Naturalness in the Translation of Novels from English to Persian

By

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To my dear parents

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Summary

This thesis is about 'naturalness' in the translation of novels from English into Persian. It studies, describes and explains the cultural and linguistic factors determining naturalness.

This thesis consists of eight main chapters, as well as Introduction and Conclusions Chapters. The Introduction Chapter sets the problem, its significance, the questions to be addressed in the thesis and the hypotheses held. Chapters 1 to 4 discuss theoretical matters: a review of translation theories, different approaches to naturalness, analysis of possible features involved in naturalness leading to a comprehensive definition of naturalness, and methodology of the study, that is, the different methods and the procedure followed in this research.

The next four chapters, i.e. chapters five to eight, have looked at the problem from different perspectives. Chapter 5 analyses the historical situation and relations within and between the Persian literary and socio-political systems that gave rise to the need for translation and establishment of the new genre of the novel in Iran. Chapter 6 deals with the norms and models constraining the Persian translators' behaviour, through an analysis of norms and their roots within the Persian literary polysystem. Chapter 7 is a cultural analysis of the period after the Islamic Revolution and compares this period with a 15-year period before the revolution. The Islamic Revolution is a very important turning point according to the cultural viewpoint and provides a very interesting opportunity for the comparison of cultural activities before and after the revolution, given the fact that this revolution is often considered to have a more cultural nature than a political one. Chapter 8 is a linguistic analysis that deals with the micro-structural level of the study, it studies the cohesive devices of reference and ellipsis and the relevant features that determine their naturalness or unnaturalness.

Finally, the Conclusions Chapter gives a summary of the conclusions reached in the previous chapters, discusses the limitations of the present study and suggests some relevant topics for further studies.
List of Abbreviations

A. = Azad, Mahmood
DTS = Descriptive Translation Studies
H. = Hussaini, Saleh
HD = Heart of Darkness
LBT = Literal back translation
LF = Lord of the Flies
NA = Not answered, the number of respondents who did not give any answer for the item
P. = Peyman, Javad
R. = Rafi‘ei, Hamid
RL = the receptor language, same as the target language.
S. = Safarian, Muhammad Ali
SL = the source language, the language from which a text is translated.
ST = the source text
TEFL = Teaching English as a Foreign Language
TL = the target language, the language into which a text is translated.
TS = Translation Studies
TT = the target (translated) text
Transliteration

- The Persian (as well as Arabic and Turkish) words have been transliterated according to the standard system used in the Oxford Dictionary. All the Persian (as well as Arabic and Turkish) words (except the proper names) have been written in italic form.
- This system has been simplified here: No distinction has been made between the different letters in Persian with similar pronunciations (though they have different pronunciations in Arabic. That is, 's' represents 'ت' or 'ج', 'h' represents 'ع' or 'ه', and 'z' represents 'ژ' or 'ژ').
- The silent 'h' ('ه') at the end of Persian words/syllables has been represented by 'e', but in proper names it has been represented by 'ه', except in 'Allame' and 'Akhundzade'.
- The sign (') preceding a vowel (a, o, e, a, ù and ĩ) at the beginning of Persian words (excluding proper names) and in the middle represents the letter hamze 'ء' (a glottal stop).
- The sign (') in Persian words represents the letter 'ayn 'خ' (another glottal stop).
- The signs ā, ū and ĩ in Persian words represent long vowels 'ا', 'و' and 'ه' like the vowel sounds in the English words car, root and meet. These signs have been replaced with a, u (ou or oo) and i in the transcription of proper names.
- The signs gh, q, and kh represent Persian letters 'غ', 'ق' and 'غ' respectively. English alphabet does not have such letters.
- In quotations the original forms have been preserved.
INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of the Problem

The natural way of expression is the way native speakers use their language. It is described as 'well-formedness' in linguistics, 'acceptability' in pragmatics and sociolinguistics, and 'naturalness' or 'acceptability' in translation studies, and its violation is divided into 'grammatical', 'collocational' and 'cultural' clashes (or 'structural', 'semantic' and 'pragmatic' clashes). Interference from the source language (SL) is said to be the main cause of this phenomenon in translated texts.  

1 'Well-formedness' in linguistics is divided into syntactic, semantic and pragmatic which are called grammaticality, meaningfulness and acceptability respectively.

2 In this thesis, the expression 'translation studies' with small letters refers to the field in general. However, 'Translation Studies' with capital letters, whether modified by some attributes such as Empirical, Cultural, Descriptive, Systemic and so on or not, refers to the target-oriented approach to translation which will be discussed in detail in the thesis. This distinction does not apply to quotations, in which the original forms have been preserved.

3 See, John Beckman and John Callow, Translating the Word of God (USA: The Zondervan Corporation, 1974), pp. 161-162.

4 For example, see

Translators as well as teachers and critics of translation consider naturalness (or acceptability) and accuracy (or adequacy) as two major criteria in assessing translation.

This thesis intends to study, describe and explain cultural and linguistic factors involved in the naturalness in the translation of novels from English into Persian as well as reasons for clashes (inappropriate use) of textual cohesive devices that lead to unnatural English-to-Persian literary translation. This study is descriptive and does not intend to evaluate the linguistic ‘correctness’ or ‘accuracy’ of equivalents, i.e. of translated cohesive devices.

**B. Significance of the Problem**

Translation features prominently as a means of social, cultural and literary communication between Iran and the rest of the world. It has been a lively cultural activity both before and after the Islamic Revolution.\(^5\) The revolution has undoubtedly boosted translating in Iran,\(^6\) and there is certainly a need for scholarly research to shed light on this phenomenon from different perspectives.

As Beekman and Callow put it, ‘each language has its own inventory of linguistic forms which serve as a vehicle for any message conveyed in that language. The point being stressed here is that there is a natural use of those forms common to the native speakers of each language.’\(^7\)

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\(^5\) See Chapter 5 on the translation and the rise of the novel in Iran.

\(^6\) See Chapter 7 on the impact of the Islamic Revolution on translation.

\(^7\) Beekman and Callow, p. 40.
The violation of naturalness creates ‘translationese’. The study of this ‘interlanguage’ or ‘third language’ will help us improve our understanding of translation processes. Some case studies have been carried out on naturalness/unnaturalness of linguistic elements both in Iran and in other countries. One of the topics studied in Iran is the ‘collocational clash’, which deals with ‘acceptability’ at the sentence level. Similar analysis on the ‘acceptability of translated texts’ has been undertaken in other countries as well.

In Iran there has been some research undertaken that is related specifically to ‘cohesive devices’ in Persian. Lotfollah YarMuhammadi is the pioneer in making contrastive analyses of English and Persian cohesive devices from a contrastive linguistics point of view. His students and followers have adopted his model of


9 Some examples of relevant studies on the ‘acceptability’ of translated texts are as follows:


10 Some of his publications in this field are as follows:

Lotfollah YarMuhammadi, ‘Lexical Cohesion in English and Persian in Contrast’, in his collection of papers, Fifteen Articles in Contrastive Linguistics and the Structure of Persian: Grammar,
contrastive analysis and have done some studies on one or more of the cohesive ties as proposed by Halliday and Hasan.\textsuperscript{11} They work in contrastive linguistics, and intend to apply their findings to the teaching of English as a foreign language (TEFL). Although they use translation as their basis of study, they do not usually use a large corpus of translated texts nor do they look at the problem as a translation phenomenon. They all use Halliday and Hasan’s taxonomy of cohesive devices as the model for their studies.

Other studies have been done from a non-contrastive linguistic point of view. For example, Miremadi has studied reference and ellipsis mainly at the sentence level in Persian.\textsuperscript{12} My contribution, however, will be the investigation of reference and ellipsis on the level of text in translated novels.

\begin{flushleft}
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\textsuperscript{11} For example,


In other countries, cohesive devices attract increasingly more attention. Some studies have been done on different aspects of textual cohesive devices, and many translation theorists put emphasis on the need to study cohesion in translation.

C. Questions

The issue of naturalness is a complicated one but my aim is to address the following questions on naturalness. Is naturalness dependent on the source language or on the target language? Is naturalness different in translated texts and original writings (in the same language)? Is there a binary or non-binary distinction between naturalness and unnaturalness? Is there a borderline between naturalness and unnaturalness or a degree and continuum of naturalness/unnaturalness? What are the causes of unnaturalness? Can they be predicted, formulated and avoided? What shifts/adjustments are needed so that a natural text is produced?

I also intend to address a set of questions on contextual and historical siting of translations or uncover the position of translated text within the socio-cultural context of modern Iran. Some of the following questions can be illuminating. For instance, what were the socio-cultural conditions that led to, and governed, the emergence and

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14 For example, see Peter Newmark, About Translation (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1991), p. 69; and Peter Fawcett, Translation and Language: Linguistic Theories Explained (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1997), p. 91.
spread of translation activity? What is/was the position of translated novels within the Persian literary polysystem? What was translated and why? Who patronised/commissioned translation? What influences and effects have the translated novels had on the Persian literary system? What shifts has translation introduced into the Persian literary system? What impacts has the socio-cultural context of the Iranian society had on the translation activity? Is there a relationship between the position of translated novels and the norms they developed?

The Islamic Revolution in Iran (1978–9) is a significant turning point in the socio-political, and cultural context that has had a great impact on the literary polysystem, including translation activity. The position of translation after the revolution will be explored and the impact of the revolution on the translation of novels will be investigated and compared with the role of translation before the Islamic Revolution.

D. Hypotheses

My main hypotheses can be summarized in the following way:

1- Naturalness has a positive correlation with regularities in micro-level shifts and a negative correlation with SL interference.

2- Naturalness/acceptability may depend on/vary according to changes in socio-cultural context, and major social changes and turning points in a culture may have significant influence on the norm of acceptability.

15 See Chapter 7 on the impact of the Islamic Revolution on translation.

16 That is, naturalness is reflected in regularities in shifts and an improvement in either of them will have a positive effect on the other. On the other hand, unnaturalness can be attributed to interference
3- As translation is a human activity, a translator’s performance in respect to conforming to TL norms or the superordinate norm of acceptability is not homogeneous throughout his translation. That is, different states of mind, e.g., tiredness, annoyance, drowsiness, stress, worries, etc. may affect his or her performance during the process of translation. A completely homogeneous behaviour should not be expected from a translator. Sometimes, a translator leans too much on the SL text and forgets his or her duty towards the readers.

E. Method, Material and Subjects

This thesis adopts a descriptive method. It proceeds in a top-down manner, that is, from historical background and socio-cultural context to norms and conditioning factors, and finally to textual cohesive devices. Wherever possible or available, statistics and quantitative data will be provided in addition to qualitative analysis.

This study can be categorised as a product-oriented and function-oriented descriptive translation study (DTS) according to James Holmes’s paradigm of translation studies, proposed in ‘The Name and Nature of Translation Studies’. James Holmes divides the discipline of translation studies into two main branches: the ‘pure’ and the ‘applied’ one. The pure branch is also divided into ‘theoretical’ and or negative transfer, in other words, any increase in the (negative) interference from the source text will decrease the degree of naturalness of the translated text.

17 The early version of this paper was read at the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics in Copenhagen as early as 1972. Later the full English text of the paper became available as a small brochure published by the University of Amsterdam (Holmes 1975). This seminal paper has been published in many collections of selected papers and translation journals since then. For example, in Translation across Cultures, ed. by Gideon Toury (New Delhi: Bahri, 1987), pp. 9–24, James Holmes, Translated: Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988), The Translation Studies Reader, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 172–185, and in the Iranian Journal of translation, Motarjem, 1 (1991), 5–14 (trans. by Muhammad Reza Hashemi). Holmes’s extensive presentation is invaluable as a systematic introduction to the structure that translation studies should eventually have. It crystallises translation studies as a scientific discipline in its own right.
‘descriptive’ studies. The concept of ‘descriptive’ implies that this study does not intend to be ‘prescriptive’, i.e. provide practical guidelines for translators, nor does it want to make value judgements as its primary aim.

This thesis blends empirical description, with polysystem theory and norm concepts as well as cultural studies and socio-political analysis.

1. Context analysis

My purpose is to check the use of cohesive devices in translation and survey their role in the naturalness of translated novels. It is a textual analysis. However, this certainly necessitates siting within a wider context of situation, i.e. socio-cultural conditions into which the translation is received. Translation is a cultural and historical as well as linguistic phenomenon. Therefore, it is imperative to explore its context and its conditioning factors, and to look for grounds that have shaped and can explain the reasons for the overall product of translation. As Theo Hermans puts it, ‘discussions of translation issues should therefore take into account the interplay between a whole set of factors comprising language, literary tradition, [...] and socio-cultural situation.’ In other words, a phenomenon should be studied in its natural environment, a culture that includes its historical background. This study not only claims that translation as an event inevitably involves socio-cultural factors, but also it attempts to integrate the cultural dimension into translation. It presupposes that translation does not occur in a vacuum, it happens in a certain culture, environment, with the translator as an active agent aware of the position of translation in the target cultural/literary system and of the models, norms and constraints that the society

18 Theo Hermans, Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained
imposes on him or her. The emphasis is put on the integration of cultural factors into this study for better understanding, description, and explanation of the translation phenomenon. In this way, translation studies can benefit from (applied) linguistics, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, literary theories, cultural studies, and many other disciplines.

Therefore, the translation of novels, a most prominent subsystem of translation in Iran, will be studied as part of the modern Persian literary polysystem. This text-type will be studied in its historical and socio-cultural context in order to shed light on the notion and norm of naturalness.

The theoretical frame of reference of the contextual analysis of this study is the cultural-semiotic framework formulated by Itamar Even-Zohar in his seminal paper, 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem'.19 This paper argues for the necessity of considering translated literature as a system rather than treating individual translated texts on an individual basis. It furthermore discusses the conditions under which translated literature may maintain a central or a peripheral position in the target literature and the dependence of the norms that govern the act of translating and its product on that position. It provides a systemic framework to study the function of translation of novels.

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2. Text analysis

Two textual relations or 'cohesive devices', i.e. inter-sentential pronouns and ellipsis, will be studied in this research. They constitute the micro-structural level of this study. The theoretical framework in regard to 'cohesive devices' used in this research study is the one developed by Halliday and Hasan in *Cohesion in English* (1976). I will provide their counterpart paradigms in Persian, then compare these English and Persian cohesive devices in translated novels.

The theoretical framework to be used in this study with regard to checking the 'naturalness' or 'acceptability' of the literary translations is the one formulated by Gideon Toury in his book, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. As acceptability is a primary or superordinate norm related to, or subsuming, other target language norms, Toury's discussion of norms are also taken into consideration.

On the micro-structural level, data were collected from (segments of) a few translated novels, some typical 'unnatural cases' were selected from these segments, and these assumed unnatural cases were checked against the native speakers' competence by means of questionnaires. These questionnaires were intended to elicit the ordinary readers' response based on their intuitive judgement. It was assumed that the native speakers who were considered to be the common readers of such a text could judge the 'acceptability' of a translated text or segments of it.

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21 Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam: Benjamins Library, 1995).
Some 70 BA and MA students at the faculties of Foreign Languages of two state universities in Tehran were asked to answer these questionnaires. These students, between the ages of 18 to 30, were assumed to be part of ordinary readership of translated novels in Iran. Students at state universities in Tehran come from different geographical areas of Iran, and hence represent various ethnic groups and dialects. A wide range of competence can be expected from such a group of subjects in relation to the 'standard' Persian language and 'Tehrani' dialect.

The number of novels studied in this study was limited. The books that were covered in the textual analysis, i.e. checking their natural use of cohesive devices, are as follows:

(1) Two translations of Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* into Persian rendered before and after the revolution,

(2) Three translations of William Golding’s *Lord of the Flies* into Persian rendered before and after the Islamic Revolution.

However, other books have been reviewed so as to provide a wider socio-political background in an attempt to illustrate the cultural effects of the Islamic Revolution on the translation of novels.

The Islamic Revolution (1978-9) is a turning point in the Iranian culture; therefore, different translations of the same novels have been chosen in order to see the difference between the ones translated before and those translated after the revolution.

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22 I.e. Universities of Tehran and Allame Tabataba’i
F. Definitions and Limitations

Most key terms used in this thesis are defined in Chapter 3. The key terms that will be discussed and defined in detail include 'naturalness' or 'acceptability', 'shift', 'interference', 'translationese', and 'hybridity'. In Chapter 8 'cohesion', 'ellipsis', and 'reference' will also be defined.

As it is not practical to analyse the whole translated novels in full in this study (on the micro-structural level), some samples or segments of the novels are selected for study so as to represent the whole texts. These segments cover both dialogue and description sections of the novels, that have distinctive features in respect to their register and level of formality.

Out of five cohesive devices (reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion) discussed by Halliday and Hasan, two of them, i.e. reference and ellipsis, have been chosen. Only personal pronouns in the 'reference' category are

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23 Luc van Doorslaer (1995) has proposed that we distinguish between quantitative and qualitative aspects of representativeness. The quantitative aspect strikes a balance between economy and credibility: the sample should be large enough to be credible in light of the purpose of the exercise, but small enough to permit appropriate depth. The qualitative aspect is a matter of interpretation and judgement. Extra-textual information can help here. (Hermans, Translation in Systems, p. 70.)
explored. Moreover, samples of each translated novel will be studied, not the whole translation.
CHAPTER ONE
TRANSLATION APPROACHES

Translation has always been considered as a crucial activity. However, it has gained much more status in the twentieth century due to several causes, some of which are the needs for closer communication and mutual understanding among nations, higher degrees of literacy, and developments in economy and technology.

Traditionally, literary scholars, poets, religious figures, and philosophers have expressed different views on translation, which they gained mainly through personal experience. The main topic of discussion for them was whether the translator should be faithful to the source text or free from it. As Mary Snell-Hornby puts it,

For 2000 years translation theory (some call it ‘traditional’, others now dismiss it as ‘pre-scientific’) was primarily concerned with outstanding works of art. The focus was therefore on literary translation, and at the centre of the debate was that age-old dichotomy of word and sense, of ‘faithful’ versus ‘free’ translation.24

A. Linguistics-based Translation Theories

With the rapid growth of translation in the twentieth century, mainly regarding non-literary texts, a great need was felt to fill the gap between the theory and practice of translation and to expand and clarify the discussions on the translation action.25

In the 1950's and 1960's, with the boom in linguistics, a feeling arose among translation scholars that they could use the findings of modern linguistics (e.g. Saussure's, Chomsky's, or Halliday's) for the study of translation. They tried to give a scientific nature to their discussions and assigned names such as 'theory' (A Linguistic Theory of Translation, Catford 1965) and 'science' (Toward a Science of Translating, Nida 1964) and the like. John Catford based his translation theory on the systemic grammar concept of the British linguist Michael A.K. Halliday, and Eugene Nida developed a translation theory that included concepts from transformational grammar.

These scholars tried to introduce the linguistic concepts and models into translation theory. They have been successful in expanding the discussion on translation. For example, a controversy has been added regarding the nature of translation; i.e., whether translation is an 'art', a 'craft' or a 'science'. They could also further expand and clarify to some extent the traditional controversy between faithfulness and freedom of the translator by changing this binary distinction into 'equivalence' as their main concern.

25 Snell-Hornby says, 'The picture changed suddenly after the Second World War, along with the euphoria that hailed machine translation in the early 1950s, when there was a call for scientific rigour within the field of translation, to replace what was felt to be hazy speculation. This gave rise to the "science of translating" as understood by Nida (1964) and to the school of übersetzungswissenschaft that developed in Germany.' (Ibid., pp. 79–80.)
In ‘scientific’ approaches, attempt has been made to get detached from traditional theories. Willis Barnstone puts the issue in the following way:

Theory does not properly describe commentary on translation before our time. What is closely called theory is strictly speaking not theory but rather principles leading later to theory. […]

Before the twentieth century all those who wrote most eloquently about translation [...], produced not translation theory (though we call it that) but history of translation principles and practice as applied to literature. […]

So, more accurately, before our century theory is the history of prescriptive goals in the practice of literary translation. Or, early theory is the history of the prescription and practice of literary translation. 26

By detaching themselves from the past ‘pre-scientific’ period, they also excluded literary texts from their analysis.

Comparing Chomsky’s and Nida’s theories, Edwin Gentzler describes the concept of ‘a unified entity’ in their theories,

Although the two theories evolved for different reasons, they both assume that there exists a deep, coherent, and unified entity behind whatever manifestation language takes: the “core,” the “kernel,” the “deep structure,” the “essence,” the “spirit” are all terms used by Nida, many of which derive from Chomsky. [...] The two approaches attempt to demonstrate different kinds of objects at the centre — one arguing the existence of universal rules of grammar and universal lexical forms; the other making metaphysical claims about an original divine message. 27

The linguistics-based translation theorists believe that the translator should try to understand and translate the single ‘message’ intended by the author in the original text. Gentzler relates Nida’s belief in the single message of the original text,


Nida argues that the deep structure of the language — composed of the sign in context — can be inferred through study of the language and culture and through exegesis of these signs over the years. Only then can the appropriate response to that structure be determined and universalized. Nida builds his theory on the premise that the message of the original text not only can be determined, but also that it can be translated so that its reception will be the same as that perceived by the original receptors.28

One of the central issues in linguistics-based theories is equivalence. In her book, *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*, Snell-Hornby describes the role of the concept of equivalence in linguistics-based translation theories and its relationship with the ‘unit of translation’.29 Then she proceeds to claim that the concept of equivalence is ‘highly controversial’ and vaguely defined:

The concept of equivalence was basic to any linguistically oriented translation theory, whether the scholars concerned wrote in English (Catford, 1965; Nida and Taber, 1969) or German (Kade, 1968; Reiss, 1971; Wilss, 1977). It is however a highly controversial concept, and despite a heated debate of over twenty years, it was never satisfactorily defined in its relevance to translation.30

Nida and Taber propose ‘dynamic’ equivalence — the translated text producing the same effect on the audience as the original had on its audience — as opposed to ‘formal’ equivalence and observe, ‘Translating consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source-language message.’31

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28 Ibid., p. 54.
Henry G. Widdowson, an influential applied linguist, distinguishes three kinds of equivalence: structural, semantic and pragmatic. Other kinds of equivalence may be encountered in the linguistically oriented approaches to translation, such as 'formal', 'functional', 'communicative', 'idiomatic', and 'textual', making the concept rather complicated, vague and useless.

André Lefevere proposes to abandon the concept of equivalence altogether while Theo Hermans comments on the rise and fall of the concept of equivalence and suggests that the notion of 'norm' is a much more useful concept.

As we can see, this new approach (i.e. the linguistics-based approach to translation), which has been successful in the study of translation to some extent, has its own drawbacks.

