in Kuwait, it is important to mention that on a grammatical level too participants might face some challenges. For example, Arabic has three cases marked by case ending (Farghaly and Shaalan 2009:14:6); the dialects, however, have none. Furthermore, Classical Arabic and *fusha* mostly have a Verb-Subject-Object order while *ammiyya* or vernaculars mostly have a Subject-Verb-Object order. Interestingly enough, this order is similar to the English positive sentences. It is possible that this similarity in sentence order between the Arabic dialect and the English language might appear in the translation of the participants.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the influence of European languages began to take place in the speech of Arabs (Al-Khatib 2006: 3). The Arabs came into contact with English, Italian and French, to name a few. The interaction was either directly through traveling abroad, or indirectly through teaching in schools and universities. According to AlKhatib, the impact of these foreign languages on the linguistic behaviour of the people in the Arab world can be traced back to the early 1920s when several Arab countries came under the British, Italian or French Mandate (2006: 3). Later on, English and French became firmly

established as second languages in several Arab countries. The importance of these languages increased as lingua francas. Therefore, the concerned authorities in different Arab countries, especially the ones that were colonised, underscored the importance of introducing the teaching of these languages in Arab schools' curricula. Thus, all Arab students in government schools who finish their secondary education have at least eight years of instruction in either French or English alongside Arabic. Kuwait is no exception.

Furthermore, the second half of the twentieth with its century explosion in business and communication technology, remoulded the field of teaching English as a second language, and increased the interest to develop effective ways to facilitate and improve the learning curve of students learning this language. Finally, the advances in computer science, and technology in general, contributed to encourage students to learn other languages and particularly English. Consequently, it is not only usual but expected that many younger and middle-aged Arabs speak more than one language (AlKhatib 2006: 3). Finally, and particularly in the Gulf states, the large numbers of people from different parts of the world arriving for work opportunities resulted in creating a pool of cultures and languages in the area. Bilingualism is, therefore, another linguistic feature that can be detected in Kuwait. A large number of people within this society are English /Arabic bilingual. The participants in this research are bilingual. Another key variable in bilingualism is the typology, which will be explained in the following lines in order to clarify to which type the participants belong.

3.2   Typology of Bilingualism

Types of bilingualism refer to how the relevant linguistic codes are organised, metaphorically speaking, by the speaker. In general terms, one can distinguish between two major types, the main factor in this distinction being whether the languages were learned in separate settings, or whether they were learned in the same setting. The former is known as coordinate bilingualism, while the latter is called compound bilingualism. A coordinate bilingual thus has learned two languages possibly at different times or maybe just in different settings, which means that words and phrases in a coordinate bilingual's mind are related to their unique concepts. On the other hand, a compound bilingual, who has learned both languages simultaneously and most likely in the same setting, would have the same semantic associations attached to the same word or phrase in two different languages. The languages

are interdependent for a compound bilingual, while for the coordinate bilingual the languages are independent. [25] Lambert, Havelka, and Crosby (1958) conducted experiments which proved that compound bilinguals differed only from certain coordinate bilinguals, those who have learned the second language in a different cultural setting, while there was no difference between compound and coordinate bilinguals who have learned their languages in the same cultural setting. My research will use the term coordinate bilingual loosely. The distinction of compound and coordinate, and to be able determine the level of bilingualism of the participants is a vast undertaking for this research, and would require in depth research in language abilities.

Christopher Thiery, in his article, "True Bilingualism and Second Language Learning" (1978) distinguishes between *bilingualism* and *true bilingualism.* Thiery argues that the term "perfectly bilingual" implies that the subject speaks both languages equally well, and that she/he has two mother tongues. The first condition is impossible to measure, for there is no absolute criterion of comparison to measure if one can speak both languages equally well. The second condition for Thiery, that of mother tongue, means that "the language must have been acquired by "immersion" i.e., "by natural reaction to the sounds made by the individual's environment in order to communicate with it" (1978: 146). These parameters, as set out by Thiery, lead to the following definition of true bilingualism in his article: "A true bilingual is someone who is taken to be one of them by the members of two different linguistic communities, at roughly the same social and cultural level" (1978: 146).

To conclude this survey of definitions of bilingualism, an observation of Mackey's is apposite: "Bilingualism is not a phenomenon of language; it is a characteristic of its use. It is not a feature of the code but of the message; it does not belong to the domain of *language* but of *parole*" (1970: 554). As can be seen from the foregoing discussion, bilingualism, just like the term 'translation', is complicated to explain, a term that has many implications, and poses

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[25] Weinrich (1953) distinguishes between: coordinative, subordinative, and compound bilinguals. For Weinrich the subordinative bilingual is a sub-type of coordinate bilingualism. In this type the sub-coordinate/ subordinative bilingual would interpret words of his/her weaker language through words of the stronger language (Romaine 1989: 79). It is relevant to mention though that, later on, these two types of coordinate bilingualism were merged, when, in 1954, Ervin and Osgood emphasised the importance of the context in which the languages were learned, and how these languages were used.

questions such as who is bilingual and who is not, the degree of bilingualism[26] of an individual, and so on. The issues involved in the term bilingualism make it difficult, if not impossible, to speak of perfect bilingualism. This difficulty in determining the perfect bilingual would in turn affect the translation and must be taken into consideration when studying the process of natural translation that this research proposes to investigate.

While in Kuwait, as mentioned earlier, both types of bilingualism exist, the research will focus on the coordinate bilingual. In the following lines, I will proceed to explain the reason behind choosing coordinate bilinguals as subjects for the study of the natural translation process. To reiterate what has been mentioned in the introduction, the choice of this study and this category of participants stems from the following observations: except for three empirical studies, (Gerloff: 1987[27] ,1988;[28] Wilton: 1996[29]), which compare the process of translation between professional translators and bilinguals with no experience of translation, I have not been able to find research with similar scope to my thesis. Also, these studies have studied bilinguals in comparison to either language students or professional translators, but not strictly MA Translation Studies students trainee translators. Furthermore, the language pairs in these pieces of research were English/ French or German. I was not able to find a piece of research that examines the process of translation between two different language families such as English and Arabic. I have chosen coordinate bilinguals because in the particular case of Kuwait, while there are certainly compound bilinguals, coordinate bilingualism is predominant. Finally, the diglossic state of the Arab world might provide valuable insight to the process of translation and if diglossia interferes with the translation process.

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[26] Degree of bilingualism refers to the level of linguistic proficiency a bilingual has in two languages in order to be considered bilingual.

[27] Gerloff (1987) Identifying the unit of analysis in translation: some uses of TAPs data.

[28] Gerloff (1988) From French to English: A look at the translation process in students, bilinguals, and professional translators.

[29] Wilton (1996) Bilinguals and the translation process.

3.3 Bilingual aptitudes and their relevance to translation

In light of the review thus far, and to be able to reach some conclusions as to whether competence in translation necessarily follows from bilingualism, it has been essential to establish a clear understanding of who is considered bilingual.

In contrast to the early views on bilingualism as having a harmful effect on a person's intellectual abilities, a view that Bloomfield in the beginning of his study supported[30], current research contends that to be a bilingual, in the general sense of the word, holds many advantages and supra-linguistic benefits. Wei in *The Bilingualism Reader* adapts a schema drawn up by Baker and Prys Jones (1998: 6-8), and classifies these advantages as:

Communicative advantages:

1. Being a bilingual means having the ability to communicate with more people as opposed to being monolingual. Bilingual children have the ability to communicate with other communities, and in different life situations. Studies of bilingual children have shown that they act as interpreters in various situations.

2. Bilinguals can act as cultural bridges within their communities and across societies.

3. Bilinguals are language and communication sensitive. The use of two languages in different settings and being able to switch between languages to accommodate the interlocutor makes a bilingual speaker more attuned to the audience's communicative needs.

These communicative advantages might be true in terms of interpreting. However, when it comes to translation these advantages are yet to be proved. Additionally, it would be beneficial to the study of translation to examine further this statement of the bilingual speaker being more attuned to the audience's need. This consideration opens the debate about the role of the translator, and the perceptions of the figure of the translator for the bilingual individual. Furthermore, the idea of bilinguals acting as cultural bridges rings true to Katan's

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[30] A view that was widespread in educational circles was the possibility that a bilingual might not possess full competence in any of the languages they speak, these individuals were termed 'semilinguals'. Bloomfield observes: "White Thunder, a man around 40, speaks less English than Menomini, and that is a strong indictment, for his Menomini is atrocious. His vocabulary is small, his inflections are often Barbarous, he constructs sentences of a few threadbare models. He may be said to speak no language tolerably" (1927: 395).

assertion: "...the translator is a bilingual mediating agent between monolingual communication participants in two different language communities" (2004: 16). Translators are perceived as intermediaries between two language systems and as cultural mediators. However, it does not seem clear if training in translation is necessary here. There is no doubt, however, that translation is crucial in understanding the cultural other.

The cultural advantages of bilingualism are:

1. A bilingual individual can experience two cultures, or more, in a deep manner and is also able to participate actively in these cultures and can become deeply involved inside the culture because of his/her ability to communicate and engage in situations.

2. In this age of wide international relationships, being bilingual holds advantages on the personal economical level for this individual, as the job market increasingly demands multiple language competence; in some institutions it is even a requirement.

In terms of culture, the state of being bilingual and bicultural is key to be able to translate well semantically. It is an indisputable fact that writing well in these languages is also important. However, if these abilities are sufficient to translate well is yet to be proved.[31]

There are also cognitive advantages for bilingualism, for example:

1. Recent research shows that being bilingual may have its advantages for creative thinking processes and for faster progress in cognitive development. Studies of bilinguals have shown that they have an ability to extend the range of meanings, they have the possibility of more awareness of language and, more importantly, they have shown more flexibility in thinking than monolinguals, (Wei 2007: 21).

As mentioned earlier, a large number of these advantages of bilingualism could be considered as advantages of translation as well; for example, the ability to communicate with two cultures

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[31] It is important to mention here that this thesis is not examining the quality of the translations, but the process of translation. To study and analyse the product of translation here might not be fair, it would require product based research, rather than process oriented research.

and the biculturalism of an individual would bring value and facilitate the translation process. The question remains though of how far these advantages influence the translation process performed by natural translators, and if, in fact, the natural translator is aware of these advantages. More importantly, do natural translators consider themselves translators at all? And what are the reasons behind this consideration?

In addition to those advantages, Malakoff and Hakuta in 'Translation skill and metalinguistic awareness' observed that from an early age bilinguals experience translation as an everyday activity (1991: 142). In this study, Malakoff and Hakuta put forward proof that bilingual children functioned as translators, in other words, as interpreters for the purposes of the present study, for adults in different social circumstances, i.e. for hospital appointments, watching television programmes, and negotiating telephone conversations. This study also includes reference to the views of parents of bilingual children: they express their optimism that being bilingual would improve the chances of employability for their offspring, an aspiration which is consistent with Baker and Prys Jones's contention that bilingualism entails economic advantages. Studies such as Malakoff and Hakuta's suggest that there is indeed a tendency for bilingualism to entail routine translation work in everyday situations although this co-incidence does not establish whether bilingualism itself produces an aptitude for translation.

Other claims, such as the one made by Harris in 1973 about translation being an innate skill that can be developed and nurtured with guidance just like any other natural skill, also work from the premise, as mentioned previously, that bilingualism presupposes competence as a translator. Harris and Sherwood refer to 'natural translation', defining this term as: "The translating done in everyday circumstances by people who have had no special training for it" (1978: 155). In support of this definition of natural translation and emphasising the predisposition of bilinguals to be or to act as translators, Wilss defined the predisposition to translation, in 1982, as "part and parcel of mankind's basic linguistic equipment" (1982: 39).

The claim that "translating is coextensive with bilingualism" (Harris and Sherwood 1978: 155) could be interpreted to mean that the relationship between bilingualism and translation is similar to that of speaking a language and being able to communicate. Harris also suggests that no natural skill develops overnight, and thus he speaks of stages through which a natural

translator passes. The stages are, firstly, pretranslation (which is translating using single words), secondly there is autotranslation ("when a translator translates to others what he has said or written himself") and thirdly there is transduction (this is where a translator acts as an intermediary between two other people) (1978: 165). These stages justify how bilinguals grow into the role of natural translators. In this research, the process of "transduction" is of particular interest, because the participants are expected to have grown into the role of a translator as a result of their bilingualism. This aspect will be further explored in the interviews.

In *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995), Toury also mentions that he himself, unaware of the proposal of the term natural translation by Harris, has put forward the notion of native translation. Toury defined a native translator as "one who has grown into that role, with no formal training for it" (1995: 242). Toury proposes the term 'native' translator as a more useful term in the sense that it stems from the observation that acquiring translation as a skill is not only the continuity of an innate predisposition. Toury adds that while predisposition to translation is indeed "coextensive with bilingualism", however, "its emergence as a skill should be taken as coextensive with the ability to establish similarities and differences across languages…" (1995: 248)

Later, Toury admits that this definition was vague and that he considered it necessary to elaborate further on this notion. Toury argues that identifying translation as a "skill with mere bilingualism seems an unwarranted oversimplification" (1995: 245). He mentions that there exists evidence that translating can be separated from other linguistic skills. Toury supports this claim by raising the issue of polyglot aphasia, where an individual remains able to speak two languages, but is no longer able to translate between them (Toury 1995: 246). What this actually means is that translation cannot be regarded as an inevitable function of bilingualism, even if the previous example is not as common as is that of the existing ability to translate which normally manifests with bilingualism. In addition to this concern, Toury puts forward other concerns regarding Harris's hypothesis that infants are translators, questions such as: what triggers the act of translation, what circumstances, or surrounding environment, and how does an individual's personality influence the translation or trigger the role of translator? According to Toury all of these factors would play a major role in the formation of

a natural translator. Toury concluded in his work that there was a gap between the innateness hypothesis postulated by Sherwood and translating as a skill. These two major views on bilingualism and the translation ability encouraged more researchers to study in depth the innateness of translation through empirical research. There have been many advances and findings in this regard. However, the studies focused on children translators and interpreters. Therefore, there is a lot of work to be done in the field; more precisely, this research proposes, rather than to debate the bilingual's ability to translate, or explore the quality of this particular translation, to focus on the process of written translation and to investigate through interviews the role of the natural translator, as this will provide valuable insights into the study of the natural translation process.

A prominent example of the study of natural translation, and "naïve", as termed by Harris and Sherwood (1978) children translators, as mentioned earlier, is the one performed by Malakoff and Hakuta (1991). In the following lines, this study will be discussed as one of the examples of a study of natural translation performed by 'naïve' children translators, as suggested by Harris. The results will show that translation is an everyday day activity for their bilingual subjects, and also show when the subjects fail to translate "correctly" together with the reason/s for this failure. In addition, it will help clarify why this thesis chose to investigate the natural translation process performed by adult bilinguals who have had no special training in translation and who rely on the natural linguistic abilities they possess.

Malakoff and Hakuta mention that the act of translation requires the manipulation of language and that the translator goes through phases, namely: understanding the vocabulary in the original work, understanding the message in this work, reformulating this message in a second language, and, finally, deciding how adequate the resulting text is. In addition to the importance of language, the contextual meaning plays a major role in the translation process. It was also suggested that the processes that take place in text comprehension can be better understood with translation and interpretation. This means that meaning as well as correct sentence structure are both important in the target language,[32] which led to the conclusion

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[32] Because it is possible to communicate meaning in the absence of correct sentence structure, this research emphasises the importance of correct sentence structure especially that the research subjects will be adult and educated bilinguals.

that translation is not only communicative but it is also a metalinguistic skill,[33] which "allows the individual to step back from the comprehension or production of an utterance in order to consider the linguistic form and structure underlying the meaning of the utterance" (1991: 147). Malakoff and Hakuta argue that even though metalinguistic skill and bilingual proficiency are considered to be separate skills, these sets of skills are to some degree related. This could add an answer to the question of why translation proficiency requires both bilingual proficiency and a good metalinguistic knowledge. In their study, Malakoff and Hakuta reach the conclusion that translation is a skill that is found in bilingual children. Even if there are some flaws in their translations, the translations done by children, in the study carried out by Malakoff and Hakuta, did show that the children were aware of the communicative importance of their translations. The errors that were found in the translations were mainly in sentence structure and not in meaning. The translation efficiency and quality varied depending on the target language proficiency, processing time[34] (as suggested by the difference between the written and oral tasks) and translation proficiency (Malakoff and Hakuta 1991: 161). It was suggested in Malakoff and Hakuta's study that natural translation is an ability to be expected in bilingual children. They also proposed using this ability as tool to assess language proficiency and for research purposes. The research method that will be applied in this thesis will perhaps add to the findings of Malakoff and Hakuta, and examine if bilingual adults are aware of the communicative importance of their translations. Does the skill of translation that was found in children develop when the subjects are adults? And finally, the study will investigate if the participants are conscious of their role as translators.

This chapter discussed the definitions of bilingualism and diglossia. The chapter also discussed one of the relevant studies that examined Harris's claim that translation is an innate skill and that it is part and parcel of being bilingual. The study was mentioned as an example, it is by no means the only study that has dealt with the issue, but it was deemed relevant to the introduction of this research because it demonstrates that further work needs to be done in this area. Other studies that were mentioned but not detailed are Gerloff (1988) and Wilton

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[33] Defined in the study of Malakoff and Hakuta in general terms as: "an awareness of the underlying linguistic nature of language use" (1991:147).

[34] "The values were obtained through regression predicting translation times for words and sentences on English and Spanish proficiency, and the word identification task" (1991:157)

(1996). Gerloff's work will be discussed further in the methods chapter of this thesis, as it is important both in terms of participants as well as in terms of the method used in the study.

However, Wilton's work, unfortunately, was unpublished and could not be accessed. It was mentioned in Jääskeläinen (2002: 135).

This chapter attempted to clarify and explain the link between "translation" and "bilingualism". The examination of the terms was deemed necessary to answer the question whether any bilingual can act as a translator. The next Chapter, will take into account the literature on both bilingualism and translation, and the research will discuss the rationale behind method and, then, its application. Finally, and as a result of the wide variety of definitions and implications in the definitions of the terms bilingualism and translation, this study will take into account the following definitions that it adopts, of translation and bilingualism as basis for the research. "Translation" will be used to refer to: "the process of transferring textual material from language A to language B", the definition applied in this research will include the definition of translation as defined by Catford (1965). The term "Bilingual" will be used to refer to one who grew up using both languages, and where the languages were learnt in different settings, for example: school and home. Thus, the condition of natural is still applicable[35], and the participant has a clear distinction of each of the mental content of the languages used which qualifies him/her to be referred to as a "coordinated bilingual".

4   Methodology

This chapter will discuss the methods that I used in my data collection. It will begin with a brief discussion of the historical context of TAPs and how these have been used in studying the translation process. I will also highlight some of the areas where I have identified that more work could be done. The discussion will include critical review of the relevant existing literature in the field, the research which primarily investigated the translation process using

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[35] The bilingual participants did not study translation and have minimal experience as translators. In many instances they did not even consider the tasks involving interpreting or even translation as acts of translations. Thus they were not consciously aware that they were functioning as translators.

TAPs, as well as its advantages and limitations. I will also propose the use of a secondary tool, namely retrospective interviews, to overcome aspects of the main tool that have been perceived as shortcomings. I applied these methods when I conducted two pilot studies prior to carrying out the actual work. The pilot studies helped in testing the hypotheses as well as in refining the research tools and methodology. The pilot stage of the work provided valuable feedback on how the two research tools would be applied. Furthermore, they informed the approach and helped understand better how to tackle the shortcomings of the methods.

This research has set out to examine and compare not only the process of translation when performed by natural translators and trainee translators (MA Translation Studies students), but also broader issues, namely, self-perceptions and perceptions of the role of the translator by natural translators. The processes I examine are the strategies adopted by the participants in the translation task, as well as their decision making processes, and, finally, the participants' perceptions of the role of the translator in this exercise. The first pilot study was conducted with an adult bilingual natural translator. The participant was presented with one text and was asked to translate it. In light of the findings of the first pilot study, a second pilot study was conducted however this time was with an MA Translation Studies student. The findings of this second pilot study were used for a third pilot study until I was satisfied with the materials used, the participant's age group, the time restriction and finally the overall design. A detailed description of these three studies will be offered later in this chapter. The full details of the full studies will be discussed in the next chapters.

In the actual study both groups will be presented with a selection of texts. The participants of each group will be asked to translate one text from English to Arabic while thinking out loud their translation. It is expected that giving that both groups of participants will be faced with a non-routine[36] task they will verbalize their thoughts while translating. Once the translation is completed, the participants will participate in an interview.

The findings from both groups are compared and take into consideration the following points: the translation strategies applied by both groups, the translation unit the participants work with, time pressure and its constraints on the decision making process and the

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[36] The difference between a routine and a non-routine task will be discussed later in the chapter.

translation task. The aforementioned set of variables will be examined by using TAPS. Another aim of the thesis is to shed light on and further explore the way in which both categories of participants understand the translator's role and whether, or in what ways, they think of themselves as translators. This secondary set of aims includes examining how bilingualism and biculturalism influence the role of translator, and inform the strategies used in the translation task. Thus, given the nature and limitations of the TAPs, the research will also use retrospective interviews. In the following sections, I shall proceed to a critical review of how previous research into translation activity has used TAPs.

4.1   Think-Aloud Protocols

Since the 1980s, the interest in understanding *how* translators work— looking at process as well as results— has steadily grown. Studying the outcome of a translation task in isolation would not provide information regarding, for example, the rationale for the problem solving techniques translators use or the strategies they apply in translation. For this reason, since the late 1980s, Translation Studies scholars have been studying the mental mechanisms behind translation in greater depth. The process of translation has been investigated using a variety of different methods: among those are diaries (Halonen 1994); protocols of introspection and retrospection (Fraser 1993; Kohn and Kalina 1996); interviews (Jänis 1996; Leppihalme 1994); questionnaires (Youssef 1989); and TAPs (Krings 1986 and Lörscher 1991). As noted earlier, my research will use TAPs and retrospective interviews as a method of data collection. The general expectation in TAPs is that when subjects are faced with a translation task they will verbalize what comes into their mind while performing the task. These verbalizations are recorded, transcribed, and, finally, analyzed. The verbal data obtained would yield information about:

> [T]he levels, steps, units of processing, the role of the interaction of the source and target language, the amount of proceduralisation, the origin and course of search processes and the times used for these processes. (Dechert and Sandrock 1986: 115)

The following section will survey some of the TAP studies that inspired and helped shape this study, and assess their value and limitations. It will also identify where more work could be done in the field of Translation Studies, and finally explain how this research will introduce

new insights to the field and point to questions that remain open and that will require further work.

Ericsson and Simon provided the theoretical framework for TAPs as a research tool, i.e. as a resource with applications in the study of cognitive processes and therefore valuable in the move within translation studies to understand process (1984). In their work, which was underpinned by existing psychology research on the relationship between actual and verbalised thought, Ericsson and Simon discussed how to direct participants towards thinking aloud, what sort of information could be expected and, also, what processes were likely to be left out from the verbal reports. Ericsson and Simon argue that although verbal reports have limitations, they nevertheless provide useful data for the study of human thought processes if analyzed thoroughly. The model proposed by Ericsson and Simon, which is based on the information-processing approach in cognitive psychology, operates under two general assumptions; firstly, that human cognition is a form of information processing; and, secondly, that information is stored in different forms of memories, which in turn have different capacities and can be accessed in different ways. Ericsson and Simon maintained that the information is kept in two memory stores: short-term memory and long-term memory. Short-term memory is characterized by its limited storage capacity and easy access while long-term memory has a large storage capacity and difficult access. Short-term memory can thus be easily retrieved and reported because it is this information of which the subject is most immediately aware at the moment. Moreover, in the model elaborated by Ericsson and Simon, they hypothesize that verbalization does not interfere with the cognitive process. It might, however, slow down the performance (Jakobsen 2003). This is important because although TAPs slow the process they do not interfere to a large extent with the process. They have proven to bring valuable insights into the cognitive processes that take place while performing a translation task (Gerloff 1988; Jääskeläinen 1996). There are numerous implications to this model. Those directly relevant to this research are discussed in the following section.

The cognitive procedures of a participant who is carrying out a lengthy task can arguably be reflected properly only by simultaneous verbalizations of thought. A lengthy task can be defined as one that takes more than ten seconds to complete (Ericsson and Simon 1984). Upon the completion of a long task part of the information would then move to the long term

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memory, leaving behind retrievable signs in the short term memory. This is especially important for TAP studies because in such situations—i.e. when more than ten seconds have passed since a translatorial decision or a related mental process has occurred—the verbalizations that follow have been found to be either difficult to understand or incomplete (Ericsson and Simon 1984). In addition, it can be difficult to ascertain that the subject is not interpreting his/her own thought processes, or even generating them once again, instead of retrieving them from the long term memory, which is in itself at one remove from the thought process [37]. The task will be followed by a retrospective interview that would yield complementary information and invite the participants to reflect on what was said and done in the task.

Another important aspect to take into consideration for this type of study is to make sure that the reports reflect and do not distort the underlying cognitive processes generated by the translation task. In order for this to be achieved, it is necessary that the participant does not feel that he/she is taking part in social communication. While conversation is obviously a more natural situation than verbalization of one's thoughts or "talking to oneself", it would involve rearranging, rephrasing and reworking thoughts in order to adjust them to socially accepted norms. This process would modify the information. Therefore, the interaction between the participant and experimenter should be avoided or perhaps reduced to a minimum. Otherwise, there is a higher risk of "the observer effect", i.e. participants may modify an aspect of their behaviour as a result of their knowledge that they are being studied. Indeed, this effect was one that I encountered in the pilot studies that I conducted prior to the research exercises that form the corpus of my primary material. This chapter will detail how these experimental rounds helped in honing my methodology and in fashioning a more relaxed environment for the participants. However, it is noteworthy that despite my efforts, while the observer effect was reduced, it was not eliminated.

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[37] As mentioned earlier, in think-aloud protocols only processes that are happening in the short term memory are accessible. This does not mean that participants would speak within ten seconds of the thought process: a slight lag between the thought and the verbalization is expected, and indeed is likely to happen, because other factors come into play here, such as consideration of what is socially acceptable/appropriate to say out-loud.

Automation is another phenomenon that attests to the complexity of TAPs, and one that may pose a problem to a researcher using this method, Ericsson and Simon explain automation as follows:

> Before over-learning has occurred, processes have to be interpreted, with substantial feedback from intermediate processing stages in STM [short-term memory]. Overlearning amounts to compiling these processes, so that fewer tests are performed when they are being executed, hence less information is stored at intermediate stages in STM (1984: 127)

In other words, practice, and also experience, can influence the processing in short term memory in such a way that fewer mental states will be available to be verbalized by the subjects who have a lot of experience in the task. The effects of this limitation are expected to be minimal in my research, however, as the participants are either natural translators or trainee translators, MA Translation Studies students, with relatively limited experience in translation[38] and are thus unlikely to have had sufficient experience in completing similar tasks such that their approach would be one based on automated or rote processes. Another valid assumption, considering that the participants in this research are bilinguals, is that the translation process might be for them a code-switching exercise between English and Arabic. While automatic processes are more efficient and faster than processes performed under conscious control, they resist easy modification when necessary and are less flexible. Therefore, asking participants to verbalize their thoughts while they are in fact performing automated processes could change the processes. There is, however, another possibility: I had anticipated (based on my review of the literature on TAP) that verbalization would increase the participants' thoughtfulness about how to translate and about what would sound better in the target language (Al-Smael: 2000), especially in the case of natural translators as they lack formal training in translation. This assumption was somewhat borne out by the result of the pilot study conducted with the natural translators. In more than one instance in the course of thinking aloud the participant had to re-read his translation and reflected on what sounded

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[38] It could be argued that in the case of bilingual natural translators the task is already automised to some extent because they translate frequently. It is however plausible that because they do not reflect on the task the process is not entirely automised, and that a written translation task might be perceived as new.

more or less natural in the Arabic target text. TAP also increased the participants' level of reflection on decisions taken with regard to cultural sensibilities and with regard to greater fluency or readability.

As a final point in this discussion, it is necessary to take into account the impact of the subject's personality and personal history on the data collected using TAPs. In other words, the research must take into consideration the existing individual differences in knowledge as well as the ability to verbalize thoughts. Individual differences between subjects of the study exist and this research will try to discount the effects of these differences as much as possible, and explicitly take them into account during data analysis and discussion. As an example of this kind of mitigation, I decided against holding a warm-up session *prior* to the think-aloud exercise. It seemed more productive to meet with the participants in a friendly way outside the study box. These meetings proved to be helpful in several ways: firstly the stress while performing the exercise was significantly reduced, relative to the stress factor identified in my pilot study, because the participant/researcher barrier was removed; secondly, this meeting allowed me to learn if the participants would have individual issues with the task. For example, some participants had insecurities about hearing their voice recorded or were very uncomfortable with their handwriting.

Additionally, this brief meeting before the actual task also helped clarify for the participants what TAPS are. I demonstrated by translating, while thinking aloud, a paragraph from an article chosen at random to further illustrate to the participants what would be expected of them in terms for verbalizing their thoughts. Familiarizing the participants with these small details prior to the actual exercise was very helpful in putting the participants at ease and reaching them on another (a more spontaneous) level, thus creating as natural as possible an environment during the exercise, and reducing the "observer effect". Based on my review of the literature I calculated that if the pressure of being observed could be minimized then the participants would be more likely to be forthcoming in verbalizing their thoughts. A more detailed discussion of the measures taken to minimize these individual differences will be detailed in the study design section.

Despite the limitations mentioned in the sections above, TAPs have proven to be useful in enhancing the theoretical understanding of the intellectual processes at work in translation

activity. From the view of translation as a problem solving process, it was a logical departure for Translation Studies researchers to suggest that translation could be studied using TAPs.[39] Many experiments have been conducted to test this hypothesis. The different interests and backgrounds in research have yielded a variety of approaches at the stage of applying TAPs to research on translation. The value that think-aloud studies can provide has also been emphasised by Jääskeläinen (1993); Kussmaul; and Krings (1988) (1993). This latter tranche of research in the late eighties and early nineties highlighted the use of TAPs in identifying opportunities for refining pedagogical approaches to translation. TAPs could be used to examine the behaviour of students who are training to become translators, and the results would then provide valuable insight as to where the students are having problems with translation: "the results of the analysis then will form a basis for translation pedagogy" (Krings 1988 in Kussmaul and Tirkkonen-Condit 1995).

This point is of particular interest to my research because the comparison of the processes of translation and the behaviours adopted by two groups of participants— trainee translators and natural translators—could provide insight on the different uses of translation strategies to be found between a natural translator and a trainee translator, and such findings could be useful for the study of translation, as argued by Harris (1977) and Harris and Sherwood (1978). This exercise could also yield findings about how the participants approach and segment a translation activity. Other benefits of this type of research include helping to determine the size of the recurring translation unit that the participants work with, as well as understanding the problem solving strategies applied by the participants in translating culture-specific items. The exercise could furthermore propose a tentative set of rules and drives that govern the process of natural translation.

In Translation Studies, TAPs have been used in many areas of research, with a variety of language pairs, and with different types of participants. For example, Jääskeläinen (1987, 1989) and Tirkkonen-Condit (1989) focused on translation students, Laukkanen (1993) and Séguinot (1989) focused on professional translators, while Krings (1986) and Lörscher (1991) focused on foreign language students. The translation process itself has been studied from

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[39] The use of think-aloud protocols in Translation Studies has been modeled after its use in psychology and cognitive linguistics. The pioneering work of Ericsson, K.A. & Simon, H.A. (1980)

different angles: for example Krings (1986); and Lörscher (1991), studied problem solving strategies; Tirkkonen-Condit (1989) studied decision-making criteria; Koby (2000) studied the difference between translating using computers and translating using a pencil and paper; Holscher and Mohle (1987) studied cognitive planning; and Jääskeläinen (1990) studied the focus of conscious attention. In the words of Tirkkonnen-Condit and Kussmaul:

> [T]AP data provide rich material on which a variety of hypotheses can be tested and research with a variety of aims can be pursued. In such rich data, however, we cannot find anything unless we at least vaguely know what we are looking for. (1995: 183)

Tirkkonnen-Condit and Kussmaul's advice has a bearing on my work inasmuch as, while the focus of previous work in translation studies that has used TAPs to uncover process has been clear, some of these studies have attempted to focus on the comparison between two *different* groups of participants in order to understand the differences between professional translation and non-professional translation. Very few studies have focused on natural translation in comparison to professional translation. Isolated examples of these studies are those by Gerloff (1988) and Wilton (1996).[40] Details of Gerloff's study will be mentioned in section 4.1.2. and I will refer to it as well throughout the thesis. The comparison between different levels of professionalism, or its complete lack, in translation, is of importance in the study of translation and translation process as mentioned previously in this chapter. Lörscher (1996) compared the strategies applied in translation performed by professional translators with strategies applied by foreign language students as nonprofessional translators. Lörscher reported that the groups differed in the frequency and distribution of the translation strategies employed. Lörscher also pointed out the difference in approach to translation. Professionals were more sense-oriented while non-professionals were more form-oriented.[41] Finally, Lörscher observed that professionals differed greatly from non-professionals in the size of translation units they worked with at any one time, in typological adequacy, and in their attention to issues of style. The study performed by Lörscher will be discussed further in later sections.

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[40] This research was not published. For this reason, I will be referring mainly to the study conducted by Gerloff.
[41] Hatim and Munday (2004) explain that sense oriented translation places emphasis on general accuracy while adherence to form focuses on literal rendering.

Having given a broad overview of general trends in this work, I will now survey in more detail the studies that are most relevant to my research and that have used TAPs as a method to collect data and to examine the process of translation.

4.1.1   Dechert and Sandrock (1984)

The trend towards pursuing an empirical line of research concerning translation processes can be traced back to the pioneering work performed by Dechert and Sandrock in Germany. The subject of their ground-breaking study was a university student studying English philology. The subject was given a text in English,[42] had fifteen minutes to perform a translation of it, and was allowed the use of dictionaries. Dechert and Sandrock taped the subject's verbalizations and recorded the time the subject spent thinking and talking about each translation unit. The following patterns appeared in the analysis of the data: the sentence was the unit of translation; once a solution was found the subject tended to keep this initial solution; there was a tendency to retain the syntactic structure of the source text, even if it diverged from the structure of the target language; and, finally, they observed a tendency to translate at the lowest[42] level and when the initial attempt failed the subject would move to the next translation unit. This could suggest that amateur translators work at lexical and syntagmatic levels, while professionals work at a paradigmatic level.

4.1.2   Gerloff 1986

The study performed by Gerloff (1986) at Harvard University, which summarizes its findings as "Translation does not get easier", is of particular interest in my research. It is one of two studies that were performed using competent bilinguals as research subjects. [43] Gerloff's TAP study compared the translations completed by four novice translators (college students learning French as a second language), four competent bilinguals who had little or no experience in translation, and four professional translators. The subjects were asked to produce a written translation of a source text from a foreign language (French) to their native language (English). The data was processed in terms of: time spent in translation; units of

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[42] Length of text was not mentioned. Details of text types and choice in this research are discussed in section 4.6. [42] In this case it was "word" level.

[43] This study by Gerloff is one of very few published pieces of research reporting data on working methods used by bilingual natural translators.

analysis; problem solving activities; and, finally, the quality of the translations. Gerloff used audio and video-taping in her research while she was present during the task. The subjects formed three groups. The translations that were produced were evaluated by three assessors who were asked to provide an overall rating with comments. The assessments were general: in other words, the raters were asked to evaluate the translations in terms of faithfulness of meaning to the French text and in terms of readability of the final product.

In her study Gerloff concluded that professionals did not necessarily produce the best quality translations; rather, quality seemed to be coefficient of the time spent and the effort invested in the translation task. Similar results could also be found in Krings (1988) and Tirkkonnen-Condit (1989): translation quality appears to be closely linked to the overall time spent on completing the task and the effort applied in the process of translation. I observed similar results in the pilot studies conducted for my research.

Before proceeding to the next study, it is appropriate to explain how my research differs from Gerloff's in some important respects. To begin with, the quality of translations will not be assessed, because this research is interested mainly in the translation process and in the decision making process. Furthermore, due to cultural restrictions,[44] the participants will only be audio taped, while the researcher is present and noting the relevant aspects to be further explored in the retrospective interview. Additionally, the participants in my research will be asked to choose one of five texts that are offered to them as source texts, and to explain the reasons behind their choice. Finally, the number of participants in Gerloff's study was twelve in total: four participants from three different categories. In my work the total number of participants is twenty: ten participants from each of the two categories. This sample size is considerably larger than any that has been worked with previously in research using TAPs to compare process between natural and trained or trainee translators.

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[44] The Middle-Eastern culture is of conservative nature. The Arabian Gulf region is no exception to this statement. Therefore, video-taping the procedure would have made it difficult to recruit participants, especially female participants.

4.1.3   Krings 1986

According to Krings, the texts chosen in the study performed by Dechert and Sandrock (1984) were simple. Krings believed that translation units that do not appear problematic would be translated in rote fashion and therefore the process would not be verbalized, which would explain why Dechert and Sandrock found few translation problems. Krings also had some concerns regarding the ratio of time spent translating a segment of the source text to the time spent reading it. In the study by Dechert and Sandrock this ratio was three to one, whereas in Krings's study the ratio was twenty-five to one, thus indicating the relative simplicity of the text in the other study. Based on these observations, Krings presented the subjects of his study with a text that included different potential translation problems in order to retrieve more processing data.

Krings also criticized Gerloff's study (1986) because its research objective was to examine comprehension and production from the point of view of second language use and Gerloff did not set out to examine the translation process. Moreover, Krings was critical of the lack of results in Gerloff's study in terms of professional translation process. Krings argues that in Gerloff's study the real intent was to study the process from the perspective of second language use. Therefore, Gerloff does not distinguish between comprehension problems, combined comprehension and expression problems, and expression problems. Another aspect that Krings criticizes in Gerloff's study was the lack of any clear definition for translation strategy. Krings argues, furthermore, that this lack leads Gerloff not to distinguish between strategic (controlled) and nonstrategic (automatic) aspects of text processing (Kiraly 1995: 44). Criticisms of this sort, and as made by Krings, suggested that further research from a strictly Translation Studies point of view would yield valuable results about for example the translation process, comprehension and production problems.

Krings's TAP study was conducted using eight German university students in the process of completing their Masters degree in English. Four of the subjects translated into English and the other four translated into German. The data was collected using audiotape and with recordings made during translation. The data in Krings's study yielded 117 translation strategies, as inferred by the researcher, and suggested a bifurcated approach to explanatory modelling of the translation processing: one model described the second language to the first

language translation processes, and the other model described the first language to the second language translation processes. In Kring's own words:

> Strategies emerge as soon as the translation cannot be carried out automatically. As far as I can see there seems to be five sets of main strategies involved in the handling of translation problems: strategies of comprehension, strategies of equivalent retrieval, strategies of equivalent monitoring, strategies of decision making, strategies of reduction. (1986: 268)

Krings created flow charts that outlined the sequence of identifiable cognitive processes relating to any given translation problem. Krings argued that identifying translation problems "must be based on features of the translation process itself" (1968: 267). A prominent finding in Krings's study was that most of the basic strategy categories were similar irrespective of whether subjects were translating from or into their native language. However, the order of application of those strategies differed depending on the language direction. In light of Krings's criticism to the use of easy texts in Gerloff, my research will offer the participants a choice of five texts. The texts will range in difficulty and represent a variety of themes, pertaining to different cultures. The intention of providing subjects with a variety of cultural topics was to give the bicultural participants the opportunity to choose a text that they would be comfortable and familiar with. My expectation is that the participants' choice of text will provide insights on the role culturally inscribed identities and self-perception play in the translation process.

