RETRO-CULTURAL TRANSLATION: NEUTRALISING CULTURAL CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AND POWER BALANCE IN THE CONTEXT OF POST-2003 IRAQ

BY

DUNYA ISMAEL

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Department of Modern Languages

School of Languages, Cultures, Art History and Music

College of Arts and Law

University of Birmingham

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a new perspective on power relations in translation by introducing Retro-cultural Translation (RCT), a concept developed for this work to capture a subtle case of inverse translation of cultural writing. Examined in the Arabic translations of Anglophone books about Iraq following the 2003 war, this concept demonstrates the potential to reverse the power balance on various levels.

Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, the study argues that the language and the cultural aspects the RCT texts consist of are owned by the native culture. It contends that such a possession of capital can allow this type of translation to disrupt the cultural capital gain that some scholars claim to flow from English, the dominant language, into other peripheral languages, Arabic in this case.

RCT in the context of the US-led war against Iraq materialises in three levels of dominance: that of English over Arabic, of the source text over the target text, and of the invader over the invaded. By integrating a postcolonial perspective into cultural translation paradigms, this study attempts to demonstrate if these relations could be reversed and, hence, whether the accumulation of cultural capital is inactivated.

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DEDICATION

To

Nassire,

Jude, Sima, and Siwa,

Who give meaning to everything I do.

ACKNOWLEGEMENTS

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Introduction

How it began

In the run-up to the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, many American journalists, analysts and delegates visited the university where I taught translation to interview the students and the staff about what they reckoned might happen after the war. With passion and enthusiasm, the students talked about Iraq and did not fear the war. One journalist, part of a group of more than a dozen that swarmed my class and started an interrogation-like chat with the students, asked me about my opinion of what the next Iraqi leader had to be like should Saddam be deposed. Months later, after the regime was toppled, I was stopped near the entrance of the university by another journalist. This time he asked what I thought the American Coalition should do at that moment. "They should clean their mess", I replied. The journalist gave up an unintended frown, from which I could gather that I had not provided the response he wanted. I did not know that what those analysts gathered would write into my PhD thesis.

Right after the war, a large number of English books were published about the US-led 2003 invasion of Iraq and its apocalyptic aftermath. These scrutinised different aspects of Iraq's culture in light of the emerging nation and in the post-war context. Some of these were translated into Arabic, and were stacked in Iraqi bookstores and the country's famous al-Mutanabi book market. "They took the story from us, wove it and

sold it back to us", I thought. I kept asking: What can these translations tell us that we do not know? Can I name this kind of translation?

A novel case of translation comes up: a cultural translation in the broad sense, which is inverted back into the 'native' culture. This original perspective into inter-lingual, inter-cultural relation materialises as a special type of translation that should be differentiated from other cases of cultural or postcolonial translation. Therefore, I have developed here the new concept of Retro-cultural Translation (henceforth RCT), which encompasses two main features: inverted power balance and a cultural component.

Theoretical background

RCT is discussed in the context of models of asymmetrical communication systems, which are inspired by centre-periphery relations and represent an important strand of the sociology of translation. Such models categorise languages as to their status in a power hierarchy. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, they also assume that, when books are translated from a 'higher status' to a 'lower status' language, an accumulation of cultural capital occurs in the less fortunate language and culture. The most important scholars in this field are Pascale Casanova (2010), Heilbron (2010), and de Swaan (2010).

Although the latter's model focuses on language constellations rather than translation, it is nevertheless important, because it inspires the first two and contributes to our understanding of all the models that place languages in hierarchical relations.Thus, in his global system of languages, de Swaan (2001) divides the languages of the world into four main categories, from bottom to top: peripheral, central, supercentral, and supracentral, (ibid: 5). There are a dozen supercentral languages in the world today:

Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Russian, Portuguese, Spanish, and Swahili, (ibid). The relation between the central languages and the supercentral language has its roots in colonisation (ibid). However, all the languages of the world are glued together with one hypercentral language: English.

Casanova's model of international translation systems (2010) reduces the number of language categories to just two: the dominant and the dominated. She described four translation scenarios that can take place between the two groups. The scenario that this thesis is concerned with is translation from a dominant to a dominated language, as this is the context in which Casanova argues that an accumulation of cultural capital ensues. Translating books (of literature) from hypercentral English into peripheral Arabic, for example, ensures capital accumulating in Arabic. The capital is a gain that is ensured by importing new cultural material into the dominated language.

In line with Casanova's approach, Heilbron's 'cultural world system' of book translation emphasises that flows of all book types from the core to periphery. The more central a language is in the international translation system, the more types of books are translated from this language (Heilbron, 2010: 313).

Thus, the theoretical import of the assemblage of the three world system models affecting book translation is as follows:

- Languages are ranked in a hierarchical structure that includes a constellation of all world languages. The positions are allocated according to economic and market dynamics.

- The translation flow of *all book types* runs in a top-down fashion, from core to periphery, with English lying at the core of the system.

- Translating from the dominating language, English, into a dominated language incurs an accumulation of cultural capital.

These three tenets of the world systems are what RCT will be examined against. This will be expanded upon further in the following section.

The problem with RCT

As indicated above, this study presents a new perspective on a type of translation that is exercised in power-sensitive situations, namely the translation of texts that are written in the language of an invading power about the culture of an invaded nation, after or during a conflict, into the language of that nation. In post-2003 Iraq, books were written in English during the post war period, were later translated into Arabic, and published to appear in Iraq's book markets. The post-war book publications focused on the various cultural aspects an ethnographer would engage with, such as the political, historical, religious and sectarian aspects of the nation.

In other words, the source text is anthropologically constructed around a native culture by a foreign author, writing in his foreign language, who borrows cultural terminology and concepts from that native culture. Later, the foreign text is translated into the native culture's language, resulting in an inverse direction of translation in which the target culture/language is itself the native culture/ language. This identity between the target and the native generates the inversion feature of RCT. By virtue of this inversion, none of the conventional culture-bound, culture-specific dilemmas between source/target languages should obstruct the translation. Rather, the concepts, events, names, all come from the target culture/language, and should therefore be translated without trouble

However, applying the terms of the world system models, such a translation flows from a dominating language into a dominated language, from a language that, regardless of the context of the invasion, is seen as the most central language in the world today, and into a language that does not hold a similar rank. The flow in such a case is described as an asymmetrical exchange. In translation models, based on the asymmetrical relation of source and target languages, it is claimed that a capital accumulation takes place in the case of translation from a language that assumes a higher position in the international system of translation into a language that lies at the periphery of that system. In the translation of the books in question, accordingly, cultural capital presumably flows from English into Arabic.

Such models hinge their arguments on the fact that Bourdieu classified cultural capital according to whether it was symbolic and objectified. It is within the second category the books studied in this thesis are situated. But, limiting cultural capital to the types that Bourdieu listed in 1986 involves narrowing the scope of this volatile concept. Pierre Bourdieu's cultural capital focuses attention on a wide range of phenomena that allow us to consider the cultural element (including both the linguistic and other cultural values, principles, beliefs and other informational content) covered in the English books about Iraq as a form of cultural capital. What justifies this is the differing development of the notion, whether by Bourdieu himself or by other scholars in other disciplines. If they have to be acknowledged in their capacity as a marketable commodity, then they should be recognised as a special type of good that embodies ideology, history, politics, and culture in their pages. In fact, a failure to take into consideration the content of books at the textual level is one major critiques levelled against the world system models of book translation (Wolf, 2007: 17).

Having said that, it is highly pertinent to ask if RCT would involve a flow of cultural capital from central English into peripheral Arabic in the manner suggested by the composite of the world system models. It is worth investigating how translation would look the other way around, i.e., from the perspective of the 'peripheral' language. The world system models, particularly Casanova's, challenge "postcolonial studies that proceed from the opposite direction" (Baker, 2010: 286). It is important, as such, to study RCT from a postcolonial perspective in order to prevent free translation theory, as Cronin (2003: 139) puts it, from remaining "hostage to the perceptions and interests of major languages"; translation theory is not "a luxury that only major languages can afford" (ibid). It is vital that languages that are classed as a minority "understand in historical and contemporary terms the theoretical implications of inward and outward translation policies" (ibid).

While the appropriation of cultural capital is an index of domination, and while the cultural component that is under study in this dissertation is the natural possession of the target language culture, it is legitimate to question whether the domination remains equal on the two sides of the translation process in RCT, specifically when it comes to text, language, and culture.

Research questions

In a context where the identified translation dynamics are operative, and with the problems associated with RCT outlined we discussed above in mind, this study answers the following main question:

In what way does this type of translation neutralise the flow of cultural capital from a central to a peripheral language and establish a case that is contrary to that which is claimed in international language and translation systems?

In order for this overarching question to be answered, a number of sub-questions are necessary. These concern questions on power relations that have been prevalent in translation studies since the discipline entered its cultural phase:

- How can RCT offset the power of English as a dominant language in this particular encounter, and so the superiority of the source text over the target text?

- If possessing the linguistic skill in the Bourdieusian sense is symbolic capital and hence leads to better performance, in what sense can the Arabic translations be better able to talk about the anthropological material than the English original?

- What strategies used in the translation are enabled by the fact that the ethnographic text under study is the possession of the target culture and members?

- How can RCT offset the narrative of the source text in relation to dealing with cultural values prevalent in post-2003 Iraq?

Methodology

The methodology used to address RCT is inspired by Tejaswini Niranjana's (1992) critique of translation studies and anthropology in the post-colonial context. It is a

context in which a contestation of asymmetrical and unequal relations between languages, people and races takes place, one that touches on the fields of linguistics, history and anthropology (ibid: 1). Like Niranjana, I focus on the significance of the cultural, social and anthropological aspects in the translation of texts in the post-colonial context. Therefore, the methodology chosen needs to adequately account for the cultural dimension and stress the power of the colonised. Descriptive translation approaches that have emerged since the 1970s are all target-oriented approaches that have emphasised the independence of the target text. But, in this thesis, I need to also show the way that language and culture is used as a resource of power, one that is exerted to neutralise the dominance scheme imposed by the three tenets of the world systems models.

Because RCT focuses on the translation of culture from a sociological perspective, but also emphasises books' textual content, Maria Tymoczko's (2002, 2014) approach to the translation of culture in a post-colonial context will be adopted. Her approach connects two research methods that seem to be at odds after the cultural turn: the textual/linguistic and the cultural. Broad questions on the macroscopic level should be answered using tools from the microscopic level. Research questions about the relation between two cultures, how they mutually affect each other, the role of the translator in either culture, or the mutual effect between cultures and translation are only guides for how to approach the text or what to focus on (ibid: 16).

Using terms from the space sciences, Tymoczko, argues that working from two dimensions is possible "from the macroscopic direction, by looking at the big picture, by turning a telescope on the culture, so to speak; or from the microscopic direction, by looking at the particularities of the language of a translation through a microscope,

as it were"; she ultimately recommends the first scenario, because it involves "convergence" (ibid: 17). What can be worked on at the microscopic level are not issues such as lexis, metaphors or dialect, and so on, but also matters related to publishing, publishers and the publishing context (ibid: 18).

In her approach to cultural translation, Tymoczko (2007) calls for a comprehensive power theory in cultural translation that takes into consideration different power relations, including the empowerment of the translator. Therefore, the levels that RCT will be examined at are: the power of the native language, the power of the native socio-cultural values, and the power of the (native) translator. A tripartite power model is developed to discuss the role of the native cultural capital in empowering RCT, especially when they occur together, and combined with the fact that the subject matter in RCT is purely an authentic feature of the native/target culture.

Unlike the world system models, which measures the power of language according to statistical results or market paradigms, this study measures the power of languages in cultural translation through their ability to talk more effectively from an anthropological viewpoint about native culture. This may run counter to globalist and third space approaches, which erase cultural boundaries and claim that different languages can talk efficiently about the same phenomenon. But a close examination of how the target/native culture domesticates the cultural concepts shows the assumption of a more dominant position in this respect. In normal cases of cultural translation, attempts to domesticate are cast as acts of ethnocentric violence, according to Venuti (1995). In RCT, on the contrary, domestication promotes ethnic difference and is stripped of the connotation of being tamed or subdued (see Meriam Webester Dictionary); instead another connotation of the word is sharpened, namely:

to take home. In this case, a hyphenated spelling is suggested by the researcher to emphasise this new meaning: domestic-ated.

On the socio-cultural level, through conventional translation strategies, the text is manipulated ideologically to enhance the cultural values that have played a dominant role in the Iraqi society, especially post-2003. Such manipulation is not new in the history of translation; it is practiced when translating literature, as well as other genres of writing, and is referred to as bowdlerisation, or censorship. For instance when the works of Shakespeare are bowdlerised, the English culture's effect is not completely erased, because the rest of the cultural aspects in the texts, such as the geographical, ecological, and historical settings, remain foreign. However, when it is practiced in an RCT context where they appear in combination with the native language and its values, and within a native topic, they gain a much stronger momentum and turn the whole text into a piece of native cultural writing, shedding away any traces of foreignness.

This is especially true when it is combined with the intentional visibility of the translator. On the third level, which is concerned with the power of the native, the translator's voice, and his/her perspective (or national) position on the issues tackled in the text, is clear evidence of a co-authoring of the text, rivalling the original writer's authority over the cultural information, and, sometimes, the emotional impact of the events or concepts cited in the texts.

The data copyright and publishing

Four Arabic translations of English originals were selected. These are:

- 2003 عراق ما بعد *Iraq ma Ba'd-a 2003* (henceforth IB) translated by Mustafa No'man Ahmed, from 'The Modern History of Iraq' (henceforth MH) by Phebe Marr.

- العراق الجديد *al-Iraq al-Jadeed* (henceforth IJ), translated by Namir Abbas Mudhaffar, from 'The New Iraq' by Joseph Braude.

- سقوط بغداد *Suqoot Baghdad* (henceforth SB) translated by Dahlia Riadh, from 'The Fall of Baghdad', by John Lee Anderson.

- الهزيمة: لماذا خسروا العراق *al-Hazeema: Limatha Khasiro al-Iraq* (henceforth HL) translated by Bassam Shiha from 'Defeat: Why they lost Iraq?' by Jonathan Steele. The following table shows the titles of the original and translated books with the abbreviations of each book as they will be used in the thesis:

English Book	Abbreviation	Arabic Translation	Abbreviation
Defeat: Why they lost Iraq	DW	الهزيمة: لماذا خسروا العراق	HL
The New Iraq	NI	العراق الجديد	IJ
The Modern History of Iraq	MH	عراق ما بعد 2003	IB
The Fall of Baghdad	FB	سقوط بغداد	SB

Table 1: List of the titles of the original and translated books, with their abbreviations.

They share a focus on various cultural aspects of Iraq. In fact, they tackle the same topics, sometimes in a similar way. So much so that one may conclude that the authors had the same informant. For instance, both John Lee Anderson and Jonathan Steele narrate the details of their meeting with Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim, using similar

descriptive techniques, emphasising the distasteful physical environment of the room, scrutinising Hakim's eyes and hands movements. More examples can be seen in the box below. The reason for this similarity is likely because both writers are journalists and are applying the profession's rules of thumb. Braude and Marr, on the other hand, are historians and Middle East experts. Their narrative is therefore more historical, and both start their books with discussions on historical landmarks that existed long prior to the outbreak of war.

This selection of material also provides sufficient variety in terms of the translator's relation to Iraqi culture. All are Iraqi, except for the translation of HL, who is Syrian.

Permission to use the translated books was obtained from the four publishers through both email and social media (Appendix 3). As for the original books, only Joseph Braude, author of NI, could be reached; he granted his permission in an email (Appendix 3 B).

Email interviews that included open questions were conducted with the publishers of the four translated books, three responded positively and one has not replied to my request. The Arabic Scientific Publishers, Diwan al-Masar Translation and Publishing, and al-Murtada Publishing replied. These were the publishers of HL, SB, and IB, respectively. The Arabic Institute of Research and Publishing, the publisher of IJ, failed to reply.

The reason why the publishers were approached was so that the commissioner of the translation could elaborate upon who wanted these books translated and reproduced. Their answers went a long way to helping understand the choices that were made during translation and the socio-cultural issues that arose when doing so.

Similar interview questions were asked to two other prominent publishers inside Iraq: al-Mada Printing and Publishing House and Adnan Bookstore and Publishing. The feedback from these publishers helped to provide general background information about publishing in Iraq.

A methodological disclaimer

This section is an attempt to clarify some of the theoretical complexities that may arise in understanding the background against which the thesis is situated. There seems to be a contradiction in the perspective used to explicate the work of RCT. These complexities are related to theoretical assumptions in translation studies.

The relation between the source and target languages, cultures, and texts is presented as one underpinning by colonial and post-colonial relations. This is due to the American and British led invasion. The translated texts changed from the early years of the cultural turn onwards. It started with a position towards translated text, as Baker's (1993: 233), who asks "why translated texts have regarded as no more than second-hand and distorted versions of 'real' texts", and stresses that "translated texts record genuine communicative events and as such are neither inferior nor superior to other communicative events in any language" (ibid: 234). In post-colonial approaches to translation, the relationship between source and target texts is changed; the "inequality of status has been rethought. Both original and translation are now viewed as equal products of the creativity of writer and translator" (Bassnett, 2014: 7). The translation liberates the words "from the confines of their source language and allow[s] them to live again in the language into which they are translated"; thus the "old argument" of an overriding original is "dissolved" (ibid: 7). Translation is "now rightly

seen as a process of negotiation between texts and between cultures" (ibid: 7). "The post-colonial approach to translation is to see linguistic exchange as essentially dialogic, as a process that happens in a space that belongs to neither source nor target absolutely" (ibid: 7), This is, to a great extent, an effect of the deconstructionist approach to social sciences and translation studies. Such deconstructionist perspectives open the way for notions of in-betweenness and the third space.

RCT can be seen as a representation of deconstructionism because it undermines the status of the original and makes its presence dependent upon the presence of a translation in the first place. The following questions deconstructionists would ask are very pertinent to RCT:

"What if one theoretically reversed the direction of thought and posited the hypothesis that the original text is dependent upon the translation? What if one suggested that, without translation, the original text ceased to exist, that the very survival of the original depends not on any particular quality it contains, but upon those qualities that its translation contains? What if the very definition of a text's meaning was determined not by the original, but by the translation? What if the "original" has no fixed identity that can be aesthetically or scientifically determined but rather changes each time it passes into translation? What exists *before* the original? An idea? A thing? Nothing? Can we think in terms of pre-original, pre-ontological conditions?" (Gentzler, 2001:145).

But at the same time, "[D]econstruction resists systems of categorization that separate "source" text from "target" text or "language" from "meaning," denies the existence of underlying forms of language, and questions theoretical assumptions that presume originary beings, in whatever shape or form" (ibid,: 147) and this is the opposite of the methodology followed in understanding and explicating the power of RCT.

Translation studies over the last couple of decades have been prone to undervalue research adopting binaries and dichotomies. While some scholars reject binary works tacitly or indirectly (see for instance Pym 2014), Wolf (2002/2014: 123) clearly and directly articulates this common tendency in translation and related fields by stressing that, "since the rise of deconstructionist thinking, any sort of textual criticism based on binary oppositions has been confronted with the accusation of ideological bias". In a shy reluctance to completely ditch dichotomies, Wolf states that one has to "admit that binary oppositions can never be totally abandoned (take, for example, the dichotomy male/female" (ibid), but we are instead only able to introduce third space. The denial of dichotomies is repeatedly echoed in translation research, not only in relation to texts but also to cultures, since it is "conceived, not as a stable unit, but as a dynamic process which implies difference and incompleteness." The same view is taken towards the nature of translation, which is seen as "not only a matter of transfer 'between cultures' but that it is also a place where cultures merge and create new spaces" (ibid). In contexts like RCT, which involve "interaction between asymmetrical cultures, translation does not confirm borders and inscribe the dichotomy of centre versus periphery; rather, it identifies 'pluricentres' where cultural differences are constantly being negotiated" (ibid).

The encounter between, on the one hand, the culture being observed and to be represented through the anthropologist's textualization, and, on the other, the (academic) reader's reception of that textualized representation is perceived by Mead as a reflection of a process of cultural representation at the very point where the perspectives of the observer and the observed merge, thus transcending the dichotomy of the agents involved (Wolf, 2014: 127).

Paradoxically, the general argument laid out in the current study is based on cultural difference, originary culture and repudiation of originary alienation. The analysis is based on the fact that there are always two cultures, two languages and two texts. The in-between space is seen in this thesis as only one way of describing the state of affairs world cultures are undergoing. Although the world is moving towards such a space where differences disappear, there remain areas where difference stands out, thus making any claims that differences are being resolved unrealistic. The third space is another Westernised vision of culture, one that has its critics. For instance, Hommi Bhabha's famous third space is strongly rejected by his fellow citizen Harish Trivedi (2006) (as will be discussed in chapter one), for similar reasons.

In order to defend the position adopted in the current research, Gentzler's foreword to Bassnett and Lefevere's 'Constructing Cultures' (1998: xxi) is relevant. Very thoughtfully, he criticises the writings of non-translation scholars who write about translation, such as Derrida, Homi Bhabha, or Edward Said, whose ideas Gentzler finds naïve in comparison to the detailed analysis of translation scholars. The hesitation to completely abandon the duality in translation is expressed by other scholars, such as Koster (2002: 25), who points out that "[a] translation is a strange phenomenon, because it is always two things". She thinks it is both independent, in its own cultural environment, but also derivative, because it represents, reconstructs and reproduces other texts (ibid).

Why is this study significant?

The study introduces a type of translation which, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, has not yet been the focus of attention. It offers a new horizon to the study

of a wide range of texts in post-colonial, post-imperial contexts, as well as other power-laden contexts in translation. It thus makes a significant contribution to the literature on 'resistance' in translation by highlighting the role that native or indigenous cultures can play in stressing their position against that of the more pole in the domination equation. It sheds light on the role of translation in disclosing the increasingly prevalent state-nationalist spirit and understanding the mechanism of their work.

The thesis thus bridges a gap in the research by drawing on the world system models of cultural communication and translation and applying it to the textual level of book translation, an approach that is rarely adopted. It bridges the gap of non-literary texts in these models and also in translation in general. The TS discipline is inundated by research based on literary works, likely a result of an earlier era, when the discipline was subordinate to comparative literature. TS though, after the cultural turn, should not only free its methodology from the control of literary studies, but also the translated texts it studies. The non-literary texts that are studied in TS research are mainly media and news texts. Historical, anthropological, and other types of politically influenced books have been understudied in the relatively short life of TS as an independent discipline.

Rationale of the study

If the question of neutralised capital flow is answered positively, then issues of hegemony in translation, namely, the domination of the source language over the target language, as well as the hegemony of English in translation, will be reversed. The results of the study will therefore enlighten translators and open up choices for them. They will bridge the gap between the academic based choice and the expertise-

inspired selection of professional translators, whether they are working on self-commissions or in publishing houses, and empower them as they work.

Thesis outline

After the current introductory chapter, six additional chapters will follow. They are dedicated to the development of RCT, its position in intercultural communication theories, the underlying thought and trends that support its existence and viability, as well as the counter arguments that could undermine it, the context in which it operates and an analysis of the data where it materialises and is assumed to function. There are three theoretical and three empirical chapters. They are followed by a conclusion chapter, which will recap the findings presented in the thesis.

Chapter one is devoted to a discussion of the different interpretations of the cultural translation concept and whether it is the same as the translation of culture. The importance of the term stems not just from the fact that it is the underlying concept behind RCT, but also because the term is controversial in the emergence of the third space and its use in postcolonial studies. The discussion sets up RCT as one possible variant that can occupy a significant locus in postcolonial translation studies. In order to delimit what is meant by RCT, its main features are demarked and compared to other translations that could possibly be mistaken for RCT because they share one or more features.

Chapter two debates the role of globalisation in challenging the viability of notions based on cultural distinction, and of originary alienation as a counter argument to the assumed power of the native language and culture in RCT. Claims of a globalised world, where information comes from the same source and the people of the world

share the same experiences, undermine that idea of cultural difference, upon which the strengths of RCT are assumed. Similarly, Derrida's assertion that language belongs to no one rebuts the innateness of language in RCT. However, originary alienation is contested in the chapter using Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, which entails the ability to possess language and sociologically manifests the power of linguistic skills. The evolution of the phrase is also discussed in order to legitimise the idea that culture can, in an anthropological sense, be seen as a form of capital. At this point in the research I aim to have successfully shown that, in the case of RCT, dominated cultures possess power that stems from their cultural capital.

Chapter three gives a detailed account of the theoretical framework and a literature review of the theories of asymmetrical linguistic/cultural relations. The efficiency of De Swan's global system of languages, Casanova's asymmetrical system of literary translation and Heilbron's cultural communication system will be assessed in a postcolonial context. The viability of the postcolonial context for understanding the centre-periphery in cultural translation is evident in research conducted in this area, which shows that the relation between language pairs is one of colonisation, wherein local languages and cultures play historic roles. To emphasise the local parameters that affected the translation and publication of books in post-2003 Iraq, the chapter also discusses the environment in which the translations were carried out, especially the changes to the publishing landscape that took place in Iraq and which saw the industry transition from state-ownership to free-market enterprise.

Having done that, attention will then turn to empirical discussions, the focus of which will be understanding how cultural capital operates as a form of power in RCT strategies and, hence, the texts.

With that in mind, chapter four analyses the linguistic power of the translations in comparison with the original English 'texts' in capturing the anthropological concepts of the native culture. The chapter starts from an earlier step in intercultural communication, when the native culture is first appropriated by the ethnographer and encapsulated into his colonising language. The appropriation can be carried out in two ways: one that shows acceptance of the native culture's concepts and so incorporates them in their authentic form into the Western culture; and one that transfers them into modes that are suitable to the experience of the Western ethnographer's audience.

RCT's techniques for retrieving the appropriated concepts back into the target language are then examined. However, whether the emphasis is on appropriating and returning the ethnographic concepts, Venuti's notions of foreignisation and domestication are the parameters underlying linguistic power in the text. Historically, domestication has been practiced to succumb the text to the norms (linguistic, literary, or social) of the target, colonising culture, such as the Anglo-American translations, and is thus considered a sign of domination. Foreignising, on the other hand, is a strategy of accepting difference. In RCT, the two parameters acquire a slightly different function and meaning.

Chapter five will show the activity of cultural capital on the textual level. We will see that a focus on the socio-cultural values of the native/target culture results in a manipulation of the texts when conventional translation strategies are used, such as contraction and additions. The manipulation is Lefevere's sense leads to a rewriting of the text. In order to provide a methodologically sound way of analysing the work of RCT and explicate the power invested in the translation strategies outlined above, the rewriting principle is expressed in translation strategies that have a discursive function. The functions are borrowed from discourse analysis. Combining the general outline

offered by Fairclough, with the elaborate scheme discussed by van Dijk, the approach is based on the relation between social practice and language. For van Dijk, evaluative discourse is used to produce or reproduce dominance in society. Denying negative facts or using lexical units with positive evaluation is a mechanism of argumentation that is used under the influence of dominant groups in a community. The analysis aims to show that native culture dominates over the source culture through the translations, which is contrary to what is expected in translation from English to other languages.

The four translations will be examined according what set of cultural values are observed. First, there are the basic values prevalent in Iraqi culture post 2003; these are dominated by Islamic orthodoxy. The other set is the values of the wider cultural audience: the other Arab world countries where the books may be distributed. These two sets of socio-cultural values sometimes meet, but diverge at other times. However, a strong factor in deciding which set of values to adopt is the stance of the publisher towards the social values and the expected market of the book. In fact, the publishing house has its own ideological motives, which may coincide with one or another of the two social sets, but can also be different from both. Many of the strategies can be the choice of the translator, but it would require a different methodology to account for who actually advocated the textual strategies. The translators' own statements about their choices are discussed in the next chapter. This secures a more inclusive representation of the agents performing the power of cultural capital in RCT.

Chapter six demonstrates the visible role of the translator in his/her capacity as a member of the native culture, giving himself/herself the license to correct cultural information or add necessary details. The translator's visibility in this chapter will be addressed through the direct voicing of his/her position on the paratextual level, that is, through footnotes and prefaces. The footnotes that count as RCT power tools are

differentiated from conventional footnotes, in which translators annotate their work by commenting on linguistic choices or other translation decisions. The translator's paratextual interventions that are taken into account in RCT are only those by which he/she rivals the authority of the original writer, and so mean that they assume the role of a co-author.

Chapter One: Retro-Cultural Translation: A New Type of Translation?

Introduction

This chapter introduces a new type of translation: RCT. This concept, which has emerged out of the research undertaken for this project, emphasises the inverted power relations between languages and culture which can often be observed in the case of. In this context, discussion of the terms cultural translation, culture and the relation between language and culture is inevitable. A discussion of cultural translation is necessary not only because of the importance of the cultural dimension itself, but because it focuses attention on the vitally important role of culture in the postmodern world. This chapter also discusses the use of translation as a metaphor and thus the movement of cultures across the world.

On the one hand, the study of translation from a linguistic perspective recessed considerably after the cultural turn, displaced by a non-linguistic academic and theoretical focus. Discussions of the translation of cultural terms seems reminiscent of those from the mid-20th century. With that in mind, it is important to delineate where RCT is positioned in this literature. On the other hand, understanding cultural translation is relevant for furnishing a discussion about culture in the context of a postcolonial globalised world, the context in which the translated texts in this thesis are examined.

1.1 Cultural translation

Cultural translation has attracted special interest in translation studies recently, causing controversy over precisely to what the term refers and whether or not it is a translational phenomenon. The "vociferous debate" that cultural translation triggered indicates that it is an important concept, one that "taps into a kernel of social relevance" (Maitland, 2017: 26).

The term is used to refer to a wide range of communicative situations. In order to determine the location of the translation of the post-2003 books in this literature, it is necessary to outline the senses within which cultural translation is famously known to fall, especially the idea that cultural translation is generally used to refer to non-textual modes of translation. The aim of this section is to legitimise the inclusion of interlingual translation in cultural translation. However, there remains a problem of whether doing so will result in a redundant term, as there are justifiable claims that all translation is cultural, for instance Chesterman (2010).

One of the problems with the term cultural translation is that no clear definition is offered. Instead, in those works in which the term is discussed, it is assumed to be "self-evident" (Maitland, 2017: 15). What's more, there is no methodology offered to aid with its identification, although it is taken for granted that it is empirically real; there is no imperative on proving its existence (Young, 2010).

Roger M. Keesing (1985) and Talal Asad (1986) were the first to view cultural translation as a distinct phenomenon (Maitland, 2017: 12). However, their main concern was the ethical debate about how "anthropologists mediate cultural difference" (ibid). Pym (2014: 139) suggests that the first significant introduction of the term was offered up by Indian cultural theorist Homi K. Bhabha, in his 1994 book *The Location of Culture*. But again, Bhabha's cultural translation was not about translation

in the sense of converting a text from one language into another; Bhabha introduces it in the context of his discussion of postcolonial migration and attempts to find a solution for its cultural problems (ibid). This explains why the term is not listed in the translation metalanguage dictionaries, such as Delisle's (1999) for instance (D'hulst, 2008: 222). Nonetheless, Pym (2014) finds in cultural translation a new paradigm in translation, in the same way that equivalence is itself a paradigm. Other scholars, such as Harish Trivedi (2007: 282), oppose the use of the term in translation studies and treat the concept itself as alien to the discipline. In spite of the erratic way cultural translation can materialise, as we have just seen, the senses which are detailed below are the most salient.

1.1.1 Cultural translation as an inclusive concept

This is the widest sense of cultural translation. The views of Pym (2014) and Maitland (2017) will be presented here because of the importance the two scholars attach to the concept. Pym (2014: 138) sums up this understanding of cultural translation as "approaches that use the word "translation" but do not refer to translations as finite texts". In these approaches, "translation is seen as a general activity of communication between cultural groups" (ibid). He treats cultural translation not only as a type of translation, but as a paradigm to "address problems in postmodern sociology, postcolonialism, migration, cultural hybridity, and much else" (ibid). For him, it is just another paradigm, alongside equivalence, purpose, uncertainty, and localization (ibid: 218).

The idea that cultural translation is concerned "with general cultural processes rather than finite linguistic products" is similar to the notion of translation without

translations (ibid: 144). For example, the term language mediator is the general term used in German for both translators and interpreters; "all modes of cross-language communication in the Leipzig school" were referred to in the sense of language mediation (ibid). Roman Jakobson's (1959) intersemiotic translation is another instance. "Any use of language (or semiotic system) that rewords or reworks any other piece of language (or semiotic system) can be seen as the result of a translational process" (ibid: 146).

Although Itamar Even-Zohar's theory is textual, it is placed within the approaches of translation without translations (ibid: 147). That is because Even-Zohar treats translation as one movement in an array of movements from one textual model to another. Although Even-Zohar's translation is only textual, it is comparable to Bhabha's cultural translation, save that the transfer in Even-Zohar's theory is a textual model, whereas in more recent perspectives it includes goods and "ideational energy"(ibid: 147). In spite of the suggested similarity, none of the above approaches uses the term cultural translation (ibid).

Cultural translation presents a new paradigm to account for statements like 'all America is translation' (Pym, ibid), or 'the Caribbean is translation' (D'hulst, 2008: 224). Such statements consider the process of discovering, naming and interpreting continents as a process of translation (ibid). It is argued here that this view is too broad. Furthermore, doubt is cast over the question of a whole language being translation, because it does not conform to any known paradigm in translation theory (Pym, ibid: 139). It is worth noting that while Pym exhibits all these types of translation and highlights the similarity between them and cultural translation, it is the migrancy sense, which will be discussed shortly, that he hails as being emblematic of a ground-breaking new paradigm.

Maitland argues that cultural translation is not a subsection of interlingual communication; it rather "delineates a model for all meaningful exchanges in the world" (ibid: 26). She expands the concept significantly and widens its scope to include all sorts of communicative exchanges. However, she hinges her understanding on components of interlingual translation. For her, cultural translation is akin to interlingual translation; that is, it starts from understanding a "source material and in the sense that some cultural, political, or social stimulus in the world sets in motion the interpretative work of translation led by a human actor," (Maitland, 2017: 25). This is the only way her notion of the term is related to interlingual translation.

1.1.2 Anthropological sense

The use of cultural translation in these disciplines reveals the type of texts with which the proposed translation is dealing. Ethnology or social anthropology are the disciplines in which the term cultural translation was first coined (Pym, 2014: 148):

> "The basic idea here is that when ethnologists set out to describe distant cultures (thus technically becoming "ethnographers," writers of descriptions), they are translating the cultures into their own professional language. In some cases the translations are remarkably like the traditional cases dealt with in the equivalence paradigm: they might concern a cultural concept, a place name, or a value-laden phrase. In other instances, however, they are dealing with issues that have more to do with the philosophy and ethics of cross-cultural discourse" (Pym, 2014:148).

When Keesing (1985) used the term cultural translation, it was to criticize the work of anthropologists who studied the lives of tribal societies. He took issue with the idea

that ethnographers "read into other peoples' ways of talk metaphysical beliefs or cosmologies that such talk seems to imply, but does not" (ibid: 201). He was worried that by misinterpreting other peoples' metaphors, ethnographers found cosmologies, theologies, and beliefs that did not exist. They were behaving like theologians, constructing philosophies about those societies by bits into their observation of religious rituals and what they are told by tribe informants. The result was to obscure the differences between the fragmented world views of the tribal people and coherent theologies constructed according to European theologies (ibid). *Mana,* for instance, is a concept in Oceanic languages that occurs as a stative verb (and which mean to be potent, or efficacious), a transitive verb (mana-ize) and also as an abstract noun (ibid: 203). But, another meaning, as a "diffuse substance, an invisible medium of power that humans sought from ghosts, spirits" was assigned on *mana* in some texts and the construction of the Europeans (ibid). But, in the course of tapping into ethical issues in cultural discourse, Keesing addressed the rendition of cultural terms on a linguistic level.

Asad (1986, 2010), on the other hand, also addresses a similar anthropological problem by discussing Geller's text about the work of ethnographers who work in pretty much the same way as that criticised by Keesing, i.e., that while translating exotic concepts and beliefs into particular social contexts, ethnographers tend to make the incoherent coherent and acceptable to the audience they write for (ibid, 2010: 11).

'Translation' has been used to describe social anthropology in the British tradition since the 1950s (Asad, 1986, 2010). Cultural translation in this anthropological sense is used to mean the translation of culture or describing other cultures; it is a traditional sense and it is not to be compared to Bhabha's use of the term (Pym 2014).

Both Keesing and Asad addressed the concepts at nearly the same time but translation studies scholars such as Baker (2010) and Pym (2014) incorporate into - or discuss in - their volumes Asad's article and ideas, rather than those of Keesing, because when it comes to languages, the former views the work of anthropologists from a power perspective. He criticises Gellner for not taking into consideration when answering his research questions the issue of inequality of languages (Asad, 2010: 21). Moreover, Asad taps in clear terms into interlingual translation to discuss the anthropological cultural translation that ethnographers undertake. Although he initially talks about translating discourse, which could mean non-verbal discourse in general, he later draws upon examples of scientific, philosophical, historical, or literary text translated from English or French into Arabic (ibid: 22). For this reason, Asad's presentation of cultural translation is important and influential in both accounts of the concept in translation studies in general and in this thesis in particular.

1.1.3 Cultural translation as a 'third place' or migrancy

This sense is related to the way which the term is discussed by Hommi Bhabha and, latterly, other scholars such as Buden and Nowotny (2009). Starting from the standpoint that multiculturalism in liberal plural societies is only a way of containing cultural difference (Bhabha, 1994: 208), because differences in culture cannot be accommodated in a universal framework and cannot coexist, the phenomenon of cultural translation appears (ibid: 209). Bhabha believes that cultures are subject to constant interpellation in the process of representation, language and meaning-making, and that, therefore, "culture is not full unto itself" (ibid: 210). Cultures are "subject to intrinsic forms of translation", so there is no "in itself" or "for itself" (ibid.). By cultural translation, he means that culture is not originary; it changes, culture

transforms and transitions. By translation, he means that "in order to objectify cultural meaning, there always has to be a process of alienation" (ibid).

Why did Bhabha choose the word translation as a trope for his theory of culture? Because he was influenced by Walter Benjamin's ideas about translation and the translator and linguistic sign theory (ibid: 209). Bhabha clearly states that his theory of culture is like the theory of language.

While this sense of cultural translation is celebrated as a new paradigm in translation, akin to Pym (2014), it has not been received without controversy and denunciation. There are two points of contestation: first, that using translation to describe non interlingual textual communication will undermine the meaning of translation proper (this could also be said about the 'any communicative exchange' sense); second, that doing so will lead to a monolingual, monocultural world. Harish Trivedi is the most implacable opponent to the term (and to the associated notion of third space).

What best encompasses the objection to celebrating cultural translation in a postcolonial sense is Trivedi's (2007: 286) rather passionate standpoint on the matter:

"There is an urgent need perhaps to protect and preserve some little space in this postcolonial postmodern world, where newness constantly enters through cultural translation, for old and old-fashioned literary translation. For if literary translation is allowed to wither in the age of cultural translation, we shall sooner than later end up with a wholly translated, monolingual, monocultural and monolithic world. And those of us who are still bilingual, and who are still untranslated from our native ground to the alien shore, will nevertheless have translated against our will and against our grain. Further, translation itself would have to be untranslated or detranslated […]. The postcolonial would have

thoroughly colonized translation, for translation in the sense that we have known

and cherished it, and the value it possessed as an instrument of discovery and

exchange, would have ceased to exist. Rather than help us encounter and

experience other cultures, translation would have been assimilated in one

monolingual culture."

Clearly, by 'old fashioned literary translation', Trivedi refers to translation in its

conventional, interlingual and textual sense. He justifiably relates the talk of

multiculturalism to an illusion created by the relocation of a small sample of migrants

from cultures around the world into the First World; an illusion that migrancy of a small

fraction brought newness to the First World and was enough to make it the whole

world (ibid: 287). He rightly makes a bitter, sarcastic statement that the calls for eco-

diversity and biodiversity are not accompanied by corresponding calls for cultural and

linguistic diversity (ibid). One cannot but join Trivedi in his calls for the cultures and

languages of the world to be respected and to be distinguished from the fraction that

are becoming subsumed into the First World.

Other translation studies scholars, such as Chesterman (2009) and Pratt (2009), also

have had conversations over the use of cultural translation as a term, because they

think that it is redundant, since *all* translation is cultural.

The fact that understanding cultural translation in terms of migrancy as such is

Eurocentric or Western can be clearly discerned in Hommi Bhabha's discussion of the

postcolonial movements of the colonised to the lands of their colonisers; their

description of the new cultures that were found in the Western countries in the face of

the dilemma to discern two separate cultures that are spatially close; and the cultural

production of the second-generation migrants of Indian and Pakistani descent in

Britain. Consider what Pym (2014: 139) says as he explains the evolution of the term in Bhabha's book: "Bhabha is concerned with what this kind of mixed discourse, representative of those who have migrated from the Indian sub-continent to 'the West' might mean for Western culture".

These migrant communities are a salient feature of the West. This is not to say that non-Western societies are pure of any form of migration, but that any possible human demographic movement in Asia, the Middle East, North Africa, India, China or Japan is incomparable to the immense volume of migration to Western Europe or the USA. Therefore, cultural translation in this sense is but a Westernised view of the term. There is a spatial perspective to consider, they are looking at migrancy while standing on Western land. The researcher wonders whether, from an Indian geographic perspective, migrants take but one of two forms: pure Indians maintaining their cultural customs and lifestyle, or traitors who adopted the way of life offered by the colonisers.

Nonetheless, for Bhabha, this transition and failure to integrate is a form of resistance, a negation of complete integration which contradicts the idea of Westernness. Also, Bhabha's use of the term is, as he highlights in an interview (1990: 209), "informed" by the "observations" on translation made by Walter Benjamin (1917). Bhabha stresses that his use of the word translation is a trope; it by no means is intended to refer to, say, the interlingual translation of a book from French into English (ibid: 210). This is like Benjamin's metaphor of the displacement of the linguistic sign in language theory.

Buden and Nowotny (2009) take the hybridity in cultural translation too far to be accepted by scholars in the field. They apply it to the translation of people for political or non-political purposes. In the Translation Studies forum 2009, they state that:

"Etymologically, translation evokes an act of moving or carrying across from one place or position to another, or of changing from one state of things to another. This does not apply only to the words of different languages, but also to human beings and their most important properties. They too can be moved across all sorts of differences and borders and so translated from one place to another, for instance from one cultural and political condition to another. Thus, one can culturally translate people for a political purpose and with existential consequences. No discussion of the concept of cultural translation can easily dispense with an analysis of the very concrete devices of such translation if it strives to maintain contact with the political and existential issues at stake in the debate on cultural translation" (2009: 196).

Their argument of the 'carrying across' meaning in cultural translation is based on a German citizenship test that has over a hundred questions about different aspects of German culture; one of the questions asks the name of an important exhibition of modern and contemporary art that takes place in a German city every five years (ibid). The question could be answered by members of the intellectual German middle-class but not by an immigrant, Buden and Nowotny (ibid) suggest. The test includes other "peculiar" questions that tamper with the religious and ethnic beliefs of the immigrants or controversial political issues (ibid: 197). The authors think that these questions aim at nation-building and that they are assimilating immigrants to a new culture (ibid). The answers can be summed up by one question "What is German?" The purpose of these questions is "drawing a clear boundary line between German and non-German" and thus authoritatively controlling crossing across this line, and controlling the "exclusion or inclusion" processes and consequently "the constitution of a political community"; "[b]y answering most of these questions correctly, one is in the literal sense culturally

translated into 'being German'" (ibid). Buden and Nowotny (ibid) justify their use of the word translation by arguing that in English, German and many other European languages, translation etymologically conveys a meaning of 'carrying across'.

Their argument is heavily criticised for focusing too heavily upon Western and Eurocentric viewpoints about translation. Maitland, for example, refuses to build a paradigm of cultural translation-qua-human migrancy based on the idea that translation means 'carrying across', because that means proceeding "from an already Eurocentric hierarchy" (ibid: 19). Chesterman (2010) thinks that the implication of 'carrying across' is based on the European (particularly the English) and Indo-European etymology of the word 'translation'.

1.1.4 The interlingual sense

Cultural translation is used by some scholars to simply mean translating from a source into a target text, with a special focus on treating the cultural elements inside the text. This sense is adopted by Maria Tymoczko (2007), who freely uses the terms cultural translation and translation of culture interchangeably. However, she uses the term to describe the traditional linguistic theories that deal with the translation of cultural concepts on the textual level and calls for broadening their scope to address issues like the agency of the translator and his/her role in producing empowered translations (ibid: 225-6).

Trivedi (2007), nonetheless, maintains that the term cultural translation is different from the translation of culture. He clearly states that "if there is one thing that Cultural Translation is not, it is the translation of culture," (2007: 282). Paradoxically, while Pym (2014) considers the inter-semiotic dimension of Roman Jacobson's three

translational relations to be a form of cultural translation, Tymoczko (2007) considers Jacobson's translation proper to be cultural translation. Under the title 'Theories of Cultural Translation', she discusses the linguistic approaches to the translation of culture, such as Roman Jacobson's seminal work 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translation' (1959), where he discusses the different meanings of material cultural terms, like cheese, between Russian and English, which have different semantic fields (ibid: 223). The other cultural translation theories Tymoczko cites are J. C. Catford's 'A Linguistic Theory of Translation' (1965), in which it is argued that "cultural asymmetries could pose problems of linguistic untranslatability" (in Tymoczko, ibid); and Eugene A. Nida (1964), who overcame the problem of a lack of linguistic counterparts in the case of divergent cultural frames by introducing the idea of dynamic equivalence, not only at the level of material culture, but also at the level of "values" and "social concepts" (ibid: 224).

In an attempt to answer questions about the problematic nature of the term, D'hulst (2008: 221) argues that cultural or cross-cultural translation could refer to "a mode of 'translation that puts special emphasis on a number of verbal and non-verbal aspects of communication between more or less remote cultures." "These aspects include linguistic and generic hybridization, cultural opacity and defamiliarization, and rewriting techniques (ibid). D'huslt (ibid: 224) broadens its applicability to "all encounters and negotiations involving different manmade patterns and systems that add, produce and reproduce meaning and interpretation." He includes in the term "the literary and technical translation (the act of transferring meaning from one specific culture-bearing language to another)", hence including the interlingual sense in the concept, but widens its range by also encompassing "all individual and collective negotiations and

influences between different cultures" (ibid). D'huslt does not exclude from the term what he calls 'natural' translation (ibid: 222-3).

Having said that, almost all cultural translation is interlingual in one way or another, whether in the anthropological sense (i.e. linguistic translation of the cultural concepts), in the context of hybridity (i.e. the literature of migrancy) and in all general oral or written communication. The underlying reason is the perpetual relation between culture and language. Even in the sense of 'carrying across', Buden and Nowotny could not but refer to the citizenship test that is linguistically expressed.

Yet, I think there is no problem with using it in translation studies to emphasise the focus of the research, such as the term intercultural translation. It is true that all translation is cultural, but we must accept that nomenclature in the discipline does not just refer to the nature of a phenomenon *per se*, as much as the method used to approach it. In this sense, to refer to cultural translation is to imply that a cultural approach to study is followed, in contrast to, for example, narrative, computational, linguistic, and discourse analytic approaches.

As such, can we say that cultural translation is the translation of texts that address aspects of the culture of a certain community? For instance, if the work of anthropologists is translated from one language into another, is this an example of cultural translation? Can these texts be described as cultural texts?

1.2 What are cultural texts?

Cultural texts can be found in any field or genre of writing. They can be religious, political, literary, historical, and journalistic texts, covering a wide range of concepts (Malmkjaer et al 2018, 1). These concepts can range from the most sublime, abstract

concepts, such as God, creation, humanity, sin, evil, good and bad, to more social concepts, such as marriage, woman, adulthood, childhood, masculinity, femininity, citizenship, nationhood, foreignness, democracy, dictatorship, as well as a whole host of others (ibid: 2-3). Plato's *Republic* (Sandford, 2018), Wagner's *The Ring of the Nibelung* (Karen Wilson-de Roze, 2018), Emily Bronte's *Wuthering Heights*, Anderson's tales (Wenjei Li, 2018) and *Brief account of the destruction of the Indies* (Rawlings, 2018), are all described as key cultural texts, a text that is "important in its source culture and had contributed to the shaping of that culture"; one that has an influence, when translated, on the target culture, is a *key* cultural text (Malmkjaer et al, 2018: 2-3). However, the extent to which a text is key is not important for the purposes of this discussion. The important question is what can be classified as a cultural text and why. What makes the aforementioned texts cultural is "the key *concepts* embodied in the texts" (ibid: 1, italics added). The concepts Sandford (2018: 9-24) discusses are gender and sex in comparison to *genos*. Rawlings (2018: 35-52) examines Spanish colonialism in the Indies. Wilson-de Roze focuses on anti-Semitism. All of these examples of research that are assumed under cultural translation significantly indicate that there are no rigid rules for what can be called a cultural text.

The concepts in the cultural texts are studied with reference to translation. Helen Rawlings (2018: 35-52) studies the historical writing of a 16th century Catholic priest who criticised Spain's way of treating the native people of the new world in an attempt to convince the authorities to put aside secular gains. The translation was exploited by protestant enemies to showcase Spain as a colonial power (ibid: 37). Through translation, the *Brief account of the destruction of the Indies* engendered what was called the Black Legend, which shaped the way Spain was viewed for centuries (ibid).

Rawlings compares translations from before and after the two World Wars and assesses if the translations were adapted to fit today's tastes (ibid: 53). Wenjei Li (2018) suggests that translations from the early 20th century had more impact on Chinese understanding of Anderson and his work than later translations. Kelly Kar Yue Chan (2018) studies the translation of classical Chinese poetry into English and examines translations of free or literal renditions and the use of different translation strategies and techniques, such as: cultural shifts, borrowing, and annotation to address poetic issues such as rhyme and stanza.

These works "examine the treatment of these concepts in one or more translation. The overriding aim is to highlight the essentially contested nature of certain concepts across cultures and the types of adjustment this may (or may not) engender (Malmkjaer, 2018: 1). In fact, this sums up what is meant by cultural translation in this thesis, with one more detail that should be highlighted: the texts should not necessarily be major texts in the source culture, like Plato, the Bible, Confucian texts, or ancient literary texts. The importance can stem from: 1) the genre the cultural texts represent, especially if it is understudied; 2) the fact that they were translated. In fact, one of the problems with translation studies research is its continuous focus on literary texts; expository texts are under-researched (Porter, 2014).

The texts studied in this thesis correspond to these types of text and these concepts. They can roughly be categorised as journalistic, historical and political and tap into different cultural concepts related to religion, such as Islam's Prophet, political-religious symbolic heroes, nationalism and national diversity, sectarianism, and war.

1.3 The Data

Although the four books studied here are all about Iraq post-2003, they may look miscellaneous if an attempt is made to describe them. They are historical and political because they document an important era in Iraq's recent history from a political viewpoint. But, in the course of that documentation and analysis they tap into various cultural aspects of Iraqi society, whether religious, anthropological or culinary. They are also journalistic in nature; it is not just the authors that are journalists, but some of the volumes were in fact collections of day-to-day reporting, edited into book form. Therefore, it is important to delineate them in one homogeneous genre for the sake of methodological consistency.

The four originals purport to be directed at an English-speaking audience and provide an understanding of the situation in Iraq around the time of the 2003 war. From a Western viewpoint, they envisage an Eastern cultural fabric about which the American and European audience know little. The combination of fields the books touch upon is found in a genre of writing that has until recently been neglected in academia, but which is nonetheless a very important investigative tool: travel writing.

"[T]ravel books are vehicles whose main purpose is to introduce us to the other, and [...] typically they dramatized an engagement between self and world, it was a matter of focusing on the various ways the observing self and the foreign world reverberate within each work" (Blanton 2002: xi). They turn "travel into science, science into myth and anthropology into the work of unearthing the present" (Krich, 236 in ibid: xiii). "From Marco Polo to Bruce Chatwin, travelers' tales about distant places and exotic cultures have proven to be remarkably popular reading. The persistence of this kind of writing is undoubtedly related to human curiosity and to a travel writer's desire to mediate between things foreign and things familiar, to help us understand that world

which is other to us" (ibid: 2). However, most of these travel writers accompanied colonisers' campaigns and had political undertones or motives.

Multidisciplinary research, especially that "on colonialism, race and cultural relations have 'rediscovered those travel narratives that accompanied, described, extended, even made possible, the expansion of capital and colonialism'" (Anjum, 2014: 191). Travel writing is not just closely related to colonialism and history, it has been used as a source to document history in earlier times. In modern times, more and more attention has been drawn towards their interrelation and with the rise of colonial and postcolonial studies as an area of research in the last decades of the twentieth century, academics have begun to focus on the relation between travel and the emergence of colonialism in the early modern period and later (ibid, 191-192). The purpose of a 19th century travel book, for instance, was "the attempt to map the unknown terrain in the interests of the [British] imperialist science" (Elsner and Payne, 1999: 1). The "history of Western expansion […] has systematically combined imperialist claims with scientific and technological empiricism. The desire to map is never innocent" (ibid: 2).

In modern times, it can be argued that this role is undertaken by journalists and academics, in addition to administrators in colonial and invading armies. In Iraq's modern history, Miss Gertrude Bell is most famous for the role she assumed in establishing the new monarchy, when she accompanied the British Army during its occupation of Iraq in 1916 (Hill, 1976: 190). Modern travel books inherited many elements from their predecessors and cousins (Blanton, 2002: 1) "Despite changes in style and purpose, the effect of these narratives on the reader has not diminished. Travel writings have a "narrative power, both literal and symbolic" (ibid: 2). "Janis Stout suggests that the symbolic power of these tales resides in [...] the relation between subject and object, knower and known" (ibid: 3). It seems that the pattern of travel

writing has not changed from ancient to modern times. "Indeed, the journey pattern is one of the most persistent forms of all narratives — both fiction and nonfiction. Works as various as the Odyssey, Gilgamesh, Moby-Dick, and the travel books of Mungo Park, Gertrude Bell, and Jan Morris all follow this ancient pattern: departure, adventure, and return" (ibid: 2). This same pattern is followed by both Jonathan Steele and John Lee Anderson, who reflect in their books on this type of shuttling back-and-forth. Both travelled to Iraq before the war and remained there during the peak of the military operations and remained there until the fall of the regime and the invasion of the US-led armies. They documented their observations of daily happenings, as well as special meetings with some of the pre-2003 opposition leaders who became the new leaders after the invasion, particularly clerics and religious leaders, but also secular leaders or prominent social personae and tribal sheiks.