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32 ‘We should distinguish between three kinds of equivalence. The first of these, which I will call structural equivalence, involves the correlation of the surface forms of sentences by reference to some ad hoc measure of formal similarity. The second, which I will call semantic equivalence, involves relating different surface forms to a common deep structure which represents their basic ideational and interpersonal elements. The third kind of equivalence is one which involves relating surface forms to their communicative function as utterances and this I will call pragmatic equivalence.’ (Henry G. Widdowson, Explorations in Applied Linguistics (Oxford: OUP, 1979), p. 105.)

33 ‘The main problem with equivalence is, of course, that translators and translation scholars cannot agree on either the kind or the degree of equivalence needed to constitute real equivalence. It therefore seems that it’s time to abandon the concept altogether, as more and more contemporary writers on translation (such as Mary Snell-Hornby) are doing, since equivalence, they claim, has become so vague that it hardly denotes anything anymore or, conversely, that it denotes all things to all people.’ (André Lefevere, Translating Literature: Practice and Theory in a Comparative Literature Context (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1992a), p. 10.)

34 ‘Although translation studies today constitutes anything but a unified field of study, some of its larger disciplinary shifts have been felt more or less across the entire range of the subject. At an early stage, for example, “fidelity” was replaced by “equivalence” as a theoretical and methodological concept in applied as well as in descriptive and theoretical approaches to translation. In the last ten years or so, “equivalence” too has been progressively questioned and hollowed out, largely in favour of the concept of “norms”:’ (Theo Hermans, ‘Norms and the Determination of Translation: A Theoretical Framework’, in Translation, Power, Subversion, ed. by Román Álvarez and M. Carmen-África Vidal (Cleveland: Multilingual Matters, 1996), pp. 25–51 (p. 25).)
Following the tenets of the traditional approaches to translation, due to a didactic preference or in Toury's words, 'an overriding orientation towards practical applications', the linguistic approaches remained mainly prescriptive and normative in nature. They have issued criteria that were supposed to be used by translators in their practice and by critics in judging translators' works. Instead of reflecting and describing the real phenomenon of translation, they have based their theories on abstract models developed in linguistics. Consequently the gap between practical translators and theoreticians has widened. Translators have continued to do their job ignoring such calls for order and discipline; and critics have continued to apply subjective criteria while discussing translated texts. No wonder, as Gideon Toury puts it, 'in real-life situations, priority has often been given to quite different options. Not without reason, to be sure.'

The prescriptive theories make rules; however, translators do not follow them. This was echoed by Roger Bell when he claimed that most translation theorists in the 'English-speaking world at least' have been and still are, dominated by the rules put forward in Tytler's essay written two centuries ago in 1790, An Essay on the

36 Ibid., pp. 2-3.
37 Wolfram Wilss observes, 'The prescriptive theories make laws/rules which they use to assess translations — these translations will be regarded defective according to these rules — and to teach translation — however, the learners will not follow those rules. So what are the uses of these prescriptive rules?'

'Findings from empirical psychological investigations of decision-making behaviour have meanwhile convincingly shown that people are rarely disposed to, or incapable of, conforming to normative theories.'

Principles of Translation. He considers this 'normative approach' to translation as the 'fundamental cause of impoverishment' of the translation theory.\textsuperscript{38}

He says that Tytler's rules are all 'normative prescriptions deriving directly from the subjective and evaluative description of the "good translation"'.\textsuperscript{39} However, he claims that there have been some exceptions to this trend, particularly the works of Nida and Catford in the mid-1960s.\textsuperscript{40} Trying to conceal the prescriptive nature of the linguistics-based approaches to translation he adds that the 'rules' discussed in linguistics, on the other hand, seek to be of the descriptive, constitutive type; he says,

Our position is (when playing the role of a descriptive linguist), necessarily, the converse; we are in search of descriptive rules which help us to understand the process, not normative rules which we use to monitor and judge the work of others.\textsuperscript{41}

He further claims that the only way to get rid of such normative views is to resort to linguistics.\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{38} 'Translation theory finds itself today seriously out of step with the mainstream of intellectual endeavour in the human sciences and in particular in the study of human communication; to our mutual impoverishment. The fundamental cause of this state of affairs is, we firmly believe, the normative approach — the setting up of a series of maxims consisting of do's and don't's — which can be traced back to the orientation quoted above (Tytler's rules of translation).' (Roger Bell, \textit{Translation and Translating} (New York: Longman, 1991), p. 10.)

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., p. 11.

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p. 10.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., p. 12.

\textsuperscript{42} 'It is difficult to see how translation theorists can move beyond the subjective and normative evaluation of texts without drawing heavily on linguistics. The need for access to and familiarity with the accumulated knowledge about the nature and function of language and the methodology of linguistic enquiry must become more and more pressing and less and less deniable if translation theory is to shake off individualistic anecdotalism and the tendency to issue arbitrary lists of 'rules' for the creation of 'correct' translations and set about providing systematic and objective descriptions of the process of translation.' (Ibid., p. xv.)
Another drawback of the linguistic-based studies of translation is source-orientatedness. The point of departure in the linguistic approaches to translation is the source text. That is, the original text is assumed to be all-powerful, real and authoritative and the translation is considered, as Bassnett puts it, a 'copy', a 'secondary' and a 'poor version of the superior original'. 43 Thus, linguistics-based translation scholars assign a secondary role, at best, to the translator. They consider him a slave at the service of the original text and a servant to the author.

Linguistics-based translation scholars have applied linguistic paradigms, concepts and models, or better to say 'merely speculative entities', which constitute their theory, directly and quickly to the practice of translation; i.e., to make normative rules and principles of translation, out of an urgent need in translation training centres. 44

Toury criticises 'an overriding orientation towards practical applications' as follows:

Small wonder that a scholarly framework geared almost exclusively towards applicability in practice should show preference for prescriptivism at the expense of description, explanation and prediction. 45

There are two major problems with such a jump and connection. On the one hand, such models and concepts were of a dubious origin. That is, these concepts and findings are based on an 'abstract' language (i.e., Chomsky's notion of 'competence'


or Saussure's concept of 'langue') that does not exist in reality, and on carefully selected sentences (imperfect chunks) made by the 'ideal native speaker' (i.e., fabricated by the linguist himself). Bell admits accepting two of the major tenets of twentieth century linguistics, 'competence' and 'sentence as the largest linguistic unit' in his theory:

We have been tacitly accepting two of the major tenets of twentieth century linguistics: (1) that the goal of linguistics is to specify the rules of the code possessed by some kind of idealized speaker of a language — linguistic competence or, though not a wholly equivalent term, langue — and, (2) that the largest linguistic unit which can be described is the sentence. 46

On the other hand, these concepts and models have not undergone empirical tests of validity; that is, they have not received their validity from objective study of the real phenomenon: the translation product. As Toury puts it, backing 'one's claims with mere "examples"' often invented and 'a handful of quotes torn out of their original co-texts and contexts' cannot 'attest to anything at all' nor does it provide 'representativeness' of the behaviour. 47

On the whole, linguistic approaches do not intend to deal with literary texts, especially poetry. Firstly because their main impetus came from the greater need for the translation of non-literary texts; and secondly because they regard literature and the translation of literature as quite difficult and time-consuming to deal with. They are willing to work on the translation of technical texts that provide rules to be used

46 Bell, p. 161.
in their guidebooks for training situations. This is best reflected in Bell’s views on the ‘scientific’ point of view and ‘objective descriptions’ of translation.

The ‘art’ section of translation, which is almost impossible to ‘teach’ and is very ‘special’, is then put aside. They have been reluctant to ‘waste’ their time on something that may yield little for them. Thus, they have tried to push literary translation (or translation of literature) into a corner. Snell-Hornby records this exclusion of literary texts from the ‘translation science’ in her book. Similar reservations have been made by Bassnett and Lefevere.

The ‘excessive formalisation’ in linguistics has brought about a ‘scientific fatigue’ among the scholars who considered language as something ‘dynamic and operative’. In translation studies James Holmes criticised the structural and transformational linguists for working just at the level of the sentence; then he called

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48 Bell, pp. 4–5.

49 Barnstone summarises the state of affairs as follows:

‘In our century translation theory is theory, largely linguistic and philosophical and not specifically directed toward literature. Applied linguistic theory, however, relates more readily to information transfer, Bible translation, and translation by professional interpreters. Linguistics and philosophy have always been more comfortable with technical than with literary translation; they are concerned with what Louis Kelly calls an object-centred rather than a person-centred view of language behaviour. [...]’

‘Linguists have focused on the “word” as a unit of translation, later on the “text,” but not on the literary text, which is a “special case” not worth the effort. [...]’

‘Most of the older figures in linguistics who have written substantial volumes on translation theory, Georges Mounin, John C. Catford, Eugene Nida, Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet, avoid the literary. They do not speak to and are unread by those who actively translate literature.’ (Barnstone, pp. 222–223)


specifically for the analysis of the text. Similar views have been expressed by Snell-Hornby.

The linguistic schools following a 'scientific' approach to the study and teaching of translation began to shift their focus of attention. The Leipzig school, which began in the mid-sixties, has also evolved considerably.

One can summarise the drawbacks of these linguistics-based theories in the following way:

1. **Prescriptive nature:** They are directed primarily at teaching translators or evaluating translations, and thus are prescriptive and normative in nature.

2. **Source-orientatedness:** They all tend to be source-orientated in nature, arguing that the original contains some sort of intended single fixed 'message' (a consistent and unified whole), which carries the information necessary for its subsequent rendering in another language, to which the translator has access and must

52 'One of the great drawbacks of practically all the linguistic translation theories that we have had up to now has been that they have had to work with a linguistics which is only interested in the sentence and linguistic phenomenon below the sentence level; linguistics itself in the structural period and even in the transformational period had been very frightened of going beyond the sentence. Translation, on the other hand, and certainly literary translation, is so obviously a question not of translating a series of sentences but of translating a text which happens to consist of sentences among other things that the linguistic approach has had the great shortcoming in practically all the linguistic theories that I know of not being able to touch this aspect of translation: the text level.' (James S. Holmes, Translated: Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies, p. 94.)


54 Gentzler explains the effect of this shift on Neubert, a Leipzig translation theorist:

'This turn to modern linguistics leads Neubert to develop what has come to be known as the "top-down model" for translation. In "translatorische Relativität" he writes that the essential translation unit is the entire text, from which one calculates backwards to arrive at the global proposition, which is then divided up into smaller, single transportable semantic units (Neubert, 1986: 101; see also Neubert, 1985: 135). [...] He talks about text equivalence in terms of a macroproposition, which corresponds to the semantic content of the source text and which is then broken down into a fabric of words mapped on to syntactic structures (Neubert, 1986: 95.).' (Gentzler, p. 70.)
remain faithful. These approaches tend to hold an ideal conception of the translation as reproducing the original.

(3) Reluctance to study literary texts: Linguistics-based translation theories are not specifically directed toward literature that has a 'special' language difficult to analyse. They have focused on the 'sentence' — mainly made by themselves or taken out of context — as a unit of translation, later on the 'text', but not on the literary text.

However, Snell-Hornby believes that despite the drawbacks, translation studies can still benefit from some approaches, methods and concepts developed in linguistics:

It is certainly true that the relationship of linguistics to translation studies, especially to literary translation, is complicated, that only a limited number of issues in linguistics are relevant for translation and that linguistic models can hardly ever be adopted wholesale. There are however approaches and methods originating in linguistics which have been successfully adapted for translation, and there are concepts developed from the study of language which have considerable potential even for literary translation.35

Then a new development was felt necessary in linguistics. Enrique Alcaraz gives the reasons for the emergence of a development in linguistics,

In the last decades of this century a great number of linguists have started to feel the 'scientific fatigue' [...], mainly caused by the excessive abstraction or formalization of the predominant theories and models. This fatigue, which is a clear signal of the emergence of a new paradigm, pragmatics, is materializing in (1) the abandonment of the underlying models and theories that had been the basis for the research that had been carried out previously, and in (2) their replacement with new theories that tackle language as something dynamic and operative, which has been called 'language in action'. For the holders of these theories [...], linguistic analysis is more the

exploration of a dynamic ‘communicative phenomenon’ than the examination of a static ‘linguistic system’.\textsuperscript{56}  

Discourse analysis (pragmatics or text linguistics) is a reaction and improvement over generativism and structuralism. It differs from the previous models of linguistics in many ways.\textsuperscript{57} Two major differences are mentioned below:

a) Language is not something abstract produced by an ideal native speaker separated from the context of situation (i.e. competence). Language is an observable dynamic phenomenon; it is in action among the producer, the receiver(s) and socio-cultural situation. Language is studied in performance.  

b) The methodology used in studying such phenomenon is, then, a descriptive (empirical) one.

This approach to the study of language has opened new horizons and its findings and paradigms can be used to the benefit of translation studies.\textsuperscript{58} Thus,  


\textsuperscript{57} Michael Stubbs summarizes the principles of the British linguistics (mainly discourse analysis, from Firth via Halliday to Sinclair) that sharply contrasts the Chomskyian principles. These principles concern the following:

- The nature of linguistics: That (1) it is essentially a social science and an applied science.
- The nature of data for linguistics: that (2) language should be studied in attested, authentic instances of use (not as intuitive, invented isolated sentences); that (3) language should be studied as whole texts (not as isolated sentences or text fragments); and that (4) texts must be studied comparatively across text corpora.
- The essential subject of linguistics: that (5) linguistics should study meaning; that form and meaning are inseparable; and that (6) lexis and grammar are interdependent.
- The nature of linguistic behaviour: that (7) language in use involves both routine and creation; and that (8) language in use transmits culture.
- The conceptual structure of the discipline: that (9) Saussurian dualisms (especially langue — parole and syntagmatic — paradigmatic) are misconceived and hence require radical revision. (See Michael Stubbs, Text and Corpus Analysis: Computer-assisted Studies of Language and Culture (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p. 23)  

\textsuperscript{58} Christina Schaffner describes the development from a narrow linguistic approach to text-linguistic approach and its impact on translation studies as follows:
Lefevere maintains that text linguistics, having developed 'the second phase of linguistics-based thinking about translation' by viewing the text in a certain situation or culture as the unit of translation, adds a necessary 'functional dimension' to the study of the translation that is of the 'utmost value for literary translation'. 59

Discourse analysis does not create unnecessary complicated paradigms and models. It can be used for every type of text, including the literary ones. 60 It also takes into consideration units that are bigger than just single sentences.

Discourse analysis (pragmatics) observes texts within real contexts and takes into consideration all the relevant factors involved in communication. It can be related to Descriptive Translation Studies that take real texts and socio-cultural contexts as objects of study. They can certainly be of benefit to each other since their object of study and methodology overlap.

B. Empirical Translation Studies: A Cultural Turn

These drawbacks of the linguistic approaches to translation studies have brought about new attitudes to translation. James Holmes attempted to redefine the discipline since we do not translate words or grammatical forms, but texts with a specific communicative function, the limitations of a narrow linguistic approach soon became obvious. Thus, a logical development was that in the 1970s, the insights and approaches of text linguistics, a new (sub-) discipline of (applied) linguistics, were adopted in translation studies. Thus, regularities of the text itself, of the genre, and of the context were given more consideration. (Christina Schaffner, 'The Concept of Norms in Translation Studies', in Translation and Norms, ed. by Christina Schaffner (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1999), pp. 1–8 (p. 3).)

59 Lefevere 1992a, p. 9

60 Hatim and Mason write, 'In discourse analysis, many works now subject literary and non-literary discourse to the same analysis and show similar linguistic processes at work. Fowler (e.g. 1986) illustrates many of the ways in which literary as well non-literary texts create their effects. For the translator, one such shared concern may be the rhetorical structuring of a text and the use of logical connectors to enable readers to retrieve intended meanings.' (Basil Hatim and Ian Mason, The Translator as Communicator (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 3.)
of translation studies in his influential paper, ‘The Name and Nature of Translation Studies’ which he read in the Translation section of the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics, held in Copenhagen, 21-26 August 1972. His model has been accepted and followed by some other translation scholars. New concepts and approaches have been developed by these scholars, such as ‘polysystem’, ‘manipulation’, ‘power relations’ and ‘cultural turn’, and ‘norms’ and ‘strategies’.

Gentzler records the general acceptance of James Holmes’ essay as the ‘founding statement’ for translation studies and emphasises its ‘empirical’ nature,

Holmes’ early work culminates in “The Name and Nature of Translation Studies” (1972/5), generally accepted as the founding statement for the field. In the essay he lays out the scope and structure for the new discipline. Most

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62 Bassnett gives an account of the new development in translation studies as early as 1980: ‘It is possible now to see very clearly developing lines within the overall discipline of Translation Studies work that originates from within applied linguistics continues to flourish, and there is now a distinct branch of research concerned with translation and the philosophy of language. The systems theory approach, with its emphasis on the target pole can be said to constitute a school of thought within Translation Studies and significantly, with the publication of the information sheet TRANSST in Tel Aviv and the journal Target, this school now plays a major role internationally. Elsewhere, linked originally to the systems approach but more directly concerned with the ideological implications of translation, there is a huge expansion of research that considers intercultural transfer in its linguistic, historical and socio-political aspects.’ (Susan Bassnett, Translation Studies (London: Routledge, 1980), p. xvi.)


64 See the Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation, ed. by Theo Hermans (London: Croom Helm, 1985).

65 See Translation, History and Culture, ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, 1990.

importantly, Holmes conceives of the approach as an empirical practice, one which looks at actual translated texts as they appear in a given culture.\textsuperscript{67}

In the introduction to \textit{Manipulation of Literature}, Hermans, summarising the basic assumptions of the group\textsuperscript{68}, argues that “The work of Itamar Even-Zohar in particular is directly associated with the new approach,” and suggests that participating scholars share

a view of literature as a complex and dynamic system; a conviction that there should be a continual interplay between theoretical models and practical case studies; an approach to literary translation that is descriptive, target-oriented, functional, and systemic; and an interest in the norms and constraints that govern the production and reception of translations.\textsuperscript{69}

If one tries to give an attribute to ‘Translation Studies’ developed or advocated by target-oriented scholars like Itamar Even-Zohar, James Holmes, André Lefevere, Theo Hermans, José Lambert, Susan Bassnett, Gideon Toury, Maria Tymoczko, Hans Vermeer and Mary Snell-Hornby, the terms in stock include:

\textsuperscript{67} Gentzler, p. 93.

\textsuperscript{68} Snell-Hornby describes the Manipulation School as follows: “The second major school of thought in Europe views translation studies as a branch of Comparative Literature. This school is at present centred round the Dutch-speaking area and is represented mainly by scholars such as André Lefevere, José Lambert and Theo Hermans, but it also includes Susan Bassnett-McGuire in England and some Israeli scholars such as Gideon Toury. [...] Recently some leading members of the group published an anthology of essays with the title \textit{the Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation} (Hermans 1985), on the basis of which they have been dubbed the “Manipulation School.” [...] Their starting-point is the exact opposite of that represented by the linguistically oriented school [...], not intended equivalence but admitted manipulation. [...] These scholars nearly all work in Comparative Literature and confine themselves exclusively to literary translation, which the linguistically oriented German theorists dismissed as being deviant language inaccessible to rigorous analysis or scientific explanation. [...]”

‘Conversely the scholars from the Low Countries explicitly reject the influence of linguistics for their field of studies. [...]’

‘The approach of the “Manipulation School” is based on the concept of the literary polystem going back to the Russian Formalists and the Prague Structuralists, but in particular as developed by the Tel Aviv Scholar Itamar Even-Zohar (1978 and 1979).’ (Snell-Hornby 1988, pp. 22–24.)

'systemic', 'target-oriented', 'descriptive', 'functional', 'cultural' and 'empirical'. Here the last term is chosen for closer analyses. 'Empirical' means systematic description and analysis of 'concrete data'. One reason for the preference of this term is to encompass all target-oriented cultural translation theories that work with concrete data, i.e. real translated texts as well as relevant historical cultural contexts.

Toury discusses the application of the empirical methods to translation. In order to improve the potential of translation studies beyond description and explanation of translation phenomenon to predict likely solutions, Toury introduces 'experimental' procedures used in controlled situations. Further, he maintains that translation studies intends to become 'an autonomous discipline of an empirical nature'. He argues,

Whether one chooses to focus one's efforts on translated texts and/or their constituents, on intertextual relationships, on models and norms of translational behaviour or on strategies resorted to in and for the solution of particular problems, what constitutes the subject matter of a proper discipline of Translation Studies is (observable or reconstructable) facts of real life rather than merely speculative entities resulting from preconceived hypotheses and theoretical models. It is therefore empirical by its very nature

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70 'The introduction of empirical methods [...], can hardly qualify as an internal evolution of any previous paradigm of translation studies itself. Not even the impetus for applying them to translation phenomena originated within its boundaries. [...] This genesis notwithstanding, the introduction of empirical methods, proved to be a true landmark in the evolution of the discipline, and it certainly looks like they are here to stay.'

'The object of such an approach (the application of empirical methods to translation phenomena) is by no means to prescribe anything; [...] On the other hand, this approach does not settle for the mere description (plus local explanation) of individual phenomena either. As it becomes the empirical science it claims to be part of, it aspires to predict as well; namely, what is likely to occur under various sets of (specifiable) conditions. To be sure, it is precisely in shedding new light on these interdependencies and increasing their predictive capacity that I see the greatest potential contribution of experimentation, due to two of its inherent (and interconnected) traits: relative controllability of variables — and high rate of repeatability.' (Gideon Toury, 'Experimentation in Translation Studies: Achievements, Prospects and Some Pitfalls', in Empirical Research in Translation and Intercultural Studies, ed. by Sonja Tirkkonen-Condit (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1991), pp. 45-66 (pp. 45-46).)

and should be worked out accordingly. However, despite incessant attempts in recent decades to elevate it to a truly scientific status, as the empirical science it deserves to become Translation Studies is still in the making.\(^{72}\)

Toury elaborates his notion of empirical methods further, and adopts 'empirical' as an inherent quality and integrative constituent of his Descriptive Translation Studies. For Toury, 'empirical' refers to the method that can describe, explain as well as predict translation solutions (i.e., actual translated texts) under certain cultural conditions.\(^{73}\) He considers it 'so appropriate' to give 'an empirical status' to translation studies.

In his response to a criticism from Niranjana\(^{74}\), Hermans also uses the name 'Empirical Translation Studies' for the discipline.\(^{75}\) By 'empirical' he means the systematic, empirical description, i.e. descriptive and explanatory analysis of the concrete data or 'real' translated texts within the relevant cultural context.

\(^{72}\) Ibid., p. 1.

\(^{73}\) 'Translation Studies is called for to tackle fully and systematically three types of issues which differ in scope and level:

1. all that translation CAN, in principle, involve;
2. what it DOES involve under various sets of circumstances, along with the REASONS for that involvement, and
3. what it is LIKELY to involve, under one or another array of specified conditions. [...]'

'Thus, only when the initial potentials subsumed under (1) have been modified by diversified factual knowledge accumulated in actual studies (2) will ample grounds have been furnished for making certain predictions, and in a justifiable way too, as becomes the empirical status so appropriate to translation studies. In this vein, (3) would pertain to the theoretical branch again, only in a far more elaborate form.'

