TRANSLATING ARABIC DISCOURSE OF COMMITMENT INTO ENGLISH: IDEOLOGY IN POLITICAL SPEECHES

A THESIS IN TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING
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ABSTRACT

In this thesis, the issue of ideology in translating what may be called 'the discourse of commitment' in political speeches is discussed and analyzed. It is generally assumed that, especially in dealing with sacred and sensitive texts, people usually adhere to the letter and spirit of the source text in order to preserve the subtle nuances of the text message. Regrettably, this is not always the case, and ideology seems to be always involved to serve a range of purposes often extraneous to the original's intentionality. In this thesis, this 'fidelity vs. intervention' assumption is examined carefully. To pursue this aim, a sample of texts has been drawn from the collection of speeches delivered during the 2006 war by Hezbullah's leader Hassan Nasrullah, together with translations in whole or in part taken from different Western media sources, including MEMRI (a monitoring website), *The Guardian*, *Haaretz* and *The Washington Post*. The English translations of Nasrullah's texts will be analyzed to determine the degree of translator involvement on ideological grounds. It is concluded that, although literal translation is the predominant strategy, there are significant departures from source text intentionality, with Western media translations of Nasrullah's speeches constantly veering towards conforming to the requirements of a Western ideology and mindset.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Why 'Ideology'?

Both the definition and the range of senses in which the term 'ideology' is used constitute one of the most intractable problems that have bedeviled the term since it was initially created in 1796 by the French philosopher Desttut De Tracy simply to denote a 'science of ideas'. This proliferation of terms has had adverse effects on the study of ideology in general and of 'ideology in translation' in particular. The usage of the term ideology soon gave Napoleon's supporters, as well as Marxists, a chance to attribute a negative sense to the concept of ideology, namely that of 'false cognizance'. This attitude persisted, leading to a situation in which ideology as a concept came to have many meanings including most prominently that of 'twisting and deforming of facts', 'manipulation and concealment', and so on. As van Dijk (1998:2) states, "few of us in the West or elsewhere describe our own belief system or convictions as 'ideologies'".

I have chosen to write about ideology because the issues involved have in recent years become crucial to the particular field of 'political translation'. True, literary and religious texts are extremely susceptible to ideological manipulation. So are scientific and even legal texts. However, polarized ideas come to the fore when two opponents are in direct confrontation with each other on ideological grounds. This has been shown glaringly in political contexts where power is explicitly contested. The difference in the relationships between the parties engaged in open struggle is always negotiated ideologically, as the case of the 2006 war in Lebanon has clearly demonstrated.

In this thesis, I have opted to analyze excerpts from speeches by Hassan Nasrullah, General Secretary of the Lebanese Hezbullah, aired by *Al Manar TV* during the 2006 Israeli war on Lebanon. Primarily, my choice of these excerpts has been motivated by the fact that translations of these speeches by *MEMRI* (a translation-monitoring website), and by such newspapers as *The Guardian,* exist and I felt that it would indeed be fascinating to see how the translators coped not only with the subtle intentionality of the source texts (veiled threats, etc.) but also with the more direct attacks on the Americans, the Israelis and anyone who did not follow Hezbullah's line.

But there is another more personal reason for my choice of this topic and this particular sample: In an *ANB* TV interview on November 17, 2007, Jihad Al Khazen, the Palestinian columnist in *AL Hayat* Newspaper, warned Arab speakers and writers to be careful about what they say and how they say it, because there are always overhearers who waste no opportunity to blow matters out of all proportions only to tarnish the image of Arabs and Muslims. One of these organs, according to Al Khazen, is *MEMRI*, the monitoring site mentioned above:

> The MEMRI translation agency produces accurate and correct translations. They don't invent anything, but, of course, they are selective. Sometimes, I don't understand how they manage to get all their sources. If an imam in a small mosque in some village in the Empty Quarter of the Arabian Peninsula says anything against the Jews, they translate it and place it on the desks of 435 congressmen and 100 senators. They have extraordinary monitoring capabilities, and they can cause damage. 'Ibrahim Nafe', whose articles were translated, was accused of racism in France. I believe that our colleague 'Abd Al-Bari Atwan' faced similar difficulties because of things he said on TV. So, I call upon all Arab writers to exercise the utmost caution with these people.

1.2 Ideology in Translation: An Overview

A great deal has been written about ideology. This explains the proliferation of senses for the term and the obscurity which surrounds it. Yet, ideology is widely viewed as a tool functioning, as Thompson (1990:7) asserts "to establish and sustain relations of power which are symmetrically asymmetrical". This is the general view of ideology which is reflected in translation and which we will adopt in this study. Translated material done by translators and editors and supported by translation attitudes found in certain social, temporal and geographic contexts represent a symbol that can make or break the meaning which can either foster the existing ideologies or resist them (Ibid).

In the present thesis, what has been particularly encouraging is the attention given to ideology in the literature of translation. Flagged in this section of the Introduction are only a few statements I cite as pointers that show the diversity of ideology models and at the same time serve as a guide for the review of the literature and analysis in later chapters.

1.2.1 False Consciousness

The first issue that will be highlighted in the present thesis is to do with the scope of what the term ideology actually covers, and whether the idea that ideology is all about 'false consciousness' is at all valid. Woolard (1998:3-47) and Koener (2001:102), for example, both argue that the field of linguistics in particular has been substantially influenced by the negative shades of meaning of the term 'ideology'. Gardner (1992:193) points out that, as well as being old fashioned, the Marxist explanation of ideology has negatively contributed much to approaching ideology merely as a misleading concept which tries to present reality in an unreal way. As Hatim and Mason (1997:144) put it, "the mainstream perspective of ideology considers certain concepts, like 'fascism' and 'anarchism', rather than 'liberal democracy', as 'ideologies' and supports certain moves as 'ideologically motivated' as if others are not". With Hatim & Mason (1997:147) and others, we will

thus take ideology in the widest sense possible covering all shades of meaning and not negative ones only. Ideology can be considered as the philosophy or the system of ideas which aims at both interpreting and changing the world since it is a socio-political template where practice is as powerful as theory.

1.2.2 Ideology and Language

Another issue that will occupy us in this thesis is the strong relationship between ideology and language. According to critical linguistic studies, in any interaction involving individuals or official institutions, socio-political communities or the mass media, "it is language which tries to retrieve and shape ideology" (Simpson 1993:6).

Like any act of text production, translation is subject to the translator's choice of words and grammar, in the light of original text producer's intentionality and target text receiver's acceptability. Thus the translation of a more dominant authority will prevail and attract the attention of certain readers to follow. Fairclough (2001:71) asserts this in the following way: "Texts do not typically spout ideology. They so position the interpreter through their cues that s/he brings ideologies to the interpretation of texts-and reproduces them in the process".

Hoey (2005:8), introduces us to the notion of 'lexical priming' which has to do with "the way a word becomes cumulatively loaded with the context and co-texts in which it is encountered". Consequently, words can almost always be used in set grammatical and semantic ways which will partly specify the frame of their future occurrence. Yet, each individual will have their own method of using such words, which will vary from individual to individual. Variation of this kind and the probable failure to match between the way a word becomes immersed in the context and the co-text, on the one hand, and specific discoursal values, on the other hand, is the result of both the cognitive perspective of ideology and the personal use and exposure of language and rewriting (ibid:163). When analyzing the translator's choices, such variation must be taken into consideration.

In (*The Translator as Communicator*, 1997:147), linguists Hatim and Mason offer one of the clearest observations regarding ideology from a critical viewpoint of linguistic and discursive analysis. Concentrating on "the degrees of mediation, that is, the extent to which translators intervene in the transfer process, feeding their own knowledge and beliefs in their processing of a text" (1997:147), Hatim and Mason argue that a particular linguistic structure can have different functions which are determined by the situation itself. For example, the criterion of using transitive or intransitive verbs is linked to the ideational function which is important to sentence manipulation and the categorizing of the world of experience (Halliday 1994:106). Besides, a particular linguistic structure is a tool by which reality can be introduced from certain viewpoint, and often when suitable, the doer of the action can be hidden through changing the sentence normal order into the nominalization pattern or passivisation to release him or her from blame or bad deed.

Fowler (1995:90) points out that the job of certain text traits such as using transitive and intransitive verbs are subject to genre and context. Moreover, it is of paramount importance when translating a text to have a sense of historical background of that text. He also asserts that it is necessary to know that the translation process is not deterministic. In other words, a translator can by no means be very certain how a particular text or a linguistic device can be translated.

This brings us finally in this Introduction to the issue of translation as re-writing. Translation has often been viewed as the most identifiable form of rewriting. The intrusion of the translator should not be underestimated when analyzing the views of the author. Whilst Munday acknowledges that the translator may not have any particular motivation in supporting a particular view or series of events, the fact remains that the author's interpretation is not always accurately represented upon reaching its target audience. This will be precisely the orientation we shall adopt in the present research. The misrepresentations that we have identified in the translation of sensitive texts are glaring and merit our attention, regardless of the motivation or the degree of innocence or guilt on the part of the translator.

1.3 This Thesis

In this thesis, we discuss and analyze the issue of ideology in translating what we have termed 'the discourse of commitment' in political speeches. In order to conduct the necessary research, a sample of texts has been selected from the collection of speeches by Hezbullah's leader Hassan Nasrullah during the 2006 war, whereas the translation material is taken from different Western media sources including MEMRI, *The Guardian*, *Haaretz* and *The Washington Post* .