Joseph Braude did not travel to Iraq himself. He does not imply that he did, but instead went as close as he could. He is a Middle East expert who lived in many Arab countries, such as Egypt, and who speaks Arabic and plays Arabian music. In addition, he has been transported to Iraq through the tales of his Iraqi Jewish maternal ancestors. Braude's grandfather on his mother's side was one of the Jews who left Iraq in the mid 20th century. The same was true with Phebe Marr, whose relationship with Iraq is both academic and familial. She tells us in her book that her husband is an Iraqi and that she visited the country with him a few times. However, unlike Braude, her work depends on solid historical analysis.

"Travel writing has consistently attracted the talents of major authors, many of whom produced travel books either as early apprenticeship works designed to launch a literary career, or as part of their later roles as public intellectuals" (Bendixen and Hamera, 2009: 2). Although it "has always attracted a wide readership and the talents

of major authors, it has only recently won significant attention from scholars"; it is very "often ignored or unfairly dismissed as unimaginative hackwork. Yet, this view started to change and the travel book is "receiving the thoughtful consideration it deserves as a literary genre with its own conventions, principles, and values." (ibid: 1).

However, none of the books studied in this thesis can be categorised as literary works. That is because in spite of the consolidating function of travel writing and its "capacious framework for harmonizing multiple interests, each in and of itself central to nation-building and management: commercial, spiritual, socio-political, scientific, and of course, literary, […] travel writing also exposes cultural and genre fault lines" (ibid: 2). "It exists betwixt and between the factual report and the fictional account, personal memoir and ethnography, science and romance. The genre is itself in motion and, in the process, reveals much about the changing cultural desires and anxieties both of the traveller and the [..] reading public" (ibid: 2). It is sometimes described as a "multiple genre", one that "consists of other genres" (Anjum, 2014: 194).

In conclusion, the texts are cultural, reflecting the discourse of the 'colonial' (due to the 2003 invasion context) and so have a symbolic power in them; they are an important genre that serves as a very useful research tool because of the entwinement of history, colonialism and culture, however it is one that is understudied, especially in translation studies.

1.4 Retro-Cultural Translation (RCT): A new type of translation?

So far, it has been shown how the texts drawn upon in this thesis are cultural texts with a political/historical focus and which can be classified into the travel writing genre.

It is argued that these texts impose the schemes of the dominant nation on the invaded nation; there is an exercise of power and dominance in the writing of these texts (Visser, 2007: 84). In fact, the dominance element is present even without assuming the intentional manipulation of the dominated culture in the production of these kinds of texts. By virtue of the fact that they are produced by the colonising culture in the coloniser's hegemonic language (English) to reflect the coloniser's narrative, a relation of domination arises.

But, the study is principally concerned with the translation of these texts into Arabic, that is, into the language of the culture the texts themselves look into, and what ensues from such translation. In other words the study examines the translation of texts that are written about a certain culture, into the language of this culture. Such a translation context could abound in post-colonial, post-imperial and post-war situations, where the invading nation's authors, whether at home or accompanying the invading armies, produce textual material for different purposes about the invaded nation's culture.

This has not been tackled before from the perspective this study pioneers, except for a minor reference to its potential importance by Niranjana (1992) in her book *Siting Translation*. In discussing the colonial translations into English of Sanskrit classical texts, in which the Hindoo subject is misrepresented (ibid: 11-14), she highlights that what is more important when seeking to understand the representation of the Hindu by British Orientalists, is not only these colonial translations from Sanskrit into English, but also the "outwork" of the Orientalist author/translator[1] in the preface to the translated text and in the general discourse (ibid: 13).

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[1] Usually the same person functions as both author and translator in the context she is referring to.

If anything, this call by Niranjana emphasises the lack of research focusing on the translation of colonial works about the colonised. What happens when these texts are translated into the language of the dominated culture? This question could generate a wide range of answers that emanate from the various perspectives through which translation is viewed. However, what matters about this translation, from the viewpoint of the present study, is that it takes the texts back to where they originally come from - the native culture of the invaded nation - and how this reversion will affect the translation. Since the target culture is the same as the native culture, this empowers the target language, culture and translator and potentially reverses the power relations on many levels. This is the peculiarity of this type of translation and positioning it in an unequal relationship layout would yield outcomes about the intricacies of power that cultural translation can show in a postcolonial theoretical framework.

As this original concept about translation cannot be encompassed in existing terms used in translation studies, which can reflect its essence, I coined the term 'retro-cultural translation' (henceforth, RCT). This new concept reflects its inverse direction and its focus on the cultural component of the target culture.

In order to set clearly the limits of this translation for methodological reasons, and also so that it is differentiated from translations that suggest affinity to it in name or essence, it is crucial to outline its main characteristics.

1.5 Basic elements of RCT

There are three basic elements that are present in the Arabic translations of the post-2003 English books on Iraq: i) reversion, ii) culture, and iii) dominance. First, what is meant by reversion is the following translocation process: in any given culture (culture

A), there are elements that are intrinsic to it. These elements are appropriated by a second culture (culture B) in composing a text about culture A. The intrinsic features of culture A are discussed and events around them are elaborately introduced in the texts. When the text is translated from the culture B language into the culture A language, a return of cultural components takes pace, from the language of culture B back into the language of culture A. This reversion process is the main defining feature of this translation.

However, it is necessary to note here that this reversion should not allow RCT to be confused with back translation. Back translation was a technique used in 19th century grammar schools as a method for teaching languages. It was until recently used by some translation teachers to verify 'faithful' translation, or to evaluate the degree of equivalence in cross-cultural research (Brislin, 1970: 185). Also, RCT is not retroversion, which is the method used to refer to the translation of Old Testament writings from Greek to Aramaic or Old Hebrew (Joosten, 2009: 153). The Septuagint, the Greek version of the Old Testament, is thought to have a Semitic origin (ibid). In order to verify that, scholars use retroversion as "an attempt to work backwards from the surviving Greek to reconstruct the actual wording of the original Hebrew or Aramaic document" (Davila, 2005: 3). As such, it seeks to turn the text back to a previous version, whereas RCT has no earlier existing versions; only parts of the source language text, for example its real life environment, including persons, events, institutions, and cultural terms, belong to the native culture of the target language, while the discursive frame it appears in and the views it expresses are the creation of the source language author.

Second, it has a cultural element as an integral part of it. As emphasised earlier in this chapter, the cultural problematic has been part and parcel of translation studies, as

discussed in linguistic theories, such as the approaches of Roman Jakobson (1959), J. C. Catford (1965) and Eugene A. Nida (1964) (Tymoczko, 2007: 223); and to the wider approaches towards culture after the 'cultural turn' according to which translation came to be viewed as a "part of an ongoing process of intercultural transfer" (Bassnett and Trivedi, 1999: 2). However, what is noticeable about the cultural aspect in question is that, unlike normal situations, where the cultural problems dealt with belong to the source culture, it belongs to the target culture, hence the problem. One of the historical roles of translators and translations has been to import foreign cultural values (Woodsworth, 1994: 53). For instance, translating a novel set in an English environment into Arabic will import to the target culture the characteristics of the English culture, including beliefs and values or social manners. A similar role of translation is suggested by Tsien (1954, 2011) in reference to the Western impact on China through translation. Western ideas were introduced into Chinese and new terms were found for them through cooperation between the Jesuits, who commissioned the translations, and Chinese friends, who helped with the literary mastery and techniques (ibid: 307). But with RCT, there are no foreign cultural values in the source text, as all the cultural values discussed are of the native/target culture, which validates the question of what knowledge will be imported into the target culture. What is meant by culture or cultural element in the translated texts here will be explained presently.

Third, the dominance element. The translation under focus here is situated in the context of unequal relations. The texts were produced in a post-war context involving relations of dominance. Authors from the invading nations write about the invaded culture and an actual act of military and political domination, represented by the US as nation, was practised upon a dominated culture, Iraq. The stimulus behind the publication of books about Iraq at that particular time was the military actions of the

US. As such, all situations of colonisation, invasion, occupation and even political imperialistic relations are identified as dominance relations that qualify for this type of translation. This feature therefore situates this type of translation within postcolonial translation theories, but it does not exactly correspond to a stereotypical postcolonial translation. The texts can technically be described as colonial, since they were produced during the period of the invasion and when there was an official American presence in Iraq; that is, before the complete withdrawal of American forces from the country in 2011. Some of the translations, however, were produced *after* the American troops withdrew, so from a technical point of view they are *post*-colonial. While postcolonial translation is typically concerned with translation to the language of the former coloniser, RCT is concerned with the outputs of the coloniser and their translation into the language of the colonised nation. Thus, RCT does not apply to Tymoczko's (1999) study of translating old Irish literary texts into English, or most Indian literature translated into English. However, if postcolonial translation studies are viewed in loose terms in the context of research into the linguistic and cultural production of those who have formerly been colonisers or colonised, then the translation of post-2003 books on Iraq can be considered postcolonial translations.

Some scholars, such as Wolf (2002/2014: 125), believe that the power relations in this kind of translation stem from the asymmetrical relations between cultures; that is, because of asymmetry between cultures "the cultural appropriation of the Other is caught up in political and economic dependencies recognisable mainly in present-day postcolonial realities." This approach undermines the domination relation in RCT, which in this study is seen as a result of the invasion context. Wolf (ibid: 127) stresses that "the implications of power in the translational process have become an essential part of most 'cultural turn' approaches". This is so, one should argue, because the

cultural turn is so overshadowed by postcolonial approaches that it is also dubbed the postcolonial turn.

The presence of these three elements *en masse* defines this translation type. However, one or another of the three components might be present in other types of translation, which may cause confusion between this type and other known translation types. Therefore, the next section will outline the main types that have areas in common with the cases studied here and which are represented by the translation from English into Arabic of post-Iraq war books.

The books that are selected are examples of political history, but it is intended here that insight from their analysis can be generalised to a wide range of genres. RCT can potentially be applied to literary production too, although other genres may lack one or other factor in a way that may cast doubt about the extent to which they meet the criteria of RCT. In the Iraqi case, a candidate novel for RCT is *Mayyada The Daughter of Iraq* (2003), by the American novelist Jean Sasson. Sasson's novels are mainly about female Middle Eastern characters, and this novel is about the experience of a woman from a renowned Iraqi family who was jailed and tortured by the Saddam regime. Had this novel been translated, the product would have been RCT. Another instance of literary works that could serve to be an original text for RCT is the work of the British Iraqi writer Kanan Makiya. Makiya published his English novel *The Rope* in March 2016, with an Arabic translation. However, it is uncertain whether this translation is a good representation of RCT. The reasons for this are numerous. First, the author is originally Iraqi. Although he holds British citizenship and is a resident of the US, his Iraqi origin makes his literary production fall within the remit of Homi Bhabha's cultural translation. Second, it is not clear whether the Arabic version is an instance of self-translation or if it was the work of a professional translator (neither

outcome is indicated in the Arabic version of the novel). Makiya is criticised not only for the anonymity of the translator, but for incompatibility between the two versions, which is seen as a sign of hypocrisy (see Subhi Hadidi, 2016). A similar example is the translation of one of Bengali-American writer Jhumpa Lahiri's short stories. Lahiri was born in London to Bengali parents and earned American citizenship aged 18 (Trivedi, 2005: 184). Her fictional writing about Indian life was criticised as being "demonstrably erroneous and defective" (ibid). This lack of knowledge of the Indian community supports her position as a Western writer and diminishes her role as a local Indian (ibid). Lahiri admitted that she would not understand the Bengali version of her short story (ibid). This case could therefore be seen as RCT, given that RCT presumes a relation of domination between the two cultures involved. However, if the US is the formal inheritor of hegemonic English from Great Britain, then the translation of this fictional book into Indian can be considered RCT.

The term does not make any reference to the dominance relation between the two strands of the translation process, because RCT can refer to different post-conflict situations, where the dominance remains open to negotiation. While RCT is presented in this study as a specific case of translation that could reverse the domination and represent the interests of the least fortunate side of the power equation, its newness keeps the door open for fresh research ideas and application.

Having discussed the features of RCT and emphasized its cultural element, it is vital to also define what is meant by culture when used in the scope of this study. The following will present a brief review of the concept, furnishing the way to the discussion of whether it is possible to have one global culture or if the world should maintain diverse individual cultures.

1.6 What is culture?

If we are to understand what is meant by culture in the texts and understand how it functions in their translation, it is unavoidable that we will have to address definitional and conceptual issues concerning the topic. The following is an attempt to view culture in a brief and basic way, since it is a controversial concept that cannot be painlessly outlined.

Culture is one of the most complex words in the English language (Eagleton, 2016: 1, Katan, 2009:74), with 165 definitions of the word given, even up until 1952 (Katan, ibid). It is "a multifaceted concept, which makes it very hard to run a tightly unified case about it" (Eagleton, 2016: viii). It can be typical of a certain group of people, but it is not peculiar to them, for instance the Lapps eat reindeers, but so do other cultures (ibid).

Various definitions reflect the perspective of the different disciplines that attempt to delineate the term. Sometimes, the meaning ascribed to the term is general and loose and embodies a range of phenomena, such as lifestyle. At other times, what is perceived to be culture is fairly finite.

Four senses of culture are outlined by Eagleton (2016: 1): (1) a body of artistic and intellectual work; (2) a process of spiritual and intellectual development; (3) the values, customs, beliefs and symbolic practices by which men and women live; (4) a whole way of life. Katan puts forward a definition of culture that falls within the first sense, as high culture, or Culture with a capital C (1999: 16). High culture is "external to the individual and relates to a particular and restricted body of knowledge *learned*" (ibid: 17, emphasis added). It is, moreover, restricted to a certain group of people in society,

that is, people with an upper middle class upbringing (ibid). Also, under the first sense may fall another definition of culture Katan offers, that is, "the artistic and social pursuits, expressions and tastes valued by a society or class."This definition may also include literature, sports and hobbies (ibid).

Eagleton's first and second senses are interrelated; both restrict culture to what is intellectual, artistic and spiritual. It is uncontroversial that knowledge of the body of intellectual and artistic work would be part of the process of development into a 'cultured' person. Contrasted to the first and second senses, which include innovations, "culture as a way of life is generally a question of habit […], it is what you have done before—even, perhaps, what your ancestors have done millions of times over" (Eagleton, 2016: 2). Culture as art is Avant-garde, and belongs to a small group of a given society. But as a way of life it is a matter of customs. In the second sense — a process of intellectual development — culture is more of an "egalitarian matter". If those who are not cultured today may become cultivated later, then it may be that anyone can accumulate cultural capital if only they put their mind to it" (ibid). But even this cannot be acquired like a puppy or a bout of influenza; it takes long years to achieve this kind of growth (ibid).

Culture in its anthropological definition, as a way of life, is too "amorphous" (ibid: 3). The problem is that the word culture is so extended that it risks being identical with "our common life" (ibid: 3). Similarly, the "aesthetic" sense of culture is too "narrow"; we cannot say that the culture of the British working class movement is poetry and paintings; culture for this movement is political institutions, such as trade unions and the like. Eagleton (ibid) quotes the German philosopher Johann Gottfried as noting that culture "includes industry, commerce, and technology quite as much as values and sentiments" (ibid). These are represented by the third group, which is the closest

to the meaning of culture as used in anthropological research, although the fourth category is the one anthropologists study from a theoretical perspective. Yet the fourth sense is handy, in that it covers all the miscellaneous aspects of culture that are not included under any of the first three, such as cuisine, which Eagleton himself discusses when differentiating between culture and civilisation. The third definition is central to the meaning attached to culture in ethnic contexts, where it functions as a power dynamic. It corresponds well with core aspects of Geert Hofstede's (1991) model of culture.

Hofstede's onion skin model is employed by Katan (1999) for the purpose of studying translation. It includes two main parts: practices and values. While values are the core of culture, practices include symbols, heroes, and rituals (ibid: 27). Symbols are in the outer layer; they are the "semiotic signs" that communicate meaning, like dress, pictures and gestures, but also words, (i.e. language) (ibid). The symbols are in the outer layer so they can be changed easily without implying a switching of culture, Katan argues (ibid). For that reason, he believes, bilinguals can switch languages easily without having to change culture. Therefore, people who are bilingual are not bi-cultural (ibid), which seems to place language outside of culture.

Next in the layers come heroes, whether real or imaginary, with screen heroes such as Rambo, Superman and Clint Eastwood being peculiar to the American culture, as much as Ian Fleming is to British culture (ibid). While the other heroes discussed by Katan are Pinocchio and Mickey Mouse (ibid: 28), there is no mention of real heroes, historical or current, which would have been important for studying Eastern cultures, such as the Iraqi culture, which is rich in them. In addition, heroes in Eastern cultures have pivotal roles, ones bequeathed with power, as they are interrelated with cultural values. Finally, rituals, the most relevant form of which, in this study, are modes of

address, which differ greatly from one language/culture to another and of which literal translations are unsuccessful. Important examples of modes of address are titles, which will be discussed in chapter five.

Culture and civilization are differentiated by some scholars such as Eagleton (2016). Although the two terms referred roughly to the same things originally, they later took on different, sometimes even opposite meanings (ibid: 4). Painting, cuisine, and attitudes towards sexuality are embodiments of culture; transport systems and forms of central heating are embodiments of civilisation (ibid). Goethe, Kant and Mendelssohn are culture; perfume, haute cuisine and Châteauneuf-du-Pape are civilisation (ibid: 4-5). What Eagleton calls civilisation corresponds to *urbancy* and *civility*, the first of three meanings T. S. Eliot (1948: 22) attaches to culture. Culture for Eliot also means *learning* (ibid) and *arts* (ibid: 23). However, what matters for him is not only these senses of culture, but also the level at which they should be examined: the individual, the group, or the whole society. The "culture of the individual is dependent upon the culture of a group or class, and […] the culture of the group or class is dependent upon the culture of the whole society to which that group or class belongs. Therefore it is the culture of the society that is fundamental, and it is the meaning of the term 'culture' in relation to the whole society that should be examined first" (ibid: 21).

Concepts that can materialise as culture or civilisation should be examined from a temporal perspective. This will show that what is a representation of a civilisation at one time becomes a representation of culture centuries or decades later. Take again Eagleton's examples about Mendelssohn and Châteauneuf-du-Pape, which he labels as embodiments of culture and civilisation, respectively. One wonders whether these two examples were not just contrary examples, i.e., Mendelssohn is civilisation and

Châteauneuf-du-Pape is culture. Mendelssohn played his music to royalty and aristocrats; his music was a characteristic of highly civil life. The wine, in comparison, was a product of the French village even before the Château was built for the Pope, and due to underdeveloped ways of preserving the wine it was consumed locally, which means even the peasants could drink it, and as such was part of the culture of the village and not an indicator of civility. Consider what Katan (2009: 74) says in this respect: "Originally, culture was simple. It referred exclusively to the humanist ideal of what was civilized in a developed society (the education system, the arts, architecture). Then a second meaning, the way of life of a people, took place alongside". So, whether culture and civilization are treated as two distinct concepts, as Eagleton suggests, or what is meant by culture changes in time, according to Katan, it is the phenomena listed under the terms that change over time. The phenomenon changes when what is high and haute culture becomes a characteristic of the life of the average person in society. Therefore, in this thesis, all that is categorised under both terms will be treated as culture. All that belongs to the "domain where human differences are most manifest, and representation of those differences is a primary form of assertion in cross-cultural interface, particularly encounters involving power (Tymoczko, 2007: 221).

Eagleton also tells us that culture is not ideology. However, translation research, especially in some of the works enlisted as key cultural texts, deals with religion and politics as cultural concepts. Some recent trends discuss Islam as an ideology rather than a faith (or at best both an ideology and a faith) (for instance Pipes, 2000, Dabashi, 2006/2017). In this case, the boundaries between culture and ideology overlap.

In conclusion, the definition of culture from an anthropological viewpoint is inevitable. "Anthropologists believe that culture may be learned through formal or unconscious

parenting, socialization or other inculcation through long term contact with others. It then becomes unconsciously shared amongst the group" (Katan, 2009: 74). But, it is equally indispensable to espouse the sociological and cultural studies viewpoint on culture in order to understand how it functions. "In sociology and cultural studies, culture is a site of conflict for authority or power. When it is acquired, it is through the subliminal and enforced norms of, for example, capitalist and colonialist action" (ibid: 74-5).

Chapter Two: Globalisation, cultural diversity, and cultural capital

2 Introduction

The chapter will attempt to transition from discussing cultural diversity and cultural difference versus globalization to the role of cultures in constituting a symbolic capital. The aim beyond this discussion is that any claims of the power of cultures and their role as capital will be challenged by the idea of a one globalised world.

 Globalisation is the (post)modern heir of colonialism/imperialism (see for instance, Chilcote, 2002; Roccio, 2003; Morley, 2006; Coluzzi, 2012) when it comes to the role of individual cultures in the face of mega powers represented by colonial nations in the past and by a one globalised culture, especially Americanism, in the postcolonial world. In this framework, we also discuss that cultural differences are fuelled by the idea that peoples possess cultures and languages. But this idea of one culture and one language being possessed by peoples is challenged by some post-structural and postcolonial theorists; they cast doubt over the originary nature of culture and language. It is crucial to reach an understanding about the symbolic power invested in these concepts and the way this power functions in asymmetrical contexts of translation.

The chapter draws on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital and its aptitude to wield power in communicative situations. Bourdieu's symbolic capital is generally used to refer to possessing a language and/or linguistic skills and the influence of possessing these skills in educational performance, but in this study it is experimented to also include the closely interconnected concept of culture. Therefore, the

development of Bourdieu's capital and the wide phenomena it came to cover in various areas of social sciences will be reviewed. The phases of its development over various fields, genres and skills justify treating culture as symbolic capital, especially by those who are native to it. The way culture is used in colonial and post-colonial contexts as a tool of practising resistance is another significant reason for considering it symbolic capital, especially in the light of the fact that power is a basic feature of Bourdieu's forms of capital.

2.1 Globalisation and a homogenised world culture

Giving in to the idea of a one globalised world does not seem to be practically feasible. Every day stories come up about individuals proclaiming that certain traditions, dress style, food types, music, or even literature belongs to a certain culture and are disclaimed from other, especially Western (representatives of globalisation) cultures. Because there is no piece of academic work that documents such debates, is should be convenient to cite some of the calls that attract distinguished conventional media outlets because they index deeper resistance to one international culture. On May 1st, 2018, for instance, a headline appeared in the Washington Post which read: "*Teen's Chinese prom attire stirs cultural appropriation debate*". The story is that an American high school girl wanted to wear a dress that was "unique and bold and had some sort of meaning to it" for her prom. In a vintage store she found a "red cheongsam, also known as a qipao — the high-collared, form-fitting traditional Chinese dress". As people normally do on social media, she posted a picture of herself in the cheongsam under the caption "prom". But her behaviour was not interpreted against a background of the one world where cultures meet and diffuse. Her picture provoked an adverse reaction. A man wrote a few days later: "My culture is NOT your …. prom dress." As

though appropriation of the dress was an insult to him and his culture, he expressed his pride in his culture and referred to the difficulties the original wearers of this traditional dress went through: "I'm proud of my culture, including the extreme barriers marginalized people within that culture have had to overcome those obstacles." If anything, the girl's behaviour was, for him, similar to an act of colonialism. "For it to simply be subject to American consumerism and cater to a white audience, is parallel to colonial ideology", he wrote. The incident triggered debate about Americanism and cultural appropriation. In its article, The Washington Post described this as "the latest example of the long-running debate over the fine line between appreciating and appropriating culture."

The incidence might be interpreted as the sensitivity of Eastern nations and cultures towards 'white' Western cultures. But, similar debate came to the surface even among Western cultures themselves, caused by a type of cheese. Such incidents are really worth stopping at and pondering upon; they, if anything, stress the vitality of diverse cultural identity effaced in the global village that failed to bring people closer. It is proper to say that "technological acceleration has transformed our planet, our societies, and ourselves, but it has failed to transform our understanding of these things" (Bridle, 2018: 2).

2.2 Globalisation eliminating traditional cultures

Any claims to individual cultures as the debates mentioned above are likely to be considered absurd in the age of technological development and internet. The famous, or rather infamous one can say, phrase 'the global village' that associated the spread

of internet, is probably the most ready answer that refutes such claims of cultural diversity. Through the cultural globalisation agents: 1), internet technology and 2), the hegemony of English as a world lingua franca, cultures are melted together into one homogenous amalgam. This is called cultural globalisation to differentiate it from its original economic meaning denoting the work of capitalist multinational corporations. Other concepts that can be forms of globalisation are McDonaldisation (Ritzer, 1993/2000) and Disneyisation (Bryman, 1999). The following are the main agents that contribute to the idea of a single integral world. Discussing these agents is important to show that any claims of cultural diversity are based on an informed background.

2.2.1 Agents of globalisation: The language and discursive practices and technological developments

At the wrap of the 20th century, linguists and translation scholars posed questions about the influence of globalisation on their fields, especially in the light of some language related internet facts. For instance, they highlighted that much of the internet content is in English (Schaffner, 2000: 2), with 75% of internet web pages in 1998, 80% of chat rooms in 1998, and 95% of secure server sites in 1999, all being in English (ibid: 3). However, this control of English decreased from 80% in 1995 to 57% in 1999 according to a study by German Der Spiegel magazine (ibid).

Not only one language has taken over most world communication, but the world has come to use the same discourse to talk about concepts and depending on the same source of news;

"so we can speak of globalisation of discursive practices. This involves the international dissemination of genres and discourses, i.e. the spread of particular ways of using language (for example, in politics, business, advertising) across national, cultural and linguistic boundaries. Will these developments lead to homogenisation or to heterogenisation (i.e. [how] are global tendencies appropriated in different languages and cultures)? [..] Globalisation in the sense of homogenisation of discursive practices will therefore have profound social and cultural implication because discourse embodies and transmits assumptions about social relations, identities and values" (Barat and Fairclough, 1997 in ibid: 4).

One of those complications concerns the very notion of culture. When discursive practices and genres become identical worldwide, when people watch the same news, the same soap operas, does this establish a global culture? In other words, will shared information result in a shared way of life, and also in shared emotions, in a shared global conscience, which extends beyond cultural barriers and prejudices?

The other factor of globalisation is the revolutionary communication technology of the 1990s. The spread of internet created new communities of users/ chatters who are sharing knowledge and experiences although they do not know each other except by name, which may not be their real names (Schäffner, 2000: 1). This is due to the fact that "cyberspace ignores boundaries, and transcends place and time" (ibid: 2). From "the year 2000 and beyond, conceptual terms will become easier to translate as different cultures come together under the global communication umbrella" (Katan 1999: 7) says. India, for instance, started to use satellite technology and hence mobile phones by the end of second millennium; there will be no problem in translating the

new technology that is imported from Japan, American and Europe into Punjabi, whether for the technicians or ordinary users (ibid).

This idea purports to undermine the claim for the powerful role of individual cultures in today's world. But what it misses is that while communication between cyber communities goes on some time of the day, mankind has not yet stopped communicating in real life, especially in those places of the world where internet has not completely taken over virtual communication, or places where the cyber invasion is strongly battled for health reasons or more importantly for maintaining the 'humanness' of mankind and conserving interpersonal social connectedness.

Moreover, those studies and statistics of Mary Snell Hornby (referred to by Schäffner above) were made at the wrap up of the 20th century. That is when internet use was a privilege to citizens of Western societies and only the educated elite of developing countries societies. During the first decade of the 21st century with the advent of smart phones and more accessibility to internet by every inhabitant of an urban city in developing countries, the landscape changed drastically. Not because world business is now handled in Arabic, Farsi, Chinese, or Azeri, for example, neither because technological information became shared knowledge as Katan said, but because the new technological revolution accessible to laymen allowed them to do without English and lead to the thriving of individual languages and cultures, at least on regional or national levels. Instead of English invading the cyber interpersonal communication, local languages and cultural features are emphasised. Smart phones and social media enlivened and empowered weaker languages. Video games are localised culturally and linguistically (for better marketing), jokes are culturally translated to suit the different target communities, and the same stories appear to have different versions catering not only for individual languages but also for the various dialects of the same

language. The same story in Arabic has Iraqi, Egyptian, Lebanese, etc, versions, not changing the core idea but replacing the dialectal words of one variety of Arabic by ones from another variety. Laymen not only can do without English, they can do without 'standard' Arabic. Internet started as an English global phenomenon and turned to a tool that enhances less powerful languages.

As the sociologist Karl Otto Hondrich argues (1999), shared knowledge of an event is always supplemented by culture-specific background knowledge, presuppositions, and prejudices, resulting in different interpretations. In other words, everything which reaches an audience in some global way, is filtered, interpreted, and localised (ibid: 4-5). "With respect to language and communication, globalisation of discursive practices may […] be felt to be a loss rather than a gain. Opposite trends to globalisation, then, may be deliberate attempts to resist any danger of losing national languages and communicative conventions" (ibid: 5). A relevant concept here is cultural identity, Schäffner says (ibid).

2.2.2 Cultural homogenisation

The notion of cultural homogenisation is more often than not studied in comparison to nationalism. That is to say, homogenizing minority cultures within the boundaries of one nation. "Cultural homogenization is defined here as a state-led policy aimed at cultural standardization and the overlap between state and culture. As the goal is frequently to impose the culture of dominant elites on the rest of the citizenry, it consists basically of a top-down process where the state seeks to nationalize "the masses"" (Conversi, 2010: 719). However, it is also used in relation to globalisation

and the process of imposing one global culture (usually a Western Anglophone one) on the other cultures of the world in a way that endangers and eliminates cultural diversity. One of the forms resistance to cultural homogenization is to: 1- localise the global 2- emphasise cultural identity. In the following sections, the tension between globalisation and emphasising cultural identity and hence diversity will be viewed.

***2.2.2.1** Phenomena of cultural homogenisation: McDonaldisation and Disneyisation*

McDonaldisation and Disneyisation are two of the most widespread terminology that has been associated with globalisation. They are included in the discussion of this chapter because they are prototypical examples of globalisation especially of Americanisation, and also because they will be used to example to elaborate on the mutual effect between globalisation and local cultures.

 The term McDonaldisation, first coined by George Ritzer (1993), is used to mean "the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American as well as the rest of the world" (ibid: 1). The principles "attempt to standardize both the process and the product" (Katan, 1999: 21). The spread of the standardised systems of McDonaldisation in the societies of world cultures indicates cultural imperialism (Ritzer, 2000: 174). However the existence of American chain restaurants in the rest of the world is not an indicator of McDonaldization, it is rather the existence of "indigenous clones" of the American chains that Ritzer finds such an indicator. Local enterprises similar to McDonald's appeared in Russia, Japan, China, and Seol (ibid: 174-5). This is an important point that we will get back to shortly.

'Disneyfication', on the other hand, "has been used by one of Walt Disney's biographers to refer to that shameless process by which everything the Studio later touched, no matter how unique the vision of the original from which the Studio worked, was reduced to the limited terms Disney and his people could understand. Magic, mystery, individuality […] were consistently destroyed when a literary work passed through this machine that had been taught there was only one correct way to draw" (Schickel, 1986: 225, in Bryman, 1999: 26).

McDonaldisation does not mean the spread of McDonald's restaurants or restaurants similar to it in structure, but refers to the principles upon which McDonald hinges, which existed years before the brand was found by the Mcdonald brothers (Bryman, 1999: 25). In spite of that, it is good to use the spread as an example to discuss the spread of globalised cultural patterns in the world, as does Katan. In the section below, McDonaldisation will be used to showcase how the globalised cultural pattern undergoes changes to suit the local or native communities' needs and tastes.

2.3 Globalization is superficial

Globalisation is seen as a multifaceted and complex process of negotiation between local and foreign identities (Hasanen et al, 2014: 546).

"Throughout this process, a driver of globalisation encounters a set of defences, intermediaries and agents of change where the cultural mechanisms of resistance and accommodation mediate the effects of foreign influence to facilitate, mediate or eliminate the impact of globalisation. This causes people either to reject or adopt a new identity or to embrace a bicultural identity that blends global and national identities" (ibid).

Although it is thought that there is a dynamic process by which McDonaldization changes the behaviour of the consumer and thus the change may be of a deeper level, that is, of belief; this is not always true (Katan, 1999: 22). The world is only superficially united by the American hamburger, jeans and trainers, and Hollywood entertainment (ibid). Although many world writers, like Kaynak (cited in Seguinot 1995: 65, cited in Katan, ibid), believe that "the growing significance of global communication [...] blurs national differences, age and lifestyle may be more important than national culture. Thanks to satellite TV, adolescents the world over have more in common with their peers in other countries in terms of their taste than with other age groups from the same culture". What seems to be uniting the world is only uniting the teenagers of the world. More importantly Katan rightly states that the blurring differences are at a visible level, (ibid: 23). What does not blur are the more important yet invisible element of what actually make up a culture. "It is a fallacy to believe that because Russians now drink Pepsi-cola, Pepsi *means* the same for them as for Americans" Kramsch (1993: 227, emphasis in the original) says. "Muscovites do not go to McDonald's for the same reason as the Americans, nor do they behave at McDonald's in the same way as would be expected in America. Also, McDonald's Management in Moscow have adapted to Muscovite ways by allowing clients to make McDonald's a 'slow-drink' rather than a fast-food outlet" (Katan, ibid: 23).

"What happens is that an imported system such as enforced speed control or eating at McDonald's dynamically adapts to an already existing way of doing things. [T]here will always be global localisation (or glocalisation), and successful individuals and

multi-nationals like McDonald's will always dynamically adapt to local cultures" (ibid: 24). This last sentence can be worded differently: the local culture will make global phenomena, corporates, enterprises adapt themselves. Glocalisation is a notion that has two facets of interpretation in relation to cultures. First it represents the triumph of local weaker cultures that need to maintain their position in the face of globalisation. But at the other facet it means the underlying justification for the emergence of concepts like third space that is heralded today by the advocates of some postcolonial theorists who try to find a way out of the dilemma of cultural issues such as postcolonial and immigrant communities.

The other important question in suggesting glocalisation is whether it also means the movement of some features of the weaker cultures to the superpowers. To take the example this time from the post-2003 books about Iraq, it can be assumed that the topics covered in the books were generally news headlines in every major news network in the world, presenting to the world similar stories. "[O]ne can see the partial emergence of a global news agenda whose coverage depends upon a common resource of news agency reports and film, addressed to an increasingly global audience and producing globalized representations and meanings around particular events", (Fairclough, 2009: 332-3). This makes the whole world share the same knowledge about Iraq: Saddam, Shia, Sunna, etc. Yet, polls show that the majority of the Americans cannot differentiate between Iraq and Iran.

However, those who cannot tell the difference between Iraq and Iran are able to tell the difference between falafel and hummus (the two Middle Eastern foods). It seems that what moves from the periphery to the centre is only things on the outer layers of the Hofstede's onion. The fact that the Western world offers these dishes in its restaurants does not mean that the world is happily homogenous. The Western world

is happy to accept the food that a Lebanese or Palestinian woman prepared, but it will not as easily accept the woman or deal with her in good will if she appeared wearing a Muslim hijab.

Likewise, Muslims in the West seem to have mingled with the society for any onlooker from the Eastern Muslim countries, but a close look by anyone standing on the Western land will clearly see that this homogenisation is only superficial and temporarily spatial. They meet in the supermarkets, in public transportation, in hospitals and in their children's schools, but they do not eat together, they do not marry each other, they are intolerant of each other's beliefs. Each group maintains its cultural identity at deep which takes us again to Katan's statement that the blurring boundaries of globalisation is only at a visible level.

2.3.1 Globalisation in Iraq

In this section the McDonaldisation phenomenon will be used as an example of globalisation and will be considered in the Iraqi context. McDonald's never made it to Iraq neither during the reign of Iraq's former president, Saddam Hussein, nor during the subsequent ruling after 2003. That is due to political reasons, under both the Arab nationalist ideology of pre-2003 and the Islamic theology oriented governments of post-2003; American culture has not been welcome.

To steer the argument towards anthropology, hoping this will not undermine the strength of the discussion, but taking burgers as an epitome of McDonald and thus of Americanism and globalisation, a few relevant notes can be made. Iraqis have been good consumers of burger, and several local restaurants were famous for their burgers

over the 1980s and the 1990s but they were of no particular brand; simply Iraqi burger made with local recipes suiting the native taste. If this prototype is accepted as a representation of how McDonald's would have been in Iraq, then it can be inferred that a real McDonald's in Iraq would have been adapted to the taste of the Iraqis as the Russian McDonald's was adapted to the habits of the Muscovites. However, to keep on with this culinary example, the burger never completely replaced the 'local fast food' so to say, like the Iraqi kebab. Although the thirst of the Iraqi people for cultural matters with a foreign trace and their boredom with increased internally manufactured products during the UN American-instigated economic sanctions on the country during the 1990s until 2003, made them yearn for alternatives in everything including food, in fact it is doubtful to say burgers were even close to competition with local 'fast food'. Even at its highest competition, it was particularly favoured by certain age groups (the youth usually were attracted to it), of middle class (and upward) Iraqis. More importantly, inside their homes, Iraqis opt for home-made food of purely domestic taste and ingredients. Generally, after 2003, with the shock of the war and the fading of the interest in foreignness, and also with the feeling of a threat of really losing the cultural features to the invader, there was a hike in return to purely local taste, and the detail of food making and consumption came to be celebrated.

On the other side of the resistance to globalisation and Americanism in the years following 2003, there was embracing of other regional powers such as Iran, Turkey and Saudi Arabia. Anthropologically speaking, Turkey was the best player in imposing its culture on Iraq and the area. Discussing the reason is out of the limits of this study.

In conclusion, the Iraqi culture was not affected by the American globalisation. At best the globalisation is localised as will be further discussed below.

2.4 The collapse of globalisation

In 2005, J. R. Saul heralded the end of globalisation, at least economically. This prophecy is a door through which the end of other facets of globalisation should be seen. He states that

"As to which parts of the Globalist belief system will disappear and which will stay, we have no idea. If everything went it would be dangerous. The last thing we need is a rampant nineteenth century nationalism combined with old–fashioned protectionism as an international principle. But once large forces begin to move about in a period of uncertainty, we cannot know the outcome" (ibid).

The Britons voting for a Brexit and the Americans' voting for Donald Trump's programme are but indicators that world peoples are inclined towards more nationalism, not only economically but culturally. The motive of most Brits was ethnic, so was that of Trump's voters who believed Trump will focus on America's internal welfare than supporting foreign allies.

Abandoning cultural globalism is emphasised by Cronin (2013: 4) who calls for ending globalised views of the world and challenging looking at globalisation as the end of the nation-state. He stresses the importance of restoring the agency of people, of stopping looking at the global trends as abstract; one way of doing this is by rejecting gigantism and returning to smallness (ibid).

2.5 Cultural identity

Emphasising cultural identity is one of the ways to resist globalisation and its ramification which involves globalising discursive practices. Globalisation "of discursive practices may [...] be felt to be a loss rather than a gain. Opposite trends to globalisation, then, may be deliberate attempts to resist any danger of losing national languages and communicative conventions" (ibid: 5). A relevant concept here is cultural identity, Schäffner says (ibid). Mary Snell-Hornby (2000: 13) refers to the emergence of national cultural identities after the fall of the Iron Curtain as "individual ethnic groups [that] are rediscovering their cultural heritage and […] the significance of their mother tongue, particularly if they are in conflict with other groups", particularly the emergence of Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian, as "separate languages". This context is fairly comparable to the emergence of the cultural identity in Iraq after the American invasion. Both Iraq and these countries emerged from war conflicts, and as we all know in conflicts many identities appear to fill the void left by the fall of the previous rule. But also Iraq was facing the fear of defacing its national identity by the Western invader. The fear came from the stereotypical experiences of colonized countries at the hands of the 'colonizers'. The Arab region in general, including Iraq, witnessed the processes of Francisation, Turkification and 'Farsification' over its contemporary history. However, more importantly, Iraq was under the mire of a pro-Saddam cultural identity. The Baath was, in principle, an Arab nationalist party, it was a non-liberal nationalism. Under this type of nationalism, the nation is "valuable in itself possessing an 'organic' existence [...] more important than [...] that of its individuals" (Crowder, 2013: 83), and cultural variety prospects are limited (ibid). Although this identity was consistent with the tendencies of the majority of the Iraqi people, there were many other aspects in the Iraqi cultural identity that were purposefully

disregarded or rather marginalised by the Saddam rule for ideological reasons, such as acknowledging the monarch rule and its members, the Shii identity of a great majority of Iraq's Muslim population, or its important Kurdish segment in the north and in the eastern strip of Iraq. In other words, there was negligence of its pluralistic cultural identity. This ideology was spread through various methods including steering the works of art, of the academics and intelligentsia towards that end. Their works in the 1980s, as Nassr (2015: 172) notes, focused on glorifying the Baath and the achievements of the July 1986 revolution, glorifying Saddam and his leading role, attempting to establish an Arab-nationalistic memory, distancing Islam and promoting a return to the ancient Iraqi civilizations like Babylon and Assyria (translated from Arabic by the researcher). The ideologies were controlled as per the interest of Saddam and his Baath Party ideology. After being driven out of Kuwait and the American sanctions on Iraq, the ideology started to focus on the importance of Islam (instead of Arabhood) in order to renew the legitimacy of the Baath, soliciting the tribal spirit, which is prevalent in the Iraqi society, after this spirit was eliminated at earlier stages of the Baath rule especially during the 1970s and the 1980s (ibid: 173-4). Worst of all was that even when Iraq's cultural identity was emphasised, it was always related to Saddam. Iraq's historical cultural identity as the cradle of civilization was not an exception. Mesopotamia was connected to the president's character in every possible occasion. There was "tireless effort which Saddam and his publicists have put into the promotion of a uniform national identity based on cultural denominators common to all Iraqis. Every historical event and all symbols, including those of ancient Mesopotamia, have been manipulated to present them as of direct relevance to contemporary society" (Kelidar, 1992: 796). "The association with [the Babylonian King] Hammurabi, [the Assyrian King] Nebuchadnezzar, Ali [ibn Abi Talib, the fourth caliph of Islam], and

[Prophet Mohammad's companion] Saad Ibn Abi Waqas, amongst many others, is simply meant to show that Saddam is all of them rolled into one and thus greater than they were." (ibid: 798).

Thus, after the war, there was emphasis on the different identities that were ignored by and/or associated with Saddam, or came to be threatened by the presence of the Americans as a foreign force controlling the country militarily but also politically and, more critically, culturally. Moreover, the sanctions imposed on Iraq in the 1990s were another reason why the gush of globalisation was curbed and did not reach Iraq as early as it did other nations. Fairclough (2009) quotes Steger's (2005) core claims about the discourse around globalisation, the first and most important of which is that "[g]lobalization is about the liberalization and global integration of markets". Due to the sanctions, such economic market integration could not be achieved. Iraq was cut off from the rest of the world commercially.

Cultural identity, according to Snell-Hornby (2000), is the concept that is located between the two extremes of globalisation and tribalism. She quotes Benjamin Barber's foresight of the world's two polarised futures (ibid: 12). The first future is characterised by pressing nations into one commercially homogeneous global network: one McWorld tied together by technology, ecology, communications and commerce. The second political future is seen in the other extreme a retribalization of large swaths of humankind by war and bloodshed: a threatened Lebanonization of national states in which culture is pitted against culture, people against people, tribe against tribe—a Jihad in the name of a hundred narrowly conceived faiths against every kind of interdependence, every kind of artificial social cooperation and civic mutuality. Barber (quoted in Ritzer 2000: 176) point out that "McWorld will win out over Jihad" and in order for the fundamentalist movements of Jihad to succeed, they "must

begin to use McDonaldized systems (such as emails, the Internet, television)".
Barber's call for technologizing Jihad has come true in the last ten years or so and if
using these McDonaldizing systems are an indicator of a successful spread of
ideologies then it means that they have achieved the goal.

Cultural identity indicates a community's awareness of, and pride in, its own
unmistakeable features—and an individual's sense of belonging to that community,
whether by birth, language or common territory—but implies that it is still able to
communicate with and exist in harmony with other communities in the world around
(hence it is not bound by either the uniformity of globalism or the destructive
aggressivity of tribalism) (Snell-Hornby, 2000: 13). Accordingly, cultural identity for
Snell-Hornby is not at the other end to globalism. It is another one of those in-between
areas that theorists advocate in the discussion of the role of culture in the world. This
viewpoint of the middle-ness is the outcome of the immigration context in the West.

 Lebanese French writer Amin Maalouf who prides in having a cultural identity with
different components is often faced with the question about to which of his identities
does he feels he belongs. Maalouf was born in Lebanon and lived in it until he was 27
then moved to France and remained there 22 years until he wrote the book quoted
here. As a Lebanese, Arabic was his mother tongue and it was the language in which
he acquired his education, and his early childhood experiences in his ancestors' village
inspired his novels later; as a French citizen he spoke and wrote his books in French,
lived on France's soil, drank its water, and touched its historical stones every day,
things that mean it will never be a foreign country for him again (Maalouf, 2000: 1-2).
He states that that context does not make him half French and half Lebanese, because
"identity can't be compartmentalised" (ibid: 2). He does not have several identities.
Instead, he has got one identity that is "made up of many components in a mixture

that is unique" to him (ibid). The detailed account of the sources of his identity does not spare Maalouf a superficial agreement from his interlocutors who usually persistently add the question "but what do you really feel, deep down inside?" (ibid: 2). This question is not only unamusing but also dangerous in Maalouf's opinion (ibid).

One would wonder whether this complex identity can be applied on a national level, especially in countries with a pluralistic structure. To describe a person's identity as Iraqi means Arab, Muslim. But it can also mean Shia or Sunni, related to Eastern Christians by language. People's allegiance to one or another component of their identity is inflated according to circumstances; "one has only to look at the various conflicts being fought out all over the world today to realise that no one allegiance has absolute supremacy. Where people feel their faith is threatened, it is their religious affiliation that seems reflect their whole identity. But if their mother tongue or their ethnic group is in danger, then fight ferociously against their own co-religionists" (ibid: 13). One of the best examples to the centuries-long war between the Turks and the Kurds because of ethnic issues although they are both Muslim; the Hutus and Tutsis are Catholic and speak the same language but that did not stop them from slaughtering each other (ibid).

A person's identity is shaped by the people surrounding her/him. "What determines a person's affiliation to a given group is essentially the influence of others: the influence of those about him—relatives, fellow-countrymen, co-religionists—who try to make him one of them; together with the influence of those on the other side, who do their best to exclude him" (ibid: 25). This influence makes the personal traits of identity part of a collective identity, because humankind tends by nature to group with members of similar orientations which makes living easier.

It is the moment that belonging to a larger group is considered a source of power when identity becomes a capital upon which the individual can act. Many of the symbols that are considered to be signs of identity are at the same time symbolic capital, the most evident example being language. The sharper the identity features and the more they are used to support the member of the group, the more likely for it to be capital.

To recap, so far the resistance of cultural groups to globalisation was discussed based on the assumption that that local communities own their cultures. But in the next sections, there will be a discussion of significant trends of thought that rebuff the possession of culture or language. It is Jacque Derrida's originary alienation, with a brief notes on Bhabha's cultural alienation.

2.6 Cultural alienation

There is awareness through liberal tradition that cultures are diverse and that the "diversity of cultures is a good and a positive thing" (Bhabha, 1990: 207). "It is a commonplace of plural, democratic societies to say that they encourage and accommodate cultural diversity" (ibid: 208). The West's virtue is that it has the capacity to "understand and locate cultures in a universal time-frame that acknowledges their various historical and social contexts only eventually to transcend them and render them transparent" (ibid).

Thus accepting cultural diversity is the cornerstone of multiculturalism in Western society like the British society for instance (ibid). But there are two problems in this: first, that there may be "encouragement" of cultural diversity but there is also "containment" of it (ibid). The host culture which is the dominant culture create a norm

to the effect that "these cultures are fine, but we must be able to locate them within our own grid" (ibid". Bhabha states that this is what he means by "a *creation* of cultural diversity and a *containment* of it" (ibid). The second problem, according to Bhabha (ibid) is that universalism paradoxically permits diversity [but] masks ethnocentric norms, values, and interests" (ibid).

In order to interpret/ explicate the changing public sphere we need a politics that is based on unequal uneven and potentially antagonistic political identities (ibid).

It is understood from the above that cultural diversity and hence multiculturalism is a farce notion that covers cultural difference. Cultural difference cannot be "accommodated within a universalist framework" (ibid: 209). Even from a very "rational" or "rationalist" point of view, it is very difficult, even impossible, and counterproductive, to try and fit together different forms of culture and to pretend that they can easily coexist. The assumption that at some level all forms of cultural diversity may be understood on the basis of a particular universal concept, whether it be 'human being', 'class', or 'race', can be both very dangerous and very limiting in trying to understand the ways in which cultural practices construct their own systems of meaning and social organisation" (ibid). Bhabha's third space is the counterpart of glocalisation.

2.6.1 Language possession and Derrida's originary alienation

As a premise for making arguments about RCT, the cultural part in the texts, as well as the language of the translations, are assumed to be the natural possession of the native/target culture. This assumption may sound axiomatic from the perspective of the members of cultures with a strong local quintessence. But it is not so for Jacques

Derrida who raises the polemic of originary alienation in his book *The Monolingualism of the Other or the Prosthesis of the Origin* (1998). Derrida's main proposition is that 'everyone has one language and even this one language is not his own'. What is germane to the assumption adopted in this study is the second part of this reflective statement.

The multilingual background of Derrida is seen as an incentive for this argument about monolinugalism (Mheble, 2008: 10). He was a French citizen who was born, and lived for a period of time, in Algeria to a Jewish family. This background makes French, Hebrew, and Arabic all possible mother languages for him (ibid). But which of these three languages is his mother tongue? For Derrida (1998: 58), a mother language "is never purely natural, nor proper, nor inhabitable". He is "inclined to take seriously the observation that a person does not create [his] original language but learns or obtains it from others; that language therefore emerges under the sign of what does not belong to me, nor to other people, who also merely share in it by using it," (Maleuvre, 1999: 171). In other words, this state of alienation towards language, that every language is the language of the other, should not be interpreted as if there is a "putative" person who owns the language, an "originary interlocutor" who possesses it; it rather means that the understanding or misunderstanding of the speech is interpreted by the others who hear it (ibid).

Derrida's notion becomes particularly relevant for this study when he makes reference to the language 'possession' in post-colonial nations. Derrida refers to the relation of the colonized to the language of the colonizer as an eccentric relation whether the colonized bewails or glories that relation (ibid). For Derrida, even the colonizer does not "inhabit" the language he speaks (ibid). This decisive position by Derrida forestalls the question of the relation of the dominated to their language and so if the dominant

can appropriate it or not. It is deducible from Derrida's position that neither the dominant nor the dominated inhabit the language.

Originary alienation is used as an important counter-argument against the postcolonial position that considers "language as isomorphic with culture" and considers "languages and cultures as the monolithic properties of subjects (my/our language= my/our culture)" (Baer, 2014: 237). Derrida's picture in which he repudiates the property of a natural language and expounds this repudiation is criticised for being "philosophically shaky", as while he denies the property of a natural language he talks about exile from language (Maleuvre, ibid: 171). "What one has never lost, one cannot meaningfully be said to miss or pine for" (ibid).

This is a valid yet simplistic critique to Derrida who unreservedly places the reader in the predicament of two contradictory propositions: "We only ever speak one language" and "We never speak only one language" (Derrida, 1998: 7). He uses his deconstruction tools in dealing with the identity issues (Mhebl, 2008: 10), a matter which he openly admits, when he states (1998: 7) his two opposing propositions, by referring to his fondness of antinomy. He aims to invalidate the idea that a person's mother language represents his identity and so warns against "the romanticism of indigenousness" (Maleuvre, ibid: 171).

What is described as a shaky philosophical picture can be accounted for by Derrida's Deconstructionist method of argumentation. However, as Ahluwalia (2005:146) correctly puts it, he treats his autobiographical and cultural alienations as "universal truth of culture and language", which is a considerable limitation to his interpretive framework. Although Derrida is keen to highlight that his book is not only about his personal experience, he confesses that his own genealogy was in one way or another

a yardstick in dealing with issues of language and monolingualism (ibid). The shattered identity of Derrida is described by Ahluwalia as wounds and scars (ibid). It is insubstantial to base universal truths upon wounded genealogy.

However, indigenousness can alter and change through transition and transposition (cultural translation in its broad sense is a case in point). For the speakers who did not experience multilingualism and were exposed only to monolingual homogeneous societies, their languages are a *part* of their cultural identity. They own the language because they own the culture. Derrida discusses language in relation to the self, i.e., from an abstract perspective, when it should not be discussed without reference to culture and as one cultural representation, especially when it considered from a sociocultural angle.

Although he uses his own experience only as supporting evidence to his tools of deconstruction, in order to demystify the "illusions of authenticity" as Ahluwalia (ibid) calls them, it also results in his "impatience with gregarious identification, with the militancy of belonging in general" (ibid). This latter quotation is of particular significance because it encapsulates the standpoint assumed here, which treats cultural features, including their linguistic representations, as the possession of the native speakers of that culture. Language should not be viewed as the possession of single speakers. It is a cultural characteristic that gains value when shared by other speakers inside a community.

In fact, in analysing RCT, not only are language and culture isomorphism and their being a property of subjects recognised, they will be addressed from a socio-cultural viewpoint that considers language and culture as capital, and hence can be used as tools for dominance. The term 'cultural capital' was first used by Pierre Bourdieu

(1973) to refer to the linguistic privileges of the school children from upper class families. How can this concept be applied to the cultural component in the texts of RCT? The next section shows a development of the use of the concept and how it has been used in language systems and whether it can be used as a term for the cultural component in RCT.

2.7 Bourdieu's cultural capital

Pierre Bourdieu made a significant contribution to sociology by introducing the notion of cultural capital that he developed and revised throughout his academic works, such as *The Inheritors* (1979, [1964]), *Reproduction* ([1970], 1977, 1990) and *Distinction* (1984, 1996, [1979]). The development of the concept and the different meanings it acquired are significant in categorising the language as well as the culture of the native/target community as symbolic capital. It illuminates what phenomena, concepts, values could legitimately be listed under cultural capital, and what its main features are. Both help in deciding what parts of the native culture can be categorised as capital in RCT.