4.1.4   Lörscher 1986

Lörscher's application of the TAP method was slightly different to the procedures I have reviewed thus far. In his study, German subjects studying to be English teachers were asked to translate a German written text orally into English and this was termed talk-aloud data. In Lörscher's opinion this approach was one that would be more natural than production of a written translation accompanied by verbal data. Lörscher asked the subjects to think aloud only. The purpose of this approach was to minimise as much as possible the intrusion into the data of mental processes related to task performance. Another important aspect of this method is that in this scenario, unlike in others that gather data from retrospective reports, subjects were not exposed to memory loss and so the information externalised is possibly

more complete. This study focused on translators' problems and on their thoughts when they were confronted with such challenges. Lörscher postulates that solving translation problems is a step by step process, and, as such, the condition of thinking-aloud would yield more reliable data regarding the mental processes. While thinking-aloud as posited by Lörscher has its merits, his model, designed as it was to exclude the effects of producing a written translation on thought processes, circumscribes comparability with my work. Without the production of a written text, the exercise involved in Lörscher's study could be said to involve a task better described as sight interpreting rather than translation.[45] This is significant when seen in the context of work on working units (that tend to be differently segmented in interpreting, as compared with translation) and in light of recent research that indicates that the practice of writing by itself shapes thought processes, even to the point where the form of written production (e.g., using a pen or pencil, or using a keyboard) shapes thought processes differently.[46]

4.1.5   Königs 1987

Königs's research included five German subjects. Two of them were university students of Spanish philology, two others were students of Spanish at masters level, and one was a professional German translator. The text to be translated was from a travel brochure that was originally written in German and then translated to Spanish. The subjects were asked to backtranslate the text to German while producing TAP data. The research was video-taped. Based on this research Königs identified two types of translation units, the first being units that were translated spontaneously[47] and the second being units that posed translation problems. Königs concluded that the second type of translation unit presented problems for any of following reasons: gaps in the translator's second language competence; gaps in the translation competence; linguistic translation difficulties either on word, sentence or text level; content difficulties; and, finally, performance difficulties. One of the major critiques of

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[45] Sometimes referred to as 'sight interpreting'.

[46] Recently in (BBC Podcasts and Downloads - Forum - A World of Ideas, February 3rd 2015) Part of the program is a discussion of how writing by hand conditions thought processes differently from keyboard composition The discussion opens up consideration of how the material conditions of the writing process (pen and paper, or keyboard) could impact on translation unit gauge

[47] The subject identified a one-to-one correspondence with the target language unit.

this study was by Krings, who queried the use of a previously translated text. According to Krings any errors that were made in the previous translation could affect the new translation. Also, the Spanish text could have been syntactically similar to the German text in a manner that an original text would not have been. Taking into consideration the critique Krings made of the previously mentioned study, the study I propose will be using source texts originally written in the source language. Furthermore, the participants will be able to choose between a variety of texts, each pertaining to a different theme. The texts used in the task will be analysed and discussed later in this chapter. Following Königs 's classification of translation units, the chosen texts for the current research will also contain elements that are expected to be translated spontaneously as well as units that are expected to pose translation problems. The pilot studies I conducted showed a sub-set of the second type of translation unit. This unit comprises terms that were perceived to be marked for cultural specificity and appropriateness.

4.1.6 Jääskeläinen 1990

In a piece of research carried out in 1990 Jääskeläinen used TAPs in a study in which 12 subjects took part translating texts from English to Finnish. The subjects in Jääskeläinen's study were four translation students, four professional translators with ten to 15 years of experience, and four educated lay persons whose age and level of education corresponded roughly to that of the professional translators. The four people in this last section of Jääskeläinen's cohort had a good knowledge of English but no experience in translation. The task was tape-recorded and the researcher was present during the exercise. Jääskeläinen's study assessed the quality of translations, in a similar way to Gerloff's study. In Jääskeläinen's work the translations were assessed by a group of four raters, lecturers from the University of Joensuu, Savonlinna School of Translation Studies. The raters were not informed about the extent of the translators' professional ability. Furthermore, the translations were sent to the co-editor of a national newspaper for which the text in question was supposed to be translated. The quality assessment in Jääskeläinen's study "was general and impressionistic" (1996:63). The raters were instructed to evaluate the extent to which the translations fulfilled the requirements that were established in the task description, hence the raters were provided with copies of the source text. The assessment criteria included semantic accuracy

and linguistic fluency and the task description also specified that editing and rewriting were expected.

Jääskeläinen reached the same conclusion as Gerloff (1988), that is to say that the quality of translation is mainly determined by the time and effort applied to the task and that translation does not necessarily get easier the more one does it. These results are comparable to the results obtained by Krings (1988), where translation quality is a product of the amount of time and effort applied by the translators to the process of translation. Jääskeläinen concludes that novices in translation problematize very little and consequently they translate quickly and effortlessly. Translation students, on the other hand, are aware of their ignorance and have grown sensitive to translation problems, and, as a result, their processing is time consuming.

The pilot studies conducted in the course of my research examined the translation processes exhibited by three participants: two natural translators[48] and an MA in Translation Studies graduate. The first bilingual participant belonged to a different age group (34-45) than the other two participants. Therefore, the participant had more experience, not necessarily in translation, but rather of a sort that provided a level of maturity that shaped and influenced the decision making process.[49] The second natural translator I observed in my pilot work seemed to possess a competence equal to the level of a novice translator, and thus he rarely problematized in the translation task. The pilot study conducted with a graduate from an MA in Translation highlighted the importance of choosing participants who are current MA students as opposed to graduates.

The rationale behind the previous statement, like the one applied to the issue of age ranges, is also related to questions of experience. Following Jääskeläinen's experiment and the results of the pilot studies, I chose the participants with relatively similar levels of experience and age, with the intention of, so far as possible, reducing the variables between the participants to one key difference, which is exposure to translation training. To limit the

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[48] I conducted the second pilot study with a bilingual adult to be able to determine the significance of age range relative to someone's status as a natural translator. The pilot bore out my concerns in this regard: the second pilot study with a younger bilingual adult (24-35) demonstrated that someone with less professional experience would more closely approximate to the parameters set in my definition of a natural translator. [49] I will discuss the participant pool later in this chapter under 'Description of the Study'.

experience level is very important, because the results of previous Tap studies confirmed that experience can be counter-productive for a TAP study, because the higher the level of experience the more automised the task becomes. Furthermore, based on the findings in Jääskeläinen, knowledge and experience in translation results in the task becoming one that is more problematized and lengthier. Therefore, informing experienced participants that they would be taking part in an exercise where they would only have one hour to translate may have led to difficulties recruiting participants at this level of experience. The novice condition and limited experience are at the core of what my research is interested in exploring. The natural translators will experience their first observed translation task, even though their condition of being bilinguals in Kuwait implies that they live their life in translation, and performing translation and interpreting habitually, although unconsciously.

Finally, Jääskeläinen's work brings to the fore a significant issue with regard to professional translators in the context of observed process, and that is the distinction of routine tasks and non-routine tasks.[49] When a professional translator is confronted with a routine task, the processing is bound to be automated and therefore little would be verbalized, which would constitute an obstacle for the think-aloud method. On the other hand, when confronted with non-routine tasks, the professional translator would resort to non-automated, conscious processing, which consumes a lot of time. While it was important to be aware of this issue, I determined that the question of routine and non-routine tasks was unlikely to constitute an issue for my research, given that *both* groups in my cohort of research subjects have limited experience in translation. I applied this insight to the selection process in finding subjects for the non-natural subject group in my work. Trainee translators may have some experience in translation or have had time by the end of the second semester to translate more.[50] My efforts were to interview and focus on the ones who have had exposure to translation methodology but who, at the same time, have had minimal experience in terms

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[49] An untypical task for the professional translator.

[50] The MA Translation Studies course in Kuwait University is a two-year programme. When I interviewed the MA participants, who are also coordinate bilinguals, I asked them about their experience in translation and it was limited to three or four jobs of written translation. Bilingual participants as expected because of their bilingualism they were exposed to translation and interpreting tasks in their daily life. Some participants realize that it is a translation while others consider it just part and parcel of being bilingual and therefore they could not recall a specific incident.

of repetitive translation practice of the sort that would foster the development of automatic processes.

4.1.7   Al-Besbasi 1991

The work carried out by Al-Besbasi at the University of Exeter is, to the best of my knowledge, ground-breaking from the perspective of my work inasmuch as it is among the first studies to conjoin a process oriented approach to understanding translation with an English/Arabic language pairing. This unpublished PhD thesis aimed to investigate aspects of the translation process, namely to identify features related to the use of dictionaries in translation processing and segmentation of the source text, and translation unit and problem solving strategies. The participants in Al-Besbasi's work were 11 semi-professional translators: six of them were native Arabic speakers and five were native English speakers. All of Al-Bebasi's subjects possessed a command of both English and Arabic at a high level. The participants were divided into two groups: the first group was formed of the native Arabic speakers, and this group was asked to translate an English text to Arabic; the second group which was formed of the five native English speakers, were asked to translate the same text from English to Arabic. This division aimed to explore the differences in translation processes when working into and from the native language, emphasising the study of problem solving strategies, with particular attention to the use of dictionaries and the unit of translation. For this specific task the participants were provided with copies of bilingual and monolingual dictionaries and were instructed to make use of them. Al-Besbasi states that he steered the subjects in his work towards the use of dictionaries for two reasons: first, denying access to a dictionary would test the participants' vocabulary knowledge instead of the problem solving strategies; and, second, he believed that a dictionary is essential in any translation task.

Al-Besbasi's findings confirmed the validity of the use of TAPs in investigating the translation process as the verbal data collected in the research revealed the structures that underlie the translation process, e.g. translation strategies. On the other hand, and with regard to analysis of the target text, Al-Besbasi's work found that this "failed to provide new and useful information on the translation process" (1991: 316). Another key finding was that the process of identifying translation problems was observable in the verbal data. This was confirmed by earlier studies e.g. Krings (1986), Jääskeläinen (1987) and Lörscher (1991). According to

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AlBesbasi this is because: "problems were not only responsible for the larger part of subjects' verbal reports, but they also determined the strategies to be used" (1991: 324). This latter conclusion further confirms similar findings that I discussed earlier in this chapter, i.e. that conscious processing of a given translation task is problem related. The nature of specific translation problems was determined by different factors such as the participants' translation proficiency, the source text type, and, finally, the directionality of the translation task. Thus, participants translating from their native language to a foreign language encountered more problems than participants who translated into their native language. In terms of strategies, it is perhaps not surprising that using the dictionary would be the one most commonly identified in the results of Al-Besbasi's research. Al-Besbasi, used the term strategy to refer to the adequate use of translation tools in a translation task. I found during the pilot studies that participants complied to the letter of the guidelines that I gave them as the facilitator of the exercise (and in Al-Besbasi's design, there was an instruction to use dictionaries). Al-Besbasi appears to have concluded that there is "a pattern of inverse correlation between the translational experience of the subject and the number of times he/she uses the dictionary" (1991: 333). Once again, this is hardly surprising as the participants were semi-professionals. Therefore, their need to use a dictionary would depend primarily on the text type and whether the translation task was a routine or non-routine task. This opens another line of inquiry in Al-Besbasi's work with regards to the level of professionalism and task type and the effect those might have on the verbal data obtained.

Finally, and to conclude this section, the last finding in Al-Besbasi's work is that bilingual dictionaries proved to be more helpful than monolingual dictionaries in the majority of cases. This finding could also have been expected because the use of dictionaries varies greatly depending on individual differences. Al-Besbasi concluded that ineffective use of the dictionaries, the type of information sought, selection of inadequate equivalents, and misinterpreting the information in the dictionary were all factors that affected the translation end product negatively. It can be seen from the discussion above that more research needs to be done in terms of understanding better the translation process and the problem solving strategies. However, the use of specific problem strategies is not mentioned and requires further research.

4.1.8 Al-Smael 2000

Al-Smael's PhD thesis, completed in 2000, used TAPs to examine aspects of the translation process, specifically from English to Arabic. The research conducted by Al-Smael had pedagogical purposes, i.e. to "develop translation training programmes at university level by identifying potential translation problems[51] and successful problem-solving strategies" (2000: 66). Kiraly's problem indicator model (1986) underpinned the methodology in this piece of work. The research also examined translation quality with regards to both the quality of the process and to the quality of the end product. It also aimed to identify patterns of behaviour that would influence translation quality, and, finally, Al-Smael wanted to identify translation problem solving strategies and to examine how conclusions about translation problems and problem solving strategies could be applied to a schema for improving the overall quality of the translation. The researcher used two assessment techniques: one, as I mentioned above, was based on Kiraly's scale (1995) and the other was error analysis technique.

The participants were 12 fourth year students of English as a foreign language at the Department of English and translation from Imam University in Saudi Arabia. All participants had Arabic as their mother language. The participants were termed non-professional because, according to Al-Smael, despite the fact they were trained to be language teachers and professional translators, their translation training was mainly a three hour per week translation workshop and the exercise at the course was primarily an L2 exercise aimed at enriching vocabulary and language proficiency. The researcher used six short texts for the experiment, and divided the task into two sessions the length of which was one and a half hours each. A noteworthy aspect in Al-Smael's study is that the participants were instructed to use Arabic to think aloud during the translation task. Furthermore, the participants in Al-Smael's research were not asked to translate for a specific target audience: no direction such as this formed part of the assignment. These are two key aspects that differ from the present research as will be explained in the next paragraph. The participants had a warm up session a few minutes before the actual task to familiarise themselves with TAP use. This is also another aspect that distinguishes my research from Al-Smael. The research subjects were given

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[51] Al-Smael used the term translation problems to refer to lexico-semantic problems.

dictionaries to use during the task and were informed that if they needed more dictionaries other than the ones that were already provided, these also would be made available.

The findings in Al-Smael's research indicated that the identification of problematic lexical items, and finding ways of dealing with them, were a major part of the participants' TAPs. Al-Smael organised the problems, he identified three levels defined by degree of difficulty: easily solved problems; hard to solve problems; and insoluble translation problem. In turn, these problems were held to pertain to two categories, namely, comprehension problems, and production problems (2000: 292). Al-Smael identified in his subjects' completion of the research exercise a series of seven strategies[54] that followed a common series. He identifies them as follows: recognition of a translation problem, verbalising the problem, searching for a solution, positing a preliminary solution, refining this as an optimal solution, acknowledging perceived insolubility of certain problems, and evaluation of the solution (2000: 295). In terms of the overall quality of the translation, Al-Smael concludes that it was low across his research cohort and that this was due to participants' translation incompetence, thus highlighting the shortcomings of the participants' translation training in the aforementioned university, and finally, the problematic nature of the source text used in the experiment. Contrary to the previously mentioned studies where the purpose was to measure, understand the translation process, Al-Smael's study wanted to highlight that better translation programmes, and training are needed.

Al-Smael's research is one of only three previous studies that I have identified during my research which used the same research tool that my work will apply and that are also focused on the same language pair which forms the core of my enquiries: Arabic and English. Research into the process of translation from English to Arabic is still in its infancy and there are many aspects to be examined to advance Translation Studies in the context of traffic between Arabic and other languages. This next section, will detail some of the key differences between my research and the study carried out by Al-Smael. First, I will discuss the difference in study design. The number of participants in Al-Smael's study focused on 12 language students in the process of training to be language teachers and translators (all of them in their fourth year at university studying English as a foreign language). My research, by contrast will examine the processes of translation reported by twenty coordinate bilingual participants: ten of them are

[54] Al-Smael uses the term strategies to apply to a conscious plan which the translator employs to solve a translation problem (2000:125). This definition takes into account three criteria: goal-orientedness, consciousness-orientedness, and problem-orientedness. The strategies that were identified in Al-Smael research were:
1- The strategy of semantic analysis
2- The strategy of guessing
3- The strategy of providing alternative equivalents
4- The strategy of inferencing and reasoning
5- The strategy of providing interim equivalents
6- The strategy of compensation
7- The strategy of copying
8- The strategy of transliteration
9- The strategy of avoidance
10- The strategy of deferment
11- The strategy of word segmentation

natural translators and ten are MA Translation Studies students. Unlike Al-Smael's work, My research has a comparative aspect to it and will look not only at the processes used by a given cohort but also at how processes differ depending on presence or absence of exposure to specifically translation-oriented training.

As mentioned previously, Al-Smael divided the task into two sections lasting one and a half hours each and the participants translated multiple texts. In the course of my research design, based on the pilot studies and later confirmed further by the other participants, I have concluded that translation using TAPs can be a stressful experience and a mentally taxing one. Moreover, the participants in this research were instructed to translate only one text from a menu of five short texts that they were given. The element of text *choice* in my research is significant because, as I go on to detail, it reveals valuable information relating to the identity of the bilingual participant.[52] Second, the parameters for the participant pool in Al-Smael's work were different to those used to identify the participants in my study. Another key difference between my research and Al-Smael's, is that while Al-Smael instructed the participants to verbalise their thoughts in Arabic, in my work I did not specify what language the participants had to use, and this was for a number of reasons. It is my contention, —one that is based on my critical survey of the concepts of bilingualism and diglossia charted in Chapter Three— that instructing the participants as to which language to use while verbalising their thoughts would impair and influence not only the thinking process but also the validity

[52] The analysis of the data later revealed that text choice revealed not only notions of perceptions of translation and the role of the translator but also forms part of the translation strategy as well.

of the data, especially in the case of the participants involved in my study. Bilinguals often code-switch and they do so for a variety of reasons. For example, the inability to remember a certain word in one language can trigger the "tip of the tongue" phenomenon and an instance of code-switching. Therefore, instructing participants to verbalise their thoughts using only one of the languages they are working with could arguably affect the thinking process and the spontaneity of the reporting through the think-aloud mechanism.

Furthermore, I was attentive in the design and application of the protocol to one of the major critiques of using TAPs as a research method, i.e. that there is a phenomenon of self-censorship, whereby not all thoughts are verbalised for a number of factors that could include sensitivities to the perceived correctness, or appropriateness of what can be verbalised in a given research setting. Bearing this in mind, setting restrictions on the verbalisation process seems counter-productive for a think-aloud study. Moreover, Al-Smael's study did not provide the participants with a brief or specify a target audience. My research will specify a given readership to the participants. The pilot studies I conducted prior to carrying out the actual research exercise proved that for the participants it is extremely helpful if a target audience is specified. Furthermore, and most importantly, for the particular purposes of this thesis, the specification of readership favours the close examination of perceptions around the role of the translator; i.e. specifying a target audience made up of average readers of Arabic would yield a different translation approach than guiding participants towards translation for members of the intelligentsia.

Finally, the design of Al-Smael's work included a warm-up session prior to the task to help familiarise the participants with the use of TAPs. This will be avoided in my work in order not to stretch unduly the participants' communicativeness. This is especially important because, after the TAP exercise, my participants then take part in an interview. Instead of a warm up session back to back with the exercise, I will meet with the participants individually one day before the task to explain and demonstrate the method. As signalled earlier, this is also meant to establish a friendly connection that is expected to decrease the stress levels in the participants and to create a communicative environment that would ultimately reduce the amount of self-censorship by the participants and therefore generate data that are more reliable. Contrary to popular assumptions in psychology, Jaspal (2009) states that in qualitative

research, the research itself is inseparable from the task, and the relationship that the researcher has with the participants will affect the data and its interpretation. Although there is minimal interaction between the researcher and the participants during the think-aloud exercise, it is nevertheless plausible to assert that creating a relaxed environment will ease the task of talking into an audio-recorder and make slightly less intimidating an otherwise unnatural situation.

4.1.9   Jakobsen 2003

In 2003 Jakobsen performed a think-aloud study that compared two different groups of translators. Jakobsen's study design aimed to investigate the claim that had previously been made by Ericsson and Simon (1993: 63):

> [O]ur fundamental assumption is that, when the CP [the central processor] attends to or activates a structure in memory that is orally encoded, then this structure can at the same time be vocalized overtly without making additional demands on processing time or capacity. At any time when the contents of STM [Short-term memory] are words (i.e., are orally encoded), we can speak those words without interference from or with the ongoing processes.

In other words, Jakobsen's purpose was to investigate the claim that verbalizing orally encoded information does not necessarily increase the demands on processing times or capacity and hence does not hinder the subject from getting on with the translation task.

Jakobsen's (2000-2001) study group included nine subjects, four of whom were semi-professional translators (and these were MA translation students in their final year), and five were expert translators who had at least two years of postgraduate professional experience. The two groups, following a short warm-up session, translated four short texts: two texts from Danish to English and two from English to Danish. The subjects were asked to perform at their normal pace, and they were informed that the experiment would last one to two hours, although no time limit was set. Subjects had access to online resources as well as to print copies of bilingual dictionaries.

A key difference between this study and mine is that my research *will* introduce a time limit. Time constraint can be useful for different reasons. Firstly, it would be very informative

to understand what takes priority in a time restricted translation task performed by these two groups of translators, and how time constraints affect decisions and strategies. Secondly, I felt that participants would be more likely to agree on taking part in the study with the knowledge that it would occupy a pre-established amount of their time. Furthermore, considering the comparative nature of this research, it would be significantly harder to draw conclusions without the time constraint.

Jakobsen predicted that with regard to speed, translations would be slower with TAPS than without it for both groups. In addition, he hypothesized that experts would translate faster than students, regardless of the TAP condition, and that translations from the subjects' L1, Danish, to L2, English, would be slower because of the verbalization in L1 inhibiting L2 target text production. His expectations with regard to attention to revision were that, regardless of the think-aloud condition, subjects would revise more in the L1 to L2 translation than in the L2 to L1 direction; the reason behind this was that subjects were expected to struggle more in finding appropriate translation equivalents when working into L2 than into L1. Also, it was anticipated that the use of TAPs would have no effect on the amount of revision participants made to their work. Finally, with regard to text segmentation, it was expected that the think-aloud condition would not affect the number of segments, and that segments would vary according to language direction. Jakobsen's work found that, with regard to speed, expert translators worked 18.6% faster than translation students with TAP in place and 19.8% faster without TAP. Both groups worked faster when they were not thinking aloud. Regarding revision, there were no significant effects, and, finally, with regard to segmentation, it varied according to language direction and it was found that the presence of TAP increased the number of segments in text production.

4.1.10 Saad 2010

In her 2010 PhD thesis, Saad used TAPs to "investigate the pragmatic competence of EnglishArabic trainee translators, as represented by their inferential ability to interpret implied discourse relations in an English source text" (2010: 1). Saad used a similar methodology to the one that will be used in my research, namely TAPs and retrospective interviews. Saad's study involved eighteen postgraduate translation students whose mother tongue is Arabic. The participants were enrolled in a postgraduate English-Arabic translation

and interpreting course in a UK university. Out of the eighteen participants, ten were trained in text analysis. The remaining eight participants did not receive such training. The participants were asked to translate one text from English to Arabic and the task was followed by a retrospective interview that involved open-ended questions about the translation task. The findings in Saad's research paid special attention to features of the mental processes exhibited by novice translators as opposed to those that could be discerned in the verbalisations of expert translators. The research focused on the following question: does discourse relation unsignalled by discourse markers pose a comprehension problem for Arabic L1/English L2 trainee translators? Saad considered the effects of a grounding in discourse analysis and the extent of its usefulness in improving the participants' comprehension of discourse relations un-signalled by discourse markers. Saad also set out to evaluate what TAPS bring to the study of translation process involved in the interpretation of discourse relations. She divided the eighteen participants into four groups based on English language proficiency and exposure to text analysis. According to those parameters, the groups were identified as: (a) intermediate and non-exposed; (b) intermediate and exposed; (d) advanced and non-exposed; and (d), advanced and exposed. The findings were classified in parallel with the division into groups and therefore the first group's performance showed the use of small units and a form oriented approach which was associated with non-professional translation. The second group's performance equated with that of professional translators, including a tendency to paraphrase and to achieve appropriateness of the target text. The third group's translation was similar to the second group's with considerable attention to conveying the source text's communicative intentions. Finally, the fourth group presented "A homogenous approach to translation, representing all the features associated with professional translation" (2010: 194).

The scope of Saad's research differs to mine in a number of aspects. Firstly, the participants' sample in Saad's study were *all* postgraduate Translation students. Secondly, the range of problems that Saad looks at are also different; in her research Saad pay attention to the ability to interpret implied discourse markers. My research on the other hand, examines and compares the translation strategies used in the translation of culture-specific items. Furthermore, my research aspires to understand better the perceptions of translation and the role of the translator in the context of natural translation, and ultimately contrast these

popular views to the academic views of Translation. Thirdly, my research, contrary to Saad's work, aims to investigate how the state of diglossia might affect the translation process.

The primary concern of the previous TAP studies was either comparing the professional translator to the novice translator or language student, while others focused only on one group. With the exception of Gerloff's research (1988), which included four competent bilinguals, I was not able to locate another TAP study that included this category of participants. Previous think-aloud studies focused on different aspects of the translation process as well, including processing times, translation units, revision, problem solving and many other cognitive aspects relating to translation. The subjects of these previous studies ranged from experts to students of translation, and to foreign language students. However, as mentioned previously, I identified that there was a lack of studies specifically targeting the translation process performed by the groups I mentioned especially within the subset of work where English and Arabic are the working languages of the research exercise.

To recapitulate, in light of the studies discussed so far, it is clear that the think-aloud method can provide valuable insights into the translator's "black box". The data obtained from TAPs proved to be helpful in understanding some processes of translation, the various problem solving techniques, and translation strategies. It is also obvious from the critical overview of existing studies in the preceding part of this chapter that many questions remain and that there is still a lot to be done in the field. Process-oriented research in translation is not less important than product-oriented research, for example in terms of psycholinguistic investigation of translation, and empirical research on translation performance using a process-analytical approach can shed light on what takes place in the translator's mind. Further work in the area of process analysis would also yield insights regarding language processing and the mental processes of speech production and speech reception, as well as on language strategies employed by the language user. In terms of teaching translation technique, greater knowledge of translation process would be helpful, translation pedagogy could learn from intuitive strategies adopted by natural translators. Furthermore, this type of research could inform what approaches in pedagogy are likely to be more effective in making tacit knowledge explicit, and therefore available to teaching and learning practices. Finally, there is still a lot of work to be done in process oriented research in terms of work that focuses

on translation between English and Arabic. As I have outlined above, there is reasonably extensive work in the field that uses TAP but I have been able to locate only three think-aloud studies that targeted English-Arabic translation, I have detailed the aims of those studies and shown how they informed my methodology and the design of my exploratory exercise. I have also signaled the differences between my own research and the previous work that conjoins TAP and investigation of translation between English and Arabic. The key differences were the scope of the research, the defining features of the subject cohort, and the introduction of a comparative element in my work. I have also intimated the contribution that my research is aspiring to make to the field of Translation Studies.

Finally, two methods will be used in this research to achieve answers to my primary research questions. The first is the introspective method, which will take the form of the think-aloud protocol; the second is a retrospective method which will take the form of post-translation interviews. The purpose of applying these two methods is to examine further and compare the process of translation of natural translators and MA Translation Studies students. Having established the context for my application of TAP, the next section will move on to discuss further the use of interviews.

4.2   Interviews

It can be seen, based on the detailed discussion earlier, that while the TAP method is useful in accessing the thoughts of the translator while he or she is performing a given translation task, there are probably still some processes that take place without verbalisation. For example, the participant may verbalise his/her hesitation regarding a term or sentence, but part of this decision making process escapes verbalisation at a certain moment mainly because the subconscious is also dictating what is acceptable and what is not, either in translation or in verbalising. Thus, using retrospective interviews is expected to provide further information and access to this subconscious decision making process through a discussion of what was observed during the task. Although the participants might not express the exact words that were considered initially unacceptable, it is reasonable to assume that during the interview, they would be able to share these thoughts or hint towards them. This section will explore the use of interviews for the purposes of my research and will list the preliminary sets of questions that were formulated in light of the pilot studies that I conducted.

Saad (2010) applied a similar approach and the resulting data was evidently informative for the study of translation process. The present research will use similar methods: after performing the think-aloud exercise, the participants will participate in an audio-recorded interview. Initially, I planned to allow the participants a one-day resting period after observing the level of tiredness in the respondents of the pilot studies, especially natural translators. The one-day period was intended to give the participants time to rest after the think-aloud protocol translation task, as well as to allow the participant time to reflect on the exercise, the translation, and his/her role as a translator. However, after conducting the pilot studies, it became clear that delaying the interviews could be counterproductive, mainly because the purpose is to preserve as much as possible the authenticity and accuracy of the information obtained. And, just as I decided to use a time constrained translation exercise to facilitate recruitment of subjects, I reasoned that I would more easily be able to engage subjects in my work if it did not require them to give up two consecutive days in order to participate.

The interviews in my research are of semi-structured nature. They are also divided into three parts. The first part of the interview will focus on discussing the participants' linguistic and translation backgrounds. The second part of the interview will discuss the translation task. This will include reflections on the task, as well as participant's specific questions about the decisions made in the translation, and what informed these decisions: i.e., text choice and strategy choice. The third and last part of the interview will ask the participants to describe, in their own words, what they understand by "translation", "translator", and how they conceive of the role of the translator. The focus here is on the perceptions of the translator from a natural translation or an MA in Translation Studies student point of view. Questions in this last section will include, for example, what the participants understand to be the role and responsibility of the translator. The questions are designed to allow expansion and open ended responses rather than yes or no answers. Based on familiarity with literature on use of interviews (Arksey and Knight 1999), I anticipated that by applying an open ended question approach as well as a conversational style the result would be not only the creation of a relaxed environment but also one that will allow the participants to elaborate more freely about their experiences—where applicable–of previous translation tasks and about their lives as bilingual and bicultural individuals.

As mentioned earlier, the interview will begin with basic questions, designed to gather some background information and to help the participant relax after what is admittedly a long and stressful exercise. The nature of these interviews is semi structured, and therefore the questions in the second part of the interview, which will move from the general to the specific, will vary with each participant. To illustrate how I as both the researcher and the interviewer plan to introduce questions about the task the next section will detail the design of the study and will cover: the texts offered to the participants for the exercise, the brief, the protocols, the researcher's role, the interviews, the researcher/participant interaction, and finally the equipment to be used.

4.3   Description of the Study

This chapter has so far aimed to present a brief overview of the validity of the use of TAPs as a research tool. I have also addressed some of the issues surrounding this methodology, and how I plan to overcome barriers and limitations in my experiment. Therefore, I will proceed to detail the study design and the pilot studies that I conducted to ensure the validity of the data obtained and thus, ultimately, the reliability of the results and conclusions drawn from my work. Finally, by making transparent the building blocks used in my design structure, and the obstacles I encountered, this presentation aspires to facilitate comparison of my research with the previous literature, and to situate it as an additional reference point for future research on translation processes from English to Arabic.

4.3.1   The pilot studies

The three pilot studies that were conducted prior to the research proper aimed to put to the test the methodology and to observe what adjustments were needed. The following section will detail these studies and how they informed decisions about how to modify the methodology when working with the participants whose responses would provide the data for my analysis.

4.3.2   The participants

As earlier chapters have shown, the research applies Harris and Sherwood's definition of natural translation as "the translation done in everyday circumstances by people who have

had no special training for it" (1978:155). The pilot studies were conducted in Kuwait and Wales. The first pilot study involved an adult bilingual, aged 38 and from The Maghreb. The participant was asked to translate a text, namely "Bath Christmas Market" from English to Arabic while thinking out loud. At this stage, no time limit was set as it was expected that a short text would not require more than one hour to translate. The participant was provided with a dictionary and internet access. The researcher explained the exercise and was present during the audio recorded protocols. By itself, one pilot study did not answer all my questions about how to set the parameters of the exercise and of the protocols. Therefore, a second pilot study was conducted with an MA Translation Studies Graduate. The participant was 26 years old. However, in this second iteration of the pilot, the participant was presented with four texts to choose from. At this stage the texts were: the report on Manal Al-Sharif's act of driving in Saudi Arabia, "Bath Christmas Market", the extract from *Driver's License*, and the art historical reflections on Ikea Edmonton. Comparing the findings of the two pilot studies required a third one to narrow down further any variables. Therefore, the third and final study was performed with a bilingual adult aged 32. The participant was asked to translate one text from a selection of five. Finally, he was instructed that he had one hour to translate one of these texts while verbalizing all his mental processes. After careful consideration of the results of these three pilot studies, further adjustments were deemed necessary. The following section will discuss these adjustments.

The participants in my research will be divided into two groups. Both groups of participants must pertain to one geographical area, however, to make comparative observation the cultural factors and their influence on the choice of translation strategy feasible. It was considered very important to limit the age group in order to narrow down the participants' experience both on a professional and life level. The participant in the first pilot study was significantly older than the participants in the second and third pilots as noted earlier. Furthermore, limiting the age group will probably approximate the experience level and ultimately the data obtained would be more specific.

Group "A" comprises of natural translators and is formed of ten participants that fulfill the following criteria: the participants are bilinguals who have lived in a bilingual environment

since childhood. Age range will be 24 to 35. Participants in this group are graduates but excluded from the cohort are those who studied philology, linguistics, language teaching etc.

Group "B" comprises of trainee translators, with little experience in translation outside an academic or pedagogical setting. The age range 24-35. The participants are in the first year of their MA Translation Studies program at the time I carried out my field work in Kuwait. The participants are also recruited from the same geographical area.

Group "A"

Participant	Age	University Degree	Experience in Translation
N1	28	BA Electrical Engineering	Social interactions[53]
N2	30	BA industrial Engineering	Social interactions
N3	27	BA industrial engineering	Social interactions
N4	29	BA Law	Social interactions
N5	28	BA computer science	Work related correspondence

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[53] Refers to experience in daily life as opposed to work or professional experience

N6	27	BA medicine	Work related communications
N7	31	BA medicine	Social interactions
N8	33	BA biochemical engineering	Social interactions
N9	25	BA business administration	Social interactions
N10	27	BA computer science	Work related correspondence

Table 1 Natural Translators Information

Group "B"

Participant	Age	University Degree	Experience in Translation
M1	33	BA English Language	Two years freelance translator
M2	26	BA English Language	Translation tasks during the BA/ MA course

M3	28	BA English Language	Work related experience
M4	34	BA English Language	Work related experience
M5	34	BA English Language	Work related experience
M6	27	BA English Language	Work related experience
M7	35	BA English Language	Work related experience
M8	35	BA English Language	Translation tasks during the MA course
M9	33	BA English Language	Work related correspondence
M10	28	BA English Language	Work related experience

Table 2 MA Translation Studies Students Information

4.3.3   The texts

The participant in the first pilot study was given only one text, Bath Christmas Market. The participant lives in the UK and therefore he was able to understand the cultural references in the text. This brought to the surface the issues that could arise from providing a text so specifically embedded in a British cultural context to participants who are potentially less familiar with cultures and customs in the UK. The respondent from the first pilot study acknowledged that although he has been living in the UK for over 18 years he was not sure about the meaning of some words. For example, he had his doubts about what exactly was meant by the text's reference to a "tipple". In light of this, the second pilot study participant was presented with four different texts from which to choose. Each text belonged to a different culture, addressed a different topic, and featured a different register. The texts' length varied, ranging from 157 words to 259 words. I anticipated that the varied length is would indicate influences on the text choice: i.e., would the length of a text alone make it appealing or would a longer text on a more immediate topic be preferable? The second and third pilot studies demonstrated that providing different choices was favourable for the participants and encouraged them to take part in the research. An additional text was added at this stage with the aim of providing a fifth and slightly more dense option in order to expand the variety in hopes that, if selected, the strategies that might be used in the translation would be more varied. Below are the texts used for the experiment along with a brief analysis of their salient features that will illuminate why I used them in the research.

Text 1: Manal Al-Sharif[54]

> On May 19, 2011, Manal al-Sharif, a divorced mother of two and internet security consultant for Saudi Aramco, the Saudi Arabian national oil company, was filmed by a friend driving through the city of Khobar. She posted the eight-minute video on YouTube, and in it she says in Arabic: "We are ignorant and illiterate when it comes to driving. You'll find a woman with a PhD and she doesn't know how to drive. We want change in the country."
>
> Within two days the video was watched 600,000 times on YouTube. Then she was arrested.

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[54] The text was taken from: www.wired.**co**.uk/magazine/archive/2013/01/start/dangerous-**drive**r/.../293186 *last accessed in March 2016.*

"The religious police came into my house at 2am," Al-Sharif, 33, told the Wired 2012 conference in London last October. "They took me and my brother. I was detained for nine days. My picture was on the front of all the newspapers, all saying horrible things about me."

In Saudi Arabia, al-Sharif's bravery emboldened an existing campaign, Women2Drive, which promotes women's right to drive -- something that's banned.

"There's no actual law -- it's an unwritten law," says al-Sharif. "I was mad, because the day before I had to walk for 40 minutes from my clinic to my house and cars were honking and following me."

For al-Sharif, the real issue is not just driving, but human rights.

"For instance, in Saudi Arabia all women, even married ones, need permission from a male guardian to work or study," she says.

According to her, the movement is making a difference. In September 2011, King Abdullah gave women the vote. Last May, al-Sharif was awarded the Václav Havel prize for creative dissent at the Oslo Freedom Forum. (271 words).

This text is the longest among the selection provided. The text was chosen initially because of the topic and the cultural references it included. The topic and text items pertain closely to the participants' culture, yet it is written in English. Therefore, the participants could be expected to "revert" the cultural references in a relatively straightforward fashion to their original language. For example, the text uses terms such as "religious police" and "male guardian" that are translations of originally Arabic terms. This exercise could be regarded, in fact, as a sort of back translation exercise. Furthermore, the topic is controversial and culturally sensitive. The text narrates the struggle that the women's rights activist Manal AlSharif went through to defend women's right to drive in a neighbouring and friendly country. I expected that this would to help bring to the surface issues around the subjects' perceptions of the role of the translator. In terms of text structure, considering that the text is an excerpt from a news article published in *Wired* magazine, it is factual, narrative and makes frequent use of the passive voice. The final observation regarding this text is that it includes several verbatim quotes from actors in Ms Al-Sharif's adventures as a female driver. Initially this was not expected to present major issues for the participants. However, later, during the task, the quotes proved to be problematic for them.

Text two Bath Christmas Market

> Bath's stunning vistas, grand architecture and picturesque lanes are breathtakingly beautiful at any time of the year. Bur for 18 days during the lead-up to Christmas, the area around the iconic Bath Abbey and the historic Roman Baths transforms into an extra-special winter wonderland as the annual Christmas Market (Thursday 28 November - Sunday 15 December) turns the center of Bath into a unique shopping and entertainment paradise. Make the most of the market

> Mulled wine (or the traditional West Country variant, mulled cider) is the quintessential Bath Christmas Market tipple. Treat yourself to a cup of cheer as you browse the lovely lanes.

> Saddle up and take a ride back in time on the Victorian carousel situated just opposite the Pump Room entrance on Stall Street.

> Top up those flagging energy levels on hearty homemade food from the lovely local food emporiums dotted all around the market.