'To put it differently: the cumulative findings of descriptive studies should make it possible to formulate a series of coherent laws which would state the inherent relations between all the variables found to be relevant to translation.' (Toury 1995, pp. 15–16.)

\(^{74}\) Niranjana uses the term the 'empirical science' of translation referring to Toury's insistence on 'systematic, empirical description' and criticises his theory for ignoring the 'asymmetrical relations of power'. (Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 60.)

\(^{75}\) Hermans, in *Translation, Power, Subversion*, 1996, p. 41. However, in his recent book, *Translation in Systems* (1999), he chooses the name 'descriptive and systemic translation studies.'
Empiricism, however, brings about its own problems. One of them is the interpretation of the text. Peter Newmark, in his book *Approaches to Translation*, outlines the varying effects of signs on different interpretants as follows:

Semiotics — the science of signs — is an essential factor in translation theory. The American philosopher C.S. Peirce (1934) is usually regarded as its founder. He stressed the communicative factor of any sign: "the meaning of a sign consists of all the effects that may conceivably have practical bearings on a particular interpretant, and which will vary in accordance with the interpretant" — no sign, therefore, has a self-contained meaning. ⁷⁶

This leads us straight to the assumption that different interpretations may in turn lead to different translations. This issue was certainly a central thought in André Lefevere's book *Translating Literature* ⁷⁷ and a logical consequence.

A consequence of the text interpretation in Translation Studies is ‘target-orientedness’. Toury elaborates this concept as follows:

Neither source text nor even translation relationships would have been excluded from a target-oriented program of Descriptive Translation Studies. They were just given a different status. This is also to say that ‘orientedness’ is far from tantamount to ‘exclusiveness’, as wrongly interpreted by many: the present approach is characterized as target-oriented because this is where its observations start. By no means should it be taken to mean that this is where these observations would also be exhausted.

Looking at it from another angle, it is only reasonable to posit that a study in translation activities which have already yielded their products would start with the observables; first and foremost, the translated utterances themselves, along with their constituents. ⁷⁸

This new approach to translation studies is best represented in Toury's theoretical book, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995). Toury has

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⁷⁷ See Lefevere 1992a, pp. 10–11.

⁷⁸ Toury 1995, p. 36.
adopted Holmes's mapping of translation studies and the empirical method of research, and introduced 'norms' governing the translator's behaviour. What Translation Studies intends to do, as Toury puts it, is

to focus one's efforts on translated text and/or their constituents, on intertextual relationships, on models and norms of translational behaviour or on strategies resorted to in and for the solution of particular problems, what constitutes the subject matter of a proper discipline of Translation Studies is (observable or reconstructable) facts of real life rather than merely speculative entities resulting from preconceived hypotheses and theoretical models. 79

The shift to the descriptive study of 'actual translational behaviour' does not mean that other linguistic or literary disciplines that take translation as their object of study totally ignored the reality. On the contrary, as Toury puts it,

All this is not to say that no attempts have been made to account for actual translational behaviour and its results. Quite the contrary. However, most descriptive studies have been performed within disciplines other than Translation Studies; e.g., Contrastive Linguistics, Contrastive Textology, Comparative Literature, *stylistique comparée*, or — in more recent days — Text-Linguistics, Pragmatics, or Psycholinguistics. Thus, while their subject matter could well have been translational, the theoretical and methodological frameworks within which it was handled could not, if only because their interests lacked the wish to fully account for all that translation may, and does involve. 80

Translation Studies intends to study real translations synchronically as well as diachronically. That is, when several parallel translations of the same original text reproduced by various translators at different periods in history are compared with

79 Ibid., p. 1.

80 Toury 1995, p. 3.
each other (as well as with the original), they will better clarify the general constraints and problems under which translators have chosen their strategies and choices. 81

This school proposes that the translation researchers extend their corpus of study beyond one translation, or one pair of texts. 82 This point is advanced particularly strongly by Toury and Gentzler. 83

A very important notion developed by this school is the operation of norms and models on translators. Translators are active agents when facing choices in the process of translating. They are not slaves to the original text. They are influenced by certain norms and models derived from the target socio-cultural conditions, i.e. context of situation. Taking these norms and models into consideration by the researcher in Translation Studies is of great significance in understanding, explaining and predicting the translator’s choice of various strategies in different/certain conditions. The power structure influencing the translator’s decisions is regarded as important in Translation Studies. Lefevere believes that

Potential translators need to learn about the conditions or constraints — ideological, poetical, sociocultural, and linguistic — under which texts come into being and the potentially different constraints under which they are to be translated. 84

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81 As Gentzler puts it, ‘The addition of an historical horizon, albeit a purely literary one, is an important one for the development of translation studies, for it provides not only a basis of comparison but also implies a diachronic evolution of language.’ (Gentzler, p. 85.)

82 Toury 1995, p. 38.

83 Toury elaborates the comparative study of two kinds of parallel translations: synchronic and diachronic. (See Toury 1995, pp. 72–73.) Gentzler deems it necessary to ‘study not just single texts, but rather multiple translations of the same original text as they occur in one receiving culture at different times in history.’ (Gentzler, p. 130.)

Toury, too, relates the translation process to the socio-cultural constraints. He divides these constraints into three types along a graded continuum (on a scale) according to their potency: rules (general, relatively absolute and objective) at one pole, pure idiosyncrasies (subjective) at the other and norms (intersubjective) in the middle ground. Then he distinguishes three types of norms that influence translation decisions: the initial norm, preliminary norms and operational norms including matricial norms and textual-linguistic norms. He further talks about the inherent specificity and unstable, changing nature of norms.

Hermans acknowledges the importance of Toury's approach, and then he connects norms to the translator's decisions and choices. He further elaborates on norms and explains how they act as practical constraints on, or guide, the translator's

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85 `In its socio-cultural dimension, translation can be described as subject to constraints of several types and varying degree. These extend far beyond the source text, the systemic differences between the languages and textual traditions involved in the act, or even the possibilities and limitations of the cognitive apparatus of the translator as a necessary mediator. In fact, cognition itself is influenced, probably even modified by socio-cultural factors. At any rate, translators performing under different conditions (e.g., translating texts of different kinds, and/or for different audiences) often adopt different strategies, and ultimately come up with markedly different products.' (Toury 1995, p. 54.)

86 See ibid., p. 54.

87 See ibid., pp. 56–59.

88 See ibid., pp. 62–63.


90 'The agents, faced with an array of possible options, have to make choices and decisions about how to proceed.'

'It is here that the concept of norms can be usefully brought in. They facilitate and guide the process of decision-making. Norms govern the mode of import of cultural products — for example, of the translation of literary texts — to a considerable extent, at virtually every stage and every level, whenever choices between alternative courses of action need to be made.' (Ibid., p. 28.)
choices. He isolates and defines ‘rules’, ‘decrees’, ‘conventions’, and ‘norms’ as different types of constraints; then he identifies a ‘hierarchical structure of power relations’ among them. Bassnett has further developed these concepts in *Constructing Cultures*.

There is a tendency in the nature of Empirical Translation Studies that the field can benefit from the adjacent disciplines — the interdisciplinary nature. As Bassnett says, ‘A distinguishing feature of work in Translation Studies has been the combining of work in linguistics, literary studies, cultural history, philosophy, and anthropology.’

She also supports the ‘plurality of voices’ in translation studies: ‘Translation is, after all, dialogic in its very nature, involving as it does more than one voice. The study of translation, like the study of culture, needs a plurality of voices.’

It may be said that as far as the models and paradigms in other disciplines can enhance the descriptive/empirical nature of translation studies in upgrading it to a

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91 ‘Norms are prescriptive rules: they have a normative semantic load and are used to guide, control, or change the behaviour of agents with decision-making capacities. [...]’

‘Since norms imply a degree of social and psychological pressure, they act as practical constraints on the individual’s behaviour by foreclosing certain options and choices, which however always remain available in principle. [...] But since all action within the scope of conventions and norms requires the individual’s consent to some degree, such action is always a form of co-operative action.’ (Ibid., pp. 30–31.)

92 Ibid., p. 32.


94 Bassnett 1980, p. XI.

general theory of translation, they are not regarded as a threat to the autonomy of the discipline.

Translation studies, as a culturally oriented subject, draws on a number of disciplines, including psychology, ethnology and philosophy, without being a subdivision of any of them. Similarly, it can and should utilize relevant concepts and methods developed from the study of language (this despite massive misgivings on the part of scholars in literary translation [...] without automatically becoming a branch of linguistics or having to adopt linguistic methods and theoretical constructs wholesale.96

Another rewarding feature of Empirical Translation Studies is that it tries to be comprehensive in its coverage; that is, it intends to cover every kind/aspect of translation: literary and non-literary texts. While expressing regret about the 'exclusive' nature of linguistic and literary approaches to translation in their coverage of certain types of texts, Snell-Hornby feels optimistic that the culturally oriented approach to translation can bridge the gap.97

But Empirical Translation Studies are not without their drawbacks. There is a general reluctance in Translation Studies, especially among literary scholars, to relate their theoretical discussions to application. This can be accounted for by two major factors. The first is a reaction to the bitter consequences of the quick jump of the linguistic approaches to applied situations, another one is the general tendency among literary scholars to think that literary translation cannot be taught at all; i.e., it is an 'art'. Toury evades the responsibility of the scholar to draw conclusions from the theoretical branch to applied extensions:


97 'It is a sad fact that the linguistic and literary approaches to translation have up to now been mutually exclusive. [...] The culturally oriented approach to translation theory has some potential for bridging the gap, and indeed it implicitly embraces all kinds of translation.' (Snell-Hornby, in Translation, History and Culture, 1990, p. 84.)
To be sure, it has always been my conviction that it is no concern of a scientific discipline, not even in the so-called ‘science of man’, to effect changes in the world of our experience. Thus, as it should have become clear by now, I would hardly subscribe to the view (epitomised by Peter Newmark but shared by so many) that “translation theory’s main concern is to determine appropriate translation methods.” (Newmark 1981: 19).98

As a contrast, we can quote Wollin and Lindquist who believe that

Apart from being a pure science, adding to our general knowledge about the world, translation studies, or translation theory, certainly has a mission as an applied science, aiding translators, teachers at translators ‘colleges, translation critics and translation buyers.99

Nevertheless, Toury does not totally reject ‘the possibility of drawing conclusions from theoretical reasoning, or scientific findings, to actual behaviour’, but he puts this responsibility and the consequent blame on practitioners themselves.100

Some scholars, however, take a more moderate stance. Van Leuven-Zwart discusses the relevance of descriptive translation studies for the teaching of translation:

Research into the relation between translations and originals is important not only for Descriptive translation studies — also Applied translation studies, and notably the teaching of translating, could benefit from developments in this research. [...] The point is that methodologically sound descriptions of translations can serve to show prospective translators that they can make deliberate choices in the translation norms and strategies that they use.101

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100 Toury 1995, p. 17.
Likewise, Lefevere maintains that translation writers can familiarise prospective translators with ‘problems’ and ‘solutions’; they can provide students with examples of strategies that have been successful, as well those that have failed in the past, without prescribing any of them.\textsuperscript{102} Palma Zlateva’s thinking goes along the same lines.\textsuperscript{103}

Thus, it is clear that the reluctance towards application is not an inherent quality of the Empirical Translation Studies.

So what conclusions can we draw from this discourse within TS? Perhaps three major points need to be emphasised:

1. **Target-oriented paradigm:** In this approach, translation is regarded basically as a text in its own right, as an integral part of the target culture. Translated messages are primarily determined by TL socio-cultural constraints and norms — and not merely as a copy of another text (the notion of an original authoritative text with a fixed interpretation has been destabilised.) Translation Studies begin from the target text and the norms underlying its actualisation.

2. **Descriptive approach:** The emphasis on the target text naturally leads to a primarily descriptive approach that rejects the prescriptive and evaluative attitudes of both traditional and linguistics-based translation theories.

\textsuperscript{102} Lefevere 1992a, pp. 12–13.

\textsuperscript{103} ‘Just as linguistics compiling descriptive grammars of languages do, in effect, also codify current usage which is accepted as some kind of “norm”, translation scholars also codify translational norms, current and/or past. The distinction between codifying norms and imposing them is vital here: translation scholars codify practice and offer it for possible guidance, but the final decision always remains with the translator, who is, after all, a human being capable of making decisions, not a machine that is fed originals, blindly performs some abstract rule-governed operations, and “outputs” a translation.’ (Palma Zlateva, ed., *Translation as Social Action: Russian and Bulgarian Perspectives*, (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 2–3.)
3. Actual translated texts as the object of study: Emphasis has also shifted from the translation process and the problems underlying it to the result (the product and function), the translated text as a historical fact. Thus, the studies in this approach are concrete and empirical, with a strong emphasis on practical fieldwork and case studies. This means that the writings of the ETS scholars concentrate on describing, analysing and explaining translations, comparing different (parallel) translations of the same work, on investigating the reception of translations and tracing broad historical surveys.\textsuperscript{104}

Both linguistics-based translation theories and Empirical (culture-based) Translation Studies can provide some guidelines for the present research. Both attempt to be 'scientific' in the real sense in order to analyse, explain and predict the phenomenon of translation.

A major difference lies with the definition of the object of translation studies. 'Text in a certain socio-cultural situation' as the object of study, as developed by text linguistics or discourse analysis, can bring these two approaches close to each other. Another major difference is concerned with the approach to the study. The linguistics-based theories begin to study translation process or product with the source text (the original) and use the vague standard 'equivalence' in order to measure how successful a translation (the copy) is; whereas the culture-based (empirical) Translation Studies begin their study with the target text as an original text in its own right, and focus on the 'norms' of translation in a certain situation and culture that constrain the real task

of translation. Both approaches claim to be descriptive in their studies and try to avoid prescription.

This research will primarily follow the tenets of the empirical (culture-based) Translation Studies, though it will also take into consideration some findings of discourse analysis. The main focus will be on the translated texts — an integrated part of the target language — as the object of study and attempt will be made to describe, analyse and explain some micro-structural elements of the studied texts.

Comparison of translated texts that is proposed in the Empirical Translation Studies will be also of significance here. ‘Naturalness’, the topic of this study, will be approached from a target-oriented perspective. This topic will be discussed in the next chapter from the perspective of different translation approaches.
CHAPTER TWO

APPROACHES TO NATURALNESS

In this chapter we shall look at different approaches to naturalness starting with linguistics and continuing with traditional views of translation, linguistics-based translation theories, cultural approaches, and Empirical (Descriptive and Systemic) Translation Studies. Different translation approaches have used different terms to refer to the concept of ‘naturalness’. For example, traditionalists use ‘beauty’, ‘fluency’, and ‘ease of expression’, linguists use ‘well-formedness’ and ‘acceptability’, linguistics-based translation theorists use ‘naturalness’ and ‘idiomaticity’, Translation Studies scholars use ‘acceptability’, and cultural scholars use ‘fluency’, ‘transparency’, and ‘domestication’ to refer to more or less the same concept from different perspectives.105

105 Other near synonymous terms are also used: such as ‘smoothness’ in traditional views, ‘normality’ in linguistics-based theories, ‘readability’ in Translation Studies, ‘assimilation’ and ‘acclulturation’ in cultural approaches. All discuss more or less the same concept though from different angles.
A. Linguistics: Well-formedness and Acceptability

Linguistic approaches to the concept of ‘naturalness’ vary. In order to describe and account for this ‘beauty of the form’, ‘ease of expression’, or ‘fluency’ in an elaborate and clear way (or as they claim, ‘descriptively’ and ‘scientifically’) linguists have used and expounded different terms and concepts such as ‘well-formedness’ (or ‘grammaticalness’/‘grammaticality’), and ‘acceptability’ as opposed to ‘oddity’, ill-formedness, and ‘unacceptability’. ‘Acceptability’ covers a wider semantic area than ‘grammaticalness’ (a special case of ‘acceptability’). ‘Acceptability’ (as discussed in linguistics) and ‘naturalness’ overlap in their semantic areas to a very large proportion.

Most traditional grammarians as well as modern linguists make a distinction between grammatical and lexical oddity (or abnormality, anomaly, deviance, incongruity, ill-formedness, etc.). John Lyons mentions this distinction made by linguists and philosophers:

Traditionally, linguists and philosophers have distinguished between two principles of well-formedness in the construction of sentences and phrases: one in terms of which they are said to be grammatical (vs. ungrammatical), the other in terms of which they are said to be significant (vs. meaningless).

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106 After the development of Pragmatics, a third division is put forth, i.e. ‘pragmatic well-formedness’. Thus, Papegaij and Schubert adopt three types of ‘grammaticality’: ‘There are various classifications of grammaticality, but most of them roughly distinguish something like syntactic, semantic and pragmatic grammaticality. According to such accounts, in syntactically deviant utterances the form of words and syntagmata violates the rules, in semantically deviant utterances the formal arrangement is correct, but the combination of meaning-bearing elements runs counter to selection rules and in pragmatically deviant texts semantically correct utterances do not fit into any imaginable situation.’ (Papegaij and Schubert, p. 192.)

Noam Chomsky distinguishes grammaticalness from meaningfulness: ‘Grammar is best formulated as a self-contained study independent of semantics. In particular, the notion of grammaticalness cannot be identified with meaningfulness.’

Lyons (1977) raises ‘corrigibility’ as a criterion to distinguish between grammatical unacceptability and collocational (lexical) unacceptability. Frank R. Palmer, too, uses this criterion to distinguish between these two kinds of oddity.

Chomsky introduces the notion of ‘acceptability’ and contrasts it with grammaticalness (or well-formedness). He considers ‘grammaticalness’ a ‘far more important notion’. However, Robin Lakoff completely rejects it (i.e., grammaticalness) as ‘neither necessary nor possible within a coherent linguistic theory’:


110 ‘If a grammatical rule is broken, we can, and usually will, correct the sentence while if the sentence conforms to no grammatical rules we simply rule it out as gibberish. Where, however, the deviance lies in the collocational (selectional) restrictions, i.e. lexical, we shall usually try to make sense of the sentence by looking for a context in which it might be used, for we would normally assume that collocations imply semantic compatibility. For instance, “John drinks fish” might seem to be deviant, until we think about fish soup, and it is by no means difficult to find a poetic interpretation (or even possibly a scientific one) for “The water is fragile.” ’ (Frank R. Palmer, *Semantics* (2nd ed.) (Cambridge: CUP, 1981), p. 134.)

111 ‘Let us use the term “acceptable” to refer to utterances that are perfectly natural and immediately comprehensible without paper-and-pencil analysis, and in no way bizarre or outlandish. Obviously, acceptability will be a matter of degree, along various dimensions. [...]’

‘The notion “acceptable” is not to be confused with “grammatical”. Acceptability is a concept that belongs to the study of performance, where grammaticalness belongs to the study of competence. [...] Like acceptability, grammaticalness is no doubt, a matter of degree (cf. Chomsky, 1955, 1957, 1961), but the scales of grammaticalness and acceptability do not coincide. Grammaticalness is only one of many factors that interact to determine acceptability. Correspondingly, although one might propose various operational tests for acceptability, it is unlikely that a necessary and sufficient operational criterion might be invented for the much more abstract and far more important notion of grammaticalness.’ (Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1965), pp. 10–11.)
Another way to view the grammatical/acceptability distinction is to say that grammaticality is a special case of acceptability. A sentence is grammatical if it is acceptable according to purely linguistic criteria. Grammaticality is acceptability short of social and psychological differentiations. Then it seems fairly apparent that grammaticality is a very highly specialized and not terribly useful concept, outside the realm of strictly autonomous syntax. As soon as we concur that autonomous syntax is not a viable level of analysis (as various works written in the last ten years have, I feel, conclusively proved), we see that a separate notion of grammaticality is neither necessary nor possible within a coherent linguistic theory.  

The difference between these two terms and concepts: ‘well-formedness’ and ‘acceptability’ is that the former belongs to a model of ‘abstract’ language devoid of its social context and its real users, that is, the Chomskian model of language as ‘competence’. This notion is criticised by linguists who study language in its real context, those who do not isolate language from its users. They, who study the ‘performance’ of language, prefer to use ‘acceptability’ as a necessary concept to describe a ‘natural’ usage of language.

Van Dijk talks of ‘theoretical’ versus ‘real’ properties of utterances as grammaticalness vs. acceptability. 113 Beaugrande and Dressler compare these two opposing attitudes and, quoting Lambek, distinguish grammaticality from acceptability. 114


114 ‘Lambek (1961: 167) sarcastically pointed out the disparity of attitudes: “At one extreme there are those who call every utterance a sentence. [...] At the other extreme there are those who would declare cannibalism ungrammatical on the grounds that ‘man’ does not belong to the class of food-nouns.” Lambek is addressing two opposed outlooks on language study: (a) the insistence on actually occurring grammatical data as all belonging to the language, and (b) the belief that a grammar can specify all possible relationships independently of actual occurrences. To mediate between these opposites, it has become customary to distinguish between grammaticality (what is stipulated by an abstract grammar)
In judging whether a sentence or an utterance is well-formed or not, an informant uses his imagination. This is put by Levelt et al. as follows:

If one asks an informant how he performs the judgement task, a usual answer is something like: ‘I try to imagine a situation in which the phrase or sentence can be said.’ The informant seems to ‘use’ imagery in answering the grammaticality or acceptability question: he tries to find a cognitive, preferably visual, context in which the sentence could make sense.115

Linguistics owes much to George Lakoff for the inclusion of presupposition into his grammar, called ‘fuzzy grammar’.116 Lakoff provides a few sentences such as,

\[
(15) \text{(a) My uncle realizes that I'm a lousy cook.}^{117}
\]

My cat
My goldfish
My frying pan

[...]

Then, he discusses the possibility of their being considered as acceptable by some people. Finally he concludes: ‘One’s judgement of the well-formedness of


116 Hörmann describes Lakoff’s approach as follows:
‘Lakoff (1971b) maintains that any discussion of well-formedness has to include presuppositions about “the nature of the world”. The type of inclusions, he says, depends on linguistic competence, whereas the actual judgements about well-formedness relative to extralinguistic knowledge are vested in performance. According to Lakoff, a grammar ought to generate not only descriptions of sentences but pairs \((P, S)\) which consist of the presupposition \(P\) relative to which \(S\) is grammatical. While welcoming Lakoff’s attempt to bring the notion of grammaticality closer to that of the intelligibility of the world, we still miss the necessary psychological treatment of presupposition.’ (H. Hörmann, To Mean to Understand: Problems of Psychological Semantics, trans. by B.A. Tankowski (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1981), p. 140.)

sentences seems to vary with one’s beliefs or assumptions. [...] Judgements of well-formedness depend on extralinguistic factors.\textsuperscript{118} He proposes a model of grammar where S (a sentence) is paired with P (presupposition) relative to which S is considered well-formed.\textsuperscript{119} Thus, Lakoff believes that extralinguistic factors affect only judgements of deviance (semantic oddity), but not those of grammatical well-formedness.\textsuperscript{120} By introducing the notion of ‘degree of well-formedness’ in his grammar, he tries to bridge the gap between the theoretical well-formedness and the pragmatic acceptability of expressions.