It is crucial for the role of cultural capital in extricating the complexities of RCT to point out the entwinement of cultural capital with domination. Although cultural capital expanded and altered in scope, this feature of its earliest application underpins it in all its shifts as will be shown by its incorporation into the world system of language and translation. Cultural capital "plays a key role in Bourdieu's analysis of how social groups acquire status and indulge in practices of domination and exclusion" (Prieur and Savage, 2013: 248). Although he does not provide a clear definition of the concept, and although it seems to connect phenomena that do not share much in

common on the surface, Bourdieu's analysis shows that they "worked together as forces of social domination" (ibid). Lamont and Lareau (ibid: 159) explain that domination in Bourdieu's cultural capital does not mean influencing specific decisions or political agendas but it is rather a power that shapes other people's lives through exclusion and symbolic imposition" (ibid). It is "a power of legitimating the claim that specific cultural norms and practices are superior, and of institutionalizing these claims to regulate behaviour and access to resources". For Bourdieu, cultural power is used by dominant groups to mark cultural distance and exclude and recruit new occupants of high status positions" (ibid: 158). The following will show how the concepts altered and diversified over different periods and disciplines.

The notion of cultural capital has become one of the most widely used in the social sciences (Prieur and Savage, 2013: 246). Although Bourdieu's initial work stemmed from his observations in the area of education in France, its use in sociological analysis spread to other European nations (ibid). Bourdieu's concept was transported out of the continent and out of the borders of sociology, therefore it is difficult to find one definition for the concept. During his work in the educational field in France in the 1950s and 1960s, Bourdieu set the basis for his concept. The notion presented itself to Bourdieu "as a theoretical hypothesis which made it possible to explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from different social classes" (Bourdieu, 1986: 47). He developed it as a "tool" to analyse the performance of school children and how children with well-educated parents were more successful academically and professionally (Prieur and Savage, 2013: 246). The good performance of the privileged children was not only because of their educated parents, but also because of their experiencing of a "highbrow culture" including music and arts (ibid). The

advantage the children owned was at first called 'linguistic capital' in Bourdieu and Passeron 1964 but was later replaced by the term cultural capital in 1979 (ibid: 247).

The concept passed not only the French borders to the rest of the European continent but also the borders of education and sociology to other disciplines such as linguistics and translation as will be shown presently. Cultural capital expanded on two axes: first, on the axis of the increasing number of disciplines that used it as an analytic tool. It has become part of the sociological terminology with sizeable research in the domains of education, culture and other disciplines and areas of relation using the concept (ibid: 248). Second on the axis of the community on which it is used. In his 1984 book *Distinction*, Bourdieu enlarged the sphere of the application of cultural capital from the educational system to society as a whole "with an analysis of different groups' lifestyles, tastes, cultural competences and participation, as well as of their attitudes in cultural, moral and political affairs" (ibid: 248). Over the past few decades, the concept has spread internationally and has "come to play an increasingly important international role in recharging the sociology of stratification and in allowing a rethinking of concepts of class and status in a globalised and 'informationalised' world where media proliferate and cultural communication abounds" (ibid). In the area of language and translation the concept of cultural capital has been used in the stratification of nations and language groups worldwide. For instance, the models of world systems of capital exchange as part of the theoretical framework for the study.

The concept of cultural capital fixed itself in the lexicon of sociology, the concept of cultural capital is used by countless research items within the sociology of education, the sociology of culture and similar areas and disciplines (ibid: 248). The reasons for this popularity are thought to be related to that, a) "it partly reflects the hegemony of economics in which key concepts need to be rendered in economistic terms" and 2)

"cultural capital retains a critical edge (to possess it is not unambiguously a positive thing, even if it would be considered worse not to possess it) which ensures that it attracts to its banner a wide range of critical social scientists and scholars in the humanities who wish to expose powerful forms of domination and inequality in its name" (ibid). The educational aspect of Bourdieu's theory, it can be inferred, is more of a case study for the role of already existing cultural capital in reproducing dominance structure. Bourdieu (1973) refers to the contribution "made by the educational system to the reproduction of the structure of power relationships and symbolic relationships between classes, by contributing to the reproduction of the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among these classes". This endows the concept with suppleness that accounts for the wide spread applicability. However, this suppleness is criticized as looseness. Lamont and Lareau find it difficult to assess Bourdieu's work due to shifts on the analytic levels (1988: 156). They refer to the large number of cultural signals he grouped under the concept of cultural capital in his different writings (ibid: 155). "In *Inheritors* (Bourdieu and Passeron 1979/1964), cultural capital consists of informal academic standards which are also a *class attributes* of the dominant class. These standards and attributes are informal knowledge about the school, traditional humanistic culture, linguistic competence and specific attitudes, or personal style" (ibid). In his later work *Reproduction* (1977/1970), he gave cultural capital "its original definition as academic standards", but narrowed and described in detail the constitutive items that the concept included "only linguistic aptitude (grammar, accent, tone), previous academic culture, as well as diplomas" (Lamont and Lareau, 1988: 155). Then he assigns a theoretically different role to cultural capital in *Distinction* (1984 [1979]): "*an indicator and a basis of class position;* cultural attitudes, preferences and behaviours are conceptualized as "tastes" which

are being mobilized for *social selection*. Bourdieu shows that tastes vary with cultural and economic capital". Finally, in "Les stratégies de reconversion" (Bourdieu, Boltanski, and St-Martin 1973), cultural capital is a *power resource* (technical, scientific, economic or political expertise) facilitating access to organizational positions" (ibid). The multifarious items which Bourdieu placed under cultural capital inspired researchers from different disciplines to invest the concept in their respective fields, with each field exploiting one of these interpretations of the concept. In the domain of language and translation, the cultural capital can be a language with a high communicative value which reflects dominance. In translation, sources written in such a dominant language are considered by some models as cultural capital.

The different ways in which cultural capital was augmented to include practices, features, and behaviours it did not originally include, or narrowed down to give it more precise boundaries, contributed to its versatility. Its use in the US is defined by different researchers according to the features of the American society. DiMaggio (1982) (in Lamont and Lareau, 1988: 162) outlined cultural capital as "knowledge of classical music and participation in the fine arts". Martin and Szelenyi (1987) (in ibid: 60) handily "understood cultural capital as theoretical knowledge, symbolic mastery or intellectual work".

To conclude, the developments of cultural capital included: linguistic aptitude and diplomas; highbrow culture and music and art; theoretical knowledge, and finally and most importantly Bourdieu defined it to include society as a whole "with an analysis of different groups' lifestyles, tastes, cultural competences and participation, as well as of their attitudes in cultural, moral and political affairs. These understandings of cultural capital encourage including culture in all its definitions that were discussed in chapter one under the term cultural capital. In fact this legitimises making an

underlying assumption for RCT: that the native culture and its language are cultural capital.

2.7.1 Cultural capital is not highbrow anymore

One of the features of cultural capital that it took on in later extensions of the notion although it does not cut across its Bourdieusian analysis is that cultural capital is not highbrow culture any more (Prieur and Savage, 2013 248). This recent development in using cultural capital is discussed here for the purpose of supporting the use of sectarian affiliation as cultural capital, should sectarianism be viewed as a 'low' or negative cultural feature.

Societies have changed since the notion of cultural capital was first developed. In adhering to Bourdieu's basic concept and inside educational sphere of application, "there has been an increasing recognition that the nature of cultural capital dissected by Bourdieu in *Distinction* (based on French data collected between 1963 and 1973) may not be that which operates today," (ibid: 248-9). Given the scale of technological and social change, it would be remarkable if Bourdieu's account of cultural capital continued to exist in unchanged form" (ibid: 249). The "French cultural avant-garde taste" cannot be applied in today's technologized societies, therefore Bourdieu's book *Distinction* should be considered as providing only the "broad orientation" for the analysis of modern societies (ibid). However, this change in taste is not inconsistent with Bourdieu's account of cultural capital, as he himself "places cultural innovation itself in the sociological frame, seeing it not at face value, but also a form of position taking from which advantage within the field can be claimed" (ibid: 250). "It is now a commonplace to assert that traditional highbrow culture has faded, and/or that it is not

as marked in other nations as it was in France at the time when *Distinction* was written," (ibid: 252). In fact, research carried out in different parts of the world indicates that cultural taste has not only changed from the mid-twentieth century to the current day but also that it differed from one nation to another. For example, in the USA class boundaries are not set according to cultural taste (ibid: 253). In the Scandinavian countries as well there are currents that can be described as "anti-elitist" and "egalitarian" which oppose "symbolic dominance" on cultural issues (ibid). Research is carried out globally on the change of taste. For example, Claessens and Dhoest's (2010) researched the increasing taste for lowbrow comedy in Belgium, and Turner and Edmond (2002) highlighted a similar change of taste in post-war Australia.

Shocking a metaphor as it may sound, "omnivore" is used to describe the nature of cultural taste of the modern educational class in today's world, which implies that it consumes both highbrow and lowbrow source of art, language and music (ibid). The term first used in this sense by Peterson and Kern 1996 (Prieur and Savage, 2013: 155). It also refers to an emerging cosmopolitan orientation in subjects (people) studied when it comes to their cultural taste (ibid: 260). Veenstra (2010), for instance, concludes that Canadian taste is omnivorous.

2.7.1.1 *How is sectarianism cultural capital*

Given the negative implications associated with sectarian polarisation, it sounds atypical to describe it as capital. But in the light of the developments of the notion of cultural capital both in scope and nature, such a claim becomes plausible.

"Mass media's increased presence in everyday life subjects us all to more information on the range of possible choices, and exposes us to a new and shorter time horizon.

What is fashionable today may be 'so yesterday' already tomorrow, while signs of vulgarity may just as rapidly become 'cool'" (Prieur and Savage, 2013: 256-7). This notion of 'fashionable' in the society's preferences, and so in cultural capital, accounts for treating the discourse of sectarianism as cultural capital. The war, possibly any vigorous political development in the world, can make aspects of one culture or another more 'fashionable' for a period of time. Therefore, it attracts writers into investing their capital in this trendy and profitable undertaking. Shortly before, during, and shortly after the war in Iraq, the voracity to know about this fairly significant action and what it produced made Iraq in general and its inner sectarian struggles in particular a trendy and 'fashionable' topic not only for the media but for writers and analysts in the middle east field to increase their capital. For these writers, their knowledge/expertise (academic or journalistic) about Iraq and its cultural peculiarities was capital in a time when publishers and media corporations invested the names of Iraq in their work to attract and satisfy their audience. In this sense, sectarianism is used by authors in the more defined framework of the American use of cultural capital, namely as used by Martin and Szelenyi (1987) in Lamont and Lareau, 1988: 160) who conceived it to be theoretical knowledge or intellectual work. Viewing sectarianism (as appeared in the post-2003 books on Iraq) as cultural capital along these lines overrides any other attempt to conceptualize sectarianism as cultural capital by means of indicating the compatibility between the use of sectarianism and cultural capital in its different guises. However, what is important to indicate is that sectarianism has the following basic traits which it shares with the original and extended forms of cultural capital: it is used as a source of social domination, it is lowbrow culture and it can provide economic advantages.

Cultural capital serves the purpose of studying a translation type as RCT because it employs two pillars upon which RCT is based: culture, class (exemplifying unequal relations) and the domination associated with this class difference. With class differences diminishing in post-post-modern societies, the unequal relations between nations have not been eliminated. Even after the end of colonization, new ways of practicing power appeared to retain domination. Cultural capital as a tool to study RCT will be used in its capacity as a part of particular models of international translation systems where languages themselves, or texts in particular languages, are considered cultural capital, as will be shown in the rest of the current chapter.

2.7.1.2 *Cultural capital in translation*

Translation studies employed much of Bourdieu's sociological theories. "The implications of such key concepts as field, habitus and capital, among others in Bourdieu's sociology, for the study of different aspects of translation have been (con)tested in a significant number of PhD projects, special issues of peer-reviewed journals, edited volumes and different academic colloquia." (Hanna, 2016: 16). Bourdieu's rich theory has a broad spectrum of disciplines from "sociology, anthropology, education, cultural history, linguistics, philosophy" and cuts across a wide range of fields of "specialised sociological inquiry" such as schools, religion, politics, intellectuals, to mention but a few (Wacquant, 1989: 26). But in translation studies it is his *habitus* that is more effectively researched, (see for instance, Inghilleri 2003; Semioni, 1998; Vorderobermeier, 2014; Hanna, 2016).

However, there are also models that invest the concept of cultural capital, treating languages as cultural goods that move in a hierarchical global system based on the

unequal relations between its members. There are accordingly central and peripheral languages. Against this backdrop, Casanova (2011) presented a model for the flow of book translation of books in the market of the literary translation. Books are cultural goods whose translation, she argues, from the more central languages to the more peripheral ones result in an accumulation of cultural capital. Heilbron (2010), echoes a similar stand point in that he argues that all translation of books flow from the dominating to dominated languages in the international book translation system. Casanova's model will be the theoretical framework for examining RCT. All assumed under the asymmetrical global system of language and translation relations, they are presented and discussed in the next chapter.

2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter the relation between globalisation and cultures was discussed in order to show the resistance of native culture to this world power representing the modern form of colonisation. The different agents contributing to globalism were viewed especially those raised by translation studies scholars. The chapter concluded that globalisation negotiates power with local and native cultures, since even its most stubborn form is adapted to the habits and values of these cultures. The result of this negotiation is what theorist call glocalisation. This concept seems to be doing justice to weaker cultures as it acknowledges them some power. But it also undermines cultural diversity. It is the counterpart of the idea of third space that postcolonial studies introduces in order to account for the question of identity in migration communities in the West. Third space is conciliating issues of shattered identity between the original native culture and the migration nations. In fact third space does not admit original cultures and sees it as a negotiable notion. Along similar lines, there are views that

deny originary languages too. These two originary alienations contradict the basic assumption of RCT which claims that language and culture are owned by their members.

Chapter Three: Sociological approaches to translation: translated books as cultural capital

3 Introduction

The current chapter will present the models that adopt a sociological approach to translation and which are based on studying the flow of book translation and draw on Pierre Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital. These models argue for the power of central over peripheral languages in the flow of the translation. The two most important models are Casanova's (2010) and Heilbrons (2010). They are inspired by de Swan's global languages system (2001). This unconventional sociologist's (Tonkin, 2005: 201) model will be discussed below as well for its importance in the literature that considers language as symbolic capital and categorises them accordingly. Then these models will be discussed in term of the critique against them. The aim of discussing these three models is that the thesis will argue in the opposite direction from these models. The relevance of world system models to the topic of this study is that they address the flow of translated books between languages, making it inevitable to view them in detail.

The second part of the chapter will be a view of the landscape of the book market in Iraq after 2003. As there is a complete lack of academic research about the book market in Iraq, discussion will be based upon interviews that the researcher conducted via email with the publishers of the translations studied in this work as well as two other publishers that are active in the field in Iraq.

3.1 Cultural capital in asymmetrical exchange systems

The asymmetrical exchange systems that will be discussed below are based on the concept of world systems and its different adaptations. Many sociological and linguistically oriented studies based their models and accounts on the general outline of the world system theory which appeared in the 1970s. Although the theory is more of a political way of assessing and tackling economic development (Chirot and Hall, 1982:81), the interdisciplinary nature of contemporary research approaches opened the way for its use in various disciplines. The theory divides the world countries into core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral countries. These terms were either copied by scholars and researchers from outside the original discipline of economic development and found them adequate, or were modified and reclassified to serve the purposes of their fields.

The world systems that are relevant to this study are those situated in the field of linguistic exchange, whether of language per se, literature, or translation. Three of these world systems will be viewed in the theoretical framework of the study. They are in the fields of language, literature and translation respectively: Abram de Swaan's (2001) global language system, Pascale Casanova's (2010) international system of literary exchange, Johan Heibron's (2010) international translation system. Casanova and Heilbron support their models against de Swaan's global system of language, although they do not use his terminology in categorizing languages. While Casanova confines her classification of languages to a dominating-dominated dichotomy, Heilbron maintains Immanuel Wallerstein's trichotomy of core, semi-periphery and periphery. De Swaan is more

elaborate in grouping the constellation of languages. With periphery on one end, centrality in his world system has grades of central, supercentral, and hypercentral. In the following sections each of these models will be demonstrated as they represent the basis on which Casanova hinges her model and they represent the literature review on using language and books as symbolic capital. The main argument of the thesis runs counter to what the following models suggest.

3.1.1 The Global System of Languages

Abram de Swaan (2001) introduces the global language system as a constellation of languages. For him, language is the dimension of the world system that was relatively only newly noticed, besides the political, economic, cultural, and ecological dimensions (ibid: 1). The language constellation is a social phenomenon, therefore it needs to be studied by using social sciences theories (ibid) and this is how he approaches it: through political sociology of language and economic sociology of language, the first being more pertinent to the current research.

The global system of languages includes thousands of languages that are organized in a hierarchical manner in the form of "organigrammes" (ibid: 4). At the bottom of the chart, lies the greater majority, 98 per cent, of the world languages, which de Swaans labels as "peripheral" languages; although there are thousands of them, they are "used by less than 10 percent of the humankind and are languages of memory that were never recorded in old or modern ways. (ibid). Peripheral languages are connected through bilingual speakers of both languages. But this is not usually the case. Speaker of two peripheral languages communicate through a third 'central language',

central to both peripheral languages. They move around it like moons around a planet (the image is the one used by de Swaan). Every group of peripheral languages moves around one central language. There are about a hundred central languages in the world today, used by about 95% of the humankind. Central languages are languages of education, newspapers, books, radio and TV. More importantly, they are languages of politics and bureaucracy (ibid), which means they are the "national" and "official" languages of the state (ibid: 5).

In the central languages there are multilingual speakers who learned a language that is higher in the hierarchy and more extensively spread, which is usually the language of a "colonial power" and after independence was kept in use in "politics, administration, law [..] and higher education" (ibid). De Swaan calls these the supercentral languages which mount in number to a dozen in today's world. These are Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Russian, Portuguese, Spanish, and Swahili. Each of these languages, except Swahili, is spoken by 100 million people and each language of these connects the speakers of a number of central languages (ibid).

In a similar way to the communication pattern between speakers of languages lower in the organigammes, when speakers from two supercentral languages meet, they will communicate in the language of neither one of them; they will use the one language that "connects the supercentral languages with one another and that therefore constitutes the pivot of the world language system. This 'hypercentral' language that holds the entire constellation together is, of course, English (ibid: 6). English did

not always enjoy this position; it rather assumed it since mid-20th century and is liable to change, although not over the few coming decades (ibid).

According to de Swaan, the global system of central and peripheral languages existed in early historic time, although on a smaller scale. The central language being the language that controls the peripheral languages of a few adjacent villages, with the centrality of the language always being related to commerce, military and at a later stage religion (ibid: 7). Then the global language system became more crystalized with the establishment of empires. With the Roman empire, Latin "emanated". The other hyprercentral languages over history are: Chinese, Sanskrit and Arabic. These languages spread in the regions of their respective religions. However these languages were for administration, long distance communication and were not used by simple people in their everyday life businesses, who would instead use the peripheral languages (ibid 8-9).

In the modern era the pattern of long-distance communication had begun to change perceptibly, the vernacular that stemmed from the classical languages started to gain status, for example Italian (ibid). Other vernaculars travelled with the explorations movement to Africa and other parts of the world and became the language of the rule. Arabic around that time reached its "zenith as the world language" but its vernaculars could not spread because Arabic was the language of Koran and so should be kept unadulterated (ibid 9-10). This is a point that is worth attention. Arabic being once the world's language and also the language and first culture for the religion of Islam is a pivotal point for the argument about RCT. Arabic is thus

given the power of the native language and culture for the topics related to Islam.

De Swaan point out that the linguistic map has not changed over even after colonialism was ended. He says that the "apparent stability hides great upheavals that occurred in the twentieth century" (ibid: 11), when German and Russian receded after military or political defeats. That can be explained, from the viewpoint of the researcher, by the idea that the world is still inside one historical era, living the middle episode of it. In comparison with the prevalence of Latin for thousands of years, the world is still living its mid thousands of European linguistic hegemony.

English is in stiff competition with Hindi in India which was colonised by Britain (ibid: 12). But English could not assume such a position in the Arab countries that were also colonised by Britain in the first half of the 20th century. De Swaan refers to that the 20th century "imperial conquest did not pay in terms of enduring language expansion. May be national languages had already taken hold too deeply in the newly conquered territories to be eradicated definitely; possibly also the foreign occupation did not last long enough to establish the conqueror's language for good" (ibid: 13). This is true about the relation between Arabic and English

In Arab countries, English has been taught in schools as a second/foreign language, but was never used in administration or everyday life communications. Arabic entailed a political claim of cultural independence the imperial language. This cannot be said about French in the Maghreb area. The "post-independence regimes have held a dual discourse,

inscribing French/Standard Arabic bilingualism in the postcolonial administration and in the school system in the name of development and modernisation, while at the same time, advocating 'Arabisation' as a sacred goal, essential to achieve proper emancipation from the after effects of colonisation" (Gill, 1999:123).

However, even the Turkish could not replace or compete with Arabic in spite of the long rule of the Ottoman Empire in what is today's 'Arab world'. Historical sources refer to the Turkification policy followed in Arab countries in the last decades of Ottoman rule (Suleiman, 1994: 4), Arabic maintained its position in much of the Arab world after the end of colonisation because of the strict Arab nationalistic approaches followed by the post-colonial governments, especially in Iraq, Syria, Egypt and the gulf countries. The approach was propelled by a robust Arabic nationalistic ideology led by thinkers like Sati' al-Husri (1880-1967) (ibid). Yet in some Arabic non-standard dialects, there are residues of Turkish in the names of some cultural items. Such words as *afandi* (master/gentleman), *chaikhana* (teashop), *khastakhana* (hospital), to mention but a few. But these words are dated now. Paradoxically, an attempt to find academic research studying Turkish loanwords in Arabic in search engines brought back studies that discuss Arabic loanwords in Turkish, for instance Zimmer (1985).

Cronin (2003, 158) maintains that "it is a point of fundamental importance to recognize that the concept of minority is dynamic, not static. The relational definition of minority becomes particularly clear in travelling practices". As an example of such dynamism, he points out that "[S]peakers of a significant

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world language such as Mandarin Chinese or Arabic may find themselves in a minority position travelling in many parts of the world" (ibid). Equally, such dynamism should allow us to reconfigure the power positions of language whether in travel or in contexts such as wars and conflict where conventional balances of power are changed.

Most of the research that employs the idea of centre-periphery relations languages focus on postcolonial contexts, the dynamic role of languages, and their potential to be empowered when they seem to be in the weaker position. Here are some examples: Betancourt (2014) examines the linguistic policy that the Spanish Crown propagated between 1574 and 1580 the central highlands of New Granada (ibid: 119). Like the current study, Betancourt, does not completely acknowledge the power of the coloniser's language. Although the Spanish policy was encouraging the spread of the Spanish language among the Indians, the language barrier remained an obstacle in the face of the Jesuit preachers to deliver their messages to the indigenous Indians (ibid: 118). Even ready translations of the holy texts to the Indians language did not help; the preachers then had to learn the indigenous language and made their own translations of the scripture (ibid). The preachers later advised the Spanish Crown to promote learning the indigenous languages alongside their support of spreading Spanish and so it was (ibid).

In fact it seems that the centre-periphery pattern is so demeaning to the former colonies that it is being negotiated on different cognitive levels. The re-evaluation of the locus of power between centre and periphery is taken out of the domain of language into the domain of scientific exchange. Raina

(1996), defies the centre-periphery pattern for the transmission of scientific knowledge.   She points out that studies investigating the introduction of modern scientific traditions and institutions – "or the exchange of scientific knowledge between the metropolises of modern science and the "periphery" - have typically addressed the transmission of scientific knowledge from the former to the latter" (ibid: 162). Besides, many studies have focused on the development of science "through scientific expeditions undertaken at the periphery by scientists from the centre" (ibid). Rainer wants to study the profile of Western and Indian scientist to disclaim such stereotypical generalisations.

In spite of all such postcolonial stances towards the categorisation of languages, such categorisation remains to be used without reference to the significant historical factors, as will be seen in the two models of Pascale Casanova and Johan Heilbron that take up world systems criteria and market parameters. Below their argument will be introduced and will later be followed by a discussion of the main critiques they received.

3.1.2 Translation as an Unequal Exchange: Casanova's Model

Pascale Casanova (2010) introduces her model of international literary exchange which is based generally on de Swaan's global language (2001) system and Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. The underlying theme in Casanova's model is that translation should not be assumed as "a neutral,

symmetrical, linear, horizontal process of transfer" because such an assumption implies that national languages exist in an equal and juxtaposed manner, which is not the case (2010: 287). To represent national languages as "monadic" entities results in viewing translation as "conveying texts from one national literary field to another", which is why translation studies have focused on one kind of relation, the transfer of one language into a text in another (ibid). "The literary and linguistic inequalities and hierarchies which organize the world literary field reveal another economy of linguistic change: far from being the horizontal exchange and peaceful transfer often described, translation must be understood, on the contrary, as an 'unequal exchange' that takes place in a strongly hierarchized universe" (288). Casanova states that translation is "one of the specific forms the relationship of domination assumes in the international literary field" (ibid: 288)

In the unequal and hierarchical field of literary translation, the languages are designated as dominating or dominated. What decides whether a certain language is dominating or dominated is the number of literary texts that are written in that language, with the number being high for the former and low for the latter. Again this hierarchical structure of literary translation field decides the flow of capital between the literary language fields. The flow of capital is represented as an unequal exchange.

Casanova suggests four scenarios of literary exchange in the world literary field. 1) dominating-dominated, 2) dominated-dominating, 3) dominating-dominating, 4) dominated-dominated. The scenarios that reflect inequality are the ones Casanova is concerned with, (Baker, 2010: 286).

The dominated group can be divided into four sub-groups: oral languages or languages without writing systems; these have no literary system and cannot make use of translation, e.g., certain African languages and Creoles. The second group is languages "which have been created or 'recreated' recently" after political independence", e.g., Korean, Hebrew, and so became national languages (Casanova, 2010: 289). The second group "can acquire an international presence by promoting translation" (ibid: 290). The third group includes the languages of 'small' countries, such as Dutch, Danish, Greek, and Persian. These languages have "an important history and prestige but few speakers; they are used by few polyglots, and are little recognized outside national borders, that is, they accord little value in the world literary market" (ibid: 290). The fourth group consists of languages such as Arabic, Chinese, and Hindi. These are "dominated in the literary sphere, because although they have great literary traditions and a large number of speakers, they are little known or recognized in the international literary market".

Casanova's classification of the groups of dominated languages should not be taken for granted without further scrutiny. It should be noted that her grouping is in relation to the literary translation capital market and not in relation to translation studies. For instance, Old Hebrew has its role in the history of translation studies as a language of Bible, whereas Persian is spoken outside the borders of its country Iran, in Afghanistan and Tajikistan under new names since mid-20th century for political reasons (Dari and Tajiki, respectively).

Casanova does not explain why 3rd group languages are not known in international literary market. She should refer back to de Swaan's theory of world language system and its relation to historical-political reasons. Reference to these factors is inevitable in providing a satisfactory account of why some languages have a dominating role in the literary world market. She, however, justifies the overall structural inequality in the world literary translation system by the call for defining translation as a "power struggle". Casanova's reference to the three basic poles in translation (language, author, translator) ignores the subtle socio-political factors that should be taken into consideration in world systems. The scenario this study is concerned with is the translation from a dominating language into a dominated language, from the hypercentral English into the supercentral Arabic to use de Swaan's terms. Casanova proposes that languages do not only have linguistic capitals attached to them, they also have linguistic-literary capitals, in comparison to de Swaan's linguistic-political capital. We are borrowing Casanova's terms because we need to highlight the "structure of domination and power struggles" rather than use the centre-periphery division which has "spatial or hierarchical implications", to use Casanova's very words (ibid: 289).

3.1.3 Heilbron's world system of translation

Heilbron adopts a sociological approach towards the exchange of the cultural goods represented by translated books. The flow of these goods takes place in a world system of translation, and Heilbron analyses the

structure of this flow which transcends national language boundaries to language groups, (Baker, 2010: 304)

Heilbron is concerned with the translation of books. Book translation are "classified as a particular category of cultural goods" (Heilbron, 2010: 307). He points out that the world-system of translation "does not quite correspond to the predominant view in world-system theory. Transnational cultural exchange is not simply the reflection of the structural contradiction in world economy, as leading proponents of world-systems theory have maintained (for example, Wallerstein 1991). Cultural exchanges have a dynamic of their own which is based on a certain autonomy vis-à-vis the constraints of the world market" (ibid: 308).

He highlights the relative autonomy of the transnational cultural exchange sphere, "as an international arena with economic, political, and symbolic dimensions" (ibid: 308). Like the other international systems, the international translation system displays a hierarchical structure "with central, semi-peripheral and peripheral languages" (ibid: 309). The language that assumes a central position in the world system of translation is the one that "has a large share in the total number of translated books worldwide" (ibid: 309).

3.1.4 Critiques of world system translation models

Heilbron and Sapiro (2007: 99) argue in defence of Casanova's classification of languages into dominant and dominated that "dominant languages, due to their specific prestige, their antiquity, and the number of

texts that are written in these languages and that are universally regarded as important, possess much literary capital". While de Swan based his argument on more economic paradigms making it hard to argue against, Heilbron and Sapiro weaken their defence by referring to issues such as antiquity of dominant languages. English in its current modern form dates back to only 400 years; and as the world's hypercentral language, it is only a few decades old.

In fact, the main critique made about sociological models such as Casanova's and Heilbron's is that their "concentration on translation phenomena on an extra-textual level without taking into consideration text structures or translation strategies" (Wolf, 2007: 17). Combining textual and non-textual levels is encouraged by Bourdieu himself, as such a combination represent a methodological advance in the field of translation (ibid). The conceptualisation of a translation market that is hierarchically structured according to the weight of the various languages" should therefore be "complimented by illustrations of the forces operating on this market and contributing to the promotion, prevention, and manipulation in translation" (ibid: 18). Therefore, the current study investigates the translations of the books on the textual level, to support its basic query of whether translated books should be cultural capital only by virtue of being written in a dominant language.

The other important and relevant criticism against Casanova's model and her idea of a world republic of letters, as Baker (2010: 286) highlights, is that it "challenges postcolonial studies that proceed from the opposite direction". This statement should be underlined for it sums an essential strand of the current research. Although Baker's

wording of 'proceeding from the opposite direction' is metaphorical to a great extent, it, however, succinctly describes the position undertaken by the concept of RCT which looks at book translations from the view point of the invaded and what is called a dominated language. On similar lines, Heilbron's global cultural product system is criticised for failing to pay attention to "specific historical and political contexts" (Baker, 2010: 305). In fact, his model is more appropriate for carrying out statistical calculations about translation market parameters than could contribute any insight into the genuine power relations that exist between languages and cultures. However Heilbron's focus on market is a normal outcome of its adopting Bourdieu's tenets about the relation of languages, capital and market. Bourdieu (1977: 652) states that the

conservatives carry on as if the language were worth something independently of its market, as if it possessed intrinsic virtues (mental gymnastics, logical training, etc.); but, in practice, they defend the market, i.e. control over the instruments of reproduction and competence, over the market. Analogous phenomena can be observed in formerly colonized countries: the future of the language is governed by what happens to the instruments of the reproduction of linguistic capital (e.g. French or Arabic), that is to say, inter alia, the school system.

But even while emphasising the market element, Bourdieu is aware of the authentic value of linguistic or cultural capital in its political environment as is evident from the colonial analogy he cites. The colonial relation does not stop to exist even after colonialization has ceased to be, since the globalised world maintains the unequal relations between its individual cultures, as was highlighted in chapter two.

As stressed above in relation to the classification of languages, the postcolonial relations underscore much of the research that addresses translating between language pairs and which can roughly fall within Casanova and Heilbron's grouping. These research treat the position of languages as dialectical, as is clear from the following title: 'Peripheral Centre or Central Periphery: Two Approaches to Modern Scots Translation', a study by Sanderson (2014).

In spite of that, models like Casanova's and Heilbron's are being used in sociological approaches to translation studies without taking the postcolonial relations into consideration. Saeedi and Bahbahani (2016), for instance, base their study of the flow of translation on these two models. They aim to "investigate the flow and proportion of translation from English, German and French as means of accumulation of capital and the reverse as consecration with regard to the political, social, literary, and linguistic relations" in Persian. They also examine the dominated into dominated language translation scenario." The study makes its assumption on completely accepting the overall model, as it "elaborates on methods through which Iranian translators may obtain more capital as a result of translating texts from dominating languages". Their study uses online data bases and encyclopedias to provide the required data that spans over a period of two hundred years (ibid). Following Casanova, they conclude that "adopting a foreignising strategy in the process of translation from dominating languages to Persian, more capital may be secured" (ibid). One of the critiques that should be made towards this study is that it does not only investigates the literary capital but the flow of all types of books from dominating languages

into Persian. Casanova's model is basically about the accumulation of cultural capital in the translation of literary works. A study like Bahbahani and Saeedi's that includes "bookes of all genres" (ibid: 56) necessitates taking a moment to ask the questions that the present research poses: whether the world system models of translation flow are suitable to examine all the flow of all types of books. In fact this particular study of theirs is one of the reasons that triggered the questioning the viability of using the world systems of translation to study the cultural capital accumulation in non-literary books.

One of the significant works that are hinged on arguments of creating a language through translation is Annie Brissnet's (1990, 2000). Although her argument is more akin to Schleiermacher's proposition about importing cultural capital through translation than Casanova's detailed model, the connection between these latter two is genealogical that Brissnet's article can be legitimately discussed in relation to Casanova's model. Brissnet highlights the role of translation in changing Quebec French from a vernacular to a referential language (Venuti, 2000: 329). Within 20 years, Québécois translators "used it to render canonical world dramatists, like Shakespeare, Chekhov, and Brecht" (ibid). Through these translations "Québécois French acquired cultural capital authority and challenged its subordination to North American and Parisian French" (ibid). This example is discussed here to make a point about the status of languages and how translation can make national languages of them. It should be admitted that this is true in the case of new languages, but not a millennia old language like Arabic. Arabic is a language that has its very rich vocabulary, old and

new, very sophisticated syntax, and above all a long history of literature that is itself an archive for the language. It, moreover, had been a national language over its colossal history. The same can be said about other historical languages in the region, especially those that were linked with great civilizations and cultures like Persian.

Cronin (2003) makes significant notes about 'minority' languages which is another way of describing less powerful languages that are spoken by an ethnic minority inside a nation-state. But theoretically they are not different from the languages that are labelled as peripheral. Translation studies has seen undertheorization in areas like minority languages (Cronin: 2003: 149). "Translation conferences are generally noteworthy for the lack of attention paid to minority languages and the dominance of theories predicated on the historical experience and insights of the translation triumvirate, English, French and German. The hegemony is partly understandable as a consequence of a structural problem that often inhibits contributions from practitioners of minority languages," (ibid). This can be used as an explanation for the hegemony of English and other major languages in translation studies theorization.

But Cronin stresses that translation where a minority language is involved should not be "fixated on a symbolic combat whose terms have been defined by a more powerful other" (ibid: 152). His example is the endeavour of minority languages to focus on the translation of great literature to prove to the powerful other that they are antiquarian languages and cultures, but this should not be the case, he (ibid) says, as translation in all its dimensions should be seen as cultural, "because culture is about a whole set of human activities, not one subset that is privileged by the gaze of the commanding other" (ibid). From such a view point, the current thesis suggests RCT as a non-literary

translation that focuses on culture in a context of power relation to release minority languages from the terms defined by the more powerful other.

3.2   RCT and world system translation models

To repopulate the connection of these models with the main argument of this thesis, this research argues that the content of books is constitutive of their capacity as cultural capital. The argument is supported by the versatility of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, whether through the stages of its development by Bourdieu himself or by its later employment in research.

But if what RCT imports is only a peripheral language's own cultural aspects back into that same language, will there be any gain? This is the main query that has guided the development of the research questions of the study. In the first place, why should the cultural aspects covered in the text be considered cultural capital and in what way are they the natural appropriation of the native culture? The answer to these preliminary questions serves as a premise for the rest of the questions; more critically, in relation to RCT, does the position of the translator towards the cultural capital which is key - as a mediator and/or an appropriator. Does appropriating the cultural capital empower or restrict the translator and hence the translation and when? Lastly, how does RCT shape the domination balance of languages?

3.3 Literary models for non-literary texts in RCT

One problem of using the world system model to examine RCT will be that they are mainly meant to investigate the flow of literary cultural capital. However, most translation theorists take literary works as their examples whether they want to analyse the translation on the textual level or to present them as representative of particular theoretical phenomena. The question for a researcher remains if a theory or an approach is applicable to non-literary texts. While much academic research on translation at post-graduate level is carried out on non-literary texts, some translation theories seem to have been set up solely to fit literary writing, making their application to non-literary text types a challenge to their essence. The accumulation of cultural capital in translation systems and the study of cultural translation is one such case. Casanova's model of the transfer of cultural capital from dominating to dominated languages is based on the idea that literary works are cultural capital. To use this model in order to demonstrate that not only non-literary texts but even a textual part of them is cultural capital is bound to be speculative. However, employing non-literary texts in testing theories is called for or suggested by scholars, such as Mona Baker (2010: 287) and Maria Tymoczko (2007: 230). Tymoczko, in her discussion of the audience's assumptions of cultural gaps, notes that although her examples are all from literary works, other non-literary domains such as newspapers and legal and business documents can pose similar cases. In fact, Catherine Porter's chapter *The Expository Translator* (2014: 441) satisfactorily highlights this problem. Porter notes that research on translation that appears to focus on issues related to translation in general

"in fact choose their examples exclusively from the literary realm". Other discussions focus on the "distinction between the literary and non-literary translation, only to dismiss the latter and deal exclusively with the former" (ibid).

This study will apply a model that mainly addresses literary works to non-literary texts. The model originally deals with literary works as being monolithic entities (it does not consider their textual content) which have the prestige of being cultural capital and so transferring them into another language will result in cultural capital accumulation. The books used in the current research will not be treated in such a demeanour, since this dissertation argues that in translating from a dominating language to a dominated language the accumulation of cultural capital should also take into account the content of the translated book. What can accumulate for the target culture regarding its own cultural elements (capital)? Questions about the content of the books from which the value of literary works come is always relevant to ask in discussing the translation world systems. This one factor is why the viability of the translation world system models should be investigated.

However, using these models to study RCT and its non-literary books is justified by calls like Baker's who suggests to consider the implications of the international world system as described by Heilbron in other translation phenomena like "retranslations, self translation, and pseudotranslation," (2010: 305). It is a good rationale for invoking his and the other world system models in RCT in its capacity as a translation phenomenon that is similar to what Baker suggested. There are much more in translation,

especially of books, than these models could account for. Therefore, this study attempted to understand some of the factors that affected the translation of its corpus, by conducting interviews with the publisher of the books in Iraq. Although the questions and answers were brief, they provide insight into the landscape of the book market in Iraq.

3.4   Book Market in Iraq

In the initial plan of the study, there was no intention to carry out any interviews or communication with the translation agents, whether translators or publishers. That was because the topics included in the books are related to some sensitive issues such as political and sectarian polarisation. Engaging in such critical issues with individuals was highly avoided. However, with the progress of the research, some questions remained hanging and needed to be answered. Questions such as who initiated the translation assignments of the corpus books and what were the main guidelines that led the translation process. In the thesis writing up period it was inevitable to get answers for those questions. The environment in Iraq changed and wading into these matters was less sensitive than it was three years earlier. The sectarian alignments eased greatly and political thinking became more mature.

The aim beyond the interview was never related to getting answers to particular ways of translating this sentence or that, but to understand the overall picture of the book translation and publishing environment that produced the works studied in this research.

Seventeen questions were prepared and were sent by email to the publishers of the four translations as well as to two other publishers that well known for continuous

publishing. The publisher of one of the books, namely IJ, did not respond to the interview emails. The questions were sent to the publishers in Arabic and were answered in Arabic. Both the interview questions and the replies were later translated by the researcher and included in Index 1 of the thesis. Each publisher's interview is numbered in letters inside the Index.

The interview questions were as follows:

1- When did you start the publishing business?

2- How many titles do you publish per year?

3- How much is your print-run per title?

4- How do distribute your books? How balanced is the distribution domestically and outside the country?

5- What is the difference between the market demand before and after 2003?

6- What are your criteria for selecting a book for publishing? Are these the same when choosing a book for translation?

7- Do you give instructions to the translator?

8- Do you check the translations yourself?

9- Do you approach writers to ask for books for publication? What are the topics you approach them for?

10- What topics do you seek to work on more than others?

11- How popular are books with political/ historical themes in the Iraqi market?

12- Which is more popular, the books authored in Arabic or books translated from foreign languages into Arabic? (please reply in reference to topics of history, politics, culture)

13- Do political events and updates affect the book market? Does it affect your choice of books for translation?

14- Did you turn down offers of books for translation because you think it may be socially and/or culturally inappropriate for the Iraqi society?

15- Do you have a fixed ideology for what you select to publish?

16- After 2003, lots of books about the American invasion of Iraq were written in English. How popular are these books in Iraq?

17- How many copies of the books (name the books of the data as per publishing company) have you sold?

The replies of the publishers provides primary source information that is used in explaining why RCT behaved in certain way, especially in chapters five which address the role of socio-cultural values as a restraining factor in neutralising the effect of the source text. The interviews also contribute to an understanding of how the post-2003 book market changed drastically compared to the 2003 period as is shown below.

3.4.1 Before 2003

The booming of book market depends upon the good readership. Iraqis before Saddam were known in the region as good readers. There was the famous adage that Egypt writes, Lebanon publishes, and Iraq reads. Not that this saying is a scientific fact but it denoted a good consumption of books in Iraq. But that was before the advent of Saddam to the rule and his crackdown on a wide range of religious and other

ideological books. From 1979, political Islam books were banned and the names of Shia leaders and Communist leaders were under high censorship (Index 1: al-Masar).

The major setback in the book market was with the economic sanctions in 1990. According to the ASP, the "*real* book market" in Iraq was before the Gulf war, because the drop in the Iraqi currency later left the citizens unable to buy food and clothes let alone books (Index1: ASP, emphasis added).

As an outcome of both the censorship and the sanctions, publishing, according to Adnan Bookstore (Index 1: Adnan), was limited to the state institutions such as the Cultural Affairs Department, the Iraqi Academy of Science, and al-Ma'moon House of Translation and Publishing.

3.4.2 After 2003

Like every other aspect of life, the fall of Saddam's regime lifted restriction from the book market. Very quickly, book fairs were very popular and were held in different places in Baghdad including universities. As a reaction to the previous restrictions, there was eagerness to purchase religious books, particularly Shia doctrine books. The gush towards Islamic books started from 2003 up to 2009 according to al-Masar Publishing. After 2009, the desire to read religious books retreated. All the publishers agree that the state's tight censorship over publications was alleviated. All types of books are welcome in the Iraqi markets after 2003.

One of the most important questions that the research aimed to answer through these interviews was that they were not assigned by any governmental or any other partisan body. Two of the books, SB and HL, were the choice of the publishers and one, IB, was selected by the translator and was suggested to the publisher. Due to the fourth

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publisher abstaining from responding to the interview, it was not possible to know who assigned the translation.

In the rest of the thesis the RCT books will be analysed and the relevance of the interviews will be highlighted or used as references whenever necessary.

3.5 Conclusion

The world system models that are used in the domain of the sociology of language and translation employ the notion of cultural capital in a way that ignores historical and postcolonial contexts. They are being accepted wholeheartedly in translation studies and are applied to the flow of all types of books although they are designed for the accumulation of literary capital. Casanova and Heilbron's models about book translation should therefore account for the transfer of cultural capital in RCT. But because of their non-textual nature, overlooking postcolonial power-relation, and RTC's inverse direction, these models fail to explicate the transfer of cultural capital and of the power invested in the 'dominated' language and the native culture.

Chapter Four: How does RCT translate?

4 Introduction

Based on the arguments of descriptive translation studies (DTS) that a "translation is a text-type in its own right, which is part of the target culture" (Snell-Hornby, 1988: 24), this chapter aims to show, through empirical textual means, that RCT can neutralise the dominance of the English source text over the target text as a result of the way English and Arabic address anthropological, conceptual or material-cultural terms. It therefore addresses the power relations in RCT on the linguistic level, but in a way that leads to cultural ramifications.

The chapter aims to answer two of the research questions related to the domination relation between English and Arabic, as well as the source and target texts. The results will be a contribution to the body of research on DTS and target-oriented approaches, because they provide empirical material from a field and genre that is understudied, namely the translation of non-fictional anthropologically-laden books from English into Arabic. The main theoretical basis underlying the argument of this chapter is the power of domestication and the charitability of foreignisation. It will examine which of these basic methods will be taken in the anthropological translation from Iraqi Arabic into English and then the proper translation from English into Arabic.

4.1 Domestication/foreignisation in Translation Studies

The following will be a review of the basic principles and broad lines of DTS and target oriented approaches, with a special focus on the role of domestication and foreignisation, as they are the main concepts affecting the way in which intercultural communication in RCT is seen. Significantly, these two overarching translation

methods perform a different function in RCT than they do in mainstream translation scenarios. Later, RCT will be studied in two steps: first, we will investigate how the anthropologist (author) appropriated the native cultural concepts into his/her dominating language; second, we will investigate how these concepts were translated back into the native culture's language.

The target-oriented approaches in DTS, inspired mainly by the work of Even-Zohar (1978) and, later, Gideon Toury (1995), Andrew Chesterman (1993), and Theo Hermans (1999), highlight the power of the translation compared to the original. The translation "frees the text from the fixed signs of its original shape, making it no longer subordinate to the source text", Bassnett, 2014: 7). It is emancipated from what Baker (1993: 235) calls the assumption of the "primacy of the source text".

However, assuming the power of the translation is not haphazard; the reasons for it should be indicated, and more research into it sheds new light on how it works. One of the prime elements of target-oriented approaches is that the norms of the target language/culture control the translation. That is manifest in Toury's attempts in the 1970 to show that translation is a communicative act, in which the domestic values and the target norms become active and restrain the communication (Venuti, 2000: 483). The work of domestic values, as such, is taken as an indicator of their dominance over the original.

Historically, fluency was a canon for good translation, a "feature of aristocratic literary culture in seventeenth century England" and for other cultural and social reasons that are related to the "vicissitudes of the hegemonic classes," (Venuti, 1995: 43). The fluency "enacted a thoroughgoing domestication" that led to excluding the foreign culture's values and also the values that do not conform to the hegemonic social elite's

canons (ibid). Thus a domesticating translation is: a) a fluent translation, b) a hegemonic translation, which c) satisfies the target culture's canons.

Approaches in translation that domesticate are associated with domination. Antoine Berman (1985; 2000: 276-289), whose focus is on continental translations describes all translations of literature that are not open to the foreign as practicing deforming forces. The target oriented approaches that endeavoured to rid translation of submission to source language domination are criticised for ethnocentrism, violence, and deformation in the context that Venuti highlights, which is translation into English.

Therefore, theorists, driven by ethical motives, started looking for remedies to restore the "foreignness of the foreign text" (Venuti, 2000: 483). Inspired by Martin Heidegger's expression, Berman (1985, 2000: 276) uses 'trial of the foreign' as a label for his remedial strategy to fight the deformation that domestication strategies cause in translation. The two terms are quite frequently seen as general guidelines rather than technical strategies *per se*. Venuti (1995: 19) declares that the terms "indicate fundamentally ethical attitudes towards a foreign text and culture, ethical effects produced by the choice of a text for translation and by the strategy devised to translate it". Highlighting this broad view of the terms, Yang (2010) describes them as "two basic translation strategies which provide both linguistic and cultural guidance" (Yang, 2010).

Bassnett and Lefevere (1998: 7) suggest that foreignisation is not a new strategy; it is centuries old and is a model of translation, rather than a strategy or an attitude. In his article 'On the Different Ways of Translating', Friedrich Schleiermacher demands, among other things, that translations from different languages into German should read and sound different: the reader should be able to guess the Spanish behind a

translation from Spanish, and the Greek behind a translation from Greek. If all translation reads and sounds alike (as they were soon to do in Victorian translations of the classics), the identity of the source text has been lost. The Schleiermacher model emphasises the importance of 'foreignising' translation. The privileged position of the receiving language or culture is denied, and the alterity of the source text needs to be preserved" (ibid). Venuti (1995) associates foreignisation with cultural capital and Schleiermacher's campaign to enrich the German culture. Paradoxically, then, foreignisation is a theoretical regression to the inviolability of the original text. It is not very different from the historical call for faithfulness, except that faithfulness is linguistically based, whereas calls for foreignisation are prompted by calls to maintain cultural difference, i.e. they take into consideration the developments stemming from the cultural turn.

According to Venuti, domestication refers to "an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, bring the author back home," whereas foreignisation is "an ethnodeviant pressure on those (cultural) values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad" (Venuti 1995: 20). In other words, "domestication designates the type of translation in which a transparent, fluent style is adopted to minimize the strangeness of the foreign text for target language readers, while foreignization means a target text is produced which deliberately breaks target conventions by retaining something of the foreignness of the original", (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997:59)" (in Yang, 2010). For Venuti, foreignisation is dissidence from the norms of Western translation. It is "a dissident cultural practice, maintaining a refusal of the dominant by developing affiliations with marginal linguistic and literary values at home, including foreign cultures that have been excluded because of their own resistance to dominant values" (1994: 148). But,

this dissidence from the dominant norms at home implies an act of appropriation: "foreignizing translation enacts an ethnocentric appropriation of the foreign text by enlisting it in a domestic cultural political agenda" (ibid).

In spite of this critique, which has been levelled at Venuti's approach ever since it first appeared, it has been employed in translation research, especially when studying cultural translation in post-colonial contexts. Burke (2007) states that:

The majority of examples [in colonial contexts] support the generalization that colonizing states forced the colonized to view their own culture through the lens of the dominant power. [..] Like other translators, the missionaries [from the colonising countries] were forced to make the always difficult choice between foreignizing and domestication – their situation being the reverse of the usual one for translators, since the donor culture in this case was their own and the recipient culture that of the 'other' (Burke, 2007:29).

Burke embarks on a long description of the strategies that were used in early modern Europe as part of the missionaries' or ethnographers attempts to translate the Bible into Asian cultures. He emphasises the boldness of the choice to domesticate when translating from a colonizer's culture text for a colonized audience: "Only a few bold missionaries, generally Jesuits, rendered keywords of Christianity by apparent equivalents from the culture of their audience, such as 'heavenly way' (tento) in Japanese and 'heaven' (tian) in Chinese" (ibid: 29). Burke also notes that "these exceptions come from fields in which the missionaries lacked the support of a colonizing power, such as Spain or Portugal, and were dependent on the good will of

their hosts" (ibid), emphasising that, without political power, cultures and language have different hegemonic patterns.

To recap, domestication has been historically used by powerful language cultures, most notably in America and England, and has been criticised in DTS for deforming the foreign culture and ignoring cultural difference. Such criticism contradicts the hailed postulate of target-oriented DTS theories that translated texts observe the norms of the target culture. Translation studies, as a discipline, is swaying between setting rigid rules for itself so that it can acquire independent status, and pleas to uphold cultural variety, which originate from disciplines such as Cultural Studies and Post-colonial Studies. At any rate, in a reversed translation mode such as RCT, domestication and foreignisation expectedly perform in an inverse manner and maintain a demeanour that is different from that of conventional cases of translation.

In order to put this assumption to test, the following section will study the mechanisms of appropriation and return in RCT. First, Talal Asad's (2010) article about the concept of cultural translation in British social anthropology will be explained in order to show the appropriation of native cultural concepts/terms into English. The attitude of the appropriation is reflected in the strategies used by the authors/anthropologists in the English texts, particularly in whether they are transcribed, explained, defined, or simply given the nearest cultural equivalence that the English language could offer.

This method of analysing the RCT techniques seems to fall back on the equivalence paradigm, which thus risks a methodological incoherence, since equivalence belongs in the structuralist approaches to translation that DTS has abandoned. In the linguistic approaches, equivalence was a "goal to be achieved" (Séguinot, 2000: 200), whether on word or text level. Even for Toury and his descriptive approach, equivalence

describes the relationship between source and target texts; but the term lost ground in post-colonial approaches to TS, because these approaches are based on an unequal relationship between languages (ibid: 201). However, citing equivalence when discussing translations should not be seen as a relapse towards traditional approaches to translation that are unsuitable for the current state of TS and the tools it has developed as a discipline. Some authors, including Anthony Pym, "recuperated the notion of equivalence as an affirmation of the social existence of translation, without associating the term with any prescriptive linguistics" (Pym, 1995: 171). Conveniently, equivalence has a heuristic value in TS, as long as it is not prescriptively administered to serve a source-oriented point of view (Crisafulli, 1997: 237).

4.2 How western ethnographers translate foreign cultures: the charitable and the uncharitable

From Asad's (2010) discussion, two new terms for ethnographic translation can be deduced, which are related to the attitude of the ethnographer towards the foreign culture, and are, to a great extent, the anthropological counterparts to domestication and foreignisation. What makes such an analogy possible is that Asad (ibid: 9) insightfully notes that culture, in its broadest, ethnographic sense, "was transformed into the notion of a *text*—that is, into something resembling an inscribed discourse". The reason behind that transformation is that language, as a tool for studying social learning, has become dominant in the work of social anthropologists (ibid). The importance of the relation of language and culture is manifested through the spread of the phrase 'the translation of culture' since the 1950s as a "distinctive task of social anthropology" (ibid: 9-10). But, caution should be taken not to equate ethnography

with the 'translation of cultures'; as Wolf (2014: 124), quoting Clifford Geertz warns, "since this would mean the transfer of a foreign culture into analogue concepts. That, in turn, runs counter to the anthropological endeavour to understand and describe foreign cultures from the perspective of its members (Geertz 1997: 290)" (Wolf, 2014: 124). This problem arises because ethnographers use the categories of their own language and culture to represent what they observe (namely, to translate the foreign text) (ibid).

The work of ethnographic authors involves two steps: "In a first step, the ethnographer has to interpret the social discourse of his or her informants. In a second step this interpretation is systematized and textualised for the benefit of the target audience in the 'First World' and their expectations." (Wolf, 2014: 125) The second step is the materialised reality that the current section will analyse.

From Asad's critique to the work of early twentieth century anthropologists and their attitude to translating culture, two terms can be deduced: charitable and uncharitable. Earnest Gellner's (1959) metaphorically uses 'excessive charity' to describe the approach the anthropologists use when translating his/her subjects' thoughts. Asad, in response to Gellner, uses 'uncharitable' to describe a counter approach. Hence, it can be argued that these two anthropologically inspired labels can serve as the nexus from which to launch into a discussion on the strategies of foreignisation and domestication in TS, as will be shown below.

Gellner criticises the reinterpretation the anthropologist Evans-Pritchard assigns to a famous statement in the Nuer religion, namely that 'a twin is a bird'. Evans-Pritchard contextualises this statement and describes it as non-contradictory, true and logical if presented from the perspective of the Nuer language and religious thinking (ibid: 16).