> Stroll up to Milsom Street and visit the chic shopping complex Milsom Place

> Join the throng and sing-a-long at the shopper's Carol Services at Bath Abbey. (176 words)

The text was extracted from Bath's guide for visiting tourists (2014). The text is significantly shorter that the first one. It was chosen because it contains several cultural references to the bilingual participants' "other" culture (as defined purely by language competence). The text is descriptive and enriched with culture-specific items, alliterations, and idiomatic expressions. My expectation in choosing it was that it would prompt the respondents to open up about the challenges of translating these items (for example, "winter wonderland", which is a term particular to English speaking countries) to a completely different cultural setting. Another culturally embedded term is "mulled wine" that has no direct equivalent or analogue in the Arabic language. Idiomatic expressions that are not idioms in themselves but which are nevertheless loaded with idiomatic usage, such as "treat yourself to a cup of cheer", also provide the potential for provoking insights into how the natural translator approaches difficulties that cannot be identified at a lexical level alone. Furthermore, the repeated use of the imperative for suggestion in the last sentences (a commonplace in the discourse of publicity and advertising in Anglophone countries) can be very useful in determining the translation strategies that a natural translator would use when dealing in translation with a

systemic feature of a text. We take it as a given that natural translators can communicate denotative meaning: it is the *process* of this communication activity and the strategies that the respondents may use to deliver connotative as well as denotative meaning when there is a lack in theoretical knowledge that is of interest in the research design (and this in my selection of texts).

Text three: Driver's License

> Few other objects are so pervasive, part of so many different registers of American life, as the driver's license. Embedded in our procedures and processes, open to contradictory meanings and uses, the license reveals America, the insatiable nation, wanting it all. State authority and personal expression. Freedom and security. Miles of unbroken road, unbeatable TSA checkpoints. Self-regulation, social legislation. Drunken excess, Puritan prudence. Rooting for outlaws, guarding the rule of law. Sweet sixteen, pay your own way. Government safeguards, bureaucratic fraud. City, suburb. Image, authenticity. Inclusivity, borders. National standardization, state prerogatives. The franchise as a right, the franchise as conditional. Privacy, centralized information. And more. (105 words)

This is the shortest text within the collection of texts. This paragraph is extracted from Meredith Castile's book in the Object Lessons series. The text, although short, is quite dense. It is composed of short sentences. The rhythm of the text includes natural pauses that allow the reader space to assimilate the information. Similarly, the short sentences cause a dramatic effect: they are designed to convince the reader of the argument. The text presents sentences that lack a verb and complete syntax, e.g. "State authority and personal expression". Such stylistic features are aspects that can be challenging for participants with no experience in translation. It also presents a number of contradictory items that are also illustrative of another stylistic feature, substantives placed in apposition, i.e.: "drunken excess, Puritan prudence". Finally, the text refers to items that are most likely to be recognisable to a respondent who understands or relates to American culture.

Text four: Malala Yousafzai[55]

> It has only been five years since Pakistani schoolgirl Malala Yousafzai wrote
> an anonymous diary about life under Taliban rule in north-west Pakistan.

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[55] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-23241937

Since then she has been shot in the head by the militants, and has become the youngest person ever to win the Nobel Peace Prize.

Accepting the award in Oslo on 10 December, she said she was "humbled" and proud to be the first Pashtun and the first Pakistani to win the prize. She also joked that she was probably the first winner who still fought with her younger brothers.

Malala Yousafzai first came to public attention through that heartfelt diary, published on BBC Urdu, which chronicled her desire to remain in education and for girls to have the chance to be educated.

When she was shot in the head in October 2012 by a Taliban gunman, she was already well known in Pakistan, but that one shocking act catapulted her to international fame.

She survived the dramatic assault, in which a militant boarded her school bus in Pakistan's north-western Swat valley and opened fire, wounding two of her school friends as well.

The story of her recovery —from delicate surgery at a Pakistani military hospital to further operations and rehabilitation in the UK, and afterwards as she took her campaign global —has been closely tracked by the world's media. (227 words)

This text is journalistic and factual. In terms of type it holds some similarities to the first text, but features less use of the passive voice and of quotes. The text narrates the story of Malala Yousafzai from being shot in the head to her acceptance of the Noble Peace prize. In terms of requirement of more elaborate strategies, this text is perhaps the least challenging one to translate. There are barely any cultural references. However, there are a number of proper nouns. This text was included in the menu of options as a failsafe, in case they did not like any of the others. Because the participants are asked to choose a text to translate, I thought as a researcher that it would be beneficial to add this text, in case the data obtained from translating other texts turned out not to be sufficient in order to examine participants' verbalizations on the role of the translator. Therefore, the only challenges that might be encountered in such a text are the grammatical structures of the sentences and dependent clauses.

Text five: 'Death In East London' a critique of taxidermy[56]

> A walk through East London should ideally not involve a confrontation with death. But increasingly it does, with corpses decorating the windows of Brick Lane, Mare Street, Cheshire Street and beyond, enticing hipsters to part with cash on the enticement that there's a dead creature staring at you from inside. Capitalism has always scrambled for success by standing on the undignified rotting bodies of the less fortunate. It's easy to formulate a campaign against Tesco, by tracing the death and destruction it wreaks to bring a supposedly innocent cheese sandwich to Kingsland High Street. But open your eyes and the apparently more ethically sound trading of smaller shops is doing as much damage to the honour of life, and in a more blatant way. I'm talking taxidermy. And I'm saying it's unacceptable, and should be confronted.
>
> The introduction of the brilliant '*Think*' section to Run-Riot indicates there's a desire in East London's art, culture and party scenes to have an ethical dimension to the fun and games. The people have got political, and the good stuff isn't just about losing yourself in booze, stripping and decadence. Not that there's anything wrong with any of them, but the increasing counterpoint of political thought to the fun in East London culture is a vital thing.
>
> However any move towards raising political awareness and building a revolutionary social movement of the culturally-influential (which is what the point is, right?) should explore all ethical offshoots, or it risks opening up that movement to being patronised as a single-issue modish fad. (265 words)

In selecting the fifth text I wanted to find something that would be especially challenging. I included this text on taxidermy as one that seemed to fit the bill and was loaded with expressions and vocabulary that would encourage the respondents to think-out loud their process of translation and the solutions to the challenges they encounter. Charlie Phillips's article is embedded with references to iconic areas in East London that require topographical knowledge in order to translate them properly. This text is also on where the ability to use the task time wisely is tested. It is also seen as an opportunity to give the respondents a different option, an insight to a different type of text and ultimately to a different kind of translation.

The above section has surveyed the texts that were chosen for translation in the present study. Each text will provide insights regarding the role of the translator, and the strategies

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[56] http://www.run-riot.com/articles/blogs/death-east-london-critique-taxidermy-charlie-phillips

used in the translation of culture-specific items. The next sections will proceed to explain other important aspects that were taken into consideration in the planning phase of this study.

4.3.4   The brief

In the first pilot study the participant was given the text and asked to translate it from English to Arabic. The researcher specified neither a purpose nor a target audience. I observed that omitting these directions affected the participant's choice when deciding on strategies. The participant frequently verbalised that there were several ways to translate an item and knowledge of who the translation was for would be required in order to narrow down the choices. Although the participant was unaware of translation theory, this acknowledgment on his part attests both to the relevance of skopos theory from Reiß and Vermeer (1984) in any translation task, and to the tacit knowledge of the principles that underpin skopos. There was a clear need for a sense of purpose in order for the translation activity to be more fluent even when performed by a natural translator. However, to be able to gauge whether or not this manifestation of tacit knowledge of skopos would be restricted to an individual case, the researcher did not provide the second participant in the pilot studies with a brief. The participants from the second and the third pilot studies also remarked on the absence of brief. The participants asked questions such as: who am I translating for? And what do you need the translation for? The importance of a brief was then demonstrated as the main factor that influences the translator's decision (Chesterman 2010a). Below is the brief that was provided verbally to the participants:

> In this task you will be provided with five texts in English. Please read through the texts and choose only one then translate it into Arabic. Imagine that your reader is an average Arabic speaker. You will be provided with an IPad and access to the internet. Feel free to use any other resources you need, or feel comfortable with, to complete the task. The task would take approximately one hour of your time. It will be audio recorded. The translation you provide will not be assessed formally for quality. After you have completed the task there will be a short interview where I will ask you some general and task related questions.

4.3.5   Translation tools

From the planning phase, the researcher decided that it would be necessary to provide the participants with dictionaries and internet access, including a tablet computer, to help them

during the translation task. It was assumed that failure to provide the participants with research tools would test their vocabulary knowledge. Therefore, the participant was provided with the previously mentioned items. However, during the studies none of the participants used the dictionary. There was a notable preference for online resources because using them is less time consuming in a time-restricted task.

4.3.6 The instructions

In light of the conclusions I show from the survey on TAPs outlined earlier in this chapter, and my findings as regards the limitations and possible shortcomings of TAP, I ensured that the participants understood what would be required of them in this task. This included a short meeting before the designated day for the task. During that meeting, I explained that the participant needs to verbalize everything that comes into his or her mind. This brief explanation was followed by a demonstration by the researcher. Although Ericsson and Simon (1993) advocated that the participants should not explain every translation decision because it may affect the quality of the protocol, and increase the cognitive load, for the particular purposes of this research, the participants were encouraged to verbalize *everything*. The reason behind this decision is to further understand why natural translators translate the way they do. Not only that, but it was also likely that the participants would not in fact explain every single decision: therefore, this would save time for both the researcher and the participant when knowing what parts of the task to focus on in the retrospective interview.

4.3.7 The language

Taking into consideration that both groups of respondents are bilinguals, and one of these groups possesses theoretical language and translation knowledge, the participants will not instructed to use only one language during the protocols. The participants will be asked to verbalize any thought that comes into their mind, including problems and questions they have during the process of translation. Previous TAP studies—Al-Smael: (2000) and Saad (2010)—instructed the participants to speak in Arabic. Saad assumed that given that the participants were Arabic speakers they would be thinking in their regional variety of Arabic. However, she gave the participants the choice to speak whichever language they normally think in (2010: 104). My research deals with bilingual informants. Therefore, and in light of preliminary work

on Bilingualism Studies, I made an informed decision not to bring to the participants' attention the need to use exclusively one language or, perforce, both. In order to decrease the cognitive stress on the participants they were left to use the language/s of their preference. [57]

4.3.8   Observer effect

As with any research, it was important for me to determine the effect of the exercise procedure itself on the validity of data. The most controversial way in which this may become an issue in the case of research that uses TAP concerns the observer effect (Gerloff 1988, Gass and Mackey 2000). The observer effect ranges from none to answering questions. In Saad's work (2010) the experiment was so arranged that the researcher was seated far from the informant, pretending to be engaged in another activity. Participants would read the texts and turn silent when they encountered a consuming translation problem. This prompted Saad to intervene once in a while to remind the participants to talk. Saad expected that avoiding direct interaction and sitting further away would help the participants relax. However, in my research, in light of the experiment conducted by Saad and based on the knowledge I have about the culture protocol in Kuwait I have decided to follow a different approach. In order to reduce the observer effect, the researcher has to be perceived less as an observer and more in a friendly and approachable light. Therefore, I developed a rapport with the participants when I recruited them, established a line of contact, and then met individually with each participant prior to the task. During this initial meeting, I explained the exercise, the interview, the purposes of each and what the participant needs to do. I followed up this theoretical explanation with a brief demonstration of the TAP, in order to ensure that the participant understood exactly what the task entailed. Furthermore, during the exercise I avoided sitting very far or directly in front of the participants. I considered that the middle ground would be sitting on the right side of the participant with an angle that enables me to observe in a less confrontational manner. It is my contention that to obtain spontaneous and authentic data the participants have to feel comfortable and that they are not under close observation. This approach turned out to be successful: the participants were at ease and relaxed during the TAP exercise and the subsequent interview. The incidents where I had to prompt the

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[57] It is noteworthy at this point to mention that it was the participants who asked what language should they speak, and they were informed to speak as they normally do.

participants to speak where minimal. These results are in line with what Krings pointed out, i.e., that what can be gleaned from TAPs has more validity when the participants are not under any pressure to speak (1987).

4.3.9 The interview

After the task, the participants will be interviewed and asked to talk about the translation experience. Emphasis on the participants' approach to translating cultural references, the translator's role and responsibility will be part of the interview. Also, the participants will be asked about the specific translation problems they have encountered and how they chose to solve them. Bearing in mind lessons drawn from Gass and Mackey's work and their criticism of stimulated recall as it could "increase the likelihood that the recall comments will be based on what participants think now, some other memory/perception, or some flawed or biased recollection' (Gass & Mackey 2000: 59), I felt that it was important during the interview not to draw the informants' attention to the actual topic of interest; rather, the participants were asked to comment and explain some of their translation choices more spontaneously. The interviews were conducted in English.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter is centred on the methods my research will apply to investigating the process of translation by natural translators in comparison to MA Translation Studies students. Therefore and to this end, I have surveyed some of the think-aloud studies most relevant to my work and addressed some of the criticisms that have been made of TAP as methodological tool. The second part of the chapter set out to provide a detailed description of the study design and how the pilot studies informed the actual research. My immersion in the literature on the use of TAPs in translation studies suggested that for the purposes of my work the use of think-aloud in conjunction with retrospective interviews would be optimal. This is expected, furthermore, to enhance the quality of the data and contribute to its overall validity.

It would have been premature of course at the design stage to form a rigid set of hypotheses on what could be expected to be the outcome of the actual study. However, I had a tentative set of expectations and have formulated these to provide a contrast between my working hypothesis and the actual findings of my work.

Based on the findings in Jääskeläinen (1990), natural translators were expected to problematize less. Therefore, natural translators would spend less time performing the translation task. Similarly, in light of the text types that were provided and the nature of the translation problems that the participants might encounter, the strategies that this group would use were expected to take the shape of paraphrase using a related word, omission, and translation by a more general word. These three strategies as listed in Baker (2011) are those most commonly deployed by translators. I also anticipated that natural translators would be more likely to work on a word by word level. It was also expected that participants would verbalise their thought processes using a mix of English and Kuwaiti Arabic. A further working hypothesis regarding natural translators was that for them the translation would be a twofold exercise, first translating to *ammiyya* then a second translation into Classical Arabic. It is my contention that the participant from the natural group might struggle to find the equivalent and appropriate term in *fusha* Arabic or at least express doubts about the register of the word itself due to the fact that *fusha* is not frequently used. It was also reasonable to assume that the participants' dominant culture would influence the choices made in the translation exercise.

The second group of participants, the trainee translators' cohort, were expected to use the full extent of the hour available, and to be more resourceful in solving translation problems. It seemed plausible as part of my working hypotheses to expect that knowledge of translation theory would be beneficial for this task since the participants have a point of reference and knowledge of how to formulate translation problems. The trainee translators were also expected to show the facility to carry out a deeper level of analysis of the text they choose to translate. In order to set these working hypotheses against the actual results of my study, the next chapter will provide a thorough analysis of the participants' translation of culture specific items, their translation of English passives into Arabic, and a discussion of the effects of time pressure on a translation task.

The research was conducted mainly in Kuwait, at Kuwait University campus. Except for the participants who were residing in the UK at the time of conducting the research. The data was collected along the course of seven months, as it was challenging to find readily willing participants. The task was explained in English, and the interviews also took place in English. It

is noteworthy at this point to mention, that during the entire task there were exclamations and statements in Arabic that were translated by the researcher and checked by an expert translator. These are noted accordingly in the analysis.

5   Translation Units and Strategies

Chapter Four discussed in detail my research method, its benefits and shortcomings. The chapter also discussed how the research presented here plans to overcome these shortcomings. Finally, it discussed the pilot studies and how they informed the final study design. The current chapter will focus on the empirical work and analyse some of the data gathered from the participants' translations, TAPs, and retrospective interviews. The analysis will focus on, first, the unit of translation and, second, the translation strategies used by both groups. An attempt will also be made to examine what translation theory and training may have added to what could tentatively be called an innate capacity when it comes to translation. While this chapter features primarily questions around *how* natural translators and trainees translate, the remaining key theme regarding their perceptions of translation and the role of the translator will be examined in Chapter Six.

A note with regard to the presentation of findings is in order at this point. Summaries of findings will be represented in charts. To respect the privacy of the participants, they will be referred to by numbers in their respective categories.[58] Thus, N1 corresponds to natural translator 1, and M1 corresponds to MA Translation Studies translator 1, and so on.

In this research the translation process is viewed as beginning at the moment the participants are briefed about the exercise and presented with the list of texts to choose from. What all the studies that I have described in Chapter Four had in common, is that the participants were not given the choice of which text to translate. Therefore, for the participants in those studies exploration of the processes involved in translation could only begin from the moment at which the subjects engaged with the non-elective text. The participants had to start the process of translation by understanding one text. In this research, however, five texts were presented to the participants and each one belonged to a different category, and pertained to different cultures. The text lengths were very similar although not identical. Initially, the idea behind offering a choice of different texts was mainly to give the participants the

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[58] This also complies with Cardiff University's ethical approval policy. The participants took part in this research after agreeing to anonymous and confidential participation, as detailed on the consent forms.

possibility of selecting what to translate. Notwithstanding the fact that the process of translation starts with text choice, this chapter will focus on the analysis of translation unit and translation strategies. Chapter Six will analyse text choice as part of the participants' global strategies and of their broader views on translation and their interests and identities as translators.

5.1 Data collection procedure

Chapter Four discussed in detail the data collection procedure. The inclusion of text choice and of a time ceiling for completion of the exercise is something that distinguishes my research from previous think-aloud studies in general, and, more specifically, from studies that researched the process of translation from English to Arabic. Previous studies either did not specify a time limit, or when they *did* provide one, it was to examine the effects of time pressure in translation. However, the adoption of this approach in my research was motivated initially by the need to set clear parameters for the amount of time participants would be giving up by taking part in the exercise. Furthermore, putting an upper ceiling on the time available to complete the translation would help uncover more about the decision processes as regards the participants' text choice and translation process.

As mentioned earlier in this Chapter, the findings will be presented thematically. The analysis will begin with participants' working translation unit, followed by translation strategies, and will conclude with the analysis of the translation of English passives into Arabic.

5.2 Translation unit

In Chapter Two, an attempt was made to define the unit of translation. Malmkjaer's definition— "the stretch of source text on which the translator focuses attention in order to represent it as a whole in the target language" (1998: 286)—was of special importance to this research: because of the nature of TAPS, participants were expected to verbalise the unit of translation they are working with. My working definition for a translation unit is the block which I observed participants in my study to be working with in the course of the exercise, and as posited by them through the TAPs. It is important to establish at this point the

difference between the translation unit and the translation flow. Translation flow was described as:

> [R]unning from the point where the translator starts reading the source text to the point where the translator stops reading in order to start translating. Each length of text processed makes up a translation unit, so that it can be considered that each translation unit is demarcated by a break in the translation flow (Barbosa and Nieva 2003: 138)

These breaks, as suggested in Barbosa and Nieva, may be because this is the amount of text that the translator can process at any one time. This would explain the fluctuation in the length of segments that the participants in my research were working with while translating. Another reason may be that at this point the translator encountered difficulties, such as unknown vocabulary or a difficult syntax structure that meant the translator had to stop and rethink the translation.

Based on previous studies such as those carried out by Gerloff (1988), Kiraly (1990), Krings (2001) and Lörscher (1991-1993), it was observed that professional translators have the tendency to focus on source text units of higher rank than semi-professional or nonprofessional translators. Additionally, Barbosa and Nieva documented that foreign language learners translating into their dominant language, process longer translation units than less advanced students (2003: 183). Jakobsen also documented that expert translators work with longer translation units when translating from the foreign language to their first language than when they are translating from their first language to the second language, and in both cases experts translate longer segments than translation students (2005: 183). My hypothesis regarding the unit of translation was that natural translators would work mainly on word level, and trainee translators on a higher level. This initial expectation did not in fact coincide with the findings in this research. The participants did not work on one level only as postulated earlier. The TAPs showed that both cohorts worked on multiple levels simultaneously.

This section will discuss my findings regarding the unit of translation as observed in the TAP exercise. It will first present a brief overview of the findings, then present, in more detail, the

findings from the cohort of natural translators, followed by findings from the cohort of MA translators.

Vinay and Darbelnet described the lexicological unit as a "lexical element grouped together to form a single element of thought" (1958/1995: 21) and remarked that word level translation was mainly observed with natural translators. The lack of expertise or in depth linguistic knowledge that is expected to be found with natural translators was the main factor behind my hypothesis that natural translators would work with smaller units than MA students. The lack of awareness of the non-correspondence at word level between English and Arabic might also contribute to the natural participants' choice of translating at word level. Attention to the non-correspondence at word level between Arabic and English (Enani n.d.: 12) is perhaps something that requires an in depth linguistic knowledge: consequently, natural translators, because they have not been exposed to higher education in linguistics, might not be aware of this language specific detail. Pragmatists argue that even basic vocabulary varies in meaning subject to the context it is used in. An example from Enani refers to uses of the word "food":

> *food* can become غذاء (or أغذية in the UN parlance, cf. Food and Agriculture Organization (منظمة الزراعة و الأغذية) or طعام. A voracious eater آكل / طاعم/ نهم/ شره is one who devours يلتهم / يزدرد large quantities of food (ravenous, gluttonous) and the choice of the translated term will depend on the context, which is naturally determined by culture (Enani n.d.: 12).

This non equivalence is especially significant because in the translation task such incidents might occur. An example that was observed during this research is for example the translation of "Bath Abbey". Abbey, in Arabic, can be translated to church, or monastery. The use of one word or the other would vary in light of the context. This example will be discussed in more detail later in this Chapter. The findings show that among my cohort of natural participants 40% indeed translated at word level, 30% translated at lexicological unit [59] level, 20% translated at paragraph level, and, finally, only one participant translated at sentence level.

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[59] Lexicological unit for Vinay and Derbalnet is: "lexical elements grouped together to form a single element of thought" (cited in Hatim and Munday 2004: 138)

On the other hand, trainee translators were expected to work mainly on paragraph, and sentence level. However, in practice there was a fluctuation in the participants' choice of working unit with respect to length and size and sometimes the categories were mixed. Some participants, from the trainee cohort, were observed working on both sentence and lexicological unit level. The findings show that 40% translated strictly on lexicological unit level, 10% translated on sentence level, and 20% translated on paragraph level,. 30% shifted between lexicological unit level and sentence level. It was also noted that all participants revised their translated sentences before attempting to translate the next sentence. However, only two out of ten participants dedicated part of the translation exercise time to the revision of the translation product. In many cases this resulted in changes being made to the structure of the previously translated sentence.

In accord with the structure that I have outlined above, the numbers that are presented in the graphs below will indicate the percentage of the frequency of translation unit per participant. Furthermore, I have added a "multiple" units[60] column to signal the number of participants who shift their working unit. A detailed analysis will be provided as well as a discussion of what were considered to be the findings most relevant to this section. While the statistical reports and graphs are fully inclusive, the discussion does not cover all the participants because, as mentioned in the previous chapter, there are twenty participants in this research, and I had to limit the discussion to what I considered the most relevant while providing an overall result of the findings.

5.2.1   Natural Translator Working Unit[61]

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[60] I use "multiple" units to refer to the shift between working units, i.e.: word level, lexicological unit and sentence level.
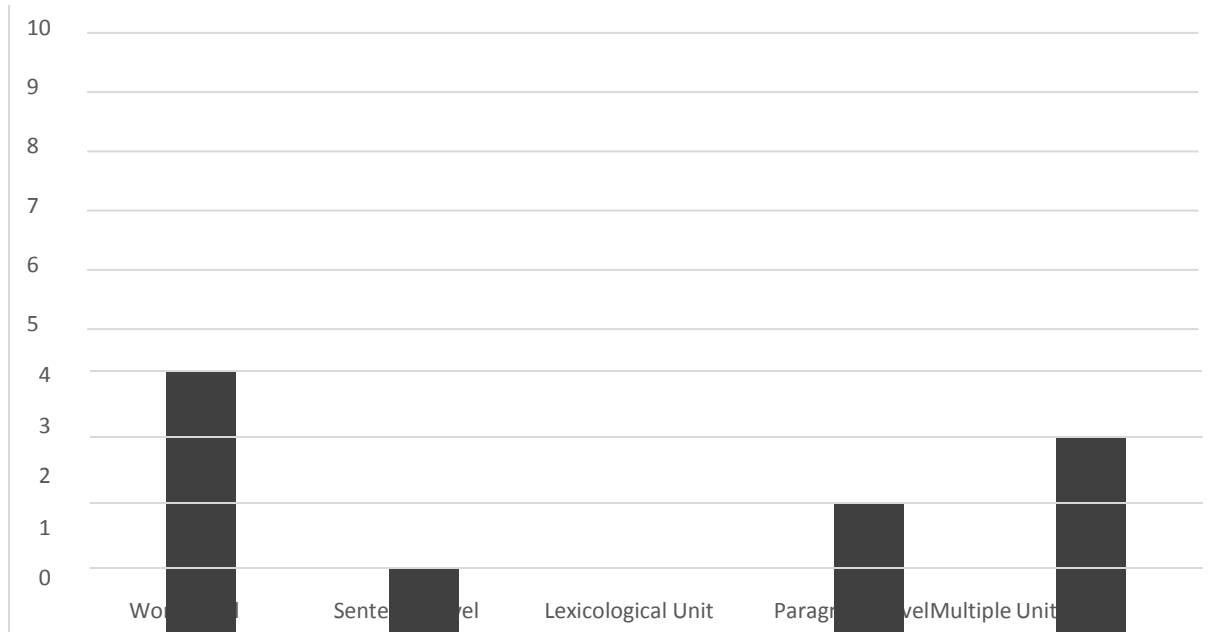[61] For a comparative view please see Chart 3 pp.124

Chart 1 Natural Translators Translation Unit

The working unit of the participants in this category varied. All the participants skimmed through the text before they attempted to translate. The previously mentioned hypothesis did not expect natural participants to translate at paragraph level. That hypothesis was made in light of the findings of previous studies.

5.2.1.1 Word Level Translation

The 40% that translated at word level struggled to make sense of their process and of their translation. They were constantly revising and checking, once a full sentence had been translated, to assess if it sounded correct and understandable. This group adhered closely to the original text's syntax and structure. It is noteworthy that the participants were able to recognise and to verbalise their own assessment that the translation did not sound natural; however, they could not understand why or pinpoint the reason. An example of this case is N8 and can be found in his/her process of translating paragraphs four and five from text one. Here, quoted from the transcript of the TAP, is what N8 realised at the beginning of the translation in paragraph 1 in the "Manal Al-Sharif" text:

"On May 19, 2011, Manal Alsharif, a divorced mother of two and internet security consultant for Saudi Aramco, the Saud Arabian national oil company,…"

في يوم ١٩ مايو [on the day 19th May]

In Arabic I have to add the word day. I have to switch the order of the day and the month.

في يوم ١٩ مايو منال الشريف, مطلقة [on the day 19th May Manal Al-Sharif, divorced...]

I don't have to say mother, I think divorced implies being a mother. Oh wait I see, I have to read further before I translate. So

أم مطلقة لاثنين [divorced mother of two] Ok

mother of two[62]

Although N8 realised from the beginning that a word level translation was not the best approach, it can be observed that this level was nevertheless the one that was maintained throughout the exercise. However, towards the end again, the same realization also was made:

في شهر سبتمبر سنة ٢٠١١ [in the month of September of the year 2011]

In Arabic I have to add the words month and year الملك

عبدالله [King Abdullah]

oh ok, I should perhaps have read ahead before I started to translate the sentence, I need a verb here. Ok I'll add the verb first then continue the translation, so gave, اعطى [gave] mmm or maybe منح [granted] that's why I need to read ahead! منح الملك عبدالله حق التصويت للنساء [King Abdullah granted women the right to vote] so basically he granted the right to vote for women. و في شهر مايو الماضي [and last May] ok I want to use منح [granted] again but I just used it, she was given, she received, yes that's better أخذت جائزة [she took Vaclav Havel award]فالكلافهافل

creative dissent المعارضة المبدعة [creative dissent] is it too literal?

I'll just go with it.

Also, in this same exercise N8 was conscious as well of the influence of *ammiya* on his/her translation, demonstrating doubts and self-criticism. In fact, at the start of the exercise N8 stated:

My Arabic is very ammiyya so you're not going to hear a lot of fusha here.
But I will try. Let me do the first sentence as an example.
How do I verbalise the process?
So like for the first one I can say:
في يوم ١٩ مايو ٢٠١١ [On the day 19th May 2011] Some
words I may not know...

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[62] Unless otherwise stated, all the bloc quotes were made by the participants in English and are listed verbatim.

Although the participant was a coordinate bilingual, in this particular case, as the interview showed, N8 learnt *ammiyya* first, then learnt *fusha* at a much later stage.[63] This circumstance, in addition to the fact that N8 lived in the USA for over fifteen years before returning to Kuwait, may have been the main reason why the participant felt that his/her competence in *fusha* might affect the translation product. At the same time, as other participants in this category demonstrated, even the ones that lived mainly in Kuwait had similar doubts over formal and informal standard of Arabic, but they were not as aware of it as N8. The struggle that the respondents had in translating from English to *fusha* attests to the impact that diglossia might have on the study of natural translation process from English to Arabic. It is a factor that previous TAP studies that examined translation performed by bilinguals—, i.e., Gerloff 1988 and Jääskeläinen 1990—could not have examined by studying the process of translation with language pairs such as: English, French, Finnish etc.

5.2.1.2 Multiple Units Translation

In the natural translators cohort, 30% of the participants worked on multiple units level. The following examples show the participants that also work on lexicological unit level; however, they did fluctuate in a few instances between sentence level and word level. The participants described below start working with sentence level translation but switch to the use of smaller units when faced with a translation problem. A translation problem can be related to either syntactical problems or lexical problems. For example, participant N1, who translated text two, "Bath Christmas Market", read an entire sentence to understand what the message s/he had to convey for the assumed target reader was. The participant was conscious of the choices s/he made in the translation, s/he stated:

> **"Bath's stunning vistas, grand architecture and picturesque lanes are breathtakingly beautiful at any time of the year."**
> I'm stuck with "architecture" now, I can't remember the word in Arabic. "picturesque" I have, but "lanes"! not sure. The words I'm thinking of are شوارعmeaning streets, but that's not what they mean here. They mean avenues, shopping districts, the high streets they have. Let's see what google

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[63] The rest of the participants learnt Fusha Arabic at the age of six. N8 learnt *fusha* during his/her undergraduate degree. Prior to that the participant only spoke *ammiyya*.

says! Even google translates the way I do. For architecture, it says architectural engineering. هندسة معمارية Which is the definition of the word but not what they mean, what they mean is شكل المباني [how buildings look] مناظر [man made scenes] to contrast with stunning vistas which are مناظر طبيعية [natural scenes] let's see what it says for lanes ممرات [corridors] it's a description. Which is like picturesque. Which means something that you want to take a picture of, while رائع is just wonderful, nice.

The above verbalisation demonstrates how the TAPs are helpful in showing the participants' working unit. In this instance the participant is working on sentence level. However, when the participant faces a problem, s/he then proceeds to reading the entire sentence in an attempt to solve the word level problem. In the present research, and taking into consideration the two groups of respondents as bilinguals generally, with a group formed of bilingual natural translators and a group formed of bilingual MA Translation Studies students, it is assumed that the respondents would encounter primarily lexical and culture specific problems. Less frequently, the participants might encounter syntax problems, especially with reference to gender. In the example given above, the participant demonstrated an awareness of the non-equivalence of lexical meanings and the metaphorical expressions that each word performs in the source text sentence. N1 appears to be drawing on his/her familiarity with the city of Bath and applying it in the translation choices.[64] Although N1 appeared to be looking at individual words, s/he wanted to translate the lexical meaning that resides within the context in which the word is being used. Therefore, the participant moved between sentence and word level. Furthermore, s/he was critical of the options that Google suggested: for example, Google suggested that "architecture" is هندسة معمارية [architectural engineering] in Arabic.

Another example is the translation of the word "picturesque" which in Arabic is رائع [wonderful], thus leaving a semantic void. N1 sensed that the Arabic word does not

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[64] It is noteworthy in the example that the participant did not state in his/her comment that some choices might not be understandable for the intended target reader. For example, with respect to "vistas", the participant did not take into consideration that this might require further explanation for someone who has not been to Bath. However, it can be seen from the choices s/he made, that on some level this was probably one of the concerns, Although the participant is not aware of it. This could be perceived as one of the disadvantages of using TAPs. If the participant is unaware of the reason behind the choices s/he is making, then the information will not be verbalised and it is left to the researcher to try to deduce or surmise what the reasoning behind a choice might have been.

correspond to the original and that the meaning behind the use of the simile in this context, as indicated in English through the suffix "–esque", is lost in the translation. Finally, it can be observed from this example that although N1 attempted to translate the connotative meaning of the unit "picturesque lanes" and the corresponding image as fully as possible, s/he was distracted from this strategy by individual words that presented an obstacle for him/her as an untrained bilingual natural participant. Cultural, geographical, and language knowledge are of high importance in translation; however, a specific level of language proficiency and translation competence is indispensable. The participant, instead of focusing on translating word per word, could have translated the entire sentence, for example:

<div dir="rtl">مدينة باث تتصف بجمال طبيعتها الخلاب بالإضافة إلى طرازها المعماري التاريخي وأزقتها المذهلة طوال العام</div>

[The city of Bath is characterised by its stunning natural view, in addition to the historical architecture and the wonderful lanes, throughout the year]

In this alternative Arabic translation, instead of translating word per word, I attempted to translate the sentence, using descriptors and explicitation where necessary to ensure the target reader would fully understand the importance and beauty of the city of Bath.

Participant N3 translated the same text, working with what appeared to be a sentence level. However, s/he encountered the same difficulties as N1 when it came to particular words in that same sentence. This is an excerpt from the TAPs recording corresponding to N3:

> **"Bath's stunning vistas, grand architecture and picturesque lanes are breathtakingly beautiful at any time of the year".**
> *Vistas*, what is vistas? و أفاق باث المذهلة
> [Bath's wonderful vistas] *Architecture*?
> What is it exactly?
> I'm not used to speaking my thoughts at all. This will be hard
>
> <div dir="rtl">أفاق باث المذهلة</div>
>
> **Grand architecture and picturesque lanes**
> I'm trying to think how canI combine all these without translating it literally.
> Is it مشاهد [scenes]?
> افاق باث المذهلة و شوارعها ال...[Bath amazing horizon/vista and its streets the…]
> I'll just go with جميله [beautiful]

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Interesting!! Because I don't know[65]
It says here: "are breathtakingly beautiful any time of year"
I need to think how to put that structure in Arabic.
هذه الحديقة جميلة في جميع أيام السنة؟؟ [this park is beautiful all year?] That doesn't
seem to make much sense Any
time of the year…ok
أفاق باث المذهلة وشوارعها فائقة الجمال [Bath amazing horizon/vista and its exceedingly
beautiful streets]
Is that a word? فائقة [exceedingly]
I need to look if it exists in Arabic أفاق باث المذهلة و شوارعها فائقة الجمال طوال العام [Bath
amazing horizon/vista and its exceedingly beautiful streets all year] طوال أيام
السنة؟؟ [all year days?]

The hesitation participant N3 showed here was mainly a direct result of the uncertainty about whether the words that occurred to him/her as potentially suitable for the translation pertain to *fusha*. The participant had doubts about many words: for example, with فائقة [exceedingly] the participant was not sure if the word actually existed in *fusha* or if s/he had made these words up from *ammiyya*, e.g. فائقة [exceedingly] and اجلب [bring]. Although N3 was not sure if those words were actually *fusha*, s/he did demonstrate some sensitivity towards what might sound like *fusha* and what might be *ammiya*. In all cases, although lacking fluency in *fusha*, the participant *was* sure that literal translation might not be the best approach. This hesitation and doubt added to the pressure of the translation task. This finding is consistent with Enani's point (n.d) that non-correspondence on word level between English and Arabic is something the translator must take into consideration in order to translate effectively from English to Arabic. Furthermore, this finding might be a reason to rethink translation at word level in the context of diglossia. In such a context, the participants appear to move from the SL word to *ammiyya* and finally to *fusha*. Moreover, it is plausible to assume that natural participants who are less fluent in *fusha* Arabic are more likely to translate at word level. This could be a result of their awareness that they are not as fluent in *fusha* as they are in English.

Participants N1 and N3 worked on sentence and word levels. Their translation approach was to understand the original and translate it directly into *fusha.* Only in a few cases did they translate it to *ammiya* before retranslating to *fusha*. This finding also contradicts what I have

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[65] The participant refers to the fact that s/he should have read the entire sentence.

hypothesized in Chapter Three, regarding the natural translators' inclination to pass through *ammiya* before translating to *fusha*. In fact, only two out of ten participants were observed to do so. There were cases, however, where it was noted that a few participants had some difficulties differentiating between terms that belonged to *ammiya* and terms that belonged to *fusha*. N3 is just one example.

5.2.1.3 Sentence Level Translation

Participant N6 was the only participant to work strictly on sentence level. The participant translated text four "Malala Yousafzai". The TAP data reflected the participant's working unit. Below is the relevant excerpt.

> **"It has only been five years since Pakistani schoolgirl Malala Yousfzai wrote an anonymous diary about life under Taliban rule in north-west Pakistan."**
> لقد مر خمس سنون
> [it has been five years]
> Ok so there is an event here that I want to think of a word to describe it, is it a moment in time, is it a piece of literature that she went back to, I want to see how can I start the sentence.
> لقد مر خمسة سنين على زمن كتابة المذكرة المجهولة التي ألفتها الفتاة الباكستانية ملالا يوزافزاي،التي تحدثت فيها عن الحياة تحت حكم حركة طالبان في شمال غرب باكستان.
> [It has been five years since the writing of the anonymous diary that the Pakistani girl Malala Yousafzai has written, in which she talked about life under the ruling of the Taliban movement in north-west Pakistan].
> **"Since then she's been shot in the head by the militants, and has become the youngest person ever to win the Noble Pease Prize".**
> Ok so they started with a noun clause then a verb clause, I might have to reverse that.
> منذ تلك الفترة [since then]
> منذ فترة اطلاق النار [since the time of the shooting]
> yes I'll go with noun clause it sounds nicer. منذ
> فترة اطلاق النار على الفتاة ملالا من قبل الجيش
> [since the time of the shooting of the girl Malala by the army...]
> Here they are not referring to the girl anymore there is no pronoun, so I'll add a pronoun, my sentence will sound a bit different أصبحت ملالا أصغر شخص
> عمرا للحصول على جائزة نوبل للسلام
> [Malala became the youngest person to receive the Noble Peace Prize]

The verbalization above indicates clearly that N6 was working on sentence level. The participant's verbalization also demonstrates awareness of the difference in sentence structure between Arabic and English. As such, N6 attempted to achieve a result where

his/her Arabic sentence follows the usual Arabic sentence syntax. This example was an isolated example of participants from this cohort working on sentence level. The next section will discuss the final finding from this cohort.