In Fuzzy grammar (a model of grammar proposed by Lakoff (1973), the well-formedness of sentences is viewed as a scale ranging from 1 (completely well-formed) to 0 (completely ill-formed), rather than the standard dichotomy of well-formed/ill-formed. The degree of well-formedness of a sentence depends on the rules which have applied in its derivation. Thus a rule in Fuzzy grammar will have associated with it a rule function defining the degree of well-formedness of its output. The degree of well-formedness depends on the rule involved and on factors entering into the rule. It is claimed that ‘hierarchies’ or ordering relations exist within factors and that these hierarchies will be largely constant from speaker to speaker. However, different speakers will have different acceptability thresholds.\textsuperscript{121}

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., pp. 332–33.

\textsuperscript{119} ‘Suppose that S is well-formed only relative to \textsc{PR}. Then a speaker will make certain judgements about the well-formedness or ill-formedness of S which will vary with his extralinguistic knowledge. If the presuppositions of \textsc{PR} do not accord with his factual knowledge, cultural background, or beliefs about the world, then he may judge S to be “odd”, “strange”, “deviant”, “ungrammatical”, or simply ill-formed relative to his own presuppositions about the nature of the world. Thus, extralinguistic factors very often enter in judgements of well-formedness. This is a matter of performance. The linguistic competence underlying this is the ability of a speaker to pair sentences with the presuppositions relative to which they are well-formed.’ (Ibid., pp. 329–330.)

\textsuperscript{120} ‘Extralinguistic factors do not affect grammatical well-formedness, a notion from the theory of competence which is defined only for (\textsc{PR}, S) pairs; such factors do affect judgements of deviance, which concerns performance, i.e., the use of a sentence in a given context. The failure to observe this distinction has led to considerable confusion in the past decade.’ (Ibid., p. 337.)


B. Traditional Views of Translation: Fluency and Beauty

The history of traditional translation theory was a continual rehashing of the same faithful (literal, formal) versus free theoretical distinction and connecting 'beauty' and 'fluency' to free translation and 'ugliness' and 'strangeness' to faithful translation.

In the pre-linguistic period of writing on translation, which may be said to date from Cicero through St. Jerome, Luther, Dryden, Tytler, Herder, Goethe, Schleiermacher, Buber, Ortega y Gasset, not to say Savory, opinion swung between literal and free, faithful and beautiful, exact and natural translation, depending on whether the bias was to be in favour of the author or the reader, the source or the target language of the text.\textsuperscript{122}

George Steiner says, 'the theory of translation, certainly, since the seventeenth century, almost invariably divides the topic into three classes.\textsuperscript{123} A famous triple scheme of this sort is the one put forth by Dryden. Here is Steiner's summary of Dryden's views:

The true road for the translator lies neither through metaphrase (word-for-word translation) nor imitation (free translation). It is that of paraphrase or 'translation with latitude', where the author is kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense, and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not altered.\textsuperscript{124}

Thus, Dryden chose a middle way to compromise between the literal and free methods of translation. This middle way for Tytler is a 'good translation' that is attainable through the 'union of ease with fidelity'. Writing the first book on the principles of translation (1790), Alexander F. Tytler (i.e. Lord Woodhouselee) describes the qualities of a good translation as follows:

\textsuperscript{122} Newmark 1981, p. 38.


\textsuperscript{124} Ibid., pp. 255–256.
I would describe a good translation to be, that, in which the merit of the original work is so completely transfused into another language, as to be as distinctly apprehended, and as strongly felt, by a native of the country to which that language belongs, as it is by those who speak the language of the original work.

Now, supposing this description to be a just one, which I think it is, let us examine what are the laws of translation which may be deduced from it. It will follow:

A. That the translation should give a complete transcript of ideas of the original work.

B. That the style and manner of writing should be of the same character with that of the original.

C. That the translation should have all the ease of the original composition.125

He describes the last quality or requisite of a good translation — the 'ease of the original expression' — as the most difficult part of the translator's task. Then comparing the translator's task with that of a painter, he implies that a good translation requires an artistic 'union of ease with fidelity'.126 'Ease of the original expression', Tytler's term for the concept of 'naturalness', was an improvement over 'beauty' and could describe the concept of 'naturalness' much better. His description of 'ease/naturalness' and particularly his notion of the 'union of ease with fidelity' have strongly influenced translation theorists during the last two centuries.

Tytler believes that the 'composition' (language) produced by adopting 'the literal mode of translation' abounds in 'barbarism, solecisms, and grammatical inaccuracy'; and such mode 'gives us obscure and unintelligible sentiments, conveyed


126 Ibid., pp. 112–113.
in barbarous terms and constructions, irreconcilable to the rules of the language in which he uses them.\textsuperscript{127}

Like Tytler, Barnstone talks of the 'fidelity to beauty in the original',\textsuperscript{128} he also believes that when the beauty of the form is ignored, the translation becomes 'gibberish' and unattractive.\textsuperscript{129} Discussing the faithfulness and freedom of the translator, he prescribes 'clear and beautiful' writing as 'one enduring ethical principle in literary translation'.\textsuperscript{130}

\textbf{C. Linguistics-based Translation Theories: Naturalness}

The linguistics-based translation theorists mixed traditional views with new findings of modern linguistics in the 20th century in order to provide a 'scientific' nature for their theories.

The 'qualities of a good translation' that were put forth by Tytler have been retained up to the present time in some books written on translation. The third quality, 'ease of original composition' or 'ease of expression', to use Tytler's words, has given its way to a new term, that is, 'naturalness'. Barnwell, writing on Bible translation, enlists the three most important qualities of a good translation as follows:

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{127} Ibid., pp. 67–68.
  \item \textsuperscript{128} Barnstone, p. 269.
  \item \textsuperscript{129} Ibid., p. 230.
  \item \textsuperscript{130} 'After the moral slogans of discipline, the debate over faith and freedom, there remains one enduring ethical principle in literary translation: the true ethical task of the translator is to be a good writer, to produce a work that is clear and beautiful, however close or distant the inspiring source voice.' (Ibid., p. 261.)
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
1) Accuracy — Correct exegesis of the source message, and transfer of the meaning of that message as exactly as possible into the receptor language.

2) Clarity — There may be several different ways of expressing an idea — choose the way which ordinary people will understand.

3) Naturalness — it is important to use the natural form of the receptor language if the translation is to be effective and acceptable. A translation should not sound foreign.131

Newmark expounds these qualities, especially naturalness, in an elaborate way:

For all texts (except the ones you know are ‘odd’ or badly written but authoritative, innovatory or ‘special’, e.g., where a writer has a peculiar way of writing which has to be reproduced, [...] for the vast majority of texts, you have to ensure:

(a) that your translation makes sense;
(b) that it reads naturally, that it is written in ordinary language, the common grammar, idioms and words that meet that kind of situation. Normally, you can only do this by temporarily disengaging yourself from the SL text, by reading your own translation as though no original existed.132

Newmark outlines the translation ‘standards of excellence’ that can be ‘determined only through the informed discussion of experts or exceptionally intelligent laymen133 in translation evaluation as follows:

After mistakes have been ‘proved’ by reference to encyclopaedias and dictionaries, experts have to rely on their intuition and taste in preferring one of two or three good translations of a sentence or paragraph. [...] The main matters under dispute may be whether the translator has understood the tone, the writer’s attitude towards the information presented. [...] Further, the experts, the third readers, have to decide intuitively whether the text is natural (‘Would one actually see that on the printed page?’), with the

proviso that they first agree what kind of printed page they are talking about. In the case of ‘expressive’ writing the criterion is: ‘would he write that?’\textsuperscript{134}

He also describes ‘three points of reference’ in translation criticism:

1- the readers’ concept of natural usage or social language (naturalness),

2- the linguistic differences between the target language and the original (accuracy),

3- checking the translation and with it the original in relation to the truth, the material facts, and moral and aesthetic principles\textsuperscript{135}, so that the translation is evaluated as an independent freestanding work. (Basically non-linguistic)\textsuperscript{136}

However, he rejects the generality of ‘naturalness’. Although he asserts that it is an ‘appropriate’ criterion for some translations, he also adds that it can be ‘irrelevant’ for others.\textsuperscript{137}

Translation theorists such as Nida and Taber believe that the best translation should not sound like a translation.\textsuperscript{138} Among a series of polar distinctions raised by Nida and Taber there is ‘naturalness’ as opposed to ‘formal correspondence’.\textsuperscript{139} They also introduce ‘dynamic equivalence’ as opposed to ‘formal correspondence’.

\textsuperscript{134} Ibid., p. 18.

\textsuperscript{135} In a recent interview with \textit{Motarjem (‘The Translator’)}, an Iranian Journal of Translation, Peter Newmark explains the third criterion as referring to ‘the facts and truth of the original text’ and ‘moral values generally related to human rights that are reflected in the words chosen by the translator’. (Muhammad Shahba, ‘Interview with Peter Newmark’, \textit{Motarjem (‘The Translator’)}, 29 (1999), 17–26 (pp. 18–19).)

\textsuperscript{136} Peter Newmark, \textit{About Translation} (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1991), p. 163.

\textsuperscript{137} Ibid., p. 39.

\textsuperscript{138} Nida and Taber, p. 13.

\textsuperscript{139} Ibid., p. 14.
Therefore, one may conclude that there is a high correlation between naturalness and dynamic equivalence. As Nida puts it,

A translation of dynamic equivalence aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries the receptor to modes of behaviour relevant within the context of his own culture; it does not insist that he understand the cultural patterns of the source-language context in order to comprehend the message.\(^{140}\)

Catford states that there is merely a relative formal correspondence between languages, and considers the notion of formal correspondence a useful one in the discussion related to theory of translation.\(^{141}\) He also contrasts formal correspondence with 'textual equivalence'.\(^{142}\)

Beekman and Callow connect their concept of 'naturalness' with the concept of 'ease' developed by Tytler: 'The ease with which a message will be understood depends on the naturalness of structure, and such naturalness of structure is assured by the importance the speaker or writer places upon his message.'\(^{143}\) Like Tytler, they compare the level of naturalness in the receptor language with that of the original. 'The naturalness of the translation and the ease with which it is understood should be comparable to the naturalness of the original and to the ease with which the recipients of the original documents understood them.'\(^{144}\)


\(^{142}\) Ibid., § 1034.

\(^{143}\) Beekman and Callow, p. 39.

\(^{144}\) Ibid., p. 34.
They introduce a new concept: 'the dynamics of the original' and a new type of fidelity: the 'dynamic fidelity' in order to incorporate 'naturalness' as part of fidelity to the original:

A translation which transfers the meaning and the dynamics of the original text is to be regarded as a faithful translation. [...] The expression, the dynamics, means that (1) the translation makes a natural use of the linguistic structures of the RL and that (2) the recipients of the translation understand the message with ease. 145

Beekman and Callow distinguish between 'naturalness' and 'familiar information'. 146 Following this argument, Mildred L. Larson stresses that 'new information' can be expressed in a 'natural and clear manner'. 147

E. A. Gutt offers a critical review of views on naturalness. 148 He surveys the views of Beekman and Callow on naturalness and 'idiomatic translation' and criticises them for overlooking the significant role of context. 149

145 Ibid., p. 34.

146 'The dynamics of the translation are not dependent on familiar information. New information can be presented in a dynamic form. It is often said that a translation should not sound like a translation at all. This statement applies to the manner in which the information is communicated but not to the matter which is communicated. Thus, the images used in live figures (parables, allegories, illustrations, and similitudes) need not be replaced by substitutes to attain meaningfulness even though to do so would clothe the message in familiar terms and make it more immediately relevant to some particular segment of society.' (Ibid., p. 41.)


148 It is claimed at times in the literature that a good translation should read not like a translation at all, but like a target-language original. Usually this merely expresses the requirement that in terms of style, or naturalness of expression, a translation should be indistinguishable from a receptor language original. However, at times this claim reflects the idea that there are instances of translation where the translated text is intended to function like a target language original. (Gutt, p. 45.)

149 'Let us turn to the claim that idiomatic translations should resemble the original in its "dynamics". [...] They (Beekman and Callow 1974) point out that some allowance needs to be made for problems caused by differences in language and culture: "Such a comparison of the dynamics of the original
The opposite of naturalness is ‘lack of naturalness’ which is more tangible and discernible. Providing some examples indicating ‘lack of naturalness’, Beekman and Callow try to define it as follows:

Basically, lack of naturalness in form means that the translation does not “flow” in a normal way. It may be stilted and jerky; it may have “too much crammed” into too few sentences; or it may emphasize the wrong things and not emphasize the right ones. 150

Then they further explain,

Lack of naturalness in form is not simply a matter of sounding a bit stilted, or heavy, or obscure. It can readily lead to distortions of the message itself, so that lack of dynamic fidelity may pass into lack of fidelity to the meaning. 151

A concept related to unnaturalness is that of ‘clash’ — the explicit instances of unnaturalness. Beekman and Callow distinguish between three types of clash: grammatical, collocational and cultural clashes that correspond to syntactic, semantic and pragmatic ill-formedness in linguistics. 152

Gutt maintains that the ‘relevance’ principle can account for unnaturalness:

with that of a translation must bear in mind that the message may have been easier for the original recipients to understand because Greek was the language of both writers and readers, and they shared the same or similar cultures” (Beekman and Callow 1974: 34). Yet they do not consider these differences as serious obstacles that might invalidate the demand for naturalness and ease of comprehension of the translated text because the writers [...], “wrote to be understood”: “[...] On the other hand, the message was not dependent upon these local advantages since the writers were not penning abstract theses or obscure philosophies but had a very practical aim in view; they wrote to be understood.” (Beekman and Callow 1974: 34.) This statement reveals a significant lack of appreciation of the crucial role that context plays in communication: it seems to strongly imply that there is a way of “writing to be understood” that is independent of differences in contextual assumptions, such as arise from historical, cultural and other differences.’ (Ibid., pp. 90–91.)

150 Beekman and Callow, p. 42.

151 Ibid., p. 44.

152 See Beekman and Callow, p. 162.
I believe that many instances of 'unnaturalness' in translation can be accounted for in terms of inconsistency with the principle of relevance, if both processing effort and contextual effects are considered.\footnote{153}

Translation theories, particularly linguistics-based approaches to translation, have always discussed and questioned the validity of (the extreme versions of) two opposite approaches to, or methods of, translation: i.e., literal vs. free.\footnote{154} Beaugrande and Dressler, for example, question the success of an unduly literal or an unduly free translation. The former may create an 'awkward or even unintelligible' text while the latter may 'cause the original text to disintegrate and disappear altogether'.\footnote{155}

These methods are widely considered as two extremes or opposing polarities and usually rejected. Along with this rejection, translation theorists try to introduce and describe an in-between proper method.

Some theorists have tried to cut through this conflict between literal and free approaches to translation and put an end to discussions between advocates of literal translation and those adhering to free translation by introducing an overriding principle of translation: the determining role of the reader, and the equivalent effect\footnote{156}, i.e. to produce the same effect on the readership of the translation as was obtained on the readership of the original. Newmark puts it in the following way:

Since the rise of modern linguistics, and anticipated by Tytler in 1790, Larbald, Belloc, Knox and Rieu, the general emphasis, supported by communication-theorists as well as by non-literary translators, has been placed on the reader — on informing the reader effectively and

\footnote{153}{Gutt, p. 116.}
\footnote{154}{See footnote 122.}
\footnote{155}{Beaugrande and Dressler 1981, p. 216.}
\footnote{156}{Nida and Taber (1969) call it 'dynamic equivalence'.}
appropriately, notably in Nida, Firth, Koller and the Leipzig School. [...] Koller (1972) has stated that the equivalent-effect principle of translation is tending to rule out all others particularly the predominance of any formal elements such as word or structure.\(^{157}\)

However, Newmark thinks it (i.e., equivalent effect on the target reader) is 'illusory', and believes that the old opposition between 'emphasis on source and target language' will persist as 'an overriding problem' in translation theory and practice.\(^{158}\) In order to narrow this gap, like Beekman and Callow (1974), Newmark differentiates among different levels or degrees of literal or free methods of translating by developing and describing up to eight types of translation.\(^{159}\) He describes them elaborately in his book 'A Textbook of Translation' (1988) and puts them in the form of a flattened V diagram as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL emphasis</th>
<th>TL emphasis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Word-for-word translation</td>
<td>Adaptation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literal translation</td>
<td>Free translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faithful translation</td>
<td>Idiomatic translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic translation</td>
<td>Communicative translation(^{160})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Commenting on these methods, he remarks:

I should first say that only semantic and communicative translation fulfil the two main aims of translation, which are first accuracy, and second, economy. [...] In general, a semantic translation is written at the author's linguistic


\(^{158}\) Newmark 1981, p. 38.


\(^{160}\) Newmark 1998, p. 45.
level, a communicative at the readership’s. Semantic translation is used for ‘expressive’ texts, communicative for ‘informative’ and ‘vocative’ texts.\textsuperscript{161}

Newmark believes that ‘communicative’ method makes a translation ‘more natural’, and ‘semantic’ translation causes ‘clash’.\textsuperscript{162}

Literal translation, especially highly literal type or word-for-word translation, has often been considered to be the source of ‘translationese’. Nida and Taber remark that ‘in some instances translators have actually tried to ‘remake’ a language.’\textsuperscript{163} They call this artificial language ‘translationese’ and believe that it is caused by formal fidelity:

A good translation of the Bible must not be a ‘cultural translation’. Rather, it is a ‘linguistic translation’. Nevertheless, this does not mean that it should exhibit in its grammatical and stylistic forms any trace of awkwardness or strangeness. That is to say, it should studiously avoid ‘translationese’ — formal fidelity, with resulting unfaithfulness to the content and the impact of the message.\textsuperscript{164}

Describing ‘translationese’, Steiner states that the translator who adopts ‘strict literalism’ produces an ‘interlingua’, i.e. texts made up of unchecked ‘lexical transfers’, of ‘grammatical hybrids’ that belong neither to the source nor to the target language; he denounces such translation as ‘Greek English’ or ‘the slipshod farrago of \textit{franglais}’.\textsuperscript{165}

\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., p. 47.

\textsuperscript{162} Newmark 1991, p. 166.

\textsuperscript{163} Nida and Taber, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{164} Ibid., p. 13.

\textsuperscript{165} Steiner, pp. 316.
Alan Duff, in his book *Third Language*, calls such 'an English of no place and no time' 'a third language' and 'a hybrid of French and English'. He also rejects this 'third language' and attributes it to 'the influence of the source language'.

The traditional views use 'beauty', 'fluency', and 'ease of expression', and linguistics-based translation theorists use 'naturalness' and 'idiomaticity' to refer to the same concept. They consider 'ease of the original expression', 'fluency', or 'naturalness' as a criterion of a good translation and reject 'strangeness', 'translationese', or 'hybridity' for which they blame the literal (or word-for-word method of) translation and interference from the source language. Neither of them discusses the political implications of 'naturalness' explicitly though some scholars in the field of the Bible translation have mentioned the importance of 'naturalness' in disseminating the Word of God in other cultures.

*D. Cultural Approaches: Foreignisation versus Domestication*

In contrast, Venuti's recent influential approach advocates a cultural view of translation. He arrays a set of dichotomies dividing translation theory into two approaches: on the one hand, 'foreignization', 'resistance', 'translator's visibility',

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167 Ibid., p. 116.
168 For example, see Nida and Taber 1969.
169 It seems that the Russian Formalism has inspired Venuti to devise his theory of 'foreignization'. As Gentzler hints it, he talks about a concept that Translation Studies scholars have borrowed from Russian Formalism: 'defamiliarization':

'Borrowing another aspect of Russian Formalism, perhaps its best known and most easily embraced principle — the defamiliarization (*ostranenie*) device — Translation Studies scholars attempt to measure the text's relation to its tradition. Because they did not inflate the value of
and 'archaizing' tilting towards the author and the source text, and on the other hand, 'domestication', 'submission', 'fluency', 'translator's invisibility' and 'transparency' privileging the target culture and readers. He prefers and takes sides with the first translation method; however, it may not be accepted by the dominant trend in Anglo-American culture.

Venuti defines 'fluency' and 'transparency' as two features related to the 'hegemonic classes' in the Anglo-American culture.\textsuperscript{170} He further relates 'fluency' with the 'ethnocentric violence of domestication'.\textsuperscript{171} He defines 'transparency' and describes it as an 'illusionistic effect':

Transparency occurs only when the translation reads fluently, when there are no awkward phrasings, unidiomatic constructions or confused meanings, when clear syntactical connections and consistent pronouns create intelligibility for the reader. When the translation is a poem in free verse, varied rhythms that avoid jogtrot meters are needed to give the language a conversational quality, to make it sound natural. [...] These formal techniques reveal that transparency is an illusionistic effect: it depends on the translator's work with language, but it hides this work, even the very presence of language, by suggesting that the author can be seen in the translation, that in it the author speaks in his or her own voice.\textsuperscript{172}

He believes that 'submission' to 'fluency' and 'domestication' can best describe the English-language translation theory and practice that he disapproves.\textsuperscript{173}

\textsuperscript{170} See Venuti, p. 43.

\textsuperscript{171} Ibid., p. 61.

\textsuperscript{172} Ibid., p. 286.

\textsuperscript{173} 'The theory and practice of English-language translation [...] has been dominated by submission, by fluent domestication, at least since Dryden. [...] English-language translators have let their choice of foreign texts and their development of translation strategies conform to dominant cultural values in English, and among these values transparent discourse has prevailed, even if in varying forms.' (Ibid., p. 309.)
Other Translation Studies scholars have also discussed the phenomenon of 'domestication' or 'acculturation' in translation. For example, Bassnett and Lefevere introduce the concept of 'analogy' that leads to 'the obliteration of differences between cultures and the texts they produce' in a democratic way. 174 Piotr Kuhiwczak uses the concept of 'appropriation' to refer to the process of 'domestication'. 175

Some scholars put more emphasis on the political nature of 'domestication' (or 'naturalness'). Douglas Robinson, for instance, records that for foreignisers, 'assimilative'/‘domesticating' translation is a 'primary tool of empire'. 176 Niranjana considers 'colonial discourse' to be what the Western translation theorists called 'natural' language. 177

174 'The most obvious form of negotiation between textual and conceptual grids is that of analogy; it is also the most superficial one, and the one that leads, inevitably, to the obliteration of differences between cultures and the texts they produce. Analogy is the easy way in negotiations between cultures, precisely because it slants the culture of origin toward the receiving culture, whose prestige is perceived to be so much greater. But it need not be the only way.' (Bassnett and Lefevere 1998, p. 7.)