Gellner (ibid) believes that this statement contradicts the principle of identity, or common sense, or even the simple observation that human twins are not birds; hence, the "reinterpretation absolves Nuer thought from the charge of prelogical mentality' by an arbitrary use of contextual method" (ibid: 16).

His main critique against anthropologists' way of dealing with "alien societies" is that: "(a) contemporary anthropologists insist on interpreting exotic concepts and beliefs within a social context, but that (b) in doing so they ensure that apparently absurd or incoherent assertions are always given an acceptable meaning, and that (c) while the contextual method of interpretation is in principle valid, the 'excessive charity' that usually goes with it is not" (Gellner in ibid: 11). However, Asad highlights that this should be seen as an example of *explaining* (in terms of Nuer social life), not *justifying* (in Western values) (ibid: 16, emphasis in original). This attempt to explain is construed by British anthropologist Gellner as a charitable method of translating culture. The following excerpt from one of the four books studied here shows a charitable anthropological approach:

I arrived at Soheila's house one afternoon to find the whole family gathered in the driveway, looking distraught. One of the cars in the driveway was covered with bloody handprints. They explained that they had slaughtered a sheep to thank God for a miracle that had occurred. The ritual, and the handprints, were an old Iraqi custom. (FB, 2004: 245)

Without directly asking a Western reader if s/he understood the implication of the bloody handprints and where they come from, it is doubtful to say that it is completely intelligible for them. The writer is trying to surprise his readers by starting with the bloody handprints in an attempt to make it look like an attack of post-war chaos. Yet, he soon mentions the sheep slaughtering as an oblation for God. But he does not

directly state that they dip their hands in the sheep blood. He assumes the idea is clear from the last sentence in the extract above. According to Gellner's critique, the writer is giving meaning to this alien discourse of sheep slaughtering and bloody handprints. But, according to Asad's argument, the writer in such a case is not endorsing the form of life, but is only introducing it to the language of the dominating culture. Any attempt by the writer to sympathise with the alien discourse should be considered as explanation not justification, as the last sentence of the extract shows. Also the writer provides the wider story of what he described as a miracle, that is, the little boy surviving a gun-shot attack:

Soheila pointed to the back window of the car and the rear left side window, where there were several bullet holes. The previous afternoon one of Soheila's daughters, her husband, and their young son had taken the car to go to the nearby market. The son, who was about seven years old and quite short for his age, had sat in the back, behind his father. Suddenly shots had rung out. It seemed that they had driven right into a shoot-out between two armed criminal gangs over the spoils of an armed robbery. A bullet had entered the car an inch or two above the child's head and exited out the back window. If he had not been such a small boy, the bullet would have taken off the top of his head (ibid).

The following example is less ritualistic and bizarre.

Just having a shave at Karim's [a barber in an old Baghdad neighbourhood] meant spending at least forty minutes there, because he always did three separate, meticulous passes with his razor, and not before exfoliating my face with a length of vibrating twine which he held in his mouth and twiddled with his fingers. It was excruciating to go through, but there was no stopping him. While Karim was torturing me, Sabah [the author's Iraqi driver in Baghdad] usually sent for tea to be brought by a boy from the chaikhana, or teahouse, next door. The tea came strong and black with sugar added, served in little shot glasses on saucers. Sabah,

like a lot of Iraqis, drank his by sloshing tea onto the saucer and slurping it up from that
(ibid: 56).

The extract includes two cultural elements which might be found alien by Western readers. First, the process of exfoliating with twine in a barber's shop, which is not common for Western males. For anyone who has not seen it in real life, the process can look bizarre. Second, drinking tea from the saucer rather than the cup itself. The way of sipping tea is confined to the Iraqi culture (and very few other neighbouring cultures, such as Iran and some parts of Turkey). The author is not only writing *about* these practices but experiences them himself. By doing so, "the process of translation takes place at the very moment the ethnographer [here the journalist] engages with a specific mode of life—just as a child does in learning to grow up within a specific culture" (Asad, 2010: 23). But the translation should also take up a written form as Asad highlights:

> "When the anthropologists return to their countries, they must write up 'their people' and they must do so in the conventions of representation already circumscribed (already 'written around', 'bounded') by their discipline, institutional life, and wider society. 'Cultural translation' must accommodate itself to a different language not only in the sense of English as opposed to Dinka, or English as opposed to Kabbashi Arabic, but also in the sense of English of a British, middle class, academic game as opposed to the modes of life of the 'tribal' Sudan. The stiffness of a powerful established structure of life, with its own discursive games, its own 'strong' languages, is what among other things finally determines the effectiveness of the translation. The translation is addressed to a very specific audience, which is waiting to read about another mode of life and to manipulate the text it reads according to established rules, not to learn to live a new mode of life" (ibid).

We have so far shown that when culture is translated into written text, what seems like an excessive charity by the ethnographer is only an explanation of the foreign culture, not a justification. The seeming justification is triggered by the fact that cultural translation does exercise the power of foreignisation. It introduces, in the form of text, alien cultural elements into the life of the First World audience.

It is crucial to highlight here that the justification or explanation the ethnographers provide is important for this chapter in as much as it includes an indication of how they interpret this attitude discursively when they deal with the translation proper of cultural concepts. This materialises in the way Gellner presents his own translation of Moroccan Berber discourse in an uncharitable method because he 'translates' the incoherence of the primitive society. He translates the words baraka and igurram. Baraka can simply mean 'enough' but also means 'plentitude', 'blessedness', 'the power to cause prosperity in other by supernatural ways'; the igurram possesses baraka (ibid: 19). Gellner further describes the igurram as having, among other characteristics, a consider-the lilies attitude, and, in later works, translates igurram as 'saint'. Gellner's translation is full of strong Christian overtones, especially his use of translations such as consider-the-lilies (Asad, ibid). The term consider-the-lilies refers to a biblical verse (Luke, 12: 27) that sums up Jesus Christ's "Sermon on the Mount" and which encourages his followers not to worry about their worldly needs means that God will endow people with his grace even if they do not toil[2]. Gellner domesticated the Moroccan culture by Christianising the Islamic concept of *baraka*. Wolf (2014: 125) attributes this to the compliance with "the (Western) academic discourse strategies of the intended audience [as the] ethnographer produces a new text to be integrated into the (Western) target cultural repertoire". But Asad (ibid: 21) contends that the problem

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[2] (https://www.dictionary.com/browse/lilies-of-the-field--consider-the)

lies in the fact that Gellner ignores the important factor of unequal languages in anthropological translation. He suggests that anthropologists follow Walter Benjamin's advice, in that the language of translation can and must give voice to the intention of the original so that it becomes a supplement to the language in which it expresses itself (ibid). Benjamin's call is harmonious with Schleiermacher's call for taking the reader to the original. Both lead to a foreignising strategy in translation, be it ethnographic translation or translation *per se*.

That is especially so when the languages concerned are distantly related to one another. It is a mistake to try to "turn Hindi, Greek, English, into German instead of turning German into Hindi, Greek, English. […] The basic error of the translator is that he preserves the state in which his own language happens to be instead of allowing his language to be powerfully affected by the foreign tongue. […] He must expand and deepen his language by means of the foreign language" (Rudolf Pannwitz, 1969:80-81, in ibid: 21-22). But to transform a language so that it can accommodate the translation of an alien discourse is a challenge, as it is not the call of the translator, but it depends on the willingness of the "translator's *language* to subject itself to this transforming power" (ibid: 22). The volition to transform is attributed to language, not to the translator, because it is a task that is "governed by institutionally defined power relations the languages/modes of life concerned" (ibid). This means that the language of the weaker party in the relation will undergo the transformation. That is "because the languages of the Third World societies - including, of course, the societies that social anthropologies have traditionally studied - are 'weaker' in relation to Western languages (and today, especially to English), [and] are more likely to submit to forcible transformation in the translation process than the other way around" (ibid). It is this power that RCT, as an anthropological translation, tries to reverse.

WIth that in mind, the next section will focus on the strategies of appropriation of such cultural items from Arabic into English. The point of doing this is by no means another signpost to display the theoretical side of translating cultural expressions or trying to solve cultural challenges or suggesting remedies. All these purposes of displaying the translation strategies were consumed decades ago in linguistic approaches and are certainly obsolete for a cultural age of translation studies. However, translation strategies remain viable in translation research that is textually based. Later, examples from RCT will be examined and compared. Again, like equivalence above, the emphasis in translation strategies has shifted from prescription to description. Although Newmark in 1988 prescribed a strategy to solve a certain problem in the texts, alongside many other translation scholars, the same strategies are being discussed, but only to refer to the socio-cultural relations and powers that instigated them. They gained different names, either general ones or those borrowed from the discipline of sociology, for example Bourdieu's habitus. Some attempts are made to unify the terminology that roughly mean the processes followed by the translator, whether these are, strategies, procedures or techniques as did Bardaji (2009: 161-173).

4.3 Appropriating Iraqi/Arabic cultural concepts into English

This section of the chapter examines translation strategies that take place between cultures, not texts, to show their role as tools for the linguistic representation of culture as used by social anthropologists/ethnographers. Therefore, some strategies, such as the deletion of words from the target text, do not apply in this chapter. Also, although Newmark's (1988: 81-91) list appears to be broader and more useful, as it addresses

strategies on the language rather than the textual level, it includes some strategies for grammatical issues, which fall out of the range of cultural terms such as shifts and modulation (ibid: 85-88).

4.3.1 Foreignising the native culture's concepts

The only foreignising strategies that fit the purposes of the chapter are: strategies of transference (also called borrowing (Ivir 1987), transliteration (Catford 1965), loan words, or transcriptions); definition, which usually does not occur on its own but rather as a compliment to other strategies, especially transference; and addition. However not all these strategies are useful for our purposes here, because although this research studies texts, this chapter is not contrasting the cultural items in the source and target texts. It seeks to use them as explanatory tools and see what effect they have in each text independently. But, conveniently, some translation researchers group conventional strategies according to whether they are domestication or foreignisation strategies (see al-Khawaja 2014).

The ethnographer foreignises the concepts of the native culture into English by appropriating them linguistically, engulfing cultural difference in the tide of a central global culture that defuses cultural boundaries, thus making the English reader part of the native culture by taking the reader to the text. However, taking the reader to the text could be controversial. I think even this could involve an opposite element. By introducing Arabic words in an English context, the power of English dominates and the word is appropriated; it loses its Arabic origin. Over time, no one will remember

that the word is even Arabic. This happened with the word 'taboo', for example, which was introduced into English by anthropologists (and was originally spelt 'tapu/tabu') (see Keesing, 1985: 204)

Following the categorisation of culture in chapter one, the concepts below are divided into different categories, on the basis of whether they are related to: beliefs; institutional culture; and style culture. If these three layers are arranged in a vertical way instead of an onion shape, then beliefs will be at the top, institutional culture in the middle, and style at the bottom. The more the cultural concepts on these three layers are the focus of global attention, the more they are foreignised. They become the focus of such attention because of their importance in understanding the other and creating one global culture. Some are the result of historical globalism, such as the West's interest in the religions of the East, Islam being one. Others are the result of today's media and information globalisation, such as the world interest in the culinary varieties of ethnic cultures. If we reshaped the vertical layers according to how widely they are foreignised, then the shape will be much like an hour glass, with the institutional cultures foreignised the least and thus generating the narrow area of the shape.

4.3.1.1 Foreignised by globalism: Islamic expressions

Because of the centuries-long Western interest in the Middle East, the region's main religion was thoroughly studied by Western travel writers and ethnographers. However, in the current era, and especially after the 9/11 attacks at the dawn of the Millennium, Islamic discourse became the centre of news coverage and it is through this medium that Westerners are most frequently exposed to it.

One of the most widely spread Islamic expressions is Allahu Akbar. It has, unfortunately, been associated with terrorism. It is a feature of the globalised news industry to use attractive, exotic expressions in their coverage to attract attention and viewers. To say, for instance, that an attacker shouted 'God is great' would never have the same effect on the Western viewer as the Islamic sounding expression Allah-u Akbar. The expression is thus transferred into English and very often is referred to in news coverage of Islamic terrorist groups and attacks. However, an opposite viewpoint to this is that the spread of these Islamic terms is part of a global attempt to better know the Other. Western societies have been setting the acceptance of difference as one of their prime ethical claims, (Wolf, 2014: 123).

In the RCT texts, however, it is not used in this negative sense. It is used as a part of prayer, whether during worship or moments of distress. Allahu Akbar is used in FB (108) without any explanation as to its meaning. The term shari'a is also widely used in Western mainstream discourse and, like Allah-u Akbar, is spread because of the public's interest in, and criticism of, Islamic movements. The word is used in MH (2012: 15) in italics with a definition added, and only italicised in later use (ibid: 277, 293, and 294).

Similarly, the very common Arabic/Muslim expression *Inshallah* (FB: 119) is transcribed and italicised. But wittingly, the first instance is uttered in the context by the journalist ethnographer himself, so adding the English equivalent is contextualised as a bilingual's note, rather than as an ethnographer's explanation:

I said, a little lamely: "*Inshallah*, if God wills, things will change."

"No," he replied softly. "Maybe in America things change, but not in the Middle East. Nothing ever changes in the Middle East" (FB: 18).

Inshallah is a very common Arabic expression that is used with action verbs that indicate future plans, whether soon or distant. Muslims believe that if they don't say *inshallah,* future plans will not come true. This belief comes from a Quranic verse to this effect[3]. All Westerners interested in the Arab Muslim world learn it before any other word. That is due to the fact that it is so frequently used in Muslim societies, whether in original communities or in the broader diaspora. It is appropriated by virtue of contact. The English expression 'God willing' (Merriam Webster Dictionary) can be a cultural translation, but one that seems to be out-dated, except probably in very small religious circles. A non-faith based translation would be 'hopefully'.

In the second occurrence of the text, 'if God wills' is added in square brackets, as an explanation:

I told him that I could give him no guarantees. "*Inshallah* [If God wills]." He laughed good-naturedly (ibid: 45).

But later in the text, it gains a more established status and no more explanation is given; the italicisation is, however, maintained:

He said, whispering: "*Inshallah*." Leaning close, he added: "I hope so. I hope it is quick. Everything in Iraq is no good. We want to change this. *Inshallah*" (ibid, 108).

According to Saldanha, (2011: 424–442), Italics are used in English "generally [to] mark tonic prominence in written language" (ibid: 425) and to "solicit attention" (ibid: 426). In translation from other languages into English, new information tends to be

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3 ولا تقولن لشيء إني فاعل ذلك غدا إلا أن يشاء الله. (القرآن الكريم، سورة الكهف: آية 23)
Do not say about anything, 'I will indeed do it tomorrow,' without [adding], 'if Allah wishes.'
(Quran, al-Kahf Sura: verse 23, The Quran online translation and commentary, http://al-quran.info/#18)

marked with emphatic italics (ibid: 430). For Berman (2000: 286), the use of italics in intercultural translation is a form of exoticisation, and it is a traditional method to preserve vernaculars by typographically "isolating what does not exist in the original" and then adding it to make it more authentic. One such example Berman (ibid) mentions is the over-Arabising in the translation of Thousand and One Nights. This over Arabising led to the incorporation of Arabic words into English, though not concepts in the following case.

One of the Islamic Arabic expressions that were historically appropriated[4] and is an entry in English lexicography is Caliph. It is an old borrowing that does not need any further special emphasis. 'Caliph' (NI: 20) falls within what Newmark (1988: 82) calls 'naturalization'. According to the Merriam Webster Dictionary, the first known use of caliph in English was in the 14ᵗʰ century as *caliphe* (from French), which is closer in pronunciation to the Arabic خليفة Khaleefa.

The word 'sharia' is also widely used in English media, it is borrowed in the texts with italicisation, and a definition in the first instance:

"[..] and the *shari'a*, the body of Islamic doctrine, law, and ritual derived from the Quran and the sunna" (MH: 15).

It is simply italicised in later usage (ibid: 277, 293-294).

While the above terms can be said to have passed the threshold of appropriation, as they are known to many, if not most, adult English speakers, there are other Islamic cultural terms that are not as widely spread through the media but which are nonetheless transcribed. However, they are part of the terminology that specialists in Islamic studies use as part of their register. These include concepts such as *mujtahid*

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[4] This an example of globalism as a historical phenomenon, as indicated in chapter two.

(MH: 310; DW: 83), and *Ulama,* which is first introduced in the text as "urban Muslim clerics" (NI: 67) and later occurs abundantly without reference to 'cleric', and occasionally used along with the singular form of the noun "alim" (ibid: 68, 70, 72, 74, 78)

The authors show a deep knowledge, not only of the culture, but also of the language to describe that culture. Learning a language of a culture is knowing it all. Through foreignising, they are enriching their books with these anthropologically imported concepts and terms from various levels and aspects of the native culture.

In the following example, although the name of the empire can be transcribed, as was the case with proper nouns, the author chooses to be charitable by offering an explanation of why it was named so:

[He built] his Umayyad Empire (named after the patriarch Umayya, the brother of Muhammad's great-grandfather) (NI: 20).

The name of the empire is historical information that, unlike the previoius examples, is not a common expression that would be used in the media or everyday conversation. Transliteration alone could have been enough, but adding the explanation is boasting the possession of a profound cultural capital about the topic.

In the example below, the strategy used with the nickname of the caliph is transliteration, the most common strategy used with proper nouns, but the literal translation of the nickname is added. Al-Saffah has both the status of a proper noun (the caliph has historically come to be known by the term), and of an epithet. Although it is not the real name of the caliph, he is historically known by it, so choosing to use only the literal translation will lead to historical ambiguity (see Tymoczko 1997):

The first Abbasid caliph soon earned the nickname "Al-Saffah", the spiller (of blood) (NI: 23).

4.3.1.2 *Foreignising religious nuances: sect rituals*

Following on from the previous section, however, some of the cultural terms are too subject-specific to be of interest to mainstream society and thus too subject-specific to be transcribed and transferred. Any attempt to present the world with more of these anthropological terms is pushing pluralism too far and would lead to unnecessary confusion. Very little will be learned about the nuances of other minor cultures. Nonetheless, the anthropologist authors have no other choice but to use the native terms for these words, because there are no equivalents for them in English. For instance, the word *mujtahid* means a Shii Muslim scholar who has reached an advanced level in religious education that enables him to deduce rules and judgements related to rituals and everyday life issues from an Islamic jurisprudential perspective[5]. Although a much shorter version of this long definition is embraced by the author, the use of the transcribed word is inevitable.

Eventually, the leadership of the Shi'i community devolved on religious scholars, called *mujtahids***. The fact that each individual Shi'a is expected to follow a leading *mujtahid* gives the Shi'i community stronger leadership and a greater sense of cohesion than its Sunni counterpart.** (MH: 14)

The same can be said about the word *hawza*, the name for a Shii scholastic institution:

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[5] The definition is provided by the researcher based on her knowledge of the culture.

The Shi'i had their own educational institutions to train the clerics (the *hawza*) (MH: 15, emphasis in the original).

The Shia religious and educational establishment Najaf known as Al-Hawza (DW, 16).

Some concepts are too intricate and culturally-specific to be transcribed efficiently:

[The] Shi'a had their own […] source of finances (the *khums*—a fifth of the net income required of followers), (MH: 15)

One of the most unexpected cultural transferences in English is the word *Aza,* used by Joseph Braude in NI. It meets Gellner's description of alien discourse because it may include an element of exoticism. Of course, it is not as odd as the Nuer's religious beliefs but it nonetheless may look strange to a modern Christian/secular Westerner. Christianity is indicated here because it contains enacting activities of lamenting the crucifixion of Jesus Christ in some Christian cultures (see Sandra Sticca, 1970, The Latin Passion Play: Its Origin and Developments). The ethnographer is transferring the term but also supplementing a cultural explanation. The cultural equivalent itself is as uncommon as the foreign cultural term:

"Aza, a passion play that re-enacts Husayn's murder. "Oh, if only we had been with you," is Shi'is' sad refrain expressing a collective guilt over not having been present to assist Husayn" (IJ: 21)

Of all the four books discussed in this thesis, Braude is the only one who uses this term. It is an uncommon term for anyone who hasn't been in very close contact with the Iraqi community. The transliteration as *Aza,* rather than *Azaa* or *Aza',* which are the normal transcriptions of عزاء, indicates that the ethnographer has earned the Iraqi

vernacular form of the word عزة , not the standard Arabic word عزاء , which has a longer final vowel. If anything, this indicates that Braude learned the ritual through close examination, rather than from other secondary sources; hence he married the task of the ethnographer and translator, as Benjamin (quoted in Asad, 2010) suggests.

Surprisingly, the word Ashura in MH is not transcribed in italics. Like Caliph, the word is included in English dictionaries such as Merriam Webester.

Husseiniyah is transferred into English, with a definition of what it stands for:

"husseiniyah, a Shiite community center," (FB: 293).

As for 'Arbayeen', the journalist ethnographer is using transference and addition by supplementing the phrase 'the religious festival' before the transcribed word, and offers a definition in a later part of the text:

"in four days' time the religious festival of Arbayeen would take place. Arbayeen is the festival marking the end of the forty-day mourning period for Imam Hussein, which begins each year on the anniversary of his death" (ibid: 295).

Even the word *Istifta'at* (NI 64), is foreignised and presented to the reader. In spite of the fact that the word originates in Shiism, it can be translated as 'question and answer'. But, the ethnographer is using it to show possession of authentic cultural capital about Iraq.

A4 paper sheets. They are *istifta'at,* requests from Shi'is all over the world for a religious edict to answer a moral or religious quandary" (NI: 64-5).

All these foreignisations, materialised through transcriptions and other supporting strategies, may be justified because the cultural concepts they are trying to translate

fall within core parts of the religious culture of Iraq and cannot be translated in alternative ways without running the risk of plummeting into the abyss of ethnocentrism and deformation. However, there are concepts that are part of the modern institutional apparatus of the country, whether military or civil, and it is easy to provide equivalents for them without being ethnographically unethical, as we will see in the following sections.

4.3.1.3 Unneeded foreignising: Institutional culture

It is rather surprising to find that the word *mukhabarat* (= intelligence service) being transcribed and explained. In every country there is an intelligence service, there is thus no point using the word as a cultural specificity. *Mukhabarat* is never a word that is confined to the intelligence service of Saddam Hussein. It is an abbreviation of the institution's full name and is the name used in informal settings. The ethnographer is treating it as one would treat the acronym CIA, even though *mukhabarat* is not an acronym. Having said that, the reason why the ethnographer borrows it from Arabic is its powerful effect on readers. He brings his readers something that has the power of newness. He is enriching his text with foreign elements that are embellished with power. By doing so, the ethnographer could also be trying to establish Mukhabarat as a service that has its own ruthless characteristics and which is different from similar institutions in the West:

- **"Mukhabarat"—Iraq's all pervasive intelligence service** (FB: 18).

- **a friend who was suspected of treason had taken refuge in his house and how this had become known to the Mukhabarat, the secret police** (ibid: 27).

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- **Saddam had reassured him by telling him that as long as his friend chose to remain in his house, he would not send in the Mukhabarat to capture him** (ibid).

- **the former chief, a Mukhabarat man named Hillal, had vanished** (ibid: 60).

- **I managed to get him to sit down [..] to talk frankly with me [...] about his own career in the Mukhabarat** (ibid: 250).

It is unusual that the transcribed foreign word is given a translation in all the three occurrences in DW; it is contrary to how other transcribed words are treated in the same book, as well as to how the same and other words are transcribed in the rest to the corpus:

- **"The crowds overwhelmed police stations and the offices of the intelligence service, *mukhabarat*,"** (DW: 75)

- **"high levels in the government and the *mukhabarat* (intelligence apparatus),"** (ibid: 92).

- **"The building used to belong to the *mukhabarat* (the security service),"** (ibid: 130).

The same cannot be said about *Fedayeen*, as it has its own cultural specificity. The literal translation, 'the Sacrificers', would not reflect the connotations that this expression brings:

The Saddam Fedayeen, the fearsome balaclava wearing brigade of fighters commanded by Saddam's elder son (FB: 162).

Khifa said that the men were fedayeen and had yelled, "Clear the area" (ibid: 212).

Salaah was inside it, dead, apparently shot in a crossfire between the Americans and fedayeen. He had apparently gone to fetch the laundry of the British journalist (ibid: 257).

[He] helped to arrange the surrender of one of his cousins, an ex-officer in the Saddam Fedayeen, the brutal militia that had been led by Uday Hussein (ibid: 277).

The word is repeated so often in the text that any reader will find himself/herself under the influence of this foreignisation strategy, with the exotic effect of the borrowing and imagination-provoking definition.

Another example of an institutional cultural item is Sahwa. The ethnographer is using the same technique of borrowing a literal translation and offering a brief definition.

A [...] reason for the turnaround was a split in the Sunni insurgency and the emergence of a movement, known as the Sahwa (Awakening), among the Sunni tribes of Anbar [Province] (MH: 307).

One of the political terms that surfaced in Iraq immediately after the war was محاصصة muhassasa. Muhassasa means allocating seats in the Iraqi parliament and other government political posts along sectarian and ethnic lines. As such, it can be translated as quota, but it is not quite the same. Paradoxically the word 'quota' is transcribed into Arabic to refer to a different kind of parliamentary seat allocation: a women's quota. In the Iraqi parliament, women have a fixed percentage of seats, which is referred to as كوتا النساء kota al-nissaa'. Muhassasa is transcribed into English, as in these examples from MH, in which the historian Phebe Marr attributes the emergence of the concept in Iraqi politics to the United States:

The distribution of seats in the government assured that the *muhassasa* system would remain (MH: 349)

Instead, a structure—the *muhassasa* system, introduced by the United States and the first occupation government and supported by the opposition parties that had come to power—had taken root, although […] it was not irreversible. [….]. But *muhassasa* was not based merely on ethnic and communal identity (ibid: 353).

To transcribe it as *muhasasa* implies that it is a purely Iraqi concept and acquits the Americans of having introduced it to Iraq. For if it was originally American, the English word would have been transcribed into Arabic, as in the case of the women's quota, or it would have been easy to turn back into English. It is the underlying argument of this thesis that words keep their cultural origin, one way or another, no matter how they travel through language pairs. There is not one word in English that could encompass the various political elements embodied in this concept.

4.3.1.4 *Foreignising to impress: style and other material culture*

In this sub-section, the cultural aspects are examined are more material. This aspect of culture has been researched thoroughly in almost every approach to translation, especially in linguistic theories, but the purpose behind studying them in those theories was always prescribing the best solutions when the source language's cultural items had no equivalent in the target language's cultural system. This study, however, seeks to examine how these cultural items transfer between languages, what changes they go through, how they empower the text (especially the translated text), and why.

All the following cultural items use borrowing as a basic strategy, alongside other techniques. Whether through the use of couplets, definitions, or additions, transference, that is, maintaining the phonological translation, remains the essential way of translation, making the English weak. English has one of two options to be an empowered language: either translate them with an equivalent from English and be independent of the influence of the 'exotic' culture, and in this case, conforming to the uncharitable stance; or use the foreign culture's terms without further additions and treat as part of English which has the ability to deploy meaning.

Let's take *kaffiyeh* as an example. The author could say 'headscarves' alone. This would have been sufficient for his audience. He could also have said *kaffiyeh* alone, since this word entered into the English language by means of orientalism or colonialism a long time ago*. Kaffiyeh* is an entry in English dictionaries (Meriam Webster, for instance), and could have been looked up by readers. The fact that the author used *kaffiyeh* with headscarf means that English is still unable to talk about other cultures independently, in spite of linguistical appropriation and cultural colonisation. *Yas*, on the other hand, has an English equivalent, 'murtle' (from the botanic *Myrtus communis*), but again the author uses the halo of the Arabic word to impress his readers.

with red-and-white-checked kaffiyeh headscarves wrapped like turbans around their heads (FB: 198).

a man in a dishdasha robe (ibid: 15).

led me into their diwaniyah, a long, rectangular meeting room (ibid, 97).

sweet-smelling plant, which he called yas (ibid: 101).

The tiled fountain was spurting jets of water next to Jamaluddin's woven reed mudhif, and roses and gardenias blossomed in the beds along the walkways (FB: 303).

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Shockingly (to the researcher), even dishdasha and diwyaniya have Web definitions. Dishdasha is also an entry in the Meriam Webster dictionary.

As seen from the myriad examples above, the main strategy underpinning foreignization is transference, or borrowing, to use Ivir's term. There are multiple reasons why this is so, including the tendencies of the ethnographer/translator, the purpose of the writings, the audience, and so on. Although the current chapter does not seek to identify precisely what factors cause borrowing to be used as a translation strategy, the following statement from one of the translators of a Naguib Mahfouz novel from Arabic into English can provide an answer as to why the strategy has gained popularity in translations into English in recent years:

> "I think borrowing is happening nowadays more than it used to in the past in translations. But this is part of a wider phenomenon, far from being particular of literary translation. You find it in all the media all the time. It is a byproduct of cultural "promiscuity", so to speak, or cultural globalization (which is a two-way thing), the growing Arab communities in the English-speaking world and the west generally, and of course the increasing presence of the Arab region and its events in the news – all of which inevitably enhance the occurrence of word borrowing, which in turn makes this more acceptable in translation than the use of a target-language approximation" (al-Khawaja, 2014).

This is an illuminating, highly significant statement; it touches upon the issue from a broad perspective. But from the viewpoint of a TS analysis, the researcher believes that a new tendency in cultural translation and the translation of culture is influenced

by the cultural turn, and post-structuralism in general, wherein culture as a whole is the unit of translation, not the word, sentence, or language. The cultural-turn is, in fact, the turn of the dominated. It tends to cater for all the groups that were previously disenfranchised: women, the dominated cultures, the colonised, and so on. In fact, the word 'turn' should rather be understood in terms of a flipping-over rather than as a milestone. Thus, we can say that the cultural turn capsized the balance of the power in translation studies. RCT is one of the manifestations of such a flip.

4.3.1.5 *Exaggerating foreignisation*

As seen in the above sections, cultural concepts and items are transferred into English as a result of a globalised tendency to know the other, or because the anthropological concept is so specific that other ways or renditions are not economic. However, the corpus of this study showed that sometimes the ethnographer authors have gone too far in foreignising Iraqi cultural concepts.

A couple of shocking examples have been found in the texts. In FB, for example, the journalist Jon Lee Anderson who, unlike the three other authors, tends to domesticate Iraqi cultural items into English by using cultural equivalence, decides to adopt the foreignising strategy of borrowing/transference with a word that already has a direct English equivalent, a word that is neither a concept nor specific to a particular phenomenon. The word is not even a culturally-specific term, but he treats it as one and transcribes it *turab*. *Turab* (تراب), literally means 'dust', but in the context in which he uses it is in terms of a 'dust storm', particularly the one that hit Iraq during the early

days of the military operations in March 2003. As the journalist was taking stock of the invasion, the dust storm was a dramatic addition to the already stifling anticipation. The journalist translated his discomfort at the hands of the unpleasant weather conditions and transferred the lack of visibility it bought to the English language reader. The reader is presented with a cultural word whose meaning could not be looked up, because it is not formally appropriated into English and cannot be found in other ethnographic writings.

The choice of *turab* can be accounted for only if one considers the power invested in the native, the foreign and the exotic. To have used the words 'dust' and 'dust storm' would have meant that there would be no power embodied in the words. *Turab,* in comparison, is shrouded with the kind of mystery of a foreign, 'Orient' culture that would be alluring the Western reader:

On the same day, March 6, [..] a turab swept through Baghdad. The turab is an ill wind that makes the air clammy and full of dust, and this one signaled the beginning of spring, with the long, hot Iraqi summer soon to follow (FB: 85-6).

The turab had brought with it a palpable downturn in people's spirits. […] The turab meant that summer was on its way, and everyone knew that this meant the war would happen very soon (ibid: 88).

The turab had resumed with full force, and it was raining, but the water had not cleared the skies of dust (ibid: 163).

The turab was whipping through, blowing sand and dust and trash everywhere, and the sky was darkening fast (ibid:160).

The turab died down during the night, and the next day, Thursday, March 27, was crisp and bright. Baghdad was still covered with pale yellow dust, but already, here and there, people had emerged to clean up, throwing pails of water over their cars, their shopfronts, and the sidewalks outside their houses. The statues of Saddam, which stood all over town, remained covered by dust, however; the workers who used to be visible most days cleaning the most prominent of them—a new bronze of Saddam on a plinth in the traffic island of Fardous Square, next to the Palestine Hotel—had disappeared (ibid: 166).

Equally unexpectedly, in MH, Marr transcribes the term *wasta* alongside an explanation. *Wasta* means using a go-between, usually to facilitate the processing of paper work in state institutions. In the same way as other instances where a definition is first offered, later instances of the word occur independently:

One wonders why the author chose to transcribe the concept instead of using 'mediation', which is the equivalent of the word *wasta*, and which could be easily understood by English speakers. Indeed, terms such as 'using connections', or 'pulling strings' could also have been used.

Much of this money flowed into the hands of political leaders through the traditional system of *wasta*, the use of a "go-between," especially to the Barzanis and Talabanis, creating more corruption and social cleavages. (MH: 313)

Under both parties, patronage and *wasta* were the rule in securing political positions, jobs, and other benfits. (ibid: 315)

There are many more cultural expressions that are foreignised for effect. The authors show deep knowledge not only of the culture, but also of the language of the culture; for learning a language of a culture is the key to knowing it all. They are enriching their

books with these words, which are important from various levels and aspects of the native culture.

The authors invest in anthropological aspects, even though their books appear to be historical or political on face value. Braude (NI : 56) mentions Lablabi, an Iraqi hot snack made simply from boiled chickpeas (and sometimes garnished with spices or lemon juice), usually sold on vending carts, and Bagilla (ibid: 160), a food that is made and sold in the same way, but with fava beans instead. Attention to culinary trends and experimentation with ethnic and national varieties have proved over the years to be very malleable to globalisation, especially in the age of technological communication.

Again, while some Iraqi cultural expressions appear to be appropriated by the authors, they come to be appropriated in earlier cultural contact zones. This can be seen, for example, with the word *149haykhana,* which is used several times in FB. Chaikhana is literally a teahouse and was a very common word until recently, when other synonyms came to replace it.

What the authors put into their texts could one day become an entry in English dictionaries or is the world too wide today because of globalisation to include every ethnic encounter in language dictionaries. The web servers are doing this job. Manqala, which is the Iraqi way of saying barbeque table has been used in the corpus. One wonders whether it could have gained ground in English as 'barbecue', another word that was appropriated by English from Spanish and Arawak and became part of its vocabulary.

4.4 Domesticating strategies

Domestication is realised in translation through strategies of substitution, or what is called cultural equivalence (al-Kawaja, 2014). As seen from the examples in the previous sections, the authors have mostly adopted a charitable foreignising attitude in their anthropological translation for counts of globalisation, the charitable attitude in anthropological translation and in order to exploit the charm of exoticism. Very few examples of domesticating cultural aspects were found. By foreignising in such a way, it is unexpected to find the following domesticated material cultural items:

Balconies with latticed wooden shutters (FB: 176)

He [the sheik] wore white headdress and flowing black robes with gold-embroidered hems (FB: 276)

An example of domesticating a conceptual word is the use of murder/death to describe Imam Hussein's martyrdom. The usual way it is described in the native language is *maqtal* (killing); it is surprising that *maqtal* was not appropriated through foreignisation, as was the case with other terms, such as arbaeen, Ashura, ziyara and aza.

However, later stages of the thesis will show that, even when the ethnographer uses domestication and presents his readers with a 'fluent' intelligible version of the alien culture, RCT seeks to domesticate into the target culture, thus acting as a dominant language. The latticed wooden shutters, the dress and the murder of Imam Hussein are all domesticated in RCT by providing the native word.

4.5 RCT restoring the culture: the other is the self

In this section, translation as a proper interlingual process in RCT will be examined. With that in mind, the term 'source text' refers to the English text and the term 'target text' to the translated Arabic text. There will be a review of how the cultural concepts and terms were domesticated from a foreignised position into the native culture, and what the linguistic and cultural implications associated with the translation are.

Domestication in RCT is not a choice. All the concepts that were foreignised by the ethnographer from Iraqi culture into English are now domesticated. This apparently automatic process of domestication entails that all the conceptual or material cultural terms are smoothly and effortlessly translated into Arabic by simply omitting the elements directed at foreignising that were added, such as the definitions, explanations, and italicising.

According to Berman, (1985: 276), translation establishes a relationship between the Self and the foreign. RCT taps into a relationship between the Self and the Self. In RCT, the term culture in the original texts does not refer to the other, but to the self. For this reason, domestication in this case is acquitted of ethnocentrism. Cronin (2003: 162) points out that "a domesticating strategy which is perceived as regressive, ethnocentric and appropriative in the case of a major language does not necessarily carry the same meanings for a minority language".

Conventionally, "there is both a scholarly dimension to translation (for without adequate linguistic and cultural knowledge on the part of the translator, the whole endeavour will collapse) and there is a what we might call a moral or ethical or

evangelising or even nurturing element, as the translator seeks to transpose something belonging to one culture and one time into a product that appeals to another quite different time and place" (Bassnett, 2005 : 86). In RCT, the scholarly dimension remains, but the nurturing element, as outlined by Bassnett, does not entirely withstand. The 'something' that is being transposed had been residing in the spatial domain of the 'Other' only temporarily (in the English books), and is now being transposed to a place where it has been residing permanently.

Domestication will depend on factors such as whether the term was appropriated from the Iraqi vernacular or standard Arabic. Some words are taken directly from standard Arabic, others are purely vernacular. There is a third group, where the lexical item is standard Arabic but its use is vernacular. One of the problems of RCT in the current context is that the target language is standard Arabic, the language used in written texts from all Arab countries. Unlike English, Arabic maintains strict boundaries between the written word and spoken dialect. All literature, intellectual writings, news, documents, and official paper work are written in standard Arabic. Only when speaking do Arabs use local vernaculars. RCT cannot perform back translation on cultural terms that are appropriated from Iraqi vernacular without keeping the explanation. On the other hand, the target reader of the RCT of post-2003 Iraq books are potentially Iraqis and non-Iraqi Arabs. RCT behaves differently according to whether the term is derived from either written or spoken vernacular and, in some instances, seeks to cater for the wider   readership.

4.5.1 Translated from standard Arabic

As indicated earlier, the expression إن شاء الله is transliterated and italicised in the English texts as *inshalla* (FB: 18), accompanied by an explanation of its meaning in English.

I said, a little lamely: "*Inshallah*, if God wills, things will change."

"No," he replied softly. "Maybe in America things change, but not in the Middle East. Nothing ever changes in the Middle East" (FB: 18).

In the translations, both *Inshallah* and 'if God wills' are translated. Surprisingly, both are rendered as إن شاء الله, but in two different transliterations: inshallah is translated as انشاللا, and 'if God wills' is translated into its cultural equivalent, إن شاء الله.

قلت بوهن: " إنشاللا، سيتغير الحال إن شاء الله"

(SB, 2)

The first إنشاللا is given an unfamiliar spelling. The expression is normally written as three separate words, from right to left إن, شاء, and الله (literally: if willed Allah); but here the three words are contracted into one word. Also, although the word الله (Allah) is spelled with (ه) haa' as the final letter, here it is instead written with an alif (ا). The second occurrence of the expression is written as normal, using three separate words, and الله is written using its standard spelling.

It is the cultural capital that functioned in this translation. The amalgamated إنشاللا is a spoken Iraqi vernacular, the three-word إن شاء الله is standard Arabic. Both are domesticated using the license that Arabic (and its vernaculars) gives to producing a desired translation that meets the norms of the target audience. A non-domesticating translation could be:

<div dir="rtl">

إن شاء الله سيتغير الحال، إن أراد الرب.

</div>

With the first instance translated into a three-word phrase and 'if God wills' translated in neutral non-Islamic terms.

All the terms related to Islamic culture are automatically domesticated and de-italicised; the native culture's original term is provided and the explanation/definition is removed. No new information is offered; in fact some information is either redundant or domesticated to such an extent that it assimilates into the text smoothly and cannot be noticed. If one were to read the Arabic text first without access to the original English, the reader would not be able to think of any other possible paradigmatic choice.

The intermediate-level [school] texts drew on *hadiths* (sayings of the Prophet), which were explained and related to everyday life practices (MH)

<div dir="rtl">

وقد اعتمدت المناهج في المرحلة المتوسطة على أحاديث النبي محمد

</div>

(IB: 203)

The trend could be seen in the revival of Shi'i rituals such as the celebration of Ashura (the ritual to commemorate Imam Hussein's death, *ziyaras* (visits) to the shrines of the Shi'i imams, and pilgrimages to the holy cities (MH: 372).

<div dir="rtl">

وبالأمكان تلمس هذا الاتجاه في إحياء الطقوس الشيعية على شاكلة مراسيم عاشوراء (وهي الطقوس الخاصة بإحياء مقتل الإمام الحسين)، والزيارات لمراقد الأئمة الشيعة، والرحلات الى المدن المقدسة.

</div>

(IB: 199)

In all instances where the author is discussing the killing of Imam Hussein, regardless of whether the term murder or death is used, the translation is مقتل (maqtal), which means killing. According to Arab linguists, both قَتل (qatl) and مَقْتَل (maqtal) are infinitives derived from the verb قَتَلَ (Qatal-a), with no difference in meaning except that مقتل is

semantically more powerful and more emphatic (al-Musawi, 2011: 40). Looking at the use contextually however, مقتل is used when the person being discussed is killed in an assault (usually an individual or small scale killing).

موت (mawt), although a generic term used to refer to all cases of perishing, is contextually used to refer to a death from natural causes. To say موت الحسين (mawt-ul-Hussein) is culturally and historically incongruous. Therefore, the translation overlooks the usage of the source text in favour of the linguistic usage of the target culture.

In the following sentence, there are three other cultural concepts: Ashura, *ziyaras* and pilgrimages.

They were Shia pilgrims, walking from Baghdad to Karbala, fifty miles to the south, as part of the annual religious festival of Arbayeen, to commemorate the end of forty days of mourning for the death of their revered martyr Imam Husein, (FB: 238).

كانوا حجاجا شيعة يمشون من بغداد إلى كربلاء لإحياء ذكرى نهاية الأيام الإربعين التي تلي ذكرى مقتل شهيدهم المعظم الإمام الحسين"

(SB: 320)

As mentioned earlier, Ashura is an entry in English dictionaries, so it is not exoticised in the original. But one might ask why the parenthetical explanation is kept in the translation. The reason is that Ashura has a different meaning for the Sunni majority in the broader Arab world than it does for Iraqi Shia and Sunnis. For Sunnis in other Arab countries, particularly Egypt, Ashura is a festive day that is commemorated by fasting (and serving pudding). For Iraqis, it is day of grieving and solemnity, where no fasting or occasionally a half-day fast is performed (until noon), with meals cooked and served to neighbours and passers-by. The Webster dictionary discuses these divergent definitions: "a Muslim voluntary fast day observed on the 10th day of Muharram and especially sacred to Shiites".

Pilgrimage is translated culturally. The dictionary equivalent for the word is حج (hajj) and, like pilgrimage, it means any visit to a holy place. But in Muslim cultures حج is used to refer to pilgrimage to Mecca only, i.e. the word is compacted in use. However, later, Imam Hussein's death is translated into وفاة (Wafat), which is the lexical equivalent for death.

Also, Arbayeen is given as an explanation in each of the two occurrences in FB (237, 295). Both explanations are maintained in the translation (SB: 320, 395). SB follow the original text closely in some instances, occasionally undermining the argument of the work of cultural capital in RCT.

"The roads were full of Shiite pilgrims beginning their walks—in some cases, all the way from Baghdad—toward Karbala, where in four days' time the religious festival of Arbayeen would take place. Arbayeen is the festival marking the end of the forty-day mourning period for Imam Husein, which begins each year on the anniversary of his death" (FB: 295)

امتلأت الطرقات بالحجاج الشيعة الذين يمشون متجهين الى كربلاء—بعضهم يأتي مشيا من بغداد—حيث يبدأ احتفال ديني (بالأربعين). الأربعون هو احتفال شعبي يؤشر نهاية فترة أيام الحداد الأربعين على الإمام الحسين التي تبدأ كل سنة في ذكرى يوم وفاته"

(SB: 395)

Italicisation does not exist in Arabic. For emphasis, single quotation marks or brackets are usually used. But none of these special markers were used in the translation. The explanations and definitions are removed too. The text is fluent and smooth, as is expected in cases of domestication. Sentences like the following, which include the word *muhassasa* and *Sahwa* contain nothing at all to remind the reader of an English original.

اكد توزيع المقاعد في الحكومة ان نظام المحاصصة سيتواصل

In the case of Sahwa, the domesticating strategy involves deleting the parenthetical word (awakening), because it is a literal translation of صحوة.

ثمة سبب ثان للتحول تمثل في حدوث انقسام في التمرد السني وانبثاق حركة تسمى بالصحوة بين عشائر الانبار السنية

4.5.2 Translated from the vernaculars

Although the words that the ethnographer introduced into English from the Iraqi dialect appear in the translation inside brackets, sometimes the explanation is kept. The reason for this is that written Arabic does not keep vernaculars. A word like *chaikhana* does not occur in a text without brackets or single quotation marks to denote its foreignness to standard Arabic. The word does not have its roots in Arabic; it is a combination of two Persian words that translate as teahouse. However, it is used in Iraq without consideration of its origin. Having said that, it is losing popularity for another word: *Gahwa*, which means coffee (house). Because the translation caters for a wider Arabic non-Iraqi audience, some of the Iraqi specialties are kept, along with an explanation. In SB, *chaikhana* occurs a few times and it is translated differently: sometimes it is put between brackets and added to مقاهي الشاي and sometimes it is used in the manner shown below:

Sabah usually sent for tea to be brought by a boy from the chaikhana, or teahouse, next door (FB: 56).

يرسل صباح في طلب فنجان شاي لي [..] فيأتي به صبي من "الشاي خانه" أو المقهى المجاور.

157

[F]ronted by a chaos of sidewalk vendors and chaikhanas and kebab houses.

يقف بمواجهتها باعة يفترشون الرصيف ومقاهي الشاي (جايخانات) ومحلات الكباب.

(SB: 133)

In the first instance the appropriated word 'chaykhana' is domesticated, but in inverted comas, with the definition 'teahouses' translated. In the second instance, where chaihkana occurs alone without a definition in the original, جايخانات is only added between brackets to مقاهي الشاي. Again, this is possibly to cater for the wider Arabic reader, who may not be acquainted with this very Iraqi expression[6].

Sometimes the word is originally standard but its use in everyday life context has gained different meanings. For instance, the word Wasta, which means using connections to pull strings in order to procure paper work or get a post. It is a standard Arabic word which means mediation, but does not include emphasis on 'pulling strings'. So the word is standard lexically but is vernacular in connotation. The word therefore is put inside brackets, although the explanation of the English ethnographer is removed. When translating one of the two occurences of *wasta*, محسوبية (mahsoobiya) is added. Mahsoobiya is standard Arabic expression that includes both the denotations and connotations of *Wasta*.

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[6] Two different spellings chaikhana are given in the translation: جايخانة and شاي خانة, betraying a confusion by the producer of the translation about dealing with the vernacular inside a standard text.

4.5.3 Climax of domestication

Sometimes RCT domesticates the domesticated. Words that are domesticated by the ethnographer in the English text are domesticated in RCT by providing the native equivalence. The 'latticed' wood windows are translated with the addition of شناشيل shanasheel between brackets (SB: 237), the old Iraqi word that is used to describe this kind of architectural design is one example. Other instances include: the white headcover, the robe with the golden hem, which are translated in RCT as شماغ and عباءة.

4.6 Conclusions:

In this chapter, I applied the domestication and foreignization paradigm to show if the native/target language is more capable of encapsulating its own conceptual and material cultural expressions. As axiomatic as this statement might seem, the influence of the hegemonic English worldwide can make such a statement worth examining. The effect of globalisation on linguistically appropriating cultural expressions into English and on disappearing cultural differences reduces the axiomaticity of the statement. This power of globalised English is doubled when it is materialised textually in an asymmetrical communicative exchange as translation where supremacy has been on the side of the source text.

By analysing Asad's argument about ethnographic translation, we can conclude that the translational basic strategies of foreignising and domesticating have their counterparts in anthropological cultural translations; they are materialised in charitable and uncharitable attitudes. This allows us to talk in consistent terms about the

appropriation process and RCT, without fearing that they belong to two different modes—the intercultural and the intertextual.

The chapter showed that foreignisation was a strikingly common strategy used to appropriate the native culture into the Western, English speaking culture. It was carried out mainly by borrowing native words and concepts, that is, transferring them to the Western language by transcribing/transliterating them and marking them in italics. The borrowing is usually accompanied by other techniques that secure the intelligibility of the foreign word, such as parenthetical definition or explanation.

The reasons for this foreignisation are the emergence and effect of a new global village and an increased interest in knowing the 'other'. Plus, they result from the ethnographer's endeavour to show that s/he has mastered the knowledge capital inherent in the native culture.

When the RCT is performed, a default domestication is expected to take place due to the inverse nature of RCT. The italicisation is removed and the definitions and expressions are omitted. However, in some case, the definitions and italicisation are kept. Whether or not they are depends on whether the word was appropriated from standard Arabic or the Iraqi vernacular. Vernacular words cannot be included in standard text without the need for such markings. Also, the native/target text caters to a wider Arabic audience, which may not be well acquainted with local specificities and so may need them to be explained. Aside from these exceptions, Arabic did not need to add or explain. RCT has shown that the Arabic texts were more fluent, should it be fine to use this seventeenth century canon.

Chapter Five: RCT as rewriting: the dominant socio-cultural values of the native culture

5 Introduction

This chapter will highlight the power of the target/native culture's values in post-2003 society. The argument will focus on how they function as a form of symbolic capital, principally because they actively ensue translating strategies, resulting in the manipulation and re-writing of the texts. Different translation strategies can be said to involve rewriting, but those at work here can be grouped in terms of those that add to the text (whether through amplification, expansion, augmentation) and those that remove part of the text (whether through compression, reduction, condensation, omission). These are used as rewriting tools when cultural, religious, or sectarian symbols are represented in a way that, for one reason or another, does not completely conform to the norms in the native culture.

The chapter draws on Lefevere's (1992) notion of rewriting. However, since this approach does not provide clear theoretical mechanisms, the approach will be supplemented with a more solid theoretical background drawn from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This will support traditional translation strategies. The theoretical tools that will be borrowed from CDA emphasise that discourse can be used to re-produce dominance in a social context. Discourse analysis is ideal when studying translation when it is being approached as a paid-for service (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013).

The chapter will mainly focus on the religious and sectarian protagonists (whether real or metaphoric) who are treated as symbols in the target/native language. We will see that the original texts do not misrepresent the Iraqi symbols in the way the British colonisers did with Indian subjects. However, when compared against the original, we will see that the translation is being manipulated. The translation either follows the discourse of the original or is succumbed to the norms of target/native culture, which are informed by the socio-cultural underpinnings of society, or those of other agents involved in the translation, such as the publisher. Hence the diagram below:
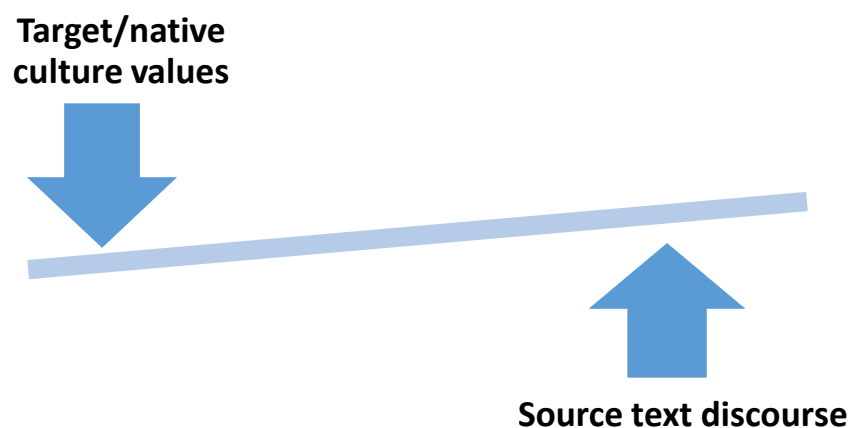
Figure 1 The powers affecting the RCT text

A problem here is the dual identity of what can be called target/native values. As much as they refer to the Iraqi society, they can in reality be those of the wider Arab world. Books in Arabic cannot be said to be for consumption in just one nation; Arabic books can be distributed and read in many (if not all) of the 22 countries in which it is the

lingua franca. As will be shown below, significant polarisation emerged post-2003 and Iraq was singled out of the mainstream Arabic culture that had traditionally prevailed. This difference becomes particularly evident when the publisher is not Iraqi. This means that a non-Iraqi publisher producing a book mainly for the Iraqi audience should take into consideration the wider audience and also the publishing house's guidelines.

The above diagram maps three scenarios: that the translation is a replica of the original discourse; that it is rewritten according to Iraqi norms; that it is rewritten according to the norms or Iraqis, Arabs or the publishers. This latter case is perplexing, as it will be hard to decide when each norm is being observed.

5.1 Translation as rewriting

André Lefevere's idea of translation as a form of rewriting is based on the concept of patronage, which he defines as the "power that can further or hinder the reading, writing and rewriting of literature" (1992: 15). Although Lefevere discussed patronage in the context of the production of literature, its use to account for manipulation in non-literary textual production should also be acceptable. Indeed, he states that, "patronage is usually more interested in the ideology of literature than in its poetics" (ibid). As such, his approach is fit for use when discussing non-literary texts.

Patronage has three basic elements: ideology, economics, and status. The ideological element constrains the choice and development of the subject matter in the work, along with other components (ibid: 16). The economic element sees the patron pay the producer of the text (ibid). In the context of this study (as I found during the interviews held with published), this involves the publisher paying the translator of the

text. Finally, the status element implies that for patronage to be accepted, the patrons should be integrated into a support group and lifestyle.

Other important elements to consider in the context of this study are the notions of undifferentiated and differentiated patronage. Patronage is undifferentiated when its three components are all dispensed by one and the same patron (ibid: 17). Before 2003, patronage in Iraq was undifferentiated, as most publishing was carried out by state-run establishments, such as the Ministry of Culture and its various divisions, including al-Ma'moun Translation and Publishing House, Dar al-Hikma, and Children's Affairs Cultural House, amongst others (see Appendix 1/D). The authors and translators were either employees of those establishments or were contracted by them. Working along state-dictated lines brought the producer of the text closer to the elite and brought continuous bounties to them. Thus, Lefevere stresses that undifferentiated patronage typically takes place in totalitarian states (Lefevere, 1992: 17).