5.2.1.4 Paragraph Level Translation

The two participants that translated at what I have termed paragraph level read the entire paragraph, analysed the main idea in that paragraph and the secondary ideas, and then restructured their translation accordingly. It is also notable that they were aware that sentence structure and syntax in English cannot be replicated in Arabic. This was another finding that I had not expected, considering that the natural participants were selected from other academic backgrounds. They reformulated the sentence in order for it to sound as natural as possible in Arabic. This is an excerpt from what N5[66] said in the follow up interview:

> I struggled with the third paragraph, avoiding the commas in English, and transferring this to Arabic. I wanted to build a full sentence that ends with a period. I wanted to structure a paragraph that are all standalone sentences and comprehensible. In English, it's there to add more interest in the subject. In Arabic, people won't read that, they would just ignore it. I feel like they want the main idea to be in the start of the paragraph, and this is what I was looking for all along in the translation, to give my reader the main point and give him the choice to read along if interested.
> Another challenge was in the second paragraph. I found that different too, so you have "she said" and "she also joked". I rather have one verb of the interview she had. So to deliver the message to me is to combine both "said" and "joked" in one sentence instead of she did this and she did that, so I wanted to put them together.[67]

N5 was observed to follow this approach through the entire task. The participant would read the entire paragraph and decide what the main idea to be delivered was, then the secondary idea. Once these two are established, the participant would restructure the entire paragraph and produce what s/he deemed as good, fluent translation. For example, the original text reads:

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[66] The participant translated text four "Malala Yousafzai".

[67] Unless otherwise stated, the participants' quotes from the interview section are originally in English.

[70] Full text with analysis is available in Chapter Four.

"Accepting the award in Oslo on 10 December, she said she was "humbled" and proud to be the first Pashtun and the first Pakistani to win the prize. She also joked that she was probably the first winner who still fought with her younger brothers"[70]

كونها أول بشتان — مسقط رأسها في باكستان- ينال تلك الجائزة كانت فخورة و متواضعة،كما مازحت الجميع قائلة لعلها أول الرابحين مِن مَن لا يزال يتعارك مع اخوته الصغار، حيث كان تكريمها في مدينة أوسلو في العاشر من ديسمبر.

[Being the first Pashtun, from Pakistan, to win this award she was proud and humble. She also joked saying she was probably the first winner who still fought with her younger brothers, while she was awarded in Oslo on the 10th of December.][68]

It can be observed from this example how the translator changed the sentence order. The paragraph in Arabic began with where Malala was from and with personal details about her. Then it proceeded to give further detail that emphasised her youthfulness and finally mentioned the award. This structure was also influenced by the fact that the previous sentence ended with the note on her winning the Nobel Peace Prize. N5 decided, based on this information, that the next important point in a hierarchy of relative significance was the girl's age.

Another prominent example of this paragraph level translation can also be observed with reference to participant N5 in the following verbalization: while reading paragraph 5, "she survived the dramatic assault…her school friends as well", N5 states:

> Now I need to narrate the story, the sentence in English begins with she survived the dramatic assault in which a militant boarded her school bus. But I will turn the sentence around in Arabic, and start with the militant boarding her school bus…no wait I will actually turn around the entire sentence order in English, and begin with the location, in north-western Swat valley, a militant boarded a bus and it was where two of her school friends were hurt and she survived. So I will rearrange the sentence because I don't feel that in Arabic it would work the same, in English they were building momentum, giving bits of information all along until they reach the part where two of her school friends were hurt or wounded. I on the other

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[68] All back translations to English from Arabic are my own, unless otherwise stated, and will be between square brackets.

hand, will start with what had happened and then move on to say what were the results of the incident.

The previous excerpt reflects the participant's thought process and the way the participant approached paragraph level translation. This entire process, as can be observed, had as a primary objective to deliver what the presumed target reader would want to read or would prefer to read. In fact, and to further illustrate that the participant was aware that word per word translation might not be the best approach, this is what N5 said while translating paragraph four:

> Catapulted her! I never heard that word, but it seems from the context that this incident brought her to fame, "that one shocking act catapulted her to international fame", so the shocking act took her from being known only in Pakistan to international fame. So now, as a translator now, even though I don't know what the word means exactly the context and the entire sentence made it clear to me. But just to make sure, I'll look it up. It says here catapult is قذف [to throw]. Ok back to the paragraph.

It was very informative to observe how N5 assumed the translator's role, establishing a set of values and rules to follow during the translation exercise. These are aspects that will be discussed in Chapter Six. However, these observations might reflect how the translation unit might have implications for strategies and the role of the translator. For N5, it appears that text readability takes priority. Another aspect that can be observed in N5's approach is that the participant attempted to naturalise[69] the text in the target language by restructuring the paragraphs and rearranging the information order.

Similar findings were observed in N2 when translating text one "Manal Al-Sharif". However, the translation of N2 not only attempted to naturalise the text in Arabic, but there was also an emphasis on maintaining the journalistic structure and language. As such, N2 preferred to work with bigger units. This is an excerpt from the interview with N2:

> All the information transferred has to be transferred to the other text, in a form that is familiar and usual in the other language that it is translated to. I think this is the essence of a translation. It has to be accessible to the

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[69] The term here is used to refer to the attempt by the participants to produce a text that sounds natural in Arabic, as opposed to a text that reads like a translation.

average reader unless it's a technical text, where even the original reader won't understand it fully because it's full with technical terminology and referring to theories that the average reader won't be familiar with. So if the text is technical, I wouldn't mind it being difficult to read in the translated language, but a reader who has the technical background should be able to read it easily. So basically, whether it is an average text or technical the reader must not find it odd to read.

The previous statement by N2 was in response to the question about what the participant thinks is a good translation. The description given by the participant coincides with the approach N2 followed during the task.

In conclusion, four out of ten of the natural translators worked at word level. Four out of ten participants worked at multiple levels, two at paragraph level, and one at sentence level. These findings were similar to what was hypothesized initially, except for the participants who worked at paragraph level. Finally, the effects of diglossia were observable in a few instances with the natural participants. The interference of diglossia was discussed when observed. However, contrary to initial expectations, I had expected the effect to be more predominant. The next section will discuss the findings from the MA participants group.
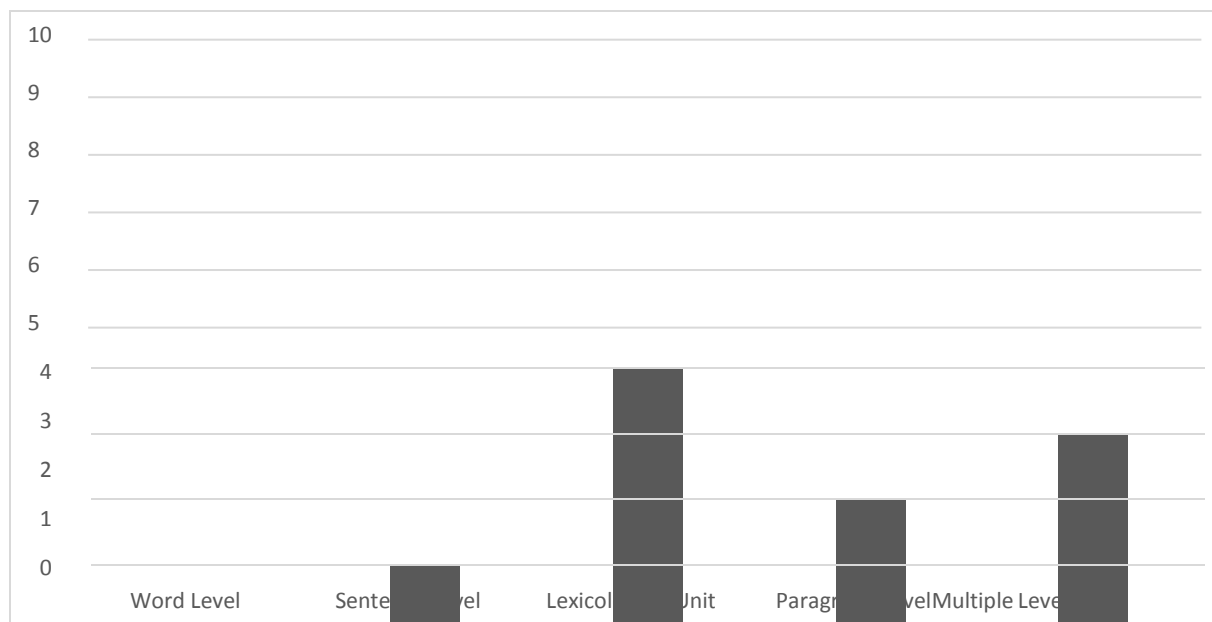
5.2.2   MA translators' working unit

Chart 2 MA Translators Translation Unit

MA translators, as mentioned earlier, were expected to work with larger segments. As can be seen from the graph above, 40% of the participants worked at lexicological unit level, 30% worked at multiple levels, 20% worked at paragraph level and, finally, 10% worked at sentence level. There are a number of reasons that may have caused the fluctuation in the participants' working unit preference as this section will demonstrate: it could be the time restriction, or the language pair used in the exercise, or perhaps the text length and topic; and, finally, it might be one of the effects of the TAP exercise. Previous TAP studies (Jakobsen 2003) concluded that segmentation varies according to language direction. To determine L1 and L2 for a coordinate bilingual is not simple. In the case of the participants in this research, and in light of the fact that they have been living in Kuwait the majority of their lives, Arabic was expected to be their L1 and English L2. Furthermore, TAPs were found to increase the number of segments in text production. However, Ericsson and Simon (1993) argued that think-aloud does not alter the manner and nature of information processing.

5.2.2.1 Lexicological Unit Level

Participant M3 was observed to work on this level. An example can be found in the statement made while s/he was attempting to translate the following sentence:

"For instance, in Saudi Arabia all women, even married ones, need permission from a male guardian to work or study"

وتقول فمثلا على المرأة في السعودية أخذ الموافقة من
[and she says for example, the women in Saudi must take permission from][70]
male guardian? وصيها؟ [custodian?]
what's the word? I know there is a word for male guardian which I forgot now
I'm trying to remember the word, I know it, I used it just yesterday in the
context of Islam, because that's what I understand from the text, so in the
context of Islam in Saudi Arabia.

In this particular case, two factors may have caused participant M3 to struggle with finding the equivalent term in Arabic. Firstly, the participant studied in a private school where the

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[70] The back translation is in square brackets and is the work of the author. The back translation was also checked by an expert Arabic/English translator.

first language was English, and *fusha* was secondary. This assumption is supported by what Jakobsen had concluded regarding the effect of language direction and thinking-aloud (2003: 79). Although Jakobsen argued that language direction could affect the translation speed and segmentation, Jakobsen states that segments vary according to language direction, and that the TAP condition increased the segments in text production for both groups in the study (2003: 93). Another reason why M3 struggled to find the equivalent term could be the time pressure.

5.2.2.2 Multiple Units Translation

An approach that was very rich in the data it yielded was the one observed with participants M9 and M7. These participants' translation unit varied. They worked both at the level of lexicological unit and at sentence level. Participants M9 and M7 translated text one. M9 read the first paragraph, then focused his/her attention on the first sentence. M9 explains:

"On May 19, 2011, Manal Al-Sharif, a divorced mother of two and internet security consultant for Saudi Aramco, the Saudi Arabian national oil company, was filmed by a friend driving through the city of Khobar".

> I'm thinking how to translate that in a way without having to add a dependent clause. I want to say, in 19th May there was a video about this topic etc., etc. So basically I want to change the structure of the sentence to sound more fluent in Arabic
> Then move on and talk about Manal that she is a mother of two has two kids works at ARAMCO.

Not only was the participant working on sentence level, as can be observed from the TAP data, but, furthermore, the approach M9 adapted was also time efficient. M9 was planning ahead the translation and the sentence structure in the target language. Only after M9 had finished this step, did s/he move to translate lexicological units within the same sentence. This is an excerpt from the TAP of M9 translating this same paragraph:

> I don't like to use the word divorced, I prefer separated, I don't think we
> write it a lot any way, we always say separated. في التاسع عشر من مارس، تم تصوير
> السيدة منال الشريف و هي أم منفصلة لطفلين —تعمل مستشارة أمن
>
> في أرامكو- تم تصوير

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[On the 19th of March, Mrs Manal Al-Sharif was filmed—and she is a separated mother of two—works as a security consultant in Aramco, was recorded…]

what is video in Arabic? Is there a word for video in Arabic? I know I'll add clip مقطع الفيديو [video clip] no مقطع لها وهي تقود سيارة في مدينة الخبر

[A clip of her while driving a car in the city of Khobar]

ok, let me read the first sentence. now,

let's read the next sentence

Here, they use she, I rather use her name, because I think it's a good reminder that it's Manal who did this brave thing

قامت منال بعرض المقطع ذي ال٨ دقائق

[Manal posted the 8 minutes clip]

you know how in English we have the number then hyphen then minutes, we

don't have that in Arabic so I'll just write it this

way على قناة اليوتيوب [on YouTube channel] is that

right? YouTube is a channel I think المقطع **وفي خلال**

[and during the clip]

"in it she says" it's funny, because I know Arabic structure is different than English structure, but yet as I'm translating because I'm going fast it sounds like a translation, you know what I mean? Like I'm not constructing it from scratch. Just a thought.

A number of observations are due here. First, that the participant was debating individual word translations and contemplating how to translate the word "divorced" in Arabic. Then, with regard to the next combined lexicological unit— "she posted the eight-minute video" — M9 was debating how to translate "video" and discusses the preferences for using Manal's name rather than the pronoun. Finally, there is the observation that M9 made that although s/he is conscious of the need to follow Arabic syntactic structure, the end product sounds like a translation rather than sounding natural. Following the original text's structure, rather than adapting it to the target text structure can also be linked to the effects of time pressure in translation. This process may be more time consuming, especially when working with two entirely different linguistic systems. This is definitely an aspect worthy of further investigation in future research on translation processes when working from English *to* Arabic.

Participant M5 is another example of the translators working at multiple levels. M5 is an MA Translation Studies student, speaks six languages fluently, and Arabic is his/her second language. S/he learnt *fusha* Arabic at a very young age in school. Thus, there are factors that

clearly differentiate M5 from natural translators with whom s/he could otherwise share some commonality. While the natural translators learnt English in school, and *ammiyya* at home followed by *fusha* in school, M5 learnt *ammiya* at a later stage. M5 would read the entire paragraph before translating it to Arabic. What was prominent in M5's approach is that the participant restructured the text in light of what s/he thought made more sense in Arabic. M5 ended up with a text composed of four paragraphs, each representing one main idea. Although M5 was working with lexicological units, s/he would also read the entire sentence, before focusing on the lexicological unit. This clear segmentation in M5 is perhaps due the fact that s/he speaks six languages fluently. It is possible that this polyglot background resulted in a heightened awareness of the general sense of which structures and norms correspond to which language. Below is an example of this approach when taken by M5:

> **"We are ignorant and illiterate when it comes to driving"**
> By the way, this should be said in the colloquial Arabic not in
> fushaنحن في حالة جهل والأمية فيما يخص قيادة السيارات. وقد نجد امرأة تحمل شهادة الدكتوراه ولا تعرف قيادة
>
> سيارة
>
> [We are in a state of ignorance and illiteracy when it comes to driving cars. And we may find a woman with a PhD and she does not know how to drive a car]
> **"We want change in the country"**
> what do they say in Saudi? بلد أو وطن؟ [country or homeland?] I'll just say in the kingdom في المملكة [in the Kingdom]
>
> فنريد التغيير في المملكة
>
> [So we want change in the Kingdom]
> Ok that is the end of the paragraph, but the idea continues, so I will merge it with the next sentence

The last statement in the example above is one of many examples where the participants reorganised the source text. This approach was observed with participant N5. The examples of N5 were discussed earlier in his/her translation of text four.

M8 had yet another approach. M8 reads the paragraph, identifies the difficulties and challenges in the paragraphs, solves them, and then proceeds to focus on lexicological units. Here is an excerpt of the TAP that shows M8's segmentation and working unit:

*Reads the first paragraph[71]
*uses a dictionary or Google Translate to look up the unknown words
So here for vistas it's saying مناظر [views]
I like that, now let's see picturesque
Also with architecture, should I say فن المعمار [architectural style] or المباني [buildings]. I might go with architectural style, because Bath is known for it's architectural designs, so I think this works better
I'll say طراز المعمار المتميز [distinct architectural style] I think it sounds best.
Then they say breathtakingly beautiful, now I can't translate that literally because it wouldn't make any sense, so I can convey the feeling of breathtakingly beautiful and say تسحر الألباب [enchants the heart]
I feel it's more attractive.
*puts the sentence together
revises the translation* مناظر باث الرائعة و طراز المعمار المتميز و الأزقة
الخلابة تسحر الألباب طوال السنة
[Bath's wonderful views and distinct architectural style and the fascinating lanes enchant the heart all year round]

As can be seen from the excerpt above, M8 was working on multiple levels simultaneously. The participant started by reading the entire first paragraph, then highlighted the problematic word units and proceeded to translate the word units in combination with the lexicological units. The process ends with writing up the translation and revising the final product. At the end of this process of translating the first sentence, M8 continues reading the rest of the paragraph and decides what the next translation move will be:

Then I can see here they ended the sentence, but for me in Arabic, I will just add a comma and continue the sentence. Or add a connecting word, like however, but I won't say like the original for the 18 days leading to Christmas. Because the sentence would be too long, the 18 days that they prepare in Christmas it would be in Arabic, so I will say the 18 days before Christmas.

In line with the process above, M8 works on the lexicological unit level, and makes decisions, based on this operational level, on how to proceed in the target language. This level of translation demonstrates what was postulated by Enani regarding the non-correspondence on word level for English Arabic translation. This approach by M8 demonstrates that

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[71] * represents researcher observations. Because the TAPs were only audio recorded, the researcher had to observe closely the participants attitude when they were working on the translations and annotate the process as observed.

equivalence is more likely to be achievable on higher levels, for example at the lexicological unit level.

The previous examples illustrated the difference in translation units between natural translators and MA translators. It was observed during the task that MA translators moved more comfortably between units. However, with natural participants it was observed that the hesitation and the close adherence to word level translation is mainly a result of the participants not perceiving themselves as translators. Furthermore, the majority of the natural participants preferred to adhere to the source text structure, while MA participants were aware that adherence to source text structure is not necessary (even if some of them did adhere to it).

Admittedly, cognitive information processing would take time (Schilperoord 1996). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the TAP exercise would require even more cognition and adds more demands on processing capacity. However, it does not mean that this additional demand on processing capacity would result in different segmentation (Jakobsen 2003:89). It is plausible that individual segments remained intact yet the process was slowed down.

It was observed in this research that with some participants, the TAPs might have compelled the participant to process different segments. An example could be drawn from M8, who prior to processing longer segments, first had to process the problematic smaller ones, i.e. word level. The participant stated that in previous translation tasks, s/he worked on paragraph level. However, in order to be certain about this fluctuation being an effect of the use of TAPs, another exercise without TAPs would be helpful. Also, it was observed from the participants comments that TAPs did increase the number of segments, and the hesitations in decision making process by both groups of translators. This perhaps is due to the fact that upon hearing their own translation solution the participants would wonder if it sounded correct in *fusha* Arabic. This reflection, made evident in the use of the TAPs, further emphasizes the significance of diglossia in the process of translation from English to Arabic.

Another factor that might have influenced the segmentation and process is the time restriction. Many participants expressed concerns such as: "I can't spend too much time here"

or they asked about how much time they had left. Despite my efforts to explain the exercise and to assure the participants that the quality of the product would not be assessed, I found that participants during the exercise tended to explain their choices and the approach they adopted in their translation alongside the qualification that this was the best that they could do given the time restriction.

The chart below shows the difference in translation units between the cohorts. As the chart indicates, MA participants worked on larger translation units than natural translators. Furthermore, the limited translation training experience was clear in some of the participants' verbalisations regarding what level they were trained to work in, although they found it challenging in this exercise to maintain one level.
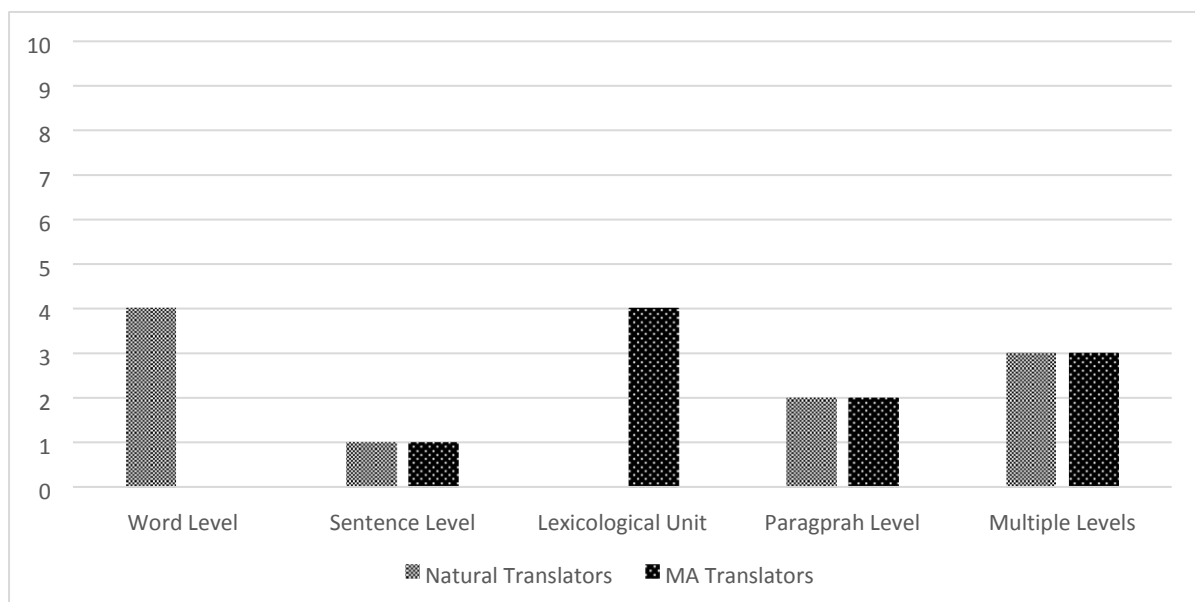

Chart 3 Comparison of Working Units Across the Cohorts

To conclude this section on translation unit, the following observations are pertinent. In this research, participants from both categories shared a commonality: in terms of similarities and differences in working units, as initially hypothesized, natural translators worked mainly on word and lexicological unit level. However, it was informative to observe that two participants worked on paragraph level. Despite the fact that all natural participants shared similar background and experience, the participants that worked on a higher level explained, in the retrospective interviews, that in their translation they were trying to imitate

the Arabic structures they normally read in newspapers, books etc. Similarly, the MA participants, contrary to the initial hypothesis that they would work mainly on larger units, worked on multiple levels, and thus sometimes attempted to follow, in their translations, the target language structure. Natural translators insisted that meaning takes priority in the translation, and although at times the language did not sound acceptable to them, they were satisfied that the meaning was delivered and that they were not misleading the reader and ensuring basic intelligibility. These findings attest to the importance of studying the effects of translation units on the target text readability. In other words, adhering to source text format, by translating word per word, would result in a foreign structure text, and a non-fluent product, despite the fact that the meaning is there. This is the first clear indication of the fact that for the natural translator, despite the desire to ensure the target reader's comprehension of the text, the approach followed is slightly counterproductive to this purpose.

Evidently, this data is applicable to this relatively small sample taking part in this research. Therefore, the findings are certainly not to be generalized. Conversely, in comparison to the other TAPs that were mentioned throughout the thesis, this sample is comparable to some of them. For example, Gerloff (1988) worked with 12 participants, four college students learning French as a second language, four competent bilinguals with little to no experience in translation, and four professional translators, while Jääskeläinen (1990) worked with four translation students, four professional translators, and four educated laymen who had no experience in translation. Saad's research (2010) included eighteen postgraduate translation students, all of whom were native speakers of Arabic. Granted, the availability of advanced software and research tools for future research will most likely yield more reliable data. Nonetheless, the findings here are worth acknowledging. To further illustrate the validity of this work, the next point of discussion will be the translation strategies used by the participants in this research.

5.3   Translation Strategies

To identify the translation strategies used by the participants in this research, I have used Mona Baker's taxonomy of equivalence (Baker: 2011), in particular, equivalence on word level

and above word level: collocations and idioms. These strategies are based on the strategies used by professional translators, and on the fact that these are also the most common strategies used amongst translators. Furthermore, and because the majority of participants chose to translate text one, "Manal Al-Sharif", the present research will examine the strategies that the respondents used to translate English passives into Arabic. Translation as a process is dynamic. The process includes the translator, the culture, and also the translation standards. TAPs, as has been discussed previously, are one of the methods that have been used to tap and map the translation process. One of the main purposes of this research is to examine translation strategies as applied in the translation process by the natural translator. It was expected that the condition of being bilingual and bicultural would influence the decision making process and the strategies used by the participants. The second purpose of this aspect of the research is to compare the strategies used by natural translators and trainee translators.

This section will describe and analyse the translation strategies used by the participants. The table below lists Baker's taxonomy used by professional translators (2011: 23-50). This list of strategies (S1-S8) was slightly adapted to fit the examples in this research. Furthermore, additional strategies were adapted as a result of the types of translation problems and the solutions that were used by the participants in this research (S9-S11).

List of strategies used in the analysis.

Number	Strategy
S1	Translation by a more general word
S2	Translation by a more neutral/less expressive word
S3	Translation by cultural substitution[72]
S4	Translating using a loan word or a loan word plus explanation
S5	Translation by paraphrase using a related word
S6	Translating by a paraphrase using unrelated words
S7	Translation by omission
S8	Translation by illustration
S9	Calque
S10	Literal translation
S11	Transliterated loan

Table 3 Translation Strategies

In this section I will proceed to analyse the strategies used by the participants on a problem by problem basis. I will highlight what was frequently perceived by the participants as a translation problem in each text, then discuss the solutions provided by the participants. The

[72] For purposes of this research, and taking into consideration the nature of the texts analysed, cultural substitution will refer to reverting the term to the original source culture.

analysis of strategies will focus on culture specific items and on the strategies used in the translation of idiomatic expressions, the chapter will conclude with the analysis of the strategies used to translate the passive-voice. Sometimes an idiomatic expression in one culture is represented in another culture by a gesture. For example: the English idiom at the drop of a hat, in Kuwait is represented by the gesture of a finger snap, while in *fusha* Arabic it is paraphrased to بدون تأخير [without delay]. Similarly, some idioms exist only in certain cultures. For example, in Arabic the idiom له جمل لا ناقتو لا [has no she camel nor a he camel] has no equivalent in English. The closest semantic equivalent would be to *have neither part nor lot in.* The previous example, illustrates how idioms are culture specific. Furthermore, considering that the majority of the participants chose to translate texts one and two, to select problems and the strategies used to solve these problems would yield valuable results. Furthermore, it would provide data on how natural translators solve problems of non-equivalence, and ultimately, on the role of the translator in transferring these culture specific items.

In Chapter Four, I have provided an overview and analysis of each text, as well as what I hypothesized would pose a challenge for both categories of participants. The analysis of strategies will begin with the Manal Al-Sharif text because it was chosen by the majority of the participants. The text was expected to present mainly grammatical and cultural translation challenges for the participants. The Manal Al-Sharif article, as discussed in Chapter Four, belongs to the participants' culture; however, it is written in English. Thus the references and some of the vocabulary used in the text are original to the Arabic language. It was hypothesized that to "retranslate" a text that is originally belonging to the participant's culture yet written in English, and under time restriction, might represent a challenge for the bilingual respondents. The English text also presents translated Arabic vocabulary that the participant may want to revert to the original, as it were, for example, "religious police" and "a male guardian". Unless the participant is familiar with the culture, these terms would be difficult to translate.

Another challenge is the text type. The Manal Al-Sharif text is an extract from an article published on wired.co.uk, thus the text is informative. It is a report on who Manal AL-Sharif is

and the events that led up to her being an award-winning activist. Moreover, the text provides the Arabic reader with insight into how the English text represented the event. In other words, the text represents how the domestic is portrayed in the foreign. Thus, the text can be seen as an English translation of what took place in Arabic. Therefore, the grammatical structure and the language of the text were also expected to present some challenge, for example, the use of passive voice, and the numerous quotes. Some of these quotes were translated to English by the reporter, while others are directly from Manal Al-Sharif, an Arabic speaker herself with English as her second language. I will start with the analysis of natural translators' strategies and then proceed to the MA Translation Studies students' approach to translation and the strategies they used.

5.3.1   Translation of culture-specific concepts.

5.3.1.1 Natural Translator translation strategies

This section on culture specific items will focus on what was perceived by the participants as a translation problem. Initially, I had expected that natural translators would use certain strategies because of their lack of expertise and knowledge, for example: translation by a more general word, calque and paraphrase. The findings were very interesting; in terms of frequency, natural translators in fact used translation by a more general word frequently. However, translation by omission was also very frequent. This was not expected because my working hypothesis was that as a result of experiencing translation in their daily life, for natural translators explanation and paraphrase would be more frequent than omission.

To illustrate the difference, the analysis of the culture-specific item will begin by listing the original sentence, followed by the participants' translations and finally the back translation before I proceed to analysing the strategies used in the translation. The terms will be discussed in order of their appearance in the text. The first one is "religious police" and the second is the culturally loaded item "male guardian". It was observed with the natural translators in this research that there was more doubt about a suitable translation and thus closer adherence to the original text. This relative literalness approach to the original could be attributed to the participants' awareness that language knowledge and fluency are not

enough; the participants were hesitant in their translation choices. More specifically, the fact that the items that presented problems in the translations in fact devolved from quotes in English of what was originally said in Arabic by a native Arabic speaker could have influenced the choices of the participants.

Such influences can be observed in the translation of "religious police". Each of the four participants who worked with this text translated the term using a different approach. N2 translated the cultural item using strategy S9, calque from English, while N8 used strategy S3, translation by cultural substitution, and used the corresponding Arabic name of the entity responsible in Saudi Arabia for adherence to moral codes. N9 used strategy S1, translation using a general word. The remaining participant, N7, used a term from *ammiyya* or translation using strategy S1, translation by a more general word. It can be argued that N8's translation is a type of reverting back to the source culture. The fact that only N8 used the "established" term هيئة الأمر بالمعروف [The committee for the Promotion of Virtue…] could attest to the importance of exposure to, and familiarity with, the languages as they are used among people in this context. Although translations such as the الشرطة [police] and الشرطة الدينية [religious police], translation by a general word and calque respectively, cannot be considered wrong as such, it can be suggested that such translations are vague or misleading. Especially because as an entity, the "religious police" in Saudi is not a police. It is rather an entity that is responsible for monitoring public morality. In this particular case, it can be said that age played a role in the choice of words made by the participants. N8, N2 and N7 are in their early thirties, while N9 is in his/her twenties. In addition, the interviews revealed that N2, N9 and N7 are less conservative than N8, which can be considered as another factor in the translation. It can be argued that the participants did not want to further increase the currency of the term, or preferred to stay away from the politics of the situation. Below is an example of literal translation from N2:

"The <u>religious police</u> came into my house at 2am"

لقد أتت <u>الشرطة الدينية</u> إلى منزلي الساعة الثانية صباحا

[And the <u>religious police</u> came to my house at 2 in the morning]

The comparison between the Arabic translation and the original text in English shows that the participant adhered to the original structure as well as to the original syntax and used similar lexical items in Arabic. This adherence to form and structure in N2 coincides with the translation of M2 as will be discussed in the next section. On the other hand, N9 translated the term using S1, translation by a more general word, as shown below:

جاءت الشرطة إلى منزلي في الساعة الثانية فجرا

[The police came to my house at 2 in the morning]

The participant used the umbrella term for police. N9 did not specify what kind of police; in the participant's own words:

> I'm not really sure about religious police here, so I'll just say the police came. If I translate it literally it sounds wrong to me. Yea I can't do that. I'll just say police.

However, N8, by contrast, was familiar with the terms and the situation and therefore s/he reverted the term to Arabic, thus translating "religious police" as هيئة الأمر بالمعروف [the Committee for Promotion of Virtue]

> The religious police, what do they call them in Arabic...? They have a long name in Arabic, something like هيئة الأمر بالمعروف و النهي عن المنكر [the committee for the promotion of virtue] you can't just say القوات [police force] or [religious force], so how can I say that? *reads further. Ok she is talking about the religious police.

Another factor to be taken into consideration in this translation is that N9 was the youngest participant from both groups. N9 is 24 years old. At this point it appears to be prudent to repeat what was mentioned in Chapter Three in terms of the criteria for participants selection, that the age group was between 24 and 35 years old for both groups. This is because it was anticipated that if the participants, especially natural translators, were older, their level of expertise might exceed those in the category of MA translation students.[73]

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[73] Prior to the selection of participants I checked the ages of the students on the MA course at KUNIV because I wanted to minimise the variables in my selection by choosing natural translators that were close in age to the MA TS ones.

The last translation to be mentioned here is N7's. S/he used S1, translation by a more general word. The participant chose to use the word "Mutawwa". This is a word pertaining to the Saudi dialect and used in the Gulf region dialects to refer to a person who is committed to the Islamic principles. However, the term used is from *ammiyya*. This is perhaps the only clear example of the interference of diglossia. The participants, from both categories, have demonstrated doubts about certain words, and whether they belonged to *ammiyya* or to *fusha.* However, the debate over which word to use was usually solved by using one the suggestions that appeared in the Google Translate.

The next example is the translation of "male-guardian". Participant N2 translated the term using S1, i.e. translating by a more general word. Thus, the sentence in N2's translation was:

"For instance, in Saudi Arabia all women, even married ones, need permission from a <u>male guardian</u> to work or study".

في السعودية كل النساء حتى المتزوجات يحتجن لإذن <u>الرجل</u> للعمل أو الدراسة

[In Saudi all women even married one's need <u>the man's</u> permission to work or study].

The previous translation is a more general translation. N2 is the only participant amongst the two groups to have applied this strategy, although in the case of N2 it is coherent with the rest of the translation. The participant appears to maintain a neutral tone throughout the translation. Furthermore, in the retrospective accounts of the task, when the participant was asked to comment on the translation product, N2 revealed that maintaining a neutral tone was the objective. Thus, N2 avoided using terms that might be sensitive such as "religious police" and "male guardian", and instead used the general word رجل [man]. However, to signal that there are some concerns that Manal is expressing, N2 used linking words where appropriate, for example N2 translated "she said" as:

وتضيف منتقدة

[And she added criticising], and

وعلقت

134

[And she commented]

These additions can be regarded as a form of compensation for the lost meanings elsewhere in the text. These translation decisions were not initially part of the strategies that the thesis has set out to observe. However, it seems appropriate to point them out as additional evidence of strategic thinking applied to translation on the part of members of the natural translators.

N7's translation of the term we are looking at in detail here is as follows:

<div dir="rtl">

أن كل امرأة سواء كانت متزوجة أم لا بحاجة إلى إذن ولي عهد ذكر لكي تدرس أو تبدأ العمل

</div>

[Every woman, whether married or not, needs permission from a <u>male crown prince</u>, so she can study or work].

As can be seen from the back translation, the participant mistranslated the term. This could also be attributed to the effect of diglossia. The terms in Arabic are وصي /wasy/ [guardian] and the second one is ولي عهد /waly a'had/ [crown prince]. The pronunciations of the underlined terms are very similar. In fact, the meanings are quite similar too. The main problem in the translation is the addition of the second term /a'had/.

N9 used strategy S7, translation by omission, as the participant was not sure if the statement made by Manal about the de facto prohibition of women drivers is factually accurate. N9 was confident that women do not drive in Saudi Arabia and that is why the participant was more comfortable in the translation of the previous quotes. However, in the previous example, N9 decided not to risk saying something that, as s/he perceived it, might not be true. This choice perhaps further demonstrates the validity of the previous statement about the significance of age. Being younger, N9 was as a result more hesitant and set his/her own boundaries.

Finally, in regards to this term, participant N8, in a way similar to the approach followed in the translation of "religious police", translated the term using strategy S3, translation by cultural substitution. Below is the translation:

<div dir="rtl">إن كل النساء في السعودية حتى المتزوجات منهم يحتاجون إذن من <u>محرم</u> لكي يدرسون أو يعملون</div>

[All women in Saudi, even married ones, need permission from an <u>unmarriageable male</u>, to work or study].

It is noteworthy that this is the established term in the *ammiyya* both in Saudi Arabia and in Kuwait. However, in fusha the correct translation would be وصي [guardian]. This is because the term محرم [unmarriageable male] includes in the colloquial usage the husband as well.

The final example to be discussed here is the translation of the word "honking". The data gathered around thisexample reflect an interesting effect of diglossia and proficiency in *fusha* Arabic in the Gulf countries. It is perhaps not as culture-specific as the previous terms. However, the use of the Arabic word mostly analogous to "honk" (when used of activating the horn of a car) is perhaps culturally inappropriate. "Honk" as a verb gained currency in English language, according to the *Oxford Online Dictionary*, by the mid nineteenth century. It is therefore, relatively new. In line with this relatively new use of the word in English, the use of the Arabic verb has been put to use recently. Originally, the verb: زمر /zəmər/ "made a loud sound", was used to refer to the loud sound produced through the use of a musical instrument known in Arabic as مزمار /mizmar/ "woodwind instrument". Therefore, for the participants in this category, the result was not satisfying when they researched "honking". "Honk" is frequently used in *ammiya*. However, the *fusha* variant is not as frequently used. The knowledge and use of *fusha*, as explained in Chapter Three, is restricted to certain domains. Most, if not all of the participants, may have only used *fusha* in Quranic recitations, or for school speeches. As a result, the more analogous form for the verb "honk" in Arabic is not a word that would be frequently used in these contexts. It is rather understandable that not many participants would perceive it as fully integrated in *fusha*. Therefore, despite the fact that their knowledge in *fusha* was adequate, the doubts caused by the diglossic situation in the Kuwait made the decision making process difficult. The verb appears in the source text in the next sentence:

"I was mad, because the day before I had to walk for 40 minutes from my clinic to my house and cars were <u>honking</u> and following me"*.

Participant N7 explains:

> I was looking up the way to say honked a car horn in Arabic. I felt that might
> be a tricky one.
> I'll see what I can find on google, although I don't really like using it a lot. I
> like to think about the words, but since I'm being timed. I can't do that.
> I like the way google translated it, I feel like it makes sense نفخوا في بوق السيارة
> [blew the car horn] it's going to be impossible, or wait, horn, there might be
> an actual word for it in Arabic. Sometimes when google gives me a word I
> doubt what I do is that I take that word and back- translate it and see what
> it means if they coincide, I think it has to be right then.

The participant used the translation as provided by Google. The sentence is not wrong; it is
nonetheless artificial and does not represent standard usage in Arabic. The strategy used here
is S5, translation by paraphrase using a related word. The translation in N7 is:

"And cars were <u>honking</u> and following me"

و السيارات <u>نفخوا في بوق السيارة</u>

[And the cars blew the horn of the car]

N7 used the related word "horn", and explained the action by using a paraphrased form it in
Arabic. On the other hand, N2 translated the term in Arabic as تزمر [makes loud noise]. This
can be considered as a demonstration of strategy S10, literal translation. In the TAP the
participant says:

Honking, I don't know. The closest I can think of is تزمر so I'll use that.

The translation is as follows: و كانت

السيارات <u>تزمر</u> لي و تلاحقني

[and the cars were <u>honking at me</u> and following me]

N8 said:

> honking? I'm thinking how to say honking in Arabic. I know the word in
> *ammiya* but not in *fusha*…hmm ok I'll say they tried to get my attention… في

محاولة [in an attempt] this sounds awkward في محاولة أن أنتبه لهم [In an attempt to get my attention] I know this wrong, it's not what it says, but…I can't think of another way around it.