176 'The driving idea behind this set of assumptions is that assimilative or domesticating translation, which used to be called "sense-for-sense" translation, is a primary tool of empire insofar as it encourages colonial powers (or, more generally the "stronger" or "hegemonic" cultures) to translate foreign texts into their own terms, thus eradicating cultural differences and creating a bufferzone of assimilated "sameness" around them. Members of hegemonic cultures are therefore never exposed to true difference, for they are strategically protected from the disturbing experience of the foreign-protected not only through assimilative translations but also through five-star hotels in third-world countries, and the like. Members of peripheralized cultures in turn are forced to "write for translation", to preshape their cultural expressions to meet hegemonic expectations. In this way diversity is gradually leached out of the world, and we are all immeasurably impoverished.' (Douglas Robinson, Translation and Empire: Postcolonial Theories Explained (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1997), p. 109.)

177 'European translations of Indian texts prepared for a Western audience provided the “educated” Indian with a whole range of Orientalist images. [...] English education also familiarised the Indian with ways of seeing, techniques of translation, or modes of representation that came to be accepted as “natural.”' (Niranjana 1992, p. 31)
Anthony Pym relates some criticism of 'naturalness':

Some translation theories turn this technocratic evasion into an incipient morality, finding in "natural" language a kind of universal common ground to be attained and retained. Such is the paradise targeted by Nida's "closest natural equivalence" (1959: 33) and, more belligerently, by Newmark's campaign against jargon, pretension and superficially asymmetric discrimination. [...] 

There have been numerous outcries against naturalness of language. One of the loudest came from Roland Barthes, who bluntly declared the apparently democratic tongue to be not only undemocratic but quite simply fascist, since "fascism does not prohibit the saying of things; it obliges things to be said" [...] Missionary-translators may similarly suffer from a lack of neutrality, since in many languages God must be either male or female, and natural common ground is hard to find. 178

Also, Robinson notices that the post-colonial foreignisers seek a 'remedy' to the problem — created by domestication — of levelling the diversity between cultures: "The remedy to this situation, for the post-colonial foreignizers, is a mode of translation designed to retain and assert difference and diversity by sticking closely to the contours of the source text." 179 Niranjana also expresses a preference for the foreignisation strategy and 'heterogeneity' over 'homogeneity'. 180

'Foreignisation' has been criticised from different perspectives and for various reasons. Lefevere disapproves of the use of Schleiermacher's model for modern

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178 However, Pym continues to answer such criticism, 'And yet Barthes managed to express amorous sentiments in fragments of beautiful French; and Bible translators manage to translate. [...]'

translations, because ‘Schleiermacher and some of his contemporaries produced their translations not for the monolingual reader who has no access whatsoever to the original, but rather for the educated reader who was able to read original and translation side by side.’\textsuperscript{181}

There is an important controversy brought about by Venuti. He rejects ‘fluency’ by associating it with ‘aristocratic literary culture’ and ‘hegemonic classes’, in other words, with elitism.\textsuperscript{182} At the same time, his ‘foreignising’ strategy produces a kind of translation appropriate for ‘a limited readership, an educated elite’.\textsuperscript{183} It is certain that when a translation ‘submits to fluency’, to use Venuti’s terminology, the scope of the readership expands; that is, the number of readers who are able and willing to read such a passage increases. However, if we believe that only a limited readership, a highly educated elite, should read or have the right to read literature,\textsuperscript{184} then we can make our composition as unintelligible and as strange as we like. A translation may follow a foreignising strategy; however, as critics record, such a translation may not gain acceptance with the receptors and the receptor culture.\textsuperscript{185}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{180} Niranjana, p. 120.
\item \textsuperscript{181} André Lefevre, ed., \textit{Translation/ History/ Culture} (London: Routledge, 1992b), p. 5.
\item \textsuperscript{182} Venuti, p. 43.
\item \textsuperscript{183} Ibid., p. 101.
\item \textsuperscript{184} This view that ‘literature is an exclusive right of the elite’ might have been acceptable when education was not available to the public and the printing machine was not yet invented. At that time, one might think that common people did not have access to literature, so it was not necessary to write in a manner to be understood by ordinary people. Still, this seemingly acceptable view is also debatable since in many cultures literature (poetry, plays, etc.) was written to be read orally or performed on the stage for the ordinary people who could not read themselves.
\item \textsuperscript{185} Venuti himself reports the pitiful fate of those who rejected ‘fluency’ and advocated foreignising strategy. (Venuti, p. 309.)
\end{itemize}
Another type of criticism of ‘foreignisation’ is the total rejection of polarisation between ‘foreignisation versus domestication’. Robinson rejects the distinction between ‘foreignising’ and ‘domesticating’ a text, for being based on a ‘naive linguistics’; he maintains that ‘there are infinite varieties of “familiarity” or “ordinariness” in a language’ that ‘certainly do not all imprison their users in hegemonic or colonial prison cells of the mind’.\(^{186}\) This type of criticism (or rejection of dichotomies) will be expounded and discussed in detail in the next chapter.

This ‘resistance’ towards ‘domestication’ and attempt to impose ‘foreignness’ on the target language or revival of the original text and culture can be criticised for different reasons. Firstly, ‘resistance’ against the dominant domestic cultural values, or against the ‘domestication’ or repression of foreign cultures does not necessarily require the production of any translationese or unnatural language since naturalness

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Also, Piotr Kuhlwezak provides a historical fact regarding Byron’s translations into Slavic languages:

‘Polish, Czech and Russian scholars have produced detailed bibliographical lists of all Byron translations, only to acknowledge that almost none of these early efforts have survived as literary texts. The translations which have survived are those in which Byron was domesticated, and was able to enter the blood-stream of national literatures.’ (Piotr Kuhlwezak, ‘Translation and National Canons: Slav Perceptions of English Romanticism’, in Translating literature, ed. by Susan Bassnett (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), pp. 80–94 (p. 84).)

Kuhlwezak believes that translated literature can survive through the process of ‘appropriation’, ‘adaptation’ or ‘domestication’. In the same vein, Bassnett maintains that ‘For a translation to survive, it has to cross the boundaries between cultures and enter the literature into which it is translated.’ (Susan Bassnett, ‘Intricate Pathways: Observations on Translation and Literature’, in Translating Literature, ed. by Susan Bassnett (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), pp. 1–13 (p. 8).)

\(^{186}\) ‘The distinction between “foreignizing” and “assimilating”’ “domesticating” a text is in any case based on a naive linguistics. For post-colonial foreignists, the familiar is a narrowly circumscribed realm of language or culture grounded in ruling-class ideology and a blandly repressive “ordinary language”. To translate into this “familiar” or “ordinary” language is always, therefore, to impose a hegemonic straitjacket on a text — one that Venuti calls “fluency” or “invisibility”. But there are infinite varieties of “familiarity” or “ordinariness” in a language, and they certainly do not all imprison their users in hegemonic or colonial prison cells of the mind. What seems “familiar” or “ordinary” or “fluent” is never an intrinsic property of a word or phrase; it is sometimes built up by long usage, so that it may seem intrinsic (though it too can and will change with time), but in other cases it is purely situational, so that a new coinage, something no one has ever heard, strikes everyone present with the force of rightness and a new word is born.’ (Robinson, p. 111.)
applies to the manner of expression but not to the matter of information. Secondly ‘naturalness’ is different from ‘familiar’ information. Thirdly, the language itself is not naturally ‘a fascist conspiracy’. Fourthly, the ‘natural’ use of language is not exclusive to the hegemonic societies or classes, other societies and underprivileged classes also prefer ‘naturalness’ to preserve their national culture and language — not because this tendency has been imposed on them by hegemonic cultures or former colonial empires. Finally ‘naturalness’ in translated (literary) texts as expected by ordinary readers of literary texts allows some degree of ‘novelty’ or ‘originality’.

E. Empirical Translation Studies: ‘Acceptability as a TL Norm’

Another way of approaching naturalness is through a system of norms. Toury introduces the concept of ‘norms’ and ‘strategies’ in Descriptive (Empirical) Translation Studies. As it was said in Chapter 1, he divides translational norms into ‘initial’, ‘primary’ and ‘operational’ ones and considers ‘adequacy’ versus ‘acceptability’ as the initial norm that the translator chooses as his or her overall strategy — the basic choice he or she should make.

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187 Beckman and Callow say that naturalness is not ‘dependent on familiar information. New information can be presented in a dynamic form. It is often said that a translation should not sound like a translation at all. This statement applies to the manner in which the information is communicated but not to the matter which is communicated. Thus, the images used in live figures (parables, allegories, illustrations, and similitudes) need not be replaced by substitutes to attain meaningfulness even though to do so would clothe the message in familiar terms and make it more immediately relevant to some particular segment of society.’ (Beckman and Callow, p. 41.)

188 Bassnett and Lefevere talk about ‘negotiation between cultures’ in which the slanting of ‘the culture of origin toward the receiving culture, whose prestige is perceived to be so much greater […] need not be the only way’. (See Bassnett and Lefevere 1998, p. 7.) André Lefevere gives two reasons for the tendency to naturalise foreign texts: one is the assumed ‘centrality’ and the other is the ‘homogeneity’ of the target culture. (See Lefevere, in Constructing Cultures, p. 14.)
According to Toury, 'adequacy' refers to the necessity of adhering to the source-language norms and 'acceptability' refers to the requirement of subscribing to the target-language norms. As regards the meaning of 'initial norm', he explains:

The term 'initial norm' should not be overinterpreted, however. Its initiality derives from its superordinate over particular norms which pertain to lower, and therefore more specific levels. The kind of priority postulated here is basically logical, and need not coincide with any 'real', i.e., chronological order of application. The notion is thus designed to serve first and foremost as an explanatory tool.

He believes that the initial norm is a cline or continuum having two poles: 'acceptability' and 'adequacy'; and in the translation process there is always a 'compromise' between these two poles; that is, any translation stands somewhere on this continuum between these two poles.

He distinguishes the acceptability of a translation from acceptability in original compositions. He also distinguishes 'acceptability' from 'acceptance' of translated texts.

It is advisable to start by studying assumed translations, along with their constituents, in terms of their acceptability in the system(s) of which they purportedly form part. [...] It is only that once 'alien' texts have been brought into the picture, it tends to get blurred — especially in cases where the acceptability of a translation qua translation does not fully concur with acceptability in general; that is, when the norms governing the formulation of translated texts differ from those which govern original compositions. From that point on, it may be difficult to re-adopt the initial 'native' stance and

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189 Toury 1995, p. 56.
190 Ibid., p. 57.
191 Ibid., p. 57.
192 Ibid., pp. 172–3.
approach the translation as a text in its own right, and not just as a representation of another text. He considers the adoption of an ‘adequate’ strategy as the source of an ‘artificial’ model of language (i.e., an ‘unnatural’ language):

Consequently, when the first position (i.e. ‘adequate’ translation) is fully adopted, the translation can hardly be said to have been made into the target language as a whole. Rather, it is made into a model-language, which is at best some part of the former and at worst an artificial, and as such nonexistent variety. In the last case, the translation is not really introduced into the target culture either, but is imposed on it, so to speak. Sure, it may eventually carve a niche for itself in the latter, but there is no initial attempt to accommodate it to any existing ‘slot’.

Toury’s notion of ‘acceptability as a norm’ has been adopted by many translation theorists, Palma Zlateva, Vehmas-Lehto and Tiina Puurtinen among others.

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193 Ibid., p. 71.
194 cf. Nida’s concept of ‘translationese’.
195 Toury 1995, p. 60.
196 For instance, van Leuven-Zwart reports on a study, ‘These shifts on the micro-structural level point to a so-called target-oriented approach: the translator seems to have used mainly the norm of “acceptability”. His most important aim seems to have been to produce a text which sounds as “normal” and as acceptable as possible in Spanish.’ (Van Leuven-Zwart, in Empirical Research in Translation, p. 41.)

In another instance, Tymoczko records, ‘These adaptations indicate that Geoffrey’s translation is intended to be an acceptable translation rather than an adequate one; it is oriented to the target culture rather than to the source culture.’ (Maria Tymoczko, ‘Translation in Oral Tradition as a Touchstone for Translation Theory and Practice’, in Translation, History and Culture, ed. by S. Bassnett and André Lefevere (London: Routledge, 1990), pp.46-55 (p. 52.).)


198 Vehmas-Lehto equates ‘acceptability’ with ‘naturalness’ and defines them as compatibility with ‘target language norms’. (Vehmas-Lehto, ‘Cohesion Flaws in Translations’, p. 171.)
Throughout the history of translation studies, the concept of 'naturalness' has developed very much and gained new dimensions — linguistic, literary, cultural, or political. With the evolution of this concept, new terms have been used to refer to it, and its relation with related concepts have been discussed in a system of concepts. When 'beauty' and 'smoothness' were not considered appropriate, 'fluency' and 'ease of expression' were used, and finally the more refined terms of 'naturalness' and 'acceptability' are used in the twentieth century. Translation scholars have discussed different aspects and characteristics of this concept. The next chapter will bring together such discussions in an attempt to provide a comprehensive definition for naturalness.

199 Tiina Puurtinen talks of the 'degree' of acceptability without relating it to 'adequacy': 'The degree of the linguistic/stylistic acceptability of a translation depends on the extent to which the translation conforms to the norms and conventions prevailing in the language and style of the TL literature (or rather a section of it).' (Puurtinen, p. 85)
CHAPTER THREE

TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF NATURALNESS

This chapter tries to incorporate a thorough review of previous critical positions on 'naturalness' and goes on to draw out various parameters of naturalness that are going to be used and tested later on in the study. My aim in this chapter is to summarise, develop, discuss, assess and evaluate the main theories and views that have been put forward in the previous chapters on 'naturalness' so as to draw out possible features of naturalness that can be used to build up the overall outline of naturalness. These features will be summarised in the conclusion to the chapter in an attempt to propose a comprehensive definition of naturalness. This conclusion indeed constitutes an important delineation of the features that I am going to work with later in the thesis. Meanwhile, definitions are given for such concepts as 'translationese', 'interference', 'shifts', and other related terms and notions.

A. Theoretical Problems in Translation Studies

There are some theoretical problems and false assumptions in translation studies that affect the concept of naturalness negatively. Three important ones will be discussed here. The first theoretical problem in translation studies is a lack of consensus on the
basic concepts used in the discipline. When scholars of the same field discuss a subject, first they should agree on basic concepts and terminology. When defined clearly and referred to certain specified things/factors, such concepts, then, can provide a shared platform for scholars of a discipline. However, when the concepts are broad, there might be misunderstandings or misinterpretation among scholars; i.e., each may refer to, or take, one separate aspect of the same concept. As an example, take 'faithfulness'. This concept has been the cause of several hundred years of debate among scholars, some defending it and others rejecting it. The problem is that both groups have rarely tried to define the concept, along with its various aspects clearly and comprehensively. If a theorist ever managed to provide a clear-cut (and hence limited) definition for this concept, his or her definition would clash with other theorists' definitions; that is, there has been no consensus on a common concept.

Toury is clearly aware of this fact, and emphasises the following shortcomings in translation studies terminology: (1) different characterisations given to the contents of terms, (2) disagreement in determining and delimiting the object of study in translation studies and (3) fallacious rejection of somebody else's concepts.

The fuzziness, fluidity or slippery nature of concepts and terms is a problem/weakness prevalent in different approaches to translation studies.

Snell-Hornby refers to the vital need for a common 'frame of reference' in subjects:

There are however at least two salient points that have emerged from the discussion which may prove vital for the discipline of the future. Firstly, whether or not one may agree with the individual theories, the fact remains that they have provided basic concepts and terminology, as well as an

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urgently needed frame of reference, without which no scholarly discipline can develop. [...] A bridge across the gulf has yet to be built, so that, when two translation scholars from different countries and different backgrounds talk about translation, they may have some common ground. ²⁰¹

It seems then that translation studies, as a discipline, requires (a) shared concepts and a common terminology, (b) division of each concept into its constituents, i.e. various aspects and factors it has encapsulated, and (c) clear definition and codification of different concepts — as well as their various aspects and the factors involved. That is, the concepts in translation studies should be defined clearly and labelled with certain common terms.

This process of codification has been under way to some extent in linguistic theories. Holmes believes that linguistic theories have the advantage of working with a 'highly formalized language', of being able to provide models and to make use of 'standard forms of terminology'. ²⁰²

Another theoretical problem in translation studies is the polarization of concepts. There has been a general tendency throughout the history of translation to juxtapose translational concepts and make polarisations between them. This, we have taken unconsciously from our socio-cultural norms, such as the distinctions and polarisations between 'good' and 'bad', 'East' and 'West' and the like. Snell-Hornby considers the 'tendency to categorize' as an 'innate' quality in man, and defines 'dichotomy' and 'typology' as two kinds of 'categories'. ²⁰³

²⁰² Holmes 1988, p. 94.
However, Tabakowska considers this tendency to be based on 'the system of Aristotelian philosophy' and identifies it as 'the classical theory of categories':

In Western thinking, for over twenty centuries order was imposed upon reality by the system of Aristotelian philosophy. Aristotle’s metaphysical opposition between essence and accident underlined the classical theory of categories, which was a cornerstone of all sciences and all humanities. Adherence to the principle of the 'either-or' character of category membership made theorists ask questions to which no empirically verifiable answers could be provided.  

Tabakowska records the fundamental contradiction between mental categorisation of 'dichotomous oppositions' and the 'relative' nature of the reality.

What is important regarding these dichotomies is that they are inherited, intuitive and non-scientific 'implicit conclusions' that Empirical Translation Studies should get rid of. This is stressed by Kuhiwczak:

The opposition between freedom and fidelity has bred several other binary oppositions in translation studies. One of them is between translation and adaptation. [...] Bassnett undermines the usefulness and validity of the distinction between translation and adaptation by pointing to its theoretical weaknesses. [...]  

If there is so much unhelpful inherited scholarship concerning translation, what direction might a useful variety of translation studies take? There is no doubt that further discussion of meaningless concepts will leave nobody any the wiser.

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205 Ibid., p. 13.

Commenting on traditional translation dichotomous distinctions, Toury rejects them as lacking 'explanatory power'.

Snell-Hornby observes that in all translation approaches, theorists have imposed some kind of dichotomy. She reports a challenge to the validity of the dichotomy theory and the development of a new theory of 'prototype'. She criticises the 'age-old polarized dichotomy' and expresses her preference for a 'spectrum or cline':

Translation studies has been hampered by classical modes of categorization, which operate with rigid dividing-lines, binary opposites, antitheses and dichotomies. Frequently these are mere academic constructs which paralyze the finer differentiation required in all aspects of translation studies. In our approach the typology is replaced by the prototypology, admitting blends

\[\text{207 Toury 1995, pp. 31-32.}\]

\[\text{208 Snell-Hornby 1988, p. 27.}\]

\[\text{209 Snell-Hornby 1988, pp. 26–27. Also, Hatim and Mason record dissatisfaction with dichotomies in translation studies and various attempts made to replace them: 'The third set of dichotomies identified at the beginning of the chapter had to do with translator's orientations: 'literal' vs. 'free', 'form' vs. 'content', and so on. The unsatisfactory nature of these distinctions and of the debates centred round them is amply documented. Various attempts have been made to replace them with other sets of terms, seen as being more closely related to what translators actually set out to achieve. Nida's (1964) "formal equivalence" and "dynamic equivalence" sought to distinguish between the aim to achieve equivalence of form between source and target texts and the aim to achieve equivalence of effect on the target language reader. Similarly, Newmark (1981: 39) distinguishes between "semantic translation" (relating as closely as the structures of the target language will allow the "exact contextual meaning" of the source text) and "communicative translation" (again, equivalence of effect). These polar opposites seem to have been interpreted as representing mutually exclusive alternatives and as an initial, free choice which a translator makes. Whatever the value of these distinctions, it is important to regard them as representing the opposite ends of a continuum, different translation strategies being more or less appropriate according to different translation situations. But it is the *Skopos* (or purpose of translating) which poses the greatest challenge to dichotomies of this kind.' (Hatim and Mason 1997, p. 11.)}\]
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and blurred edges, and the dichotomy gives way to the concept of a spectrum or cline against which phenomena are situated and focused.\(^{210}\)

Despite this suggestion, there are still several binary distinctions which are used in Translation Studies, such as `adequacy vs. acceptability', `normalisation vs. novelty', `domestication' vs. foreignisation' and the like.

These dichotomies (binary distinctions) carry two problems with them. Take, as an example, the binary `fidelity vs. fluency', `accuracy vs. naturalness', `adequacy vs. acceptability' or `foreignisation vs. domestication'. The first problem with them is that `either-this-or-that' choice is not true; i.e., one may say there is a degree between the two poles, as Toury (1995) adopts a degree between the two poles `adequacy' and `acceptability' in his translation theory. Still, there is a further delicate problem here: it is not true at all that these two poles (whatever identification they may assume) are opposite to each other; indeed they are distinct norms or variables which may influence each other to some extent that can theoretically be measured. So these norms and strategies should be dealt with separately to find their degrees of probable occurrence and correlation with each other.\(^{211}\)

A third theoretical problem is the notion of the ideal, perfect translation that has been nurtured and advocated implicitly or explicitly by theorists, teachers or

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\(^{210}\) Ibid., p. 35.

\(^{211}\) Linda Schenck supports this `both/and' view: `What I hope to do in this paper is to move you one step further on the road toward dissolving the eternal either/or dichotomies of literal versus free translation. [...] The more I read of literature, literature in translation and translation theory, and the more I translate, the firmer my conviction becomes that translated literature can only survive and flourish if we abolish these either/or distinctions in favour of the principle of both/and.' (Linda Schenck, `Theory in the Hands of a Practitioner', in Translation Studies in Scandinavia, ed. by Lars Wollin and Hans Linquist (Lund: Liber Förlag Malmö, 1986), pp. 133–139 (pp. 133). )
critics of translation in the source-oriented prescriptive camp. This notion is based on
the following assumptions:

1) There can be a single, objectively defined meaning of a text, independent
of both producer and receiver.

2) There is one single perfect choice for the translator.\textsuperscript{212}

This notion is abstract and mentalistic and should be discarded from
translation studies. In reality, there are always several possible versions of the same
original text. Van Leuven-Zwart rejects the notion of 'THE norm for THE best or
THE ideal translation'.\textsuperscript{213} Likewise, Newmark opposes the concept of 'the ideal
translation' and asserts the existence of 'several equally good [...] solutions'.\textsuperscript{214}

Reporting the 'hermeneutic' approach to translation, Lefevere maintains that
there might be different interpretations, and hence different translations of a single
text.\textsuperscript{215}

\textsuperscript{212} Barnstone, p. 234.