In Chapter One (the Introduction), this thesis shows how, while the translator adheres to formal equivalence on some occasions, his or her ideology often intrudes wittingly or unwittingly into the translation. Chapter Two discusses the importance of ideology as a crucial strategy in intentionally manipulating the meaning of the source text. Chapter Three outlines in a focused way that is relevant to this thesis the theoretical background to Translation Studies from Catford till now. Chapter Four analyzes two political speeches delivered by Hassan Nasrullah during the 2006 Israeli war. These speeches were translated by the *Washington Post* and the *Guardian* newspapers, with selections from MEMRI translations. In chapter five, the thesis concludes that the imposition by the translator of his or her own ideology is inevitable and that such interventions have daunting implications since they can and often do change the meaning of the source text sometimes drastically.

CHAPTER TWO
IDEOLOGY

2.1 Overview

Ideology is perhaps one of the most difficult social science concepts to define. The term is socially and politically ambiguous and controversial because of the many senses conveyed which range of the innocent 'science of ideas' to the pernicious 'false consciousness'. Although not every ideology can not be used as a weapon against those who do not subscribe to it, and not every 'ism' is an ideology, the general perception is that the term 'ideology' is associated with various 'isms' that have become notorious such as communism, socialism, fascism.

There is also the issue of how ideology is present everywhere. Whether we realize it or not, ideologies are usually used and produced in all our lives. For this reason, we are all in a sense 'ideologists' simply because we are all aware of the political and social environment in which we operate, and because ideologies tend to shape our political and social world. Without being conscious of the world surrounding us, we can by no means act, so ideology is the unique tool that helps us recognize and explore this world. Ideology determines how we approach every aspect of life in that it provides us with a framework within which we perceive political facts, events and actions as well as images and other facets of non-verbal communication. Without these patterns, we remain at a loss in the world we live in.

The question that arises here is that why ideologies are not trusted? Why do they have to be concealed all the time? One of the problems surrounding the use of the term is that of how embarrassed one feels to say 'my ideology' and how confrontational one may sound in saying 'your ideology'. There is thus more to the term that can be explained in explicit terms. In an excellent collection of papers which appeared in a special issue of *The Translator* edited by Munday (2006:195-199), a number of questions are raised which can help with the problem at hand. Some of the questions that should be further

considered and that deal with certain important aspects of the concept of ideology relevant to the research in this thesis may be summarized as follows.

The first question is: Does ideology have a positive or a negative meaning? At one end of the spectrum, ideology may be considered as 'false awareness' which makes people see social reality in a twisted and distorted manner (e.g. the world is 'white' unless otherwise specified). At the other end of the spectrum, however, ideology can be seen as a positive term simply as a view or set of views ordered in a particular way regarding how the world works (e.g. the ruler and the ruled). To this extent, ideologies can be seen as a collection of attitudes, opinions and theories used by a class of people to defend and promote its interests (to the good of humanity or otherwise) (Jorge Larrain 1979:13-16).

The second question that should be taken into account is whether ideology is subjective or objective. If it is subjective, then it is considered part of awareness. If it is objective, then it must be a deception created by reality and not reality itself. To put it another way, it is reality which deceives the subject rather than the subject himself who distorts reality. As Jorge Larrain (1979:13-16) put it, the subjective view determines the role of individuals, classes and parties, while the objective view conceives of ideology as interpreting the basic structure of society.

Another question that deserves pondering is to do with how the relationship between ideology and science can be dealt with. Ideology may function against science. In other words, it is equivalent to all the ancient concepts of primitive elements which disturb reason and impede science from forging ahead. Thus ideology and scientific methods do not go together. Yet, ideology does not always have to be at odds with science. In fact ideology and science have many common features that should be highlighted. To cite (Jorge Larrain, 1979, '*The Concept of Ideology*':13-16) once again, science can become ideological in the world where ideology cannot be abolished by science.

2.2 History of the Concept of Ideology

2.2.1 What is Ideology?

In his study of enlightenment, the French thinker Claude Desttut De Tracy is possibly the initial creator of the term 'ideology' at the turn of the nineteenth century. As a philosophical and anthropological term, ideology is simply the 'science of ideas and their origins' (Desttut De Tracy, 1796). At different historical periods, ideology was adopted by the ruling class of a society for the purpose of creating a change in this society's usual patterns of behaviour (Calzada-Perez, 2003:3). The thoughts that people hold in their minds emanate from the forces in their material world, so it can be said that the ideas they hold do not come randomly from their minds or awareness (*Journal of the History of Ideas*", Vol. 5 No. 4 (Oct. 1944:487-88). After Napoleon used the term 'ideologues' to make fun of his rivals, the term 'ideology' started to lose some of its importance turning gradually into a neutral concept at best (Raymond Williams, 1985:153-57).

With a focus on a certain type of ideas and not the whole science of ideas, ideology is considered nowadays as the meaning of the ideas themselves. This shifts the focus from the 'cognitive' to the 'political' aspect of ideology. In his study published in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* Christine Sypnowich (2001:113) states that ideology functions to confirm a particular kind of political attitude, to meet certain people's desires and interests, or to play a vital social, political, economic and legal role in certain institutions.

At the present time, however, the political and the cognitive senses seem to be conflated. The term 'ideology' has come to mean "any scheme of thinking characteristic of a group or a class." (MacIver 1947:454). This idea reiterates Roucek (1944: 479):

> Every pattern of thought, every philosophical or other cultural
> product, belongs to the specific social group with which it originated
> and with whose existence it is bound up. These patterns of thought
> are 'ideologies.'

The 'thought patterns' focus is also seen in (Wilbur W. White, *White's Political Dict.*,1947:137) who asserts that "ideology is the sum of political ideas or doctrines of a distinguishable class or group of people, such as the communist, fascist or middle-class ideology." Maurice Parmelee (1944:163) put this succinctly thus: "Ideology is the aggregate of ideas, beliefs, modes of thinking characteristic of a group, such as a nation, class, profession, occupation, religious sect, political party…etc."

And according to Webster's New International Dictionary: 'Ideology is a systematic scheme of ideas about life, manner or content of thinking characteristic of an individual or class; as bourgeoisie ideology."

To conclude this sociological analyses of ideology, there is a consensus that "Ideology is strictly a system of ideas elaborated in the light of certain conceptions of what 'ought to be' (Arne Nass et al, 1944:279)". The focus here is on how the formulation of ideological concepts may result in new ideas looking not only to the future but at the present and into the past.

2.3 Analysis of Ideology

Studying what is beyond ideology or what is known as meta-ideology includes the structure, form and appearance of ideologies. This sees ideology as an integrated system of ideas that relies on a few basic aspects of reality presumed to exist. These aspects may or may not be based on facts. Rather they are subjective, that is, based on one's beliefs and ideas rather than facts. This represents a key factor in the capacity of ideology to generate further thought. Here, ideologies are neither right nor wrong, but only a strategy which relatively shapes the world in an intellectual manner.

In his study published in "*Ideology and Political Behavior*", David W. Minar (1961) describes six different ways of using ideology:

1. As a collection of particular ideas with particular norms.

2. As a form of internal logical structure that ideas have within a set.

3. By the role that ideas play in establishing relations among people.

4. By the role that ideas play in the constructing of an organization

5. As a persuasive meaning.

6. As an ideal place for social interaction.

According to the German philosopher Christian Duncker (2006:6), ideology is a system of representations that pretends to be clearly or subtly true. However, Willard A. Mullins (1979:23), lists four features of effective ideologies. It is claimed that these tend to be:

1. powerful rather than cognitive
2. evaluation-guiding
3. action-guiding
4. logically coherent

2.4 Political Ideology

Ideology is fundamental to the action and the program of most political parties. To these parties, ideology, means standards, principles, doctrines, myths or symbols and a set of ethical ideals of a social movement or class, or a large group that shapes how a society should work by offering some political and cultural main plans for certain social order (http://www.en.wikipedia.org/). That is to say, political ideology is concerned with power and the parameters in which it should be used. While some political parties embrace certain ideologies strictly, others do not, and tend only to be inspired by them.

Dimensions of political ideology include:

1. Goals which specify how a society should work
2. Method which finds the most appropriate ways to get to ideal arrangements

Ideology can be viewed as essential to good government and economic system because it is a collection of ideas which differ from one society to another.

2.5 The Marxist Takeover

According to John Lye (1997:213-215), ideology is a concept developed by the Marxists to describe how cultures are structured in ways that it makes it possible for the dominant ruling class in a society to expend least effort to have maximum control of that society with the minimum of conflict. In addition to that, this control can be achieved by focusing on people's values, conduct, beliefs and their knowledge of the world, and not by treating people ruthlessly to shape their own beliefs and attitudes or by changing their awareness, so that they can accept the current order. Succinctly, the key factor of managing this kind of legitimization can be achieved by intensive teaching, focusing on the social meaning of ideas, on how things are and how they should really work in a society. These implicitly included ideas in symbols and cultural practices to shape people's thinking.

Gramsci (1891–1937) labels this process of imposing the attitudes and the values of the ruling class in a society as "hegemony'. In connection with this, Althusser (1998:303) asserts that this hegemony can be carried out through cultural institutions such as the church, the school and the family along with cultural abstract forms such as literature, music and advertising. Ideology as Althusser defines it is "a representation of the imaginary relations of individuals to the real condition of existence". He further adds that ideology creates us as persons. http://www.brocku.ca/english/jlye/ideology/html/

Yet, in *Die Deutsche Ideology* (*The German Ideology*, 1976), Marx and Engels maintain that ideas are formed by the material world. The 'material' is the basis on which societies can develop and flourish. In addition, men and their conditions appear inverted in all ideologies exactly as the inverted image that appears in the photographic process. That is, ideology shows contempt for reality affecting negatively the material world. To put this damage right, and to sustain and increase social unity, ideology tends to play a vital role in papering over the cracks and making such contradictions seem less important and serious.