Thus, N8 used strategy S6, translation by a paraphrase using unrelated words. Below is the translation:

و كانت السيارات تلاحقني <u>في محاولة أن أنتبه لهم</u>

[And the cars were following me <u>in an attempt to get my attention</u>]

N9 used a similar translation strategy to the one adopted by N8, translation by paraphrase using unrelated words. Below is the translation:

والسيارات تلتحق بي و <u>تؤذيني</u>

[and the cars were following me and <u>bothering me</u>]

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, N8 was aware of, and expressed the fact that his/her Arabic is "*ammiyya* more than *fusha*". Many examples of N8's translation process bear out his/her judgement of the relative weighting of his/her competence in the two forms of Arabic; nonetheless, the participant adopted a range of different approaches to compensate for the lack of certain words in *fusha*, such as paraphrasing, explanation, and explicitation.

To conclude this discussion on the strategies that the natural translators participants used in the translation of text one, it is noteworthy that the participants used other strategies to compensate for the lack of correspondence in translation, or as a result of their awareness that their translation choices did not necessarily reflect exactly the original. Finally, the effects of diglossia were also observed in the previous section, in some of the translation choices that were made and in the participants' uncertainty about the appropriate lexis to use in their translations (where several possibilities were present traversing *ammiya* and *fusha)*.

The next text to be discussed, with regard to natural translators' strategies, is text two "Bath Christmas Market". The reason I have chosen to talk about this text here is that, when compared to the first text, "Manal Al-Sharif", this text provides a different set of culture

specific items that might challenge the translators. The text is of a descriptive nature, and is thus rich with adjectives that are designed to persuade the reader to visit Bath Christmas Market. The text also includes cultural, historical, and religious referents. Participants N1 and N3 chose this text instead of text one because they expected it to be free from culturally problematic terms. Additionally, the participants considered their familiarity with the city of Bath and the context as an advantage they had as opposed to choosing, for example, text three or five. The respondents have lived in the UK for some time, thus adding to the list of advantages; and, finally, the descriptive nature of the language was appealing to them. Further aspects of text choice will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

Contrary to what the participants postulated when choosing this text, during the task, the cultural translation challenges surfaced and the participants in this category started to wonder what they could and could not translate, or how to translate it in a neutral way.

The first example to be discussed is the translation of "Bath Abbey". The challenge in the translation here is that in Arabic "Abbey" translates to either دير [monastery] or كنيسة [church]. Monastery, in the Arabic Web dictionary Almaany, is defined as the building or establishment where Christian friars and nuns live. The word monastery as described in the same dictionary carries with it images of large institutions in remote locations where the residents pray and worship. Although the participants did not clearly state as much, it can be argued that this is one of the reasons for their subsequent translation choices. Participant N1 contemplated the translation options for the term, but was not able to discern the difference between an abbey and a church. In fact, the participant thought both terms referred to the same signified. In N1's own words:

> Abbey? What's Abbey in Arabic…It says كنيسة[church]. But I think abbey is a different kind of church. It's larger, more grand than a regular church. We don't have something similar in Islamic countries, like the difference between the city mosque or the Big mosque[74] [Almasjid Al-Kabeer]. Both are mosques but they don't fit the same category. One of them is just a building, a nicer building than the usual for praying, while the other is well designed

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[74] The participant refers to the Grand Mosque in Kuwait. The Grand Mosque is the name of the largest and the official mosque in Kuwait.

has artwork to give a better feeling like AL Haram[75], Hagia Sofia, they are technically the same kind of building but an Abbey is different than a regular church just like these mosques. As an Arab and a Muslim, I don't feel comfortable using all these adjectives to describe a church for my reader, but
I also want to deliver that it is an important part of Bath's history and worth a visit. Ummm I don't know, I will just say Bath's church. It's says here it's legendary but I don't want to use that either so I'll just use تاريخية [historical].

N1 finally translated *Abbey* as كنيسة [church]. To illustrate the difference between the source text and the target text I will include below the original sentence, the translation by N1, and finally the back translation.

"But for the 18 days during the lead-up to Christmas, the area around the iconic <u>Bath Abbey</u> and the historic Roman Baths transforms into an extra-special winter wonderland".

و لكن ل 18 يوم قبل وصول كريسماس المنطقة حوالي <u>كنيسة باث</u> و الحمامات الرومانية التاريخية تقلب مدينة باث الى جنة تسويق و استمتاع.

[and but for the 18 days before the arrival of Christmas the area around <u>Bath church</u> and the historical Roman Baths turns Bath to a paradise for shopping and enjoyment].

It can be seen from the translation and back translation above that N1 used S1, translation by a more general word. The word "church" is defined in the previously mentioned Arabic dictionary Almaany as the place of worship for Christianity and Judaism. It can be observed here from the definition given in the Arabic dictionary that the use of the Arabic analogue for "church" without any additional descriptors results in a more general and a less expressive translation. Another translation option that could have been used is strategy S4, translation by a loan word. N1 could have also borrowed the word and added a brief explanation.

Furthermore, there are key points to be considered in this verbalisation and what it tells us about N1's translation choices. Primarily, the participant was operating under the assumption that the Arabic reader is by extension Muslim and therefore the decisions made

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[75] The participant refers to the Great Mosque of Mecca.

were considering this specific reader, thus excluding other potential Arabic readers. Hatim and Munday refer to this approach as the power to exclude (2004: 93). In a given translation task a sense of power may include the use of language either to "include or exclude a particular type of reader, a certain system of values, a set of beliefs or an entire culture" (2004: 93). Additionally, it appears that the participant's own beliefs and values are influencing the translation and ultimately the role of the translator. Similar approaches to translation by N1 can be seen in the rest of the examples as well, where the participant changed or omitted the parts that s/he considered would offend, or would not be of interest to, the target reader. In the participant's choices it can also be observed that although N1 did not want to transfer the exact description, s/he did stress the fact that Bath Abbey is an important part of Bath's history and, as such, the translation has to highlight this importance within the realm of what the participant thought is acceptable for the reader. Clearly, there is more to say about the interaction between belief systems and translation choices: rather than expand on this theme here, Chapter Six will include a detailed discussion of how these translation strategy choices correlate with the role of the translator.

N3 did not appear to have such a dilemma as N1 at the point of working with culturally embedded vocabulary. In N3's case the issue was mainly that of grasping the accurate meaning of *Abbey*. The participant searched for the word "abbey" using Google Translate and it turned out as دير [monastery] in Arabic. However, the participant was not satisfied with this result. This could be attributed to the lack of proficiency in the target language. Although N3 was of similar background and age as the rest of the participants in this cohort, N3 did not appear to trust his/her own linguistic abilities and knowledge in *fusha* Arabic. The participant, as will be seen in the following discussion, would constantly question if the words that s/he was using pertained to *fusha* or *ammiyya*. N3 was not keen on using كنيسة [church] as a substitute because the participant understood the difference between an abbey and a church. Therefore, N3 used S7 from Mona Baker's taxonomy, i.e. translation by omission. N3's translation reads:

"But for the 18 days during the lead-up to Christmas, the area around the iconic <u>Bath Abbey</u> and the historic Roman Baths transforms into an extra-special winter wonderland".

و لكن في فترة)الخميس 28 نوفمبر إلى الأحد 15 ديسمبر(الاستعداد لعيد "الكريسماس "تتحول هذه المدينة و الحمامات الرومانية التاريخية إلى مدينة عجائب الشتاء

[But during the period of (Thursday 28 November to Sunday 15 December) the preparation for celebrating Christmas transforms this city and the historical Roman Baths to a winter wonderland].

As can be seen from the back translation, N3 omitted the reference to Bath Abbey in the target text, and instead referred to the entire city. It is noteworthy here that the reasons for omission in N3 differ from those in N1. While the latter were more to do with ideological and religious sentiments, in N3's case the reason was mainly language competency. The participant did not want to use *church* in Arabic to refer to "abbey" in Arabic. This example can also serve to underscore the effect of time pressure on the translation task. As mentioned in earlier parts of this discussion, and as observed from the TAP data, the participants felt that they had to settle for the strategy that would save them time in order to proceed with the task.

Also, in the translation of the same introductory sentence of this text the participants wondered about the translation of "Christmas". N1 searched for a translation using Google. This is what N1 said of what s/he found: "Let me see what the translation for Christmas is! I don't think it would have a translation. It only says birthdays here."   The translation product in N1's text was:

و لكن في فترة)الخميس 28 نوفمبر إلى الأحد 15 ديسمبر(الاستعداد لعيد" الكريسماس" تتحول هذه المدينة و الحمامات الرومانية التاريخية إلى مدينة عجائب الشتاء

[But for the period of (Thursday 28 November to Sunday 15 December) the preparation for celebrating "Christmas" transforms this city and the historical Roman Baths to a winter wonderland].

In the translation, it can be seen that N1 used strategy S11, translation by using a transliterated loan word, and added inverted commas to signal that the word does not pertain

to the Arabic language but is instead a transliteration. Furthermore, to highlight that it is a proper noun, the participant added the Arabic definite article ال.

On the other hand, N3 says:

> Bath Christmas Market. Should I translate Christmas? I think everybody knows what Christmas is. I can use whatever means I want right? So from English to Arabic. It says here market is سوق [market]
> I want a different word for that. I will just write Christmas. See it says here[76]
> Christmas is عيد ميلاد
> [Birth Day] I don't think
> that is right.

N3 used S11, translation by a transliterated loan word, in addition to strategy S3, cultural substitution. The participant also used inverted commas to signal the loan word and added the culturally corresponding term in Arabic. The Arabic word عيد الميلاد [The Birth Day] is frequently used in Arab Christian contexts to refer to the Christian festival of Christmas. Despite the fact that N3 was not entirely certain about the translation, the participant found it sufficient to use the Arabic term. N3 assumed that the target reader would identify with one of the two forms. Below is the translation product:

و لكن في فترة الإستعداد لعيد الميلاد "الكريسماس" (الخميس 28 نوفمبر- للأحد 15 ديسمبر) تتحول هذه المدينة و الحمامات الرومانية التاريخية إلى مدينة عجائب الشتاء‘ حيث تتواجد فرصة تبضع فريدة من نوعها.

[and but during the preparation for "the Birth Day" "Christmas" (Thursday 28 November Sunday 12 December) this city and the historical roman baths turns into the winter wonderland, where there exists a one of kind opportunity for shopping]

As we have seen with previous instances, it appears that this, similarly, is due to a lack of linguistic competence. "Christmas" as an event in Arabic is indeed translated as عيد الميلاد [Birthday], the Arabic word uses the definite article to refer to the event, thus distinguishing "The Birthday" (i.e. Christmas) from other birthdays. Nonetheless, the term "Christmas" is also widely used as a loan word from English and transliterated into Arabic. Therefore, the

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[76] The participant refers to Google Translate.

translation *is* in fact acceptable, although the participants themselves were not certain of its acceptability. The participants here loaned the word, assuming that it has been assimilated and will be known to their target reader. It appears that the wide use of "Christmas", in its transliterated form, among Arabic speakers resulted in the assimilation of the word in Arabic. However, in works of literature it is not used as commonly. The word "Christmas" appears in the online bilingual dictionary www.almaany.com as both عيد الميلاد [the Birthday] and transliterated as كريسماس [Christmas] in the context of tourism. This could attest to the fact that the transliteration is valid in this context of this exercise. Finally, in a similar fashion to N1, N3 also added the definite article in Arabic to signal the loan word as a proper noun.

It might appear that there is a discrepancy in the use of translation strategies when translating "Abbey" and "Christmas", in the sense that "Christmas" as a term appears transliterated and adapted in Arabic dictionaries, whereas with "Abbey" the case is different. However, it can be argued that this is not the case. As it stands currently, in many Arabic speaking countries, Christmas is a national holiday. To be more specific regarding the context of Kuwait, Christmas is also a holiday for English and American schools and other foreign establishments. Therefore, Christmas is rather seen as a cultural festival, which some Muslims celebrate with their Christian friends. However, the case does not apply to Abbey, perhaps because in the context of Kuwait, there are only churches. Hence, the participants were struggling with the translation.

The next item to be discussed from the same introductory sentence in the text is the translation of "winter wonderland". The concept of a winter wonderland has been made famous by the 1934 song, of the same name, written by Felix Bernard. N1 says:

> "Extra special winter wonderland", again in my mind it doesn't have a good translation in Arabic, because winter there is a magical time where everything changes colour. It's white and pure and they have their own celebrations this time of year, but for the Arabic, Middle Eastern mind, winter is same as summer but colder, maybe rainier.

The statement by N1 again excludes other potential Arabic readers. N1 refers in this statement to the winter in the Gulf region, where the weather during winter does not differ

drastically from summer. For this particular region of the Arabic speaking world, winter is mild and rainy. This view excludes other areas where winter is much colder than the Arabian Gulf region and it may snow. Therefore, the perception of winter would be different for the target reader than the source text reader. Such assumptions can be observed in the participant's TAP data where s/he describes winter as magical, pure and white. N1's solution was to omit the description "special" and "wonderland". Therefore, the resulting product was:

"[T]he area around the iconic Bath Abbey and the historic Roman Baths transforms into an <u>extra-special winter wonderland</u> as the annual Christmas Market (Thursday 28 NovemberSunday 15 December) turns the centre of Bath into a unique shopping and entertainment paradise".

ولكن ل ١٨ يوم قبل الكريسماس المنطقة حوالي كنيسة باث و الحمامات الرومانية التاريخية تتحول الى <u>احتفال للشتاء</u> بسبب حضور السوق)الخميس 28 نوفمبر – الأحد 15 ديسمبر(و تقلب مدينة باث الى جنة تسويق و استمتاع

[but for the 18 days before Christmas the area around Bath church and the historical Roman baths changes to <u>a celebration of winter</u> because of the arrival of the market (Thursday 28 November- Sunday 15 December) that turns Bath to a paradise of shopping and entertainment].

The issue that N1 encountered here was not only the acceptable translation of "winter wonderland" but also how to describe it. Therefore, N1 used S2, translating by a more neutral/less expressive word. For example, "extra-special winter wonderland" was translated in the Arabic version into احتفال الشتاء [celebration of winter].

The resulting product is not necessarily lacking in meaning. However, it omits an important feature of the special Christmas celebration that the text is promoting. A number of observations are due here. First, the problem the participant had when describing what a winter wonderland is. N1 struggles because the idea and perception of winter is different, in the participant's opinion, for the target reader than for the original source text reader. To reiterate this view excludes many potential readers. Second, the data reveals the clear perception the participant had of his/her role as a translator and perhaps his/her

identification with only one of his/her cultures. On a number of occasions it could be observed that the participant would use "them" and "us" when transferring the text from the source to the target language. There is a conflict of loyalties, on the one hand to the text and, on the other, to the target reader, and N1 was trying to find a middle ground, an approach to translation that would do the original justice but also that would be appropriate, in N1's view, for the target reader.

To understand better the individual differences and the varying degrees of biculturalism within the natural translator category, I will discuss the translation of the same sentence as it appeared in N3.

"But for the 18 days during the lead-up to Christmas, the area around the iconic Bath Abbey and the historic Roman Baths transforms into an <u>extra-special winter wonderland</u> as the annual Christmas Market (Thursday 28 November-Sunday 15 December) turns the centre of Bath into a unique shopping and entertainment paradise".

و لكن في فترة الإستعداد لعيد الميلاد "الكريسماس")الخميس 28 نوفمبر- للأحد 15 ديسمبر(تتحول هذه المدينة و الحمامات الرومانية التاريخية إلى <u>مدينة عجائب الشتاء</u>، حيث تتواجد فرصة تبضع فريدة من نوعها.

[and but during the preparation time for "the Birth Day" "Christmas" (Thursday 28 November Sunday 12 December) this city and the historical roman baths turns into <u>the winter wonderland</u>, where a one of kind opportunity for shopping exists]

In this rendering by N3 s/he translated "winter wonderland" using strategy S9, calque. N3 translated literally the words in the expression into the target language, as can be seen in the back translation above. This could be the result of the lack of a conceptual equivalent in the Arabic language. In Arabic countries, the tradition of a Christmas theme winter wonderland does not exist.

The next term to be discussed here is the translation of "mulled wine" and the idiomatic expression "treat yourself to a cup of cheer". In the translation provided by N3, the participant translated the sentences as a continuum instead of using two phrases as the original. The sentence reads:

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"Mulled wine (or the traditional west country variant, mulled cider) is the quintessential Bath Christmas Market tipple. Treat yourself to a cup of cheer as you browse the lovely lanes".[77]

<div dir="rtl">

"mulled wine" ولا تنسى أن تجرب شراب السوق الساخن الذي اسمه

و سيجلب الدفء و السعادة للجميع

</div>

[and don't forget to try the warm market drink which is called "mulled wine" and that will bring warmth and happiness to everybody]

To translate "mulled wine", in this sentence, the participant used S4, translation using a loan word plus explanation, for the translation of "mulled wine". N3 borrowed the term, and signalled the foreign word in the text by using inverted commas. Furthermore, N3 added an explanation to the translation as can be seen from the transcript above.

However, N1 took a different approach; this is an excerpt of the think-aloud:

> Mulled wine, that's a word that I don't know what it means in Arabic. I don't even know what it means in English if I'm honest. [...] see even the Arabic translation here says بحث, تطوير, [research, development] which doesn't make any sense. Let's see if they have a translation for mulled wine, نبيذ, النبيذ, [wine] I haven't heard that word [the wine] النبيذ, I'm not sure if they use it at all, it's not in my dictionary, wine to me is just خمر. Cider is another one, I'm not sure if these are the same, I think they are selling it for the wrong market, عصير تفاح. Traditionally, if we're translating to Arabic, it's going to be read mainly by Muslims and they don't use or make use of wine or cider. It says here treat yourself to a cup of cheer as you browse the lovely lanes. See browse the lovely lanes sounds nice, but they say to do that while you are drinking, which isn't something we would do. So I wouldn't translate these two. I'll tell you something though, if I had more time I would try to find something else that is unique and special to do there and suggest that for my reader instead of the mulled wine.

There are a number of observations from the data above. First, the participant's lack of linguistic competence led to N1 not being able to identify the corresponding Arabic term for *wine*. The main issue that N1 encountered was the meaning of "mulled wine". The participant

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[77] The analysis here refers only to "mulled wine" the sentence between brackets is not included in this analysis.

does not distinguish the difference in Arabic between نبيذand خمر. However, the Arabic language distinguishes the two terms, while in English both refer to the same substance: a fermented grape juice. In Arabic, the first one /nabith/[78] refers to anything that is left/put in a drink. Therefore, in Arabic it could refer to anything that is added to water or milk and left to soak and it does not necessarily mean that the resulting drink has been fermented.

Conversely, the second term /xamr/ refers to the fermentation process. The lack of distinction by the participant can be expected, as this knowledge might be accessible to someone with a higher command of classical Arabic. The decision made by the participant to use strategy S7, translation by omission, is the focal point in this analysis. As in previous instances detailed earlier, the participant excludes many Arabic readers, and includes only Muslim Arabic readers and shapes the translation accordingly. The conflict between the loyalty to the source text and loyalty to the target reader is also present in the last sentence as the participant explains that omission is the best strategy in this instance because of the lack of time; otherwise N1 would have found an item that can be used to replace "mulled wine" and use it to promote the place as a tourist destination.

This section has discussed the translation of culture specific items by natural translators. The texts that were discussed presented different challenges for the participants. The following chart will demonstrate the frequency with which each translation strategy was used in the translation of the previously discussed terms in order to provide a clear comparison between the two cohorts.

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[78] The transliteration of the terms were added here to show the difference in pronunciation of the two Arabic terms for *wine.*
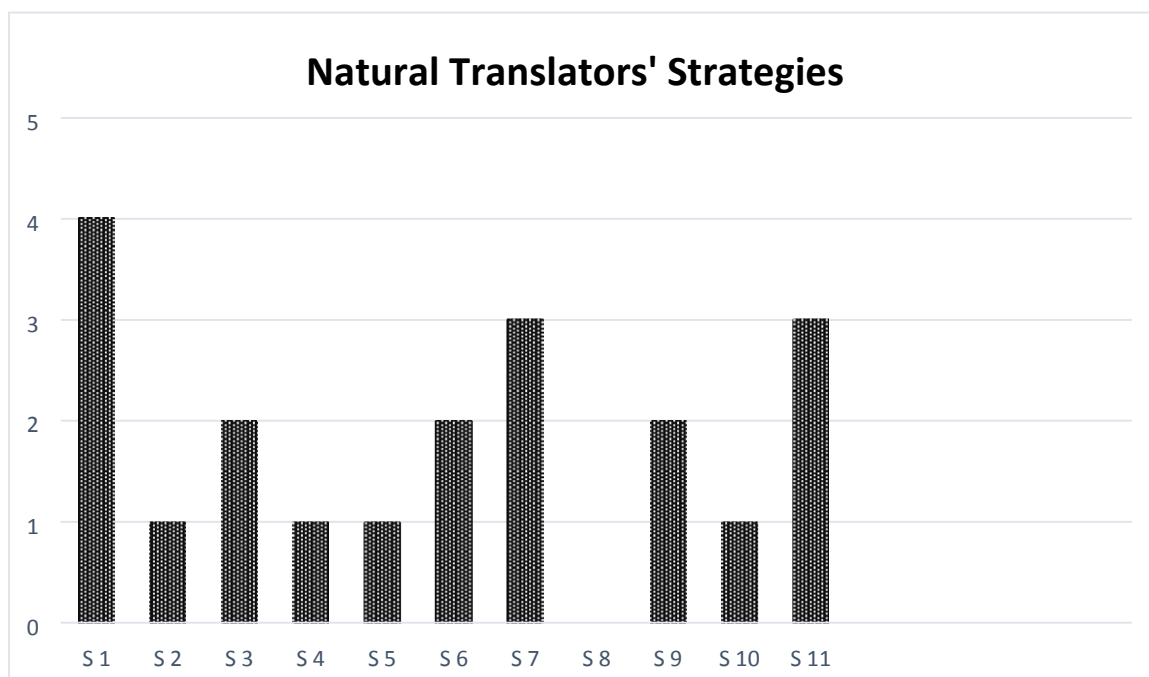
Chart 4 Natural Translators Strategies

The graph above shows that there is not a drastic difference in the choices of translation strategies. However, the use of strategy S7, translation by omission, was certainly not expected in this cohort. It was anticipated that natural translators would adhere closely to the source text. It appears, though, that omission is an easier option, for the natural participants, when dealing with problematic source text items. In Chapter Four, I hypothesised that literal translation, and translation by paraphrase using related words, would be the two most common strategies used by a natural translator. The chart above shows that literal translation was not in fact a frequently used strategy. It appears that translation by a more general word, omission, and transliteration are perhaps time effective. The data from TAPs showed that the pressure of the time limit affected the participants' translation choices. The second strategy that I hypothesised would be used frequently is translation by paraphrase using related words, and, as can be seen from the narrative above, this strategy was only used once. Instead, the participants used translation by paraphrase using unrelated words on two occasions. Finally, only one participant was observed to use cultural substitution as understood in this research.

In terms of the effect of diglossia, it can be seen from the analysis that the condition of being bilingual and diglossic may interfere to some extent with the translation process. The proficiency in *ammiyya* and *fusha* can be interpreted as a result of social status. Currently, proficiency in the English language is considered as a marker of a high socio-economic status, while *fusha* is regarded as a marker of lower social status, i.e. participants who belong to a higher class attend private schools where the dominant language is English. [79] Consequently, proficiency in *fusha* is severely affected. Additionally, the use of *fusha* is restricted to certain domains i.e.: speeches, literature, newspapers etc., while *ammiyya* is more widely used in everyday interactions, thus improving the participants' level in *ammiyya* as a result of its frequent use. Therefore, as hypothesised in Chapter Four, diglossia may complicate the process of translation, further research is needed, however, in order to understand the extent of its effect. It appears initially that the languages are clearly set in their registers and domains of use, and although in some cases the first response to a problem might be in *ammiyya*, the participants are able to sense that the term is not *fusha* and seek an alternative term. Additionally, the participants questioned their choices constantly. In terms of biculturalism, participants appeared to be more influenced by one of their cultures than the other. I hypothesised previously that because the participants lived mostly in Kuwait this would be their dominant culture. The results did not conform to this: these were individual differences, and, as such, I was not able to discern a pattern.

5.3.1.2 Trainee Translators' strategies

In line with the structure of the previous section, this part will begin with a discussion of the culturally specific and non-equivalent items from the first text "Manal Al-Sharif": "religious police", "male guardian" and "honking". The next section will then address the translation of text two: Bath Christmas Market. The analysis will cover the same terms as the previous section in the same order. In order for any translator to be able to translate a text of this type

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[79] This does not mean that the participants necessarily represent a higher social class, but rather that, English is the language associated with aspiration. Sections of Kuwaiti society strive to improve their English linguistic skills over Arabic, for many reasons. One of these is social acceptability, and another is, for example a wish to improve career opportunities.

successfully, knowledge of the relevant culture is fundamental. Nonetheless, it was informative to find out how, in practice, time pressure, and adherence to the source text influenced the translator's decisions in the majority of cases. As happened with the natural translators, "religious police" and "male guardian" were translated literally in some instances, instead of finding the functioning equivalent term in Arabic. It is noteworthy that later in the interviews, when discussing the translation choices of these terms, the participants recalled the culturally appropriate terms and acknowledged that at the time of performing the task, they could not think of them. The tip of the tongue phenomenon is very common with bilingual speakers. Another aspect to be taken into consideration in terms of culture is appropriateness. The example of honking, as will be discussed in due course, reflects this aspect.

It will be useful to reiterate the context where the term "religious police" was used. This is the sentence from text one: "the religious police came into my house at 2am". Initially, this sentence was expected to be problematic in terms of translation of the cultural item. However, many participants also struggled with the translation of the verb "came" as it appeared in a collocation with "religious police". M2 translated the term "religious police" using strategy S5, translation by paraphrase using a related word. This is the excerpt from the translation:

رجل الشرطي الملتزم دينيا؟ [The religiously committed policeman]?
جاء رجل الشرطة الملتزم دينيا إلى منزلي في الساعة الثانية فجرا فأخذني
[The religiously committed police man came to my house at 2 in the morning and took me]

The translation provided by M2 explained the term "religious police" as a policeman who is committed religiously. However, in Arabic, this translation can be considered as misleading because the original sentence was referring, as explained in the previous section, to the entity in Saudi Arabia known as, in a literal translation, هيئة الأمر بالمعروف و النهي عن المنكر [The committee for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice]. However, M2's translation refers to a member of the police force, while the members of this committee are not actually police officers. N7, in the previous section, correctly referred to them in *ammiya* as "muṭawwiʿ". In

other words, the members of this committee are supposed to be knowledgeable in Sharia Law.

M3, on the other hand, translated "religious police" as شرطة الآداب [vice police] thus using strategy S3, translation by cultural substitution. She/he appeared confident about using this term and stated in the interview:

> I used that term شرطة الآداب [vice police] because I know that's what they are called in Saudi Arabia. I was in Mecca a few times and I heard them use that term. In regards to entered by force, who comes to a house at 2 am? Unless they wanted to bust them? They weren't asking to be let in they barged in. this is how I saw it.

It can be argued that this term can also be misleading to the reader, because the religious police is defined as an authority "tasked with monitoring social behaviour and enforcing the observance of Islamic moral law" (adhrb.org), while the term used by M3 was can be back translated as vice police. This term in Arabic appears to possess a negative connotation as in Arabic it can be seen as part of the police task force. This section deals with crimes of immorality, e.g. drugs, prostitution etc. However, there has been discussion since 2013 in Saudi Arabia about replacing the Committee with a public morality police. This public morality police would be an entity with clear boundaries and obligations, as opposed to the current situation. It could explain the participant's use of this term. This is an excerpt from M3's TAP:

> the vice police entered by force my] داهمت شرطة الآداب منزلي في الساعة الثانية صباحا
> house at of 2am] No wait I'll rephrase that وقالت منال التي تبلغ من العمر ال ٣٣ عاما
> [and Manal who is 33 years old]
> So I put the verb first because that's what they do in Arabic
> I didn't use the last name only, because I feel this is more common in English language rather than Arabic.

In my opinion, although this sentence can be considered as activating a cultural substitution, the appropriateness of the translation in this context is questionable. The participant used a term that in the target culture refers to a different entity for the target reader. Thus, it can be argued that this translation is not accurate, or, at the very least, that it is misleading, in the sense that what Manal did was morally unacceptable in the culture but cannot be considered as a vice as the translation implies. There are many reasons why the participant might have

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misused the term, one of which is the participant's unfamiliarity with the types of Saudi police. It could also be, as the participant stated during the TAP, that his/her knowledge of *fusha* Arabic is not as good as English and *ammiyya* Arabic.

M1 and M9 also used strategy S3, translation by cultural substitution. They used the name of the entity, as N8 did in the previous section.

داهمت هيئة الأمر بالمعروف منزلنا الساعة الثانية فجرا

[The committee for the Promotion of Virtue forced their way into our house at 2am].

For M1, the main issue in this sentence was the choice of verbs to be used in this specific context, since the equivalent term for "religious police" was readily available هيئة الأمربالمعروف [Committee for the Promotion of Virtue]. A similar issue can be observed in M9's TAP; the participant argues:

> Umm religious police are well known in Saudi, they refer to the Committee not an actual police force. So I'll use their name.
> Also, I think all Arabs know what the committee is but I don't think they actually understand its role or what it does, you have to be very familiar with Saudi Arabia to know that.
> حضر رجال الهيئة [the committee men came]
> Or should I say اقتحم [raided]
> I don't think they just came in
> اقتحم رجال الهيئة منزلي الساعة الثانية صباحا، كما تقول الشريف
> [The men of the committee raided my house at 2 in the morning, as Al-Sharif says]

M9 is the only participant to have argued that the original statement by Manal in the English text did not reflect the original intended message. The participant says at a later stage of the verbalisation of thought processes while working on the translation:

> I think, she is not very fluent in English, because I think she meant they arrested me, I don't think they took her. I think arrest would have been a better choice of word in my opinion, and also, even when she says: they came to my house, coming is peaceful, I would have never used these words I would have used something stronger.

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To recapitulate on the examples mentioned previously, the participants' translation of the term "religious police" varied but it was mainly done using strategies S3, cultural substitution in the case of M1, M3, M4 and M9; and S5, translation by paraphrasing using related words, as was the case withM2. The main issue with the target text using strategy S5 is that the resulting translation can be misleading. The Committee of Promotion of Virtue is by no means a part of the police force. In terms of the translation provided by M3, although the participant used cultural substitution, the term used to substitute the source text item into Arabic can be deemed misleading, as it refers to a department in the police task force (vice police), and indeed a woman driving in public is not a crime that the police force is responsible for – it is more a matter of public morality and cultural boundaries. However, and as stated by Jääskeläinen (1999), translators with experience problematize more than laymen, or in the case of this research natural translators. This was observed when the MA students struggled with the translation of the verbs *came* and *arrested*. The participants' hesitation confirms the findings of previous studies: as the verbalisation showed, for MA respondents target text meaning and adequacy took priority in the translation task.

The next culture-specific item is the translation of the term "male guardian". The sentence is: "For instance, in Saudi Arabia all women, even married ones, need permission from a <u>male guardian</u> to work or study". As discussed in the earlier section, familiarity with the culture in Saudi Arabia is necessary to understand that the two words together in this context refer to an unmarriageable male. Although the participants understood what the term referred to, the majority of them had difficulties finding the corresponding term in Arabic. Thus, the strategies used here were not as expected initially. The strategies that can be observed in the translation of this collocation are the following: three out of seven participants used S1, translation by a more general word, one out of seven participants used S1, in addition to explanation. Finally, two out of seven used strategy S3, translation by cultural substitution, thus using the originally intended term in the target language. Below are the examples for each of these strategies in use. Participants M3, M1 and M2 chose S1, translating by a more general word. I will list below the original sentence, followed by each participant's translation.

In this translation, M2 did not hesitate a lot in the choice of words. According to the participant, as long as the reader is familiar with the culture, the choice of word would not matter as much. In M2's own words:

لا تستطيع أي امرأة في الدولة السعودية وحتى المتزوجات منهن الدراسة أو العمل إلا بموافقة <u>ولي أمرها</u>
<u>ذويها؟</u> [her parents?]
<u>أهلها؟</u> [her family?]
Which one should I use? I don't think it makes a difference. We all know the culture. It's our culture after all
[any woman in Saudi Arabia, even married ones, cannot work or study unless her <u>male custodian</u> agrees]

M1 also translated the sentence as:

في السعودية لا تستطيع النساء حتى المتزوجات منهن العمل أو الدراسة دون إذن من <u>ولي أمرها</u>

[In Saudi Arabia, women cannot, even married ones, work or study without permission from her <u>male custodian</u>.]

The term "custodian" that is used in this sentence by the participant is defined in the seventh edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of Law (2009)* as: "a trustee who has care and custody of trust property." In Arabic, and specifically from the point of view of Sharia, a male guardian is someone who is responsible for everything related to the person he is watching over.[80] From a legal point of view, "guardian" is an umbrella term that is interchangeable with other terms depending on the context. Thus, a guardian of a minor in Arabic is called وصي /wasy/ which is one of the functions of a guardian, yet as soon as the person is an adult then the /wasy/ can either return to just being a guardian, or the role itself ends there as there might be another guardian. *The Oxford Dictionary of Law* defines a guardian as: "One who is formally appointed to look after a child's interests on the death of the child's parents." This definition is the equivalent for the Arabic /wasy/, while a "mahram" /mahram/ [unmarriageable male] refers to any male that the woman in question cannot be married to, such as a father, brother etc. In Saudi Arabia, a woman is required to be either accompanied by a /mahram/ or at least to

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[80] I gleaned this information from a conversation with Sheikh Mohammad Basheer Al-Ahmad Abu Ali, an Imam at the Shweikh Mosque in Kuwait.

have his consent. The particular context in the text at hand called for the latter term, as opposed to the general umbrella term of guardian. It is perhaps prudent to mention at this point that the specific meaning of the terms is rather confusing and requires an in depth knowledge of law and Sharia that perhaps the participants did not possess.

M1 says regarding the translation of this quote:

> I think having long quotes shows that the text is translated. I want to shorten it, or just paraphrase it
> لا تستطيع النساء حتى المتزوجات منهن العمل أو الدراسة دون إذن من
> [women, even married ones, cannot work or study without permission from…] male guardian, what's male guardian?
> Literal translation, I won't add male though, I think the word itself is masculine, or is it not? I think just guardian or ولي أمر would include a mother as well, and that is not the case. I'll come back to it, I'm running out of time.
> من ولي أمرها [from her guardian]

In light of the discussion above, it can be seen from the example that the strategy used by M1 is S1, translation by a more general word. Furthermore, in the previous excerpt from M1's TAP data, the effect of time pressure is observable. The participant exclaims that s/he has to proceed with the translation.

M3's approach was as follows:

مثلا على المرأة في السعودية أخذ الموافقة من ذكر "مسؤول" عليها للدراسة أو العمل

[For example, a woman in Saudi Arabia needs to take permission from a <u>male responsible for her</u> for study or work]

M3 was one of the participants who used a similar strategy to the one preferred by M1, as a result of her/his inability to recall the actual term. M3 said in that process:

> Well here I will say all women in Saudi Arabia, because it applies to all women, not only to Saudi nationals.
> وتقول فمثلا على المرأة في السعودية أخذ الموافقة من
> [she says for example a woman in Saudi Arabia needs to take permission from..]
> Male guardian? وصيها؟ [guardian]

What's the word? I know there is a word for male guardian which I forgot now.

I'm trying to remember the word, I know it, I used it just yesterday in the context of Islam, because that's what I understand from the text, so in the context of Islam in Saudi Arabia. I feel like swearing now but I'm containing myself

Brother and father are…what's the word? Ok fine I'll use the google translator again, although I know it won't give me exactly the word I want. من ذكر مسؤول عليها؟ [A male responsible for her?] No!

أخذ الموافقة من ذكر يرعاها؟ [take permission from a male that takes care of her?]

على المرأة في السعودية أخذ الموافقة من [a woman in Saudi Arabia needs permission from…?]

Ok, I'll try to search for something that correlates the relationship of father and brother with the woman]

[ruler]

الذكر الوالي [the male ruler?] والي؟

عليها؟ كلكم راعي وكلكم مسؤول عن رعيته

[all of you are guardians and are responsible for your wards.], I'm between مسؤول [responsible] and I just had a word, what was it? والي؟ [guardian]. It sounds more like a ruler. I'll just go with مسؤول عليها

[responsible for her]

وتقول فمثلا على المرأة في السعودية أخذ الموافقة من ذكر "مسؤول" عليها للدراسة أو العمل

[and she says, for example, a woman in Saudi Arabia needs to take permission

from a male "responsible" for her for study or work] I'll

underline مسؤول [responsible] and come back to it later

The previous excerpt shows clearly the struggles experienced by M3, and the approaches s/he used to recall the word that s/he needed for this particular context. It also highlights the debate the participant was having between literal translation and using an established term or cultural equivalent. This situation could be linked directly to time pressure and the stress of the observation method. In fact, it was not until later, in the interview, that M3 suddenly recalled the word, while answering a question relating to the translation of the collocation. This is the relevant excerpt from the interview:

Because I know there is a word for it in Islam, I just couldn't think of it, I still can't even now, it's on the tip of my tongue. I use it and I used it before but for some reason it escaping me now. Wait, it's *Mahram* [an unmarriageable male]. That's the word. It would have been better than responsible male guardian. But I couldn't think of it at the time. I mean I recalled the meaning

behind the word that is a male, unmarriageable and responsible for her, but I couldn't find the term in Arabic.

M5 translated the sentence, as mentioned earlier in this section, using S1 in addition to explanation. This is the product of the translation:

و حسب قولها بأن المرأة في السعودية و لو كانت متزوجة تحتاج الإذن <u>من وليها من الذكور سواء كان ذلك زوجها أو أبوها حسب التعاليم الدينية</u> و سواء كان بغرض العمل أو الدراسة.

[and according to what she said a woman in Saudi Arabia, even though she is married, she needs permission from one of her <u>male guardians whether that is her father or her husband according to the religious teachings</u> and whether it is for work or study].

This is how M5 reasoned the approach adopted in the translation:

> بأن المرأة في السعودية In Saudi Arabia all women. How do I say it a normal way?
> بأن [that the Saudi woman] بأن المرأة السعودية [that the woman in Saudi Arabia]
> المرأة السعودية و لو كانت متزوجة تحتاج الإذن من وليها [a woman in Saudi Arabia, even though she is married, she needs permission from one of her guardians] ok…
> تحتاج الإذن من وليها من الذكور [she needs permission from one of her male guardians]
> سواء كان الزوج أو الوالد [whether that is the husband or the father]. Ok now we need some explicitation! سواء كان ذلك زوجها أو أبوها [whether that is her father?] No! الأب [the father?] [whether that is her father or her husband]. Ok the religion is involved here, so let's put it here, although it's not in the
> English, but it's better to put it in the translation. حسب التعاليم الدينية [according to the religious teachings]. To work or study.
> سواء كان ذلك زوجها أو أبوها،حسب التعاليم الدينية، و سواء كان ذلك بغرض العمل أو الدراسة. [whether that is her father or her husband according to the religious teachings and whether it is for work or study]
> I think it's good, it sounds good. Is it too long? Did I take more than one hour?