\textsuperscript{213} 'I am also against the suggestion implicit in some publications on translation, that there is such a
thing as THE norm for THE best or THE ideal translation, a scientifically well-founded, objective,
universal and absolute norm for the optimum translation, which must be found and laid bare by
Translation Studies to end all the problems translators struggle with once and for all. Because there is
no such norm.' (Van Leuven-Zwart, in Empirical Research in Translation, p. 37.)

\textsuperscript{214} Newmark 1981, p. 140.

\textsuperscript{215} 'Along with, and somewhat opposed to, linguistics-based approaches to translation, the period from
the 1930s to now has witnessed the emergence and elaboration of the "hermeneutic" approach to
translation. Even though translation scholars working in this vein use insights acquired by linguistics-
based thinking, they see the phenomena translation and translator in a totally different light. To them
translation means interpretation, and the translator is the mediator between two texts, no longer the
finder of equivalences. [...] The most productive insight generated by this school of translation studies
is the conclusion that no perfect translation is possible. If that is so, acceptance or rejection of
translations in a given culture may well have much more to do with power and manipulation than with
knowledge and wisdom.' (Lefevere 1992a, pp. 10-11.)
Bassnett relates the possibility of having 'a range of diverse versions' of the same original texts to translators' 'different readings' and 'different writing styles'.

Likewise, Gentzler accounts for the existence of 'different translations'. Different reasons may be provided to explain why there is a need for new translations.

Although there may be several different versions of the same original text, there is an 'invariant core' common among them.

In brief, several translations of the same original text may be possible and at the same time considered natural or acceptable.

**B. Naturalness: TL Norms, SL Interference, Adjustments, Audience Expectancy and Linguistic Community**

Naturalness relates texts with contexts and readers. In this respect, TL norms, SL interference, adjustments, readers' expectations and speech community are interrelated with each other as well as with naturalness. Below, these factors will be discussed.

The linguistic, cultural and socio-political constraints on translation are often represented as the norms under which translation takes place. Norms act not only as guidelines but also as constraints. The sources of constraints influencing translation

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217 Gentzler, p. 16.


219 'It is an established fact in Translation Studies that if a dozen translators tackle the same poem, they will produce a dozen different versions. And yet somewhere in those dozen versions there will be what Popović calls the 'invariant core' of the original poem.' (Bassnett 1980, p. 26.)
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are categorised by Lefevere into five groups220: (1) ‘patronage’, (2) ‘poetics’, (3) ‘universe of discourse’, (4) ‘natural language’, and (5) ‘the original work’.221

Naturalness mainly belongs to group four, ‘natural language’.222 Therefore, naturalness is a norm, i.e. a source of constraint on the translator’s decisions. It is connected with concepts of ‘fluency’, ‘acceptability’ or ‘transparency’ on the one hand, and with the concepts of ‘translationese’ and ‘interference (negative transfer)’ on the other hand.

Jean Delisle defines ‘idiomaticity’ (i.e., naturalness) as ‘adherence to norms’:

‘Idiomaticity, as opposed to grammaticality, refers to compliance with the characteristic mode of expression of a language, or the genius of a language. [...] A text is analyzed from the idiomatic point of view for its adherence to norms.’223

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220 Zabalbeascoa categorises these sources of constraints or as he prefers to call the ‘sources of prescription’ into eight types from the most general down to the most translation-specific:

'(1) the weight of the historical tradition and cultural identity of a community, its values and habits;
(2) governing authorities and power groups;
(3) literary tradition and convention; grammatical and stylistic norms;
(4) prescriptive translation theories (an undesirable level of prescription which, nevertheless, has tried to influence the practice of translating);
(5) the expectations of the receivers of the translation as product (Target Text or TT);
(6) the translation initiator;
(7) the translation order;


222 Toury 1995, p. 190.

Acceptability (naturalness) can be checked at different micro- or macro-structural levels. Lambert and van Gorp say,

The basic 'acceptable' versus 'adequate' dilemma will, in turn, lead to more concrete questions concerning priorities at different levels of both systems. The translation process as well as the resulting text and its reception can be studied from different points of view, either in a macro-structural or in a micro-structural way, focusing on linguistic patterns of various types, literary codes, moral, religious or other non-literary patterns, etc.\footnote{José Lambert and H. van Gorp, 'On Describing Translation', in The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation, ed. by Theo Hermans (London: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 42–53 (p. 46).}

Norms\footnote{In the glossary to his book Translation in Systems, Hermans provides a definition for the concept of 'norm' where he links it to 'regularity in behaviour', 'expectations', 'community' and 'value':

Norm: A regularity in behaviour, together with the common knowledge about and the mutual expectations concerning the way in which members of a group or community ought to behave in certain types of situation. The content of a norm is a value, a notion of what is correct. The directive force of a norm guides the behaviour of individuals so as to secure the content of the norm. (Hermans, Translation in Systems, p. 163.)} are set and followed by native speakers of a language;\footnote{The 'native speaker' of a language is defined by the Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics as follows:

A person considered as a speaker of his or her NATIVE LANGUAGE. In Generative Transformational Grammar, the intuition of a native speaker about the structure of his or her language is one basis for establishing or confirming the rules of the grammar. A native speaker is said to speak his or her native language "natively". (Jack Richards et al., Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (Essex: Longman, 1985).)} their expectations, presuppositions, shared knowledge, and in brief their culture develop...
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Norms. Therefore, a study of the linguistic community is necessary for knowledge of norms in Translation Studies. Norms bridge Translation Studies and sociolinguistics. Three scholars have been highly influential in the development of the concept of norms as an analytical tool in studying translations. This concept has been elaborated by Gideon Toury, in his book *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995), Theo Hermans, in his book *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained* (1999), and Andrew Chesterman, in his book *Memes of Translation: The Spread of Ideas in Translation Theory* (1997). These three scholars also took part in a conference on norms, and discussed and elaborated the nature of norms and their function in translation. The proceedings of this conference have been published under the title *Translation and Norms* (1999).

Hermans avoids the term 'acceptability' and rejects the polarity between acceptability and adequacy developed by Toury as 'hopelessly confusing'. He believes,

If translating is a socio-cultural activity, as the norms concept suggests, there seems little point in trying to conceptualize it in terms of a choice along a single axis.

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227 A linguistic community or a 'speech community' is defined by the *Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics* as follows:

A group of people who form a community, e.g. a village, a region, a nation, and who have at least one speech variety in common. In bilingual and multilingual communities, people would usually have more than one speech variety in common. (Jack Richards et al., *Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics."

*A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* says that a speech community is used, 'referring to any regionally or socially definable human group identified by a shared linguistic system.' (David Crystal, A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics."


229 Hermans, p. 77.
Instead, he prefers the use of ‘target-oriented’ or ‘prospective’ norms. Concerning (target-oriented) norms, Hermans maintains that

Norms, which are not to be confused with their formulation or codification, limit the individual’s freedom of action, provided the individual agrees to be so constrained. They are also historical entities, and hence subject to change as they adjust to changing circumstances.

Hermans, like Toury and Chesterman, believes in directive force as well as prohibiting (constraining) force of norms, as mentioned in the above quotation. He relates norms, with values and hence with ‘opacity’ (referring to the manipulation) of the translated text. By utilising the terms the translator’s ‘competence’ and ‘performance’, he also relates norms with the choices and decisions (Toury prefers to relate norms with ‘strategies’) which translators make. He says that ‘Norms […] operate at the intermediate level between competence and performance, where competence stands for the set of options translators have at their disposal and performance refers to the options actually selected.’

Chesterman, like Hermans, distinguishes norms from laws (absolute, objective, more binding than norms) and conventions (weaker than norms), he divides norms into social, ethical and technical norms of translation. He subcategorises technical

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230 See ibid., p. 77.
231 Hermans, Translation in Systems, p. 74.
233 Hermans, Translation in Systems, p. 75.
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norms into product norms and process norms. Product (or expectancy) norms reflect the views, assumptions and expectations of the TL community:

The expectations of readers (of a given type) concerning what a translation (of this type) should be like. These expectations are partly governed by the prevalent translation tradition in the target culture, and partly by the form of parallel texts (of a similar text-type) in the target language [...]. They can also be influenced by economic or ideological factors, power relations within and between cultures and the like.\(^{235}\)

He relates strategies, norms, memes (a term he borrows from sociology meaning ‘a unit of cultural transmission’ or ‘a unit of imitation\(^{236}\)) and values,

I have been developing the view that translation is a form of action, describable in terms of strategies, which are themselves governed by norms. The norms themselves, I have suggested, become crystallized from particularly favoured memes. (...) The objective of norms (...) is to promote values. (Favoured memes, after all, are favoured precisely because they are felt to represent or promote favoured values (...). Value concepts can be seen as prior to normative concepts, in that norms are governed by values. A norm is a norm because it embodies, or tends towards, a certain value.\(^{237}\)

Chesterman relates the constraints analysed by André Lefevere (i.e. patronage, poetics, the universe of discourse, the source and target languages, and the translator’s ideology) to the kinds of norms he discusses, particularly to the expectancy norms.

On the other hand, translation scholars believe that interference from the SL is a source of unnaturalness. Interference is a universal phenomenon in translation and is often resolved through ‘adjustments’ that are intended to adapt the language of the translated text to the expectations of the target language readers.

\(^{235}\) Chesterman, p. 64.

\(^{236}\) See Chesterman, pp. 5–7.

\(^{237}\) Chesterman, p. 172.
Defining interference, Newmark talks about 'various degrees of interference', considers interference as an 'intrinsic factor in any translation' and observes that interference may 'enrich' the translation.\textsuperscript{238} He further discusses the 'positive aspect of interference'.\textsuperscript{239}

The same views are expressed by Toury: he divides 'transfer' (or interference) into 'negative' and 'positive'.\textsuperscript{240} Then he develops the 'law of interference', considers interference as 'a kind of default' and tries to account for the occurrence of interference.\textsuperscript{241} He also talks about the use of partial interference as a 'strategy' to 'enrich' the target culture/language.\textsuperscript{242} The only difference is that Toury tries to reformulate the same views in the form of the 'law' of interference.

\textsuperscript{238} 'In a wider definition, interference includes [...], in fact all cases where the language of the translation is manifestly affected whether appropriately or not by the language of the original. In this sense interference is an intrinsic factor in any translation. [...]'

'In translation, there are various degrees of interference, and its appropriacy depends partly on the type of text that is translated; in a literary work, both idiolectal and cultural interference often enriches the translation.' (Newmark 1991, p. 78.

\textsuperscript{239} 'The positive aspect of interference comes into play when the translator decides to introduce into the TL some specific universal, cultural, personal or linguistic values in the source text. As well as this, the translator may unconsciously devise a kind of interlanguage which [...] has its own charm. [...]'

'In literary translation, disagreement is inevitable about the nature of interference. What some call translationese is accurate or close translation in the minds of others. What some dismiss as a violation of usage, may appear more imaginative and have a deeper truth than the smoother clichéd version — even though the first is mere literal translation or transcoding, whilst the second requires some clever, not exactly creative effort.' (Ibid., pp. 79–80.)

\textsuperscript{240} Toury 1995, p. 252.

\textsuperscript{241} Ibid., pp. 275–276.

\textsuperscript{242} Ibid., p. 279.
The causes of unnaturalness, according to Gutt, are 'interference from the original language' and 'insufficient mastery of the receptor language'.\textsuperscript{243} Furthermore, Nord believes that a 'bottom-up' translation is the source of 'interference' (defined as a negative transfer).\textsuperscript{244}

In order to resolve unnaturalness, translators often resort to the strategy of 'adjustment' (shift or adaptation). Nida and Taber discuss the priority of the content over the form of a message, under the heading 'Semantic Adjustment Made in Transfer', as theoretical basis for 'adjustments' in translation.\textsuperscript{245} Then, they put forth and describe eight commonest problems of content transfer that require some change of form or deviation from formal correspondence.

Toury believes that 'interference on one level or another' results from 'a failure to — or a decision not to — adapt the translation to target system requirements.'\textsuperscript{246} He terms these adjustments as 'shifts' and considers 'the occurrence of shifts' as 'a true universal of translation'.\textsuperscript{248} Shifts are intended to observe the 'norm of acceptability'.\textsuperscript{249}

\textsuperscript{243} Gutt, p. 116.
\textsuperscript{244} Nord, p. 67.
\textsuperscript{245} Nida and Taber 1969, pp. 105–6.
\textsuperscript{246} Toury 1995, p. 173.
\textsuperscript{247} 'Translation is basically designed to fulfill (what is assumed to be) the needs of the culture which would eventually host it [...] Much as translation entails the retention of aspects of the source texts, it also involves certain adjustments to the requirements of the target system.' (Ibid., 166.)
\textsuperscript{248} 'Obviously, even the most adequately-oriented translation involves shifts from the source text. In fact, the occurrence of shifts has long been acknowledged as a true universal of translation. However, since the need itself to deviate from source-text patterns can always be realized in more than one way, the actual realization of so-called obligatory shifts, to the extent that it is non-random, and hence not idiosyncratic, is already truly norm-governed. So is everything that has to do with non-obligatory
Translation theorists use different terms to refer to the same concept and the same view. For example, Sager believes that if a translation is to conform to target language usage, interferences should be removed and some necessary 'adjustments' should be made,\(^{250}\) while Gutt says that 'adaptations' are intended to remove 'SL interference'.\(^{251}\) Albrecht Neubert observes that 'the translation procedures, transpositions and modulations' are employed 'to attain the goals set by the needs of the target audience (recipient).'\(^{252}\)

In order to test the naturalness or acceptability of a translated text, translation theorists usually take the readers' role into account; i.e. the audience's expectations of an 'acceptable' translation is considered significant for the theorist as it poses a constraining force for the translator. Zabalbeascoa considers 'the expectations of the receivers of the translation as product (Target Text or TT)' as a constraint or a norm of acceptability.\(^{253}\) This is also discussed by Toury, Lambert and van Gorp, Newmark, shifts, which are of course more than just possible in real-life translation: they occur everywhere and tend to constitute the majority of shifting in any single act of human translation, rendering the latter a contributing factor to, as well as the epitome of regularity.' (Ibid., p. 75.)

\(^{249}\) Van Leuven-Zwart maintains, 'These shifts on the micro-structural level point to a so-called target-oriented approach: the translator seems to have used mainly the norm of "acceptability".' (Van Leuven-Zwart, in Empirical Research in Translation, p. 41.)

\(^{250}\) Sager, pp. 238-9.

\(^{251}\) Gutt, p. 78.


\(^{253}\) Zabalbeascoa, in Cross Words, 1995, p. 42.
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Nord, Wilss, Gutt, and Tymoczko. They talk about the question of conforming material to the expectations of the native speakers (who are the average readers of the translated texts) through ‘shifts’ or ‘adaptations and adjustments’, and hence relating naturalness to the expectations of the receiving audience. They record the importance put on the audience in translation studies in recent years.

Discourse analysts or pragmatic linguists, as discussed in the previous chapter, like George Lakoff and Robin Lakoff, relate ‘acceptability’ with the context of use (extra-linguistic factors and social circumstances), and the users (the presupposition and expectations of the native speakers) of the language. According to the above discussion, ‘naturalness’ can briefly be defined as ‘a linguistic norm conditioned by social circumstances’. Thus, it seems that abstract linguistics (i.e. syntax and semantics) has not been able to define ‘naturalness’ properly; however, pragmatics has come close to an appropriate definition by connecting the language to the linguistic community.

Some controversial issues come forth here, such as: what is the true nature of language? Who are the intended readers (native speakers or speech community) of the target language? Where do the target culture native speakers acquire their expectations and presupposition? Therefore, there is a need for a field of study that can provide some answers to these questions that are very important for translation.

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255 See Gutt, p. 66, and Tymoczko, in Post-Colonial Translation, pp. 31–32.
studies. Here, sociolinguistics can provide a useful method of enquiry that can shed some light on these matters.

A sociolinguistic concept that can shed light on the complexities of language is the notion of language variation (or diversity). It is naïve to speak of 'homogeneity' in relation to a community and a language. Most formal grammarians start from the assumption that the community they work in is homogeneous. As Duranti puts it, 'Homogeneity is an idealization common (although by no means universal) in science: investigation starts with the assumption of order and uniformity. Variation is usually put aside as "exceptions to the rule" or "insignificant."' Therefore, the formal linguist, like Chomsky, locates himself in this tradition and assumes that native language learning is a pure and uniform experience in a homogeneous community, and finally this idealized type of experience is studied by investigating native speakers' (often the linguist's own) intuitions about whether or not a given linguistic form or sentence is acceptable. Acceptability judgements provide the basis for the generalizations made by the linguist about particular grammars. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, to know a language means not only to know what is grammatically well-formed, but also to know what is socially and culturally acceptable.

The formal grammarian studies an abstract 'internalised' language and assumes a linguistic purism, and his source of information is an idealized native speaker of the uniform language under study. On the contrary, assuming that variation is the norm rather than the exception and variety is part of human cultures and human nature, a sociolinguist studies the language in culture ('the concrete acts of linguistic
performance by people who live\textsuperscript{257} in real communities which show some degrees of 'impure' mixing of linguistic, sociological, and cultural differentiation. Such differentiation may be in the form of two very different varieties of languages or in the form of different 'dialects' or 'styles' within a language.

In line with the above discussion, it is noteworthy to mention that Iranians use different languages and dialects. According to the statistics available (1983), the Iranian ethnic composition is 'Persian 45.6%, Azerbaijani 16.8%, Kurdish 9.1%, Gilaki 5.3%, Luri 4.3%, Mazandarani 3.6%, Baluchi 2.3%, Arab 2.2%, Bakhtiari 1.7%, Turkmen 1.5%, Armenian 6.5%, and other 7.1%.'\textsuperscript{258} The speakers of Persian who are born and live in different regions of the country also speak variants of Persian. Some famous dialects of the Persian language are Tehrani, Isfahani, Yazdi, Mashadi, Kermani, Shirazi and so on. It is not all: language, even in a single form of its regional dialects, is stratified into styles (such as generic, colloquial and literary), sociolects of social groups (of different professions) and types of language of generations. Even the language an individual speaks reveals different ways of speech and styles (i.e. registers) at different situations. Members of different ethnic and social groups who speak different languages and dialects stay or live in Tehran temporarily or permanently and communicate with each other. However, when they communicate with members of their social or ethnic groups, these speakers usually maintain their alternative, often parallel, identities by using their own type of language. Tehran accommodates one seventh of the country's population.

\textsuperscript{256} Alessandro Duranti, \textit{Linguistic Anthropology} (Cambridge, CUP, 1997), p. 73.

\textsuperscript{257} Ibid., p.75.
The power relations in Iran, that include the political and institutional forces, not only have imposed one variety of Persian (‘darf’) on its multilingual, multicultural and multi-ethnic speakers as the official (or standard) language, but also try to make the speakers of other dialects (and languages) adopt the Tehran dialect as the colloquial style used in ordinary communication in Tehran and in novels, particularly in translated novels.

Consequently, there always exists an undercurrent tension among speakers who live in Tehran. Should they communicate in Persian (or more or less Tehran dialect) with other speakers or isolate themselves within their own social or ethnic groups? Some speakers of Persian may be considered as ‘semi-speakers’ who use a sort of Persian regarded as ‘farsi-ye nesfe nīme’ (‘a semi-Persian’) or ‘farsi bā lahje’ (‘Persian with accent’259), that is, they have not developed full fluency and normal adult proficiency.260 A lack of interaction with other people most likely hinders social promotion. As a result, the majority of Iranian non-Persian speakers are bilinguals; they learn Persian in schools as well as in contacts with Persians or other ethnic groups. As J.K. Chambers put it,

It is not enough to mark our territory as belonging to us by name tags, mailboxes, fences, hedges, and walls. We must also mark ourselves as

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259 For example, when an Azerbaijani who lives in Tehran learns Persian, he or she learns the type of language spoken in Tehran, but he carries over some (regional) traits, particularly of pronunciation (i.e. accent) that he or she has acquired at home from his parents. As this hinders promotion in the social ladder, some (if not the majority of) Azerbaijanis who live in Tehran try to speak Persian in the presence of their children at home and avoid Azeri.

260 R. A. Hudson says, ‘For any given language X, it will first be necessary to define who are its native speakers. [... ] In addition to the native speakers of language X, there will be people who speak it as non-natives, with every degree of fluency from almost native-speaker to minimal.’ (R.A. Hudson, Sociolinguistics. (Cambridge: CUP, 1980), p. 9)
belonging to the territory, and one of the most convincing markers is by speaking like the people who live there.\textsuperscript{261}

The impact of varieties of Persian and the dominance of Tehrani dialect on naturalness will further be elaborated in the methodology of the study in Chapter 4 and in the micro-structural analysis of the case study in Chapter 8.

Likewise, as a translator of novels, if you use other dialects (except Tehrani) or other languages as the language of ‘speech’ in dialogues, you will be derided, and your book will not sell or it may even be banned.\textsuperscript{262} The banning of the use of other languages in Persian texts goes back to separatist movements in Iran,\textsuperscript{263} particularly the establishment of two unpopular autonomous governments under the patronage of the Soviet Union in Azerbaijan and Mahabad in the 1940s that published books in local Turkish and Kurdish languages respectively.\textsuperscript{264}


\textsuperscript{262} According to Fariborz Khosravi, the publication of non-Persian books or even the use of non-Persian languages within Persian texts was forbidden before the Islamic Revolution. (See Fariborz Khosravi, Censorship: An Analysis of Book Censorship during the Pahlavi Period (Tehran: Nazar Printing and Publishing Cultural-Research Institute, 1999), p. 195.)

\textsuperscript{263} Ethnic separatism proved disastrous for the whole nation in view of multiethnic nature of the population.