Marx and Engels further add an important point as they link ideology and class. The powerful group is in effect the 'ruling ideas'. The ruling groups use faked ideology as an instrument to practice control and hegemony in shaping the history which meets their interests. Ideology is thus a filter through which interests along with ideology can be presented as if they were a truth that exists intellectually and universally.

While Marx defines ideology as an 'action without knowledge', the concept of ideology, as we pointed out above, is occasionally laced with a negative political sense as a "system of wrong, false, distorted or otherwise misguided beliefs." (Van Djik, qtd in Calzada 2003:3). On the other hand, according to Lenin, ideology is a force that encourages revolutionary consciousness and fosters progress. Marx (1845), also highlights the point that ideology is neutral in that its structure is impartial according to the order of existence. By 'neutral' is meant that it is historical because its structure is a result of historical progress. And by 'neutral' is also meant that it is eternal because once this natural state of affairs has been reached, it will never go back to its earlier form or state.

According to Marx and Engels, ideology is tantamount to 'awareness' much in the same way as we see in religion or moral theory. They further added that the same pejorative power is attributed to ideology despite the fact that it is attached to a different object such as that given by Napoleon to his opponents. To this end , it can be concluded that there is a sense of direct extension between the derogatory sense of ideology used in the nineteenth century by conservative thinkers, and the same sense used by Marx and Engels in *The German Ideology* and subsequently.

Ideology refers to one of the parts of the socio-cultural system of human groups. The structure of a particular group can either increase or decrease the role of ideology. However, ideology will include certain things such as the beliefs of the group members, their concepts, attitudes and other psychological qualities such as motives, desires, values, even religious rituals.

In this pure descriptive meaning, ideology can identify both discursive and non-discursive elements. Concepts, ideas and beliefs are examples of the discursive, verbal

elements, whereas the non-discursive elements include gestures, rituals, attitudes and artistic activities.

According to the Marxist approach, ideology is gravely important because it can conceal reality and, in the interest of the dominating group, distort the thinking of groups which do not belong to it. However, the critics of this approach argue that ideology has played a vital role in the economy of the state whose factors have a crucial impact on the society. They further added that ideology can be a key factor for the possibilities of production.

2.6 Ideology in Social Life

According to the mainstream sociological analysis, not only can some ideas be more crucial than others, but also people of different attitudes can hold, to certain extent, the same thought in an extraordinary way. For sociologists, the presence of an ideology is the dividing line by which such cases can best be explained.

The philosopher Michael Foucault drew a dividing line between philosophy and ideology in that philosophy is a way of leading life, while ideology is a lifestyle for society. Ideology can be described positively to connote vitality and enthusiasm, or it can be described negatively in that it is unreasonable and strict.

Those who strive for power not only seek to affect the ideology of a society so that it serves their interests and become more or less similar to their desire and to what they like, but they also try to disseminate their attitudes and viewpoints. According to the philosopher Antonio Gramsci, when people have the same thought of the same matters, or when they overlook the possibility of altering the current state of affairs, 'hegemony' can be attained.

2.7 Ideology and Translation

Over the centuries, people have always brought their beliefs and attitudes into the process of translation. P. Fawcett (1998:107) states that ideology in translation has been used since translation itself was known, and that some of the earliest examples of translation

known to us clearly reflect an ideological influence. Yet, Venuti (1998:1) points out that the linguistic-oriented approaches to translation have failed to deal with the concept of ideology throughout the years of its dissemination because such approaches were only interested in collecting empirical data as well as their scientific models for research. That is why, according to Venuti, linguists shy away from considering the social values and ideologies that enter into translation and its study.

While descriptive studies mainly focus on text forms, (Calzada, 2004:8) points out, the linguistic-based approaches lack interest in addressing the concept of ideology in translation. But this is not strictly accurate and the attack on linguistics is simply not justified. Let us take Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), for example. This is a branch of linguistics whose main interest is to make transparent the ideological forces that form the bases of communication. CDA has made a vital contribution to Translation Studies through the work of such scholars as Beaugrande, Hatim, Mason, as we will see shortly.

The supporters of the Critical Discourse Analysis insist that ideology makes its presence felt in almost all language uses including translation. To put it another way, translation is always an attractive site for ideological existence. This suggestion parallels what Christina Schaffner (2003:18) has to say regarding translations being nothing but ideological, starting with the choice of the source text which is shaped by interest, aims and skopos of a social agent. She supports Van Dijk's view of ideology as a basic system of shared social values, attitudes, concepts and other representations that can dominate a specific group's beliefs.

2.8 Louis Althusser: A Final Word

Althusser (1971) identifies two main mechanisms that serve ideological purposes. The first one is called RSA (Repressive State Apparatuses) such as police, criminal justice and the prison system where people can be oppressed to behave. The second one is ISAs (Ideological State Apparatuses) such as institutions which produce ideologies that people adopt and act accordingly. Such apparatuses include: schools, religion, the family, legal

systems, politics, sports, arts…etc. In addition to that, these apparatuses generate ideas and values which people may or may not believe.

Ideology is different from 'ideologies' in that ideology is structural and eternal. However, Althusser holds that ideology has no history. Furthermore, since ideology is a structure, its content will be variable. So it can be filled up with anything, but its form continues to be the same. Conversely, ideologies are specific, historic and differing: Christian ideology, Islamic ideology, democratic ideology and Marxist ideology.

According to Althusser, ideology represents the relationship between individuals and the real conditions of their existence. The question that deserves pondering is: Why do people need these imaginary relations to real conditions of existence rather than the real ones? In this respect, Althusser argues that ideology, which is produced by clergymen and cruel rulers who use their authority unfairly, is a tricky theory denoting that a handful of powerful men tricked people to make them believe their falsified ideas about the world.

For this reason the 'real world' is not that which is not influenced by personal feelings or opinions or something that is already out there. Rather, it is something that is influenced by the product of our relations to it, the formal statements made by us of it and the stories we made about it make it a 'real world'.

2.9 Summary

As shown in this chapter, ideology, the tool by which we can organize and explore the world, can shape our social world. Is ideology subjective or objective, positive or negative meaning, scientific or mythical? These are questions that needed to be answered before we could settle on a definition of what ideology is. This chapter has shed light on the relation between ideology and science in that ideology functions as an unintellectual concept that impedes science truthfulness and science in turn can be ideological in the world where ideology cannot be abolished by science. Different definitions of ideology which have caused certain confusion in understanding the concept of this term have been explained. It is clear that the Marxist ideology can be adopted by dominant ruling classes

to have the maximum control of their societies with the minimum conflict for spreading their own beliefs and attitudes by focusing on people's values and conceptions rather than by forcing them cruelly to end up with what is known as 'hegemony'. This chapter has focused on the relation between ideology and translation in that ideology has been used in translation since records began. However, while purely linguistics-oriented approaches to translation have failed to deal with ideology because such approaches were mainly scientific, trends in linguistics such as Critical Discourse Analysis are extremely productive and useful in shedding better light on the translation process.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORIES OF TRANSLATION

3.1 A Short History of Translation Studies

According to *The Dictionary of Translation Studies,* translation studies is the academic discipline which "concerns itself with problems raised by the production and description of translation" (Mark Suttleworth:183). Although the interest in translation is almost as old as human civilization, translation was not treated as a science until 1950s when Russian-American linguist Roman Jakobson's linguistic discussion of translation raised some key questions such as equivalence and translatability which became very important to the field of translation. In the 1980s, this burgeoning field was christened 'Translation Studies' by American-Dutch linguist James S. Holmes..

For Holmes (1988:48-9), translation has become to be known as a science on the grounds that it is an interdisciplinary concept where various areas of knowledge, ideas and experts from different disciplines are involved. Holmes further divided the field into 'pure' and 'applied' translation studies where in the first type general and partial studies were studied, whereas in the latter one, translator training, their aids and translation criticism were dealt with.

In the early 1950s and throughout the 1960s, Translation Studies was mainly treated as a branch of linguistics. According to the founder of the linguistic theory of translation, Georges Mounin, Translation Studies is a matter of pure language study. Translation studies is a field of linguistics (Hirako 1999:4). Yet, in 1970s, and particularly during 1980s, translation scholars began to draw more attention to "theoretical frameworks and methodologies borrowed from other disciplines, including psychology, communication theory, literary theory, anthropology, philosophy" (Baker 1998:279). The study of translation has now gone beyond the strict parameters of any one discipline.

Privileged in all these endeavors is research conducted into the significance of the cultural aspects of translation, and now a number of scholars are beginning to talk about

the cultural turn in Translation Studies (Venuti 1995:20). Linguistic theories of translation have thus been superseded by more developed studies of cultural issues as part of cross-cultural communication. Therefore, translation is now being examined in its cultural context.