Participant M5 thought it was necessary to add an explanation for the term. The participant assumed that the text written in Arabic would reach an audience that was not exclusively Muslim. It is noteworthy here to mention that this is a form of an inclusive translation, contrary to the excluding translation by N1 from the previous sections.

Finally, participant M7, as part of his/her translation approach, refrained from translating the quotes. Participant M7 declared:

> Any quotes by Manal I will not translate in my own words, I will look up exactly what she said and translate it, I think this is a very sensitive case, where many have faced unpleasant incidents and I think it's my responsibility not to make things worse just by putting words into her mouth. Now if I can't find them, I will translate them as neutral as possible, and I will indicate that these are the translator's words and not the exact words of that person.

It is noteworthy at this point of the analysis to stress the effect of time pressure, and the stress of translation under observation, as factors that could have influenced the translation choices. Especially in the translation of this quote, as it is towards the end of the text, the participants at this stage are likely tired and stressed about time, or lack thereof, which in turn would not allow the participants to revise their translation. Throughout the exercise, many participants had revision as part of their translation plan. This is reflected in many instances of the verbalisations where the participants express the need to move forward with the task and return to the problem at the revision stage.

Lastly, the translation of "honk" into Arabic will be considered in this section. The issues surrounding the use of the term in Arabic were discussed at length in the previous section. Therefore, this section will only discuss the strategies that MA participants used to translate it. The participants that were least convinced with the result adopted different strategies for the translation, namely S5, translation by paraphrase using related words, S6, translation by paraphrase using unrelated words, S7, translation by omission, and finally, S10, literal translation. The participants that used S6 found that the corresponding word in Arabic that the dictionary gave them in *fusha* was either "weak" or inappropriate to use in this type of context. For example, participant M3 looked up the word and this is what s/he said:

> Honking?
> What's honking in Arabic?
> I can't think of a word, I know the word in *ammiyya*, but I can't think of it in *fusha*
> Ok so here it says تزمير [make a loud noise]

بوق؟ That doesn't sound good
و تطلق أزمارها؟ [use their [horn]
ييوقون؟ horns] Seriously is it [horning]?
Because I typed honk in Google because I couldn't think of another word and I still don't like the result Ok I will leave it for now.

After much hesitation, M3 used translation by paraphrase using related words. Below is the translation:

"Cars were honking and following me"
وكانت السيارات تلاحقني و تطلق زمامیرها علي
[and the cars were following me and blowing their horns at me].

M2, M9, and M5, on the other hand, used translation by paraphrase using unrelated words. Below are the translations:

M2:

كانت السيارات تلاحقني وتزعجني
[The cars were following me and bothering me] M5:

وكانت هناك سيارات تتبعني ويقوم أصحاب السيارات بإزعاجي
[and there were cars following me and the cars' drivers were bothering me]

و تمت مضايقتي من الكثير و ملاحقتي Finally, M9 translated it as:

[and I was being bothered by many and followed]

M9 also used strategy S6, translation by paraphrase using unrelated words. Below is the excerpt from the relevant section of TAP:

I was being bothered and followed. What is honking in *fusha*?
Hmm I don't think it matters I think I made it clear.
I think if I say I was being bothered it's clear

The participants that chose this strategy did so because they were either not comfortable using the word يزمر [honk], or because for the participants it did not sound culturally acceptable to be explicit in the translation.

The rest of the participants translated the term literally, although they did so hesitantly. The verbalisations below will show why the participants were not satisfied with this option.

Participants M1 and M4 who opted for a literal translation said:

M1:

> Honking, hmm, this is silly, I don't know what honking is in *fusha*. Or maybe I do, if I read it I will be like yes I knew it. تزمير[made a loud sound] is what is in my head, but that sounds wrong. I will look it up. Oh I'm wasting time now. I'll just use
> و هي تزمر مما أشعرها بالغضب. [and it (plural) was making a loud sound, which made her mad]

M4:

> And cars
> حيث كانت السيارات [and the cars were]
> honking
> تصدر أصواتا؟ [made noises?]
> حيث تعرضت أصواتا؟ [made sounds?]
> [and I was subject to...]
> حيث كانت السيارات تصدر تطلق [and the cars were making...]
> أصواتا [making sounds]
> تطلق بوق السيارة [sounding the car horn] I have to
> look up honk تصدر أصواتا و تتبعني [making noises and
> following me] I'll check up honking later *After
> revision:
> Now I will look up … and honking! Maybe I can find it Arabic
> تزمير?لقد كنت حانقة لأنه في اليوم السابق اضطررت للمشي لمدة ٤٠ دقيقة من [making loud noises]
> عيادتي لمنزلي حيث تعرضت لتزمير
> السيارات و ملاحقتها
> [I was angry because the day before I had to walk for a period of 40 minutes from my clinic to my house where I was subjected to the cars making loud noises and following me]

The excerpt above shows that M4 attempted initially to use a different strategy. M4 was considering using strategies S4 and S5. However, the participant finally decided to use S10.

The final participant to choose this text did not translate the quote in this instance. M7 explains:

> And again a quotation! I would have to look it up, I feel she's been through a lot and she deserves some justice, not to face any more trouble. So yes all quotes are to be looked up.

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It is noteworthy in the case of M7, that quotes similar to this one were not translated for the reason the participant mentioned. However, other quotes, which were not as sensitive as the ones previously mentioned, *were* paraphrased by the participant.

The previous excerpts from the TAP data demonstrate the hesitations and the decision making process of the participants during their translations of all the terms under discussion here. However, they do not reflect the entire situation. Gestures, postures and eye movements are all further indicators of the participants' active engagement with, and exertions over, the text. I have mentioned earlier the question of cultural appropriateness. The concept of appropriateness is relevant in this case, because Arabic culture is conservative in nature. The participants have done the best they could under the circumstances i.e.: time restriction, observation, thinking aloud.

To reiterate some of the interim conclusions signalled earlier in this section, it was observed that trainee translators would problematize more than natural translators. The TAP data show that MA participants would reflect not only on the problematic term, but also the accompanying verb, or the choice of adjectives in other instances. This could be attributed not only to knowledge of Translation Studies, but the knowledge of linguistics as well. The MA participants, as stated in Chapter Four, were primarily students of English or Arabic linguistics as undergraduates. These findings are consistent with Jääskeläinen (1999). It can be argued that these are also consistent with Gerloff's findings (1987) that translation does not get easier.

Text two on the Bath Christmas Market was translated by two participants in this category: M8 and M10. The following paragraphs will identify and analyse the strategies used by the participants to translate the culturally specific items in the text, in order then to compare the findings with the strategies used by the natural translators.

The first sentence in text two presented several culture specific items as will be shown below. First, the term "Bath abbey". The issues surrounding the translation of *Abbey* in Arabic were discussed in section 5.3.1.1. Therefore, in this section, I will only discuss the translations made by the MA participants and the possible reasons behind their strategic choices. The

translations of Abbey by MA participants were not very different from the natural translators' choices. While natural translators translated the term either by a more general word or by omission, M10 restructured the sentence and used strategy S1, translation by a more general word and compensation. M8 used strategy S7, translation by omission. Therefore, instead of using "Bath Abbey" M8 referred to the entire city of Bath, although for a different reason than N1. Previously, N1 stated that in her/his opinion "a church is only a church" and made a comparison between different mosques, while M8 used this strategy apparently to avoid using the adjective "iconic" from the same sentence. The resulting translation reads:

تتحول منطقة باث المشهورة تاريخيا

[The historically famous Bath city turns into…]

On the other hand, M10, used two strategies to translate Bath Abbey. Below I will list again the original, for a clearer contrast with the target language text.

"But for the 18 days during the lead-up to Christmas, the area around the iconic <u>Bath Abbey</u> and the historic Roman Baths …"

لكن هذه المدينة تزداد جمالا و رونقا خلال الثمانية عشر يوما قبل احتفال الكريسماس، و تحديدا المنطقة المحيطة <u>بكنيسة باث ذات</u> <u>الطراز المعماري القوطي</u> و الحمامات الرومانية الأثرية

[But this city increases in beauty and glamour during the 18 days before the celebration of Christmas, and especially the area surrounding <u>the gothic style Bath church</u> and the archaeological Roman Baths…]

The translation product here used two strategies, namely, S1, translation by a more general word and, compensation. This latter could have been added by the participant to compensate for the loss of the expressive meaning in "iconic abbey". The participant wanted to emphasise the importance of Bath Abbey by mentioning its architectural style. M10 realises that a literal translation of Abbey might not be very interesting for the target reader. Therefore, instead of omitting the term, as previous participants did, M10 described the type of building.

Therefore, M10 emphasised and reiterated on the first sentence in the text that described the architectural style of Bath as one of the many aspects to admire in the city. M10 explains:

> The text here is descriptive. It's like promoting I think. I need to sell the city to my Arabic reader, mmm and I think the best way to do it is when I explain and emphasise the beauty of the city, obviously I can't add many explanations or long ones, so if I use different adjectives then the reader might be persuaded into going there.

These observations from M10 reveal a common tendency the translators had throughout this research, i.e. the desire to win over the target reader without distancing the translation from the original. It can be said that the participants from both categories opted for a middle ground approach, bringing the text to the reader, to some extent, and taking the reader to the text at the same time. Thus, some elements from the source were transferred to the target text while adding new elements to the target, making it thus, as many theorists have argued, "a text in its own right".

TAP data from M10 reveals that the participant wanted the target text to be coherent in its description and structure. Furthermore, it shows that that participant indeed wanted to find a middle-ground between source text and target text, thus targeting a larger Arabic-speaking audience than, for example, N1**.**

It is also worth mentioning that another possible solution would have been to use the word دير [monastery] in Arabic. However, the participants' linguistic competence might have been a factor that impeded this choice.

The next term to be discussed in this section is the translation of "Christmas" in the same introductory sentence: "But for the 18 days during the lead-up to Christmas, the area around the iconic Bath Abbey and the historic Roman Baths … a unique shopping and entertainment paradise".

In the previous section, the natural translators N1 and N3 pondered the possibilities of translating the name of the holiday in Arabic. However, the MA respondents did not consider

the term an issue. M8 translated the term using strategy S11, transliteration. Below is the translation by M8:

و لكن خلال الثمانية عشر يوما قبل <u>الكريسماس</u> تتحول منطقة باث المشهورة تاريخيا و حمامات باث الرومانية

[and but during the 18 days before <u>the Christmas</u> the historically famous city of Bath and the Roman Baths …]

M8 also adds: "I don't think I need to translate Christmas, I'm pretty sure today everyone knows what that is. So, I don't think I need to use the Arabic word for it". M10's approach in translating this term is similar to M8's. The respondent used S11, transliteration. Below is the translation from M10:

لكن هذه المدينة تزداد جمالا ورونقا خلال الثمانية عشر يوما قبل احتفال <u>الكريسماس</u>.

[but this city increases in beauty and glamour during the 18 days before celebration of <u>the Christmas</u>].

A noteworthy observation regarding these two translations is that, similar to the natural translators, MA participants added the definite article /al/ in Arabic. The definite article in Arabic is used to render the noun to which it is prefixed known. It is comparable in a sense to the English "the". The addition of this article, further illustrates that MA respondents not only used S11, but also adjusted its use in accordance to the grammatical rules in Arabic, thus rendering the borrowed word *Christmas* a known proper noun in Arabic as well. It is noteworthy that the natural translators followed the same approach in their transliteration of the term into Arabic.

The last item to be discussed in this sentence is "winter wonderland". For this term, M8 used strategy S4, translation using a loan word and an explanation.

"The area around the iconic Bath Abbey and the historic Roman Baths transforms into an extra-special <u>winter wonderland</u>".

إلى الرومانية باث حمامات و تاريخيا المشهورة باث منطقة تتحول<u>winter wonderland</u> خلال تقام ترفيه و ملاهي مدينة هي و)

(الكريسماس)

[The historically famous Bath area and Bath historical Roman Baths turns into <u>winter wonderland (and it is an amusement and entertainment city that is held in the Christmas)</u>]

The reason for this choice, as can be seen in the excerpt below, is that the participant did not feel that the Arabic translation reflected exactly the meaning of the original, primarily because, as N1 stated earlier, the concept of winter, and more specifically "winter wonderland", is foreign to the Arabic reader.

> Another issue I find here is winter wonderland, now if I translate that literally, it wouldn't make a lot of sense for the Arabic reader, it would be something like مدينة عجائب الشتاء [city of winter wonders]. So I will just write it as it is in English, then between brackets I will explain what it is.

M10 translated the same term using strategy S5, translation by paraphrase using a related word. The target text reads:

<u>حيث تتحول تلك المنطقة إلى مدينة ملاهي شتائية رائعة</u>

[where this area turns into a <u>wonderful winter amusement city</u>]

M10 appears to be consistent in the choice of strategies and the approach to the text. The MA respondent here, as per translation of "Christmas", adds adjectives to the target text, an approach that is arguably used to imitate the source text's tone. This can be demonstrated from the TAP data from M10, when the participant explained that the original was promoting the city. Therefore, his/her role as a translator would be to arouse the interest of the target reader and persuade the reader to visit the city. According to M10 this is achievable by the use of adjectives and descriptions that are familiar to the reader and are likely to convince them.

Generally, translation by paraphrase is a frequent strategy according to Baker: "This is by far the most common way of translating idioms when a match cannot be found in the target language or when it seems inappropriate to use idiomatic language in the target text because of differences in stylistic preferences of the source and target language" (2011: 80) . Although

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in the previous quote Baker discusses paraphrasing idioms, it can be argued that the strategy is applicable to the translation of other culture specific items.

The last term to be discussed in this section is the translation of "mulled wine". For this item, M8 used a similar strategy as in the translation of "winter wonderland": S4, translation by using a loan word and an explanation. Below is the translation made by M8:

يعتبر mulled wine الذي تباع أنواع الخمور التي من أشهر أنواع الخمور التقليدي خمر التفاح شراب بديله أو (الخمر الذي يقدم ساخنا بالبهارات) في سوق باث وقت الكريسماس.

[Mulled wine (which is the wine that is served hot mixed with spices) or its alternative wine apple cider is considered one of the most famous wines that are sold in Bath Market during Christmas]

The excerpt below explains the lengthy process that M8 went through until s/he reached the final translation:

> Mulled wine! Should I just write wine and add a clarification between brackets? Or just describe it directly? Considering it's a tourist, I will actually write it in English as it is, so if they are here they would recognise the word then between brackets explain it (warm wine mixed with spices) then for mulled cider, instead of using the same strategy I will actually rename mulled cider and call It شراب التفاح المخمر [fermented apple juice]. Hmmm maybe the
> شراب باث الشهير، الشراب الشهير في سوق باث خلال الكريسماس، الخمر الشهير
> [Bath's famous drink, the famous drink in Bath's Market during Christmas…the famous wine]
> Maybe if I change the entire sentence structure, hmm, yes change the entire structure of the sentence
> يعتبر mulled wine شراب التفاح المخمر او بديله خمر أو بالبهارات دافئا يقدم الذي الخمر شراب هو و
> [Mulled wine, which is a wine drink served warm with added spices, or its alternative the fermented apple juice...]
> Oh but I left out traditional Traditional
> West Country…
> تقليدي
> [Traditional]
> شراب التفاح التقليدي من غرب البلاد
> [the traditional apple drink from the west of the country] that's
> too long
> Do I have to add West Country?

Maybe I could remove it because the sentence would be too long
I mean this is written for someone who is perhaps familiar with the geography of the UK, I don't think my target reader cares a lot about the origins of this drink
So maybe
أو بديله شراب التفاح المخمر التقليدي
[Or its alternative the traditional apple drink]

The strategy that M8 used, as can be seen from the TAP excerpt above, takes into consideration the purpose of the translation as well as the audience. Therefore, M8 decided that it is more beneficial to use the words from the source text in the target text and provide further explanation for the reader. The approach in this example is arguably source text oriented. However, the participant was also very attentive to the target reader's needs. Hence the use of strategy S4, loan word plus an explanation, and ultimately the omission of "Westcountry variant" from the target text translation. The participant attempted to create a target text that is not only a faithful rendering of the source but also comprehensible for the target reader.

M10, on the other hand, initially used strategy S4, translation using a loan word, plus an explanation. The resulting text was:

Mulled wine (or the traditional West country variant, mulled cider) is the quintessential Bath Christmas Market tipple.

إن شراب mulled wine هو شراب تقليدي في هذه الفترة وهو نوع من النبيذ الساخن و المضاف إليه عدة بهارات منها: القرفة و الينسون و جوز الطيب

[Mulled wine is a traditional drink during this period and it is a type of warm wine that has added spices to it, such as cinnamon, anise seed and nutmeg]

However, after this initial decision, M10 decided to omit the sentence, using strategy S7, translation by omission. During the exercise, M10 explains:

No wait, this is too lengthy, it is distracting from the text. Maybe I won't add it at all. Should I? This is taking so long! I have to decide. Yes I'll skip it. Because it won't do any harm really, and to be frank, if this was for an actual

job, I would consider more carefully adding it, you know, in the sense if I
would add it, I would make sure to explain to the reader as well that this may
contain alcohol, because you know some might not know. But the main issue
is still there it would deviate from the text and it won't read as fluent if I add
explanations and footnotes you know.

As can be seen from the excerpt above, the reason behind this choice was actually purely pragmatic. M10 was concerned about the style and readability of the target text, and the time pressure.

Furthermore, an interesting point appears for the third time within this category of respondents, namely, the purpose of the target text. This last observation perhaps accentuates further the role of the translation brief, and flags another unexpected outcome in the research. Initially, when I set out to conduct the research, I did not fully realise that because the task was mainly for research purposes it would affect the decision making process. However, MA Translation Studies participants M10, M7, and M9 expressed clearly that their sense of the purpose and end use of this translation *does* alter the decisions and the strategies used in translation. The natural translators in this research, on the other hand, did not make a similar observation. It is significant here to mention that perhaps the natural translators, as a result of their daily translational practices, perceive every translational activity as a task that requires the best possible result, whereas with MA participants it is presumably different as translation training prepares the students for the realities of the profession. Furthermore, translation training appears to alert students to the contextdependent nature of translation, thus confirming further Jääskeläinen's findings (1999) that professional translators problematize more than non-professionals.

The graph below is representative of the strategies used by MA participants to solve the translation problems discussed in the earlier section.
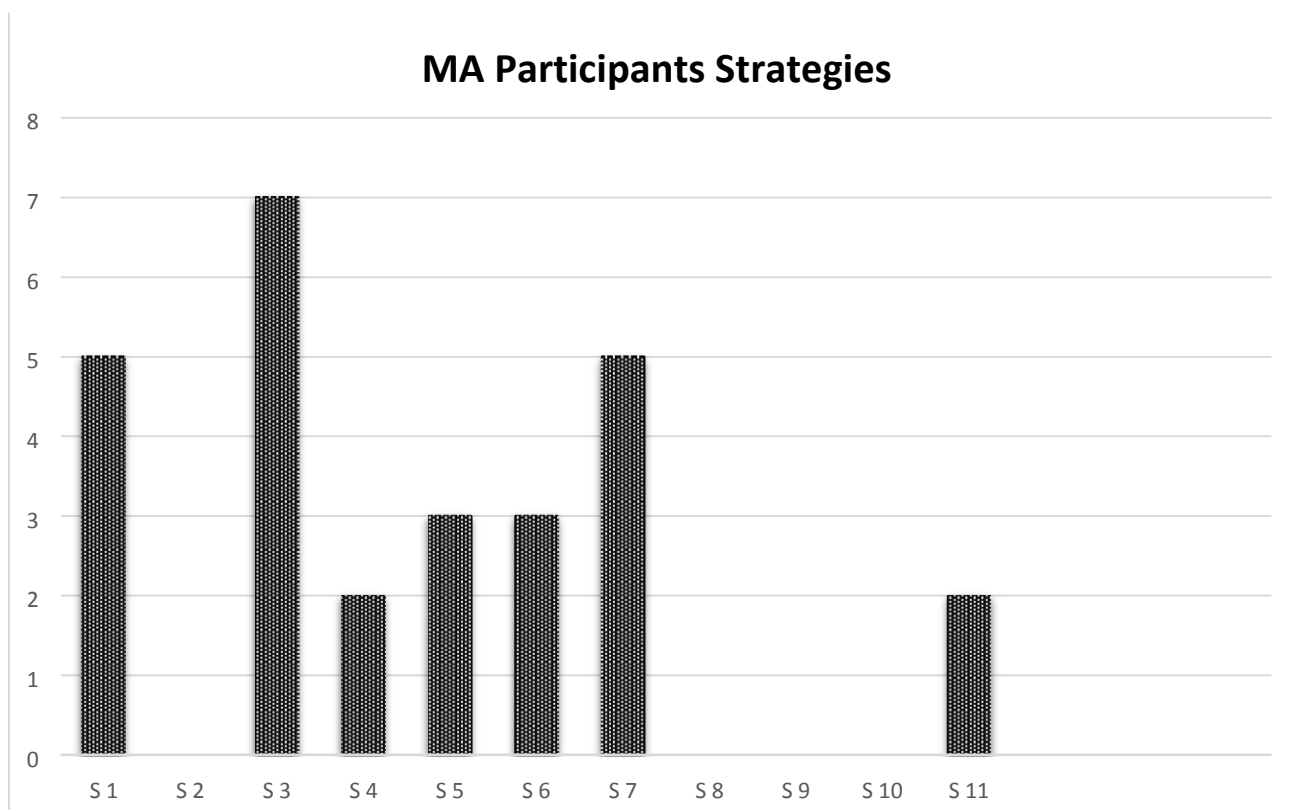
MA Participants Strategies

Chart 5 MA Participants' Strategies

The previous discussion explained the difference, not only in the strategies used, but also in the reasons behind the use of each strategy. MA participants, as expected, were more conscious about their use of strategies and possessed a clear sense of translation purpose and audience. Many examples can be mentioned, but the most prominent one is M7's refusal to translate the quotes from text one.[81] In the participant's opinion, to translate a quote for the reader is not an easy task, because the translator has to bear in mind the effect the quote might have on the reader and on the person who made the quoted statement. Another example can be found in the translation choices that M8 made. The participant was also very clear that the translation must fulfil its purpose as described in the brief and must be helpful, and understandable for the target reader.

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[81] M7's omission of the quotes was not considered as a strategy. The charts reflect only the numbers of omission in the translation of cultural specific items.

Overall, as expected and as previous studies have concluded, the MA participants problematize more than natural translators. Moreover, translation problems for MA participants extend beyond the cultural specific items. The participants were observed to encounter other problems in the transfer process. For example, in the translation of text one, a number of participants encountered a problem in the translation of the verb "came" in the sentence "the religious police came to my house".

Finally, the previous narrative highlights that the use of translation strategies perhaps cannot be fully encompassed by one descriptive or explanatory schema. Baker's taxonomy alone was not enough to classify the strategies and approaches used by both categories of participants in their translation of the texts. As the analysis showed, the participants applied strategies that fall outside the processes described by Baker, e.g. explanation, transliteration. This is observable mainly with MA participants. For example, M10, in the translation of *Bath Abbey*, used translation by a more general word and followed it by an explanation. Another example can be seen in the translation of *male guardian* by M5, who also uses the same strategy, translation by a more general word, with additional explanation. On the other hand, natural translators appear to be more cautious in terms of which strategies to use. Looking at the same examples, *Bath Abbey*, was omitted in one of the target texts in the translation of N3, while in N1 the respondent used strategy S2 translation by a more general word. Similarly, in the translation of *male guardian*, N2 used S2 translation by a more general word, while N9 used S7 translation by omission. It can be argued that the difference in the strategies used stems from the knowledge of translation practice and methods. MA respondents are more familiar with the rules of, and possibilities in, translation. As a result, they move with more confidence and awareness around the text. However, it is also arguable that the time restriction resulted in the participants using similar strategies instead of finding different solutions. Furthermore, time restriction affected the text choice. [82] The two groups of respondents decided to translate a text that they were familiar with in order to be able to finish the task in the allocated time.

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[82] Text choice will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

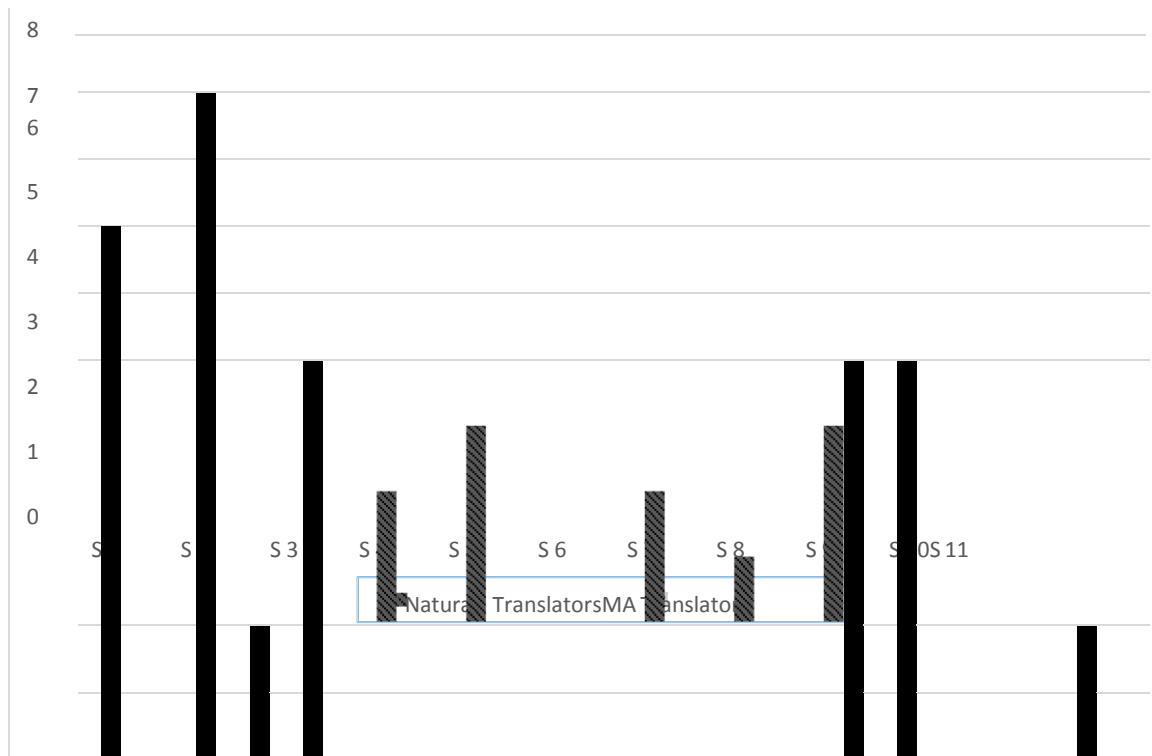The graph below compares the frequency of use of translation strategies by the two cohorts.

Chart 6 Frequency of Strategies Use Across the Cohorts

The text choices in this research, and as will be discussed in Chapter Six, did not greatly vary. However, it is important to state at this point, that seven out of ten participants in the MA category chose to translate text one, in comparison to four from the natural cohort. The number of participants who chose the second text was equal in both cohorts. The text choice might have further complicated the ability to discern with maximum accuracy the frequency of the use of each strategy between and within cohorts. This effect was not anticipated when conducting the study. Despite this discrepancy, however, it can be argued that MA participants were perhaps more aware of the approaches and strategies that they could use in their translation without compromising the meaning, e.g., M8 in the translation of *Mulled Wine* used S4, translation using a loan word and explanation, while N1 used S7, translation by omission.

The difference in the strategies used is affected by additional factors. Ideology, the brief, and the role of translator and translation are all factors that were observed to influence the choice of strategies. These were expected to be more obvious and recurrent with natural translators.

For example, N1 appeared to be more conservative and protective of the target culture. Thus, omission would be expected in this situation. In the same example, N1 underscored the importance of loyalty to both source text and target text. This was shown in the participant saying "If I had more time, I would have researched something else that my reader could enjoy and replace it for mulled wine". Furthermore, natural translators appear to be more cautious in their translation and concerned with culture sensibilities. For example, in their translation of "honk" from text one, N8 and N9 took care over how to translate the word, so that the resulting translation would not be culturally offensive. To clarify this concept further, the target culture does not speak freely about harassment, which clearly was meant in the text. Therefore, to translate that a woman was being harassed in the street was not only challenging but also a sensitive issue, with the end result that the translator becomes complicit in a process of denial. To sum up, natural translators, although they lacked any formal or theoretical knowledge of translation strategies and theory, did their best under the time restriction to deliver the meaning intended from the original text while attempting to produce a target text that would be acceptable for their readership. An example can be seen in N8's translation of "honk" as [the cars were following me in an attempt to get my attention].

5.3.2   Translation of English passives into Arabic.

As discussed previously, the number of participants that chose to translate text one was higher than anticipated. I have also stated earlier that seven out of ten participants in the MA cohort chose text one Manal Al-Sharif, compared to four participants from the natural translators cohort. One of the key features of the first text is the use of the English passive voice. Thus, I will dedicate this section to examining the translation of English passives to Arabic, the strategies that are commonly used, as documented in Farghal and Al-Shorafat (2015), and the strategies that were used by the natural participants and the MA participants.

Translation of English passives into Arabic has previously been a subject of study and analysis. Earlier studies, for example (Al-Najjar 1984:158-160), claim that English agentive passives are restructured in Arabic by either using an agentive passive or by an active voice clause.

Nonetheless, Al-Najjar argues that the active voice structure is preferred in Arabic and is more eloquent. More recently Farghal and Al-Shorafat (1996, 2015) have concluded that, when translating English passives into Arabic, translators use a variety of resources and linguistic strategies to accomplish a natural equivalent in Arabic.

5.3.2.1 Natural translators' approach to the translation of English passives into Arabic The

Manal Al-Sharif text features the following sentences in passive voice:

(1) Was filmed by a friend driving through the city of Khobar.

(2) The video was watched 600,000 times on YouTube

(3) Then she was arrested.

(4) I was detained for nine days.

(5) Al-Sharif was awarded the Václav Havel prize for creative dissent.

Earlier in the section I stated that 40% of the participants in the "natural translator" category translated text one. The participants in this category showed less diversity in terms of the strategies used as opposed to the MA participants to translate the passives. For the translation of English passives into Arabic, Farghal and Al-Shorafat list five main strategies that are commonly used to translate passives into Arabic (1996, 2015). They label these strategies, and also list them in terms of the frequency with which they find them to be used (2015: 54-95). The first of the strategies they pinpoint is nominalization, which is characterized by the use of a pleonastic verb[83] plus a verbal noun that is derived from the matrix verb in the English passive structure (2015: 54). It appears that Arabic features two types of pleonastic verbs: the first type accompanies semantically based passives, and the second type accompanies actives.[84][85] Translating by passives comes second as a strategy.

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[83] A verb that is mostly devoid of semantic content (Fraghal and Al-Shorafat 2015:54).
[84] A semantically based passive is a structure that is passive in meaning but not in form (Fraghal and Al-Shorafat
[85] :54).

Third are adjectivals. The use of adjectivals is determined by the nature of the English verb. Therefore, English verbs that are stative and non-dynamic are subject to adjectivalization in Arabic. Fourth is translating passives into actives and usually used for English agentive passives. Finally, there is the use of Arabic pseudo-active verbs that are active in form but passive in meaning. The section below will discuss the translation of English passives seen through the lens of Farghal and AlShorafat's schema.

N9 used only nominalization applying a pleonastic verb plus a verbal noun in all instances, as can be seen from the following translations:

تم تصويرها عن طريق صديقتها

[Was filmed by way of female friend of her][86]

تم حبسي لتسعة أيام

[They incarcerated me for a period of nine days]

تم تكريم الشريف جائزة Václav Havel

[She took Václav Havel award]

On the other hand, N8 used only actives, in his/her translations of the English passives. These are a few examples:

Was filmed by a friend

صديقة لها صورتها

[A female friend of her filmed her] I

was detained for nine days

سجنوني لمدة تسع أيام

---

[86] The back translations are intended to reflect the Arabic translations, as such it might not make sense.

[they <u>incarcerated me</u> for period nine days] Was

awarded the Václav Havel prize

أخذت جائزة فاكلاف هافل

[<u>She took the</u> Václav Havel award]

These approaches to passives taken by N8 and N9 seem noteworthy. The participants were consistent in their choice of strategy throughout the text. When I asked the participants about these choices, they were not aware or conscious of the approach they had followed. It can be said, however, that this consistent choice in modality and strategies has a lot to do with what the translator feels comfortable communicating to the reader. In the case of N9, the youngest participant, perhaps it was a way of distancing her/himself from the text and avoiding responsibility through the use of Arabic passive. This assumption is based on some of the observations made during the TAP exercise. For example the participant explains:

> I was detained for nine days! How can I say that? The police detained her? Or the religious police? I know that Saudi has this religious police, but I'm not sure if they are like regular police and detain people in cells! It doesn't matter anyway, I will just say: تم حجزي لمدة9أيام [I was detained for nine days]

For N8, who only used actives, it appears that this is how the participant perceived how something well written in Arabic should be, and considered it would sound natural and less like a translation if the use of passive was avoided.

Participants N2 and N7 used three different strategies throughout the text: nominalization, use of actives, and passives. N2, as explained in the previous section on culture-specific items, showed awareness in the TAP of the journalistic register of the text and s/he tied to transfer that to the Arabic as well. However, with N7 neither the TAPs nor the interviews revealed any specific reason behind the different strategies. Therefore, I was not able to find a pattern. N2 and N7's translations of English passive forms are detailed below.

N2 used nominalization and actives:

"Was filmed by a friend"

قامت إحدى صديقات منال الشريف بتصويرها [made

one of her female friends film her]

حصل الفيديو على ٦٠٠,٠٠٠ مشاهدة

[got the video on 600,000 views]

تم اعتقالها

[was finished arrest-her]

N7 used passives, actives, and nominalization:

صورت منال الشريف في ١٩ مايو ٢٠١١

[was filmed Manal al-Sharif on 19 May 2011]

وصل عدد المشاهدات إلى ٦٠٠,٠٠٠ على يوتيوب

[reached number the views to 600,000 on YouTube]

سجنوني لمدة ٩ أيام

[arrested-me-they for period 9 days]

To conclude this section on the strategies of translating English passives into Arabic by natural translators, it is noteworthy that the choices that the participants made, contrary to the previous section on culture-specific items, seemed to be based on what sounded natural in Arabic for the participants. The lack of a conscious strategy is informative in itself. It indicates that perhaps further research needs to be done to examine closely the translation of English passives into Arabic. Some of the participants showed awareness that the text is of a journalistic nature. However, it did not appear as a factor in their choice of strategies, except for N2. Furthermore, the findings also highlight the importance of experience for the development of translation competence and ultimately for translation practice. Participant

N9 used nominalization consistently throughout the text; it appears that the participant was very careful in the ascribing of agency, as observed from TAP data. Participant N2, on the other hand, used different strategies depending on the sentence. In some instances, the participant used nominalization and in others actives. This participant, as mentioned earlier in the previous sections, attempted to follow the structure of a news article in Arabic. As such, N2's translation unit, strategies, and translation of English passives were guided by the pursuit of a natural journalistic Arabic text. In the case of N7 and N8 the TAP data and the interview did not explain the choice of strategies.

The study by Farghal and Al-Shorafat, mentioned in 5.3.2, examined MA Translation Studies students and Translation professors. The findings in the present research are congruent with what was stated in Farghal and Al-Shorafat (2015) regarding the various linguistic strategies that translators employ to transfer the semantic meaning behind the English passive. Farghal and Al-Shorafat concluded that translators use multiple linguistic strategies to reach a natural solution in Arabic. The data from the present research, despite the small sample, are noteworthy. The prevalence of the different strategies in the exercise reflects the frequencies identified by Farghal and Al-Shorafat. Furthermore, these findings demand further research that compares the types of strategies used in translation of English passives.

5.3.2.2 Trainee translators' approach to the translation of English passives into Arabic

The number of participants in this category that chose to translate text one, "Manal Al-Sharif", is significantly larger than in the other group. Therefore, and for a clear illustration of the findings, the structure of this section will differ from the previous one and will examine the strategies used on a sentence by sentence basis, rather than on a participant by participant basis.

In regards to the translation of English passive to Arabic Farghal and Al-Shorafat (2015:47) conclude that Arabic passivization is predominantly semantics-based while English is structure-based. The participants' translation of the first sentence of the text – "Manal alSharif… was filmed by a friend driving through the city of Khobar" – is a good example of such a tendency. The examples below show how participants M2, M4 and M9, respectively,

translated the English passive using nominalization by a pleonastic verb accompanied by a semantically based passive in the Arabic version. All these translations sound natural in Arabic; therefore, these can be considered suitable pragmatic equivalents for the translation of the first sentence. Thus, nominalization can be considered, as mentioned in Farghal and AlShorafat (2015: 56), an important strategy. Another feature in the translations of M2 and M4 is the use of the formal markers of Arabic agentive passives "min qibali" [by]. According to Farghal and Al-Shorafat, the use of these markers should be accepted in translation, as they are commonly used in modern literature and mass media (2015: 61).

Three participants out of seven translated the passive as:

<div dir="rtl">

تم تصوير منال الشريف ...من قبل أحد الأصدقاء وهي تقود في أرجاء مدينة الخبر

</div>

[was finished filmed Manal al-Sharif… by one of the friends and she was driving around the city Khobar].

<div dir="rtl">

تم تصوير منال الشريف...من قبل صديقتها وهي تقود السيارة في مدينة الخبر

</div>

[was finished filmed Manal al-Sharif… by female friend and she was driving a car in the city Khobar.]

<div dir="rtl">

تم تصوير مقطع لها وهي تقود سيارة في مدينة الخبر

</div>

[was finished filmed a clip of her and she was driving a car in the city of Khobar].

Participant M1, on the other hand, also used nominalization. However, this was was by using a pleonastic active verb "qamat". This verb is semantically void, used only to improvise nominalization in Arabic. According to Farghal and Al-Shorafat,

> [V]erbs of this sort may create structures featuring what is termed 'effected objects'; in English, it is comparable to "pay a visit", "make an attempt" etc. bearing in mind the existence of two different categories of such verbs in Arabic. (2015:55)

Here is M1's translation of the first sentence:

<div dir="rtl">

وقد قامت بتحميل فيديو مدته ثمان دقائق في التاسع عشر من مايو عام ٢٠١١

</div>

[and made her in uploading a video length it eight minutes in 19th of May year 2011]

M1 omitted the sentence including the passive construction "was filmed by a friend" from the Arabic translation. Instead s/he emphasised that "the video was uploaded by Manal" using a pleonastic verb as mentioned previously. Therefore, by omitting the passive structure, there was obviously no need for substitution by an agentive. In the interview, when I asked M1 about the omission of this part, starting the paragraph with Manal al-Sharif's career and social status instead of the action of being filmed, M1 replied:

> You know the date will not capture the attention of the reader. I wanted to highlight that this an educated, smart woman, not a young student who wanted to revolt. She's a mother, she's a consultant. This is a serious issue. The people that are trying to make the change are smart and educated people, I want to show that they have a legitimate right to do so.
> I was stuck with the friend, was it a male or a female. I thought I would avoid it.