\textsuperscript{264} 'In 1945, between the end of November and mid-December, a so-called “National Government of Iranian Azerbaijan” was established, under Ja’far Pishavari, followed by Qazi Muhammad’s “Kurdish People’s Government” over an area of about fifty miles radius centered on the town of Mahabad. The Democrats’ régimes in Azerbaijain and the Iranian Kurdish region were thus inaugurated. By the end of 1946 these Soviet chaperoned, left-wing autonomist régimes had collapsed and Soviet patronage was withdrawn. The Iranian central authorities proceeded to eradicate any traces of Azerbaijain and Kurdish separatism. Students were reported to have of their own volition destroyed textbooks the Democrat régimes had supplied in the local Turkish dialect instead of Persian. Meanwhile in Mahabad, the “Persian authorities prohibited teaching in the Kurdish language, closed the Kurdish printing-press, and publicly burnt all the Kurdish books they could find.” (Peter Avery, ‘Printing, the Press and Literature in Modern Iran’, in The Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 7: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic, ed. by Peter Avery et. al. (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), pp. 815–869 (p. 861).)
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Thus, Iran can be considered as having a multilingual ‘speech community’, an important notion developed by sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. Scholars in these two related fields of study have provided different definitions for a ‘speech community’. Duranti proposes that ‘we take a speech community to be the product of the communicative activities engaged in by a given group of people.’\textsuperscript{265} Hudson summarises the definitions and features of a speech community provided by other scholars as follows:

A set of people who have something in common linguistically — a language or dialect, interaction by means of speech, a given range of varieties and rules for using them, a given range of attitudes to varieties and items.\textsuperscript{266}

\textbf{C. Tolerance towards Interference in Translated Texts}

As it was discussed before, dichotomies do not contain value truths. It is quite natural for languages to accept a certain amount of ‘novelty’, ‘originality’, ‘creativity’, ‘foreignisation’ and the like. Naturalness not only tolerates but also requires creativity in literary texts. Therefore, ‘naturalness’ does not equal ‘normalising’ or ‘naturalising’ (making normal or ordinary language, hence ‘banal’) as termed and rejected by Newmark. He defines ‘naturalness’ as ‘the correspondence to or deviation from normal social usage’.\textsuperscript{267} Normal or ordinary language should not be confused with ‘naturalness’. Newmark himself explains,

\textit{By natural usage, I mean the language (words, collocations, phrases, clauses, sentences) which is appropriate to the types of text you are}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{265} Duranti, p. 82.
\footnote{266} R.A. Hudson, \textit{Sociolinguistics}, p. 28.
\footnote{267} Newmark 1991, pp. 65–66.
\end{footnotes}
translating. The style may be formal for an administrative text, informal for a text book, idiomatic for a popular article, colloquial for some comedies. Natural usage shouldn’t be confused with ‘ordinary language’ (non-technical, jargon-free) nor ‘basic’ (most common) language, nor even Voegelin’s ‘casual language’, which encourages too high a degree of predictability, and therefore cliché. [...] If however you are translating an authoritative or an official or a serious expressive (literary) text, you translate natural usage by natural usage, but you translate clichéd or innovative language by clichéd or innovative language respectively, in each case attempting to preserve the degree of deviation from the natural usage in the original.268

Nor does naturalness match ‘domestication’ — as opposed to ‘foreignisation’ — that was put forth by Venuti (1995), because languages can tolerate a certain amount of foreignness or novelty. Venuti believes that ‘foreignization’ defies or resists ‘fluency’ or ‘transparency’. An example is given below to illustrate how ‘foreignness’ is tolerated: in Persian there are two sets of proper names which are equivalent to each other but they are used in different translated texts; e.g., ‘Dawood and David’, ‘Yuhanna and John’, ‘Yusof and Joseph’ and the like. ‘Dawood’, ‘Yuhanna’ and ‘Yusof’ are used in translating the original biblical names, whereas ‘David’, ‘John’ and ‘Joseph’ are used in translating ordinary characters, say, in novels; and such characters are considered ‘foreign’ by readers.

Now, a question arises here: should one consider the use of these foreign names as the process of foreignisation or domestication? Whatever one may call them, their use is assumed ‘acceptable and natural’ in Persian. Still, they undergo two naturalisation processes in order to be acceptable in Persian: (1) they are transcribed in Persian writing, and (2) their pronunciation is simplified, sometimes according to the French equivalents that were used in the early French novels translated into

Persian. For example, ‘Simon’, a character in *Lord of the Flies*, takes the French pronunciation and becomes ‘سیمون’ (*Simon*).\(^{269}\)

Still, a third method is used concerning Proper names. When the meaning of a name is significant, it is translated. For example, ‘Piggy’, a derogatory name in *Lord of the Flies*, is translated into ‘خوکه’ (*Khūke*).\(^{270}\)

The case is true with the translation of dynamic (original) metaphors, too. If they are translated word-for-word and they create some novelty, as far as they make sense they are acceptable and natural for the readers (even if they make a different sense from the original) since languages can tolerate a certain amount of foreignness or novelty.

Thus, there is a significant point regarding the naturalness of translated texts: according to the readers’ expectancy, translations constitute a ‘special system’\(^{271}\) requiring a certain type of expression which is to some extent different from an original target text.

However, Wilss assumes that readers of literary works expect ‘originality’ and ‘individuality’ from translated literary texts.\(^{272}\) This view is also maintained by other translation theorists.\(^{273}\)

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\(^{270}\) See ibid.

\(^{271}\) Toury 1995, p. 28.

\(^{272}\) Wilss, p. 26.

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Toury discusses ‘tolerance of interference’ and provides a law for it.\textsuperscript{274} Then he correlates ‘interference’ and ‘tolerance of it’ with the ‘relative prestige’ and ‘power relations’ of the source and target cultures/languages.\textsuperscript{275} He relates ‘tolerance’ of deviations and the consequent introduction of ‘novelties into a culture’ with the role of translation as a ‘secondary mode of text-generation, in terms of cultural organization’.\textsuperscript{276}

As we indicated earlier, Newmark challenges the view that a translation should not read like a translation. Toury regards translations as constituting a ‘special system’. He expounds his concept of translation as a ‘distinct variety of the target language’.\textsuperscript{277} This ‘special system’ or ‘genre’ of translation that is sometimes desirable

\textsuperscript{274} 'The alleged undesirability of interference is thus not “natural” in any sense. Rather, if and when it is rejected, its undesirability is always a function of a host of socio-cultural factors, which may therefore be said to condition our law. Here it would be quite safe to start by arguing, very generally, that communities differ in terms of their resistance to interference, especially of the “negative” type.

Strong resistance to interference may indeed lead to a considerable reduction of its manifestations, especially in the translational output of professionals, shaped as it is by environmental feedback. Thus, resistance quite readily leads to the activation of purification, or other censorial mechanisms, whose influence, however, can hardly ever be absolute, due to the cognitive as well as behavioural factors. [...] Censorship can also be activated during the act of translation itself though, inasmuch as the translator has internalized the norms pertinent to the culture, and uses them as a constant monitoring device.' (Toury 1995, p. 277.)

\textsuperscript{275} Toury 1995, p. 277.

\textsuperscript{276} ‘From the point of view of cultural evolution, the most significant aspect of the production and distribution of texts as if they were translations is the fact that this constitutes a convenient way of introducing novelties into a culture. [...] Having normally been regarded as a secondary mode of target-generation, in terms of cultural organization (Even-Zohar 1978a), there can be no wonder that deviations occurring in texts which are culturally acknowledged as translations often meet with much greater tolerance.' (Toury 1995, p. 41)

\textsuperscript{277} ‘Of course, the fact that translations are intended utterances in the target language should not be taken to imply that each one of them represents a straightforward instance of performance within the boundaries of the institutionalized language, let alone fits in with any of its established varieties. On the contrary, it is a well-documented fact that in translations, linguistic forms and structures often occur which are rarely, or perhaps even never encountered in utterances originally composed in the
has been given different names. For instance, Carl James borrows the term ‘interlingua’ — which he uses in his book *Contrastive Analysis* — from a translation theoretist, Mel’chuk. Martin Gellerstam provides evidence for the existence of such a special language of translation that he names ‘translational Swedish’.

Venuti calls this special subsystem of translation a ‘hybrid form’ that adopts some degree of foreignness though ‘it does not necessarily lead to unidiomatic, unintelligible English.’

In the workshop held at the EST Congress — Prague 1995, Christina Schäffner and Beverly Adab supervised a panel discussion on ‘hybrid texts’; Anna Trosborg, Sonja Tirkkonen-Condit and Ieva Zauberga took part in that discussion. That workshop sought to test ‘the validity of a hypothesis, namely the possible existence of a hybrid text’ and the result of the discussion was the following definition:

*target language.* The occurrence of such “alien” phenomena owes much to the fact that the verbal formulation of a translation is partly governed by a felt need to retain aspects of the corresponding source text invariant, which is a strong target-external constraint on its establishment. [...]”

‘Whether deliberate or accidental, a so-called “translationese” initially comprises ad hoc phenomena. However, it is quite possible for it to undergo a certain institutionalization. Thus, a group of translators may behave in much the same way, and hence produce translational replacements of a similar kind. In the long run, a habitual translationese may even acquire some distinct markers, which would set it apart from any other mode of language use within the same culture, translational or non-translational. In fact, the more noticed (and accepted) such a differentiation is, the more justified one would be in regarding such a translationese as a *distinct variety* of the target language. As Pedersen (1983: 7) so nicely put it, “translation itself helps to create its medium.”’ (Ibid., pp. 207-8. Italics as in the original.)

278 ‘Although the point of departure for such studies (i.e., translation theory, error analysis and contrastive analysis) is the two languages concerned, the focus of attention is on the intermediate space between the two. The “language” which comes into being in this intermediate stage is called by Mel’chuk (1963), in a discussion of translation theory an “interlingua”: it is a system which encompasses, as is desirable for translation, characteristics of the SL and the synthesis characteristics of the TL text. There is one interlingua for each pair of texts.’ (Carl James, *Contrastive Analysis* (London: Longman, 1980), p. 4.)

279 See Gellerstam, p. 88.
A hybrid text is a text that results from a translation process. It shows features that somehow seem 'out of place'/ 'strange'/ 'unusual' for the receiving culture, i.e. the target culture. These features, however, are not the result of a lack of translational competence or examples of 'translationese', but they are evidence of conscious and deliberate decisions by the translator. Although the text is not yet fully established in the target culture (because it does not conform to established norms and conventions), a hybrid text is accepted in its target culture because it fulfils its intended purpose in the communicative situation (at least for a certain time).  

As a conclusion Schäffner and Adab put emphasis on two significant points in the making of hybrid forms: the translator's 'deliberate' decision to create a hybrid text and the historical context.  

Also, the acceptability of the translated texts seems to be different from the acceptability of the target-language original texts. Toury distinguishes the acceptability of a translation from acceptability in original compositions. He observes different norms of acceptability for translation and original writing, 'These facts together offer sufficient evidence for the gradual formation of two different

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280 Venuti, p. 146.

281 Christina Schäffner and Beverly Adab, 'Translation as Intercultural Communication: Contact as Conflict', in Translation as Intercultural Communication, ed. by Mary Snell-Hornby et al. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995), pp. 325–337 (p. 325).

282 'Another important point to consider is the way in which the hybrid may be a deliberate creation of content or form, or both, designed to provoke change in the target culture's linguistic or cultural system. [...]'

'The hybrid must also be seen in its historical context, since there may be times in the history of a culture when people are more open to hybrid texts. [...] In other cultures the "forignness" of a translation may be appreciated, especially those whose members have reason to reject existing values because these have previously been imposed on them by yet another foreign culture. [...] Reactions to a text depend to a large extent on whether it is seen by the receiving culture as being externally imposed or internally desirable, as much as on whether or not this culture can actually identify with the hybrid as representing a potential reality.' (Ibid., p. 336.)

283 Toury 1995, pp. 71 and 229.
norms of acceptability (in relation to this particular device) for two different modes of text-production, translation vs. original writing. ²⁸⁴

Likewise, Vilen Komissarov observes a particular norm of acceptability for the translated texts that renders them a 'peculiar variant'. ²⁸⁵

**D. Definition and Features of Naturalness**

Here, it is useful to provide definitions for the concept of 'acceptability' (or naturalness) from linguistic and translation studies perspectives. From a linguistic perspective, David Crystal defines 'acceptability' as

the extent to which linguistic data would be judged by native-speakers to be possible in their language. An 'acceptable utterance' is one whose use would be considered permissible or normal. In practice, deciding on the acceptability of an utterance may be full of difficulties. Native speakers often disagree as to whether an utterance is normal, or even possible. One reason for this is that INTUITIONS differ because of variations in regional and social backgrounds, age, personal preferences, and so on. ²⁸⁶

In the glossary to his book *Translation in Systems*, Hermans defines 'acceptability' from the perspective of Descriptive and Systemic Translation Studies:

Acceptability. Assimilation to the norms and values of the receiving (or 'target') culture. For Even-Zohar and Toury it represents one of the two theoretical extremes (the opposite pole is 'adequacy') to which translations

²⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 105.

²⁸⁵ 'The problem of the norms regulating the use of translated linguistic usage in the target language has not been studied at all. The language of translation cannot but have certain definite peculiarities originating in the specific nature of this type of linguistic usage activity. [...]'

'The norm for linguistic usage in translation can therefore be defined as the requirement to follow the rules of norm and usage in the target language in the peculiar variant usage common for translated texts in that language. This variant usage has not yet been described and translators tend to adhere to it intuitively.' (Vilen Komissarov, 'Norms in Translation', in *Translation as Social Action*, ed. by Palma Zlateva (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 63–75 (pp. 72–73.)

²⁸⁶ David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. 
tend. The notion is similar to what other researchers have called naturalizing, endogenizing, target-accommodating or domesticating translation. 287

Based on the earlier discussions and arguments as well as the definitions provided above, the following conclusions can be drawn about the concept of ‘naturalness’ or ‘acceptability’:

1) **Rejection of the polarity between acceptability and adequacy.** There is a certain degree of ‘correlation co-efficiency’ between accuracy and naturalness (or adequacy and acceptability), but they do not form two opposite poles. That is, an utterance may be both adequate and acceptable (accurate and natural) or conversely inadequate and unacceptable (inaccurate and unnatural) — a mistranslated expression may create unnaturalness, too — at the same time. Or even you can improve the acceptability of a translated text without damaging its adequacy or conversely improve its adequacy without reducing its acceptability.

2) **Target-culture specific.** Acceptability or naturalness is a norm in the target language (an initial norm as Toury calls or the expectancy norm as Chesterman develops); it has nothing to do with the source text. However, the source text may be resorted to in an attempt to explain why an ‘unacceptable’ or ‘unnatural’ element has crept into the target language, that is called ‘interference’.

3) **Relativity.** Naturalness is a matter of degree, rather than either-or polarity; hence, a continuum of naturalness exists: the least natural texts are said to indicate translationese, and the totally natural ones cannot be distinguished from original compositions. However, most real translations stand somewhere in-between.

4) **Tolerance of interference.** There is a degree of tolerance toward interference/foreignness or strangeness, particularly in literary texts.

5) **Translation as a special subsystem.** Translation constitutes a special system — an ‘interlingua’ or ‘hybrid’ — in the target language polysystem; hence, there is a special acceptability for the translated texts.

6) **Several parallel translations** may be possible due to different readings and choices that translators make which may be equally acceptable or natural.

7) **The importance of the implied readership/audience.** The readers of a text — the audience for whom the translation is intended — can judge its naturalness. The norm of acceptability can be judged by the speech community of the target culture. Naturalness is related to the expectations of the readers.

8) **Change.** The norm of naturalness or acceptability may change constantly on the axis of time as the language itself tends to change and the readers’ expectations change as well. Diachronic studies should take this factor into account.

9) **Multifaceted nature.** Naturalness is an evasive, multifaceted concept, and several different factors — at micro-structural or macro-structural levels — determine acceptability of a translated text.

In brief, naturalness is a norm conditioned by socio-cultural circumstances that can be judged by the speech community. The study of target-oriented norms can shed light on the strategies the translator follows and decisions he or she makes when facing translation problems. Norms relate extralinguistic contextual facts with textual products through the mental processes of the translator.
The method of study used in this thesis follows a top-down procedure,\(^{288}\) that is, from the general to the particular: starting from the position and function of translated novels within the socio-cultural system, going on from there to models and norms, and finally to the natural usage of textual cohesive devices.\(^{289}\) The figure below can illustrate this procedure.

**Figure 4.1: Describing the top-down procedure of the study**

288 'Given that one approach is bottom-up and the other top-down, they complement each other to some extent. In practice, they are most likely to be adapted to the researcher’s particular needs anyway.’ (Hermans 1999, p. 68)

289 Lambert & Van Gorp (1985: 52-53) suggest a practical scheme ‘starting from the immediate context and paratexts of a given translation or corpus of translations, going on from there to textual macro-structures and on to micro-structures, before working up again via the macro-level to the wider sociocultural context. This movement from the general to the particular and back again to the general corresponds to the scheme later proposed by Toury (1995: 38).’ (Hermans 1999, p. 66.) The final step, analysis of sociocultural context, help us to relate the patterns in the translated texts with prevailing models and norms of text production in the target culture, account for the findings in steps 1 to 3 and place them in a broader context. In this step, the ground is provided for explanation and justification as opposed to description.

Even-Zohar maintains that translation is 'an activity dependent on the relations within a certain cultural system'. Therefore, key concepts in Translation Studies, e.g. adequacy and acceptability, 'cannot be dealt with fairly unless the implications of polysystemic positions are taken into account.\textsuperscript{290}

\textbf{A. Position and Impact of Translated Novels:}

\textbf{A Historical Analysis of the Socio-cultural Context}

One section of the thesis seeks to demonstrate the position and function that translations, particularly translated novels, have played in the Persian literary polysystem. In spite of following a chronological line, this thesis does not intend to provide a detailed historical account. This section attempts to give a descriptive account of translation of novels in Iran from late nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century. It is hoped that this method will help to identify patterns and effects translation, particularly translation of novels, has brought to the Persian literary polysystem.

My main sources of information here will be the data on the title pages of translated novels, prefaces, reviews, translation commentaries, statistical data on translations, printing and sales figures, and bibliographies of translated novels.

In this section, an attempt will be made to describe the socio-cultural conditions that led to, and governed, the emergence and spread of translation activity. The position of translated novels within the Persian literary polysystem will be

\textsuperscript{290} Itamar Even-Zohar, in \textit{Translation across Cultures}, p. 113.
explained. Furthermore, the influences and effects of the translated novels on the Persian literary system, and the shifts introduced by translation will be explored.

The translation of novels has certainly had a great influence on Persian literature in its different aspects. However, as translation and socio-cultural conditions of the society have reciprocal effects on each other, the socio-cultural context of the Iranian society has had impacts on the translation activity as well. Translation has also had a central position in the Modern Persian literary polysystem. Moreover, there is a relationship between the position of translated novels and the norms they developed.291

The Islamic Revolution in Iran (1978–9) is a significant turning point in the socio-political, and cultural context that has had a great impact on the literary polysystem, including translation activity. The position of translation activity after the revolution will be explored and the impact of the revolution on the translation of novels will be explained.

B. Models and Norms of Text Production

Models, norms, and policies292 in the Persian literary polysystem introduced and developed by translation of novels will be studied in this section of the thesis. The way the socio-cultural, political power structures have received and reacted to

291 The relationship between the position of translated texts and target-language norms is mentioned by Toury and Even-Zohar.

292 Theo Hermans considers the models and prototypes in the case of translating as 'textual, discursive entities': 'It will be clear that in the case of translating, as a form of textual production, the models and prototypes we are talking about are textual, discursive entities. They cover the substance of what is normally called a 'poetics' (a poetics of literature, a poetics of translation): a set of principles and practical rules for 'good writing', and a set of examples of good practice.' (Theo Hermans, 'On Modelling Translation: Models, Norms and the Field of Translation', *Livius: Revista de Estudios de Traducción*, 4 (1993), 69–88 (p. 76).)
translated novels/works, that has largely been reflected in constraints (e.g., censorship and bowdlerisation) imposed on translated novels, will also be investigated.

Toury introduced the concepts of translation norms and strategies. According to Toury the process as well as the product and the function are determined to a large extent by translation norms and strategies. Consequently, research in Descriptive Translation Studies must be first and foremost directed at investigating norms and strategies.

Toury considers the translator’s overall choice of ‘adequacy vs. acceptability’ as an ‘initial norm’. He expounds it as follows:

The term ‘initial norm’ should not be overinterpreted, however. Its initiality derives from its superordinance over particular norms which pertain to lower, and therefore more specific levels. The kind of priority postulated here is basically logical, and need not coincide with any ‘real’, i.e., chronological order of application. The notion is thus designed to serve first and foremost as an explanatory tool: Even if no clear macro-level tendency can be shown, any micro-level decision can still be accounted for in terms of adequacy vs. acceptability. On the other hand, in cases where an overall choice has been made, it is not necessary that every single lower-level decision be made in full accord with it. We are still talking regularities, then, but not necessarily of any absolute type. It is unrealistic to expect absolute regularities anyway in any behavioural domain. 293

Toury assumes an ‘opposition’ and a ‘compromise’ between ‘adequacy’ and ‘acceptability’ in every translated text. However, the concept of compromise and the opposition between adequacy and acceptability is not adopted in this thesis, as no negative correlation has been proved to exist between these two distinct parameters. They are considered as two distinct superordinate norms or qualities of translations. 294

293 Toury 1995, p. 57.

294 ‘Actual translation decisions (the results of which the researcher would confront) will necessarily involve some ad hoc combination of, or compromise between the two extremes implied by the initial norm. Still, for theoretical and methodological reasons, it seems wiser to retain the opposition and
Methodology of the Study

Hermans relates models, prototypes, and norms to the choices and decisions made by a translator, and considers it as part of the researcher's task to identify and reconstruct them by the help of discourse about translation or the 'historical metalanguage of translation' and to relate them to contemporary practice of translation. 295

C. Naturalness in Textual Cohesive Devices:

A Case Study of Linguistic Micro-structural Level

1. Corpus of the study

As the corpus of study, the novels translated into Persian were selected on the basis of three criteria:

1. They should be chosen from among British English novels of the twentieth century.

2. They should be well-known novels translated at least twice, once before (1963–1978) and once after the Islamic Revolution (1979–) in Iran in order to allow comparison between these two distinct periods.

295 ‘The task of the researcher consists in identifying and reconstructing, on the basis of the various choices and decisions made by a translator, not just the norms which governed those choices and decisions, but also the models and prototypes which inspired the norms, and which inform us about the translator’s motivation, the kind of text he or she was aiming to produce, the aims and goals which they were trying to achieve — and the negative models they were presumably trying to avoid. The discourse about translation, whether by translators themselves or by others, will also point up notions of correctness, operational aspects of norms and positive and negative models and prototypes. Establishing the nature of the relation of this discourse — the historical metalanguage of translation — to the contemporary practice of translation is part of the researcher’s task. All this amounts to a fairly comprehensive programme for historical research.’ (Hermans, in Livius, p. 85)
3. As in novels two styles of language can be distinguished from each other, i.e., dialogues and descriptions, works should be chosen to cover both styles.

The following novels and parallel translations were chosen to be compared. Both 'translator' (comparing parallel translations made at one point in time) and 'time' (comparing parallel translations made at different periods of time) variables are involved in these comparisons. The changes in language and culture are good points to focus on in view of the turning point of the Islamic Revolution.

   - Safarian, Muhammad Ali (1976)
   - Hussaini, Saleh (1994)

   - Peyman, Javad (1972)

2. Procedures of data collection

The study will draw on two sets of descriptive data:

296 'The easiest comparative study to perform involves various parallel translations in one language, which came into being at one point in time. This kind of comparison is also the easiest to justify, because it involves the smallest number of variables. If each translation is properly contextualized, such a study is therefore bound to shed light on the correlations between surface realization and position (or 'valence') in the target culture. [...]’