3.2 Formal / Dynamic Equivalence

There has been much argument regarding whether translation can be considered an academic discipline in its own right. As a result, different formal definitions reflecting various theoretical concepts have been provided by scholars of translation. One influential trend in Translation Studies defines translation in terms of 'equivalence relations'. Equivalence is a key concept in translation theory, and this has been highlighted by J.C. Catford who asserts the importance of preserving the equivalence between ST and TT: "the replacement of textual material in SL by equivalent textual material in TL" (1966:20). It was Eugene Nida, however, who tested these theories in the practical field of Bible translation studies, and came up with two different types of equivalence:

1- Formal equivalence which focuses on the message in terms of both the form and content of the text to enable the reader to understand as much as possible of the SL input.

2- Dynamic equivalence, also known as 'functional equivalence', which tries to convey the equivalent effect or thought of the ST regardless of other representations such as word order, grammar, textual arrangement, etc. To put it another way, it is the 'true' message of the original text that will be transported into the receptor language in such a way as to ensure that "the response of the receptor is essentially like that of the original receptors" (Nida and Taber 1969:200). Bassnett (2002:33) paraphrases this formula: "the relationship between receiver and message should aim at being the same as that between the original receivers and the SL message".

From a cultural point of view, formal equivalence is of little help to translators who seek to preserve ST culture, and to express this in TL terms. Dynamic equivalence, on the

other hand, takes us a long way towards bridging cultural gaps and establishing authentic communication.

But engaging in the kind of research which the present thesis seeks to do, it is important not to fall prey to dichotomous thinking. A sensible approach seems to be one which argues that both types of equivalence – the Formal and the Dynamic – can be used for different purposes. Formal equivalence, for instance, can be used to retain a peculiar linguistic sense. It can also assist readers unfamiliar with the SL to understand how meaning was expressed in the ST. And it is useful in certain situations particularly when the translator is unwilling to change the original words of the ST in fields such as diplomatic and legal English or Arabic. However, there should always be a good reason for opting for formal equivalence because "the aim of this kind of adherence to form would be to bring the target reader nearer to the linguistic or cultural preferences of the SL" (Hatim and Munday 2004:42).

Dynamic equivalence, on the other hand, has its uses too, when the translator is after making the ST enjoyable and easy to understand rather than preserving every minutiae. A dynamically equivalent translation must be natural in structure and meaningful in content as well as easy understood by those who read it. One of the best known examples of dynamic equivalence is the translation of the biblical phrase "lamb of God" into Eskimo language as "seal of God" since lambs are unknown in polar regions. Another good example is Shakespeare's line "Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?!" is feasible in London where the sunshine is rare and people always long for it but not in Saudi Arabia or Kuwait, for example, where it is too hot in summer. In other words, dynamic equivalence can sometimes provide a translation rich in contextual effects which a formal equivalence translation would simply compromise.

In short, as Nida himself suggested, the two modes of Formal and Dynamic "are more or less, not either/or dichotomies. Given this variability, there are general tendencies rather than specific techniques, but rather general tendencies. Often we are up against varying and not absolute degree of dynamism or formality", (1964:160).

3.3 Translation Shifts

When the close adherence to the linguistic form of the source text fails to produce a proper translation, textual equivalence is achieved through what Catford calls 'translation shifts' (1965:73). According to Hatim and Munday, shifts are "the small linguistic changes that occur between ST and TT". In other words, a shift occurs when a ST element is rendered by a different element in the TL correspondence when translation equivalents cannot be established through formal correspondents. A translation shift is defined as "the departure from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL to the TL" (Ibid). Such procedures are also called transposition. Two major types of 'shifts' are used, namely: level shifts and category shifts.

Level Shifts occur when an item in the SL could have translation equivalence in the TL at a different linguistic level. It has been argued that it is impossible to find translation between both the level of phonology and graphology of words or either of them and the levels of grammar or lexis. **Category shifts,** on the other hand, unbounded and rank-bounded translation are tackled. The bounded translation is fairly 'normal' translation vs 'free' translation where it is acceptable to organize SL-TL equivalence at any rank. There is often sentence – sentence equivalence, but regarding the text level, equivalence may go up or down the rank scale, which is often established in ranks lower than the sentence. Rank-bounded translation is referred to those special cases in which equivalence is deliberately limited to the ranks of smaller units of translation such as words which in turn deforms translation i.e. translation which yields either an abnormal TL text, or is completely different from the SL content.

The changes of rank or unit shifts are not the only changes that take place in translation. Besides, there are changes of structure, class, term in system which are referred to as category shifts, some of which are more common than rank changes. 'Category shift', which is departure from formal correspondence in translation, is particularly important in translation discussion when there is a degree of formal correspondence between SL and

TL. Otherwise, it is clearly nonsense. Actually, this is the reason why formal correspondence should be recognized.

A brief discussion and illustration of category shifts are given here in this order: structure shifts, class shifts and intra system shifts.

A **'structure shift'** involves a change in grammatical structure between ST and TT:

e.g. *John loves Mary*, becomes,

   '*Is love at John on Mary*' in Gaelic.

e.g. Ameed and I are close friends.

أنا وعميد صديقين حميمين

The Qur'anic ST: " ألقيا في جهنم " , is translated into English by some translators as: '*Throw throw in the Hell*', to capture the verb which is in the dual in Arabic, but this could have been rendered: "*Hurl into Hell*"…. , using verb semantics to express the magnitude of Hell.

Another example of grammatical transposition is where the adverb-adjective phrase transposes the Arabic noun couplet as in the following example:

SL: "*The man began to feel claustrophobic*"

TL: وشعر الرجل بالضيق والحرج

One more example is where the adverb-participle phrase 'carefully analyzed' transposes the Arabic noun phrase as in:

SL: "*Academic research has confirmed and carefully analyzed this disgraceful phenomenon*"

TL: لقد أكدت البحوث الجامعية هذه الظاهرة المخلة وتناولتها بالاستقصاء والتحليل

Class shift: Following Halliday, a class shift is when an SL item is translated by means of a TL item belonging to a different grammatical class: e.g. the adjective in *medical student* becomes an adjectival phrase in the French or and Arabic equivalence, and the English adjectival phrase becomes a noun phrase in Arabic as can be seen in the following two examples respectively.

SL: "*A medical student*" can be rendered as: TL: طالبٌ في الطب

SL: "*The collapse of all moral values*"   TL: تحلل القيم والأخلاقيات

Unit shift involves a change in rank or where a strict rank-for-rank correspondence between SL and TL sentences, clauses, groups, words and morphemes is not observed: e.g. the English definite article translates by a change in word order:

SL: "The poor suffer from malnutrition."   TL: يعاني الفقراء من سوء التغذية

SL: The poet was born in Baghdad on July 9th, 1935.

TL: ولد الشاعر في التاسع من يوليو (حزيران) سنة 1935 في بغداد

An 'intra-system shift occurs when translation involves selection of a non-corresponding term in the TL system- this is regardless of whether the SL and TL possess systems which approximately correspond formally: an SL 'singular' becomes TL 'plural'.

SL: *"Road map"*   TL: خارطة الطرق

SL: *"Student Affairs"*   TL: شؤون الطلاب

SL: *"Generation gap"*   TL: فجوة الأجيال

SL: *"He gave me some advice."*   TL: قدم لي بعض النصائح

3.4 Translation vs Non-Translation:

Drawing a dividing line between translation and non-translation, and the need to make the object of translation research clear, were some of the crucial issues that rose to surface in the 1970s within the new field of translation studies. According to the German linguist and translation theorist Werner Koller (1995:191), the differentiation between what is considered translation and what is not considered translation is still unclear. The parameters of this diversity are usually drawn in so many different ways leaving the situation murky and awkward to explain.

There are extreme views in this respect. The German functionalist Margaret Amman argues that there is no reasonable distinction between translation and non-translation.

> On the basis of modern translation theory, we can talk of 'translation' when a
> source text (of oral or written nature) has, for a particular purpose, been used
> as a model for the production of a text in the target culture. As a translator, I

am also in a position to judge when a source text is unsuitable as a model in the target culture, and to propose to the client and production of a new text for the target culture. (Qtd in Koller, 1995: 194).

Koller stood at the extreme. Despite the fact that there are many significant common features between translation and other text processing activities such as paraphrasing, summarizing and explaining, which all proceed from a source text to a derived new text, there are still crucial differences between the two kinds of output. Koller (1995:196), defines translation as:

> The result of the text-processing activity, by means of which a source-language text is transposed into a target language text. Between the resultant text in L2 (the target language text) and the source text in L1 (the source language text) there exists a relationship, which can be designed as a translational, or equivalence relation.

According to Koller (1997:14), the 'double linkage' that may exist between the source text and the communicative conditions on the receiver's side constitutes a fundamental problem in forming translation equivalence. Differentiating between equivalence relations in view of this double bind, a 'framework equivalence' emerges as follows:

A translator can achieve translation equivalence at any or all of the following levels:

- SL and TL can have the exact same orthographic and/or phonological features in common, *(formal equivalence)*
- Both SL and TL words may refer to the same thing in the real world, (*referential or denotative equivalence*)
- SL and TL words may encompass the same or similar associations in the minds of speakers of the two languages, (*communicative equivalence*)
- SL and TL words may be used in the same or similar contexts in their respective languages (*text-normative equivalence*)

- SL and TL words can have the same effect in their respective readers (*pragmatics and dynamic equivalence*) (Koller 1979:187- 91).