M7 also restructured the first sentence and merged it with the second sentence. The participant explains the approach that was adopted:

> This part "was filmed by a friend" it will be hard to structure this sentence in Arabic, in Arabic it is better to avoid the passive voice, so I would prefer to change it to active voice.

M7 highlighted the fact that Manal al-Sharif drove a car, then explained who Manal al-Sharif is, and finally mentioned that a friend filmed her. Here is M7's translation:

قادت السيدة منال الشريف استشارية حماية الإنترنت بشركة أرامكو السعودية وهي أم منفصلة لطفلين سيارة في مدينة الخبر وقامت صديقتها بتصويرها

[drove-her Mrs. Manal al-Sharif consultant protection the Internet in company Aramco Saudi and she mother separated of children-two a car in city the Khobar and made female friend filming her].

In the translation M7 used nominalization and the pleonastic verb "qamat"

M5 also used nominalization, and the pleonastic verb "qamat". The structure in M5 and M7's translations features the pleonastic verb plus a verbal noun deriving from the matrix verb in the English passive structure, in this case 'filmed'. This is M5's translation:

في ١٩ مايو ٢٠١١ قامت إحدى زميلات منال الشريف... بتصويرها وهي تقود سيارة في مدينة الخبر

[On 19 May 2011 made one of female colleagues of Manal al-Sharif... filming her while she was driving a car in city the Khobar].

The final strategy to be examined with regards to this sentence is the one used by M3:

في ١٩ مايو ٢٠١١ صورت منال الشريف...من قبل إحدى صديقاتها وهي تقود السيارة في مدينة الخبر

[on 19 May 2011 was filmed Manal al-Sharif... by one of her female friends and she was driving the car in city the Khobar]

M3 also used nominalization; however, s/he used a pleonastic passive verb "filmed", as well as the agentive passive "by". This structure is frequently used in Arabic news and current affairs media.

The next passive sentence in the text is: "The video was watched 600,000 times on YouTube". All seven participants that translated the text followed the same strategy, nominalization with a pleonastic passive verb. Participants M1 and M3 used the following structure:

و خلال يومين شوهد الفيديو ٦٠٠,٠٠٠ مرة على الموقع

[and within two days was watched-the-video 600,000 times on the website]

شوهد الفيديو ٦٠٠ ألف مرة خلال يومين على)موقع يوتيوب(

[was watched-the-video 600 thousand time within two days on (website YouTube)]

In the previous examples, the participants used the verb "watch". This could be interpreted as an attempt to place emphasis on the viewings of the video.

Participants M9, M2 and M5 used the structures outlined below. The translations in order are:

وخلال يومين من عرض الحادثة على قناة اليوتيوب <u>وصل عدد المشاهدين</u> إلى ستمائة ألف

[and within two days from showing the incident on the channel YouTube <u>reached number the viewers</u> to six-hundred thousand]

في خلال يومان،<u>وصل عدد مشاهدات</u> ذلك الفيديو على موقع اليويتيوب إلى ٦٠٠,٠٠٠ مشاهدة

[in during two days, <u>reached number viewings</u> that the video on website YouTube to 600,000 viewings]

ووصل عدد المشاهدات للمقطع خلال يومين فقط من التحميل لتصل ٦٠٠,٠٠٠

[and <u>reached number the viewings</u> of the clip within two days only of the upload to reach 600,000]

The participants here used the verb "reach", which can be seen as emphasising the video itself and the fact that it achieved this many views in a relatively short time.

Finally, participants M4 and M7 used the verbs "get" and "score" respectively.

M4 translated the sentence as:

وخلال يومين <u>حصل الفيديو</u> على ٦٠٠,٠٠٠ مشاهدة على برنامج اليوتيوب

[and within two days <u>got the video</u> 600,000 viewings on programme the YouTube] While

M7 translated the sentence as:

في خلال يومين فقط <u>سجل المقطع</u> ٦٠٠,٠٠٠ مشاهدة على موقع اليوتيوب

[and within two days only scored the clip 600,000 viewings on website YouTube]

Similarly to the translations of M9, M2 and M5, the previous translations also seem to place emphasis on the numbers of viewings and the rapid speed with which this increased.

The third example of passive voice in the text is "then she was arrested". This example, as opposed to the previous two, showed a unanimous preference by the MA participants for the

use of nominalization, with a 6:1 preference for the use of pleonastic verb plus a verbal noun, and only one use of a pleonastic passive verb. I will list below two examples only, as this approach has been covered in previous points.

وبعدها ألقي القبض عليها

[and then <u>was thrown</u> the arrest on her]

وتم إلقاء القبض عليها

[and <u>was throwning the arrest</u> on her]

It is noteworthy that not only was the Arabic structure similar in all the examples related to this phrase, but also the verb that was used by the participants was the same verb in Arabic قبض [arrest].

The fourth sentence in this analysis is: "I was detained for nine days". This example brought to light three different strategies used by the participants: M5 and M3 used nominalization, while M9, M2 and M4 used the active form. M9 stated during the task:

> I think in Arabic I can't just say "and then she got arrested", I think I have to say Al-Sharif was arrested. I think, even though I'm trying very hard to use a good *fusha*, I think when I use the passive voice it doesn't sound as if it was written originally in Arabic, you know what I mean? I think active would be better.[87]

This realisation on the part of M9 of the need to use active instead of passive forms is informative. As was observed in the previous section, the natural translators did not use actives either. According to Farghal and Al-Shorafat the existing literature overestimates the frequency of use of the active instead of the English passive in Arabic by translators (2015:58). The use of active forms was observed in a few instances in this text, one of them in the following translation by M1 as will be seen in the next paragraphs in the translation of the last sentence: واعتقلني رجال الشرطة

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[87] M9 preferred to use the active. The participant is expressing awareness that the translation is still in a passive form and does not sound very idiomatic in Arabic.

[and <u>arrested me</u> men the police.]

Finally, two participants used the passive, M1 and M7. According to Farghal and Al-Shorafat, this strategy was the second most commonly used by translators from English to Arabic. This is the translation done by M7:

وتم حجزها لمدة تسعة أيام

[and <u>was finished arrested her</u> for nine days.]

The last passive sentence in this text is: "Al-Sharif was awarded the Vaclav Havel prize…". All the participants translated this English passive into an Arabic active, except for participant M2. As mentioned earlier, this strategy is perhaps not the most often used one but it appears that the majority of the participants wanted to highlight the importance of the achievement by using the active form in Arabic.

Finally, as can be seen from the analysis above, the strategies applied by MA participants are more diverse than those applied by natural translators. It can be argued that this difference is a result of various factors, for example, a greater certainty and expertise on the part of MA students when compared to natural translators. Follow-up interviews attempted to clarify the reasons for the use of particular strategies but it was often inconclusive, partly because the natural translator participants were selected based on their lack of linguistic expertise and translated in accordance with what sounded natural to them. MA participants, on the other hand, were in some cases attempting to follow the structure used in target language media texts, or, in others, attempting to shift the emphasis as was seen in some of the examples above.

By way of concluding this chapter, I shall recapitulate and tie together some of the previous points. Regarding the first section on strategies, the first of the source texts I examined was written in English but reported an incident involving a Saudi woman, speaking in Arabic, and in the context of Saudi Arabia. Thus the participants appeared to be conflicted over how to convey the incidents and conversation that took place in Arabic, but are known through the source text in English. In this regard, Participant M7 said that her/his job as a

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translator of this particular text was not to bring the foreign to the domestic, but, on the contrary, was to show how the domestic was portrayed in the foreign. As such, the participant was very careful in her text to avoid the translation of terms, quotes in a way that s/he felt might cause trouble to the figure of Manal Al-Sharif. By contrast with the first text, the second one examined here, Bath Christmas Market, presented items that pertain to British culture.

Contrary to what was the case the first text, the translation of text two, for the cohorts I studies, involved bringing the foreign to the domestic. The participants encountered issues of a different type here than those which were brought into focus by the Manal Al-Sharif text. The MA respondents' also took longer to complete the task than the natural translators. Although speed is not one of the criteria to be examined in the present research, it is rather informative in terms of comparing the translation processes between the two categories. The difference in speed and segmentation could be attributed to the TAP condition as previous studies concluded (Jakobsen 2003)

The chapter also compared the strategies that the cohorts used in the translation of English passives. The use of these strategies is very informative, and attests to the importance of the study of natural translation. The findings also underscored the importance of translation training. The results from the MA participants illustrated that translational knowledge and expertise play a major role in translating problematic structures. Furthermore, it was observed that the key factor in determining the frequency with which given strategies were used depended primarily on the participants' level of experience. The next chapter will focus on the question of text choice, and how this, alongside translation strategies, plays a major role in defining the role of the translator. I shall also query how these factors shaped the translation products in the research exercise.

Despite the difference in text types, the translation strategies used by the participants did not vary greatly. The previous discussion and the charts reflect the fact that the most common strategies I observed were translation by a more general word and paraphrasing. Translation by paraphrase was expected to be a strategy that natural translators would use frequently to overcome the "tip of the tongue" phenomenon. On the other hand, MA participants were

expected to use a wide range of strategies, and fewer omission. The importance of the role of the brief and of the target audience was also observed during the task. The participants, especially the MA participants, strove to reach a middle ground in the translation product. On a number of occasions, the influence of diglossia was observed. Many participants hesitated in the translation of some terms because it did not sound eloquent enough to them. Furthermore, time pressure and the observation method led participant to forget words they realised later that they knew and use frequently (as became clear in the post-exercise interviews).

A noteworthy observation regarding the effect of time pressure, in addition to stress factors from the observation methodology, is that while the participants were in a rush to complete the task within the time frame, it was noticed that after forty minutes of working on the translation the participants began to show symptoms of tiredness and mental fatigue. Although participants would not say that they were tired and in need of a break, it was noted in their body language and breathing that they were not as focused as they were at the beginning of the exercise. Overall, in terms of the effects of using TAPs to examine the translation process, and notwithstanding the benefits of this methodology, many participants commented towards the end that they were tired and that the exercise was nerve wrecking. When I observed that the participants were tired, I asked them if they wanted a break from the task. However, the participants wanted to "get it done" in the words of N2. Or, in other cases, the participants were not even aware of their tiredness. N8 exclaims after translating the last sentence: "I felt like I was on a race, I didn't know I was that stressed". M8 was the first natural participant I interviewed and in light of this exclamation, I was aware subsequently of the need to ask the participants if they needed a break, or something to drink. Despite the drawbacks that this stress factor might have caused, the results are nonetheless extremely helpful in understanding the effects of time pressure on the translation task when performed by natural translators, and this is another facet of the translation process that has yet to be researched in working from English to Arabic. In short, the previous set of findings validates Harris and Sherwood's advocacy of the importance of the study of natural translation processes, especially in the case of translation from English to Arabic.

To conclude this discussion on translation strategies, it is noteworthy that previous TAP studies, especially the ones that focused on English-Arabic translation, did not examine the process of translation with this sort of focus. Furthermore, Western studies focused primarily on trainees and professionals. The findings in this research, with regards to MA participants, are to an extent similar to the findings in previous studies, i.e.: trainees and professionals problematize more (Jääskeläinen 1990); TAPs have an effect on speed and segmentation (Jakobsen 2003). The data found in this research, and the number of examples, might not be enough to form a general theory. However, they do attest to the importance of studying these processes, and to examining further the natural approach. The comparison further demonstrated that the strategies that natural translators used are very similar to the strategies used by MA students. As Harris and Sherwood argued, translation competence develops parallel to the development of bilingualism. Thus, the degree of translation competence continuously increases as the languages are developing. Nonetheless, as the results of my research illustrate, this hypothesis is one that needs carefully to be qualified in the case of English/Arabic bilingualism. This is mainly because of the diglossic situation in Arabic. The diglossia present in the use of the Arabic language possibly affects further translation quality. The present research showed that diglossia had some effect on the translation, mainly in the case of the natural translators. While my conclusions are tentative, it is clear that further research is required to be able to determine the extent to which diglossia interferes in the process of translating between English and Arabic. The next chapter will discuss the final two questions that this research has set out to investigate, namely, how do natural translators perceive translation and the role of the translator in comparison to MA Translation Studies students? And, in light of their bilinguality and biculturalism, do natural translators perceive themselves as translators.

6   Perceptions of Translation and of the Role of the Translator

The final Chapter of this thesis addresses the remaining questions that my work set out to answer. Do bilingual natural translators perceive themselves as translators? If they do, how do they then perceive themselves in this role, and what do they consider it to entail? To elicit data that would answer these questions the participants were asked during the retrospective interviews to comment on what they think translation is and what they consider the role of the translator to be in a translation task. As I have hypothesised in an earlier chapter, the conditions of being bilingual, diglossic and bicultural may influence participants' perceptions about translation and the role of the translator. In order to understand and contextualize better these perceptions, it is worth comparing natural translators' views with those expressed by MA students, and to read them against the background of the relevant literature. To this end, Chapter Two surveyed some of the main perceptions of translation and the metaphors used in describing translation and translators. The chapter drew mainly on Tymoczko (2014) and Chesterman (1997). The current chapter will attempt to discuss these perceptions and metaphors in light of the data from the retrospective interviews— where all participants were explicitly asked about their perceptions of translation and translators' roles—and, where relevant, from the TAPs data. In addition, the chapter will tentatively discuss possible correlations between participants' views on translation, or the translator, and their translation choices and strategies, as observed in this study.

One of the key Translation Studies debates presented in Chapter Two concerned Tymoczko's argument for the need to move beyond Western conceptualisations of translation (2014: 6) and the analysis in this chapter also asks about Western and nonWestern elements in the views of translation held by the Arabic and English speaking participants in the study. To recapitulate, the Western view regarded translation as a transfer or carrying across, which can be linked to the Greek and Latin etymology of the contemporary terms for "translation" in many European languages, such as English, Spanish, French, and German. The meaning of "translation" in these languages therefore privileges the concept of a spatial transfer across cultural and linguistic boundaries. Similarly, Hermans (1999) argues that if the etymology of the term "translation" had been different, for example if it had suggested "the image of

responding to an existing utterance instead of transference, the whole idea of transfer postulate would probably never have existed" (1999: 52). A related Western conceptualisation is the idea of the translator standing in between the parties of this transfer process, a view that, according to Tymoczko, undermines the role of translators and ultimately alienates them from the process (2007: 7). Chapter Two also demonstrated that in Arabic, the word for translation, ترجمة *tarjama*, originally means "biography". Thus, it implies that the translators' role is that of a narrator. The second meaning in Arabic is "definition", according to Tymoczko (2014: 71). These views in the Arabic tradition imply that the role of the translator as more that of an active agent, a narrator, who frames the material being translated (2014: 70). These views in Tymoczko are based on the work by Salama-Carr (2000, 2006) and Faiq (2000). Additionally, as mentioned in Chapter Two, Al-Zaban (1991) argues that Arabic scholars debated the origin of the word *tarjama*, origin of which may have been تفسير /tafseer/ [to explain] or تعبير /ta'abeer/ [expression]. These two ancient views are linked to Tymoczko's "biography", in the sense that the translator explains or expresses the biography of someone, assuming an active role. Furthermore, these concepts of translation imply that the translator must possess a high level of knowledge in the subject being translated. The chapter then concluded by asking if these concepts would be reflected in the translation or in the way that the bilingual and bicultural participants speak about translation.

6.1   Natural Translators' Perceptions of Translation and of the Role of the Translator

To elicit data in response to the research questions outlined above, the participants were asked two questions. First, how would you describe translation? Second, what do you think the role of the translator is? The section will survey some of the answers and relate them to the concept of perception as detailed earlier.

Five out of the ten participants in the natural category described translation as a reflection of the original. The translation product for these participants has to reflect the content of the original, while the form does not have to be closely followed, unless the brief or type of text demands it. For example, N6 explains:

I would say it's trying to find equivalent words in both languages, and I would say that this definition depends also on what I'm translating. Like what I said earlier, I was asked to translate something and make it sound nice in Arabic, so it didn't have to be very literal, whoever is reading the sentence in Arabic might have a bunch of other equivalents in English, so that's one type of translation. Then there is this other time where I had to translate literally, where if you wanted to convert (the translation) to the original language it has to be the exact same sentence. So people would not mistake it with anything else.

N6 described two types of translation, a literal translation and a free translation. Furthermore, the participant explained the importance of the brief. According to N6, in light of the text type, and the brief, the translation would differ from one context to the other. This view of the translation argues that the product should be equivalent to the source text and that the translator is free, nonetheless, to adjust the form. It may be asked if this relates to Tymoczko's point about the active dimension of the Arabic "narrator" figure. That image, in her view, "suggests the powerful potential of the translator's agency, because the translator is one who 'tells' and hence frames the material being translated" (2010: 70). The sense-for-sense view in the Western Tradition could be read as an active one if it is detached from the image of carrying across.

The explanations provided by the participants generally implied the presence of an active translator. Although the translator has to abide by the brief, as N6 explained, the translator has the tools that would help him or her achieve the purpose. In N3's view another important factor is the effect on the target reader. To replicate the effect that the source text had on its original readers is for N3 an important aspect of translation. In the participant's own words:

A good translation is one that captures the essence and the meaning of what is being said. So not necessarily a word by word don't miss a single sentence translation, but to capture the essence and portray it in a way that when the person reads it in Arabic or English gets the same feeling.

N3 generally advocated a sense-for-sense translation. Interestingly, the comment also evokes Nida's dynamic equivalence, when the translator seeks to produce in the reader of a

translation an equivalent feeling or response to the one that would be produced by the original text.

N8—who explained that translation is: "To get the message across, accuracy is not my main concern. You know, sometimes a sentence is too long and you don't need to translate the entire thing"—echoed N3's description of translation. This comment again reflects views shared by other participants in this category, namely, that translation is mainly delivering the same message regardless of the style. N2 also described translation as:

> Transferring the ideas from A to B. The style has to be adjusted to fit the language you are translating to, but the essence of the text must remain intact, because sometimes you don't need to include everything from the original, your reader will understand it without you having to say it.

In the initial stages of this research I had hypothesised that natural translators would be inclined towards a literal approach to translation. It was expected that their lack of knowledge of translation theories might result in the participants not being as comfortable in translating on a sense-for-sense basis. The participants' perception of translation, as seen from the narrative above, revolves around equivalence but not a formal type of equivalence that would require a close mapping of linguistic elements.

Moreover, some of the translations completed by the participants for this research reflect to some extent the views they expressed in the interviews. For example, with respect to N3, quoted above, it can be seen how the participant attempted to transfer the cultural elements of the texts, in addition to the descriptive language. It is noteworthy at this point to reiterate that despite N3's description of an approach to translation that echoes Nida's theory of equivalence, in practice the participant only adapted the concept to elicit similar responses from the reader, but did not change the references in the text. The participant was aware that the text was written for tourism purposes. Moreover, s/he tried to maintain the persuasive language and the historical, cultural elements that the original provided. This can be observed in the participant's use of words such as "رائعة" [wonderful] and "فائقة الجمال" [exceedingly beautiful], as well as "تتواجد فرصة فريدة من نوعها" [there exists a one of a kind chance] to describe the city of Bath and the opportunity to visit the Christmas market. N3 kept all the elements

from the original in the translation but adapted the description slightly to achieve a similar effect to the one this marketing text would have had on the original audience.

Furthermore, in the interview, the participant maintained that this is the translator's role: to deliver the semantic meaning and the spirit of the text to the reader. The approach by N3 here also coincides with the metaphor of "the translator as a builder". In other words, what N3 stated can be rephrased as the idea that translation is to carry meaning across language barriers. Meaning as understood by N3 was not purely semantic; for him/her the translator also has to carry over the effect that the source caused and s/he wanted to bring this meaning to the target language. Thus, the words used were storehouses that contained persuasive adjectives and compelling elements, ultimately constituting the building blocks for the target text. This view extends beyond a strict semantic correspondence and the limitations of transfer of meaning across languages. It is noteworthy here that a very important aspect of a translation task is the quality of the product of translation, and as mentioned previously, translation quality is not examined in this research. Nonetheless, it was observed through the think-aloud data that the notion of quality as a concept was a factor that the participants took into consideration. Overall, the natural translators seemed aware of their limitations and struggled, nevertheless, to achieve the best quality they could.

A similar understanding of translation to those evinced in the previous statements was offered by participant N5, who described translation as "a collective of words that represent an idea and achieve a goal, and serve a communication purpose". In the participant's opinion, the purpose of the translation is determined by either the brief or the translator himself.

Some participants advocated a more active role for the translator, particularly in terms of being a writer and shaping the text. This can be observed in the translations of participants N5 and N6, who translated text 5 "Malala Yousafzai". These participants assumed for themselves roles similar to those adopted by the participants who translated Text one "Manal Al-Sharif". These texts have a journalistic tone and as such may lend themselves to a more active rewriting. Two interesting trends stood out in the translations by N5 and N6. Firstly, both participants preferred to repeat Malala's name in their translations at points where the

source text used a pronoun. Secondly, the target reader was also an important element in the translation. The participants considered how the text would be perceived by the target reader and adjusted the translation product accordingly and in light of this view. Furthermore, the participants, particularly N5, took into account the readability of the target text and adjusted the language accordingly, e.g. the participant would avoid repetition, eschewed the use of foreign syntax when Arabic syntax is possible, and instead N5 used collocations to achieve the best translation without losing the meaning of the original or the purpose in his/her view. N5 describes the role of translator as:

> To deliver the message, with the most eloquent words, with a taste. Meaning if you translate from English to Arabic you need to realise the different cultural settings and to realise the different scenarios of what language variety to use and when.

N5, as quoted previously, places emphasis on the active role of the translator. Furthermore, at the start of the task N5 asked me the following question: "Can I develop the text while I'm translating or do you want me to be faithful? Just write what is there?", to which I replied that it was the translator's choice. The question can be further interpreted as the participant wondering if there was room for him/her to play an active role in the translation. It appears that the question of fidelity for the natural translators who took part in my study is linked to the Western conceptualisation of translation, as I previously set out. The translator is thus a neutral agent, separate from the process.

In light of my answer to the query N5 put to me, it can be seen that the participant adhered to the text, transferring all the key information. However, the participant took more liberties in restructuring the sentences, placing emphasis on different aspects than the original had done, in accordance with what s/he thought the reader would expect from the text. For example:

> I will try to avoid repetition here. In the previous paragraphs, I have mentioned that she was shot in the head, so now my reader knows that she was indeed shot in the head whenever I mention her being shot, so I will say عندما تلقت الرصاصه في أكتوبر ٢٠١٢ من مسلح طالباني, شهرتها في باكستان غنية عن التعريف [when she was got the bullet in October 2012 from a Taliban gunman, her fame in Pakistan was already beyond introduction]

I translated it this way because she is already well known in Pakistan, I don't think in Arabic we say she was initially known in Pakistan, no, I will say something similar to well-known in English because we do have a phrase [collocation] that means the same thing that well-known means in English.

لكن هذا الحدث نقل شهرتها الى العالمية

[But this incident transported her fame internationally]

This word العالمية [international] in Arabic is similar to fame in English, now she is internationally known, I can say it with one word in Arabic so I don't think I need to use two words like the English and say known internationally or internationally famous.

In terms of adapting the product to the target language syntax and structure, N5 explains:

Now I need to narrate the story, the sentence in English begins with 'she survived the dramatic assault in which a militant boarded her school bus.' But I will turn the sentence around in Arabic, and start with 'the militant boarding her school bus'…No wait I will actually turn around the entire sentence order in English, and begin with the location, 'in north-western swat valley, a militant boarded a bus and it was where two of her school friends were hurt and she survived'. So I will rearrange the sentence because I don't feel that in Arabic it would work the same, in English they were building momentum, giving bits of information all along until they reach the part where two of her school friends were hurt or wounded. I, on the other hand will start with what happened and then move on to say what were the results of the incident.

This excerpt from N5's TAP shows the approach the participant followed throughout the translation task. It is noteworthy that the participant also used the word "narrate" and elaborated further that for the Arabic narration s/he would need to re-order the paragraph in a way that would sound more natural in Arabic. The previous statements by N5 depict the participant's understanding of translation.

Furthermore, the approach illustrates that for the participant the translator is an active agent who shapes the material of the source text to fit the target language. Another metaphor that can be applied to this approach is the translator as an artist. Where an approach of this sort prevails, the translator shapes the language of the source text to fit the target text. Moreover, the previous metaphor, as argued in Chapter Two, can be linked to Venuti's "invisibility". In Venuti's opinion, the invisibility condition is a result of a fluent translation that creates an illusion of transparency in order to produce an idiomatic target text. As a result,

the translation product is deemed acceptable if it reads fluently and does not possess any foreign stylistic peculiarities. Furthermore, Bassnett explains that the role of the translator can be reassessed in terms of analysing the intervention of the translator in the process of linguistic transfer (1996: 22). The participants in this cohort were, as seen from the verbalisations above, advocating invisibility. However, in their descriptions, for the translator to be able to achieve this "invisible" condition, s/he must be active and reshape the text to fit the target culture and the target language.

Two participants, N4 and N9, described translation from a different perspective. N4 explains: "translation to me is to try to explain something, simplify and relay a message across from one language to another". Similarly, N9 explained translation as: "I think translation is when you explain what is said by someone else in a foreign language in another language". The prominent feature in both descriptions is that the participants described translation as "an explanation". These descriptions resonate with a description of *tarjama*: The ancient Arabic tradition of viewing translation as an explanation or تفسير/tafseer/. The definition, as mentioned in Chapter Two (2.6.), was provided by Al-Zabidi, in Taj al-Arus, and it suggests that translation is explaining what is being said in another tongue. As such, these descriptions of translation imply an active role for the translator. The translator is also regarded as the person who possesses the knowledge that enables him/her to explain the message. N4 and N9 also indicated that the translator must not influence the message. N4 states: "the translator is like a custodian"; while N9 stated that "the translator's role should be limited to the message at hand, no influence from him". These views of the role of the translator correlate with the translation approach that these two participants followed in the exercise, that is, relaying the source text in the target language. An example can be drawn from N9's translation of the following sentence from Text one:

"…and in it she says in Arabic: 'we are ignorant and illiterate when it comes to driving'…"

وقالت بالعربية: "نحن جهلة وأميين عند موضوع القيادة"

[and she said in Arabic: "we suffer from ignorance and illiteracy when it comes to driving]

As can be seen from the translation above, N9 did not interfere in the translation. Similarly the TAP did not show any attempt from the participant to interfere in the task.

Finally, another interesting perception of translation in this category was put forward by N1. The participant explained translation as follows:

> Translation is a critical job. You see some people think when they ask me to translate something they hear or see abroad that it's only changing the words from one language to another. It is more than that. For example, if we're watching a movie and I need to translate a conversation that has swearing or something like that, I need to somehow edit what is being said. I can't just say whatever is being said. Translation must bear in mind the reader or hearer, his belief, values and so on.

This explanation from N1 correlates with the participant's approach to text choice as well as translation strategy. For example, N1 stated during the TAPS that there are elements in the source text that s/he does not feel should be transferred to the target reader. N1 was conflicted in the translation between a sense of loyalty to the source text and duty towards the target reader. In this regard, for example, it is worth repeating N1's comment on translation of "Bath Abbey":

> As an Arab and a Muslim, I don't feel comfortable using all these adjectives to describe a church for my reader, I don't think they would be happy about it as well, but I also want to deliver that it is an important part of Bath's history and worth a visit. Ummm I don't know, I will just say Bath's church. It says here it's legendary but I don't want to use that either so I'll just use historical تاريخية.

This statement shows how the participant's own beliefs interfered with the task of translation. The participant wanted to convey the importance of Bath Abbey, yet at the same time N1 was considerate of what s/he presumed the reader might expect from the text. To repeat another interesting statement, introduced in Chapter Five:

> If we're translating to Arabic, it's going to be read mainly by Muslims and they don't use or make use of wine or cider. Cider seems to be عصير تفاح [apple juice] this might work, but mulled… I don't know… I'll see the rest of the sentence and see how it works. But if I'm translating for Kuwaitis I would definitely remove that sentence, it says here treat yourself to a cup of cheer as you browse the lovely lanes. See browse the lovely lanes sounds nice, but

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> they say to do that while you are drinking, which isn't something we would
> do, so I wouldn't translate these two.

As can be seen from this statement by N1, the translator's role here corresponds to the metaphor of gatekeeping. The participant manipulates the text, even rewrites parts of it. N1, in his/her definition of translation, as well as in the approach followed in the task, was trying to be on the side of the reader. The translator here, contrary to previous perceptions, is not in between cultures.

It can be inferred from the narrative above that translation for this cohort is, generally, what Bassnett describes as a process of negotiation between cultures mediated by the figure of the translator (2002:6). For example, N4 described the role of the translator as a "custodian", while N5 used his/her own metaphor to describe the translator:

> The translator is a safe keeper. The translator has to keep what's in the safe
> safe. Keep the content of the message safe and deliver it from one person
> to another. Or you could see the translator as a chef, he has the ingredients
> and it's up to him how to cook and to put those ingredients together in a
> way that is presentable and edible for his customer.

This view from Bassnett suggests that the translator is an active agent in this process. The importance of these findings resides in the type of respondents that I recruited for my research. The natural translators in this research are coordinate bilinguals, and the condition of bilingualism implies a state of biculturalism. It was expected that the participants' dominant culture would influence the decision making process, and reveal a tendency towards a target text oriented approach to translation. However, as can be observed from the excerpts cited above, the majority of the participants' practice revealed instead a tendency towards cultural reconciliation.

6.2   Trainee Translators Perceptions of Translation and of the Role of the Translator

The previous section attempted to explain natural translators' view of translation, their perception of translation and of the role of the translator. This section will compare the views expressed by individuals in the natural cohort with those of MA Translation Studies participants. It bears repeating here that while *both* groups are coordinate bilinguals, the distinguishing factor is that the MA group is composed of bilingual participants who studied

translation at undergraduate level and who were studying MA in Translation Studies at Kuwait University when they took part in my research. Initially, it was expected that this group would explain translation and the role of translator in a way consistent with some of the approaches they learnt in their translator training classes.

In line with these initial expectations, the MA Translation Studies participants did not see translation from one angle but had a range of views about translation. For the purpose of analysis, some of these views will be grouped together in the following discussion. Firstly, participants M1 and M6 described translation as having multiple aspects, with varying degrees of importance. The importance of one aspect over the other is determined by the translation brief. In the participants' opinion, translation is not created in a void: it has to perform a function, cause an effect, deliver a piece of information, and so on. For example M1 discusses translation thus:

> I think translation has different aspects and the most important one I believe is the cultural one. When I translate I try… see like when we talk about strategies you see domestication, foreignization, I think a huge part is on the translator, and a big part of the translator's responsibility is to educate people on new cultures, that is unfamiliar, I think it's part of the translator's job to entice the reader, make the reader want more, don't spoon feed them everything. [...] translation is not only transfer of meaning, the cultural aspect is very important, the educational aspect is also very important. I like to think that our job as translators is interesting, we are giving the reader something new, teaching the reader, and that's the interesting part of it.

By contrast, M6 describes the study of translation as:

> Something very difficult and very still, but it's not. Translation is full of humanity and feeling and sense. Your personal taste, experience and your personality are what constitute a translation and this lifeless thing they want to teach us. I don't know, it's how I feel. It's a need for communication.

These descriptions of translation by participants M1 and M6 depict translation as more than a mere textual transfer. It is a multifaceted activity. Therefore, the translator here is not only a communicator but also an artist and an educator. This view echoes the view of the translator as a creative writer, or a "force for good" (Bassnett 2002: 4). The translator is an intercultural mediator who ensures the survival of the translated text through time. This view regards the

translator as an important asset to the diffusion of culture. To fulfil the tasks that correspond with this mediatory metaphor of translation, moreover, the role of the translator would vary according to the purpose of translation. Consequently, the role the MA participants played in the translation task was, in their opinion, predetermined by the brief I explained prior to the task.

Three out of ten participants viewed translation as a transfer. Participant M2 explains: "I believe it's transferring meaning from one language to another. Taking everything from one language and carrying it to the target language". The view of translation as a transfer of meaning and "carrying across", which has a long-standing tradition in Western conceptualisations of translation, can be observed here in M2's description. As discussed earlier, the perception implies that what is being carried across is the meanings inside the words and sentences. As such, the units are storehouses for meaning, and are ultimately the building blocks out of which language is constructed. Therefore, the translator would deconstruct the original structure, the source text structure, and reconstructs the meaning in the target text structure. In this regard it is useful to note that Chesterman used the metaphor "translator as a builder" (1997: 21).

by M2's description was echoed in M3's thoughts about translation. The participant explained translation as "an activity of changing one text into another text according to the norms, according to the grammatical rules of the other language". This description resonates with the metaphor of the translator as a mediator. The translator is seen as in between the source text and the target text, with duties and obligations towards the writer and the reader. Similarly, M5 describes translation as follows: "It's basically transferring of the meaning from x to y language". These three views of translation imply that the translator is a passive agent, whereas the views expressed by M1 and M6, imply an active translator and purposeful translating.

The last two descriptions that will be discussed in this section are the views expressed by M4, M8, and M7. M8 described translation thus:

> Translation is like an art. You're trying to give information in a different language. It's an important tool to express ideas in another language. And

> the translator has an important role in it. The translator is mediating between languages. He or she bridges the gaps. And communicates the meaning.

This description provided by M8 could be perceived as contradictory. The participant considers *translation* as an art. However, the role of the translator is that of a mediator, the one who fills in the gaps. Thus, while translation is seen as a free, artistic expression, the translator seems to be restricted, and in between the writer and the reader. Similarly, M4 describes translation as:

> A language in itself. You communicate through it. It's like making a bridge between two people, two cultures. It's like making a way, sometimes you feel like you reach a dead-end then someone translates or interprets and it's like a door has opened. He's the bridging agent, he's the link, the key when doors are closed.

M7 stated:

> I believe translation is all about transmitting a message and connecting cultures. The translators' role is to mend the gaps between cultures through the translation. As such, the translator is someone who is well informed about the languages and the cultures he's working with, I believe in specialised translator. But this doesn't mean that you can't be introduced to different field of translation as long as you build knowledge, linguistic background and so on in this new area.

Once again, inconsistencies between the description of translation and the role of the translator appear here. While translation is regarded by M4 as a language in its own right, the translator is described as a bridging agent, or a mediator. M7 and M8 also describe translation as process of transfer. In this transfer process, while the translator is in between, and must possess a certain degree of knowledge, s/he must not interfere with the message. Neutrality appears to be important for the translator in the view of these participants.

The selected views presented above are representative of the MA cohort. As stated earlier in the section, it was expected that MA participants would represent a wider range of views in light of their studies and practical knowledge of translation. The MA participants, during their theoretical classes, had covered a range of theories and theorists as well as the professional code of conduct. The expectation was borne out during the interviews and in the observations I made through the think-aloud exercise.

The major difference that I observed between the dominant views in the two groups is this: natural translators tended to describe a translation process in which primacy is afforded to the target text reader rather than to the author of the text. Also, the natural translators in their description of translation used words that evoked the idea of narrating and explaining, notions that are etymologically at the root of the Arabic word for translation.[88] Therefore, for the natural translator in this research, the translator seems to be more of an active agent, to the point of modifying and even censoring the content to fit with the perceived sensitivities of the target culture. N1 was a prominent example of such tendency. For many MA participants, on the other hand, the translator's role is more about overcoming differences or bridging the gaps, in light of the brief, but there were also other views that suggested the translator is an educator who entices the reader, as was seen in the example of M1. The MA students suggested that the translator must not interfere with the source text: for example, M6 and M5, suggested that the translator's role is deliver the meaning without prejudice, while some natural participants implied that a degree of interference is part of the translator's job.

To further illustrate these contrasting views, I offer below two quotes that may be considered representative of the predominant views on the general question of translator intervention held by the two cohorts. M5 says in relation to the role of the translator:

> There are kind of cultural gaps. Let's say English and Arabic. Or let's say open cultures and the Arabic which is more conservative. If you put yourself (the translator) within the circle and you don't get out of this circle then you're stuck. Like the one I was translating, sometime I had to go a little bit more explicit, and sometimes you preserve the tone and tone things down a bit. So he should always, let's say the translator is a very religious person, and translating some content or text that is a little explicit, his job as a translator is to translate anyway. You can't say oh my religion this or that, either leave it or translate it, he should give the text its right.

N1, on the other hand, states:

> Traditionally, if we're translating to Arabic, it's going to be read mainly by Muslims, and they don't use or make use of wine or cider. Cider seems to be

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[88] The interviews were conducted in English. Therefore, the perceptions and descriptions that the participant provided were also expressed in English.

عصير تفاح [apple juice] this might work. But mulled…I don't know…I'll see the rest of the sentence and see how it works. But if I'm translating for Kuwaitis I would definitely remove that sentence. It says here "treat yourself to a cup of cheer as you browse the lovely lanes", see browse the lovely lanes sounds nice. But they say to do that while you are drinking, which isn't something we would do. So I wouldn't translate these two. I'll tell you something though, if I had more time I would try to find something else that is unique and special to do there and suggest that for my reader instead of the mulled wine.

As can be seen from the excerpts above, the views about the role of the translator are different between the cohorts. M5 argued that a translator must be neutral, and his/her interference with the text must be minimal. On the other hand, N1 described a translator who reshapes the text's content to fit with the assumed readership. It is noteworthy that N1's overall views stood out as more extreme within the natural translators' cohort. Evidently, there were other views that favoured a degree of intervention, but those were for different reasons and are less extreme than those mentioned by N1. These differences were expected at the start of this research. However, it was expected that natural translators would conceive of the translator's role as a passive one, based on their lack of experience. They were expected to be literal, and adhere to the source text syntax, structure and content. However, natural translators in this research were active and interventionist.

6.3   Text Choice

The chapter has offered a discussion of the perceptions of translation and the role of the translator as expressed by natural and MA translators. The following section will demonstrate how the initial choice of text for the translation exercise can provide further insight into participants' views of translation and, possibly, indicate what interested or motivated them as translators. The natural translators' text choices will be presented first, followed by the selections made by the MA Translation Studies students. The section will conclude with a comparison of which texts the participants from the cohorts chose to translate and will advance possible reasons behind these choices. The data that will be analysed in this section will be drawn from the translation product as well as the retrospective interviews.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the participants were given five texts to choose from. They were also instructed that they had one hour to complete the task. Below is the list of texts used for the task:

1. Text one: "Manal al-Sharif"; the text was an article taken from wired.co.uk

2. Text two: "Bath Christmas Market"; the text was taken from a tourism booklet on Bath

3. Text three: a paragraph from *Driver's License*

4. Text four: "Death In East London: a critique of taxidermy"; an article from *The Guardian*

5. Text five: "Malala Yousafzai"; a profile article taken from bbc.co.uk

The research that was conducted prior to this study showed that previous TAPs did not provide participants with text choices. However, providing the participants with multiple texts was considered important to better understand how the respondents would approach the translation task. In other words, text choice would yield data on what governs the decision making process. It is part of the translation process and can be considered a global translation strategy, as defined in Jääskeläinen (2010). The aspects that were expected to influence this choice were personal interests, familiarity with the text topic, the cultural context, and, finally, the linguistic style of the text. Furthermore, the text choice might shed light on aspects of the participants' subjectivity and personality and indicate extra-textual factors that could potentially influence the participants' role as translators. A more detailed discussion of the reasons behind providing multiple text choices was offered in Chapter Four.