On the other hand, "[p]atronage is differentiated [..] when economic success is relatively independent of ideological factors, and does not necessarily bring status with it", (ibid). This is typically applicable to the cases covered in this study, as after 2003 publishing in Iraq was no longer under the grip of state control. Publishing became easier and has been free of the ideological impediments that used to accompany the book industry. Post-2003 authors and translators could initiate book projects simply by contracting with any local publishing house. It is important to note that the ideological component of patronage, in this context, was neither the translator nor the publisher; instead it was the entire society, or parts therein. The publishers are responsible for the economic element of patronage and, therefore, seek to respect the

sociocultural values that might affect the distribution or marketing of the book, especially in orthodox societies like Iraq.

Lefevere's approach is criticised by Theo Hermans (1994), who says that it's "theoretical apparatus" is "too rudimentary", that he does not restrict the range of his theoretical concepts, and that his case-studies include a wide range of textual genres from different times and cultures" (ibid: 140). Moreover, the terms of Lefevere's approach are "too apodictic, too few, and therefore much too broad to be able to guide research in any meaningful way beyond a general orientation towards the social context of literature" (ibid). He is also charged with heavy loads; for example his notion of patronage includes "the reading public as well as individuals, groups, institutions, publishers" and 'the media, both newspapers and magazines and larger television corporations" (ibid).

Because of this suppleness, Lefevere's approach is suitable to the purposes of the current chapter, which demonstrates that patronage could come from both society (without defining which part of the society) as well as other agents involved in the translation process, such as the publisher. But, because it does not discuss the inner mechanisms of how patronage is exerted textually, we will need to supplement it with a model that shows how power behaves on the textual level.Such a model is borrowed from CDA.

5.2 CDA and rewriting as a framework for translation strategies in RCT

In order to elaborate on the dominant relation between socio-cultural values and discourse manipulation, an approach that captures the intricacies of the relation is needed. Van Dijk's (1993) approach within CDA focuses on the role of discourse in producing or maintaining dominance (ibid: 249). Van Dijk stresses that semantic content is the most obvious example of discourse as dominance reproduction: "statements that directly entail" positive evaluation of the dominant (ibid: 264). These statements use the following, inter alia, persuasive moves in order to be credible:

a) "Argumentation: the […] evaluation follows from the 'facts'.

b) Denial and understatement of the negative acts of the dominant.

c) Lexical style: choice of words that imply negative (or positive) evaluations" (ibid).

This approach is therefore pertinent in the context of the argument pursued here. The latter two points above have a direct relationship with strategies followed in the translation of cultural symbols in RCT. The denial of the negative discourse accounts for the omissions made in the translation of the parts that are considered from the viewpoint of the native culture to be denigrating, whether to the myth-symbols or the entities related to them.

The use of the words that suggest a positive or negative evaluation can account for both the addition and omission of titles to the names of the religious symbols. The first point is not irrelevant either. The evaluative stance in the original text towards sectarian myth-symbols, based on what is considered to be historical fact (documented events, for instance, support the author's argument), is undermined or weakened by translation strategies that exemplify points b) and c).

That is to say, by omitting what the author treats as fact and adding more titles than the author intended to use, a new balance of sanctification is created, one which does not conform to that of the author. In fact, the discourse emerging from the translation is a new one; one that does not correspond to the original but rather to the expectations of the target culture.

This approach demonstrates that the choices made in the translation of the cultural content reflect the dominance of cultural values and is therefore useful in the context of this study's research question, which ask whether the dominance of the native culture's social values overrule in RCT. But, in order to apply it to RCT, it needs to be reformulated so that it is more appropriate to the context of translation.

This will involve placing greater emphasis on how culturally dominant elements are affected when things that were presented factually in the original (whether particular words, or entire sentences and paragraphs) are omitted in the translation, and when additional words, sentences or paragraphs are added to the original.

Discourse tools	Translation strategies
Re-evaluation of the facts	using translation strategies a and b
Denial of the facts	deletion of parts of the text (a)
Choice of words	adding new material (b)

Table 2: Discourse tools in terms of translation strategies.

The purpose of using CDA in the context of translation strategies is to show their potential as tools of power manipulation. The aim is to show that translational strategies, such as CDA, can shed light on, as van Dijk (2001a: 96) puts it, "social problems, and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination." The general properties of critical research are, as van Dijk (2001b: 467) argues, relevant when socio-cultural phenomena are approached in a multidisciplinary way, as they are in this study:

- "It focuses primarily on social problems and political issues rather than the mere study of discourse structures outside their social and political contexts.

- This critical analysis of social problems is usually multi-disciplinary.

- Rather than merely describing discourse structures, it tries to explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure.

- More specifically, CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power abuse (dominance) in society." (van Dijk, 2001b: 467)

CDA is ideal for studying sociocultural approaches to translation because the former is a linguistic analogue for the cultural turn in translation studies (TS), which materialised during the post-structural phase that occurred within social sciences. The tenets of CDA, as outlined by Fairclough and Wodak (1997, in van Dijk, 2001: 353), are homogeneous with the sociological turn in TS:

1. CDA addresses social problems

2. Power relations are discursive

3. Discourse constitutes society and culture

4. It is historical and does ideological work

5. The link between text and society is mediated

6. Discourse is a social action.

In fact, CDA had come to focus on the role discourse plays in enacting and reproducing "ethnic" inequality, as it showcased ethnocentric representations in various semiotic domains, such as the "dominant images of the Other in the discourse of European travellers, explorers, [and] historians" (van Dijk, ibid: 361). Translation as a communicative act is tantamount to Fairclough's social practice, of which language and cultural values are interrelated dialectic elements (2001: 122-3).

5.3 A word about the names of the strategies

This work aims neither to provide lists of translation strategies used in the translation of culture, nor a review of how these strategies were used over the history of translation or during the evolution of the discipline. Having said that, this section will discuss the two overarching strategies that are implemented in translation as rewriting: deletions and additions.

These are referred to elsewhere using different names. Guerra (2012: 6) argues that translation procedures overlap, resulting in naming problems; the terms "only catalogue differences in terms of language and not usage, and they focus on translation results rather than on the translation process". The terms used for deletion and omission differ according to the amount of text that is removed or added. For

instance, the words subtraction, contraction, compression, and reduction are all used when extensive parts of the texts are removed. Contraction, that is the freedom to subtract, is the term Burke (2007) uses to describe abridging long texts, which could mean reducing them "to as little as half of their original length" (Burke, 2007:). Sometimes the name depends on the motive beyond the deletion, as is the case with bowdlerization, which is the term used for changes that take place during translation which remove or change parts of the text for modesty reasons, because they are socially inappropriate, or for religious reasons. Passages from the works of the Renaissance writer were omitted during translation because they discussed religion. The same is true with the German translation of the Spanish short novel *Lazarillo de Tormes,* which contained anticlerical remarks (ibid). Similar omissions are made in RCT for religious reasons, so referring to them as bowdlerization is deemed acceptable.

Bowdlerization, however, can also be implemented when an equivalent word is used as a replacement. The translation of Plato's Republic into Latin by Italian humanists avoided reference to the term women's community. Instead, they replaced it with words such as 'cohabit' by 'inhabit' or 'join' (ibid). Such a replacement would be seen as an omission by other scholars, as no part of the text is missing. However, some of the original information is no longer present. This means it can be classified in terms of Newmark and Ivir's cultural equivalence. However, calling it an omission does not contradict the methods of the current work, which is not after prescriptive naming as much as it is after describing the overall outcome of the functioning of cultural value factors in engendering a re-writing process.

Guerro (ibid) states that the compression, reduction, condensation, or omission of information is not common when translating cultural terms and, when it occurs, it is

usually to avoid repetition, misleading information, producing text that is unnatural. RCT uses these strategies, but not for the reasons stated by Guerra (2012: 9)

Additions, on the other hand, are referred to using a number of different labels, such as amplification, augmentation or expansion. In fact, some of the labels that are normally listed as independent strategies in translating culture specific terms can be included in the wider term 'addition'. Couplets, for instance, that is, the joining of two strategies, would normally result in the addition of more information in the translation than exists in the original. Amplification, extension as procedures on the textual level (Hurtado, in Guerro, 2012: 6).

Amplification can be used to describe the additions made in RCT, although most of the additions are not large. What that means is that no additions to full paragraphs are made. Instead, the same word is added frequently, so that it amplifies the effect of the word.

The additions and deletions are carried out in the domain of cultural symbols, which are symbolic in Iraqi society. Below is a brief account of the Iraqi landscape after 2003.

5.4 Religious orientation and sectarian polarisation in post-2003 Iraq

The Deity and Prophet Mohammad have always been sacred in Iraq (as well as in other Muslim countries) and thus treated as venerated symbols. However, Iraqi society became more religiously oriented post-2003 as a result of political and social Islamic

activism. Interestingly, though, there appeared another set of venerated symbols, such as the clerics, symbols for each of the two sects of Islam in Iraq, Shia and Sunni.

Ethnic, religious, and sectarian diversity increased sharply in Iraq following the fall of the old regime in 2003. A widening of the sectarian divide led to more competition amongst sects, each keen to show Islamic orthodoxy. The chasm was caused by differing doctrinal or theological understandings of Islam amongst Sunnis and Shias.

Much of this difference is focused on protagonists. Some researchers believe that sectarianism in Islam began immediately after the death of Prophet Mohammad in the 11th Hijri year, when Muslims disagreed about who should be his successor and the leader of the Umma (Momen, 1985: 11; Haqqani, 2006). Opinion was divided between Ali bin Abi Talib, Mohammed's cousin and son-in-law, and Abu Bakr al-Siddiq, Mohammed's close friend. Both were early believers in Mohammad's message and devoted companions of his. In fact, some writers (for instance, J'ait, 1991) attribute the disagreement to the pre-Islamic era, when there was significant competition between various smaller tribes over who should lead the main tribe, Quraysh, which dominated the city of Mecca. Over the centuries, efforts by some Alids (descendants of Ali) to retain the right to leadership resulted in the emergence of Shia thought and the rise of Shii Muslim states that are independent from the mainstream Islamic caliphate. The movement started first in the Iraqi city of Kufa, then spread to other areas, accompanying the emergence of Fatimid rule in Egypt, the Ismaili in Iran, and the Qarmati in Bahrain (Lindholm, 1996: 105). With the rise of these states, Islam now took on more than one form.

The 'whos' are the symbols that are venerated for close bonds, whether familial or otherwise, with the founder of the religion, Mohammad, or with the religion itself as a

mediator that connect humans to the Deity and, hence, to the eternal paradisiacal ever-after.

The rejoicing of sectarian symbols, especially those belonging to the Shias, was a reaction to pre-2003 policies and the decisions made by the 2003 American administration. Although there was no overt sectarianism in Iraqi society or government prior the 2003 invasion, a close look at the events shows that sectarianism existed in disguise and that Shia doctrinal beliefs were labelled as anti-government political ideologies. Persecution of the Shia by the Baath regime followed from such an overlap (see al-Qarawee, 2013: 4). That is, the religious Shia doctrine was treated as a political threat. Although the Baathist regime's is considered to have had an Arab nationalist approach based on tribal support (ibid), the regime's acts towards Shias in the late 1970s and onward could not but accentuate its Sunni orientation and accentuate the feeling of Shii victimhood. The persecution of the Shia in Iraq peaked at the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, a period marked by the 1979 Islamic (Shii) Revolution in Iran. What exacerbated the tension caused by the Revolution inside Iraq was the outbreak of the Iraq-Iran war in September 1980. The Shia doctrine had materialised in a political enemy.

Post-2003, the Americans failed to build a nation-state in Iraq (al-Qarawee 2013, Osman 2012). They blundered in running the new Iraq by, among other things, assigning political posts in the new Iraqi government along sectarian lines, meaning that "religious and local identities" surfaced (al-Qarawee, ibid: 5). The Coalition Provisional Authority founded the Iraqi Governing Council on "the basis of communal quota" (Yamao, 2012: 31). The American responsibility for the sharpening of sectarianism in Iraq is reflected in the great emphasis on leaders that exhibited a sectarian character (whether before or after the war). Shias acted to emphasise their

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sectarian identity and found a suitable environment in which to use it as a source of power. This power materialised in the clerics, who symoblised the Shia thought, leadership and victimhood.

Revering symbols is one of the most salient features of increasing sectarian polarisation:

> **The core of the ethnic identity is the 'myth-symbol complex'—the combination of myths, memories, values and symbols that defines not only who is a member of the group but what it means to be a member. The existence, status and security of the group thus come to be seen to depend on the status of group symbols, which is why people are willing to fight and die for them—and why they are willing to follow leaders who manipulate those symbols for dubious or selfish purposes**. (Haddad, 2011: 17)

Moreover, "groups derive prestige and self-respect from the harmony between their norms and those which achieve dominance in the society"' (ibid: 18)

It is of vital importance to emphasise that a myth-symbol does not necessarily have to be a person. It can instead be a memory of an event or a place (ibid: 20). Equally important is the need to stress that myth-symbols are not only historical in nature.

While historical people, like Ali and his sons, and the early Rashideen caliphs, are historical myth-symbols for the Shia and the Sunni respectively, the two groups have contemporary and extant symbols. These symbols, particularly those active in post-2003 Iraq, are the focus of a large part of the analysis in this study.

In the mid-1990s, a new form of Shii activism appeared when Mohammad Sadiq al-Sadr started Shia Friday prayers in Iraq (for the first time since the late 1970s). His boldness to do that in the face of a regime that did not hesitate to terminate any such opposition with utmost brutality meant that the cleric attracted millions of followers, mostly from the poor Shia classes across Iraq. Saddam responded with a Sunni Islamic 'Faith Campaign', which aimed to spread the teachings of the Sunni Islam in the face of strong support for the Shii cleric (ibid: 109) The cleric was then assassinated in 1998, leaving his followers in a state of shock and seething with bitterness and grief that was relegated to the 2003 period. Mohammad al-Sadr's opposition to Saddam's strict rules about religious thought freedom made him a political leader.

Al-Sadr charismatic character played a major role in his popularity. Charismatic presentation of self is a way to become closer to the supporters, but every culture has a specific repertoire for how that is done. Charisma partly stems from legitimacy, which is a "cultural phenomenon […] referring to religious or political doctrines" (Engelstad, 2009: 213). Legitimacy can stem from the "tale of origin" as a "group claims the right to rule because its members in the past victoriously fought a common enemy, developed common resources, founded a kingdom or established a special relationship to a deity" (ibid).

In post-2003 Iraq, the most prominent Shii symbol names were: first, Ali al-Sistani, who was the Grand *marji* from the mid-1990s until the present day; second, Mohammad Baqir al-Hakim, a major Shia opposition leader against Saddam and the Ba'ath regime; and third, Moqtada al-Sadr, the controversial Shi'i cleric known for leading an anti-American Shii militancy in post-2003 Iraq.

On the Sunni side, there were no such clear examples of myth-symbols. Harith al-Dhari, the chief of the Muslim Scholars Association, was the most prominent symbol. But because Sunnism was affected by Arab nationalistic ideology, so many Sunnis kept their allegiance to this ideology. However, the Sunnis' main sectarian symbol in post-2003 was the insurgency, which changed guise several times over the first decade after the invasion and, unfortunately, took on a terrorist form, shown through support of al-Qaeda.

5.5 The translation of the honorific titles and formulaic expressions

The veneration of symbols is recognised discursively through the use of honorific titles and expression within names. Much of the research on forms of address is based on Brown and Levinson's treatment of them as a strategy of politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Dittrich et al, 2011; Wood and Kroger, 1991; Xinghong & Shaozhong, 2004). This existing work deals with forms of address in conversational situations rather than titles generally used in all types of discourse. Thus, they tackle the topic

from a pragmatic viewpoint, one that is based on the participants' roles (as either a listener or a speaker) in the conversational setting.

Titles are not typically dealt with from the viewpoint of domination and power in the existing literature. This study addresses that shortfall. It draws inspiration from Kádár's work (2005) on business discourse. Translating personal titles can seem unimportant in societies that are moving towards more open, cordial ways of address. But in communities where titles are still used as an indication of social esteem and/or professional status, the presence or absence of titles are related to more complex issues than the availability of equivalence and mere politeness. One argument developed in this study is that, in RCT, the native culture's values affect the strategies followed in translating the cultural content of books. With that in mind, we can say that the use of titles alongside the names of clerics is motivated by the socio-cultural values of the target/native culture.

The importance of the use of titles in certain societies and contexts, principally those where epithets and titles are an indication of dominance, is highlighted by Lefevere (1992). He refers to the "African praise song, a collection of honorific epithets commemorating and celebrating the patron's great and noble deeds" (ibid: 18). For Lefevere, in writing and rewriting, of which translation is one form, authors abide by the parameters of the patrons. They accept these parameters as being part of their recognition of the patron's "status and power" (ibid). Similarly, the use or absence of the title is indicative of the dominance of religious values in a community. In the original texts, the authors alternated between using and not using a title. Sometimes, the name of the symbol is not preceded by any venerating religious title, or is preceded by an identifying phrase, such as 'the cleric', 'the young cleric', etc., in which case they are deemed to have not used titles at all.

The case of the name of Prophet Mohammad is different, largely because the target/native culture not only uses preceding titles, such as 'the prophet', but also because of the posterior formulaic expression صلى الله عليه وسلم salla-llahu alaihi wa sallam. References to the divine deity are usually followed by the glorifying سبحانه وتعالى (subhanahu wa ta'ala). RCT, as will be shown below, imposed the native culture's values and added these forms. The native culture possesses the knowledge and so uses it in a way that fits with prevailing norms.

5.5.1 Adding formulaic expressions to 'Allah' and 'Prophet' and other holy symbols

The occurrences of the Allah in the original are translated into الله , but the phrases جل جلاله Jall-a Jalal-uh (may His Glory be Glorified), عز وجل Azz-a wa Jall; (Mighty and Majestic), and سبحانه وتعالى Subhan-ahu wa Ta'ala (may He be Glorified and Exalted) are added afterwards, in brackets . It is important to mention that the original is not 'Allah', but 'God', as the context cited by the author is a biblical one. It also includes several mentions of Jonah. The proper name is not only transferred into the Arabic equivalent, يونس, but it is also preceded by النبي al-Nabii (prophet), often between brackets. One of the occurrences of يونس is even followed by the formulaic عليه السلام alaihi al-salam (peace be upon him). Any source oriented rendition would transfer the biblical spirit, but RCT reads as an original Arabic writing, possibly as a part of what is called قصص الانبياء Qisas al- Anbiaa' (The Tales of the Prophets), which is one of the traditional Islamic books that details the stories of all the prophets who called for monotheism before Prophet Mohammad:

The biblical tale of Jonah captures well the paradox of Assyria's violence and administrative achievements. Jonah is commanded by God to go to the Assyrian capital of Nineveh and warn the people to repent or be destroyed by the hand of God. Jonah refuses the mission, fearing that God will tool readily forgive the sins of the Assyrians. After a brief interlude in the belly a giant fish, Jonah reluctantly delivers his message to the people of Nineveh, who promptly repent and are spared God's wrath (NI: 11).

إن رواية (النبي) يونس التوراتية تعكس بشكل جيد تماما ذلك التناقض الظاهري الكامن بين العنف الآشوري والإنجازات الإدارية. فالله (جل جلاله) أمر (النبي) يونس أن ينذر شعب آشور بضرورة التوبة إلى الخالق وإلا واجهوا دمارا مهلكا. ويرفض النبي يونس القيام بهذه المهمة انطلاقا من خوفه من أن الله عز وجل سيغفر للآشوريين ذنوبهم بسرعة. ولكنه بعد فترة قصيرة يقضيها في جوف حوت كبير، يقوم (النبي) يونس على مضض بإيصال الرسالة إلى أفرد شعب نينوى الذين سرعان ما يتوبون الى الله الأمر الذي يجنبهم غضبه سبحانه وتعالى.

(IJ: 50)

The names of other prophets, such as Abraham, are similarly venerated. They are often preceded with النبي al-Nabi (prophet) and followed with عليه السلام alaih-i al-salam (peace be upon him).

5.5.1.1 *Prophet Mohammad*

The religious symbol with the highest degree of veneration in Islam is the Prophet Mohammad. His name is not written or uttered alone; it is preceded by the epithet 'the prophet' or 'the messenger'. These epithets are also used interchangeably with his name. The name of the Prophet is also followed by the phrase صلى الله عليه وسلم salla-allah-u alaih-i wa sallam (or simply SAAWS) (may Allah's peace and prayer be upon him) or عليه الصلاة والسلام alaihi al-salaat wa al-salaam (or simply ASWS) (peace and prayer be upon him). To utter the name without its preceding title and/or the post-positioned formula reflects disbelief in the Prophet's holiness. It would reflect a secular

stance in the discourse. At best, it would imply an objective attitude towards the Prophet, one that situates him as a historical figure rather than a religious symbol.

5.5.1.2 Titles and epithets

In the Arabic language, النبي al-Nabi (the prophet) is normally used to refer to Prophet Mohammad. However, there are other ways to refer to him, such as الرسول al-Rasool (the Messenger), رسول الله Rasool-ul-Ilah (the Messenger of Allah), الرسول الكريم al-Rasool al-Kareem (the honoured Messenger), الرسول الأكرم al-Rasool al-Akram (the most honoured Messenger). In the Islamic literature, there is a considerable difference between 'Prophet' and 'Messenger', constituting, with other such categories, gradient levels. While a نبي (prophet) is the "herald of a didactic prophecy", a رسول (messenger) is "the herald of a legislative prophecy - that is to say, [..] is charged with revealing a new Book, a new religious Law" (Corbin, 1987:225). Hence, a messenger has a more complex mission than a prophet. Yet 'Messenger' is still a hyponym of 'Prophet'. Mohammad is, therefore, described as both a Prophet *and* Messenger (of Allah).

In the source books, Mohammad is referred to either without venerating titles, or as 'Prophet Mohammad'. In FB, the latter form is used (FB: 13, 42-3, 52) and the translation, SB, echoes the original plainly and avoids adding any extra venerating expressions.

In IJ, however, the effect of the reverence is amplified. Whether or not it occurs in the source text with an epithet, the name of the prophet is replaced by الرسول *al-Rasool* (the Messenger), or رسول الله Rasool-ul-Ilah (the Messenger of Allah). While النبي al-Nabi is the normal equivalent for 'the prophet', it is not used not once in the translation. IJ

follows the existential difference between prophet and messenger outlined above, especially given that it added نبي to the name of other prophets, as shown earlier.

It is predictable that the translation would add a title to those instances in which the name 'Mohammad' appears devoid of titles. Muslims refrain from using the bare name, as it is a sign of disrespect. However, what is more interesting is that the word نبي (prophet) is not reproduced in the translation. In IJ, all the occurrences of 'Mohammad', 'Prophet Mohammad' or 'the Prophet' are replaced with equivalents that stress the messenger role, such as:

الرسول الكريم محمد (The Honoured Messenger, Mohammad)   (IJ: 58)

رسول الله (The Messenger of Allah) (ibid)

الرسول محمد (The Messenger Mohammad) (ibid:59)

The choice of any of these forms of reference to Prophet Mohammad in the translation does not seem to be subject to any specific translation rules. Opting for one form of expression over another is determined simply by the prevailing norms surrounding references to the Prophet Mohammad in the target language. In other words, it is the cultural capital of the target culture and so it is used according to its own norms. These expressions make the target text identical with any original target text. But what makes the text take on the appearance of an originally Arabic-Islamic text is the addition of صلى الله عليه وسلم Salla-lahu 'alaihi wa sallam (SAAWS) after each and every instance of the name Prophet Mohammad. Moreover, the cliché is not added textually, but using a traditional, iconic symbol ﷺ. This icon is used mainly in religious texts. The contracted form of this cliché, which uses the first letter (ص) of its first word صلى (Salla), is more common. However, some Muslims find it unfavourable to use this or any other

contracted form of the cliché. As the name Prophet Mohammad occurs frequently in some of the book's sections, the abundance of the accompanying iconic form of the formulaic expression imposes an Islamising effect on the text. The page below from IJ does not look like a Western work. Its appearance is authentically Islamic/Arabic.

Figure 2 use of ﷺ symbol (al-Iraq al-Jadeed: 59)

The symbol could also be considered to be part of the paratextual element, as per the domestication process in RCT discussed in chapter six. But because the chapter is limited to the translator's paratextual visibility in footnotes and prefaces, this feature is discussed here.

In HL (25), the icon form of saaws is used after the name of the Prophet.

In IB, النبي and saaws, in its contracted form (ص), is added in an explanatory in-text note:

بدأ المتطرفون [...] يقتلون بائعي الثلج (على اساس عدم وجود الثلج في زمن محمد) أي النبي محمد بن عبد الله (ص) (IB: 80)

In a later occurrence, when the original text does use the word 'prophet' prior to the name of Mohammad (MH: 373), the translation adds between brackets عليه الصلاة والسلام alaihi- al-salat wa al-salam (peace and prayer be upon him) (IB: 203).

5.5.1.3 *Imams*

The same strategy is followed with the Shia imams. While عليه السلامis used in Shiism as an honorific expression alongside the names of the twelve imams, Sunnis (especially those outside Iraq) prefer to use رضي الله عنه Radhi-a-Allahu anh-u (May Allah be pleased with him), except for Imam Ali, who typically used the special honorific post-positioned expression كرم الله وجهه Karram-a-Allah-u wajhah (May Allah honour his face) instead. This special epithet was given to him as, unlike the rest of the Prophet's companions, he never knelt before a paganism idol in his pre-Islamic life. Karram-a-Allah-u Wajhah is used in IJ. IB uses the Shiism formula Alaih-i al-salam:

تنطلق جموع أبناء الشيعة نحو محلة الكاظمية، التي سميت كذلك نسبة الى ضريح الإمام الكاظم عليه السلام
(IJ: 55)
إن ما يتمتع به الأمام علي (كرم الله وجهه) من منزلة كبيرة في نفوس المسلمين ينطلق اساسا من [قرابته من الرسول]
كان الإمام علي (كرم الله وجهه) قد تزوج من فاطمة الزهراء إبنة إبن عمه
(IJ: 59)
وأخيرا لبس الإمام علي (كرم الله وجهه) بردة الخلافة

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تحصن [..] في ضريح الامام علي (عليه السلام)

(IB: 56)

In an inconsistent fashion in IJ, Imam Hussein is given the رضي الله عنه radhi-a Allah-u Anh-u honorific expression (IJ: 60-1-2), while Imam Khazim is followed by عليه السلام alaihi al-salam (IJ: 55). In Islam, Imam Hussein has a more revered position than the rest of the twelve descendants because was not only the direct grandson of the Prophet, but was also martyred with his family in a dramatic way in the Taff Battle.

In SB (392), the names of Imam Ali and Imam Hussein are translated without any honorific form. Also, Imam Kadhims is listed as الامام الكاظم, without the post-positioned honorific expression (391) مقتل شهيدهم الامام الحسين (320).

5.5.1.4 *Titles of clerics*

Ayatollah

Ayatollah (literally: the sign of God) is a title that is used in Shiism exclusively. It precedes the names of the clerics who reached the high levels of Shii religious scholarship (which typically includes a focus on logic, philosophy and Islamic law). The title was not in wide use in Iraq during the Saddam era, at least not in public. Shii clerics were instead titled Sayyed. Avoidance of the term Ayatollah was possibly

because of the association with the Iranian Islamic Revolution leader Ayatollah Khomeini.

The title, however, is not confined to Khomeini. It can be assigned to any Shii cleric of high scholastic rank. However, the use of this title is frequently associated with Khomeini by the Western media (Kheshavarz, 1988: 572). Thus, it became increasingly associated with Iran itself, which caused Shiites in Saddam's Iraq to avoid any reference to it. After 2003, different Shii titles were used freely. Some of the opposition parties who had been sheltered by Iran since the early 1980s were at liberty to use the title Ayatollah and revived the use of the term after their repatriation in 2003. It could be argued that if it were not for these Iranian exiles, the term would still be heard infrequently in post-2003 Iraq.

The term Ayatollah is used abundantly in DW by Jonathan Steele. The fact that he is a journalist may be the reason why the word is used so frequently. He knew that it would have had a particular resonance for the reader. The word 'Allah' in the second part of the title implies Islamism more so than other titles, which look opaque to English receivers. Hence, this one induces a greater journalistic effect. The other possible reason why the title was chosen over others is that it rhymes with Khomeini's first name, 'Ruhollah' (the spirit of Allah), which also happens to end with the word 'Allah'. Steele used this title when describing Mohammad Baqir al-Hakim more than he did with other Shii clerics. He even used it as a noun (the Ayatollah), without Hakim's personal name, when referring to the cleric. He also used it considerably when referring to Sistani. With the latter, he also used the cleric's title rank: Grand Ayatollah.

In MH, Marr uses the title Ayatollah more sparingly, only in a few references to Sistani's name, especially first mentions and in section titles. However, she also uses it before Mohammad Baqir al-Hakim's name.

In FB too, Ayatollah is used with the major Shii clerics who lawfully gained the title, such as Sistani, Hakim (both the father and son), and even Iran's leader Khomeini Khaminai

The translation of Ayatollah

In the translation of IB and SB, all the occurrences of Ayatollah are maintained. A one-to-one fashion in rendering this title is followed.

[The] attack that killed Ayatallah Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim [..] as he was leaving the Imam Ali Mosque in Najaf. (MH: 275)

هجوم أودى بحياة آية الله محمد باقر الحكيم (..) أثناء مغادرته مسجد الإمام علي في النجف (IB: 43)

Ayatallah Sistani and his political role (MH: 280)

آية الله السيستاني ودوره السياسي (IB: 49)

 [T]he world's highest living Shiite religious authority, Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani (FB: 51)

المرجع الديني الشيعي الأكبر في العالم آية الله علي السيستاني (SB: 68)

"Consultations with Ayatollah Sistani are very difficult. […]. We're afraid to put him at risk." (FB: 52)

التشاور مع آية الله السيستاني أمر في غاية الصعوبة. نخاف ان نعرضه للخطر. (SB: 69)

Similarly, SB maintains all the Ayatollah titles when describing al-Hakim, on pages 48-9 and 51-2 of the original, and al-Khomeini, on pages 39, 40 and 42-3 of the original.

The following are a few examples:

احد اكبر الاسئلة التي لم يتم الإجابة عنها فيما يخص آية الله الحكيم هو [..]

(SB: 66)

كان أستاذه وأباه الروحي مثلما كان لآية الله الحكيم

(ibid: 68)

أين يقع آية الحكيم من كل هذا؟

(ibid: 69)

بدأ ولي العهد السياسي لآية الله الخميني يشعر بالقلق

(ibid: 52)

نشرت [جريدة] كاريكاتيرا [..] قلل من شأن آية الله الخميني

(ibid: 53)

In HL, however, the translation of this title has been manipulated and, in several cases, omitted. The strategies used in the translation of the title Ayatollah are rather perplexing; it is hard to find a pattern. Where the term Ayatollah occurs with the name Hakim, the occurrences are reproduced, whereas it is typically omitted in most occurrences of the name Sistani, or with other Shii clerics, such as the former Grand

Marji' Abul-Qassim al-Khuii, or the leader of the Iranian Islamic Revolution Khomeini. But this should not be surprising when taking into account the translation dynamics of HL, as the publisher is not Iraqi. During an interview with the publisher of HL, it became clear that an Arab-nationalist ideology is followed. The publisher, being non-Iraqi, moves away the capital from the circle of the domination of the cultural values inside Iraq. However, it imposes another set of venerating values on them. The wider Arab setting does not spare the translator or the publisher from sectarian considerations. It eases them, shifting them slightly, but never eliminates them completely. The publisher of HL is in fact in a bigger mire than the translator and publisher of IB. While the latter takes one set of dominant sectarian socio-cultural beliefs into consideration, the former has a wider circle of sectarian socio-cultural tendencies in mind. Given that HL is distributed both inside and outside Iraq, the translation should cater, to a certain extent, to dominant values prevalent in both Iraqi and other Arab countries, even though the two are not identical.

Compare the retention of the title in the first group below with the second group, where all instances of the term Ayatollah are deleted:

A-

Saddam arrested Ayatollah Mohammad Baqir al-Sadir

اقدم صدام على اعتقال آية الله محمد باقر الصدر

Mohammad Baqir al-Hakim, the son of Grand Ayatollah Muhsin al-Hakim

حصل محمد باقر الحكيم ابن آية الله العظمى محسن الحكيم على..

The Ayatollah [al-Hakim] was already in place ..

كان آية الله الحكيم جالسا مسبقا فوق أحد الكراسي

What the Ayatollah was proposing was…

ما كان يريده آية الله هو...

The Ayatollah's brother, Abdel Aziz al-Hakim went so far […] as to warn that..

ذهب عبد العزيز الحكيم، شقيق آية الله، بعيداً ..

B-

Ayatollah Sistani was the leading authority in the Shia..

كان السيستاني يمثل السلطة العليا في المجتمع الشيعي.

Bremer's prevarication aroused the suspicions of Ayatollah Sistani and other Shia clerics. 205

أثارت مراوغة بريمر شكوك السيستاني

In the translation, the title Ayatollah is omitted from the names of the Iranian clerics in group B, whereas it is retained in group A with the names of Iraqi clerics of Arabic origin. The dominant post-2003 Arab world discourse was one that feared Shii Iranian control over the region. The Shii-Sunni dispute was at times more of an Arab-Persian one, or at least this is what Arab nationalists would have people believe. If the Arab world accepted Shiite dominance in Iraq as a *de facto* consequence of the US-led invasion, it should not be led by Iran. The Arab world would rather have Shii clerics of an Iraqi (Arab) nationality seize control than any cleric of an Iranian nationality or origin. All the Iranian Shii clerics were therefore stripped of this charismatic title and the grandeur that accompanies it.

When the title Ayatollah is not translated with the name of Hakim (perhaps it is an effort to avoid monotony), it is replaced by the more popular Shia clerical title السيد Sayyed, as shown below:

The car bomb that killed Ayatollah Baqir al-Hakim in Najaf.. (DW: 209)

ان السيارة المفخخة التي قتلت السيد باقر الحكيم في النجف..

the assassination of Ayatollah Hakim (DW: 212)…

اغتيال السيد الحكيم...

It is not an uncommon technique in translation to aim at a better spread of word diversity and avoid monotonous repetition of lexical units whose purpose in the text is served by frequent incidence elsewhere in the text. Hence, it is not uncommon to omit some occurrences of a word (although this is nevertheless deemed to be a way of

manipulating the discourse). But it is also legitimate to ask here why the titles that are repetitive, and thus unattractive in the translators eye, are not replaced with other alternatives, as is the case with Hakin and other non-Iranian Shii clerics.

However, there are few instances where the title is maintained with the name of Sistani:

> **The Sadrist victory was sealed by an agreement brokered by mediators from several Shia Islamist parties, as well as from Ayatollah Sistani, (DW: 107)**
>
> **تأكد انتصار الصدريين من خلال اتفاق توسط فيه وسطاء من عدة أحزاب إسلامية شيعية بالإضافة إلى آية الله السيستاني.**

There is one case in which the title Ayatollah is omitted when referring to Hakim:

> **Ayatollah Mohammed Baqir al-Hakim was killed by a massive care bomb just outside Najaf's Ali shrine…. p 10.**
>
> **مقتل محمد باقر الحكيم بواسطة سيارة مفخخة خارج مرقد الامام علي في النجف....**

The omission of the titles from the names of non-Arab Shia sectarian symbols is accounted for using a reformulated version of van Dijk's approach to producing dominance. It has been shown in the methodology that omissions are a representation of the denial of positive evaluation. The Sunni Arab antagonism to Iranian Shiism motivates the decision by the translator to strip the title from the non-Arab Shia clerics, denying them the positive judgement that the literal and the emotional meanings of the *Ayatollah* can grant them. The translation influenced the extent of sanctity and reverence imparted by the author to the names of the clerics in question.

5.6 Zero clerical titles in the source text

In the original texts of both IB and DW, the names of the clerics aren't accompanied by any titles. It is common in Western culture to refer to people using their surnames, without any titles (Mr. or Mrs, and so on). This is especially true when the person referred to is renowned, as in the case of famous authors, poets, and, more particularly, political leaders. Using surnames without titles in media and other types discourse, such as books, does not imply any pejorative ill-intent. But, this way of referring to others was imported into other cultures, including the Arabic culture, through increased cultural contact. In different types of Arabic writing, political leaders are referred to by their surname only. Often, the name is first mentioned alongside an appropriate title, defining adjective, or appositional noun (e.g. Mr. President, Prime-Minister, or their respective equivalents in Arabic), but later in the text is used without any such titles.

Using only a first name, however, is not common in formal settings, such as books or media, unless it is done for a specific purpose. In neither English nor Arabic is it usual to do so. In the data examined here, the names of Sistani and al- Hakim are sometimes written without titles. But it was never the case that their first names, Ali and Mohammad-Baqir, are used alone. As for Moqtada al-Sadr, he is referred to by the surname al-Sadr or Sadr but, contrary to the others, he is also referred to by only his first name. He is the only cleric and/or political leader referred to by his first name.

This is for a number of reasons. Moqtada's first name, rather than his surname, al-Sadr, is used to avoid ambiguity and to offer a distinction from two other famous al-

Sadrs: his father, Mohammad Sadiq al-Sadr, and his great cousin, Mohammad-Baqir al-Sadr, who are both deceased. It is noticeable that Moqtada's first name is used in the parts of the books where both he and his father are the focus of the attention. When he first came to fame following the American invasion of Iraq, his followers called him الصدر الثالث al-Sadr III. The authors of the texts would not have used the first name if this was not a common practice in Iraqi culture. Moqtada is famous among Iraqis by his first name (especially in informal contexts); using the name al-Sadr would have implied his deceased father. But also because he entered the political arena relatively young and when he had no scholastic matureness to gain clerical titles. The third probable reason is his controversial character. He is a person who is known to have posed considerable threat and resistance to the American presence in Iraq. But, at the same time, he showed unstable attitudes and behaviour and lacked the knowledge and wisdom clerics are known for. This fostered contempt in his opponents; they did not want to honour him by giving him any titles. Among his very wide base of followers, however, he has always been named Sayyed Moqtada, or, less commonly, as Sayyed al-Sadr. Sayyed Moqtada is the most common term used if offence is being avoided.

Situations in which there are no titles in the original are dealt with differently in the two books. In IB, titles are added in every instance where they are missing from the names of Ali al-Sistani and Moqtada al-Sadr. No addition at all are made in HL and SB. As for IJ, Moqtada al-Sadr is not discussed in the original, as it was published before he became a vocal protagonist. However, IJ adds the honorific titles when one is missing from Sistani's name in the original.

5.6.1 The addition of the title Sayyed السيد

Sayyed السيد is a title that is very commonly used with the names of male Alids. It literally means 'the master', and implies a noble blood line with connections to the Prophet Mohammad. It originates from the fact that the Mohammad, and hence his Alid grandsons, as shown in chapter three, were from the noble class of Quraysh, who were referred to as the masters. The title is used in Iraq and some neighbouring countries, particularly with the names of the Shii clerics, who are descendants of the Prophet through Ali. It, however, is also used with the names of those male Alids who are not clerics as an everyday title of address, although it isn't used in official naming systems. It is a sign of pride and symbolic power to be referred to as Sayyed in the Iraqi Shii community.

Like all other Shii identity indicators, this title was used with restraint throughout the rule of Saddam. It was used only with the names of symbolic Shii clerics. These were not generally a common topic in public discourse. Discussion of clerics' names, titles and activities were all restricted to Shii religious schools inside religious cities. Indeed, not all Sayyeds used their title in public. السيد as a title can be confusing for non-Shii, who may not be acquainted with Shii culture, since the same word is used as a civil title for male officials and is equivalent to the title Mr.

This title is not widespread in the English discourse on Shiism, except for in very specialised ethnographic writings. It is not frequently used in the Western media, which prefers instead a surname preceded by a contextually relevant description, such as *the cleric*, *the young cleric*, and so on. In the English texts of the two books studied here, there are zero instances in which the title is used.

Contrary to the translation strategy in DW, which sees the title Ayatollah omitted from the names of Shii clerics, especially those of non-Arabic origin, in IB the title السيد is added, even though no title is used in the original. This is true especially of the two influential Shii characters in post-2003 Iraq: Ali al-Sistani and Moqtada al-Sadr. In IB, the title is added to every single occurrence of the names of these two clerics, as shown in the following examples:

Sistani agreed to take control of the shrine (MH: 285).

وافق السيد السيستاني على السيطرة على الضريح **(IB)**

Bremer was taken aback by Sistani's insistence on an early election (MH: 280)

تفاجأ بريمر من إصرار السيد السيستاني على إجراء إنتخابات مبكرة **(IB)50**: .

Sistani was known as a "quietist" who did not want direct rule by the clergy (MH: 280)

كان معروفا عن السيد السيستاني بوصفه "مسالماً" حيث لم يكن يريد ان يتولى رجال الدين حكماً مباشراً **(IB: 49)**.

The above example is taken from the same paragraph in which Sistani is twice accompanied by the term Ayatollah (one in the title and one in the text itself). What that implies is that the addition is not a compensating strategy; enough sanctification already exists in the paragraph. In the next paragraph, the same addition is made again, even in spite of a lack of titles in the original:

The second Sadr conflict (title of section) (MH: 284).

الصراع الثاني مع السيد الصدر .**(IB: 56)**

In the summer of 2003, Sadr announced the establishment of the Mahdi Army, the military arm of the movement (MH: 277)

وفي صيف عام 2003، أعلن السيد الصدر عن تأسيس جيش المهدي، الذراع العسكري للحركة .(IB: 46)

The IIG's tenure witnessed a renewed confrontation between the MNF and Sadr (MH: 284)

شهد عمر الحكومة الانتقالية مواجهة جديدة بين القوات المتعددة الجنسية والسيد الصدر .(IB: 56)

MNF patrol was attacked in Najaf near Sadr's house (MH: 285).

هوجمت دورية تابعة للقوات متعددة الجنسية في النجف قرب دار السيد الصدر .(IB: 57)

[t]heir willingness to take on Sadr and eliminate him (MH: 285).

رغبتهم بتحجيم السيد الصدر بل حتى بانهاء دوره (IB: 57).

Sadr and his Mahdi Army would stand down (MH: 285).

انسحاب السيد الصدر و جيش المهدي .(IB: 57)

This agreement ended the second major military confrontation with Sadr and his Mahdi Army (MH: 285)

وقد انهت هذه الاتفاقية المواجهة العسكرية الرئيسة الثانية مع السيد الصدر وجيش المهدي . (IB: 57)

Once again, Sistani emerged as the solution (MH: 285).

ومرة اخرى برز السيد السيستاني بوصفه الحل .(IB: 57)

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The same repeated additions of Sayyed are made with Moqtada al-Sadr. السيد is added in the translation twice in two successive sentences, even though no titles are used in the original. In both cases, the first name is translated to a full name with a title, meaning that the two variant forms of the reference in the original are completely identical in the translation. This implies that the sanctification norm is overtaking even stylistic norms.

In the following paragraph, only the title is added to the first name, without the surname:

But the most significant and ultimately disruptive movement—that of Muqtada al-Sadr and his followers—came from inside. Muqtada clearly relied on the legacy [...] left behind after his father's death (MH: 264).

بيد ان أهم مجموعة—مجموعة السيد مقتدى الصدر وأتباعه—جاءت من الداخل. وقد اعتمد السيد مقتدى الصدر إعتماداً واضحاً على الارث و (...) الذين خلفهم والده بعد مقتله **(IB: 26).**

In these examples, adding السيد is exaggerated venerating, since the book and the translation is meant to be a piece of writing of a non-religious nature, so the repetitive use of pompous religious titles is not expected. The same repetition is followed with Sistani's name:

Sistani had opposed the earlier Bremer plan because it had not provided for an elected constituent assembly. [...]. Sistani wanted an early election (MH: 280).

كان السيد السيستاني قد عارض خطة بريمر لأنها لم تنص على وجود مجلس تأسيسي منتخب. [....]. وقد أراد السيد السيستاني إجراء انتخابات مبكرة (IB: 49).

The winner was Sistani [..]. The outcome left Sistani in a powerful position to influence the coming election [..] (MH: 285).

وكان السيد السيستاني هو الرابح في المواجهة. [...] وقد اعطت هذه النتيجة السيد السيستاني موقعاً مؤثراً في الانتخابات القادمة(IB: 57) .

Shii parties [..] made an accommodation with Sadr during the election cycle. [They] managed to neutralize opposition from his Mahdi Army—at least the elements he was able to control (MH: 300).

كانت الاحزاب الشيعية قد توصل[ت] الى تسوية للخلافات مع السيد الصدر خلال الدورة الانتخابية. و [..] نجحت في تحييد معارضة جيش المهدي. في الاقل العناصر التي كان السيد الصدر يسيطر عليها.

(IB:79)

The examples above show that a venerating title is added to all the occurrences of Moqtada and Sistani, even though no titles are used in the original. This is indicative of a high degree of sanctification of the Shii myth-symbols as far as the local Iraqi dynamics of translation are concerned. Such a translation choice certainly influences how the sectarian myth-symbol is portrayed by the texts of the hypercentral language. The cultural capital represented by the semantic content or the cultural knowledge on sectarianism and any purposeful way of portrayal is inoperable. First, because the cultural knowledge is being domesticated, and second (which verifies the first point) the native culture's norms of sectarian reverence are overriding and a new balance of sanctification is created. This will be further verified by discussing strategies employed in areas other than the titling of symbols.

5.6.2 Maintaining a lack of titles

In HL, the translation is less attentive to titles. There are many instances in which Shia symbols are not accompanied by titles in the original text. In no instances were titles subsequently added during translation. This is not abnormal when a surname is used without a title. Not including such titles is justified on the basis that the translator should remain faithful to the original.

Thus, a faithful approach to translation is used. Not all the instances in which such faithfulness is witnessed will be discussed, as there are too many to choose from and one only needs to be aware of a few to understand the point that is being made. The following example shows that the translation treated all the three clerics' names similarly by not adding any honorific titles.

Hakim represented a conservative, middle-class, and older constituency than Sadr. Sistani's difference with Sadr centered on the role of the clergy (DW: 91).

كان الحكيم يمثل شريحة محافظة من الطبقة الوسطى والفئات الاكبر سنا ممن يمثلهم الصدر. أما بالنسبة للإختلافات بين السيستاني والصدر كانت تتركز حول دور رجال الدين.

(HL:133)

But it is unusual for first names to be treated in the same way. The first name Muqtada al-Sadr is used without a title in many instances by the author of DW; the translation maintains the first name without a title. This seems to contradict what was previously stated about the DW translation's attempts to venerate Shii symbols of Arab origin. But, such contradiction can be understood by stressing that Shiism as a discourse is

not favoured in the Arab Sunni world; if they have to choose between Arabic Iraqi Shiism and Iranian Shiism, then the former will preferred. It is in this way that we can understand why no titles are added, as shown below:

Moqtada was not his father's expected heir (DW98).

<div dir="rtl">

لم يكن مقتدى الوريث المرتقب لأبيه محمد صادق.

</div>

In crowded Sadr City, Moqtada was viewed as a symbol of hope (DW: 98)

<div dir="rtl">

في مدينة الصدر المكتظة بالسكان كان الناس يعتبرون مقتدى رمزا للأمل.

</div>

5.7 The negative evaluation of sectarian symbols and their translation

The data was scanned for examples of Sunni symbols, but hardly any appeared as forcefully as they did with the Shia symbols discussed above. The only symbol that triggered controversial translational treatment was that of 'the insurgency'. The dictionary meaning of the word in Arabic is تمرد.

For the audience in the Arab world, the Sunni insurgency should not be negatively evaluated as a force directed towards their fellow Iraqis and the symbols of Islam, but as a national anti-American resistance. Therefore the subject in the following sentence is omitted:

Insurgents drove car bombs into Shia restaurants and mosques; Sunni clerics and worshipers were assassinated (DW: 222).

تم تفجير سيارات مفخخة بجانب جوامع ومطاعم شيعية فرد الشيعة بقتل رجال دين ومواطنين سنة.

(HL: 133)

In HL, every instance of the term 'insurgency' is translated into مقاومة, rather than تمرد.
In the following example, it is followed by the positive adjective الوطنية, which means
'national' or 'patriotic':

[Killing Zarqawi] was as a result of a tip-off from within the insurgency (DW: 225).

كان ذلك ناتجا عن ابلاغ من عناصر من ضمن المقاومة الوطنية

(HL: 317)

Various different additions are made when translating this word, such as in the
following example, where the parenthetical phrase is added (which translates to: 'or
the insurgents according to the American way'):

He described the insurgents as a 'cocktail' of different groups. (DW: 60)

(HL: 90)وقد وصف المقاومين **(أو المتمردين بحسب التعبير الأمريكي)** بأنهم كوكتيل من المجموعات المختلفة.

Or by only providing two possible equivalents, as though telling the reader to choose
whichever they prefer:

The third point was that insurgent attitudes towards Westerners were changing. (DW: 109)

(HL: 159) وثالثاً أن مواقف المقاومين/ المتمردين من الغربيين بدأت تتغير.

**Washington failed to understand the depth of the Sunni anger over the attack on Fallujah
and the hundreds of Sunnis killed in counter-insurgency operations. (DW: 221)**

لم تدرك واشنطن حينئذ شدة الغضب السني من الهجوم على الفلوجة، ومقتل مئات السنة في عمليات مكافحة التمرد/ المقاومة.

(HL: 312)

The examples above alternate between echoing the English author's viewpoint (hence the stance of American and world media) or twisting it to the will of the Arab world's narrative and use مقاومة (resistance).

In the following example, 'insurgency' is translated into تمرد only, that is, no choice is offered. This is because the context in which it is mentioned offers only one choice, because it explains how the Americans view the insurgency.

[Ramadi and Falluja] were [..] twined in the minds of the US officials as hotbeds of the Sunni insurgency (DW: 60)

اصبحت في أذهان المسؤولين الأمريكيين مركزاً للتمرد السني .(HL: 95)

It can be concluded from this that the Sunni insurgency is functioning as the Sunni sectarian myth-symbol, in spite of its mixed nationalistic-religious identity. In IB, the term insurgency, whether Sunni or Shii, is translated as تمرد. That is so because, according to the Iraqi Shii-controlled set of values governing the translation of IB, the Sunni insurgency is deemed to be an anti-American, anti-government entity, and not in itself a symbol.

In IB, whose publisher is Iraqi, sensitivity was exhibited when translating the parts of the texts that blatantly incriminate myth-symbols. One of the important incidents of sectarian (same sect) violence in the data is ascribing the killing of the US-supported, UK-based young Shia cleric Abdul-Majid al-Khu'i to the Sadrists, followers of Moqtada

al-Sadr, and, consequently, to Sadr himself. The translation of the author's discussion of what he treats as a fact is manipulated. Instead of the clear statement in the original, the translation omits both 'Sadrist' and 'Sadr' and only the mob is left as the subject of the sentence. Although the text refers to al-Sadr's involvement as only a controversy, the translation is careful about maintaining this sensitive part of the author's argument.

Shortly after his [Khu'i's] arrival, he was brutally killed by a mob of Sadrist supporters. The extent of Sadr's responsibility for al-Khu'i's death became a major controversy.

عقب وصوله بفترة وجيزة تعرض للهجوم بوحشية على ايدي غوغاء. وقد باتت مسؤولية هؤلاء الغوغاء عن مقتل الخوئي موضوعا لخلاف كبير.

Similarly, the 'Sadrists' are removed from the translation of the sentence, which instead refers to them as violent extremists:

A third factor in calming the situation was a slower but equally significant curbing of the Shi'i extremists, <u>especially the Sadrists but also Badr</u>. Ultimately the Shi'i political front was no.. [Badr was the military wing of Hakim's party, currently an independent organization]. (MH: 309).

وثمة عامل ثالث أسهم في تهدئة الوضع تمثل في وجود كبح أبطأ ولكنه مهم على نحوٍ مساوٍ للمتطرفين الشيعة. ولم تكن الجبهة السياسية الشيعية.

(IB: 100)

Both militant Shia sectarian groups, the Sadrists and Badr, are omitted from the translation. By virtue of this omission, the fact that these two groups are extremists is denied by the author. This makes the translation look more balanced than the English text, when it comes to identifying sectarian Shii symbols vis-à-vis mere generic references to Sunni sectarian groups.

In respect to the sectarian violence related to the Shii symbol Moqtada al-Sadr, the translation of HL operates in a similar way to that of IB. That is accounted for by this cleric's broad base of supporters, who played a major role in the persistent spread of sectarian identity and imposing sanctity on their symbols. They had the readiness to go as far as the aggressive end of the continuum of the five types of sectarianism discussed in Chapter Three. They made their leader a sectarian taboo.

Similarly, Moqtada's involvement in Khoei's murder is avoided in HL, as it was in IB. All of the underlined paragraphs below are omitted. The three dots that replace the omitted paragraph in the translation betray a last minute, unprofessional decision to delete the text, leaving the paragraph incoherent.

In the occupation's early days Moqtada was still feeling his way. He was not in control of the outburst of street activity, either of the looting or the vigilant efforts to stop it by young imams from his father's Sadrist movement. <u>Much of the chaos and violence was spontaneous. Similarly, there is doubt over Moqtada's role in a notorious incident, the murder of a distinguished leader scholar, Abdul Majid al-Koei, in Najaf. Khoei had lived in London for years where he worked closely with the British and the Americans in the run-up to the invasion.</u> If Chalabi was the Pentagon's favourite secular Shia in exile, Khoei was their favourite religious one. (DW: 98)

خلال الايام الأولى من الاحتلال، كان مقتدى لا يزال يتلمس طريقه. لم يكن آنذاك مسيطراً على مايحدث في الشوارع من أعمال نهب وسلب ولا على محاولات إيقافها من قبل بعض الأئمة الشبان التابعين للحركة الصدرية التي أسسها والده... إذا كان الجلبي هو الشيعي العلماني المفضل بالنسبة إلى البنتاغون، فإن الخوئي هو الشيعي المتدين المفضل لديه.

(HL: 143)

In a later paragraph, there is a narration of the story of the Khoei murder. But in the above excerpt Sadr himself is mentioned as a party to the incident. In the following paragraph, however, there is no mention of Sadr in the translation, but rather a group of his followers (who do not necessarily represent him):

A fracas developed in the precinct of the Imam Ali shrine when a crowd of Sadrists saw Khoei and his entourage. They may have feared he was trying to take it over, especially as he was accompanied by Haider al-Rufaie al-Kilidar, the shrine's custodian in Saddam's time whom some considered a collaborator. There was an exchange of bullets lasting over an hour between Khoei's group and the crowd. Some witnesses claim Khoei was captured and stabbed. Others say he died in the crossfire. Khoei's supporters accuse Moqtada, who was not present at the time, of giving orders for Khoei to be killed but there is no conclusive proof that he had contact with or control over the crowd (IB: 98).