Translation scholar, Otto Kade (1968) pushes the source text orientation even further towards quantifiability: the relationship between ST and TT falls into four quantitative categories as follows:

1- One-to-one equivalence: when there is a single TL equivalence for a single SL expression.

e.g. SL: *The right to return.*   TL: حق العودة

e.g. SL*: Massive and just peace*   TL: السلام العادل والشامل

2- One-to-many equivalence: when there is more than one TL equivalence for a single SL expression.

e.g. SL: *Spring*   TL: الربيع – زنبرك – ينبوع

   SL: *play*   TL: يلعب – مسرحية

3- One-to-part-of-one equivalence: when a TL equivalence covers part of a concept is designed by a single SL expression.

e.g. SL: *Helicopter*   TL: طائرة عمودية ، طائرة مروحية ، طائرة سمتية

4- Nil equivalence: when there is no TL equivalence for an SL expression.

e.g. SL: *Pudding*   TL: No equivalence

e.g. SL: *Realia*   TL: No equivalence

These quantitative approaches of translation equivalence categorization are useful in applied branches such as terminology and technical translation. According to some linguists, such equivalence typology is not helpful since it deals only with the word level and it is system-oriented (Snell Hornby, 1988). The relation between the ST and the TL seems to be achieved within the boundaries of the text and should be focused in such aspects of text as information intensity and cohesive relations (Hatim and Mason, 1990; Baker 1992).

3.5 Translation and Relevance

Most of the translation theories surveyed have been concerned with texts and with text fragments as the objects of translation research. However, translation has recently been explained with reference to the psychology of communication. Some key psycholinguistic elements such as 'frames' and 'relevance' have proved their effectiveness in the translation process.

According to Relevance Theory, translation is seen as a special mode of the wider concept of communication. The receiver's ability to use additional knowledge to make sense of what is not explicit in an utterance is a good example of this. According to Ernst August Gutt (1991, 1998) cognitive templates such as inference and cause and effect are very important in explaining what goes on in understanding the source text and in moving from source to target text. Consider the following example:

A: How is the exam?
B: I finished it in half the time allotted.

B's response is important since it holds that either the exam is easy enough to be finished in half the time or the speaker is so smart that he could finish the exam earlier than any other student. In order to clarify and settle for the intended meaning, there should be a 'context' which would facilitate interpreting the situation. Whether the exam is easy or difficult, it wholly depends on the context that illustrates what B is like. In this respect, let us recall an important insight which Gutt (1991:101-2) offers regarding relevance:

> If we ask in what respects the intended interpretation of the translation should resemble the original, the answer is: in respects that make it adequately relevant to the audience, that is, that offers adequate contextual effects; if we ask how the translation should be expressed, the answer is: it should be expressed in such a way that it yields the intended interpretation without putting the audience to unnecessary processing effort.

3.6 Effort and Reward

In almost any type of communication, the involved parties make certain contextual assumptions that are less or more accessible. This influences the amount of effort needed for understanding an utterance within a text. Conspicuously, if the assumption is difficult to work out, the effort needed for its understanding will be high. Practically, however, as suggested by (Gutt 1991:26):

> It seems that communication, no doubt like many other human activities, is determined by the desire for optimization of resources, and one aspect of optimization is to keep the effort to a minimum.

To put this on the balance sheet of cost and benefit, language users would opt for those contextual assumptions that are:
    * Effective (yielding a number of contextual effects)
    * Less costly in terms of costing effort

For instance, the receiver of the given act of communication (e.g. A in the above exchange) should at least be able to:
    1- make use of the contextual implications (e.g. the exam was so easy);
    2- strengthen or confirm assumptions previously held (knowing B would not surprise A) or
    3- do away with certain contradictory assumptions (A believes that the exam was too short)

These insights are particularly relevant in the case of Arabic-English translation. There is a propensity among speakers of modern standard Arabic sometimes to say what they do not 'really' mean. To understand such utterances, one has to do a 'cultural' reading: it could be out of politeness, it could be rhetorical, it could be metaphorical, etc. To translate these utterances literally in English can cause problems of 'relevance' in the sense of 'effort and reward'. For example, Hassan Nasrullah is quoted often threatening with utterances such as "I will cut off the hand of the Americans" or words to that effect.

Are these really literally meant? Most certainly not and the translator would have to moderate the tone a little.

3.7 Skopos Theory

One of the most influential tendencies in translation studies is functionalism. This new focus on translation purpose appeared in Germany at the turn of 1980s and under the general nomenclature of 'Skopos Theory' came to be apparently associated with Hans Vermeer and Katharina Reiss.

Skopos: (Greek: 'purpose' or 'goal'), is a theory that is interested in certain aspects of the translation process such as pragmatic purpose and the way people interact and communicate. The theory indicates that the 'function' or 'skopos' intended for a text in the target language, more or less, determines the way the text shapes up. Such a strategy can oppose the procedures of conventional equivalence since here the end justifies the means.

The skopos idea depends on pragmatics, the domain of intention and action. Two main assumptions are considered as skopos rules:

Skopos rule 1: interaction is subject to its purpose.

Skopos rule 2: text receiver determines the purpose of translation.

Translator's decisions are determined by certain textual and contextual factors. One of these factors is audience design which is responsible for the way the target text is intended to be received. This concept determines the most appropriate translation strategy to be followed. Other purposes may be revealed by different strategies, and translation proper glossing or re-editing may serve different communicative needs.

It is worth noting here that central to skopos is the concept of commission which is a crucial factor in defining the purpose of translation. For instance, in translating a Hamas report about a suicide bombing where all the bits and pieces about the carnage that the bombing caused will be mentioned, the translator negotiated with Hamas who

commissioned the translation to produce a more palatable translation brief and to do away with all the bloody references. The suggestion was completely refused by Hamas.

3.8 Translation and Ideology

In translation and ideology studies, two main concepts should be explained:

1- The *translation of ideology:* It focuses on the way 'ideology' is used *in* the text which will be translated and how to convey this effectively in translation. This view entails that the various discursive formations of the text are focused on. The restrictions tend to be societal, including languages a social group shares collectively (e.g. racism, feminism).

2- The *ideology of translation*: Here ideology is essentially used to conceal or reveal certain aspects *of* translation in accordance with translation norms sanctioned by language communities. Target text 'fluency', an ideology-of-translation concept shared by certain translation traditions. This concept is clearly adhered to by almost all kinds of translations into English.

The importance of the extent of translator's mediation in translation is clearly illustrated by this distinction. Mediation includes both the aforementioned perspectives. It is the extent to which translators manipulate source text ideology, and it is the extent to which translators abide by the requirements of certain translation traditions.

These two perspectives i.e. the translation of ideology and the ideology of translation along with the extent to which the translator can mediate are very clear in any translation analytic assessment.

This brings us finally to the conditions under which a translation is produced are influenced by certain factors such as:

1- The role of the Establishment as to what and how to translate.

2- What interventions can translators make

3- Economics of publishing

4- The influence of norms, translational and societal

3.9 Summary

This chapter has examined the evolutionary progress of translation, with translation not being treated as a science and an academic discipline until 1950s. This resulted in much argument about formal definitions of translation and whether the process is essentially linguistic or not. The focus has been on the difference between formal and dynamic equivalence. Translation shifts involve deviations from formal equivalence when translators cannot adhere to the linguistic form of the SL. The key term has been Koller's double linkage which exists between the ST and the target receiver. Another key term is translation relevance which indicates that texts on their own are not enough. Rather, Gutt argues, there should be a context that makes intended meanings more transparent. This chapter has also shed light on the notion of effort and reward in that in any linguistic communication a translator should opt for minimal effort to achieve maximal reward. Given that functionalism is one of the most influential tendencies in translation studies, Skopos theory has been investigated to show that the function or the pragmatic purpose of translation determines the way a text is shaped. The difference between translation of ideology and ideology of translation has been examined in this chapter in that the first concept focuses on the way 'ideology' is used in a text, whereas the latter involves the ideology of translation norms.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS

4.1 Overview

In this Chapter, excerpts from speeches given by Hezbullah leader Hassan Nasrullah during the 2006 Israeli war on Lebanon are analyzed and their translations are assessed. The material has been translated into English by *MEMRI* (A US-based media monitoring service), *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian* and *Haaretz* newspapers. To some Arab media observers (e.g. Palestinian columnist Jihad Al Khazen quoted in the Introduction), the texts under discussion appear unfamiliar and even confusing in places. But this is not a source-text problem; it is a translation problem. As will be explained shortly, the oratorical style and the rhetorical substance used by eloquent speakers such as Nasrullah confront translators with serious challenges.

Hassan Nasrullah, the current and the Secretary General of the Lebanese Shiite party and paramilitary organization Hezbullah, is greatly admired by many Muslims through his fiery sermons particularly those against the West in general and America and Israel in particular. On August 3, 2006, Nasrallah vowed to strike Tel Aviv in retaliation for Israel's bombardment of Lebanon's capital, Beirut as a result of abducting and killing some Israeli soldiers, which he later regretted as Israel air force hit Beirut savagely. "If you hit Beirut, the Islamic resistance will hit Tel Aviv and is able to do that with God's help," Nasrullah said in a televised address.

In Translation Studies, we are still unclear regarding the extent to which a translator is allowed to modify and change the source text to make the translation more acceptable in the TL. There are no hard and fast rules. But, the picture of translation quality assessment is not too pessimistic. Recent models of translation, informed by such trends as Critical Discourse Analysis, and grounded in theories of text, genre and discourse, have provided

us with excellent guidelines and a framework within which such textual and translational variables as cohesion, coherence, intentionality, intertextuality, may be most effectively assessed. This is essential because, as Hatim and Mason convincingly argue, "unless there is some overall framework for the study of text in translation, the questions invite ad hoc solutions and one is never on secure ground in deciding what exactly is to be preserved and what changed in translation". (Interface, Journal of Applied Linguistics 1991:23-24).