6.3.1   Natural Translators' text choice

The graph below represents the texts numerically, and correlates them with percentages that represent the participants' text choice across the cohort. As can be seen from the graph, the text choices of the participants in this category were varied. The first text, Manal al-Sharif, was chosen by four of the participants; two participants chose text two, Bath Christmas Market; text three, an excerpt from *Driver's License*, was chosen by two participants; and two participants chose text five, Malala Yousafazai. Finally, none of the participants translated the

fourth text, Death in East London. The data collected from TAPs and the interviews revealed some patterns in the participants' approach to text choice and, by extension, to translation.
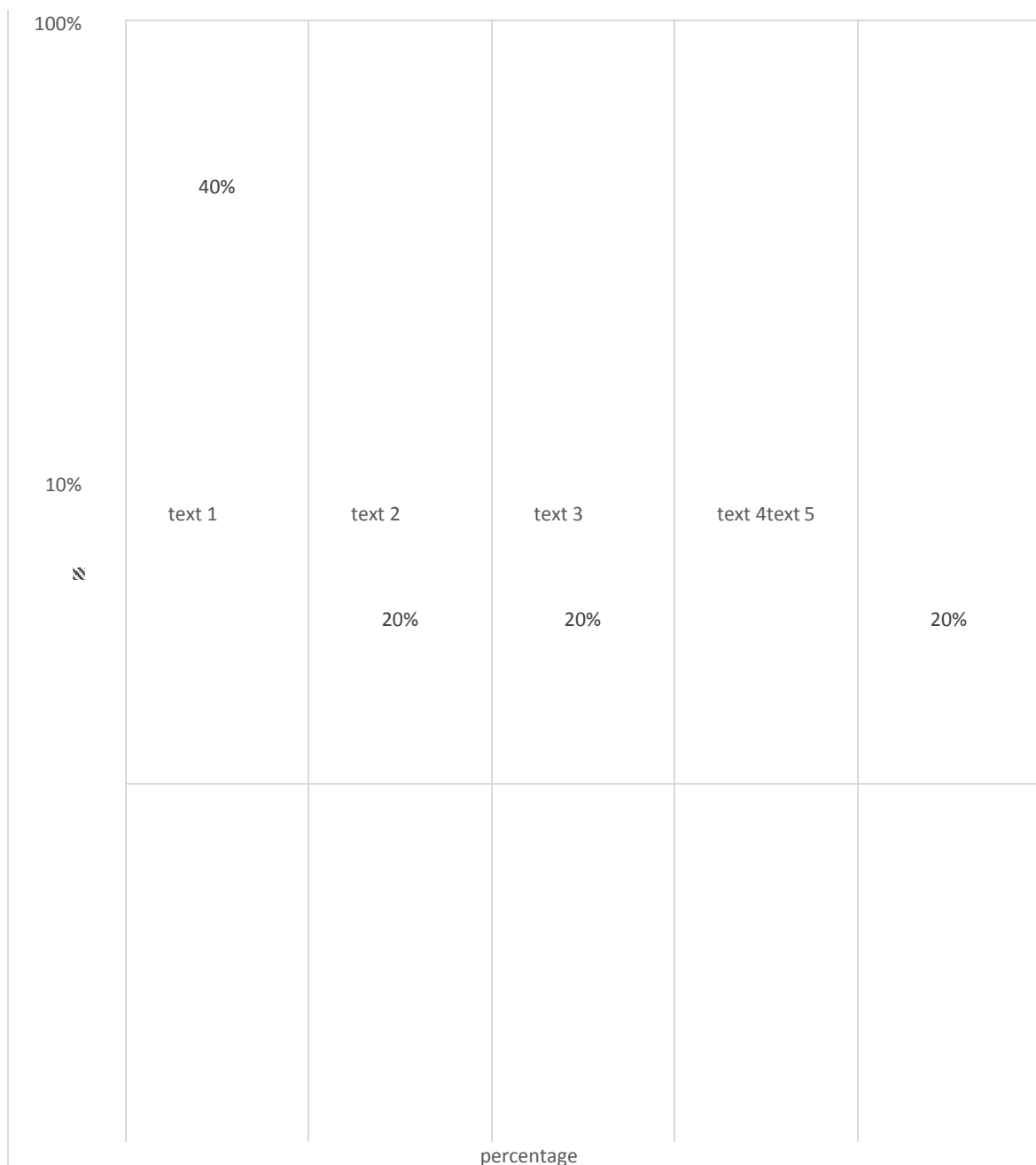

Chart 7 Natural Translators' Text Choice

The following section will discuss this general approach to translation. The section will then detail the reasons behind the participants' choices and summarise the key findings. The respondents demonstrated in general a similar approach to the translation task in that all participants read carefully through the texts, and debated which text they would be able to

translate in the given time. 40% of the participants chose to translate text one, Manal AlSharif. They stated that, in comparison to the rest of the texts, the article on Manal Al-Sharif appeared to be less challenging. There were a number of reasons behind this statement, e.g., the narrative nature of the text, and the cultural context it pertained to.

However, the main reason for the choice of this text was that the participants followed the issue and were familiar with the story. Some participants explained that the cultural aspect of the text was also familiar and they felt comfortable translating it because they understood the references. The participants stated that this text was translatable in one hour. It is apparent from the TAPs that the natural translator participants considered their lack of expertise as a factor that would slow them down in the task of translation. Thus, they chose to spend the time allocated for the translation attempting to translate rather than researching many possible unknown terms and references. However, some participants explained that as a result of their exposure to certain cultures they would be able to translate particular texts successfully, or at least with relative ease in comparison to other texts. N2 explains: "I'll choose the Manal text. Because I have heard a lot about the subject, but I never actually read about it". This is, then, an important factor in their choice of a text which seemed most contextually accessible to them. N8 mentions: "I think I'll translate text one, it seems easier than the rest of the texts, I mean, I know what it's talking about and the style seems easier".

Such an approach could be compared with Jääskeläinen's "global strategies" because natural translators take into consideration the brief, and they plan their translation approach accordingly, taking into consideration the text type, length, the time available for translation, and, finally, whether they would translate the text by retaining a similar style or modifying it. It should be emphasised here that the respondents themselves were not conscious of this theoretical concept of the "global strategy". It was, rather, a natural response to the translation situation at hand.

The second text was translated by 20% of the participants in this category. The text was chosen by participants, as they explained, because they had lived for more than a year in the United Kingdom and were familiar with the city of Bath. In addition, the style of the text was attractive to them, in the sense that the participants identified the descriptive and persuasive

language used in the text. Another reason that was mentioned in the TAPs, and further explained in the interview, was that they considered the first and fourth texts to be culturally challenging. Referring to Malala Yousafzai's text, the participants stated that they would rather not delve into politics. Regarding the first text, they stated that, considering their lack of expertise in translation and their doubts over their linguistic abilities, it would be better not to translate that one out of consideration for their target reader, and first and foremost to be considerate of Manal al-Sharif herself. N3 states:

> I felt the texts were either political or, what do they call them…governmental issues like the driver's license, and I don't like these. The one that interested me was the Malala text because it's a nice story, but again it's more serious and kind of depressing. Text one is tricky, it has many references to entities and things in Saudi Arabia that I'm not familiar with, I don't want to make a bad situation worse with a bad translation, especially for Manal I think she suffered enough, I read somewhere that she doesn't live in Saudi any more. Or let's just say a not very informed translation. Text four, let's face it I have no idea about it. The second text was the one that spoke to me the most. I love Christmas, I have been to Bath, I've seen the Roman baths. I experienced it basically. I don't like politics, I don't like serious things.

N1 explains:

> I will look over the texts really quickly, just to know which one to translate. First off I don't want to do the Manal Al-Sharif one or the Malala Yousafzai one. Because they are political and I prefer to stay away from that. I don't want my bias to come through. Like with the first one "Manal Al-Sharif" they have their own terminology such as the religious police, and I don't recall this right now, I would have to translate it literally and that doesn't sound well in Arabic, it's a very specific organisation they have, there is no such thing as a religious police, it's a political thing they have. Now, I'm not sure that this is a viable reason not to do them but this is how I feel. The driving license text is doable, the taxidermy text is something I'm not at all familiar with, and I'm not really interested in it. So I'm between driver's license text and Bath Christmas Market. I prefer the Bath text. Just reading it over I see that the language is very flowery very descriptive.

N3 mentions that s/he would not want to make a bad situation even worse with a bad translation and both participants state their dislike of "politics". These comments suggest that the personality, opinions, and preferences of the translator may play a role in how the natural translator approaches a translation task, informing their decision about whether to embark

on a task or not. Furthermore, it can be argued that the natural translators possess a certain level of awareness of the importance of translation and how critical the role of the translator is, particularly in terms of faithfulness to the source and the target reader. For example, N1 exclaims "I don't want my bias to come through", and N3 is aware that a translator represents events and that his/her work may influence how people see figures such as Manal. It is noteworthy here that the verbalisations of the participants did not clearly indicate loyalty to the source text author but referred to the source text, the figures or topics represented in them, and the target reader. The final observation here is that for this group, familiarity with the source culture is very important. The concept of familiarity as can be observed is reoccurring in the natural translator text choice. Thus, it can be assumed that it further confirms this global strategy approach.

The third text was also selected by 20% of the participants. The participants that chose this text stated that it appeared to be shorter than the other texts, and the sentences were also shorter in comparison to the many quotations in the first text, or the long descriptive sentences in text two. Thus, in their opinion it would be possible to translate text three in one hour. An added advantage, as one participant explained, was that the context was familiar given the knowledge the participant had about the United States. The fourth text did not attract even the passing attention of any of the participants; none of the participants, in either group, even read the entire text as they did the other texts. The fifth text was translated by the remaining 20% of the participants. One participant explained that s/he knew of Malala's story yet she had not read about it, or followed it up closely. Thus, s/he decided that translating the text would be personally informative and also interesting, in the sense of how it would be translated for an Arabic reader.

All participants completed the task in under one hour. However, the time restriction affected the translation process, as mentioned in the previous chapter. For example, N1 observed that even though s/he chose a text whose context was familiar to him/her, the stress of using only one target language, as opposed to the usual code-switching approach common in bilingual speakers, resulted in the participant forgetting even the most basic words in Arabic:

> Now you told me to translate and the words I normally use to translate just flew out of my mind… Just reading it over I see that the language is very flowery very descriptive and it's not something I'm very good at in Arabic, so, the meaning might be there but the rhetoric might not.

N1's statement shows that there is indeed an awareness of the limitation of his/her linguistic abilities in the target language, as well as an awareness of the time pressure, resulting in sacrificing the form for the sake of the content. It also demonstrates an ability to perceive issues around register, style, and individual voice. Although the vocabulary used in the translation product by the participant is not optimal, according to his/her self-assessment and my reading of the translation, the participant produced a translation that is, to use Jääskeläinen's phrase, "good enough in the circumstances" (2012: 382).[89]

Similarly, participant N3 explained that the fact that s/he had to translate in one hour also caused her/him to forget many basic terms that s/he is certain that s/he knew. This case applies to 70% of the participants in this group, as was observed in the think-aloud exercise. However, with MA students, as will be discussed in the next section, the time factor did not appear to affect their linguistic abilities in the majority of the cases. MA students were mainly concerned that the time limit was not allowing them to research properly some of the references or the quotes in the source text. Thus, it appears that an education in translation reduces the stress of working into one language, without interference of the other, in the bilingual respondents in this this research. For example, M7 states:

> I can translate the quote, however, I do prefer to search for the video itself and write her exact quote instead of me putting words into her mouth, or maybe I would make the situation even worse, to write that she said something between quotes that she might not have said. So I prefer to listen to the video and write whatever she said exactly, so this part will need research, I will not translate it in my own words.

M9 declares:

> You know, if I had more time, and this translation was for another purpose, I wouldn't hesitate to call Manal and ask her what she means exactly.

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[89] Quality as such is not measured in this thesis. It is mentioned here in general terms.

To sum up, the natural translator's text choice appeared to be influenced by different factors such as familiarity with the context, including cultural knowledge, or familiarity with the subject matter. Finally, interest in the topic was a factor for this cohort: participants chose to translate a text that was interesting for them to read and that they would enjoy translating in the given time.

6.3.2 Trainee Translators' text choice

Within this cohort, there was not as much variation in the selection process. As can be seen in the graph below, seven out of ten participants chose to translate text one, two participants translated text two and only one participant translated text five.
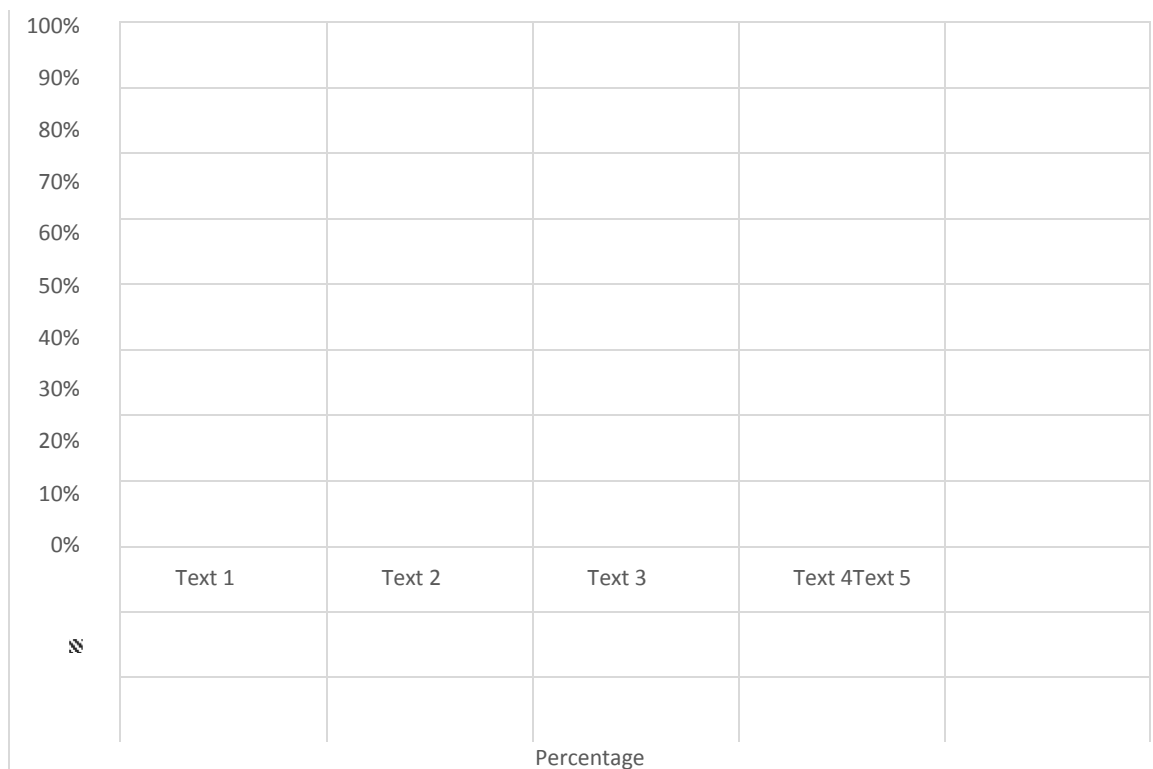

Chart 8 MA Participants' Text Choice

Trainee translators were aware of the challenges of translation, and have stated that, given that they only had one hour to translate, the time would be best allocated to translating well. They also mentioned that the language and structure in text two on Bath would require more time and effort to translate into Arabic, while the language in the first text on Manal was relatively easier. These factors also seem further to illustrate the "global" strategy approach

discussed in Jääskeläinen (2010). Interestingly, on first inspection the presence of many quotes in the first text did not appear to members of the MA cohort to present challenges, but after reading the text carefully, many participants decided that to be able to translate it accurately more research would be needed. At this point the respondents realised that in order to complete the task in one hour, they had to sacrifice carrying out thorough research.

Some participants provided a detailed comment on their choice. Participant M9 stated: "I identify with Manal. I know first-hand what she is talking about, and I think she deserves to be heard and translated well". Participant M1 said:

> What women are going through in our region is indescribable, it's not only about driving, it's about the fact that just because they are women they are treated as lesser beings, and I strongly believe that we all should take part in making a change. I don't understand why women can't drive, why women can't be promoted in some companies to managerial positions, just because they are women! It's 2015 for crying out loud! To be treated this way is, as Manal puts it, pure ignorance.

Participant M7 clarified his/her stance about the texts and explained the reasons why s/he preferred to translate text one instead of text two:

> With the second text words for example such as wine, would be challenging for me to translate. For example, in Arabic I can use a neutral word instead such as: مشروبات روحية [spirits] but this way I feel that I am excluding any potential Arabic Christian reader, who would call it نبيذ [wine]. So it is not only a religious conflict it is also a translation conflict. Because the text can be potentially read by any Arabic reader and I cannot cater to the majority. I feel any term I might use might not cover the majority. I cannot address all the Arabic readers. This is why I am inclined to choose the first text, because the translation here is different. See if I was to translate this text from Arabic into English my role would be more obvious, from my point of view at least, but to translate it from English to Arabic I have to be loyal to the text in order for the target reader to really understand how his or their image is presented abroad. It's not about presenting the inside to the outside, it is about showing the inside how they are being presented or promoted in the outside. So my stand as a translator is different. Also, I understand where Manal comes from.

M7, in the excerpt above, explains why translating text two could be more demanding than it seems initially. Furthermore, the participant considers not only the global strategies, i.e.,

general guidelines, plans, principles, but also the local strategies, i.e., problem solving, and the decision making process called for by specific source text items.

Importantly, there was general consent among the female participants in both groups who translated the first text that Manal al-Sharif's voice has to be heard: they felt it was their duty to explain her point of view and her story.[92] It can therefore be argued here that the translators' personalities and gender influence their work. At the same time, there was some differences of opinion by the MA and the natural translators group. N3 preferred to stay away from text one because of his/her doubts about having the necessary abilities as a translator of this text in particular. The participant stated: "I don't want to make a bad situation worse!". On the other hand, N1 refrained from translating the text because of its perceived political

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[92] 50% of the participants in my research cohort were female and 50% were male.

and religious dimensions. N1 explained: "I don't want my bias to come through". It could be that the participants from the natural cohort did not perceive themselves as translators and did not fully trust their skills and that was why they refrained from translating text one. MA participants, on the other hand, regarded this translation task as an opportunity to make Manal's voice heard.

Text two was translated by 20% of the participants in this category. The translators considered the text to be relatively easy and felt more comfortable translating it because of their knowledge about Bath and the tradition of Christmas markets in the UK. The reasons to translate text two here are comparable to the ones discussed earlier in the natural translators group. The familiarity with the context and the text type were the determining factors for the text choices made by the MA participants.

Regarding the third text, *Driver's License*, participant M4 says:

> Ok, I will translate Manal's text instead of the driver's license. I'm more familiar with the culture in Saudi Arabia than with American culture, this would make the translation easier for me given the time I have to translate it. Although "driver's license" looks shorter, it is about a culture I'm not familiar with, and there is something about the language, it's…I don't know, I feel stressed out when I read it honestly.

Text four was not considered for translation by any of the participants. One of the participants, M10 stated:

> Well, first, this is not a topic I would be interested in spending an hour translating and researching, at first glance I can see that there are many complicated references and terms. I would need more than one hour to translate it.

This statement made by M10 reflects the participant's global strategy. M10 assessed the brief and the time allocated for the translation and in light of this assessment chose which text to translate, thus further illustrating the global translation strategy approach.

The single individual out of the ten MA participants who selected text five on Malala expanded on his/her choice by saying: "I admire what this young girl stood up for. I would like to feel that I did my part in making her story reach our target reader". This statement by M6 reflects the advocacy role of the translator, as seen by this participant. The participant's personality and belief about what the role of the translator should be influenced the participant's text choice.

A few patterns emerged when examining closely the approach and the broadly understood process of translation performed by MA students. First, they began the exercise by establishing some criteria on the basis of which to select one of the five texts. The participants planned their process of translation around the allocated time for translation. Thus, after choosing the text, the participants would read thoroughly through the text. Afterwards, they would spend between five to ten minutes researching the text origin, and any additional information they needed to translate it. Only then would they begin to translate. These steps illustrate the global strategy approach discussed by Jääskeläinen (2010) as strategies without problems.

In conclusion, this chapter has addressed the question of perceptions of translation and of the role of the translator. The data was mainly drawn from the retrospective interviews. These views were also contrasted with the translation approach that the participants followed. Natural translators described an active translator. Some participants also spoke of translation as a narration, telling a story to the reader. Others described it as an explanation

of foreign text. However, as seen from the strategies analysis in the previous chapter, some participants despite advocating for an active translator adopted a passive role as a result of lack of experience and trust in their own linguistic abilities. MA participants, on the other hand, had several views, ranging from translation as a carrying across exercise to the view of translation as a form of rewriting, an artistic expression, and the translator as either the agent that carries the message or the artist that rewrites and educates the reader.

Overall, within both groups, it was observed that global strategies were used in the translation approach. The global strategy begins with choosing the text to translate as an important step for the participants, although for different reasons. For the natural translator, the familiarity with the text and the context, and the relative simplicity of the structure played a major role. Despite the fact that all the participants in this category live between two languages, and frequently actively translate, the natural participants did not consider themselves translators, and this was reflected in their verbalisations. Although they would all inevitably have had to interpret at some point in their lives, given their level of bilingualism, they did not consider themselves as translators or interpreters. Some participants would debate what a professional translator would do, having the target reader in mind when translating. For example N3 mentions vis a vis the translation of "mulled wine" from text two:

> I'm not even sure if that's ok to say, but the thing is you need to say it, it's mulled wine, because what's written on the stand is mulled wine. Now I don't know what a real translator would do, but I will put what is there anyway.

Furthermore, the pressure of having to complete a translation in one hour was something new that they had to adapt to. In this research, time pressure played an important role in the decision making process. It can be argued that if the participants had had more time, the translation choices with regards to text and individual words might have been different. However, it is important to reiterate at this stage that the time limit was established for two reasons: first, as mentioned in Chapter Four, setting up a time limit was considered helpful in recruiting participants. Second, restricting the time for the task would simultaneously help elicit the most instinctive reactions and the least reasoned. Furthermore, it can be argued that the time limit mirrors to some extent a real life deadline situation.

Trainee translators broke down the translation task into four steps. Firstly, they considered which text to translate in the time that they were given. Secondly, they researched the text they had chosen to translate. Thirdly, they researched the background story. More specifically, the participants wanted to find out information based on which they could support and improve their translation. This global strategy on the part of the trainee translators' participants demonstrates a systematic approach to a translation task. Some natural translators followed a similar approach too, although not as consciously and meticulously as the MA participants. Thus, in light of this section it can be argued that natural translators also follow a sort of global strategy approach to a translation task.

7 Conclusion

In my research, as presented in this thesis, I have observed and investigated the translation processes adopted by twenty participants, ten of them natural translators, and ten MA Translation Studies students, trainee translators as referred to in this research. The participants were asked to choose and translate one text from a list of five texts that were presented to them. The translation task was performed while thinking out loud. The task was followed by with a retrospective interview. The data from the TAP exercise and the resulting translations were then analysed.

After a brief introduction in Chapter One, a discussion of the key terms that inform my research was presented in Chapters Two and Three. Chapter Four described in detail the data collection procedure. The analysis of the data was presented in Chapters Five and Six. The purpose of this concluding chapter is to recapitulate what the research has set out to do, and the results obtained thus far. Finally, the chapter will attempt to put forward suggestions for potentially helpful future areas of research.

My research has set out to answer the following questions:

1. What strategies do natural translators apply, for the translation of culture-specific items, and how do they compare to those applied by trainee translators?

2. What unit of translation does the natural translator prefer to work with, in comparison to trainee translators?

3. How does the translation brief inform the translation process of the natural translator in comparison to the trainee translator?

4. What is translation for the natural translator? And how does the perception of what translation is inform the translation process?

5. How do natural translators perceive the role of the translator in comparison to trainee translators?

6. Considering their bilingualism and biculturalism, do natural translator perceive themselves as translators?

7.1   Natural translation.

In Chapter Two, I set out to describe the complexity of the term "translation", in order to establish what exactly the term would mean in the context of this research. Additionally, and no less importantly, the chapter discussed the term natural translation in order to establish some working parameters. The definition of the concept proposed by Harris and Sherwood (1978) was found to be particularly helpful in conceptualising what we mean when we talk about the activity of natural translation: "The translating done in everyday circumstances by people who have had no special training for it" (1978: 155). Furthermore, it was argued, by Harris and Sherwood, that: "all bilinguals can translate, within the limits of their mastery of the two languages. Therefore, translating is coextensive with bilingualism" (1978: 155). Harris and Sherwood argued that a study of translation should come from the study of natural translation instead of literary, technical, or other branches of professional translation. The chapter also discussed other concepts and how they were used in this research: i.e., the notion of the translation unit, and processes in terms of problem and strategy. Finally, the chapter introduced working definitions within my research (based on relevant scholarship and a thorough literature review) of what is meant by perceptions of translation, the metaphors of translation and the role of the translator.

7.2   Bilingualism

As can be seen from the definition proposed by Harris and Sherwood, being a natural translator implies a level of bilingualism that enables the individual to translate. Therefore, Chapter Three progressed to a discussion of bilingualism as a term, particularly in order to be able to specify the type of bilingualism that most closely applies to the respondents in this research, as well as to understand better the bilingual context in Kuwait. Hamers and Blanc (1989) explained bilingualism as the condition in which one linguistic community has two languages constantly in contact resulting in a situation where these two languages are used in the same interaction and where many of the individuals who make up the community are bilinguals. In general terms there are two types of bilingualism and the differences can be seen in speakers' organisation of linguistic codes. The main factor in this distinction is whether the languages were acquired in separate settings, or in the same setting. Bilingualism that results from language acquisition in separate settings is known as coordinate bilingualism, while bilingualism that results from acquisition of two discrete languages in the same setting is referred to as compound bilingualism. A coordinate bilingual thus has learned two languages possibly at different times or maybe just in different settings. This means that words and phrases in a coordinate bilingual's mind are linked semantically to the separate contexts in which they were acquired. On the other hand, a compound bilingual, who has learned both languages simultaneously and most likely in the same setting, would have the same semantic associations attached to the same word or phrase in two different languages. The participants in this research were coordinate bilinguals. Their status as bilinguals was further complicated by the presence of diglossia in their use of Arabic. For this reason, it was salutary in Chapter Three for the discussion and a typology of "bilingualism" to distinguish between "bilingualism" and "diglossia". The effects of diglossia did indeed become observable during the task.

7.3   Methodology

Chapter Four approached the issue of the most effective way of studying and comparing the process of translation across the cohorts and identified the use of TAPs as the most appropriate means of collecting data. The chapter explored both the accomplishments and

the limitations of the use of this observational methodology. The chapter also discussed some previous TAP studies. More specifically, emphasis was given to the work that has been done to understand the process of translation performed by natural participants in comparison to professional translators (Gerloff 1988; Jääskeläinen 1990) and the studies that examined translation from English to Arabic using TAP (Saad 2010; Al-Smael 2000). The chapter also identified, through this survey of relevant previous studies, that there was more work to be done to understand the process of translation from English to Arabic. Furthermore, the chapter discussed how the survey of previous TAP studies informed my research design and shaped and refined my research questions. A total of three pilot studies were conducted and I discussed these in the chapter. In light of the findings from the pilot studies I undertook, and from the previous work that has been done using TAP, I settled on the need to recruit a pool of about twenty participants: ten natural translators and ten MA Translation Studies translators. I chose to recruit twenty participants because it was more than earlier studies while still manageable within a three year PhD research. The participants were presented with five texts, they were instructed to choose one text and translate it while thinking out loud. After the translation task, the participants took part in an interview that was designed to understand better the translation choices and to ask the participants to elaborate on their views on translation and the role of the translator.

7.4   Analysis of Data and Discussion

I analysed the original data produced by my research quantitatively and qualitatively. The qualitative data analysis examined the transcripts obtained from the TAPs, the translation texts produced by the participants, and the content of interviews in order to extract general trends and present representative examples as well as, where relevant, counterexamples. Back translations and other glosses for Arabic examples were provided throughout the text, both for reasons of accessibility, and to illustrate conclusions about the translation process. These back translations and glosses have also been checked for accuracy by an academic consultant, who is a native Arabic speaker. My analysis focused first on identifying the translation units with which the participants were working, and locating the strategies used in the translation of culturally specific items and the translation of English passives into Arabic.

The second focal point of the analysis was participants' perceptions of translation, and of the role of translator. For this purpose, a close analysis of the TAPS and of the interview data was used.

In my quantitative analysis I have attempted to establish the prominence of a given number of phenomena, such as the frequency of use of each type of strategy employed, this frequency analysis then allowed me to compare the data across the two cohorts.

7.5   Translation unit and strategies

Chapter Five presented an analysis and the findings of the main question in this thesis – "How do natural translators translate in comparison to trainee translators?" The chapter focused on the process of translation, determining the preferred working translation unit of both cohorts, as well as analysing the most commonly deployed translation strategies for translating culture-specific items. Regarding strategies for rendering culturally-bound content, the research primarily employed Baker's taxonomy of strategies (2011). Another problem that was discussed in the chapter is the preferred strategies in the translation of English passives into Arabic: this grammatical problem emerged as an important feature of a text that was translated by many participants. The findings from this chapter will be discussed below.

7.6   Perceptions of Translation and of the Role of the Translator

Chapter Six discussed the participants' choice of text and the main findings from the interviews, regarding the question how natural translators perceive translation. Moreover, the chapter compared how these views relate to some of the perceptions and metaphors of translation discussed in Chapter Two. The micro strategies applied by the participants could also be interpreted as a result of such views of translation and the role of the translator, although such a claim could benefit from further research. The findings in the interviews were contrasted with the discussion that was presented in Chapter Two regarding the perceptions of translation and of the role of the translator. It was expected that the concepts and perceptions of translations and the role of the translator might be also influenced by the participants' biculturalism.

7.7   Findings

As mentioned previously the findings in this research were discussed in some detail in Chapters Five and Six. Chapter Five focused on discussing the translation unit, translation strategies, and the translation into Arabic of English passive forms.

In terms of translation units, as hypothesised in Chapter Three and substantiated by the data analysis in Chapter Five, the working units varied among natural translators. They worked mainly with smaller segments and often at word level. Four participants worked on word level, one participant worked at sentence level, three worked at lexicological unit level and two participants worked on paragraph level. I observed that the participants who worked on paragraph level, also deviated more from the source text structure, attempting to produce a translation that sounded natural in Arabic. Furthermore, I perceived that all ten participants considered text readability as an important factor. There was also variety to be found in the working units used by the MA participants. Three participants in this group worked on multiple levels, while four others worked at lexicological unit level. Two participants worked at paragraph level and one participant worked on word level. In light of these numbers, the distribution of preferred size of working unit does not seem to correlate in a simple of clear cut way between the two cohorts. The most notable observation with regards to the translation unit is that MA participants were observed to shift between using units of different size and level, whereas natural translators were more likely to use one level or size of translation unit systematically. In fact 30% of the participants in the MA cohort were observed moving between units. This could be explained as one of the values that translation training brings to the practice of translation. It can also be interpreted as a sign of professionalism or experience – an ability to adjust the unit depending on the type of problem or text, e.g. using sentences for better flow but focusing on single words when dealing with terminology. To understand the working unit was important because of the non correspondence at word level between English and Arabic, as explained in Chapter Five. It is important to take into consideration this non-correspondence at word level because it affects not only the meaning of the resulting text but also the readability. Furthermore, and as mentioned in Chapter Three (3.1.1.) the shift between scripts from English to Arabic script could have been another factor

that might have slowed down the process of translation. Features such as grammatical declensions, grammatical cases and sentence order in *fusha* were challenges that participants commented on during the task. My findings must be taken in consideration within the context of TAP studies. Previous TAP studies (Jakobsen: 2003) showed that working within the conditions presupposed by TAP affects segmentation. Jakobsen also considered the effect of segmentation in light of language direction. Therefore, more research examining the effect of TAP on translation unit, or segmentation from Arabic to English would yield valuable data in understanding further the natural translation ability and how it compares to professional translation. The results in my research are informative about the segmentation when translators work from English to Arabic. However, there could be different conclusions drawn from an exercise that looked closely at translation in the other direction.

In terms of translation strategies, the most prominent findings were these: translation by a more general word was used more frequently by MA Translation Studies students than by natural translators. This type of strategy can be interpreted to evade a problem, and moves towards comparability between cultures. Five MA participants used it compared to three natural translators. This finding contradicts my working hypothesis that natural translators would use translation by general words more frequently. Regarding translation by omission, I expected natural translators to use omission more frequently as a way of evading translation problems. However, the findings show that omission was used equally across the cohorts. Translation by cultural substitution, or in the case of the first text "translating back" was used more frequently by MA participants than by natural translators. Seven MA participants used it compared to four natural translators. As expected, calque was used more frequently by natural translators. The analysis showed that four out of ten natural participants used this strategy in comparison to two participants from the MA cohort. Translation by paraphrasing was expected to be one of the strategies that natural translators would use more frequently. However, the findings show that, in fact, MA participants use paraphrase *more* than natural participants. Finally, translation by transliterated loan was used equally in both cohorts. Finally, with reference to the communicative advantages of being bilingual as explained in Chapter Three (3.3.) it was observed that the natural participants were as attuned to the

audience needs as MA participants. However, there was a divided sense of loyalty between the text and the target reader as was observed in the verbalisations of N1. These could also be analysed in terms of product or expectancy norms. It could be argued that N1 was considering the readers expectations of translation.

There are two factors to be taken into consideration with regards to these findings. First, the participants showed signs of fatigue approximately forty minutes after beginning the task. The participants were given the option to take a break but they declined to take this up. Therefore, tiredness might have affected the choices of strategies. The second factor is the time limit. Initially, and in order to facilitate the recruitment of the participants, the information sheet stated that the task would take approximately one hour of their time. However, the participants were not pressured by the researcher about time. I explained that the time ceiling was indicative and not mandatory. Nevertheless, the participants treated the task as a timed one and this might have also influenced the results. When this issue was discussed with the participants after the exercise, it turned out that it was their choice to finish the task in this allocated time.

Text choice was discussed in Chapter Six. It was noted that text choice, especially, among the cohort of MA participants did not vary greatly. Seven participants chose text one, two participants chose text two and one participant chose text four. The text choice decision was made based on familiarity with the subject, and taking into consideration the time limit. Therefore, for MA participants, text choice was part of the translation strategy. On the other hand, natural participants selected the text they would translate based on the expected familiarity with the culture, and personal interest. Following Jääskeläinen these were considered as product strategies: "creating a plan and procedures for producing the best possible translation of a text on the basis of the requirements of the translation situation, including the source text, the brief and the available resources" (2010: 382).

Finally in Chapter Six, I include some comments and analysis about perceptions of translation and of the role of the translator. The natural participants seem to perceive translation as a process of transfer in which the translator plays an active role. Perceptions of the role of the translator then differed from one participant to another. It was observed that personal

opinions and beliefs influenced the natural translators' choices. MA participants, on the other hand, had a different understanding of translation and these differences between the cohorts were expected. The MA participants viewed translation as more than a transfer process. They considered it an act of communication in which the translator plays an active and important role. Another view was that of translation as an artistic endeavour or as a practice that not only creates links and bridges between cultures but also increases intercultural knowledge.

7.8   Final observations

By adapting the definition of natural translators from Harris and Sherwood, my research further contributes to the scope of the study of natural translation, and expands it to include the study of translation from English to Arabic. The data obtained, despite the relatively small sample, further demonstrates the usefulness and importance of understanding better the processes at work in natural translation and how these both differ from and correspond to processes found in the work of trainee translators.

As process oriented research, the findings in this study further demonstrate the value of TAPs as a reliable data collection method. There are limitations to the method, but this is an inevitability of any data collection method. TAPs have been criticised mainly because of the possibility of their interference with the thought processes under investigation due to the cognitive load they impose. However, as confirmed in previous research, despite these effects, the data obtained from TAPs compensates for these drawbacks. Furthermore, the results obtained from combining data collection methods, namely TAPs, retrospective interviews and translation product, can help to moderate the effects of subjectivity and enhance the validity of the research. I could not have obtained the findings that I have presented in my research by studying the translation product alone. Hansen states: "through increasingly accurate description and negotiation of observations from different sources of data, we can get closer, perhaps not to an 'objective' result but to shared replicable experiences and results" (2003: 40). In light of this observation, the detailed description of the study design in Chapter Four, as well as the accounts of the pilot studies, provide a clear indication into the nature of this data collection procedure. This detail useful measures which could be adopted to improve the quality of the protocols, as well as potential drawbacks and

pitfalls that could be avoided in future research. For example, in my research I have come to realise that to avoid or minimise the observer effect I had to conduct an ice-breaking meeting, in which I explained and demonstrated the exercise. During this meeting I was also able to observe the participant in a relaxed environment and this served as a base line to which I could better compare the behaviour of the participants during the meeting. This approach ultimately compensated for the lack of video recording during the meeting and helped me understand better the participants body language, for example when a participant was uncomfortable, thinking, or at a loss of words. Furthermore, the addition of retrospective interviews also helped the participant engage more in the translation task, explain the translation choices as well as their views of translation and the role of the translator.

As stated previously, due to limitations of the sample size it was not possible to determine with absolute certainty the general applicability of the project. For example, based on this project, I cannot say definitively that natural translators will always be more likely to work at word level. However, these findings do point clearly to the fact that more research is required to understand better the natural translation process from English to Arabic. The element of text choice was proved successful for the purposes of this research because it further demonstrated the global strategies approach, as well as how perceptions of translation and the role of the translator influence the translation task. However, to focus specifically on local strategies future research could attempt to reduce further the variables, for instance by removing independent text choice, in order to be able to assess and compare quantitatively the strategies used among the cohorts.

A possible direction for future research could be with respect to the value that translation training adds to the natural translation. This could be achieved by examining further how coordinate bilinguals who choose to translate develop their translation proficiency through training. One method of doing this would be to use a diary or journal. The data from diaries collected over a period of one or two years by a natural translator in the course of studying translation could yield significant information about the ways in which intuitive or tacit knowledge is displaced or augmented by techniques learned through study of translation as a discipline.

Another possible line of research could be one that examines the process of natural translation involving the same language pair of Arabic and English, but where the target language is English. A similar experiment to mine could be replicated where the participants are asked to translate an Arabic text into English. It would be interesting to observe how the process of translation and translation strategies differ when translating from a language that often reflects the conservative values of the cultures where it is used to a less conservative culture. Another very interesting line of research could aim to replicate my research yet focusing on the role of norms in translating from English into Arabic. It can be observed in this research that while the brief explained that the texts were to be translated into Arabic, it did not specify into which variety of Arabic. Neither did the participants ask into which variety they should translate. As a matter of fact, it was rather expected by the participants that the translation product must be in *Fusha* Arabic. Furthermore, text choice could also be analysed taking norms into consideration. Chapter Two discussed norms briefly but further research is needed to examine the role of norms.

Another potentially interesting line of research would be one that looks at the processes in a way that foregrounds problem spotting by professionals or semi-professionals in comparison to natural translators.

Finally, in addition to the contribution this research brings to the field of study of natural translation, translator training and process oriented research, the research also illustrated the relevance of the study of natural translation, as well as the validity of the think-aloud method in providing valuable insights to the translation process and experience. It is hoped that future research will replicate the methodology used in the present research in order to confirm, dispute the findings and ultimately address its limitations.

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