While in the omitted parts of the original text there Sadr is referred to as being personally involved in the murder, the translation, with its omissions, first gives an account of what happened and postpones assigning responsibility to Sadr to a later paragraph. By doing this, the translation is avoiding immediately associating the murder and Sadr. In a third paragraph there is a questioning of Sadr's responsibility in the incident, which is followed by an appraisal of his continued support, which is also translated without omission:

Whether he had any responsibility for al-Khoei's death, the controversy did not lessen Moqtada's support (IB: 99).

The sentence links Moqtada to the murder only in a hypothetical, unsubstantiated way. What's more, it concludes with a positive evaluation of al-Sadr. Since the incentive of

the translation strategies in respect to the sectarian symbols is controlling the final assessment and steering it towards a favourable one, i.e. discursive units where a negatively evaluative sentence is followed by an approving one, the balanced argument is kept without omissions.

5.7.1 The translation of direct negative statements about symbols

As a part of her analysis of the overall post-2003 situation, Phoebe Marr discusses the role of al-Sadr and the Sadrist insurgency in the fight against the American military and the new Iraqi forces (as allies of the invaders). She recalls episodes of al-Sadr's weak and strong positions, especially in the infamous Najaf battle, and points out the status of the Shii symbol at every stage. Given that he is an American foe, there is a considerable negative evaluation of Moqtada al-Sadr, who is portrayed in various vulnerable situations, ranging from military defeat to political instability. The image of weakness violates the values of sanctification the culture grants him.

With that in mind, we can see through analysis of the translation of this book numerous instances in which the disagreeable particulars often labelled at him are denied. In the example below, which explains al-Sadr's vulnerability after he and his Mahdi Army were overpowered by the American forces, the underlined part is omitted. Denying the unfavourable information resulted in the translation shown:

Once again Sistani emerged as the solution. <u>Sadr, recognizing the futility of his position, agreed to leave the shrine and turn the keys—but only to Sistani.</u> On 26 August, Sistani agreed to take control of the shrine (MH: 285).

ومرة أُخرى، برز السيد السيستاني بوصفه الحل. ففي السادس والعشرون من آب، وافق السيد السيستاني على السيطرة على الضريح.

In the original, the next paragraph starts with a direct statement about Sadr's weakness (underlined). In the translation, only the second sentence is found:

Though Sadr remained a force to be reckoned with, he was greatly weakened. The main winner was Sistani. (MH: 285)

وكان السيد السيستاني هو الرابح في المواجهة

(IB: 57)

Sometimes the whole argument is objectionable from the socio-cultural point of view of the native culture, in a way that leaves no room for the omission of individual sentences. In the following two paragraphs, every sentence is problematic. Al-Sadr is depicted as being untrusted by fellow Shia partisans, hated by the Shia population, having his future at stake, being legally liable and, because he is in hiding in the Najaf shrine, being pathetic. Also, his Mahdi Army is described as unorganised and overwhelmed by the American forces, such that it is in need of the assistance and mediation of other clerics to withdraw safely. This large-scale negative evaluation is treated by a wholesale omission. Such large-scale contraction leaves unquestionable the issue of the dominance of the values of the native culture in the face of the dominance of the discourse of the source text:

Worried that Sadr was spoiling their chances to take power through elections, the key Shi'i parties quietly gave the green light to the CPA to deal with Sadr— but not to the point of extinction. Sadr's radicalism also turned much of the local Shi'i population against him as violence increasingly disturbed normalcy. Sadrist forces themselves were too thinly spread and disorganized to hold on

to many of the positions they had taken, and they abandoned them. Sadr, with his future at stake (and with the arrest warrant now issued), took refuge in the Najaf shrine.

On 5 May the US forces began an assault on the Mahdi Army in Najaf. The Mahdi Army was no match for US tanks and air strikes and was badly decimated. Realizing he could not withstand the attack, Sadr turned to mediation with the clerics, primarily Ali al-Sistani. They arranged for Sadr to withdraw from Najaf and Karbala, but he was not required to disarm. The Mahdi Army would survive to fight another day.

Similarly, the following excerpt dramatically depicts the countdown to al-Sadr's demise. Those parts that are underlined are omitted from the translation.

A new collision came at the beginning of August when an MNF patrol was attacked in Najaf near Sadr's house. Major fighting broke out in which the Mahdi Army took on the MNF, supported by the Iraqi police and National Guard. Sadr barricaded himself in the Najaf shrine. <u>Fighting was severe, much of it around the shrine</u>, and hundreds were killed. <u>As the fighting went on and the capture of Sadr himself became a real possibility</u>, anxieties grew in the Shi'i community as Islamists feared that they were going to be pushed out of power by a new "security government" (MH: 285).

وقد حدث صدام جديد في مطلع آب حين هوجمت دورية تابعة للقوات المتعددة الجنسية في النجف قرب دار السيد الصدر. وقد إندلع قتال عنيف وفيه أظهر جيش المهدي غضبه على القوات المتعددة الجنسية، المدعومة من الشرطة العراقية والحرس الوطني. وقد تحصن السيد الصدر في ضريح الأمام علي (عليه السلام—المترجم) في النجف، ولقي المئات حتوفهم في المواجهات. وقد تنامى القلق في الطائفة الشيعية لأن الإسلاميين كانوا يخشون ان تقوم "حكومة أمنية" جديدة بإزاحتهم عن السلطة.

(IB: 56-7)

The previous military conflict had weakened both Sadr and the Mahdi Army but had not ended their influence. <u>Iran had begun aiding the Mahdi Army by arming</u>

them, training Mahdi forces in camps just across the borders, and applying officers. The MNF, for its part, was anxious to eliminate the Mahdi Army as part of a renewed attempt to end militias (MH: 284-5**).**

كان الصراع العسكري السابق قد أضعف كلاً من موقع الصدر وجيش المهدي لكنه لم ينهِ نفوذهما. ومن ناحيتها كانت القوات المتعددة الجنسية تواقة للقضاء على جيش المهدي بوصفه جزءاً من محاولة متجددة لوضع حد للميليشيات

(IB: 56)

In the paragraph above, the first sentence is translated, while the underlined sentence highlighting Iranian involvement and support for Sadr and his army is absent in the translation. Aid from Iran was one of the criticisms launched against al-Sadr and his Mahdi Army, a matter which the Sadrists were endeavouring to repudiate. What's more, Iranian support provokes the idea of Safavid/Iranian Shiism. One of the main narratives of the Sadrists was their pure national Iraqi identity. Therefore in the examples above, all sentences stating a relation between Sadr and Iran have been deleted.

The omission of whole paragraphs can be because of a combination of reasons. The paragraph below has been deleted from IB because the first half of it clearly refers to al-Sadr's failure to control his militia, and the second half refers to the lethal force of the militia and the criminal activity they engage in. It, moreover, links them to Iran.

Muqtada al-Sadr had always had trouble controlling his militia, which suffered continual fracturing, with some militia groups going their way under their own leaders, who were only loosely tied to Sadr. Some of these, referred to as "Special Groups," were under Iranian supervision; others operated on their own and often financed their activities by kidnapping, ransom, and other criminal activities (MH: 309).

This combination of reasons meant that another large paragraph on the fight between the Mahdi Army and the ASCI in Karbala was deleted. The paragraph narrates events, but translating these events would affect the image of the symbol. Through the contracting of the text, the dominance of cultural norms of respecting symbols is reproduced.

However, the real turning point in Sadr's fortunes came on 27 August during a Shii religious holiday when Sadrists in Karbala provoked a fight with ISCI while the city was filled with pilgrims. The incident set off a two-day battle that killed fifty pilgrims and injured many more. Maliki [the Prime Minister then] was infuriated, and he personally went to Karbala, where he gave the police chief carte blanche to go after the Mahdi Army. The episode badly tarnished Sadr's image. On 29 August, he [Sadr] announce a cease-fire as well as a prohibition on firing on MNF forces. Several days later, he signed a pact with ISCI agreeing to reduce tensions. He had left earlier in the year for Iran and now announce his intension of remaining there to study under clerics in Qum for status of *mujtahid* [emphasis original], thereby removing himself from Iraq. Sadr, had apparently decided to follow a different route to political power than the street. By the end of 2007, only Special Groups among the Shi'a, backed by Iran, and now led by Akram al-Ka'bi, were fomenting violence in Baghdad (MH: 310).

For similar reasons, the following excerpt was deleted:

The two episodes were turning points. The Americans failed to disarm the Mahdi army and from then on it was impossible for Sadr to do it for them by voluntary disbanding his militia. He was bound to retain it as an anti-occupation force as well as a weapon in the struggle with the other main Islamic militia, SCIRI's Badr organisation (MH: 215).

5.7.2 Saudi Arabia and Iran

Saudi Arabia and Iran served as supporters of those on both sides of the sectarian divide. The former is the supporter of the Sunnis, and the latter is the supporter of the Shia. Relation to either of the two states is interpreted as betrayal of the national cause and identity. On the one hand, the Shia do not want to appear as tools of the Iranian agenda. On the other hand, Saudi Arabia, influential in the Arab world because of its wealth and good relations with the West, denies any relation to supporting sectarian issues. These dynamics affected RCT strategies used when dealing with the occurrence of these two countries in the data. Iran is referred to more frequently than Saudi Arabia and is referred to as an ally of the Shia. Saudi Arabia is mentioned direclty only once, in direct relation to sectarian issues, and twice indirectly. Again, this is the American perspective, as it holds Iran as an enemy and Saudi Arabia as a friend.

5.7.3 Omissions of Saudi Arabia

In the data, Saudi Arabia was discussed three times. In each of those three instances it was omitted in the translation. Sometimes the paragraph in which the reference occurred was deleted in its entirety, as in the paragraph below, which is an excerpt from an interview the author of DW held with the first President of Iraq post-invasion. The President talks about his being a Sunni Arab and co-existing peacefully throughout his life with other sects and ethnicities. The President is also the tribal Sheik of one of the largest tribes in Iraq (and Arabia). The excerpt omitted reads as follows:

We stretch along most of western Iraq from the Turkish-Syrian border down to Saudi Arabia. We had a clash with the Wahhabis when they started. We migrated north of Euphrates in the eighteenth century. The people who stayed south became Shias.

The other quotations by Sheik Ajeel al-Yawer are fully translated (as in p. 215 of the book). The quotations of other political leaders mentioning other countries, such as Iran, are translated as well, although their comments make more direct accusations to these countries, typically around their support for violence in Iraq, than Yawer's comment. For instance, the following quote (which was fully translated) by the spokesman of the (Sunni) Association of Muslim Scholars was given in an answer to the author's question of how he knows that Iran is responsible for killing Sunnis and bombing Shii cities, is fully translated:

I started an inquiry and arrested a man who admitted he was an agent for a local militia which has relations with Iran. He confessed to killing several of our Sunni imams. We didn't give him to the police, but transferred him to his family (DW: 212).

كنت قد بدأت تحقيقاً، واعتقلت رجلاً اعترف بأنه عميل لميليشيا محلية تملك صلات مع إيران. اعترف بقتل عدة أئمة سنة. لم نسلمه للشرطة، لكننا رحَّلناه إلى عائلته. (HL: 301)

It is noted from the omission in the President's quotation that mentioning Saudi Arabia is a taboo, especially given that the criticism levelled by the President is that it is directly connected with Wahhabism The publisher of HL is more active in the wider Arab world than the publisher of IB.

Other mentions of Saudi Arabia that are omitted in HL can be found in the following sentences, drawn from a letter US intelligence published and which are alleged to be from Ayman al-Zawahiri, Osama Bin Laden's deputy:

The rulers who welcomed the invaders were apostate Muslims. Chief among the infidels were the US occupiers of the Land of the Two Holy Mosques (Saudi Arabia) and the Zionist occupiers of the Holy Sanctuary (Jerusalem).

الحكام الذين رحَّبوا بالغزاة هم مرتدون عن الاسلام. وأبرز الكفار هم المحتلون الأمريكيون للحرمين الشريفين والمحتلون الصهاينة للقدس الشريف. 315

This example is not directly related to sectarianism in Iraq, but the omission supports the idea that this state treated mentions of sectarianism sensitively. It may be argued that the reason why Saudi Arabia is not translated is that it is common knowledge for an Arabic reader that the Two Holy Mosques are located in Saudi Arabia and so reproducing this information is not necessary. However, one could respond by saying that the translation avoids using the word 'land' in the phrase, thus breaking with the common way of referring to the holy land أرض الحرمين الشريفين. The translation carefully avoids the notion that Saudi land is under US occupation.

The following sentences describe the coverage by al-Arabia, a Saudi TV channel, of the Iraqi Sadrist uprising:

In the Middle East, [...] the new TV station Al-Arabiya showed the militias in a broadly positive light while concentrating on heavy Israeli-style US firepower.

The sentence is omitted, because al-Arabiya channel is a Saudi Channel and a mouthpiece of its positions towards regional and world issues. The sentence points

out that the TV channel supported the anti-American militant movements, whereas Saudi Arabia is an Arab world symbol of Sunnism.

In comparison, the use of Saudi Arabia is retained in the translation of IB, for example with the following statement, which is similar to that of Sheikh Yawer:

[T]hese groups [in Anbar] were affected by more conservative, "Wahhabi" ideas coming out of Saudi Arabia (MH: 274).

تأثرت هذه المجموعات بأفكار "وهابية" محافظة قادمة من المملكة العربية السعودية.(IB: 42)

The two different ways of translating the occurrences of the two countries underline the two sets of sectarian restrictions of the translation of Iraqi sectarianism into Arabic.

5.7.3.1 *Omissions of Iran*

In IB, some of the references to Iran are omitted when a connection is made between She myth-symbols and their virtual militias. This is especially the case when references are made to military, rather than political support. This is shown clearly in the omissions of the underlined sections in the following excerpts:

The previous military conflict had weakened bothy Sadr and the Mahdi Army but had not ended their influence. <u>Iran had begun aiding the Mahdi Army by arming them, training Mahdi forces in camps just across the border, and supplying officers.</u> The MNF, on its part, was anxious to [...] (MH: _284).

وكان الصراع العسكري السابق قد أضعف كلاً من موقع السيد الصدر وجيش المهدي لكنه لم ينهِ نفوذهما. ومن ناحيتها كانت القوات المتعددة الجنسية تواقة لـ.. (IB: 56)

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The Sadrists, the other main component of the INA ticket, was an unpredictable ally, <u>undoubtedly persuaded to align with ISCI by</u> Iran, the main foreign sponsor of the [Shii] alliance (MH: 342).

وكان الصدريون، المكون الرئيس الآخر في قائمة الائتلاف الوطني العراقي، حليفا لا يمكن التنبؤ به. وتعد إيران الداعم الأجنبي الرئيس لهذا الائتلاف.(IB: 145)

[A]nxieties grew in the Shi'i community as Islamists feared that they were going to be pushed out of power by a new "security government" <u>and as the secularists worried about a Shi'i "minority" allied with Iran</u> (MH: 285).

وقد تنامى القلق في الطائفة الشيعية لأن الإسلاميين كانوا يخشون ان تقوم "حكومة أمنية" جديدة بإزاحتهم عن السلطة. -IB)56(7-:

The use of the word 'minority' in quotation marks refers to the Sadrists. In instances where Iran is mentioned without relation to Moqtada and his army, it is retained in the translation, as in:

Moreover, the Sadrists were [..] the major opponents of cooperating with the United States—a main Iranian aim but a liability for any Iraqi party going forward. (MH: 342)

وفضلا عن ذلك، كان الصدريون[..] المعارضين الرئيسين للتعاون مع الولايات المتحدة الامريكية——وهو هدف إيراني رئيس بيد أنه عائق للمضي قدما لأي حزب سياسي.

(IB: 145)

The sentence here does not state any direct relation between Sadrists and Iran, but shows that their stance towards the US was favoured by Iran. In the following example too, references to Iranian meddling are translated:

[The] electorate [of ISCI was] tired of sectarianism, religion, lack of service, and Iranian "meddling" (MH: 342).

The Iranian intrusion into Iraq's political affairs is not denied in the translation, but any clear statement of support by Iran for Moqtada al-Sadr and his Army is avoided. National identity is a main characteristic that Sadrists are keen to show.

5.8 Conclusions

The aim of this chapter has been to demonstrate how the socio-cultural values of the target/native culture have an overriding power in the translation process, materialised as a process of rewriting. The outcome of such an exertion of power is the production of a text with different ideological and informational content. What was an anthropological and objective assessment in the original text has been manipulated such that one of its components becomes accentuated. In the process, a text with strong Islamic features is created, one that aligns with norms surrounding Islamic discourse that sanctify Allah, the prophet(s) and the Imams.

When it comes to the symbols of sectarian clerics, the polarisation is more critical. The two sets of norms that control the choice resulted in increasing veneration of the Shia symbols in the books that were published inside Iraq. Moreover, the texts were contracted and significant parts were omitted, especially those that discuss the American government's perspective of its only Shia enemy, Moqtada al-Sadr. In the original, Sadr was depicted as an immature, unorganised young leader who was weakened by the Americans and was only saved by fellow Shia leaders. But in the translation, he was the national Shia leader who bravely fought the Americans and their army. He and his Mahdi Army appear in the translation as anti-coalition patriotic protagonists who work independent of any external forces.

They are also seen in the rendition of the Sunni insurgency, which was added to in order to put a positive spin on the national resistance to it. The omissions are more prevalent in the translation of the two books. They are found in clerical titles in HL, where non-Arab Shii myth-symbols are stripped of the positive evaluation embedded in the use of the honorific titles. Unlike HL, IB also deletes all parts of the text that depict a Shia cleric as vulnerable. Other symbols are found throughout the analysis: the Sunni insurgency is treated as a symbol in the wider Arab world sectarian life. Iran and Saudi Arabia are sensitive areas in the sectarian row. They are included by the omissions, each according to the dynamics that are operative in the circle of the respective book.

Chapter Six: The Visibility of the Translator as Empowered by the Cultural Capital

6 Introduction

In previous chapters, the role of the target language and culture were highlighted as dominant powers in RCT, as well as the dominant role of socio-cultural values in their capacity as cultural capital, especially as reflected in translation strategies. This chapter aims to examine the effect of cultural capital on the agential level, represented by the translator. Paratextual translator visibility is deemed to reflect the fact that the translator is empowered by possession of cultural capital.

This chapter starts by briefly introducing what is meant by visibility. It then moves on to discussing the difference between paratext in translation as an indicator of mere visibility (i.e. making notes about linguistic choices) on the one hand and of practising power on the other (i.e. when making authorial notes). The translator's notes are authorial when s/he does not behave like a third party. Lastly, the chapter discusses the use of footnotes, wherein the translator is empowered by being a member of the culture in question and thus knows more about it than the expert original author.

The translator's position in relation to the authorship of the text is divided into three roles. These roles are influenced by what aspect of the target culture is being dealt with in the text. In relation to the most significant matters, such as Iraqi identity and ethnic issues, the translator patronises the original author, especially when he finds historical incompatibilities; in cases of less important issues, such as administrative

and institutional information, the translator behaves as a co-author by supplementing with additional information.

6.1 Translator visibility

There are different forms of translator visibility. Commonly, the concept is used to refer to the translator's resistance to the rules of fluency, which results in using foreignisation strategies in the rendition of the source text. This view is based on Venuti's (1995) idea. In this sense, the translator is visible on the textual level. But Venuti also referred to paratextual visibility, such as stating the translator's name on the translated work.

Koskinen (2000:98) argues that visibility is a translation norm that is advocated by scholars other than Venuti within their respective theoretical frameworks. Koskinen (ibid) notes that Christiane Nord, in her functionalist framework (1991), and Hans Vermeer (1996) stress the importance of considering the target reader's expectations and that any non-observance or deviation from conventions should be signposted clearly. The visibility is also supported in the descriptive camp (ibid). Andrew Chesterman, for instance, sees that it is the responsibility of the translator to provide explanation when the "reader's expectations are somehow being challenged" (Chesterman, 1997: 82, in ibid). From these perspectives of translator visibility, we understand that there is a mix between textual visibility, i.e. decisions made about the textual transfer as part of a foreignisation strategy on the one hand, and the use of paratextual methods to comment on such decisions on the other.

In an attempt to capture these forms of visibility, Koskinen (ibid: 99) differentiates between three types: textual, paratextual and *extratextual*. These forms have been

adopted by many scholars, as they are very useful theoretically. This classification though does not serve the kinds of empirical purposes aimed at in this thesis. The reason for this failure is that, in the field of book translation, textual changes can be made by agents other than the translator, such as editors and publishers. Of course, it is not impossible to know at which stage of the translation the textual decisions were made. Among possible investigative methods, Chao (2011) uses correspondence and interviews with translators in order to discern whether particular choices were made by them or the publishers; so does Waters (2013). However, this is not possible for translations with anonymous or deceased translators and/or publishers, as is typically the case with historical works. Therefore, all translation decisions on the textual level in this thesis are attributed to socio-cultural factors that assume the status of capital, as shown in chapter five. Translator visibility is confined to the case where the translator tags the text/paratext with his/her signature. In light of the fact that the translations examined here are set in a period of religious, sectarian and ethnic tension (which are essential to studying cultural capital), investigating who are the agents who took decisions about the translations in such a sensitive area is ethically unfavourable and potentially risky. Therefore, translator visibility in this study occurs when the translator signposts his/her position in paratext.

Therefore, the visibility of the translator will be confined to specific, clearly indicated instances. The visibility of the translator, in this thesis, is limited to those instances where the translator declares himself/herself as the creator of a certain discourse, be it inside the text or in the commentary. That is, s/he tags the end of the textual change or a note with the word 'the translator'. In the case of prefaces, an indication of the visibility of the translator will be made in the title using the word 'the translator's preface'. This is a literal and an extreme way of interpreting translator visibility.

Translators clearly indicate their voice in some parts of the translation; only these will be projected as the only instances where the translator is treated as indicators of visibility.

6.2   Paratext in the Data

The data shows three forms of translational paratext. These are in-text, footnotes, and prefaces and appendixes. In-text visibility is problematic, due to its locus. Unlike other types of translational paratexts that lie outside the text, what this thesis calls in-text visibility is embedded inside the text. It cannot be fitted into any of the spaces that paratexts usually occupy, such as prefaces, footnotes, endnotes, sidenotes, appendixes and so on. Yet what matters here is to highlight that it should not be confused with textual visibility. While the latter has been outlined above, the former includes those instances where the translator declares his/her position as the agent responsible for the textual changes by candidly signposting them by adding the phrase '*the translator'* between brackets, immediately following the changes made inside the text. Typically, such information is added in a footnote or an endnote. But the translator of IB, Mustafa Nu'man, chose this method to flag his changes.

Only three of the four books discussed in this thesis show paratextual visibility on both in-text and para-textual levels. However, in-text visibility is used considerably less frequently than paratext. The translator of IB makes only limited in-text indications of his intervention, typically when adding honorific titles to the names of The Prophet Mohammad and Imam Ali. In comparison, the translators of IJ and SB, Namir A. Mudhaffar and Dahlia Riyadh, use more footnotes. Mudhaffar lavishly relies on footnotes to make his presence visible. As for prefaces and appendixes, again Nu'man

has a cautious preface where he briefly talks about the translation task and the author, and declares that the ideas and analyses in the book represent the author's view. While Riyadh does not make herself visible in preface, Mudhaffar presents the work with a bold preface, in which he explains that he is not hesitant to show his position towards the views of the author. He also calls upon his readers to critique the work in general, as well as his own comments.

6.3 The function of paratext in translation

Paratexts are a source of information in translation and the "need to incorporate available paratextual data into translation research is by now widely recognised", especially in the 2000s (Tahir Gürçağlar 2011:113-115). Tahir Gürçağlar highlights her own work on the function of paratexts in the historical study of translation norms. This view is inspired by Toury (1995:65) in his view towards the role of paratext in deciphering the translation norms that underlie the target text production" (in Buendia, 2013: 150). Tahir Gürçağlar also refers to other research where paratexts are used as instruments of exploring cultural translation and as strategies of political defiance and resistance (ibid). This chapter argues that paratexts uncover the role cultural capital plays in empowering translators. Paratexts also uncover information about what cultural capital forms matter most in the target culture. Important cultural aspects receive more paratextual forms inside the one translation and across translations.

6.3.2 The integrative, transitive effect of paratexts in RCT

It has been stated above that the data in RCT show different forms of paratexts. One or more forms can be found in the same translation. That is, a translation can showcase either just one form of visibility, as in SB, which employs only footnotes, or more than one form, as in IJ, which engages in prefacing, footnoting and indexing. In order to best envisage the impact of paratext in reversing dominance in RCT, the relation between these paratexts in the work should best be perceived to have an integrative, transitive effect. The effect becomes significant when it is employed to understand the importance of the cultural aspects addressed in the paratexts. The paratext will be a tool to mirror the cultural topics of greater importance for the target culture or its agent (the translator). The cultural aspect that is tackled in more than one form of paratext is a pivotal topic from the viewpoint of the translator. With the paratext forms used with variant degrees of intervention intensity, the inter-paratextual power relation is transitive. When a cultural aspect is addressed in the translator's preface with a strong level of intervention and high visibility, and the same aspect is later addressed in the footnotes as well, the influence from the preface transmits to the less sharply-toned footnote, granting it authority. The same can be said about the variant strengths of footnotes. If, for instance, the issue of sectarianism is tackled as a critical issue in one footnote and then is more temperate in another footnote, then it is established as a critical issue, and all its instances will be as subtle. Transmission inside the one form of paratext can be called *intra-paratextual power transmission.*

6.4 Footnoting as an empowering strategy

The use of footnotes and translational paratexts moved from being tools to fill linguistic gaps between the source and target languages and cultures, to tools of exercising power *over* the translated text, whether by the translator or the target culture. Their usage shifted from tools to support the text in the face of linguistic and cultural background differences to a means of supporting socio-cultural beliefs and values. In other words, although footnoting was traditionally used by translators to defend themselves with regard to their choices in the text (Almanna, 2016: 8); more recently it is the translator's tool to attack the text and clearly state his/her position towards essential issues being discussed.

One of the aims of this chapter is to demonstrate that footnotes are among the strategies translators resort to when they are empowered. RCT showcases the fact that the translator is empowered by the cultural capital of the native culture to which the text, the target audience, and the translator himself belong. But first, the more traditional linguistic-oriented purposes of footnotes will be described, before attention shifts to the more recent ways paratext is employed for ideological reasons, such as their use in feminist translations and, more importantly, in relation to the possession of cultural capital. This section of the chapter is devoted to the footnoting in the translation of IJ and, though to a lesser extent, SB. The domains that represent cultural capital in a way that the translator found empowering are categorised along two main dimensions: religion and national history. These have their sub-divisions: in terms of religion, the Sunni/Shia discourse is addressed. In terms of national history, the status of the Iraqi Jews and contemporary Iraqi history will be discussed.

6.4.1 Footnoting from linguistic approaches to power tools

Translation theorists recommend the use of footnotes in cases where it is not possible to produce a smooth translation that is close to the original. Nida (1995, 2001:228) notes that footnotes are added to literal translations that are meaningless or whose meaning is not clear due to differences in cultural context. In translating from Spanish into English, for example, the leader of the governing party is referred to as President in Spain, although his role is more similar to that of a Prime Minister in other countries (Nida, 1999: 79). Regardless of whether President or Prime Minister is chosen for the translation, "supplementary information" in a footnote, for instance, is "essential" (ibid).

Whether out of faithfulness to the original or the target text, the translator used footnotes in favour of the text. The translator's liability as a mediator makes him confess that the language prevented him replicating everything the source text said and producing a smooth, fluent target text. However, that is not always the case. Most instances of footnoting in linguistic methods of translation show that footnotes are generally used as saviours when there are cultural difference in potential equivalents between the source and target languages, such as in the example of the Spanish President above. However, footnoting is the space where the translation agents defend their choices in cases other than the absence of an accurate cultural equivalent. In the translation of erotic texts from Latin into English in the Victorian Era, in which the texts were expurgated, footnotes were added (O'Sullivan, 2009: 199). The translators self-justify their strategies of omitting improper expressions (ibid). The "marginal space of the footnote [is used] to recuperate some of the textual material lost to the body of the text through expurgation" (ibid: 122). In fact, this space is used to clarify the viewpoint of the translator in relation to various reasons that come about

in the process of the translation. The translations of the classical texts were "provided with abundant footnotes offering the usual mix of "details; uncertainties; nuances; complexities; additional arguments; attempts to forestall objections; digressions"" (ibid).

"While some footnotes account for difficulties already recognised in the body of the text, either through a textual gap or the inclusion of a passage in the original language, others serve the purpose of drawing the reader's attention to an apparently innocuous phrase" (ibid: 123). In all these instances mentioned by O'Sullivan, the main purpose of the footnoting is to defend the final translation presented to the reader. The translator justifies why s/he failed to be faithful. S/he solicits the understanding of the target reader of why the text appears as it does in its final form. The translator is committed to the original text. A different product would inculpate him/her and so s/he has to stand up for his/herself.

All the above uses of footnotes are referred to as 'annotations' by Almanna (2016). He differentiates between comments and annotations (ibid: 8). While comments are made on "others' translations", annotations are the translator's "critical notes" on his/her own translation. Annotations can be made to show the translator's position regarding various translation strategies, such as adaptation, addition, borrowing, calque, equation, equivalence lexical creation, literal translation, modulation, omission, shifts, substitution and transportation (the list is adapted from Almanna (ibid:54)). Other instances in which the translator provides annotation include where there are "grammatical issues" (ibid: 82-102); lexical and phraseological choices; cohesion aspects; register, genre, pragmatic; semiotic and stylistic aspects; cultural and ideological issues. However, he only refers to the translator's opinion on why they

used one of these above reasons, but does not refer to the overturning power of footnotes, not even when he talks about the ideological dimension of their use.

This functioning of footnotes as potent tools that can result in change is discussed by Waters (2013). She point out that footnotes change the genre of texts (ibid: 231), stating that "the addition of footnotes has the effect, [..] in relation to the translation of francophone African texts, of 'shift[ing] the book away from fiction and towards factual writing'. They thus detract from the literariness and would-be opacity of both source and target texts." This viewpoint towards footnotes does not prevent the translators from resorting to them to do justice to the cultural dimensions of texts. The translator of *The Counting House* into French explained the Indian terms, especially those related to culinary and religious culture, in footnotes (ibid).

In fact, the potential of footnotes to produce effects on the text has been augmented in translation studies since the cultural turn. Footnotes in more recent years have been employed to purposefully produce an effect in the translation. Footnoting is most common as a feminist strategy (see for example, Goddard, 1988; Flotow, 1991; Santaemilia, 2011). The "strategy of *prefacing* and *footnoting* (or *commentary*) is the most visible indicator of feminism" (Santaemilia, 2011:134). It was used by an Argentinian feminist translator when translating Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* into Spanish (ibid). The "translation is fraught with footnotes", and most of these, Santaemilia (ibid) says, are "devoted to the reconstruction of a female genealogy". The "metadiscourse surrounding the translation is the most privileged area where a feminist translation is most explicit, through the use of *prefacing* and *footnoting* (or *commentary*)" (ibid).

Paratexts, of which footnoting is one form, "has acquired increasing importance in Translation Studies in recent years, since it reveals striking connections between translations and their socio-cultural context" (Chao, 2011:37). Unlike their use in linguistic approaches, translational footnotes empower the translator to exercise control over the text. Concerning the question of how much control the translator has over the text, Chao clearly assigns to the translator the role of an author (ibid: 35). For Chao, in translating Porter's Victorian Fable from English into Taiwanese, "adding footnotes where the source text is not annotated, attenuates the Victorian slang of the texts for the target reader more than the source reader who has less footnotes and glossaries" (ibid).

More relevant to this study, Chao argues that footnotes are tools of cultural capital in translation. Her "study suggests that translational footnotes are more than an explanatory apparatus that facilitates readers' comprehension, functioning as signals of the negotiation of various forms of capital and power" (Chao, 2014: i). The present chapter adopts a viewpoint similar to that offered by Chao with regard to the relation between footnotes and cultural capital. But, while Chao examines the role of footnotes in a normal translation setting, the use of footnotes as a space for demonstrating and negotiating power because of owning cultural capital acquires even more significance with the peculiar case RCT offers.

6.4.2 Footnotes in RCT

The data in RCT shows that footnotes are used by the translators both as annotations and comments. When they function as annotations, they highlight the translator's

position as a mediator between the source text and culture, on the one hand, and the target reader, on the other. As comments, footnotes are used to criticise other translations, which resonates with the quote from Almanna (2016) above. Yet, in the data, footnotes as comments are not used to make notes on other translators' work, but rather on the views and information adopted in the source text. Therefore, annotations to explain why and how a part of the text is translated will not be included as RCT footnotes. Only footnotes that reflect an empowered political stance, as in feminist translations, represent RCT paratext. However, while feminist translations footnotes are concerned with linguistic manipulations for political reasons, RCT footnotes chosen to reflect cultural capital power are non-linguistic. "[U]sing the word Québécois-e-s wherever the generic Québécois occurred in the original" (Flotow, 1991: 79) is a feminist linguistic strategy with a political purpose. The similarity of footnoting between feminist translation and RCT is the loyalty to values, rather than to a language, a text or a reader.

Chao's study (2011) can be seen as sharing common grounds with the current chapter in that it examines the role of the translator's capital in inspiring the production of translational footnotes (ibid: 123). But, it studies the footnotes inspired by nuance of language used in the source text, as well as the literary capital and the socio-cultural background in the source text, and their journey to the target reader through footnotes. The footnotes are thus tools to bring the reader closer to the source text. At this point it dissects with RCT; the reader in RCT needs not be taken to the source text.

"[C]ultural issues should be dealt with from the perspective of a cultural insider" (Almanna, 2016:191); the cultural insider, used by Almanna (ibid) and al-Masri (2009), is a handy metaphor that succinctly describes the role of the Iraqi translator in RCT. Although, Almanna (ibid) and al-Masri's (ibid) use of the metaphor in confined to the

mediatory role of the translator, the cultural insider in RCT is more of a spy for the interest of the target culture alone. This will be reflected in the way the translator monitors all that the author states about the target culture. In performing his/her cultural insider's monitoring role, the translator corrects incorrect information, volunteers correct information, argues about controversial issues, and refers the reader to more information about such issues. By supplying translational notes, the translator "plays the role of the author" (Chao, 2011: 35). The translator in RCT, in fact, assumes three positions in his/her footnotes in relation to the author. Although the three roles vary in strength, they all indicate that the translator is challenging the authority of the author and, hence, of the text. These are when: the translator patronises the author, the translator is equal to the author, and the translator is an eyewitness (while the author is a narrator of secondary information).

6.4.3   Role 1: Translator patronising author

Buendia (2013: 153-4) argues that, according to Genette's categorisation of notes, translator's notes should be classified as allographic, not authorial, because the translator is a third party to the text and not the author. This view, she explains (ibid), puts translation in a derivative rank; but the process of reinterpreting that the translator undertakes makes his role, and his notes, authorial. To put it more elaborately, using Buendia's own words:

"[T]ranslations are texts that are embedded in a different communicative situation, one that results from a rewriting exercise aimed at fulfilling different

necessities to those that determined the creation of the source text in its context. Historically, there have been times when the translated text has become independent from its source text to such an extent that it even exceeds the original. […] In such cases, the translator acquires the status of author, losing his or her inferior character. [..]. The (re)interpretation of the text involved in the translation process gains the same or more value in the target system than the creation of the source text, which in one way or another is also a recreation of other texts. This perspective would endow the translator with the status of author and consequently the translator's notes in such a case would carry the label of authorial paratexts. It can be stated, then, that the task of cataloguing translator's notes as either authorial or allographic paratexts is affected by the status bestowed on the translator and the translated text"

(Buendia 2013: 153-4).

The following translational footnotes verify Buendia's point; the difference is that the translator's cultural capital bestows upon him/ her the power to practise an authorial role. The role is reflected in the wording of the footnotes. The thematic sentence of the note is usually a strongly worded one. In the following sections, the translator's footnotes are authorial.

6.4.3.1   *I know more about Shia than any other foreigner*

It has been pointed out in previous chapters that Shia/Sunni sectarianism has been a particularly thorny issue in Iraq post-2003. The problem, however, was not bought about by the war. It has historical grounding. IJ was translated and published in 2004,

immediately after the war. At that time, sectarianism, as a topic for open public discussion, was shocking for Iraqis. It, nonetheless, was included in Western/English writings about the new post-invasion era. It was predictable, given the context of the Saddam regime's discriminatory policy towards Shii identity, as well as the framework of the Islamic opposition parties that immediately appeared on the Iraqi political scene.

In his commentary, the translator of IJ abandons his role as a neutral mediator, and resumes his role as an Iraqi. He steps in enthusiastically to lavishly describe what he knows about this strand of his culture, which is more than any outsider (including the author), even if the outsider is a knowledgeable expert. The translator's knowledge is not appropriated; it is naturally endowed by virtue of his being a member of this culture.

A group of footnotes mark a fervid translator visibility. This is especially so when he is in disagreement with the author. Some of the ideas and stories of the text violate axiomatic or rational thinking, but the author is using them to dramatise his narrative. "Oh my God, what a viewpoint!" the translator starts one of his footnotes (2004: 92). The idea that exasperated him is the part of the text about the Shia's Arab nationalistic identity. It states that pan-Arabism did not "win over many of the country's Shi'is, whose complex sectarian identity posed a challenge to Arabism's core definition" (Braude, 2003: 39). The translator finds these lines accusatory to the Iraqi Shia's loyalty. He translates what the text says but also provides the following, rather angry, footnote:

يا لهول هذا الطرح! أنه ينم بجلاء عن عدم وضوح الصورة لدى المؤلف الشاب فيما له علاقة بالشعور القومي الجياش لدى العراقيين من ابناء الشيعة الذين وقفت مدنهم المقدسة الغراء صامدة بوجه هيمنة الأستعمار البريطاني، ووقف رجالهم من ابناء المدن والعشائر على حد سواء ليردوا كيد المستعمر الى نحره ويتولوا قيادة الحركة التحررية أبان ثورة عام 1920، ويقدموا عشرات الشهداء على مذبح حركة التحرر القومي. ألم تملأ أعدادهم صفوف حزب البعث ابان فترة "النضال السلبي" وفي السنوات الأولى من حكم الحزب في العراق عندما كانوا مدفوعين بقوة المفاهيم السامية التي انطوت عليها شعارات الحزب القومية التحررية قبل ان يصبح الولاء الشخصي، لا الانتماء الحزبي العقائدي، مقياس

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الاخلاص والانتماء الوطني والقومي؟ الم تعط الثواكل والأرامل العدد الأكبر من قوافل الشهداء الذين قضوا نحبهم في إطالة الصراع الذي دار ابان الحرب العراقية الايرانية؟ ابعد كل ذلك يمكن لأحد أن يقول بان الهوية(الشيعية) الطائفية المعقدة وقفت، لتشكل تحديا لكل ما ينطوي عليه تعريف العروبة من أبعاد؟ أليس في هذا الكثير من الإجحاف؟

(Mudhaffar, 2004: 92-93)

His preliminary interjection is followed by a clear statement that the perspective adopted in the text **"uncovers the young author's blurry vision with regard to the passionate feelings of [Arab] nationalistic belonging that the Iraqi Shias have. Their holy cities stood steadfast in the face of the British colonisation. Their men, from cities and villages alike, stood against the colonisers, took over the liberation movement leadership during the 1920 revolt, and sacrificed tens of martyrs to the [Arab] nationalistic liberation movement"** (translated by the researcher).

He continues the footnote with a series of fervent rhetorical questions:

"Hadn't they [the Shia] joined the Baath Party [in large numbers] when it was still in its "passive resistance" stage and in the early years of the Party's rule in Iraq, motivated by the strength of the Party's sublime liberation mottos when the dogmatic partisan affiliation, not devotion to persons, was the parameter for national and Arab nationalistic loyalty?" (Translated by the researcher).

This footnote is translated in full to show the fervour with which the translator is trying to prove that the Shia have authentic loyalty to Arab nationalism. His next rhetorical question focuses on the Shia's sacrifices towards Iraq: **"Had not the Shia mothers and wives suffered the greatest loss [of their sons and husbands] to martyrdom in the long Iraq-Iran war? Can anyone, after all this, say that the (Shi'i) complex**

sectarian identity posed a challenge to Arabism's core definition? Is not saying that so unfair?" (Translated by the researcher).

It is questionable whether such a heated and passionate footnote would have been included had the translator not been Iraqi.

The translator is intolerant of all irrational statements in the text, even when ascribed to Iraqis themselves, as in the next example. He protests the impression of a Sunni Iraqi cited by the author. The Sunni man is described as surprised to see completely covered women in the city of Karbala. The translator finds the astonishment out of place, as this dress code is what is expected in all religious shrines, whether Shia or Sunni, regardless of where they are in the Muslim World (2004: 62). In a sharp-toned footnote, he attacks such an opinion:

إن ملاحظة الاخ السني التي أوردها المؤلف هذا تثير في نفسي العجب! علما بأنني من أبناء السنة. إن الأخ هذا على درجة عالية من السذاجة، إن لم نقل قلة الادراك والتقدير! ترى ما الذي كان يتوقع أن يشاهد في عتبة مقدسة؟ هل كان يتوقع وجود فرق موسيقى تعزف الحان موسيقى "البوب" ونساء يرتدين أبهى الحلل؟ أوليس الأجواء الجادة والوقورة طابعاً عاماً تتميز به العتبات المقدسة، سنية كانت أم شيعية؟ وهل تختلف أجواء العتبات المقدسة في بغداد عنها في كربلاء؟ أم تراه لا يعرف ذلك؟

(ibid).

Again, with interjections and rhetorical questions, he fumes his protest. He is not hesitant to use sarcasm to express his point. His footnote translates as follows:

The remark of the Sunni brother which the author used in the text astonishes me! I should remind you here that I am a Sunni myself. This brother is highly naïve, if not lacking sensibility and good judgement! What did he expect to see in a holy shrine? Did he expect to find a band playing pop music and women in stylish clothes? Are not gravity and solemnity a typical stereotype of holy

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shrines, whether they were Sunni or Shia? And is the atmosphere of shrines in Baghdad any different from those in Karbala? Is he not aware of that? (Translated by the researcher)

With similar fierceness, he responds (ibid: 130) to another theatrical envisaging by the author of Grand Ayatollah Sistani. In praise of the cleric and his humbleness, Braude (2003: 64) states that "the highest-ranking Shi'i cleric in Najaf is teaching a young student *tajwid*, a traditional style of chanting the Qur'an", and that he "gets up to answer the knock on the door." The translator finds these statement unreasonable. He (2004: 130) asks if it is "sensible to imagine the highest-ranking Marji in the Shi'i world teaching the youths the tajwid of Qur'an", questioning whether this task should not be shouldered by someone else who is younger, lower in rank and with fewer responsibilities (ibid). "Is it reasonable that an old person of such an esteemed status and grave rank to get the door of his house or place of learning?" As if all this protesting is not enough, he asks, to make his point, whether it is normal of the Pope or the Grand Rabbi to do this. He finally, understandably, asks if the author intended to frame the image in a dramatic way (ibid). Any Iraqi person would have responses similar to those of the translator. They have sufficient cultural knowledge of the clerical community to know that Ayatollah Sistani would not behave in this way, not least because of his old age, as the translator correctly pointed out.

6.4.3.2 *National history: the Iraqi identity*

The translator(s) make themselves visible in other areas of Iraqi culture related to different aspects of Iraq's history. These aspects are collectively responsible for

forming the character of the nation. Interventions in these respects reflect the nationalistic stance of the translator. This stance is embodied in the sensitivity towards Iraqi identity in general, as well other identities. As such, the translator's response in defending different Iraqi sub-identities identities best substantiates Maalouf's (1998/2001) proposition that a person has multiple identities that function simultaneously. The translator does not actually bear all these identities, but he empathises with then because they are altogether part of his cultural capital. They directly affect the pride a citizen has towards his country.

Some of the translator's interventions are motivated by the fact that he lived during the era in question, which made him a natural possessor of this cultural awareness, i.e., he acquired it in the same say as indicated in Bourdieu's original form of capital, when students are empowered by the linguistic skills they learn from their families. Other interventions are a result of the translator's education or personal readings.

As the author offers a couple of possible meanings of the name 'Iraq', the translator generously refers his readers to chapter one of volume one of a book written by the Iraqi historian and linguist Taha Baqir. He provides the title of the book, the name of the publisher and the year of publication (IJ, 2004: 56). It is unequivocal that the translator is implying that author's source are not as trustworthy. It is a show down of who possesses the more authentic sources.

Similarly, he defies the author's viewpoint, who make note early in the book of a "paradox of Iraqi political memory" (2003: 5). The translator unsheathes one of his heated footnotes. He states:

أود التوقف وهلة عند عبارة "التناقض" لأقول إن التناقض الظاهري هذا يبرز في كل الصيغ الحضارية وبذلك لا ينبغي اعتباره حالة مقصورة على العراق فقط. فضلا عن ذلك لا أعتقد أن هناك حضارة خالصة (صافية) بمعنى خلوها من مساهمات من لدن عناصر خارجية. إن مجيء عناصر من خارج مكان معين يعني ضمنا أن العناصر هذه لم تتمكن من بناء حضارتها، أو حضارة لها، في المكان الذي جاءت منه، وإلا لأنشأت حضارتها هناك بالأساس. وهنا تكمن فكرة خصوصية المكان وهي حالة تتمثل في التفاعل بين موقع معين من جانب والمستوطنين فيه، خارجيون كانوا أم أبناءه الأصل، من جانب آخر. وتشكل حالة الولايات المتحدة الامريكية والحضارة التي بنتها مثالا حيا على ذلك.

(2004:40)

I would like to linger a little at the word 'paradox', to say that it appears in all forms of civilisations and therefore it is not only confined to the case of Iraq. Moreover, I do not believe that there is a pure civilisation, that is to say one free of contributions from external elements. When elements come from outside a place that implies that these elements could not build their own civilisation or one for themselves in the place where they came from; otherwise they would have built it there in the first place. Here appears the uniqueness of a place, represented by the interaction between a locus and those who inhabit it, whether they were foreigners or its native sons. The United States of America and the civilisation it built is a case in point.

As the translation of the footnote shows, there is a sense of reprisal ignited by the negativity of the word 'paradox' in describing Iraq's history. It culminates in the translator's last sentence, where he says that the USA is an example of the case described. He acts as an advocate for his country, but also for the various parts of the Iraqi spectrum components, as shown presently.

6.4.3.3 Zooming into historical events: The Assyrians

The translator of IJ is assuming the task of safeguarding. He is vigilant to possible schemes of the 'enemy' towards his nation. At the author's reference (2003:10-11) to the Assyrian Christians, a Syriac-speaking people who are thought to be descending from the ancient Assyrians, and who were the victims of massacre committed in 1933 by the Iraqi General Bakr Sidqi, the translator includes a long footnote that runs to about two pages. In his footnote (ibid: 48-49), he first discusses the origins of Assyrian Christians, first from a linguistic perspective and then from an anthropological and theological perspective. He starts with the fact that they are Nestorian Christians whose origin remained vague due to the nature of their life in the lofty mountains of Iraqi Kurdistan. But this secluded life, he notes, helped them maintain their ancestral language that dates back more than two thousand years, and which makes their Church, which uses this language, the oldest and most authentic in the Christian world. He then highlights the possibility that the equivalent آثوريين (Athoorians), which is how this group of Christians prefer to call themselves, was derived from Assyrians. However, the translator discusses the relation between the Athoorians and the Mesopotamian Assyrians and the strong possibility that one name is derived from the other. He ultimately connects his lengthy analysis of the naming of Assyrian Christians to the British colonial intentions, according to sources he cites. He points out that once the British Mandate of Iraq ended, British official started acknowledging the origin of the Athoorians. According to records of the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs that were later made public, the translator says, it was misleading to call the Athoorians Assyrians, and they were a Nestorian Christian sect rather than an ethnicity.

He finally turns to the events of 1933. This part of his footnote (ibid: 49) translates as:

"As for the rebellion of the Athoorians in 1933 and the consequent crackdown, it was a result of the seed planted by Britain and resulted in the death of many people, not only in this particular event but in other subsequent turbulences related to this sect, especially those witnessed later in Mosul and Kirkuk cities". As such, the translator criminalised Colonial Britain and avoided reference to the Iraqi general. Such a huge effort in creating a counter-narrative is only nurtured and strengthened by the fact that the translator is the possessor of the capital, which bestows credibility on his claims. Figure 1 shows the two-page footnote.
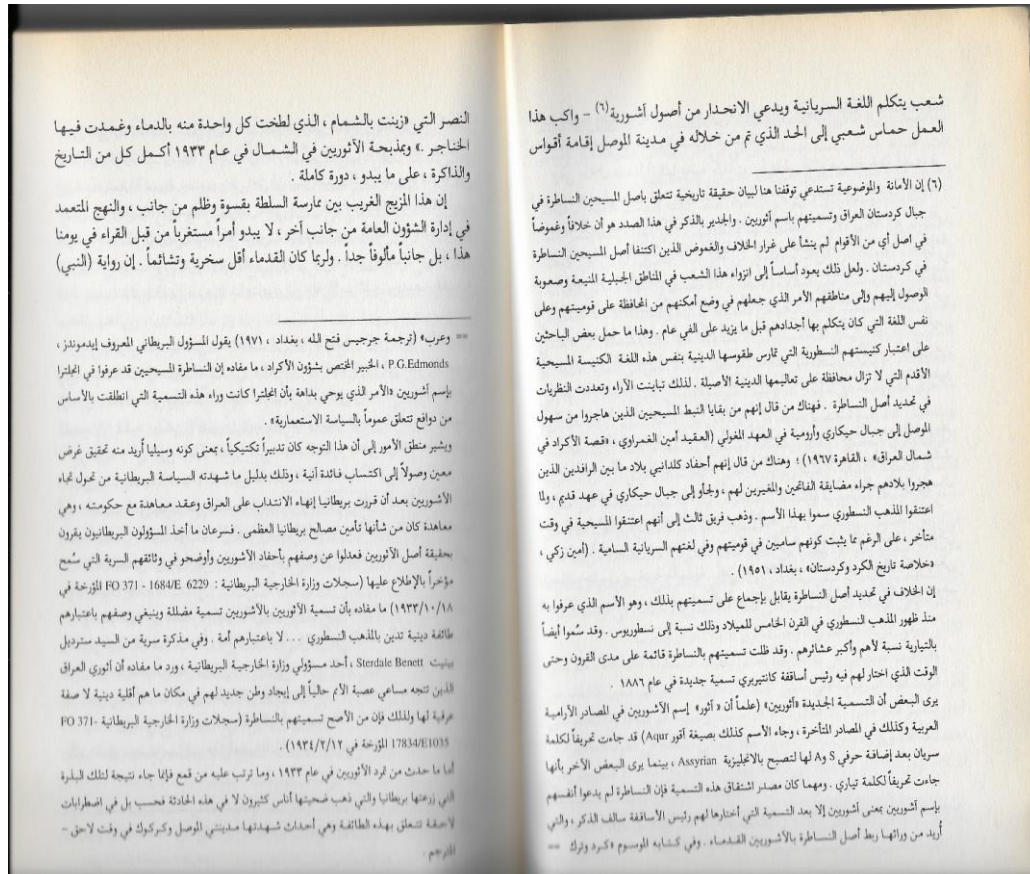

Figure 3 the translator's footnote on the Assyrians.

6.4.3.4 *Iraqi Jews*

One of the most controversial issues in the contemporary history of Iraq is the status of the Iraqi Jews, an issue that once again came to surface after the 2003 war and regime change. While during the Saddam regime Jews were judgmentally associated with Israel, in post-2003 there was more media demystification of their case. This revolved around one basic idea: that the Iraqi Jews were authentic Iraqis and make up an integral part of a pluralistic Iraq. There were calls heralding their rights in Iraq, which were spread through media reports, TV shows, and books like NI. The idea of the Jew's rights in Iraq is based on drawing a clear line between Judaism and the political state of Israel. The discourse around the Iraqi Jews is underlined by the fact that they are pure Iraqis who should be viewed independently from Israel.

NI discusses the case of the Iraqi Jews as a part of the history of the nation, just as it reviews other aspects of its cultural spectrum, such as Sunnism, Shiism, Christianity, and so on. Yet to know that the author is a Jew from Iraqi ancestry draws special attention to the topic. What's more, the topic is sensitive, due to the pre-2003 Arab-nationalistic discourse, which treats all Jews as Israeli occupiers of Arabian land in Palestine.

Mudhaffar's position towards Iraqi Jews is similar to that which he takes towards other Iraqi groups. He defends their status as Iraqis and provides personal details from his cultural capital inventory that are sometimes tainted with memories. The translator openly and clearly states that he rejects the author's use of the Jew's exile from Iraq

in the 1950s. Mudhaffar believes that they were displaced from Iraq in a systematically organised process with particular aims. He uses personal experience as evidence. His footnote clearly states:

لا بد من وقفة هنا لتوضيح أمر في غاية الأهمية وهو ما يتعلق برحيل اليهود العراقيين من العراق. وإذ أعترض على عبارة "نفيهم من البلاد"، والتي آمل بأنها قد أتت عفوية، ولم يقصد منها التضليل، انطلاقا من معرفتي الشخصية بالمؤلف، وما انصرف الى الالتزام به من استقامة وامانة وموضوعية في طروحاته العلمية، فإن الأمانة تفرض علي بدوري وجوب وضع القارئ الكريم في الاطار الصحيح لهذه الصورة بالذات. إن يهود العراق لم يتم "نفيهم"، كما لم يهاجر القسم الاكبر منهم طواعية بل تم تهجيرهم نتيجة لعملية منظمة لم يتوان منضموها حتى عن استخدام الإرهاب والترهيب وسيلتين فاعلتين لتحقيق الهدف المنشود، أي تهجير اكبر عدد ممكن من يهود العراق، لا سيما يهود شمال العراق، الذين كانوا أصحاء الأجسام يمتهنون الزراعة والبستنة وتربية المواشي. وبسبب معرفتي الوثيقة بالعديد من أبناء العائلات اليهودية وذلك أما بحكم الجيرة، أو الزمالة المدرسية، فإنني أذكر جيدا كيف أن الكثيرين منهم جاءوا لتوديعنا، عشية سفرهم من العراق في أواخر الأربعينيات وأوائل الخمسينيات، مبدين حزنهم الشديد وألمهم من اضطرارهم الى ترك العراق حيث "أجبروا" على ذلك، وهو ما جاء نصا على لسان حال البعض منهم. وقد أثبت الكثير من اليهود العراقيين على أصالة عراقيتهم وانتمائهم الى العراق عبر مواصلة ذات نمط الحياة الذي كانوا قد اعتادوه عندما كانوا في العراق، وكذلك عبر اعتزازهم بعلاقاتهم القديمة التي ارتبطوا بها مع اصدقائهم واقرانهم والذين ارتبطوا معهم بعلاقات تجارية، فلم يتوانوا أبدا عن مد يد المساعدة لمن كان بحاجة إليها وهذا جانب ينبغي الاعتراف به والإشادة بما ينطوي عليه من كرم.