4.2 Marked Language

The discourses of religious figures like Hassan Nasrullah are said to be conspicuously marked with exceptional uses of rhetorical language. This emanates from the speaker's religious background which gives shape to particular genres, discourses and texts which we will now carefully examine, first globally, then in more detail.

Let us take the issue of redundancy. Although Arabic is said to be the 'language of brevity', Arab rhetoricians were also fully aware of the use of redundancy, a device common in Arabic as in any language. Arabic Rhetoric (balagha) examined this device and encouraged its use but only when appropriate and functionally motivated.

In order to appropriately tackle issues such as functional redundancy and even exaggeration, which are in fact ubiquitous in Nasrullah speeches, a number of constraints on genre, discourse and text should be considered in some detail. These aspects of textuality have to be taken into account in any pre-reading, analysis and translation, particularly of sacred and sensitive texts such as the speeches under discussion.

4.3 Genre Hybridity

Genre recognition is one of the key problems that translators encounter. It is sometimes difficult to determine exactly to which genre the text (or part of the text) belongs. Nasrullah speeches comprise at least three kinds of overlapping genres: political speech, religious sermon and legal edict. In any given genre, language users are not openly or

limitlessly free to go beyond set parameters. However, in one and the same genre, there are usually textual allusions to other kinds of genres. For this reason, it is sometimes confusing for Western readers to cope with such an intermingling of genres when uniformity in the norms of, say, a political speech as a genre is expected.

Any shifts to other genre configurations is marked and must therefore be motivated. As just demonstrated, Nasrullah's speeches are an excellent example of a 'hybrid' genre: there are statements of political/military policy like:

... وهناك مدن كثيرة في الوسط ستكون في دائرة الاستهداف في مرحلة ما بعد حيفا إذا ما استمر العدوان الهمجي على بلدنا وشعبنا وقرانا .

There are many cities in the center 'of Israel' which will be targeted in the phase of 'beyond Haifa if this barbaric aggression against our land, people and villages continues'...

mixing with the religious genre:

منذ اللحظة الاولى يعني لعملية **الوعد الصادق** والمواجهات التي تلتها ، آليت على نفسي أنا واخواني ، وقد اتفقنا على هذا الامر أننا في المواجهة لن نطلب من أحد من البشر شيئا.

*From the first moment of Operation **True Promise** and the ensuing confrontations, I and my brothers have taken it upon ourselves and have agreed that in this confrontation we would not ask for anything from any human being.*

and with points of Islamic reference

... بالتأكيد نناشد ونطلب وندعو ونتوسل فقط الى الله سبحانه وتعالى ، لأننا نؤمن به وبقدرته وعظمته وإحاطته وصدقه في وعده للمؤمنين بالنصر ، وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل.

We make appeals, requests, and supplications only to Allah, because we believe in Him, in His capabilities, in His greatness and in His true promise that the believers will be victorious.

These examples illustrate the problem of genre hybridity, since these key terms direct the reader to different genres, all within one and the same speech.

Hybridization is a source of constant concern for translators working between languages that are culturally and linguistically distant from one another such as English and Arabic. Instead of easing this problem and restoring genre integrity to avoid too much confusion, MEMRI translators preserve this aspect of textuality. This may simply be due the literal strategy used. But they could have, for example, signaled the shifts from one genre to another better by perhaps opting for smoother transitional elements, for slightly different lexical selections, or even for re-structuring (moving about different parts of the text), to make genre hybridity more acceptable to the English target readers. For example, the following shows the English as presented by MEMRI (i.e. without transitions)

.... ولكن هذه هي المرة الاولى التي فيها يرمي في الميدان في الحرب وفي ظروف حربية ، بارجة حربية إسرائيلية ويصيبها من الصاروخ الأول ، هذا في كل المدارس العسكرية ، وعند كل الخبراء العسكريين ، أمر غير عادي ، وهناك اتجاهين في التفسير ، واحد يفسر أنها صرخة وآخر يفسر أن هناك رعاية ما "فلم تقتلوهم وإنما الله قتلهم وما رميت إذ رميت ولكن الله رمى" كما يقول الله تعالى في القرآن المجيد.

… but this is the first time to target an Israeli warship in the battlefield and in war circumstances and hit it from the first rocket. To all military experts and military schools it is very abnormal. There are two trends in justifying this; one says it is a military breakthrough and another says there is some other divine intervention. You did not kill them but Allah did, what you shot is not your shoot, but Allah's shoot. As He says in the holy Qur'an.

We suggest that the use of appropriate transitions could be genre hybidity a more manageable arrangement for the target reader. This is a suggested English version with transitions

In military terms, *but this is the first time an Israeli warship is targeted in the battlefield and in war circumstances and hit from the first rocket. To all military experts and military schools it is very abnormal. There are two trends in justifying this; one says it is a military breakthrough and another says there is some other divine intervention.* **To quote from the holy Qur'an**, *You did not kill them but Allah did, what you shot is not your shoot, but Allah's shoot. As He says in the holy Qur'an.*

While we cannot for sure determine the motive behind MEMRI's decision to leave us with a translation that in genre terms is confusing at best, one could entertain the notion that such a non-interventionist attitude on the part of the translator is ideological.

4.4 Discursive Features

4.4.1 Repetition

As for the discourse, text producers usually aim to convey a degree of commitment towards the topic when expressing thoughts and opinions. Various discursive features will be at work to relay this commitment. Repetition is one, a device which confronts translators from Arabic with serious difficulties, and the usual solution has been either to leave matters as they are (preserving the repetition) or to get rid of it altogether in the English target text. Neither solution is satisfactory, and a sensible approach would be first to determine the function of repetition, then to decide on a target text-oriented translation strategy.

In the case of Nasrullah, the repetition used, and the commitment conveyed, were actually preserved by the translators, as it would do through the literal strategy adopted throughout. But is this totally innocent on the part of the translator, particularly when we know that what is being emphasized through the repetition is something that could be used against the speaker? Take for example, the term *the new Middle East* الشرق الأوسط الجديد occurs no less than nine times in a short stretch of speech

... بعد كلام وزيرة الخارجية الأمريكية **عن شرق أوسط جديد** ، يعني **شرق أوسط** أمريكي إسرائيلي جديد ، هل يتصور أحد أن هذا المشروع الضخم والكبير ولد في لحظة أو في يوم أو في يومين من أسر المقاومة الاسلامية لجنديين إسرائيليين ؟ على الاطلاق . كل المعطيات تؤكد أنه كان يتم التحضير لإطلاق هذا **الشرق الأوسط الجديد** ، منذ سنة في الحد الأدنى كان هناك عمل دؤوب ، في تقدير الأمريكيين ومعهم الصهاينة أن هناك عقبات أمام **شرق أوسط جديد** . **الشرق الأوسط الجديد** يعني المنطقة التي تسيطر عليها الادارة الأمريكية وتنفرد في إدارة شؤونها ومواردها وخيراتها وتكون شريكتها الأولى هي اسرائيل . في **الشرق الأوسط الجديد** يجب تصفية القضية الفلسطينية، في **الشرق الأوسط الجديد** يجب أن يقبل الفلسطينيون بالفتات الذي يعرضه عليهم شارون وأولمرت . في **الشرق**

After the US Secretary of State talked about the new Middle East – in other words, a new American – Israeli Middle East – does anybody believe that such a tremendous plan was born within a day or two following the Islamic resistance capture of two Israeli soldiers? Under no circumstances. All the data indicates that there was preparation for the launching of this new Middle East. For the past year at the very least, there was intensive preparation. The Americans and the Zionists believe there are obstacles facing the new Middle East. A new Middle East means a region under the control of the American administration, which could exclusively manage its affairs and resources with Israel, as its primary partner. In the new Middle East, the Palestinian issue must be eliminated. In the new Middle East, the Palestinians must accept the crumbs offered to them by Sharon and Olmert. In the new Middle East, there is no room for any resistance movement. The main obstacles in the way of the new Middle East are resistance movements in Palestine and Lebanon.

In this context, repetition is used to serve the purpose of parodying the western model and increasing Arab and Muslim anger against western arguments. To Nasrullah, such repetition is therefore motivated and significant as it is meant to sustain text coherence and relay maximal commitment (Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981:54). But does repetition function in the same way in English?

The translations examined have been careful not to overlook such aspects of text development, and the repetition is preserved intact. The motive, however, may not be entirely innocent. To convey commitment, say, to the destruction of Israel, plays into the hands of those who wish to show Nasrullah in a bad light, as we will see in the analysis that follows. The repetition in this case has a similar effect on the target reader: it has turned a committed argument into an irrational harangue.

Could a different strategy have been used to present Nasrullah not as irrational as the translation made him sound? The translator has to do whatever it takes to convey source text discourse, but this does not necessarily have to be by preserving the 'letter' of the text at the expense of the 'spirit', especially when this can distort the argument presented. Using pronominal reference could alleviate the impact of the repetitive diatribe effect.