(2004:78)

We should pause here to clarify a very important point about the Jew's departure from Iraq. I disagree with the use of "their exile from the country" which I hope the author used spontaneously without intentions of misleading. As I personally know the author and I am aware of his objectivity and faithfulness, my faithfulness in turn obliges me to present to the reader a clear idea about this topic. The Iraqi Jews were not exiled. The majority of them did not voluntarily migrate. They were forcefully displaced as a result of an organised process whose organisers used terror and terrorising as means to achieve their targets, that is, displace as many Iraqi Jews as possible, especially the Jews in the north of Iraq. These were healthy, strong people who worked in

agriculture and had cattle. As I personally know many Jewish families who were my neighbours or school mates, I remember how many of them came to say good-bye on the eve of their departure in the late 1940s and early 1950s. They were so sad that they had to leave Iraq as they were forced to do so. Some of them stated that plainly. Many of the Iraqi Jews proved their authentic Iraqi identity and true devotion to the nation by maintaining the same lifestyle they used to have in Iraq. They also maintained old relationship with friends and stood for them and supported them when needed. This generous position should be remembered and hailed (Translated by the researcher).

In another footnote the translator weakens the position of the author by correcting him about the Jewish neighbourhood in Baghdad. The translator depends on personal cultural capital and remembers the areas of Baghdad that were inhabited by Jews but which were never exclusively Jewish. He writes:

There was no one particular neighbourhood for the Jews in Baghdad or any other Iraqi city. They lived in different areas in Baghdad. For instance the Sha'shoo' [Jewish name] palace that was rented by the Iraqi government as a residence for His Majesty late King Faisal when he first came to Baghdad was in the Kasra area between Bab-ul-Mu'addam and 'a'adhamiya. Jewish families also lived in Battaween, Bustan-I-Khass, Karrada, Salhiyya and many other places. They lived in the same roads inhabited by Muslims and Christians. The same applies to Basra and other Iraqi cities. Yet there is an alley that is known as 'Agd el-Yahood (The Jewish alley) and it is located near the Khullani area.

The alley was mostly inhabited by Jews but there is no such a thing as a whole Jewish area.

The translator also remembers that Jewish musicians were the most efficient in playing the traditional Chalghi, and that their concerts attracted large audiences. This is a fact that everybody knows, he says (2004:88). When the topic of the exile is raised elsewhere in the book, he does not allow it to pass unnoticed. He refers the reader to his footnotes about the topic elsewhere in the book. He is cross-referencing and establishing himself as the authority that can best guide the reader on truths and fallacies about Iraqi culture. He is saying that it is his culture and he knows it better.

6.4.3.5 *British colonisation: The Monarch's Sovereignty*

This aspect has twofold significance. It is not only a part of the national history of Iraq and, consequently, of its citizen's cultural capital; it also signifies what this thesis is arguing for: the neutralisation of the dominance of the superpower, language, invader or source text. As shown in the example above about the nature of Assyrian Christians, the translator holds the British responsible for the misleading categorisation of this group, as well as for the carnage committed against them. The translator's position is reminiscent of that of the fervent patriotic movements of the early and mid 20th century and the fight against British colonisation.

In outlining the role of King Faisal I of Iraq, the author states that "the imported prince [Faisal] faced the difficult task of creating harmony in Iraq through a new national identity that was not his own" (2003:34). As in the example mentioned earlier, the

translator includes a bulky footnote that runs over nearly three pages (2004:82-4). Figure (2) shows the footnote on King Faisal. The footnote starts in the middle of the page to the right at the sign (o) which stands for the number of the footnote, and runs to the next page in the figure, and on to a third page, as shown in Figure (3).

The footnote starts with a vexed introductory sentence:

<div dir="rtl">

هذه ملاحظة لا يمكن ان تمر من غير ما من شأنه ان يوضح حقيقة لا تقبل الجدل. ان القارئ الذي ليس لديه اطلاع واسع على دقائق الامور وتفاصيل الاحداث التي تتوجت بتبوء المغفور له جلالة الملك فيصل بن الحسين عرش العراق في 1921/8/23 قد يصل الى استنتاج خاطئ مفاده ان الملك فيصل لم يكن سوى اداة طيعة لا حول لها ولا قوة سوى الامتثال لمشيئة المحتل البريطاني.

</div>

(Mudhaffar:84)

This remark cannot pass unexplained by unquestionable truths. Readers without a good background on the details and circumstances that culminated in His Majesty late King Faisal bin al-Hussein's assuming the throne of Iraq in 23/8/1921 may arrive at erroneous conclusions: that King Faisal was only a malleable helpless tool who could not but obey the will of the British coloniser (Translated by the researcher).

After citing very minute details about historical events to support his argument, the translator concludes his footnote by returning to the word 'imported' in the source text. He stresses that the word is prejudiced and is packed with implications that are contrary to reality (2004:84).

هوية وطنية لم تكن هويته . (٥) بالإضافة إلى ذلك ، فإن المحاولة السطحية باتجاه الحكم
غير المباشر التي أنصرف البريطانيون إلى أعتمادها لم تفلح في هندسة وفاق بين

== وكان المندوب السامي السير برسي كوكس حريصاً على إدخال الشيعة في الوظائف ، لا سيما في
منطقة الفرات الأوسط والعتبات المقدسة ، إلا أنه واجه في هذا المسعى عقبتين أولهما فتوى
الخالصي ، والأخرى امتناع السيد عبد الرحمن النقيب ، نقيب أشراف بغداد ورئيس أول حكومة تم
تشكيلها قبل مولد دولة العراق في آب من عام ١٩٢١ وبعض الوزراء معه ، من قبول فكرة دخول
الشيعة في الوظائف . وبرغم تمكن السير برسي كوكس من إقناع النقيب ومؤيديه بتوظيف عدد
محدود من أبناء الشيعة ، إلا أنه أخفق في إقناع الخالصي بالتنازل عن فتواه .
ومن ناحية أخرى لابد من القول إن العديد من كبار رجال الشيعة كانوا قد حصلوا على الجنسية
الإيرانية في العهد العثماني تخلصاً من الجندية برغم كونهم عرباً عراقيين صميمين قلباً وقالباً . وقد
شجع هذا الوضع السلطات البريطانية على تجاهل الرغبات والتطلعات الخاصة بأبناء الشيعة ما أدى
بشكل ما أو آخر إلى ما آلت إليه الأمور وهو ما دفع مؤلف الكتاب هذا ، السيد جوزيف براودي ، إلى
الإشارة إلى أن أبناء الشيعة كانوا إلى حد كبير محرومين من حقوقهم – المترجم .

(٥) هذه ملاحظة لا يمكن أن تمر من غير أن من شأنها أن يوضح حقيقة لا تقبل الجدل . إن القارئ الذي
ليس لديه إطلاع واسع على دقائق الأمور وتفاصيل الأحداث التي تتوجت بتبوء المغفور له جلالة
الملك فيصل بن الحسين عرش العراق في ١٩٢١/٨/٢٣ ، قد يصل إلى استنتاج خاطئ مفاده إن
الملك فيصل لم يكن سوى أداة طيعة لا حول لها ولا قوة سوى الأمتثال لمشيئة المحتل البريطاني ، وإنه
بالنتيجة قد فرض على العراقيين لتنفيذ مخطط سبق رسمه وسياسة سبق إعدادها تنصرفان بالنتيجة
إلى خدمة المصالح البريطانية أولاً وأخيراً ، وهو ما حاولت الجهات المناوئة للمسيرة الهاشمية بالذات ، سواء
من داخل العراق أو من خارجه ، غرسه في نفوس أبناء الأمة العربية بوجه عام وأبناء العراق بوجه
خاص .
هناك ملاحظة عامة وثيقة الصلة بهذا الأمر أود بادئ ذي بدء تثبيتها وهي أن سياقات معينة قد
تتواتر على نحو تخرج من خلاله بالنتيجة بصورة منطقية توضح حالة معينة قد تبدو وكأنها حقيقة لا
ريب فيها ، بيد أنها في الواقع أبعد ما تكون عن ذلك . فهناك أحداث تتم بناء على الشهود ، والواقع
بتسنى تقريرها إلا بالشهادة على ملابستها ، أو الواقع الذي تتصل به ، ويستدل منها عليه ، هذا
الشهادة التي لا تنصب على الفعل نفسه ، بل على واقعة تتصل به ، ويستطاع منها ما الاستدلال
عليه ، هي ما يعرف بالبينة الظرفية ، أي بينة استنتاجية تستظهر من ظروف الشيء أو قرائنه .

المواقف المتصلبة للفئات العرقية والدينية والطبقية في البلاد . كما إن الجهود التي

== فالبينة الظرفية التي أحاطت بعملية أختيار الأمير فيصل وتنصيبه ملكاً على العراق قد تشير منطقياً
إلى أنه تم فعلاً «أستيراده» وجلبه إلى العراق تنفيذاً لمخطط معين وسياسة مدروسة محكمة ،
وبصرف النظر عن كل الأعتبارات . إلا أن الحقيقة مختلفة تماماً . لم يكن الأمير فيصل ولا أفراد
أسرته الهاشمية أغراباً عن المشهد العراقي ولا عن رجالات العراق وشيوخ عشائره . كما أن ثورة
العشرين ، التي يصر الكثيرون من الكتاب والمؤرخين الغربيين بمن فيهم مؤلف هذا العمل إجحافاً
على تسميتها تمرداً ، والتي تعتبر عدة جوانب من امتداداً للثورة العربية الكبرى ، وقد وضعت حداً
لأحلام وزارة الهند – India Office والإدارة البريطانية في الهند ، التي كان العراق آنذاك يقع ضمن
منطقة أختصاصها ، فيما يتعلق بحكم العراق حكماً مباشراً ، وأجبرت الجهتين على إعادة النظر في
موقفها الرافض للتعاون مع العائلة الهاشمية التي كانت بزأي الجهتين تمثل الأطراف «المتطرفة» من
العرب . ومن جانب آخر ، فقد أعلن المؤتمر العراقي في دمشق بالأمير عبد الله ملكاً على العراق ، بعد
أن تمت المناداة بالأمير فيصل ملكاً على سوريا . فضلاً عن ذلك يبين محمد طاهر العمري في كتابه
الموسوم «تاريخ مقدرات العراق السياسية» إن العراقيين كانوا في نهاية عام ١٩١٨ قد ارسلوا إلى
الأمير فيصل عدداً من المضابط بغية عرضها على مؤتمر السلام ، وطالبت باستقلال العراق وانشاء
نظام ملكي فيها يتولى الملك فيه أحد أنجال الشريف حسين .
في أعقاب أندلاع ثورة العشرين في العراق ، وإدراك البريطانيين صعوبة أخضاع البلاد لحكمها
المباشر ، وبعد دخول الفرنسيين إلى دمشق وسقوط الملكية العربية في سوريا ، اتجهت الأنظار إلى
الأمير فيصل الذي كان قد حظي باحترام فريق فاعل من ذوي الشأن من السياسيين البريطانيين
نتيجة تصرفه المثالي اللائق ، ووقوفها بناءً عن صغائر الأمور وتوافهها ، ونظرته العملية في مجمل
الأمور . بالإضافة إلى ذلك ساد أوساط أهل الحل والربط في بريطانيا شعور مفاده أنهم ، بالأشتراك
مع الجهات الفرنسية ، شاركوا في نكبة فيصل في سوريا . ومع ذلك لم ينقطع الأمير هذا عن
الأتصال بالبريطانيين الأمر الذي دفع بالبريطانيين بالنتيجة إلى إهمال كل التحفضات الفرنسية ،
والأعتراضات الصريحة ، حول فكرة تولي الأمير فيصل حكم العراق .
أقد ليت على نحو يكاد يكون قاطعاً بأن أختيار الأمير فيصل لحكم العراق مثل الخيار الأفضل لكلا
طرفي المعادلة العراقية : أي أبناء البلد أنفسهم من جانب والسلطات البريطانية المحتلة من جانب
آخر . وبذلك لم يشكل ترشيحه لتولي عرش العراق إجراءً كيفما أتفق لتحقيق هدف استراتيجي
استعماري بل فرضه الأمر الواقع . فمن وجهة نظر الساسة البريطانيين كان هناك شخص واقعي ، ==

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Figure 4 Footnote on King Faisal I, pages 1 and 2

رعاها الجانب البريطاني – والتي استهدفت نسج ذكريات التركيبة الفسيفسائية الثقافية المعقدة ، في سياق تاريخ وطني عبر المنظومة التربوية – أخفقت في منع الأكراد من الحلم بالحصول على دولة خاصة بهم . ففي ظل حكم الملك فيصل الذي دام زهاء إثني عشر عاماً ، شهد البرلمان العراقي خمسة عشر إئتلافاً حكومياً مختلفاً .

== معتدل وحكيم يؤمن بأخذ«ما يمكننا أخذه وانتظار الغد والليالي حبلى .. ولكن نحن نقبل صورة هذا الحل مؤقتاً ، وبعد أن نستحوذ على هذا القسم نطالب بالآخر .» (ورد ذلك نصاً في رسالة الأمير فيصل إلى أخيه الأمير زيد بتأريخ ١٩٢١/١٠/١٩) . وقد مثل هذا الموقف الحكيم بشكل ما أو آخر السياسة التي انتهجها جلالته رحمه الله عندما تولى مقاليد الأمور في العراق ، وأتبع سياسته الحكيمة القائمة على مبدأ«خذ ثم طالب» وذلك إدراكاً منه أن العرب عاجزين عن إجبار بريطانيا على تطبيق تعهداتها حرفياً ، أو أخذ ما يراد منها بحد السيف ؛ وأن تراث الأجداد لا يمكن التخلي عنه وتفويض بريطانيا بالتصرف به وتعيين من تريد لتولي أمره ؛ «وإن الواجب يقضي» ، على حد تعبير جلالته رحمه الله ،«بأن لا نترك الكل لأننا لم نحصل على الكل .» وبعد مقارنته بكل الشخصيات المحتملة في مجال تبوؤ هذا المنصب (السيد طالب النقيب ، هادي باشا العمري ، الشيخ خزعل ، السيد عبد الرحمن النقيب – بالرغم عن تقدمه في العمر – أحد الأمراء الأتراك ... والقائمة طويلة) أتضح بشكل لا لبس فيه أنه كان الأفضل والأليق والأكثر حكمة .

أما من وجهة نظر العراقيين أهل الشأن أولاً و آخراً فاود القول إن في خضم هذه الأحداث كان عدد من رجال ثورة العشرين الذين فروا من العراق لاجئين عند الملك حسين وفي ضيافته . وكانوا فريقين : البغداديون الذين كان من بينهم جعفر أبو التمن ، وعلي البازركان ، ومحمود رامز ، وشكر القره غولي ، وإسماعيل كنه ، وأمين زكي ، وعبد الرزاق الهاشمي ؛ وسادة الفرات الأوسط ورؤساء عشائرهم وهم نور الياسري ، وعلوان الياسري ، ومحسن أبو طبيخ ، ومرزوق العواد ، وصلاح الموح ، ومهدي الفاضل ، وشعلان الجبر ، ورايح العطية . لقد طالب هؤلاء ، ومن غير استثناء ، بالأمير فيصل .

وأخيراً وليس آخراً ، وإذا ما أخذنا بعين الأعتبار قدرة فيصل على اجتذاب قلوب العراقيين في فترة قصيرة قياسية ، وما بينه الاستفتاء الشعبي العام الذي تُرجمت حصيلته بلغة نتائج المضابط التي نُظمت لمعرفة رأي العراقيين في أمر ولاية الأمير فيصل لا سيما بعد حصوله على بيعة الشيخ مهدي الخالصي ، نجد مدى ما لعبارة «مستورد» من إجحاف ، ومدى ما قد تحمله في طياتها من مضامين لا توحي بحقيقة الأمور! – المترجم

Figure 5 page 3 of footnote on King Faisal I.

Elsewhere in the source text, the British colonisation is under focus when the author refers to when "new ways of organizing the state and society hit Iraq in the twentieth century through British rule and subsequent republican army coups" (2003:68). But this focus on the British and ignoring the royal period prompts a footnote from the translator (ibid:136). In his footnote, the translator wonders "whether the author had missed mentioning the royal era in Iraq that is undoubtedly the first school, in fact the best school—as the context of events for nearly half a century showed— that developed the process of political organisation and crystallised ideas. Iraq enjoyed the widest range of personal freedoms during this era, something that was lost in the era of the republic which tore the rule of its legitimate people."

6.4.4 Role 2: Translator equal to author

Buendia (2013:158) justifies adding more information in the explanatory footnotes. She thinks that this would be satisfactory to the author.

"Although the source text author certainly cannot be responsible for the messages contained in the translators' notes, one could state that in some cases the explanatory notes add information that the source text author would have liked the target reader to possess in order to fully comprehend the text, and that the author would have probably added if he or she had anticipated the prospective reception contexts of his/her work. The translator makes him or herself visible in order to bring the reader closer to the original text via a

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foreignising approach, the result of which is a source-text-oriented translation"

(ibid)

But, as shown in earlier chapters, RCT is a domesticating translation. That is, it is not only produces fluent translations that meet the standards of the target language, but it also takes the text (and the content of the book) back to its domestic setting. This entails that no explanation needs to be added to the text where culture-related errors exist and that the target audience is capable of patching the missing or incorrect parts. However, it is noticeable from the examples below that the translator does not postpone his role until that of the reader comes. He pre-emptively acts by presenting immediate remedies in his footnotes. Contrary to Buendia's view, the translator in RCT is not trying to bring the target reader to the source text. He is taking the role of the target reader and then the target text author. But, unlike the patronising role, the translator in the current role is a co-author alongside the original author, reminding him of the missing information and correcting him when he is mistaken. In this role, the translator volunteers and corrects information in a dispassionate tone, which contrasts to the exasperation expressed in the footnotes discussed in the previous section. It should be noted that some of the cultural areas covered in this translator role are included in the patronising role discussed in the previous section. There are yet others that are tackled only in the current role. Those tackled in both roles act as important cultural areas.

هناك اختلاف كبير في السنة النبوية الشريفة بين أهل السنة والشيعة. أهل السنة يعتمدون في أحاديثهم على ماصح من رواية الصحابة رضي الله عنهم عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم. أما الشيعة فهم لا يصححون أي حديث إلا أن يكون من رواية واحد من الأئمة المعصومين الاحد عشر رضي الله عنهم.

6.4.4.1 *More Sectarian differences*

The footnote below is added in response to the author's discussion on the difference in Islamic legislation between the Sunni and the Shia. The author states that *"To legislate Islam's message, Sunnis drew from traditions of the prophet Muhammad, which Shi'is rejected. Shi'is for their part, emphasized their own traditions of the prophet as well as those of his son-in law Ali, the man they revered most after Muhammad"* (Braude, 2003: 67). The translator further clarifies in his footnote (2004: 134) that the Hadiths of the Prophet are traced through any one of the prophet's companions (Sahabah), whereas the Shia trace the hadiths only through any of the twelve Imams[7]. It reads as follows:

There is a big difference between the ahlul-Sunna and the Shia about the revered Prophetic Sunna. Ahlul-Sunna rely in their hadiths on the sahihs (correct hadiths) that were narrated by the Companions (May Allah be pleased with them) about the Prophet (peace and prayer be upon him). The Shia don't consider any hadith to be sahih unless it was narrated by one of the eleven Infallible Imams (May Allah be pleased with them) (Translated by the researcher).

The translator's elaboration is consistent with the facts mentioned in the text. But, the language he uses is different from that used by the author. While the latter uses neutral language, the former commentary is charged with a heavily Islamic cultural flavour.

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[7] The footnote says eleven Imams. I don't know if this is a print mistake or a doctrinal one, as Sunnis do not believe that the twelfth Imam Muhammad al-Mehdi existed!)

The footnotes make up part of the content of the book; although dubbed as paratext, their effect is seen to be as strong as the text itself. The footnote above uses authentic cultural alternatives, incorporating into the content of the book that which makes it look like a piece of writing originally written in Arabic with an Islamic perspective.

This leads the discussion to the main question of the research, which focuses on whether the power balance in RCT is overturned. Three factors in RCT function together to shake the balance of domination highlighted in the theoretical framework. Translation strategies driven by the functionality of cultural capital is one of these tree factors.

In discussing Shia practice, Braude (2003: 72) explains that Shia from all over Iraq send Khums (literally: a fifth) to Najaf. Khums means donating a fifth of one's earnings to a Marji, usually the grand Marji. In his footnote, Mudhaffar (2004: 141) first provides the verse from Quran according to which the Shia pay Khums.

يستند مفهوم الخمس إلى قوله جل جلاله في محكم كتابه الكريم: (واعلموا إنما غنمتم من شيءٍ فإن لله خمسه وللرسول ولذي القربى واليتيم والمسكين وابن السبيل إن كنتم آمنتم بالله)

**The concept of Khums is based on Almighty Allah's words in his Honoured Unfaulty Book: *And know that anything you obtain - then indeed, for Allah is one fifth of it and for the Messenger and for [his] near relatives and the orphans, the needy, and the [stranded] traveler, if you have believed in Allah*) (Translated by the researcher).

The translator also explains that the Sunna understand "what you obtain" to mean only war booties, while for the Shia it applies to all sorts of gains and earnings. He includes in his commentary two quotations from two of the Shia's twelve Imams explaining who should receive the Khums. Finally he points out that the Khums is paid to the grand

Marji in Iraq by Shia from all over the world, not only from all over Iraq, as the author said.

The footnotes are worded in sheer Islamic cultural way. Over about half a page, the footnote takes the reader into a completely Islamic world (whether Shia or Sunni) such that the translator's Islamic discourse overshadows the source text's Western discourse.

Braude is introducing Shia culture to the Western audience to predict the Shia's control over the new Iraq. Writing about the Shia city of Najaf, he mentions their custom of burying the dead in the Najaf cemetery, next to Imam Ali's shrine. Braude says that "nearly all" those buried in Najaf are Shia (2003: 18). Mudhaffar interferes: Some Sunnis also mention in their will their wish to be buried in Najaf (2004:57). Is he trying to say that Najaf is for all Iraqis, not only the Shia? Is he implying that the land of Iraq is for all the Iraqis? That Iraqis have similar cultural customs? This knowledge of Shi'i intricate details is manifested in his next footnote, which relates to the same cemetery in Najaf; while Braude (2003: 18) points out that many Shia who have buried family members outside of Najaf are waiting for them to be transferred to Najaf one day, Mudhaffar records a minute remark about "entrusting burial" (2004: 58). This means temporarily burying a body in a place to be later transferred to the ultimate cemetery. What makes Mudhaffar volunteer this information into the translated book and enlarge the space of the cultural insider? Does this enlargement affect the author's mandate?

In another commentary, he enthusiastically specifies who exactly is being referred to in the text as the "dissident Iraqi Shia cleric" who was assassinated in Beirut 1994. "It is the late Mr. Talib al-Suheil", he says. He also clarifies that Suheil was not a cleric or a political dissident. He was a prominent opposition figure whose murder infuriated

many international leaders, including Heads of States, a matter which increased the insulation of the then Iraqi regime (ibid: 108). The translator is adopting a patriotic stance towards Iraq's issues; in so doing, he presents a beautiful image about Iraq. He assumes a defending position even when there is no attack and he spares no effort in demonstrating that what the text is about belongs to Iraqi/Muslim culture.

Not only does the translator show that he is better informed about the differences between Shia and Sunni, but that he is also erudite when it comes to historical contexts. Such detailed historical knowledge is not normally expected to be present in translators. Mudhaffar tediously dug into sources to provide ample information about issues that concern him as an Iraqi. In usual translation settings, the translator should not do anything other than follow the text closely. However, his cultural capital influenced his response to the source text; for example, he elaborates extensively on a character mentioned in the text, the Yemeni Shia Abu Abddillah, and his role in spreading Shiism in Morocco (ibid: 67-68).

Similarly, he adds a long footnote about the relation of Shia and Sunni to colonial Britain. He introduces his footnote by saying that he needs to add a fact that some readers, especially younger ones, may not be aware of (ibid: 81). This uncovers the responsibility the translator chose to undertake with regard to his culture. Braude (2003: 34) writes: "Members of the minority urban Sunni community, together with various non-Muslim ethnic and religious groups, would provide Faysal's [King of Iraq] elite support base. But the Shi'i majority was largely disenfranchised". The last sentence of this extract triggered the translator's response. He provides a footnote that runs over a page and a half to explain in more accurate terms what "made the author of this book, Mrs Joseph Braude, point out that the Shia were largely disenfranchised" (Mudhaffar, 2004: 82). "The British colonisers tried to attract both the

Sunni and the Shi'i religious figures", the translator expounds. Although they successfully employed the Sunni, they failed to do the same with their Shia counterparts. The reason, from the coloniser's viewpoint, according to Mudhaffar, was that the Sunni clerics were more like state employees counting on government salaries to maintain their livelihoods, which made them succumb to the will of rulers. The Shi'i clerics, he says, relied on their popular support to make their living. The larger their popular base, the greater their revenues and financial gains (ibid: 81). The British wanted to say that the Shia refused cooperation with all forms of official rule, as good governments meant better living conditions for the masses, along with free thought, which implies that the clerics would lose their supporters to the official government. Mudhaffar (ibid) thinks that this is an unfair, narrow and unsound viewpoint. He thinks that the standpoint of the Shia clerics then was a natural extension of their historical positions over centuries towards rulers. On the one hand, prominent Shia clerics issued Fatwas prohibiting taking British jobs when they were first offered in early 1921 (ibid). Although Sir Percy Cox, the British envoy to Iraq, was able to persuade the first Iraqi prime minister to step back from his decision to prevent the Shia from accepting government positions, he failed to do the same with Shaikh al-Khalisi, who issued the Fatwa. On the other hand, many imminent Shias, although of pure Iraqi/Arab descent, were able to obtain Iranian citizenship as a means of evading military service during Ottoman rule (ibid: 82). This made the British authorities disregard the Shia's demands and wishes and eventually lead them to a position that Braude referred to as being enfranchised (ibid).

The footnote is proof of the translator's painstaking effort to do justice to his people, even if they are from the opposite sect.

Although the above mentioned footnotes seek, in one way or another, to correct falsehoods, in the following footnote, the translator parades his cultural knowledge of the tribal divisions amongst sects in the Iraqi south. While Braude (2003: 68) points to the "more modest Sunni Arab communities" in the south of Iraq, Mudhaffar corrects this erroneous information and lists the names of all the major Sunni tribes in the southern cities of Basra and Nasiriya (2004: 135). As in other footnotes, the author is described as young and unaware of a number of facts. This is an area that is so sensitive for the translator that he provides an appendix on the Shia/Sunni population rate in Iraq at the end of the book. The appendix will be dealt with separately in later sections.

The translator uses his Iraqi cultural background as a source of power in the face of the knowledgeable first world author, who fails in many situations to capture the true nature of the society he is writing about. In all the above examples, the footnotes are sharp-worded sentences containing many rhetorical questions, typically used for sarcastic purposes or to launch an attack on the author. The footnotes are only a small part of many others under different headings. Comparing Mudhaffar's footnotes on sectarianism to footnoting in feminism, they are both used for the purpose of defending a position absent from the text. In other words, they are the translator's strategy to attack the text.

6.4.4.2 *Iraqi Jews*

After strongly stating his opinion about the Iraqi Jews and, in so doing, situating himself as more competent than the author with regards to this particular dimension of Iraqi

culture, the translator of *The New Iraq* adds other footnotes that are less invasive. He temperately offers up a footnote that agrees with what the author has to say but which adds additional information that the author failed to bring to light.

إن الكثير من العائلات اليهودية العراقية الموسورة بقيت في العراق حتى الستينات، وكان بإمكانها مغادرته لو شاءت ولكنها وقفت بصلابة في وجه المحاولات التي استهدفت ترحيلهم. ولا بد من أن أقول بأمانة بأنهم كانوا عراقيين فخورين بانتسابهم إلى العراق، وقد أثبتوا بمرور الزمن، وعلى الرغم من التقلبات والعواصف التي عاشها العراق على مدى ما يقرب من نصف قرن، بأنهم بوجه عام أوفياء لعراقيتهم، مخلصين لأصدقاءهم ومعارفهم. ولدي الكثير من الأدلة الملموسة، التي لا يتسع هذا المجال الضيق لذكرها، التي تثبت صحة ما أقول.

(2004:28)

Many wealthy Iraqi families remained in Iraq from the 1950s and up to the 1960s. They could leave, but they decided to challenge the attempts to make them leave. We should state clearly that they were proud of being original Iraqis and proved for over half a century that they are faithful to their Iraqi-ness and to their friends and relatives. I have a lot of tangible evidence that proves my point but, due to space limitations, I can't cite them here.

The mild tone of this footnote is overshadowed by the strength of the ones the translator made earlier about the Iraqi Jews. Once he established himself as someone who knows more in this respect, the power invested in one footnote is relayed to the other, even if the latter is not as invasive as the former.

6.4.4.3 *Pride in the National Army*

Armies are representative of a nation's sovereignty. This is particularly true when countries are in a state of war. For Iraqis who had witnessed decades of growth that extended from the late 1960s to 1970s and the growing military strength in the 1980s, the army was a source of pride. Iraqis often pointed out that they had one of the most powerful armies in the region. This image was further enhanced by the Iraq-Iran war, which broke out in the early years after Saddam Hussein assumed power. The Iraqi Army was described as the defender of the eastern gate of the 'Arab Homeland' in the face of the Safavid Iranian menace. That idea earned the army the support of Iraqis and the other Arab countries too. The mobilisation for war and the military affected all aspects of life. The Iraqi society was therefore a militarised community, and nearly every household had a family member in the army. As a member of this generation, the translator proudly demonstrates details and comments that the author did not find essential to include. For instance, when discussing the establishment of the Iraqi army, the author mentions only a rough date: 'the early 1920s'. The precise date is not important, but the translator (2004:164) interjects with a quick footnote: "The Iraq army was established on 6 January 1921"

تأسس الجيش العراقي في 1921/1/6

In another footnote, Mudhaffar adds information that is redundant and does not seem to be serving any purpose other than showing that the person offering it is well informed. To the author's statement that the Iraqi army "comprised 16 divisions and 5 corps" (2003:89), the translator heartily details what these five corps are:

الصنوف الخمسة هي المشاة، الهندسة، المخابرة، الدروع والمدفعية.

(Mudhaffar, 2004:167)

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The five corps are infantry, engineering, signal, armours and the artillery.

The footnotes of the translator convey to the reader that he has more details to offer than the informed American author, even when their opinions meet. He agrees with the author in that, during the rule of the Saddam regime, "initiative and independence among the officer corps were discouraged and numerous commanders who proved 'too successful' during the war with Iran were demoted or died under mysterious circumstances" (Braude, 2003: 86). Yet, the translator adds his own version of the story, despite conveying the same meaning:

لا بد من القول تأييدا لما طرحه المؤلف إن النظام كان يحاول جاهدا التغطية على البطولات والانجازات الفردية للقادة العسكريين بشكل خاص وهو ما كان يتحقق في سوح المعارك من وقت إلى آخر. وكان النظام يلجأ الى هذه التغطية من خلال توسيع قاعدة الأفراد الذين دأب على تكريمهم بصورة متواصلة بالأوسمة والأنواط وصيغ أخرى من المكافئات. إن العديد من القادة العسكريين الذين اثبتوا بطولات فذة في سوح المعارك (والقائمة طويلة تضم أعلام عسكريين معروين) قد تم تكريمهم ضمن أعداد كبيرة من الأفراد في محاولة استهدفت تشتيت الأضواء من على الانجازات الفردية للقادة والتركيز على إبراز البطولات الجماعية وبذلك تغيب صورة البطل العسكري القائد في المعارك.

(Mudhaffar, 2004: 163)

In support of the point raised by the author, it should be mentioned that the regime tried hard to conceal the heroism and the individual achievements of the commanders in the battles. The regime could do that by augmenting the number of the persons who were granted medals, trophies and other forms of reward. Many military commanders who showed exceptional heroism in the battlefields (there is a long list of them, including renowned commanders) were rewarded only as part of larger group of military personnel, in an attempt to derail the attention away from the individual commanders and focus on group accomplishments. By doing that there was no individualistic image of a military commander in the battle (translated by the researcher).

Chao (2014) refers to the use of footnotes as part of the translator's power to either bring the target reader closer to the source text or bring the original culture closer to the target reader. This, she argues, is the power of the translator when s/he possesses cultural capital. However in this case of footnoting in RCT, the translator does not need to bring the target reader to the source text culture or vice versa, as the target reader is a member of the source text culture. It is therefore important to ask whether this is not an example of the rewriting that Lefevere (1990) argues is driven by power.

6.4.4.4 *Saddam era*

Some of the features of this era make translators prone to having their say about its different aspects in a way that puts them on par with the author. The Saddam regime was a long episode in Iraqi history, political life, such as the Baath Party work mechanism, was imposed on citizens, such that it became an integral part of every adult's life. It is recent history that is lived by the translator, thus enabling him to contribute as a co-author.

The translators employed two ways of co-authoring: correcting inaccurate information and supplementing information they think should be available in the text for some reason. Mudhaffar devotes approximately a dozen footnotes to correcting information whenever the author expresses cultural inaccuracies.

The author refers to the term 'Saddam's friends', a title used to be bestowed on some Baath members who showed special loyalty to the regime, and it granted special privileges to its holders. The translator corrects the terms directly and quietly.

The correct term is "The president's friends", not as stated in the text.

Or when the author points out the privileges of some cases of Baath membership that should earn young men exemption from military service:

لا بد من القول تأييدا لما طرحه المؤلف إن النظام كان يحاول جاهدا التغطية على البطولات والانجازات الفردية للقادة العسكريين بشكل خاص وهو ما كان يتحقق في سوح المعارك من وقت إلى آخر. وكان النظام يلجأ الى هذه التغطية من خلال توسيع قاعدة الأفراد الذين دأب على تكريمهم بصورة متواصلة بالأوسمة والأنواط وصيغ أخرى من المكافئات. إن العديد من القادة العسكريين الذين اثبتوا بطولات فذة في سوح المعارك (والقائمة طويلة تضم أعلام عسكريين معروين) قد تم تكريمهم ضمن أعداد كبيرة من الأفراد في محاولة استهدفت تشتيت الأضواء من على الانجازات الفردية للقادة والتركيز على إبراز البطولات الجماعية وبذلك تغيب صورة البطل العسكري القائد في المعارك.

(Mudhaffar, 2004: 163)

This is not an accurate vision. I think it is ensued by the author's misunderstanding. A legally qualified male (everyone who reached the age of military service) will be deferred from conscription as long as they are students, except those who fail to pass the same educational level for two successive years (Translated by the researcher).

When the author is not wrong, the translator still has something to add. Braude (2003: 50) narrates the tough situations Iraqis lived under when they had to pay what is worth 340 dollars as exit visa tax. Mudhaffar offers a complete history of the development of the tax, detailing how it rose in price from 50 Iraqi Dinars (ID) to ID 400,000.

بلغت كلفة سمة الخروج خمسين دينارا لا سيما بعد انتهاء العمليات العسكرية في عام 1991. بعد ذلك ارتفعت الى 15000 دينار و 50000 دينار و 200000 دينار و400000 دينار. وقد الغيت كليا قبيل اندلاع الحرب التي ادت الى احتلال العراق في نيسان/ ابريل من عام 2003.

The exit visa cost fifty IDs, especially following the end of the military operations in 1991. The amount later increased to 15000, then 50000, then 200000 then 400000. It was ultimately cancelled right before the war, which resulted in the occupation of Iraq in April 2003.

Iraqi readers who lived the era know the amount. For other non-Iraqi Arab readers, the amount is irrelevant. The justification for providing the details is that the translator uses his cultural capital to situate himself alongside the author as a historian. This is obvious from his inclusion of information that is axiomatic in the context of the book, namely that the war resulted in the occupation of Iraq.

Riyadh, the translator of SB, also uses her capital to offer her own analysis, alongside that of the author. The source text explains an inscription on an art work by an amateur artist in the early days of the 2003 war. The inscription says 'jump now and later try to understand what happened'. The author explains that this is a quote from Napoleon Bonaparte. The translator offers an explanation why the film-maker put the line in the work, which is that the Baath party had a similar principle: implement and then object.

أحد مبادئ حزب البعث يقول: نفذ ثم اعترض: تشبه كثيرا نصيحة نابليون الحربية. ربما هي مستوحاة منها

(Riyadh, 2008: 95)

One of the principles of the Baath Party says: implement then object. It is very similar to, and could be inspired by, Napoleon's military advice, (translated by the researcher).

يبدأ أئمة المساجد بالتكبير و/أو تلاوة القرآن والتضرع إلى الله لبث السكينة في الناس كلما بدأ القصف. بدأ هذا منذ أول مرة قصفت فيها بغداد ليلة الحرب الأولى واستمر حتى سقوطها ومن ثم أثناء رعب (الفرهود) أي نهب بغداد وتدميرها العبثي أو المنظم.

(Riyadh, 2008: 226)

The imams of the mosques start chanting the Takbeer and/or citing Quran verses as well as praying to God to send peace to people every time the bombing starts. This started since the first day of bombing in Baghdad on the first night of the war and lasted until its fall and throughout the Farhood, i.e. the looting and destruction, be it chaotic or organised, of Baghdad (translated by the researcher).

6.4.5 Role 3: Translator as authoritative eyewitness

This position might appear to be the weakest taken by the translator in his/her footnotes, as there is no disagreement with, or co-writing of, the information in the source text. However, it is as strong as the first two roles. In fact, it reveals as much authority as the first two. It is here where the translators abandon any challenge to the author's views. They rise above the need to take any stance in relation to what is said in the text. They simply highjack the text to their own realm of experience, rather than wait for verification and reasoning from the reader to endorse their ideas. They fling their memories to the reader without waiting for judgement and those memories are presented as realities. The two following examples are from FB.

The author is narrating his Kurdish friend's fear and worry that, because the Iraqi army set an anti-aircraft missile launch pad in a position near his house, the Americans would target his house. The translator adds her part of the story. The source text is clear enough and needs no extra explanation, but it seems that the text aroused bitter memories in the translator, who elaborates:

وضع النظام السابق مضادات الطائرات في الاحياء السكنية، فوق اسطح المدارس الموجودة بين البيوت، ناقلات الدبابات والدبابات في كل شارع او بين شارع واخر، كما وضع المدافع وبعض الدبابات بجوار محطات تعبئة الوقود المنتشرة في كل حي من احياء بغداد. صحونا صباح اليوم الثاني من الحرب لنجد ناقلة دبابات واقفة امام باب بيتنا. كنا نرجو الجنود أخذها بعيدا لكنهم يجيبونا بخجل انهم يتبعون الاوامر. كنا نصلي ان يهرب الجند وان لا تطلق مضادات الطائرات لاننا كنا واعين اننا دروع بشرية رغم انوفنا ولم نكن سوى وسيلة اعلامية للنظام اذا ما قصف الحي وهدمت بيوتنا فوق رؤوسنا سيصيب هذا في صالحه. من ناحية اخرى كان الجند العراقيون جياعا، كانت النساء يرسلن اطفالهن بالطعام لهم. كنا نفكر طوال الوقت في الكارثة التي يمكن ان تحدث اذا ما انتبه الطيار الامريكي لتلك الدبابة المموهة قرب محطة البنزين. عكس المتوقع، سلمت الاحياء الواقعة قرب مركز المدينة مقارنة بتلك التي كانت اقرب الى الضواحي. لم يمس حينا بسوء في النهاية، وأسوأ ما في الأمر هو كم الرعب الذي تجرعناه طوال ايام الحرب.

(Riyadh: 262)

The former regime set up the anti-aircraft missiles launch pads in the residential areas, on the roofs of the schools that were located among the houses. There were tanks and tank carriers in every road or every other road. Also, artillery canons and tanks were placed near petrol stations in different areas in Baghdad. We woke up the next morning after the war broke out and we found a tank carrier stationed in front of our house. We begged the soldiers to drive it away but they replied with embarrassment that they were following orders. We prayed that the soldiers would flee and no anti-aircraft missiles would be launched, because we knew we were human shields and we did not choose to be. We simply were a means for the regimes media to make a point in case the neighbourhood was

bombed and our houses collapsed over our heads. On the other hand, the Iraqi soldiers were hungry and the Iraqi women sent their children to take food to them. We thought all the time of the potential disaster that would take place if that camouflaged tank near the petrol station caught the eyes of one of the American pilots. Contrary to expectations the neighbourhoods in the city centre were not destroyed while those in the suburbs were. Our area was eventually safe, but the worst of it all was the horror we experienced throughout the days of the war. (Translated by the researcher).

Similarly, when the lack of sleep one of the author's characters had during the war is pointed out, the translator tells her own side of the story with sleeplessness during that tough period:

ليس دقيقا القول ان بغداد سقطت في ثلاثة ايام او يوم واحد، لان قصفها استمر منذ الليلة الاولى للحرب حتى النهاية. اتذكر تماما حرماننا من النوم الطبيعي على مدى ما يقارب من عشرين يوما. لا يستطيع دماغ الأنسان العمل بشكل طبيعي إذا حرم من النوم ثلاثة أيام إذ يصاب بالهلوسة ومشاكل صحية أخرى. لا أظن أن هذا من باب الصدفة، بل كان جزءا من الخطة الحربية. هذا جعل أهل بغداد يتمنون النهاية أية نهاية. كان الأمر مثل أخذنا الى غرفة إعدام ثم العدول عن إعدامنا في اللحظة الأخيرة ليتكرر الأمر في اليوم التالي.

(ibid: 250)

It is not accurate to say that Baghdad fell in one day or three days, because the bombing continued from the first night of the war till the end. I remember very well that we were deprived of normal sleep for about twenty days. The human

brain cannot function properly if it is denied sleep for three days. [A person] would suffer hallucinations and other health issues. I do not think the matter was happenstance. It was a part of the war plan. It made the people of Baghdad wish for an end, any end. It was like taking us to the death chamber and declining from killing us at the last moment and then repeating the same thing the next day. (Translated by the researcher).

It is important to query the substantial influence that this sentiment-loaded footnote has on the target reader, especially those who lived the experience of the war. Using first person pronouns when relating the events shows that the footnote is the product of first-hand experience. This contrasts with the author's journalistic stance, wherein he positions himself as a third party observing people whose country is being occupied and whose lives are at risk.

6.4.5.1 *Memory of place*

From a methodological point of view, the following footnotes should have been categorised within role 2 above. However, because of the wording and the emotions in them, and probably because the translator here is a female, and more importantly because of the transitivity of footnotes, they seem to belong within the group that reflects on memory.

جسر الجمهورية. تقع وزراة التخطيط وأحد منافذ مجمع القصر الجمهوري مباشرة عند نهاية الجسر من الناحية الغربية من نهر دجلة أي صوب الكرخ كما يسميه البغداديون، الجانب الشرقي من المدينة يعرف بصوب الرصافة.

(ibid: 185)

This is the Republic's Bridge. The Ministry of Planning, and one of the exits of the Republic Palace Complex, is located right at the end of the bridge from the western side of the River Tigris. That is, towards the Karkh side, as the Baghdadis call it. The eastern side of the city is called Rusafa. (Translated by the researcher).

The author is narrating his account of how the Iraq Ministry of Planning, located on the other side of the river (the Tigris) was bombed, but he does so by describing the building from his position on the nearest end of a bridge that he fails to name. The translator explains that this is the Republic's Bridge and explains the exact position of the Ministry in relation to the Republic Palace Complex and names the two sides of Baghdad split by the Tigris: Karkh and Rusafa:

> من خلال وصف الكاتب وكأي شخص بغدادي أعرف أنه يتكلم عن شارع الرشيد الذي يبدأ من نهاية شارع أبي نؤاس تحت جسر الجمهورية، ثم كما قال الكاتب يمر من فوقه جسر السنك ويستمر شارع الرشيد حتى يفضي الى منطقة سوق الغزل والشورجة وهي من المناطق القديمة جدا في بغداد.
> (ibid: 285)

From the author's description, I know, as any Baghdadi would, that he is talking about al-Rasheed Street, which starts from that end of Abu Nu'as Street located under the Republic's Bridge. Then, as the author said, it runs under the Sinak Bridge and leads on to the Suq al-Ghazl and Shorja markets, which are two of the oldest areas in Baghdad. (Translated by the researcher).

This footnote is a very important one. It sums up what the current chapter is trying to argue: the translator's response to the content of the book is the same as that of the average target audience; that the target texts in RCT are the possession of the target

culture (members); and that the translator, accordingly, gives herself the right to author parts of the target text.

6.5 Prefacing and afterwords

6.5.1 Prefacing

Prefacing and appendixes in the data are limited to the translations of *The New Iraq* and *Iraq after 2003.* The existence of a translator's preface is an indicator of the translator's visibility, yet not all visibility is an indication of dominance. The translator of *Iraq after 2003* is visible in the preface, but not dominant. In the preface which is just over a page long, he explains the importance of a 1985 book on Iraq's history, which he translated into three volumes, and that the current part about Iraq after the war was added by the author after 2003. He praises the author's academic reputation and finally hopes the translation will be an important addition to the previous volumes. He untangles himself of any liability with regards to the ideas expressed the book:

وختاما […..] لا يفوتني التنبيه ان الافكاروالتحليلات التي يحتويها الكتاب تعود الى المؤلفة (2013: 8).

Lastly, I should point out that the ideas and analyses included in the book belong to the author.

Such a preface is not in any way similar to that of the feminist translator Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood in her translation of *Lettres d'une autre* by Lise Gauvin mentioned by Flotow (1991: 78). De Lotbinière-Harwood states in her introduction that "she intends to make her presence felt" (ibid). She outspokenly states in her preface that

"Lise Gauvin is a feminist, and so am I. But I am not her. She wrote in the generic masculine. My translation practice is a political activity aimed at making language speak for women. So my signature on a translation means: this translation has used every possible translation strategy to make the feminine visible in language. Because making the feminine visible in language means making women seen and heard in the real world. Which is what feminism is all about" (Flotow, ibid: 79).

De Lotbinière-Harwood's is a dominant visibility, where she, along with textual translation strategies, hijacks the text and makes her own, as Flotow (ibid) describes. Such a hijacking paratextual visibility is found in the translation of *The New Iraq,* whose translator, like De Lotbinière-Harwood, declares in his preface his responses to the book and the author's views. He initially states that his first reading of the book was not free of rejection (Mudhaffar, 2004: 9), and then proceeds with the reasons for his rejection:

على الرغم من تحفظي حول جوانب معينة مما يقدمه المؤلف، السيد جوزيف براودي، من آراء وما يطرحه من حلول [....]، على الرغم من جنوحه بين الفينة والفينة الى وجهات نظر اقل ما يقال عنها انها خلافية.

(2004: 9)

Although I am preserved about certain aspects of the author's, Mr Joseph Braude, views and solutions [..], and although he is inclined here and there to viewpoints that are, at least, controversial.

Like de Lotbinière-Harwood's criticised corrections (Flotow, ibid: 79), he states clearly that he made corrections and added notes where the author had lapsed and slipped

up. What's more, he concludes his preface by consciously engaging the target readers and inviting them to criticise the work:

وإذ أسهم في توسيع رقعة قراء هذا العمل [...] بإضافة ما ينبغي من ملاحظات و تصحيح ما وقع فيه الكاتب من هفوات، فإنني أدعو القارئات والقارئين، الى قراءة هذا العمل وإعطاء كل جوانبه ما ينبغي لها من اهتمام وجدية، وتقويم ما يرون به من أوجه الخطأ والاجحاف والتجني سواء كان ذلك بحق نظام الحكم السابق، أو بحق أي جانب أو نشاط يتعلقان بالعراق واهله، والرد عليه بما تقتضيه الموضوعية والنظرة المنصفة والرؤية السديدة من ضرورة.

(Mudhaffar, 2004: 11)

As I contribute to expanding the readership of this book by [...] adding the necessary notes and correcting the author's lapses, I call upon the readers to read through the work intently and earnestly, and rectify any errors, faults or injustice, whether towards the former regime or towards any aspect or activity related to Iraq and/or the Iraqis, and to respond to it objectively and fairly (translated by the researcher).

6.5.2 Afterword

An afterword, a paratextual device (Genette, 1997: xviii), is one way that the translator can make him or herself visible and shed light on one or more aspects of the text that require more space than a footnote. The translator of IJ is the only translator of the four books who uses afterwords. He uses them to elaborate on two Iraqi cultural topics: the Iraqi Jews and Sunni/ Shii sectarianism. If anything, including these two topics in this more spacious paratext reflects the fact that they are critical and sensitive issues for the reader and the cultural insider translator.

6.5.2.1 Afterword on Jews

Mudhaffar's afterword about the Jews (2004, 289-293), which the translator titles 'An Overview of Iraqi Jews', tackles the same aspects of the group's history that are covered in the footnotes that emanated from the ideas the author suggested: their ancient existence in Iraq; their influential economic and social status; their religious freedom; the size of their population; their demographic distribution all over the country; and their good internal organisation. However, there are two points in the four and a half page afterword that are worth special attention. The first concerns the status of the Iraqi Jews as an integral component of Iraq's population, rather than a mere blip in Iraq's history. The second is related to the way the translator recalls them as being part of his personal life experience. This personal relation to the Jews was mentioned earlier in the footnotes; repeating it in the afterword only augments the role of the translator as a co-author by virtue of their authentic cultural capital on the one hand. It also supports the argument made earlier in the chapter about the integrative effect of paratextual devices. In the afterword the translator acts as an independent author, allowing himself space to articulate his own ideas and views. The power from this position of the translator as an autonomous writer of the work transmits to his other roles as a co-author. The afterword about the Jews is in appendix 2 (a)

6.5.2.2 Afterword on the Shia population

From the many footnotes on Sunni/Shia difference in the translation of IJ, one could conclude how significant the topic is for the target culture audience and the translator. The translator assumes the role of both equal and superior through his use of footnotes on sectarianism. He includes in the book an afterword about the Shia population in Iraq (appendix 2b) over different eras. The afterword he provides is as powerful as his two roles, as he provides it because of disagreement with the author:

جاء في كتاب "العراق الجديد" وكذلك في عدد من المؤلفات ما مفاده أن أبناء الشيعة في العراق يشكلون أغلبية سكانية. ونظرا لما يثيره الموضوع الخلافي الشائك من ردود أفعال، قررت ادراج المعلومات المبينة ادناه و المتعلقة بالموضوع، والتي كنت قد استلمتها عن طريق البريد الألكتروني، تاركا مناقشة الامر الى اصحاب الاختصاص، ومن لديهم ما يكفي من المعلومات حول الموضوع، لتوضيح هذه الصورة ووضع الأمر بالنتيجة في نصابه الصحيح.

<div align="center">(Mudhaffar, 2004: 294)</div>

"The New Iraq", as well as a number of other books, suggest that the Shia in Iraq make up the majority of the population. Because of the reactions this thorny issue arouses, I decided to include the following information, which I received by email, on the subject. I will leave the discussion to the specialists and those who are well-informed about it, so as to clarify the matter and eventually resolve it, (translated by the researcher)

After this brief introduction, the translator includes two articles and three statistical accounts of the population of Iraq with Sunni/Shia shares in them. The information provides statistical evidence that the Shia are not a majority. (As these statistical accounts are long, they will be listed, along with their translations, in appendixes at the end of the thesis).

In the light of the sectarian row post-2003, this afterword should disclose the translator's stance against the Shia. But, the footnotes in the chapter give very good

examples in which the translator was fervently defending the Shia. How can these two opposing positions be reconciled? The translator cannot succumb to the discourse of the author and his source text. They can employ their rich capital to discern facts and evaluate views and can attempt to overturn the narrative of the source author and text and introduce their own, independent voice.

6.6 Conclusions

This chapter aimed to examine the role of the translator in reversing the dominance of power in RCT. Such a role is measured by the translator's paratextual visibility in addressing aspects of the target culture that could be problematic. The data showed visibility on different paratextual levels, but mostly in footnotes. The translators assumed three different roles in the footnotes in relation to the author: the translator patronises the author; the translator is equal to the author; and the translator is an eyewitness with primary evidence.

However, not all the four translators showed the same aptitude to assume the three roles. In fact the reactions were not proportionate at all. That is, they employed their capital in disparate ways. There are a few factors that could be assumed to have affected the way paratext was used as a locus of translator visibility. These include the translator's age, work profile, and location. However, these were not taken into consideration in the analysis in the chapter as the methodology employed in this study contained no mechanisms whereby this information could be gleaned. Having said that, information such as where they came from, what they did, or where they lived was attained either through personal relations, from information provided on the

covers of the books or through communications with the publishers. In some cases, interestingly, they were deduced from the content of the footnotes, which sometimes contained personal information about the translators.

More interestingly, I relied on my own cultural capital to discern some of this information. For example, I deduced that Bassam Shiha, the translator of HL, could not be Iraqi, because his surname is not common amongst men in Iraq. However, the information that he is Syrian was confirmed by the publisher in email correspondence. No'man the translator of IB is the researcher's colleague at al-Mustansiriya University in Baghdad[8]. Dhalia Riyadh, the translator of SB, is a young Iraqi female translator, who currently lives in the United States of America, and was a resident of Syria when she translated the book, according to a phone conversation I had with the publisher. Riyadh is no longer a professional translator. Three of the translators were young. However Muzaffar, the translator of IJ, is old enough to have witnessed the immigration of the Iraqi Jews in the mid 20th century, as he states in his footnotes. He lives in Amman, the capital of Jordan.

These parameters can be effective in understanding why some translators are more visible than the others. Shiha did not feel any personal connection to the national culture of Iraq, so he was not visible in the paratext. No'man showed visibility only in-text, for example by using venerating expressions alongside the names of The Prophet Muhammad and Imam Ali.

Riyadh showed visibility in the footnotes, but in a moderate way. Her paratextual contribution in her capacity as a member of the native culture in question was one that

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[8] Initially the role of the translators was not part of the methodology, so the fact that the translator of IB was a colleague of the researcher was not relevant.

focused on the horrific recollections of the American invasion in 2003. She assumed the third role of an eyewitness with primary information about the native culture by providing her narrative of war, especially the early days of the American raids. Her narrative has been more emotional than that of the author, as she more dramatically articulated the true feelings of an authentic native member of a culture going through a national crisis, while the author is only a third party, an onlooker, or a narrator.