4.4.2 Parallelism

Another discursive feature abundantly used in Nasrullah's speeches is parallelism which, according to (Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981:49) involves repeating a structure but filling it with new propositions. A good example of this in our text sample is Nasrullah's expressions of praise which he conferred on the Islamic resistance in Lebanon:

... أقول للناس كلمة ، الناس الطيبين الصامدين الشرفاء الأطهار الذين سمعناهم خلال هذه الايام في وسائل الاعلام وسمعنا صبرهم وتأييدهم ومساندتهم ومحبتهم ، أنتم حقيقة شعبا عظيما . هذه كلمة ليست للمفاخرة ولا للمزايدة ولا للمجاملة ، شعب تاريخي يعلق عليه الآمال لاخراج لبنان بل لاخراج هذه الأمة كل هذه الأمة من حالة الهوان والذل وبعث الأمل من جديد في هذه الأمة.

I want to say a few words to the good, steadfast, honorable and pure people whom we have heard in recent days on the media.. We have heard their perseverance, their support, and their love. You are truly a great people. I am not saying this out of pride arrogance or flattery. This is a people of historic [greatness]. On whom hopes are pinned to save Lebanon and the nation – the entire nation – from its state of degradation and humiliation, and to instill new hope in the nation.

Nasrullah's expressions are used to maintain coherence of meaning and rhetorical effect, in addition to conveying commitment. But will this kind of parallelistic wording function in the same way in English? We submit that by simply adopting a literal strategy, the translators have once again wittingly or unwittingly managed to detract from Nasrullah's credibility. To heap such words of praise on people considered by the west to be 'a bunch of killers' can only present Nasrullah's argument in a somewhat bad light.

Let us consider the following version which would present the argument less emotively:

I want to say a few words to the steadfast men of the Resistance. Your perseverance and love have been exemplary. You are truly great men on whom hopes are pinned to save Lebanon.

4.4.3 Metaphorical Expression

Another discursive feature is metaphorical expression. In Nasrullah's speeches the image of blood and killing is pervasive and stands out for the western reader. This has also been preserved by the translators and in the process caused repulsion on the part of western readers both by the image itself and by its steady use in the text. This cannot be further from the source text intentionality. As far as the Arabic source text is concerned, the rhetorical and not the literal meaning is what gives metaphorical expression its communicative thrust. Such elements are represented in:

...وأن دماء كل الشيوخ والمدنيين والأبرياء الي سفكت في لبنان تلطخ وجه بوش وكونداليزا رايس ورامسفيلد وتشيني.

The blood of all the elderly and the innocent civilians that has been spilled in Lebanon stains the faces of Bush, Condoleezza Rice, Rumsfeld and Cheney

منذ اليوم الأول في هذه الحرب وما يجري حتى اليوم من قتل ومجازر وتدمير ووحشية وهمجية يتحمل مسؤوليته بالدرجة الأولى بوش وإدارته.

What has happened since the first day of this war, and is still happening even today – the killing, massacres, destruction, brutality and barbarianism – the ones responsible for all this are, first and foremost, Bush and his administration.

.... وهذا يعني أننا نضعه (أي الجيش اللبناني) أمامه وفي فم التنين.

This means placing it 'Lebanese army' in the mouth of the monster.

This opportunity to distort the true intentions of Nasrullah and thus present him in a bad light was not missed by his English translators. The image of blood could have been conveyed by more palatable language, as will become hopefully clear in the detailed analysis that follows.

4.4.4 Cultural Code

Cultural codes are another discursive feature. According to Roland Barthes (1970), codes exhibit many shades of meaning beside their referential content. Here the use of key terms such as:

المطلوب أن يخرج لبنان كليا من تاريخه من التزامه من ثقافته من هويته الحقيقية ليصبح لبنان أمريكيا اسرائيليا تديره أمريكا وإسرائيل من خلال **واجهات** لبنانية تطيع وتلتزم ولا حول لها ولا قوة.

What is required is for Lebanon to completely leave behind its history, its commitments, its culture, and its entity, and to become an American-Zionist Lebanon, which is run by America and Israel through Lebanese proxies which will be obedient, but will be completely powerless.

....وهذا يعني وضعه (أي الجيش البناني) أمام وفي فم التنين

…this means placing it [Lebanese army] in the mouth of the monster

This is also an example of what Fowler (1986:154) calls "overlexicalisation". In English it is more normal to use less exaggerated terms than that in Arabic, for instance.

4.4.5 Code Switching

The last discursive feature is code switching which indicates that in any text, formal and informal features usually overlap, yielding a particular tone which can be creative, deviant, defamiliarizing, etc. Yet, there is always a reason behind particular selections, as users accommodate to each other. These sudden shifts occur when a colloquial expression unexpectedly appears in what is otherwise a formal tenor. For instance, the

use By Nasrullah of Lebanese Arabic to talk about people's displacement from their homes is highly sarcastic, a tone that should somehow be preserved:

... الناس الذين هجروا من بيوتهم ، ليس إعصار تسونامي هو الذي **طلعهن** من بيوتهم ، ولا السيل **طلعهن** من بيوتهم ، ولا انفجار بركان هو الذي **طلعهن** من بيوتهم.

The people who were displaced from their homes were not displaced by a tsunami , nor by a flood or a volcano eruption .

4.5 The Unit Text

The cohesive and coherent sequence of utterances intended to serve a particular purpose such as narration, argumentation or description are subsumed under the term 'text'. Text users recognize a contextual focus like narrating events in time within a given culture. Also recognized is a structural format with clear beginning, middle and end, more or less the same as what we find in genres such as the oration of the Friday prayer (Grime 1975, Brown and Yule 1983). Since a typology of texts is almost always culture-specific, the format of a particular text would thus vary from one culture to another.

What is text function? According to Halliday (1978:112), the semantic system has three functional components which are all relevant to the analysis of ideology. First, the 'ideational meta-function' which portrays inner feelings and outer surroundings, and it is the 'ideological' component *par excellence*. The translator's ideology comes in here, and the ideational component may be shifted around to convey different shades of meaning, even through simple procedures such as changing an Agentless Passive to an Active sentence (with an Agent of course). The second dimension is the 'interpersonal meta-function' where the speaker becomes part of the context of the situation. Here we would be dealing with ideology in terms of 'power' and 'solidarity'. It stands to reason that both of these two dimensions seek to capture the speaker's own attitudes and judgments as well as to influence the attitudes and behaviour of others. Finally, the 'textual meta-function' is the dimension which represents the speaker's ability to form 'texts' which in turn make language pertinent.

Let us examine an utterance which, due to a lack of appreciation of text function on the part of the translator has led to a misleading rendering:

اليوم لا شك إذن أننا أمام النتائج الطبيعية والمعقولة والممكنة للصمود الكبير الذي عبر عنه اللبنانيون من خلال المواقع المختلفة.

Today, there is no doubt that we are facing the natural, logical and possible results of the great steadfastness displayed by the Lebanese in the different battle-fields.

The problem with this English rendering is that the English reader or listener expects 'opposition' in the form of a "But", "However", etc, a reading made possible by the use of "no doubt" (No doubt ……. However …). This is definitely not the intention of the source text producer.

4.6 It may well be in the 'text' but is it in the 'discourse?

We have so far established a distinction between 'text' and 'discourse'. Text covers 'rhetorical purpose' of a cohesive and coherent sequence of words and sentences, while discourse conveys 'attitudinal meaning'. With this in mind, Hatim (2007) proposes another important distinction, namely:

> What is in the text may not be in the discourse and vice versa. Bush's Christian-fundamentalist discourse and Arafat's anti-Zionist discourse notwithstanding, neither leader, we surmise, intended what they said [by *crusades* and *jihad*] *as* 'discourse statements', and what was said must thus remain purely 'textual', a fashion of speaking, an unfortunate slip of the tongue, etc.

That is to say, the words on the page do not tell the whole story, and cultures differ in how explicitly or implicitly people say what they mean and mean what they say.

We will now use the distinction between what is 'in the text' and what is 'in the discourse' as another tool with which to analyze Nasrullah's speeches in translation. The translations available seem to have fallen into the trap of not heeding this distinction.

What is said by Nasrullah was taken at face value and rendered in its entirety almost word for word. Whether this is a deliberate ill-intentioned strategy or simply blind literalism will never be known for sure. However, the problem remains to be one of giving the target reader unintended effects.

Let us consider this phenomenon in detail, with the help of few utterances selected because of space limitations from a rather long list of utterances.

1.

ARABIC SOURCE TEXT
...وأن دماء كل الشيوخ والمدنيين والأبرياء التي سفكت في لبنان تلطخ وجه بوش وكونداليزا رايس ورامسفيلد وتشيني.
PUBLISHED ENGLISH TRANSLATION
The blood of all the elderly and the innocent civilians that has been spilled in Lebanon stains the faces of Bush, Condoleezza Rice, Rumsfeld and Cheney.

Here, a literal translation would provoke Western readers and thus exacerbate the situation in Lebanon. True, *stains the faces of Bush* is there, but only in the text at a metaphorical level that is not intended in any real sense. A more appropriate rendering might be something like:

SUGGESTED VERSION

- The American Administration bears full responsibility for the civilian blood which was spilled gratuitously in Lebanon.

2-

...أقل ما يمكن أن يقال فيه أنه جائر وظالم ،لأنه يعطي الإسرائيليين أكثر مما أرادوا وأكثر مما طلبوا.	The least that can be said about this [resolution proposal] is that it is unfair and unjust, and that it gives the Israelis more than they wanted and asked for.

Again, this translation chooses words with pejorative and provocative connotations which can drive a wedge between the source text producer and the world community in that it can easily be seen as flouting UN resolutions and basically promoting jungle law. Perhaps a translation along these lines might be better

- This resolution is completely biased in favor of giving Israel what is not hers by right.

3.