However, the most prolific paratext producer is Mudhaffar. He is entitled to his cultural capital more than the rest of the translators. At every turn, he made himself visible. He assumed all three of the roles outlined above. He patronised the author, co-authored the book, and shared his own memories. His extensive footnotes took so much space on some pages that the text was dwarfed in comparison.

The translator assumes the first role with critical cultural issues, especially those representing the country's main identity or its secondary, sectarian, or religious identities, especially when the translator disagrees with the author's views about them. The second role is taken with the issues that are less critical and the translator's interference is for the sake of historical accuracy, rather than ideological disparity. However, the translator assumes the second more benign role with identity issues. In order to understand the pattern of the translator's different intervention, as well as understand the function of the overall paratextual apparatus, intra-paratextual relations are configured. These relations are integrative and transitive. That is, when the translator is patronising when discussing sectarian issues in one footnote, and then takes on the role of a co-author when discussing the same sectarian issue in another footnote, the integrative transitive rule relays the power from the first role to the second, making all sectarian footnotes important and critical. In the same fashion,

inter-paratextual relations exist. Stronger visibility in, for instance, a preface endows

power on later interventions on other paratextual levels.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Recommendations

7 *Epilogue*

In their introduction to a collection of their essays on the role of culture in translation, Susan Bassnett and Andre Lefevere (1998: 4) make a rather cynical and disparaging statement that discloses the reasons why English is hegemonic (of course, they say the reason is not related to translation): "the day when computer manuals will be translated from Uzbek into English, rather than the other way round, is obviously not near". This statement is strong enough to unwind any determination to suggest doubt about the domination of English. Yet I take it as an endorsement of the argument running through this study: what originates in a language lingers in it and grants it power. And, again, Bassnett herself says in her preface (ibid: vii) that bilinguals are fascinated with linguistic and cultural differences. A bilingual's perspective can inspire ideas beyond axiomatic statements. It is from the perspective of a bilingual that this project came to light.

This project was triggered by an empirical rather than conceptual problem. Laying my hands on the translations of post-2003 Iraq books stimulated the main question of the study: if these books are about Iraq, what does the translation bring back to Iraqis? This principal query paved the way for an exploration of theories around cultural possession, symbolic power, and unequal translation relations.

7.1 RCT

Computers were manufactured in the English speaking world; they are a cultural aspect of it. In anthropological terms, Steve Jobs is a tribal leader, computer manuals are the literary milieu of the technological nation, and operating systems are the holy books of the technology's users. Although the world seems benevolent enough to share, cultures monopolise the credit. It is from this culturally relative perspective, and from statements like those from Bassnett and Lefevere that I discussed above, that the idea of RCT emerged.

Although the day when computer manuals will be translated from Uzbek into English has not come yet, the day when foreign books about native anthropological cultures are translated into the language of those native cultures came a long time ago. It is with this in mind that the present study asks about the role native cultures in this type of translation and the related power balance of the dominant foreign versus the original native. This question has so many dimensions: it plays on language, culture, sociology, colonial relations, and translation.

Deciding on a methodology to study the texts raised concerns about technical issues such as copyright regulation, which is a hurdle often faced by those conducting research into books. This was overcome by obtaining copyright permission from the authors of the translations. As for the originals, they are only used as reference data; however, the amount of reproduction is within fair use limits. Beyond this, other methodological limitations were faced. In book translation research, especially that

which focuses on literary works, usually several translations of the same source book are studied, particularly in quantitative studies, in order to provide a statement about the different perspectives on a unified concept. In the case of the data selected for this study, this was not possible. On the one hand, this was due to the fact that these books had only recently been published, leaving little time for re-translations (or second translations). On the other hand, it was because the books are not literary (it is usually literature that is retranslated, especially works that become popular or which are from renowned authors).

However, the data analysis showed that the four books have much in common. Not only are all of them about Iraq and its general cultural capital, but they share the same pivots. They all devote a chapter to Islamic history and its consistent role in Iraq's religious culture, a chapter to contemporary early twentieth century history, a section to the Saddam era and the role of sectarian identities, and of course the role of the American invasion, in its various guises. What's more, they even share smaller details. There are many instances in which the narrative is similar, which raises questions over whether the authors were all using the same sources. For instance three of the four books refer to Muqtada's involvement in the killing of Majid al-Khu'i. The reason the fourth book did not mention it is that it was published before the incident took place. This consistency of the translated material increased the credibility of the data and the appropriateness of researching as one harmonious corpus. The way these topics were translated, however, varied from one translated book to another. These differences will be discussed presently.

As the cultural dimension in the texts was social anthropology it was inevitable that sociological concepts, such as Bourdieu's cultural capital, were used. In translation research that tackle textual levels, the Bourdieu concepts that are usually studied are

field and habitus, examining the effect of different factors on the production of the text, and habitus which is a study of the translators' tendencies in text production. Models that use cultural capital are usually non-textual, such as the world system models. This project bridged this gap by using cultural capital in textual translation research. However, this nexus resulted in methodological difficulties. Thus, before I was able to proceed to the analysis of the books, I had to tread through sometimes contradictory and messy theoretical territory when creating and informing my methodology. In essence, the contention stemmed from the fact that RCT assumes that languages are owned by cultures (and their members), but language philosophy scholars oppose this proposition and contend that languages are not owned and that they reside outside of the self. These philosophical arguments tend to abstract language from their immediate sociological and, more importantly, postcolonial environment. But the predicament did not seem to be solved, since scholars from within the realm postcolonial studies, such as Hommi Bhabha, assume that it isn't just languages but also cultures that are not original. It is from this position that I used Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital to account for the use of language and knowledge of culture, which thus meant that I viewed them in the context of RCT not as skills *per se* but as sources of power.

The main question that this thesis addressed was whether RCT can neutralise the accumulation of cultural capital in the target language. This question was answered by investigating:

- The power relations of English versus Arabic in expressing cultural phenomenon, and consequently:

- The power of the target values in changing the narrative of the source text, which relates the viewpoint of the invading country, (and eventually overturning the relation stated in the following point):

- the power of the source text over the target text.

There is no one methodology that could encompass all these elements, let alone recognise that RCT is a pilot concept that needs a lot of real-world application. I therefore let the data guide the methodology. A good reading of the translations showed that RCT was active on linguistic, cultural and sociological (translator) levels. So I adopted an integrated methodology. The advantages that this integrated methodology bought was that it allowed me to assume that RCT is operative, even if only on one level where that was the case, it was understood as partial neutralisation of cultural capital accumulation. The analysis showed that RCT is operative at least at two levels in each book.

The comprehensive methodology used to study RCT was the subject of criticism from early reviewers of this research. It was said that it would yield a very bulky, unwieldy project that would take too long to complete. But a methodology in a hierarchical effect of the triangular relations of language, culture and sociology. "Rather than moving along the beaten track, […] loose threads which stem from the idiosyncratic behaviour of human and institutional agencies" were followed (Agorni, 2007: 131). The result was a remarkable transmission of power between the axioms involved. The fact that the language of the culture in question, as well as the culture itself, are the possession of the target culture members allows more freedom when producing the target text. The publisher and the translator are empowered by their wide knowledge, ideologies,

values, and even their personal feelings. They know the information, they know how people react, and they know what should be said and what should be withheld.

To answer the first question, the languages were tested as vehicles that can carry out anthropological description of the native culture. The testing criteria were inspired by the history of anthropological translation, as outlined by Talal Asad (2010), and the history of linguistic dominance in cultural translation through the use of translation strategies, as outlined by Venuti (1995). From these analyses, domestication is deemed to be the practice of dominant languages and cultures, while foreignisation expresses a charitable stance towards the other. Four patterns were found to be at work when it comes to the two languages' use of foreignisation and domestication.

The most recurring pattern was that English had engaged in a process of foreignising when culturally translating Iraqi Arabic concepts and other ethnically laden terms, and RCT domesticated the foreignised. English needed to borrow native words and italicise them to show that they are foreign. The foreignness is the capital that the authors are investing in; in order to make these borrowed terms intelligible to readers, they had to add definitions and explanation between brackets or in parenthesis in the text. When retro-culturally translating these texts back into the native language, Arabic was domesticated, returning home all the terms that were foreignised and thus ridding them of the italicisation and all the additions that were made. The cultural terms appeared naturally in the fluent Arabic texts. As such, the target texts, on the cultural lexical level, was free of the dominance of the source text that we first witnessed.

The second pattern is when English foreignised the cultural term as described above, but RCT maintained the definitions. In this case, the cultural item is translated back to its native form, but the parenthetical definition is kept. This partial domestication is

motivated by considerations of the wider Arabic readership, especially when the appropriated term is a local Iraqi vernacular, not standard Arabic. Such terms include: Ashura, chaikhana and lablabi. The other two patterns were, comparatively, very minor. As such, the source texts were enriched with cultural capital that the author appropriated from the native culture (whether driven by their own study, fieldwork, knowledge or other factor), but this information does not serve as capital when returned to the native Iraqi culture.

The overpowering of the source text by the target text is also realised when the latter is rewritten. In chapter five, we saw that socio-cultural values serve as strong forms of cultural capital that shape the target text in RCT. Due to the political and ideological changes that took place after 2003, there was increased social tendency towards Islamic and sectarian dogmatism. One of the facets of that tendency was a veneration of scared symbols, starting from the most sacred, represented by the Deity, to prophets and imams, clerics and, finally, political representatives of sectarian polarisation. Applying a model constructed from conventional translation strategies construed using CDA tools, we saw that cultural values were powerful enough to lead to the production of a text with a different content and orientation to the original. By re-evaluating some facts, and denying others, and through the choice of words, the target text emerged as an Islamic piece of writing. The empirical tools for achieving this manipulation were translation strategies that have long been used in cultural translation, including additions, contractions and omissions.

Prophet Mohammad's portrayal is changed from an esteemed historical faith leader in the source text to a sacred symbol in the translation, with every occurrence of the name followed by the formulaic SAAWS. SAAWS is, moreover, presented in the iconic decorative form that is characteristically used in authentically Arabic Islamic writings.

The other prophets and imams too were translated from figures in history to religious symbols whose holiness is discursively materialised. This is more common and pronounced in books that devote significant sections or chapters to religious and sectarian life in Iraq, whether before or after 2003. In IB, the orientation of the text moved from one where Muqtada was a failing leader to one where he is a patriotic, anti-American, religiously venerated and young leader. Honorific titles were added to each occurrence of his name, and all the negative evaluations were denied using contraction. Sistani's already venerated status was intensified even more by adding titles, even when they didn't appear in the original.

However, this veneration manifested itself in different ways depending on the values of the wider audience. This was especially the case with books published by Arabic rather than Iraqi publishers, or those who had distribution networks that spanned both the broader Arabic world and not just Iraq.Therefore the sectarian symbolism is considered even in some political entities such as Saudi and Iran whose negative evaluation in the text was expurgated.

The rewriting of the text is also realised on the sociological level. The role of the translator as the owner of cultural capital is shown in his/her visibility in paratexts, particularly footnotes. As mentioned in the methodology, only the footnotes that are marked by a translator are considered to be translator's paratext; all other textual or paratexual changes are attributed to other agents and factors of the translation process.

Translator visibility did not emerge equally in the four books, for reasons that are beyond the scope of this project, but we did see that translators varied in the extent to which they allowed their cultural capital to become visible. One important thing to note

is that the non-Iraqi translator showed no visibility, which emphasises the initial assumption that a translator becomes visible in RCT when s/he possesses cultural capital. The translators' footnotes contribute to the rewriting of the text and thus are significant in RCT when they are authorial. Three different roles were taken by the translators in this respect: they patronised the author, which involved the translator suggesting that what the author was saying was wrong; they co-authored, by providing additional information or attitudes to support and supplement what the author said; and finally, they acted as an eyewitness, adding their own primary evidence to illuminate the author's words.

Mudhaffar was very abundant in the footnotes and other paratextual devices. He did not spare a chance to voice his personal position on the topics discussed by the author. Riyadh also contributed several co-authoring footnotes. Nu'man's visibility was in marking his additions of the honorific expressions to the names of the prophet Mohammad and Imam Ali; and these were marked in parenthesis inside the text not as footnotes.

7.2 Behind the scenes of methodology:

There are some factors that affected the work of RCT, but they could not be formulated into the methodology, because to do so would have crammed the structure. But they influenced the way RCT functioned in a particular context in one way or another. Some of these factors include the time of the publication, the place in which the translation

took place and where the translation agents were based, as well as the status of the translators themselves.

A useful way of illuminating the influence of time can be seen with the issue of the Sunni//Shia divide. The translators dealt with this critical matter differently. The older the publication, the firmer the translator's position towards the issue. The New Iraq was published in 2003 and translated in 2004. At that time, sectarianism as a trait of life in Iraq was thought to be transient. It was treated as an unwanted side effect of the sudden absence of order and the transition from a dictatorship to an alleged democracy. Therefore it was rejected by the translator as a possessor of the cultural capital and representative of the average Iraqi reader. Mudhaffar opposes most clearly to the issue of sectarianism, as well as other identity-related issues. He does so by offering his perspective, which is different from the one portrayed in the source text. The reason why, from the researcher's viewpoint, is that when the book was published and translated, sectarianism was not an important an issue as it was a few years later, when it became part of the daily life of Iraqis.

The second factor is the place where the translation took place and where those involved in the translation were based. Although in this study the focus was on the translator and his visible role when presenting paratextual material, it is inevitable that other agents were involved. Taking into account the geographical location of both the translator and the publishing house will illuminate insightful ideas about how different translation decisions are made. Different locations bring with them different cultural values. For instance, in the case of the veneration of sectarian symbols, when both the publisher and translator are located inside Iraq, the main translation changes made are with regard to the symbols that embody the cultural capital of a wide sector of the Iraqi community.

Looking at the profile of the translators reveals that translators with a longer history of translation allowed themselves to use their cultural capital in a way that affected the final product of the translation. This was most notable in the case of Mudhaffar. In contrast, No'man, a university professor, attempts to maintain an impartial attitude towards matters that could have political implications. He is cautious when making gallant paratextual decisions, except those that concern socio-cultural values. Riyadh has limited experience of translation, so she confines her use of cultural capital to domestication strategies.

7.3 Recommendation for further research

RCT inspires lots of future research. I have suggested RCT as a term to describe the direction of the translation in the case of post-2003 books on Iraq translated from English to Arabic. The nomenclature seeks to capture two important features of these translations, namely the cultural aspect, and the inversion aspect. By locating RCT within the appropriate theoretical background and through the course of the research, I came to realise that RCT can be developed into a basic methodological tool to study a wide range of intercultural production in colonial and post-colonial contexts. The reversion factor is neglected in the field of intercultural communication, which, as is clear from the name, highlights cross-cultural relations in general, with little emphasis on what is, contextually, the weaker side of the relation. In a conference on cultural translation at Birmingham City University, I was thrilled to find a presentation that studied the intercultural translation of a children's movie from English into Irish, which showed that nursery rhymes used in the film that were originally Irish were appropriated by English (culture). It was a tangible evidence of the viability of RCT to

account for such non textual cultural production. As such, RCT enters the domain of cultural translation in the wide sense outlined in chapter one.

7.3.1 Translation challenges worth overcoming in RCT

The back translation RCT poses challenges, especially in the domain of fixed sayings. Although new trends in translation studies focus on issues such as culture, identity and power, it is crucial that translations are effective and do what they are supposed to. Translating sayings or poems, or other texts that are not famous to be tracked easily on the Web a hurdle for some translators. For example, Mudhaffar (2004: 92) found it difficult to lay his hands on the original Arabic version of a poem by Sheikha Su'ad al-Subah, an English translation which the author, Braude, used in his book. He gives his back translation and apologises in a footnote that this is not the exact wording of the poem but states that he did his best to convey the sense of the poem accurately.

Whilst it is easier than ever for people from outside a certain culture to check and verify information, there remain some things which cannot be checked online, including proper names, particularly when these are the names of laypeople. It is in this case that a translator from the same culture can perform better than one from a different culture. In the corpus of the present study, there were a lot of proper names. Alani was translated into علاني. Being an Iraqi, my suspicions rose immediately, since I know that we do not have such a name. It should be العاني al-'Ani; this is the closest surname that Alani could come from. Alani in the text is used as the surname of an analyst. A simple online search showed the name of the analyst was مصطفى العاني Mustafa al-Ani and not

مصطفى علاني. The question is: why didn't the translator look up the name online? The answer is simple: he did not suspect anything was wrong with his translation.

Proper names become even trickier when they cannot be checked online. Coincidently, similar names were found in both DW and FB, The translator of HL again unfortunately mistranslated these when translating them back to their correct form. عبد Abed is a common name in Iraq. Shiha, affected by his own local Syrian culture, translated it as عابد Aabed. When I read the translations, the name stopped me and I thought to myself either that the author is making up names, because we don't have this name in our culture, or that the translator is non-Iraqi. I think of every other reader's reaction when they find cultural discrepancies like these.

تصافحنا وقال لي ان اسمه عبد.

(SB: 137)

قال لي عابد الجميلي وهو فني كهرباء.

(HL: 79)

قابلت الدكتور جهاد عابد حسين العلواني.

(HL: 96)

Knowledge of proper names sometimes has more information load in them than the above names. For example, Braude uses the proper name Hawij to refer to a tribe's name. But because of Mudhaffar's knowledge of the culture and its proper nouns, he is able to discern that the author means to say Hawija. He mentions this confusion in a footnote (2004: 104).

Appendixes

Appendix (1)

The interviews with the Iraqi publishers

Appendix (2)

Appendix (2) Translator's afterwords

Appendix (2 a) the Translator's afterword about Iraqi Jews (IJ)

ومضة عن يهود العراق

تعتبر الطائفة اليهودية في العراق الأقدم من بين الطوائف اليهودية المنتشرة في شتى أنحاء العالم . ويعود أول وجود لليهود في بلاد وادي الرافدين إلى بداية السبي البابلي وذلك في عهد الملك البابلي نبوخذ نصر في العام ٥٨٦ قبل الميلاد . وقد حافظ اليهود على وجودهم في العراق على تعاقب العصور ، ولم يتعرضوا إلى نفي أو اضطهاد أو هجرة إلى الخارج .

كان ليهود العراق نشاطهم وثرواتهم : فقد ظهر منهم كتاب وشعراء ، ورجال أعمال تجارية مكنتهم من تبوّؤ مواقع مرموقة في المجال الاقتصادي لا سيما أبان العصر الذهبي الذي شهده العراق في ظل امبراطورية بني العباس الاسلامية . ففي مدينة السلام وجد اليهود السلام : فقد تمتعوا بحرية العبادة ، وممارسة النشاطات الاقتصادية ؛ وبفضل ما حباهم الله به من قدرات كادت تكون سمة من سماتهم المميزة على تعاقب الأجيال ، فقد تمكنوا من الوصول إلى مستويات عالية في أطر المجتمعات التي عاشوا فيها الأمر الذي مكنهم من التمتع بنفوذ كبير . وفي العراق بالذات ، ، كانت لهم إدارتهم المدنية المستقلة ، ومحاكمهم الدينية الخاصة ، ومدارسهم الدينية التي قيل أنها بلغت في الربع الأخير من القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي عشر مدارس بالاضافة إلى مائتين وثمانية وثلاثين كنيساً .

إن التراجع الأقتصادي الذي شهده العراق في أعقاب الغزو المغولي ، والذي بلغ ذروته إثر سقوط بغداد في العام ١٢٥٨ وقيام الدولة الإلخانية ، ترك بصماته على الجالية اليهودية شأنها بذلك شأن بقية ابناء العراق الذين لم يعرفوا الأستقرار النسبي إلا في العهد العثماني عندما أصبح العراق جزء من الامبراطورية العثمانية . وفي ظل الحكم العثماني عاد اليهود العراقيون إلى التمتع بتنظيمهم الطائفي وفي الأمور المتعلقة بالعبادة والتعليم والأعمال الخيرية . فضلاً عن ذلك فقد تمكن البعض من يهود العراق من تبوّؤ مناصب رفيعة في الإدارة من خلال ممارستهم العمل بصفة مستشارين ماليين للولاة . وجدير بالذكر ان يهود العراق كان لهم تمثيل في مجلس المبعوثان الأول الذي برز إلى حيز الوجود بعد دستور عام ١٨٧٦ ، وكذلك في مجلس المبعوثان الثاني الذي جاء بعد دستور عام ١٩٠٨ إثر الانقلاب العثماني الذي شهده ، العام المذكور . وفي ظل حكومة الانتداب البريطاني على العراق ، شهدت

الطائفة اليهودية في العراق انتعاشاً كبيراً، ولعب افرادها دوراً بارزاً لا في الحياة الأقتصادية لهذه الفترة من تاريخ العراق فحسب، بل وفي الحياة الإدارية والثقافية أيضاً، ولم يشهد دورهم البارز هذا تراجعاً حتى بعد انتهاء الانتداب في عام ١٩٣٢، إلا أن ما شهدته التطورات على الساحة الفلسطينية كان له دور فاعل في التأثير سلفاً على مكانة اليهود في العراق.

وعلى العكس من بقية الطوائف اليهودية في أماكن أخرى من العالم العربي، شكل يهود العراق وحدة متجانسة. وباستثناء ما كان يأتي من إيران، لم تكن هناك هجرات يهودية. وعلى حد تعبير الدكتور على ابراهيم عبده وخيرية قاسمية في عملهما الموسوم «يهود البلاد العربية» فإن «موجة السفارديم (اي اليهود الذين استوطنوا في اسبانيا والبرتغال، قبل ابتداء محكمة التفتيش بنشاطاتها، والمنحدرين منهم) التي غطت الامبراطورية العثمانية وقفت عند ابواب العراق، وهذا ما أدى إلى محافظة (يهود العراق) على اصالتهم العرقية وتقاليدهم الحضارية مدة طويلة.»

وجدير بالذكر أن يهود العراق – وعلى العكس مما كان عليه الحال في مصر على سبيل المثال – كانوا يتوزعون في كل انحائه وحتى بين القبائل الكردية في الشمال العراقي. قدر عددهم في العام ٧٤٩١ بـ (١١٨,٠٠٠) شخص كان القسم الأكبر منهم في بغداد، إلى جانب أعداد في كل من البصرة والموصل وسامراء والكوت والعمارة (ميسان) والديوانية (القادسية) والمنتفك (ذي قار) وكذلك في اربيل وكركوك (التأميم) والسليمانية. ولم يكن لليهود في مدن العراق أحياء خاصة بهم على الرغم من ميل ابناء الجاليات في كل أرجاء العالم إلى الاجتماع في شوارع أو احياء معينة. ففي بغداد كان اليهود العراقيون ينتشرون في كل مناطقها. فنجد على سبيل المثال أن لعائلة شعشوع عقاراً يقع في الطريق المؤدية إلى الأعظمية (طريق الأعظمية). وعلى الرغم من أن هذا العقار كان يعرف باسم قصر شعشوع فإنه كان في الواقع يتكون من ثلاثة قصور تم استئجار أكبرها قصراً للمغفور له جلالة الملك فيصل الأول بعيد وصوله إلى بغداد، وتتويجه ملكاً على العراق. وقد أُلحق الثاني بالقصر الأول إثر توسيع البلاط. أما القصر الثالث فبقى مستقلاً عن القصرين الآخرين. وكانت القصور الثلاثة تعرف مجتمعاً بأسم «قصر ابن شعشوع» لأنها كانت متجاورة. وهذا ما يذكره السيد عباس البغدادي في كتابه الشيق «بغداد في العشرينات» والذي يقول ايضاً: « إن ابن شعشوع هذا كان من كبار تجار بغداد

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الأثرياء ، ومن وجهـــاء الطائفـة اليــهـــودية ، وملك أراضي في الفلوجــة وبغداد والكاظمية . ولا يزال بيت حفيده منشي شعشوع قائماً على شارع أبي نواس بجوار فندق السفراء العائدة ملكيته للمرحوم خليل البحراني . وفي الأعظمية كانت البيوت الواقعة على نهر دجلة تسمى قصوراً يستأجرها يهود بغداد (الأثرياء) لقضاء فصل الصيف فيها وذلك يوم كانت الأعظمية مصيفاً لليهود قبل تركها في الثلاثينيات – إثر تكرار الخطب النازية التي كان يلقيها الحاج نعمان الأعظمي – والانتقال إلى الكرادة الشرقية .» وكان القسم الأكبر من أُسر الطبقة الدنيا لهذه الجالية على ما أذكر تسكن في المناطق الواقعة وسط بغداد مثل مناطق صبابيغ الآل ، و «عقد اليهود» ، وقنبر علي (المعروفة اليوم باسم ساحة زبيدة) والمهدية والفضل . أما أُسر الطبقة الوسطى فكانت تقطن في منطقة السنك ، ومنطقة الباب الشرقي و«المحاليل» القريبة منها مثل الأورفه لية (اي المنطقة الواقعة على امتداد شارع السعدون بين الباب الشرقي – ساحة التحرير حالياً –وساحة النصر) وبستان الخس والبتاوين . وكانت الأسر اليهودية الغنية تسكن في المناطق الممتدة على جانبي شارع السعدون ، وعلى امتداد شــارع أبي نؤاس ، والسعـدون والكرادة داخل والكرادة الشرقيـة . وهكذا فإن تواجد أبناء الجالية اليهودية في بغداد وغيرها من المدن العراقية لم يكن مقصوراً على حي معين أو منطقة واحدة .

وكانت الأمور المتعلقة بالجوانب الطائفية والحياة الدينية منظمة تنظيماً عالياً . فقد كان على راس الطائفة اليهودية جهاز ديني ومدني ، فكانت الأمور الروحانية من مسؤولية رئيس الحاخامية (الملقب بالحاخام باشي) وكان تعيينه في العهد العثماني يتم من قبل الباب العـالي ذاته (اي مكتب رئيس الوزراء) . أما الإدارات الطائفيـة فكانت من مسؤولية أحد أعضاء ارفع الأسر مكانة وكان يعرف بلقب «النسيئ» . ولم يكن الحــاخام باشي مـجـرد زعيم روحي بل كـان رجل اعمـال يمثل الطائفـة أمـام الحكومة . أمـا النسيئ فكان يضطلع بنفس المهام ولكن بشكل غير رسمي ؛ وكان يكتسب مكانته بفضل ما كان يتمتع به من ثروة . (ولمزيد من المعلومات حول هذه الجوانب يمكن للقارئ الكريم الرجوع إلى المصادر المبينة في آخر هذا العرض) .

ويتضح من المصادر أن جماعة بغداد كانت تتمتع بمنزلة كبرى بين سائر الجماعات وإلى الحد الذي من خلاله كانت الطوائف اليهودية الأخرى في الشرق تعتبر بغداد المركز الروحي ، وتتطلع إلى حاخاميها من أجل النصح والإرشاد في

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الأمور الطائفية والدينية .

ساهم يهود العراق في النشاط الاقتصادي في العراق أثناء الحكم العثماني . وقد تواصل هذا النشاط إلى فترة الانتداب ١٩٢١ – ١٩٣٢ ، فكانت لهم بنوك كبيرة مثل بنك زلخا وبنك كريدية وبنك عبودي . فضلاً عن ذلك فقد احتكروا تجارة أهم البضائع في أسواق العراق كصناعة الأبسطة والحصر والأثاث والأحذية والأخشاب والأدوية والاسلحة والأقمشة والتبغ والرز وإلى غير ذلك من النشاطات التجارية . وقد شكل تجار اليهود حتى السنوات المتأخرة من النصف الأول من القرن العشرين غالبية رجال أعمال سوقي «الشورجة» و «دانيال» في بغداد . فضلاً عن ذلك فقد كانوا يعملون في المهن الحرة كالطب والصيدلة والصحافة والطباعة ؛وفي مختلف الوظائف الحكومية وكان منهم ضباط في الجيش والقوة الجوية الملكية .

كان بين يهود العراق أسر ثرية تملك كماً ضخماً من العقارات في المدن حيث تعيش غالبيتها ؛ وكان للبعض منها ، مثل اسرتي ساسون وخضوري ، شهرة عالمية . وأود بهذا الصدد أن أذكر اسماء الأسر التي لا تزال عالقة في ذهني إما لشهرة افرادها ، او بسبب الجيرة ، أو نتيجة الزمالة المدرسية التي ربطتني بالبعض من أبناءها وبناتها .ويأتي ذكر أسماء هذه الأسر على سبيل المثال لا الحصر وقد أوردتها وفق تسلسلها الأبجدي : فهناك آل بصري ، وبلاص ، ودانيال ، ودنكور ، ورجوان ، وزلخة ، وزلوط ، وجتايات ، وحسقيل ، وحكاك ، وخضوري ، وخلاصجي ، وساسون ، وسودائي ، وسوفير ، وشابي ، وشعشوع ، وشماس ، وشنطوب ، وشوحيط ، وعزوري ، ولاوي ، والقائمة طويلة جداً .

وثمة جانب آخر جدير بالملاحظة ، إلا وهو أن أبناء الطائفة اليهودية اعتبروا انفسهم دوماً جزءاً متمماً للشعب العراقي . ويعود ذلك بالتأكيد إلى قدم وجودهم في المنطقة من جانب ، وإلى ضخامة نسبتهم قياساً ببقية السكان من جانب آخر . ففي عام ١٩٤٧ ، قدر مجموع عدد اليهود في العراق بمائة وثمانية عشر ألف شخص وهو ما شكل في حينه نسبة ٢٫٥٪ من سكان العراق . أما في بغداد حيث كان القسم الأكبر منهم فكانت النسبة بحدود ٢٥٪ من مجموع سكان بغداد . أما عدد اليهود في منطقة كردستان فقد بلغ ثمانية عشر ألفاً في حينه .إلا أن السبب الأهم في شعور الانتماء هذا كان يعود إلى واقع أن التأثيرات الغربية عليهم لم تكن أقوى مما كانت عليه بين بقية سكان العراق الأمر الذي لم يعزلهم عن مظاهر الحياة

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الاجتماعية والثقافية والسياسية حولهم . ومن جانب آخر فإن تأثرهم بالعادات الأوربية بما في ذلك ارتداء الملابس على الطريقة الأوربية جاء جزءاً من تأثر البلاد العام بهذه العادات . فضلاً عن ذلك فإنهم كانوا بعيدين عن حركة الهجرة التي شهدها يهود أوربا ؛ فقد ظلوا متمسكين بمواطنتهم العراقية وعاداتهم ولغتهم . وعلى الرغم من التسهيلات التي حظي بها اليهود في مجال التربية والتعليم في المدارس اليهودية الخاصة - وعلى الرغم من المستوى العالي في مضمار تدريس اللغتين الأنجليزية والفرنسية في هذه المدارس - ظلت اللغة العربية دوماً لغة الأم لليهود ، اللهم إلا باستثناء الأقلية منهم التي كانت تعيش في كردستان العراق والتي كانت بحكم الواقع تتكلم الكردية ، أو السريانية .

بُعيد قيام دولة إسرائيل في عام ١٩٤٨ هاجرت أعداد كبيرة من يهود العراق . وكانوا قد هاجروا و هُجّروا حسب ما تذكر الوقائع التي لا مجال لذكرها أو مناقشتها هنا . وقد بينت رأي حول ذلك في الحاشية الأولى من الفصل الثالث . وقد أستمرت هذه الهجرة حتى لم يبق من اليهود في العراق اليوم إلا نفراً قليلاً جداً .

نمير عباس مظفر
عمان في ٢/٢/٢٠٠٤

المصادر :

- يوسف رزق الله غنيمة : «نزهة المشتاق في تاريخ يهود العراق» ، بغداد ١٩٢٤ .
- خلدون ناجي معروف : «وضع اليهود في العراق في الخمسين سنة الأخيرة» ، القاهرة ١٩٧٠ .
- أحمد سوسة : «ملامح من التاريخ القديم ليهود العراق» ، عمان ٢٠٠١ .
- ألبرت حوراني : «ظهور الشرق الأوسط الحديث» ، لندن ١٩٨١ .
- علي إبراهيم عبده وخيرية قاسمية : «يهود البلاد العربية» بيروت ١٩٧١ .
- عباس البغدادي : «بغداد في العشرينيات ، عمان ١٩٩٨ .

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Appendix (2 b) The translator's afterword: the statistics of Shia and Sunnis population in Iraq

إحصائيات تتعلق بعدد أبناء الشيعة في العراق

جاء في كتاب «العراق الجديد» و كذلك في عدد من المؤلفات ما مفاده أن أبناء الشيعة في العراق يشكلون اغلبية سكانية . ونظرا لما يثيره هذا الموضوع الخلافي الشائك من ردود افعال ، قررت ادراج المعلومات المبينة اذناه و المتعلقة بالموضوع ، والتي كنت قد استلمتها عن طريق البريد الألكتروني ، تاركا مناقشة الامر الى اصحاب الأختصاص ، ومن لديهم ما يكفي من المعلومات حول الموضوع ، لتوضيح هذه الصورة ووضع الأمر بالنتيجة في نصابه الصحيح .

نمير عباس مظفر
عمان في ٢٠٠٤/٢/٢٠

جداول ونسب موثّقة تقدم صورة أقرب للحقيقة . . . السنة ٥٨ والشيعة ٤٠ و٢ لغير المسلمين . . العراق : أكاديميون وإحصاءات علمية تشكك في مزاعم اعتبار الشيعة أغلبية

بغداد – خدمة قدس برس (الموفد الخاص – نور الدين العويديدي) شكك أكاديميون عراقيون ، سنة وشيعة ، في صحة الإحصاءات ، التي تجعل من شيعة العراق أغلبية بين العراقيين . في حين أظهرت إحصاءات لعدد نفوس سكان المحافظات العراقية ، أعدتها منظمة إنسانية دولية موثوق بها ، تفوقا غير كبير لعدد السنة في العراق ، على أشقائهم من أتباع المذهب الشيعي .

وتتباين الإحصاءات المعلن عنها بشكل غير رسمي في العراق ، بشأن نسبة أبناء الطائفتين المسلمتين ، من بين العراقيين . إذ تذهب الإحصاءات الشيعية ، التي باتت من الأمور المسلم بها ، بعد أن روجها الإعلام بكثرة ، إلى كون الشيعة يمثلون ما بين ٦٠ إلى ٦٥ في المائة من العراقيين . في حين تذهب إحصاءات شيعية أخرى إلى كون أتباع مذهب الأئمة وآل البيت يتجاوزن ٧٣ في المائة من نسبة العراقيين .

في المقابل تذهب الإحصاءات السنية إلى نقيض ذلك تماما . وتقضي بعضها إلى كون نسبة أهل السنة تتجاوز ٦٥ في المائة . لكن إحصاءات أخرى أقرب إلى الواقعية تجعل نسبة أهل السنة تتراوح بين ٥٣ و٥٨ في المائة من العراقيين ، على اعتبار أن الشيعة يمثلون نحو ٤٠ في المائة ، ويمثل أتباع باقي الأديان والمذاهب غير الإسلامية

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نحو ٢ في المائة .

وشكك الأكاديمي «الشيعي» محمد جواد علي ، رئيس قسم العلوم السياسية في جامعة بغداد ، على هامش حديث مع المبعوث الخاص لوكالة «قدس برس» إلى العراق ، في كون الشيعة يمثلون أغلبية العراقيين . وذهب إلى كون نسبتهم تتراوح بين ٤٠ و٤٥ في المائة ، في حين يمثل السنة نحو ٥٣ في المائة ، و٢ في المائة للعراقيين من غير المسلمين .

كيف انتشرت إحصاءات خاطئة؟

في حين اعتبر الأكاديمي العراقي المعروف الدكتور مازن الرمضاني ، عميد جامعة النهرين العراقية سابقا ، وأستاذ العلوم السياسية في نفس الجامعة حاليا ، أن نسبة السنة تفوق نسبة الشيعة ، مشيرا إلى أن أول من أطلق المزاعم بكون الشيعة يمثلون أغلبية كبيرة في العراق هو الكاتب اليهودي حنا بطاطو . ومما ساعد في رواج هذه الإحصاءات المغلوطة ، قدرة التعبئة الهائلة لدى الشيعة ، وكثرة عدد المحافظات الشيعية ، بالقياس لعدد المحافظات السنية ، مما جعل البعض يجنح به الظن الخاطئ إلى كون الشيعة يمثلون أغلبية ساحقة ، بالنظر لكثرة عدد محافظاتهم ، متناسيا الانتباه للكثافة السكانية لكل محافظة .

ويتعذر الوصول إلى إحصاءات دقيقة لأعداد أبناء الطائفتين ، من العراقيين ، بسبب كون الإحصاءات السابقة في العراق لم تكن تعتمد التصنيف الطائفي . لكن هناك مؤشرات عديدة يمكن اعتمادها وسيلة لمعرفة النسب التقريبية لأبناء الطائفتين . وتصلح البطاقات التموينية ، الصادرة عن وزارة التجارة العراقية ، والتي تعتبر اليوم بمثابة بطاقة هوية عائلية ، لإعطاء صورة تقريبية عن الوضع .

لكن بعض الأكاديميين العراقيين يشككون في دقة تلك البطاقات ، بالنظر لكون بعض العائلات قد تزيد من أعداد أبنائها للحصول على كميات أكبر من الغذاء ومتطلبات الحياة الأخرى من الوزارة . غير أن تلك الزيادة المحتملة تظل جزئية ، ويمكن أن تصدر من أبناء الشيعة ، كما قد تصدر من أبناء السنة ، وهو ما يلغي أو يخفف من دواعي الاعتراض على معطيات البطاقة التموينية ، التي يطالب بعض العراقيين بتنظيم الانتخابات على ضوئها ، باعتبارها تصلح أن تكون مؤشرا تقريبيا لنسب التوزيع السكاني ، على أساس طائفي بين العراقيين .

إحصاءات محايدة

وأكثر إحصائية تتسم بالحياد هي إحصائية المنظمة الإنسانية الدولية «هيومانيتارين كوردينيوتر فور إيراك» (Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq) ، التي وضعت أصلا لتوجيه العمل الإنساني في العراق في ظل الحصار . وتتعلق بإحصاء أنفس سكان المحافظات العراقية ، وذلك عام ١٩٩٧ . وتورد هذه الإحصائية الأرقام التالية لعدد السكان في المحافظات العراقية الثماني عشرة (من الشمال نزولا إلى الجنوب) :

- عدد سكان محافظة دهوك : ٤٠٢٩٧٠ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة نينوى : ٢٠٤٢٨٥٢ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة أربيل : ١٠٩٥٩٩٢ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة التأميم : ٧٥٣١٧١ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة السليمانية : ١٣٦٢٧٣٩ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة صلاح الدين : ٩٠٤٤٣٢ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة ديالى : ١١٣٥٢٢٣ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة الأنبار : ١٠٢٣٧٣٦ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة بغداد : ٥٤٢٣٩٦٤ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة كربلاء : ٥٩٤٢٣٥ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة بابل : ١١٨١٧٥١ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة واسط : ٧٨٣٦١٤ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة القادسية : ٧٥١٣٣١ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة النجف : ٧٧٥٠٤٢ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة المثنى : ٤٣٦٨٢٥ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة ذي قار : ١١٨٤٧٩٦ .

- عدد سكان محافظة ميسان : ٦٣٧١٢٦ نسمة .

- عدد سكان محافظة البصرة : ١٥٦٦٤٤٥ نسمة .

ويبلغ العدد الجملي للعراقيين بحسب هذه الإحصائية ٢٢٠٤٦٢٤٤ نسمة ،

وذلك في العام ١٩٩٧ . لكن عدد السكان حليا ، بعد نحو ٧ أعوام من إجراء الإحصاء المشار إليه آنفا ، يتجاوز ٢٧ مليون نسمة . ولا يقلل شيء من قيمة هذه الإحصائية قدمها ، إذ لم يعرف العراق زيادة دراماتيكية لدى أبناء الطائفتين من السنة أو الشيعة ، بما من شأنه أن يقلب المعادلة .

ومن خلال إحصاء بسيط يقوم على قاعدة اعتبار سكان المحافظات الواقعة شمال وغرب العاصمة بغداد من أهل السنة ، والمحافظات الواقعة جنوب بغداد من أبناء الطائفة الشيعية ، مع اعتبار بغداد مناصفة بين أبناء الطائفتين ، يمكن التوصل إلى النتيجة التالية :

– أبناء السنة ينتشرون في ثماني محافظات هي دهوك ونينوى وأربيل والتأميم والسليمانية وصلاح الدين وديالى والأنبار (مع وجود شيعي قليل) . ومن ثم يبلغ عددهم التقريبي في هذه المحافظات ٨٧٢١١١٥ نسمة . ومع زيادة نصف سكان بغداد لهم ، ويبلغ عدد هذا النصف ٢٧١١٩٨٢ نسمة ، يصبح عددهم التقريبي ١١٤٣٣٠٩٧ نسمة .

– أما أبناء الشيعة فينتشرون في تسع محافظات هي كربلاء وبابل وواسط والقادسية والنجف والمثنى وذي قار وميسان والبصرة (مع وجود سني قليل) . ومن ثم يبلغ عددهم في هذه المحافظات ٧٠١١٦٥ نسمة . وإذا أضفنا إليه نصف عدد سكان بغداد يصبح عددهم ١٠٦١٣١٤٧ نسمة . وهو ما يعني أن عدد أبناء السنة يزيدون بـ٨١٩٩٥٠ نسمة .

محاولة أخرى للاقتراب من الحقيقة

الإحصاءات السابقة بسيطة جدا ، واعتمدناها بشكل أولي للحصول على نتيجة تقريبية فقط . ومن أجل الاقتراب أكثر من الصورة الحقيقية للوضع العراقي المعقد ، بالنظر لتداخل سكان البلاد بين الشيعة والسنة ، إذ يوجد في محافظات الشمال بعض الشيعة ، كما يوجد في محافظات الجنوب سنة ، يمكن اعتماد إحصائية أخرى تقريبية ، تستند على البطاقة التموينية ، وإحصاءات وزارتي التجارة والتخطيط ، وإحصاء سلطة الحكم الذاتي الكردية في الشمال .

وتذهب هذه الإحصائية ، وهي صادرة في العام ٢٠٠٢ ، وتعتمد مراجع لها إحصاءات وزارتي التجارة والتخطيط ، في عهد الرئيس العراقي السابق ، فضلا عن

إحصـاءات سلطة الحكم الذاتي الكردية ، إلى تسـجيل المعلومـات التـالية ، وهي تقريبية ، لكنها قريبة من الوثوق :

- عدد سكان محافظة نينوى : ٢٤٧٣٧٢٧ نسمة ، ونسبة السنة فيها تقدر بـ٩١ في المائة ، في حين تقـدر نسـبة الشـيعـة بـ١ في المائة ، و٨ في المائة من غير المسلمين .

- عدد سكان محافظة السليمانية : ٢١٥٩٨٠٣ نسمة ، ٩٨ في المائة منهم سنة وا١ في المائة شيعة ، وا١ في المائة من غير المسلمين .

- عدد سكان محافظة أربيل : ١٨٤٥١٦٦ نسمة ، ٩٨. في المائة من السـنة ، وا١ في المائة من الشيعة ، وا١ في المائة من غير المسلمين .

- عدد سكان محافظة التأميم : ٨٣٩١٢١ نسـمة ، ٩٠ في المائة منهم سنة ، و١٠ في المائة شيعة .

- عدد سكان محافظة دهوك : ٦١٦٦٠٩ نسـمة ، ٩٨ في المائة سنة ، وا١ في المائة شيعة ، وا١ في المائة من غير المسلمين .

- عدد سكان محافظة صلاح الدين : ١٠٧٧٧٨٥ نسمة ، نسبة السنة ٩٩ في المائة ، ونسبة الشيعة ١ في المائة .

- عدد سكان محافظة الأنبار : ١٢٨٠٠١١ نسمة ، نسبة السـنة ٩٩ في المائة ، ونسبة الشيعة ١ في المائة .

- عدد سكان محافظة ديالى : ١٣٧٣٨٦٢ نسـمة ، نسبة السـنة منهم ٦٥ في المائة ونسبة الشيعة ٣٥ في المائة .

- عدد سكان محافظة بغداد : ٦٣٨٦٠٦٧ نسمة : ٦١ في المائة من السـنة ، و٣٥ في المائة من الشيعة ، و٤ في المائة من غير المسلمين .

- عدد سكان محافظة كربلاء : ٧٥٥٩٩٤ نسمة ، نسبة السنة ٥ في المائة و٩٥ في المائة من الشيعة .

- عدد سكان محافظة بابل : ١٤٤٤٣٧٢ نسمة ، نسبة السـنة ٢٥ في المائة ، ونسبة الشيعة ٧٥ في المائة .

- عدد سكان محافظة واسط : ٩٤١٨٢٧ نسـمة ، نسبة السنة منهم ١٥ في المائة ، ونسبة الشيعة ٨٤ في المائة ، وا١ في المائة من غير المسلمين .

- عدد سكان محافظة القادسية : ٨٦٦٦٩٥ نسـمة ، نسبة السنة منهم ١ في المائة ،

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ونسبة الشيعة ٩٩ في المائة .

– عدد سكان محافظة النجف : ٩٤٦٢٥١ نسمة ، نسبة السنة منهم ١ في المائة ،
ونسبة الشيعة ٩٩ في المائة .

– عدد سكان محافظة المثنى : ٦٣٦٢٦٤ نسمة ، نسبة السنة منهم ٢ في المائة ،
ونسبة الشيعة ٩٧ في المائة ، و١ في المائة من غير المسلمين .

– عدد سكان محافظة ذي قار : ١٤٢٧٢٢٠ نسمة ، نسبة السنة منهم ٥ في المائة ،
ونسبة الشيعة ٩٤ في المائة ، و١ في المائة من غير المسلمين .

– عدد سكان محافظة ميسان : ٧٤٣٤٠٩ نسمة ، نسبة السنة منهم ١ في المائة ،
ونسبة الشيعة ٩٨ في المائة ، و١ في المائة من غير المسلمين .

– عدد سكان محافظة البصرة : ١٧٦٠٩٨٤ نسمة ، نسبة السنة منهم ٣٥ في المائة ،
ونسبة الشيعة ٦١ في المائة ، و٤ في المائة من غير المسلمين .

وبحسب هذه الإحصائية يقدر عدد الشعب العراقي في العام ٢٠٠٣
بـ٢٧٤٧٥١٦٧ نسمة ، عدد أبناء السنة منهم ١٥٩٢٢٣٣٧ نسمة ، وذلك بنسبة ٥٨
في المائة . ويقدر عدد الشيعة بـ١٠٩٤٦٣٤٧ نسمة ، وذلك بنسبة ٤٠ في المائة . و٢
في المائة من غير المسلمين . ويتوزع غير المسلمين ، بحسب هذه الإحصائية ، على
النحو التالي : ٨٨٤٤٣٣ مسيحيا ، و٢٨١٩٨٤ يزيديا ، و١٩٤ يهوديا .

محاولة ثالثة لمقاربة الحقيقة

في حين تذهب إحصائية أخرى ، أقيمت بالاستناد إلى معطيات التقرير السنوي
الجهاز المركزي للإحصاء العراقي (نسخة دائرة الرقابة الصحية) التابعة لوزارة الصحة
العراقية ، وإلى دراسة الأكاديمي العراقي الدكتور سليمان الظفري ، إلى أن نسبة
السنة ، من مجموع أبناء العراق المسلمين تبلغ ٥٣ في المائة ، في حين تبلغ نسبة
الشيعة ٤٧ في المائة .

وما يزيد من تأكيد مصداقية الإحصاءات المشار إليها آنفا ، بخصوص كون السنة
يمثلون أغلبية الشعب العراقي ، ما حصل بالنسبة لقوائم توزيع أعداد الحجاج على
المحافظات ، بحسب تعداد النفوس ، إذ فاق عدد الحجاج من السنة عدد الحجاج من

الشيعة ، بناء على إحصاء نفوس المحافظات ، وجاءت نسب توزيع الحجاج قريبة من النسب المذكورة آنفا ، بحسب مصادر من الأوقاف العراقية .

وبالرغم من محاولة رسم صورة تقريبية لأعداد أبناء الطائفتين ، ونسبتهما ، من بين أبناء الشعب العراقي ، بالاعتماد على إحصاءات ومؤشرات عديدة ، إلا أن هذه الإحصاءات تظل تقريبية ، وتحتاج إلى المزيد من التدقيق ، من خلال إحصاء يعتمد ، من ضمن ما يعتمد التصنيف المذهبي . وهو الوحيد القادر على حسم النزاع بشأن لمن له الأغلبية في العراق . ويظل ما سوى ذلك من تصريحات وإحصاءات تطيرها وسائل الإعلام ، دون دليل ولا برهان ، سوى أقول أصحابها ، مجرد مزاعم بعيدة عن الحقيقة ، حتى يثبت العكس .

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Appendix (3) *Copy-right consent*

(A) Consent of using IJ
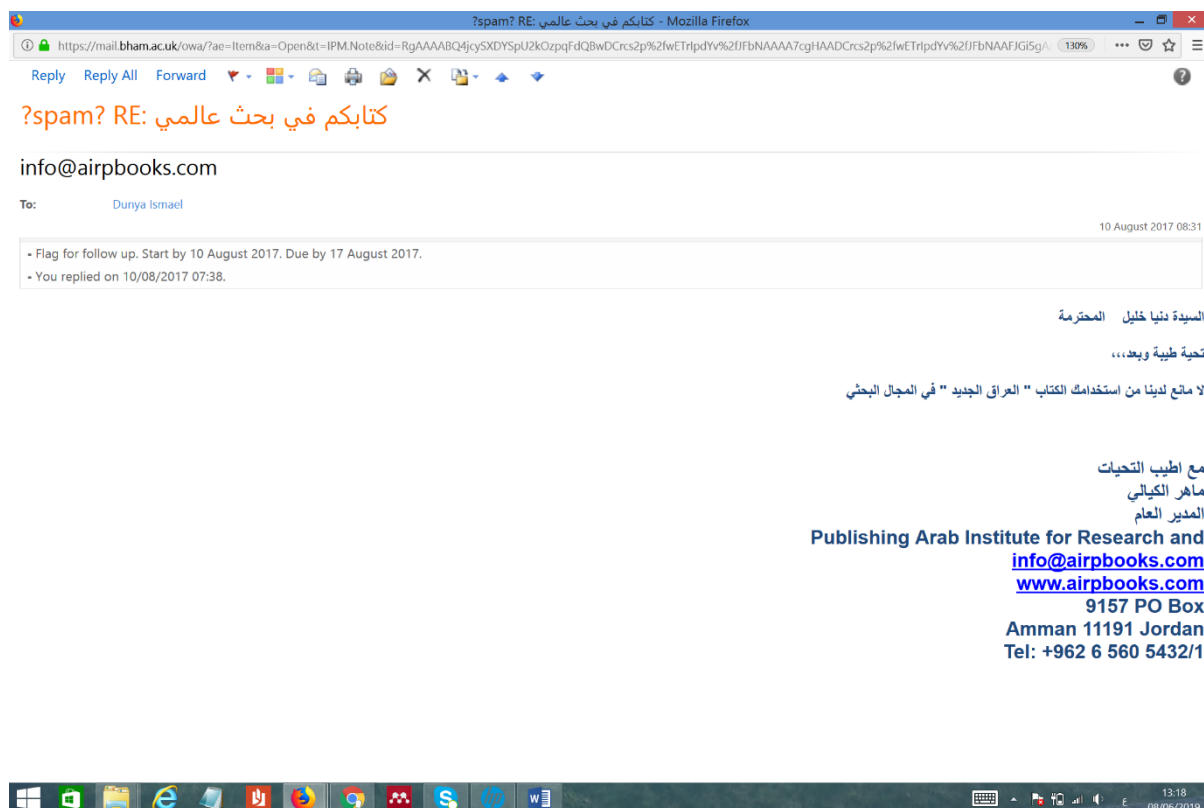
(B) Consent of using NI

Re: Copyright of The New Iraq

To: Dunya Ismael

31 January 2018 02:41

• You replied on 31/01/2018 06:59.

Hi Dunya. My apologies for the delay; of course, I grant you permission to do so. Best of success with your work, and I'd love to see the dissertation when you've completed it. Best, Joseph Braude

On Jan 26, 2018, at 7:21 AM, Dunya Ismael <DKI317@student.bham.ac.uk> wrote:

Dear Mr Braude,

I'm an Iraqi PhD student at the University of Birmingham, UK, and I'm using your book The New Iraq (and its translated version) as part of my research data for my translation on Iraq project. I emailed you a few months ago about copyright permission to use the book in my doctoral research, but I did not get a reply from you. Today I'm writing to you again for the same purpose hoping that you would kindly reply to my email and give me the needed permission.

Best regards,

Dunya Ismael,
PhD student,
Dept of Modern Languages,
College of Arts and Law
School of Languages, Cultures, Art History, and Music
University of Birmingham,
UK.

(C) Consent using DW

RE: ترخيص لأغراض اكاديمية

To: Dunya Ismael

02 October 2015 07:28

• You replied on 02/10/2015 12:14.

أستاذة دنيا المحترمة

اهلا وسهلا

يمكنك استخدام الكتابين
الموسومة " الهزيمة: لماذا خسروا العراق" لمؤلفه جوناثان ستيل و " نهاية العراق" لمؤلفه بيتر غالبريث
لزوم البحث في ترجمة الكتب الخاصة بالعراق.

مع التحية

Bassam Chebaro
بسّام صلاح الدين شبّارو

(D) Consent of using SB

Re: The interview answers in englsih

To: Dunya Ismael (PhD Dept Modern Lang FT)

24 March 2019 00:39

Dear
Dear Dunya Ismael.

Here is my official consent for using part of the translation of the fellowing book for your PhD thesis

The fall of Baghdad by the author John Lee Anderson

Please feel free to forward this email for the relevant university
Programme: PhD in translation studies,
College of Arts and Law,
University of Birmingham.

Wish you all the best and good luck with your viva

Amal
Amal Al-Jubouri

CEO&Founder
Www.arabhumanrights-academy.org
Www.soutuna.com
Www.amal-aljubouri.com

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(E) Consent of using IB

This is my written permission to the doctoral student Dunya K. Ismael _ upon her request _ to use my translated book (Post 2003 Iraq) to be part of her analytical material in her doctoral dissertation .Mustafa N. Ahmed. 14/3/2019

7:16 p.m.

بالتوفيق...   7:16 p.m.

بارك الله بيك استاذ ممتنة جدا. نلتقي في العراق على خير ان شاء الله

7:23 p.m.

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