...نحن في الحرب المواجهة البرية ستكون يدنا هي العليا	...in the ground war, we will have the upper hand.

The provocativeness and the sense of arrogance could have been easily avoided by a translation like:

- If attacked in a ground war, victory will be ours.

4.

لأن إسرائيل هي دولة أقيمت لجيش وليس في إسرائيل جيش لدولة .	...because Israel is a country that was established for the sake of an army, and the army in Israel does not belong to the state.

The source text meaning is not only distorted but confused. What Nasrullah meant and could have been translated as is:

Israel is a belligerent state established only to build an army

5.

بمال طاهر نقي شريف	With pure, clean and honorable money

This translation can only promote ill-will towards others and inflame the internal situation in Lebanon with certain factions pointing the finger at Syria and Iran. It might be less problematic to say

- With hard-earned money.

6.

سوف يزداد علو الصهاينة	This will increase the condescension of the Zionists

This almost condones or entertains the notion that Israel has what it takes to be 'condescending', when the source text is taking Israel to task for arrogance

The Israelis will be even more arrogant.

7.

وبالتالي سوف يكبر ويتعاظم النهب لثرواتنا والمسخ لثقافتنا وحضارتنا	Along with the plundering of our resources, the eradication of our culture and civilization

The warning that Israel is like a cancer growth is lost, and so is the focus on the uncondonable Israelization: But this version restores focus

Thus they will pillage our resources and obliterate our culture and civilization.

8.

| قتلة الأنبياء والمرسلين وأشد الناس عداوة للذين آمنوا كما يقول القرآن | …the killers of the prophets and the messengers, and most hostile to the believers, as it is said in the Koran. |

Nasrullah's Qur'anic citation is certainly taken out of context and the literal rendering can only increase anti-Semitism and then presents Hezbollah as an extremist faction. They could have translated it much functionally thus:

They have through the centuries been hostile to the prophets, the messengers and the believers.

9.

| وكونوا رجالا ولو ليوم واحد هناك لتحفظوا كراسيكم وبقية ماء وجوهكم . ومن أجل آخرتكم إن كنتم تؤمنون بالله واليوم الآخر. | …be real men, in only for a single day, over there, in order to save your thrones, and to save whatever is left of your honor….for the sake of your place in the world to come, if you believe in it. |

Here, Nasrullah is severely attacking the Arab rulers describing them as cowards "Be real men in only for a single day", which is harsh, unacceptable and sexist. Moreover, when he says, "To save your thrones and whatever is left of your honor", this is a veiled threat to the rulers and a suggestion that the Arab leaders have lost their dignity and honor, which is very disconcerting and scornful. Despite this overt pejorative attack on the Arab

leaders by Nasrullah, *MEMRI* translators intentionally kept the dehumanization of Arab leaders which can only undermine efforts to maintain Lebanon's stability. They could have translated it in a more pleasant way like:

- Do not act with self-interest only and try to prove your love of Lebanon and of your nation.

10.

...وهناك مدن كثيرة في الوسط ستكون في دائرة الاستهداف في مرحلة ما بعد حيفا إذا ما استمر العدوان الهمجي على بلدنا وشعبنا وقرانا.	...there are many cities in the center of Israel which will be targeted in the phase of beyond Haifa, if this barbaric aggression against our land, people and villages continues.

Here, although Nasrullah was explicit when he threatened to hit cities rather than Haifa if Israel continued to hit Lebanon, especially Western Beirut. *MEMRI*'s translation magnified the threat and removed the key conditionality. So, they should have translated it in a more palatable and fair way like:

- Many Israeli cities would be targeted but only if Israeli atrocities continued against our country.

In this respect, it is worth noting that, like the majority of western media, *The Guardian* and *Haaretz* newspapers have, to certain extent, followed the same ideological strategy in rendering Nasrullah's discourse of commitment. These are some of their comments on that war in general and on Hezbollah in particular.

(1) In all Nasrullah's speeches, there is not a single mention of "Shia Muslims", but *Haaretz* insists in its reporting that "He (Nasrullah) said that the Shia Muslim group would take back any land Israel occupied".

(2) Nasrullah said that they would move beyond Haifa only if Israel were to hit Weste*rn Beir*ut. *Haaretz*, however, went out of its way to add fuel to the fire, as it were: "In the new period, our bombardment will not be limited to Haifa", said Nasrullah. "If matters develop, we will choose the time when we will move beyond, beyond Haifa". Notice the phrase "If matters develop", is deliberately ambiguous to plant fear in western readers and thus present Hisbollah as a 'loose canon'

(3) Similarly, the *NY Times* published on May 23, 2004 carried a piece of shocking news by Alan Dershowitz, regarding Hezbollah's main goal: The "tyrannical regime …goal is to kill the world's Jews." "If Jews all gather in Israel, it will save us the trouble of going after them worldwide." The newspaper added that, "Nasrullah is one of the most admired men in the Muslim and Arab world today. Hitler made similar threats in *Mein Kamp* but they were largely ignored. Nasrullah has a reputation of keeping his promise." "Nasrullah is a modern day Hitler."

Blogger Charles Glass (http://wordpress.com/) sums it all up by saying "I have faith in neither the accuracy of the translation [from Arabic to English] nor the agenda of the translator [Chayban]."

4.7 Summary

This chapter has analyzed some excerpts from the speeches of Hezbollah's leader during the 2006 war. The translation material is taken from certain sources such as *MEMRI , The Guardian,The New York Times, Haretz*. This chapter has focused on the sensitivity of translating political speeches, especially when western ideology gets in the way. It has also investigated the extent to which the translator may mediate to effect a change in the ST intentionality within constraints of genre, discourse and text typology, and, of course, ideology.

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSIONS

As this thesis has made abundantly clear, it is beyond doubt that translating what we have labeled the 'discourse of commitment' in political texts is a complex and difficult task, particularly when ideology is involved to serve a range of crucial purposes and functions. Political speeches reflect the discourse / ideological perspective of the text producer, whose intentionality (and not necessarily the words on the page) may be altered or deviated from by the translator. To avoid such pitfalls, the critical translator is someone who must adhere not so much to the 'letter' of the text as to the 'spirit', and must be fully cognizant of both source text intentionality and the effect which the target text has on the receiver.

In reality, however, the translator's ideology makes its presence felt and is often apparent in translation which may sometimes function as a tool by which matters are even exacerbated not so much by the fact-twisting as by the intention-manipulation, going on all the time. This anomaly between what should happen and what does happen, as shown in this thesis, is obvious, albeit subtly in western translations of Nasrullah's speeches. Translators have wittingly or unwittingly gone beyond their brief letting their ideology interfere with the task at hand. The analysis presented in this study has demonstrated that, although literal translation has been the predominant strategy, the various ways western ideology has found its way into the translation of the speeches by Hezbullah's leader are striking.

In chapter two, it is shown that different definitions of the term 'ideology' have led to a great deal of confusion regarding what is meant by the concept. This quotation is typical: ideology is "a system of wrong, false, distorted or otherwise misguided beliefs" (van Dijk, qtd in Calzada-Pérez, 2003:3). We have avoided misleading conceptions of ideology to do with 'false consciousness' and have instead adopted Thompson's approach

which asserts that ideology is a system of ideas designed and used "to establish and sustain relations of power which are symmetrically asymmetrical" (1990:7). This is reiterated by Hatim & Mason (1997) who take ideology in the widest sense possible to cover all shades of meaning and not negative ones only. To the authors, ideology is a philosophy or a system of ideas which aims not only at interpreting the world but at changing it as well. It is, the authors maintain, a socio-political template where practice is as powerful as theory..

It is clear from this study that the translator's first instinct is to opt for literal translation. This may very well work; in fact it does in the majority of cases. But for literal translation to achieve formal equivalence (which is the ultimate target), it has to be subjected to what (Hatim & Munday, *Translation – An advanced resource book,* 2004:47) call 'the contextual test', that is, will literal translation do justice to source text intentionality?

The translations examined in this thesis supports the notion that, in the bulk of what they did, the translators whose work is assessed in this study have indeed opted for a literal translation, which in the majority of cases did not (and could not) achieve formal equivalence. This is because the translations have invariably failed the 'contextual test', that is, did not do justice to source text real intentionality. But when the effect of the translation was examined, it did perversely serve the translators' ideology, which is simply to present a speaker or what he stands for in a bad light.

Thus, ideology often intrudes into the translation yielding a completely different set of intentions to those conveyed by the source text. That is why ideology constitutes the cornerstone in the translation of sacred and sensitive texts such as Nasrullah's political speeches. The analysis in Chapter Four bears this out.

During my research for this thesis I have encountered some rather cumbersome pitfalls and intricacies to do with locating a sufficient number of western sources on translating Nasrullah's speeches. But a more significant hurdle has been the question of 'intentionality' and how can one be sure of what the speaker actually intended, and whether the translator has done what he or she did wittingly or unwittingly. These are

issues that we will never be able to judge with complete and utter certainty. But there is the 'effect' which translations produce that can be examined more or less objectively through texts, discourse and genres in use, using such models as Critical Discourse Analysis and text linguistics.

It would, therefore, be justified to call upon Arab institutes and colleges of translation to include in their study plans a compulsory course on how ideology intrudes into political discourse particularly that produced by extremists of all persuasions. There is also an urgent need for more research to clarify the consequences of certain ideologically translated texts and how a more palatable translation can make cross-cultural communication more fruitful. Such courses should devote a great deal of attention to the rather intricate problem of rendering political speeches ideologically.

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