'Due to greater availability of a number of parallel translations into one language, which came into being in different periods of time, their comparison has been even more common. Such comparisons are possible, of course, but they represent a much more complex task than one would think. Thus, if the study is to have any real significance, at least the notion of (one) target language would have to be modified, in view of the fact that languages undergo constant changes. The need for such a modification would become all the more urgent as the intervals between the translations grew longer, or as the pace of the changes grew more rapid.' (Toury 1995, pp. 72–73.)
a. Textual analysis of translated novels and comparative analysis of coupled pairs to check interferences from the SL and consistent shifts.

b. Assessment questionnaires designed to explore cases of unnaturalness.

a. Textual Analysis:

As steps in DTS, Toury proposes the following discovery procedure:

1. **Descriptive study of translational phenomena and their TL acceptability** (without reference to SL),

2. **Comparative analysis (of a translation phenomenon)**: to identify translational solutions and problems: to establish the coupled pair 'problem + solution' as the unit of comparative analysis and to trace regular patterns which may govern the coupled pairs,

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298 In his book, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, Toury proposes the following ‘discovery procedures’ for one pair of texts:

1. Target text presented/regarded as a translation:
   - acceptability, deviations from acceptability...
   - probably: first tentative explanations to individual textual-linguistic phenomena, based on the assumption that the text is indeed a translation.

2. Establishment of a corresponding source text and mapping target text (or parts of it, or phenomena occurring in it) on the source text (or etc. ...)
   - determination of text’s status as an appropriate source text
   - establishment of target-source relationships for individual coupled pairs.

3. Formulation of first-level generalizations:
   - primary vs. secondary relationships for the text as a whole;
   - preferred invariant(s) and translation units;
   - [reconstructed] process of translation...' (Toury 1995, p. 38)

299 ‘Due to many inherent limitations, some of them no doubt cognitive, it will normally be target-text segments (rather than the text as one entity) which would be mapped onto segments of the source text. In the process of mapping, the status of the former as translational replacements would be established, along with what they may be said to have replaced, thus shedding light on problems as they may have presented themselves in the particular act which yielded the text under observation, and on their solutions.’ (Toury 1995, p. 37)
(3) **The establishment of translation relationships**: to identify the relationships between the members of each pair (SL/TL) which will result in an inventory of shifts and similarities/differences.\(^{300}\)

(4) **The establishment of the overall concept of translation**: to refer these relationships — by means of the mediating functional-relational notion of translation equivalence — to the concept of translation underlying a given corpus of texts.

A comparative analysis of coupled pairs, as proposed by Toury, is made to find (a) similarities (congruity) and differences between ST and TT and between T₁ and T₂ etc., (b) interferences from the SL into the TL, and (c) consistent shifts. Shifts may tell about regularities of behaviour (rules, norms) or idiosyncrasies (deviations or exceptions from TL norms or natural usage).

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**Figure 4.2. Comparative analysis of coupled pairs leading to translation relationships**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Similarities</th>
<th>Positive transfer</th>
<th>Acceptable/conforming to TL norms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Differences</td>
<td>Consistent shifts</td>
<td>Unacceptable/ non-conforming to TL norms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative transfer or interference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{300}\) 'Indeed, in his [Toury's] view research in the entire field of Descriptive Translation Studies starts out from such comparison, because the encountered differences and similarities shed light on the translational norms and strategies employed by the translator. That is why such a comparison must be carried out in a systemic and scientific manner.' (Van Leuven-Zwart, in *Empirical Research in Translation*, pp. 39–40)

However, Theo Hermans adds another dimension here: ‘At the same time, the translation will also contain features which are not strictly relevant to what we might call the ‘translational relation’, i.e. the modelling or mapping relation between the source and target texts. The translation, that is, invariably displays ‘contingent features’, a surplus, the mixture of variance and invariance, similarity and difference which also applies to models.’ (Hermans, in *Livius*, p. 76–77)
(a) Differences in usage and interference

A comparative analysis of coupled pairs based on an adequate corpus of various texts can provide a map of differences and similarities. Differences between SL and TL patterns and natural usage may cause interference from the SL into the TL. The SL interference is a major, though not the only, source of translationese or unnaturalness (deviations from acceptability). Other sources may be interferences from a third language or dialect. In order to check translated texts for interferences from the source language, publishers employ editors or readers.

In special cases, e.g. book translation, publishers employ independent readers who check the text for interferences from source language expressions. Such readers simply mark sections of text which in their opinion do not conform to target language usage, so that the translator can decide whether the form should be adjusted or not.301

One point should be mentioned here: sometimes translators consciously (not due to incompetence or lack of experience) use interference as a tool of ‘creativity’ or a means of transferring the ‘otherness’ of the source text (the heterogeneity) to the target culture in order to enlarge its cultural and linguistic repertoire, though this is not the only way to maintain creativity or heterogeneity. There has also been evidence of ‘tolerance’ towards the occurrence of interference in translated works by readers. Therefore, in relation to interference, ordinary readers of translated texts can be categorised into advocates of ‘purity’ (they do not tolerate any deviations from the natural usage of the target language), and advocates of ‘hybridity’ (they tolerate interference to some extent due to the ‘speciality’ of translated texts for their ‘creativity’ and ‘heterogeneity’).

301 Sager, pp. 238–9.
(b) Shifts

Shifts in translation indicate that the translator is aware of the need to deviate from the SL patterns. These shifts on the micro-structural level point to a so-called target-oriented approach: the translator seems to have used mainly the norm of acceptability. His most important aim seems to have been to produce a text that sounds as natural and as acceptable as possible in Persian. Therefore, the study of shifts, particularly consistent shifts, is a useful way of measuring naturalness. Shifts are divided into obligatory and optional (non-obligatory) as well as regular and idiosyncratic ones.

The occurrence of shifts is a 'universal of translation'. 302 Toury relates adherence to acceptability with 'shifts' in translation:

It has proven useful and enlightening to regard the basic choice which can be made between requirements of the two different sources as constituting an initial norm. Thus, a translator may subject him-/herself either to the original text, with the norms it has realized, or to the norms active in the target culture, or in that section of it which would host the end product. [...] If the second stance is adopted, norm systems of the target culture are triggered and set into motion. Shifts from the source text would be an almost inevitable price. Thus, whereas adherence to source norms determines a translation's adequacy as compared to the source text, subscription to norms originating in the target culture determines its acceptability. 303

302 'Obviously, even the most adequately-oriented translation involves shifts from the source text. In fact, the occurrence of shifts has long been acknowledged as a true universal of translation. However, since the need itself to deviate from source-text patterns can always be realized in more than one way, the actual realization of so-called obligatory shifts, to the extent that it is non-random, and hence not idiosyncratic, is already truly norm-governed. So is everything that has to do with non-obligatory shifts, which are of course more than just possible in real-life translation: they occur everywhere and tend to constitute the majority of shifting in any single act of human translation, rendering the latter a contributing factor to, as well as the epitome of regularity.' (Toury 1995, p. 75.)

He considers establishment of shifts, like identification of translation relationships, as part of discovery procedure. However, he emphasises, 'it is never an end in itself, but merely a step on the way of the formulation of explanatory hypotheses.'

One major object of coupling textual segments and comparing the members of the pairs to each other has long been presented as the identification of shifts with respect to a maximal, or optimal notion of the reconstruction of a source text.

For example: the equivalent of English pronoun 'He' in Persian is the pronoun ‘‘Î’ according to grammar books. When a translator shifts from this equivalent, say, to a noun (from reference to lexical cohesion) under certain circumstances, and his/her shifting is consistent and almost constant under those circumstances, then one can say that these shifts are norm-governed, or in other words, there exists the norm of 'acceptability' or 'naturalness' functioning behind his/her choice.

Two types of shifts, according to Catford 1965, are level shifts and category shifts. Categories of shifts developed by Van Leuven-Zwart who extended Miko’s inventory for categorising devices to include not only stylistic shifts, but also syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic shifts. She distinguishes three main categories of micro-structural shift: modulation, modification and mutation. Therefore, shifts will be categorised and described in a verifiable way. Shifts come to be seen not as

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304 Toury, in Manipulation of Literature, p. 32.

305 Toury 1995, p. 84.

306 These circumstances may be linguistic, literary or cultural.

307 For explanation of her categorisation of shift and its use in her model of research, see Hermans 1999, pp. 58-63.
mistranslations or violations of rules of equivalence, but as the rule itself. The shifts in translation can supply data to deduce the translator's underlying norms, strategies, and tendencies in translations.

b. Native-Speakers' Intuitive Judgements: Assessment Questionnaires

Questionnaires were given to native speakers from the speech community that are assumed to be the ordinary readers of translated novels in order to check readers' response or audience expectations.

(1) Sources of Judgement of interference or deviation from acceptability

Each source has its advantages and drawbacks. Relying on the competence/experience/knowledge and judgement of a critic or editor/proof-reader as a native speaker is the most readily available source. However, he or she might have his or her preferences and tastes, and might have formulated special abstract reductive models for norms of acceptability that privilege prescriptive stylistic predilections. Moreover, he or she might have a limited knowledge or memory.

Grammar books pose the problem of prescriptivism versus descriptivism. The authors might base their analyses on specific text-types and limited corpuses and try to generalise their findings to every type of text and style. Grammar books are usually based on some hypothetical abstract models of language and do not reflect the real
usage and performance completely. They may also prescribe some predilections. A considerable improvement has been made in recently written grammar books that results from large-scale machine-aided corpus-based studies.

Referring to the 'speech community' and relying on readers' response or native speakers' intuitive judgement pose the problem of language variation (in addition to inaccurate intuitions or lack of any useful intuitions). That is, it is very difficult not only to determine the 'ordinary' readers of translated novels, but also, as discussed in Chapter 3, to define the native speakers of 'Persian'. The standard Persian is taught at schools throughout Iran, and spoken on national TV and radio programs, but it is not the mother tongue for about 40% of Iranians. Even more problematic is the use of colloquial language or Tehrani dialect in translated novels. Students in Iranian universities come from different ethnic groups. Most educated people are native or near-native speakers of standard Persian, but some Iranians cannot give judgements on colloquial Tehrani dialect. However, a distinction should be made between the comprehension and production of this dialect. More people can comprehend this dialect in Iran than those who use it to communicate. Two major reasons can be provided to account for this fact: many people, particularly educated people, have lived in Tehran for some time and heard this dialect; and the difference between several other dialects in Iran and Tehrani dialect is mainly phonological rather than typographical or semantic.

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308 This type of test has been proposed by Toury (1995) and carried out by many, such as Tiina Puurtinen, for instance.

309 See Chapter 3 for further information on the varieties of Persian.

310 An illustration can be seen in Chapter 8.
(2) Assessment Questionnaires

Students — who are considered to be the average readers of translated novels — were asked to assess the translated text-fragments for their acceptability. The subjects were all told that what they had before them was a set of parallel translations since this background information could affect their rating/judgement. It was assumed that the acceptability of translated texts may differ from that of the original texts. In this way, one variable/parameter that could possibly lead to different results was controlled.

The segments that were intended to be tested, i.e. reference and ellipsis, were not mentioned. Three types of questionnaires were used. Each type contained 10 items that had been chosen from stage 1, the researcher's descriptive and comparative textual analysis. Seventy students from different courses in the faculties of Foreign Languages took part in this test.

Type a. Text-fragments taken from translated novels that were assumed to contain some unacceptable elements were provided without any clues or underlining. The subjects were asked to underline any elements that they considered unacceptable in their judgement, and to give their reasons if possible.

Type b. The elements that were assumed to be unacceptable had already been underlined in the items. The subjects were asked to give their views about the

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31 Concerning the acceptability of translated texts (distinguished from the acceptability of the original texts), Toury comments as follows:

After all, there have indeed been cultures where different criteria were in force for the acceptability of texts as target-language utterances and as translations into that language.
acceptability or unacceptability of the underlined elements (reference or ellipsis) and, if possible, provide reasons for their judgement.

**Type c.** Subjects were asked to arrange the translated text-fragments according to their acceptability. Each item consisted of three choices. Only Persian text-fragments were given without their original English texts since the original could affect their judgement.

In brief, this study follows a descriptive, cultural and historical analysis of the Persian literary system of the translated novels that make a new genre in Persian literature. Both context and text is studied so as to relate the concept of naturalness (acceptability) to the mutual interactions of the translator, readers’ expectations, linguistic and literary conventions and the relevant historical developments in the literary system. In line with the methodology described and discussed in this chapter, the subsequent chapters will follow a top-down procedure, from the general to the particular, or in other words, from the context to the text. Therefore, ‘Translation and the Rise of Novel in Iran’ elaborates the position and function of translated novels within the wider socio-cultural system. ‘Models and Norms of Text Production’ reviews the historical background of linguistic, literary and socio-cultural conventions developed within the literary system. ‘The Impact of the Islamic Revolution on Translation’ surveys and compares norms and models as related to the corpus of the study to discover the impact of a major social change on translation. ‘A Micro-

Incidentally, as has been shown by many descriptive studies into translation, this special status of ‘acceptability as a translation’ holds true especially for cultures where translations play a role in shaping the very center of the system. (Toury 1995, pp. 229–30.)

312 * These choices are taken from the parallel translations made by different translators in the corpus of study.
structural Study' attempts to describe and explain the factors involved in the natural use of textual cohesive devices.
Description is not enough. It has to serve a purpose, such as explanation. This requires that phenomena are put into a context, and that we have an apparatus to bring that context into view. That is where, in the descriptive paradigm, the notion of system comes in.\textsuperscript{313}

Poetry in Iran was the essence of art, fulfilling the role of other forms of art, and reflecting socio-cultural situation. However, it lost its central position in modern Persian literature after the Constitutional Revolution (1905–11). Prose works, especially translated novels, have gained a central status in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century Persian literature. This chapter deals with the history, position, impact and the related issues in the translation of novels in Iran.

\textbf{A. History}

Over the last two hundred years, the novel has become the dominant form of literary writing in most literate societies; in quantity (thousands of titles

\textsuperscript{313} Hermans, \textit{Translation in Systems}, p. 102.
published every year in America and in Western Europe), readership consumption (verse and drama are now truly minority pleasures) and in cultural sensitivity (novels rapidly and significantly reflect, and help to shape, the socio-economic realities and the fantasies of their consumers). The novel is also the literary form most vitally in contact with other contemporaneous modes of discourse: with journalism, advertising, documentary, history, sociology, science and (in another medium) cinema.\(^{314}\)

In Iran, the extensive education of people\(^{315}\) and high rate of literacy, facilitated by the introduction of the printing press,\(^{316}\) the establishment of modern schools,\(^{317}\) and the expansion of newspapers\(^{318}\) and books, developed a taste for


\(^{315}\) According to “Iran’s Cultural Constitution” ratified in 1911, primary education for all children — urban, rural or tribal — was declared compulsory. By the end of the Qajar dynasty (1925) there were approximately 3,300 government schools with a total enrollment of about 110,000 students. In 1940 only 10 percent of all elementary-age children were enrolled in school, and less than 1 percent of youths between the ages 12 and 20 were in secondary school. In 1953, the act on “compulsory education” (for children between the ages 7 and 15) was passed by the parliament in order to enforce the previous act which had only remained something on paper and never implemented. The passage of time showed that this second act was also a set of beautiful words in law books and never put into action completely. By 1978 approximately 75 percent of all elementary-age children were enrolled in primary schools, while somewhat less than 50 percent of all teenagers were attending secondary schools. In order to implement the ‘Compulsory Education Act’, Article 30 of the Islamic Republic of Iran’s Constitution (1979) obliges the government to provide free education up to the end of secondary level (between the ages 7 to 15). In the academic year 1999-2000, 98 percent of eligible children of the 8-10 age group received primary education, and there were 60,656 public and 1,990 private non-profit schools at primary level.

\(^{316}\) The first printing press to publish Persian books in Iran was established in Tabriz, the capital of Azerbaijan, in 1817 under the aegis of the Crown Prince Abbas Mirza. This press was brought from Europe by Zain al-abedin Tabrizi. Then in 1819–20 Mirza Saleh Shirazi, one of the first group of Iranian students to be sent to Europe when Abbas Mirza despatched them to England for technical and professional training, returned with the second printing press which also began operating in Tabriz. In 1824–5 Zain al-abedin was summoned to Tehran, where he opened a press under the patronage of one of the most influential courtiers, Manuchir Khan, Mu’tamad al-Dowle. Several years later, Mirza Saleh Shirazi imported another press to Tehran to print his newspaper ‘*Kaghaz-e Akbar*’ in 1837. From that time onward, the number of printing houses began to increase gradually throughout Iran.

\(^{317}\) The first modern school was the *Dar ol-Fonun* College, established by Mirza Taqi Khan (Amir Kabir) in 1851. Later the *Nezam* College was established by the vice-regent Kamran Mirza, based on the model of the *Dar ol-Fonun*, and the Muzaffari *Dar ol-Fonun* College of Tabriz (a branch of the *Dar ol-Fonun* of Tehran) in 1898. The government established the College of Political Sciences in 1899 for training politicians and necessary cadres for the foreign ministry.

From 1901 onward, the private sector began establishing schools. Seyed-Illassan Taqizadeh, Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan Tarbiat, Mirza Seyed-Hussain Khan Sepahsalar and Aqa Seyed-
literature among the middle-class reading public and helped to shape a new literary style, more in line with the requirements of the modern times. The novel could satisfy the readers' hunger for knowledge of the world around them and provide entertainment at the same time.

The Persian translation of novels has a history of over one hundred years in Iran. The translation of James Morier's *The Adventures of Haji Baba of Isfahan* and Alexandre Dumas's *Les Trois Mousquetaires* ('The Three Musketeers') formed the vanguard of a rising flow of narrative prose translated from other languages. The first novel was translated by Mirza Habib Isfahani in 1872 (first printed in Calcutta, 1905).

Muhammad Shabastari established the *Tarbiat* School in Tabriz in 1901 where modern sciences and foreign languages were taught; the same people along with Mirza Yusef Khan Ashtiani established a bookshop that sold European books. During the Constitutional Revolution, there were more than fifty modern schools in Iran. (See Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzade, *Tehran: Qadr-e Velayat Cultural Institute*, 2nd print, 1998, pp. 129-131.)

Mirza Saleh Shirazi launched Iran's first newspaper, *'Kāghaz-e 'Akhbār'* ('the Newspaper') in May 1837. Then Mirza Taqi Khan (Amir Kabir) launched the first regular (weekly) newspaper called *'Rūznāme-ye 'Akhbār-e Dār ol-Khelāfī-y-e Tehran*' and *'Vaqīye-ye 'Eṣtefaqāye'* in February 1851. It was published until 1860-61. Then it became the *Rūznāme-ye Dowlat-e Aliy-e Iran* ('the journal of the Exalted State of Iran'). Later its title was shortened to simply *'Government Gazette'*.

Ali Qoli Mirza E'tezad os-Saltane, Naser od-Din Shah’s Minister of Sciences, launched two newspapers funded by that ministry: *Mellati* ('National') newspaper in (1863) and *Ilmi* ('Scientific') journal (in 1866). In 1871, four newspapers were published in Iran: the *Government Gazette*, the *Scientific Journal* in three languages, Persian, Arabic, and French, the *Paper of the Iranian Nation*, and *Mellati Newspaper*. These four newspapers were closed and replaced by *Rūznāme-ye Iran* ('the Iran Journal'); its managing director was Muhammad Hassan Sani' od-Dowlie and it contained various subjects. Sani' od-Dowlie (later named E'temad os-Saltane) was also the head of the Governmental Translation, Printing, and Publishing Office ('*Edār-e-ye 'Entebā'-at va Dār ol-Tarjomeh-y-e Dowlati*') during the tenure of Prime Minister Sepahsalar. During the Constitutional Revolution in Iran there were more than 80 newspapers published mainly by middle-class intellectuals. (See Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzade, pp. 126-129.)

The Iranian modern era began in the early 19th century with Fath 'Ali Shah's reign (1797-1834). The main characteristic that separates the modern era from the past history is Iran's encounter with the new civilisation of the West and its cultural and technological manifestations. This encounter brought about two new elements into the socio-political arena of the country: colonisation or foreign interference in Iran's domestic affairs and establishment of a new class, the 'dependent intellectuals'. Colonisation and technology were the two sides of the coin. The dependent intellectuals, most of whom studied in western academic centres, gradually gained power and sought to attain the western civilisation, sciences, and technology, particularly after the Constitutional Revolution (1905-11).
and the second one by Muhammad Taher Mirza (first printed in Tehran in three volumes, 1889).\textsuperscript{320}

Discussing the early translations of European novels — mainly historical novels — into Persian during the Qajar Dynasty after 1881, Hassan Mir-abedini mentions Prince Muhammad Taher Mirza (b. 1834–d. 1900) as the most active translator of the time who translated Alexandre Dumas’s historical novels. His best translations are \textit{Le Comte de Monte Cristo} (1894) and \textit{Les Trois Mousquetaires} (1889). Mir-abedini believes that

The similarity of the imaginary atmosphere of Alexandre Dumas and Georgy Zeidan’s works with that of Iranian popular tales helps this type of translations to gain currency, particularly due to the fact that writing historical chronicles has a long history in the Iranian classic literature.\textsuperscript{321}

However, Mir-abedini records the translation of \textit{One Thousand and One Nights} — a non-European story — made by Abd ol-Lateef Tassouji Tabrizi first published much earlier in 1843 in Tabriz as a Persian prose masterpiece of the Qajar period which is exemplary for its accuracy, coherence, clarity and beauty.\textsuperscript{322}

There are different ways and forms of literary impact. Literary influence is an important topic in comparative literary studies. When the literary impact penetrates


\textsuperscript{321} Hassan Mir-abedini, \textit{A Hundred Years of Iranian Fiction Writing}, 3 vols. (Tehran: Cheshmeh, 1998), p. 30. (My own translation.)

\textsuperscript{322} See ibid., p. 30.
the literary form and structure of a nation’s literature from within, then the impact is deep and internal.\textsuperscript{323}

\textbf{B. Position of Translating Literary Texts in the Persian Literary Polysystem}

\textbf{1. Necessity for the translation of literary texts}

In 1944, Sadeq Hedayat, a pioneer in Persian prose writing, maintained that the Iranian literature needed the translation of old and new literary masterpieces more than anything else, for the Iranian intellectual and literary stagnation and underdevelopment of the time was largely due to the lack of contact with the modern world’s literary thoughts, styles and methods.\textsuperscript{324} However, Baraheni rejects this view. He argues,

The poets and writers could have read some of the great works in a foreign language. Knowledge of an international language would help them look at the national culture in a comparative and contrastive way. This comparative view has been more influential than reading the works of the great foreign writers in Persian.\textsuperscript{325}

He adds that ‘even if we can translate all the western literature into Persian, we should deliberate on the influence of such translations on the development of our national literature as the early western type of short stories, novels, and “new” poetry in Persian were not produced under the influence of the translated texts.’\textsuperscript{326}

\textsuperscript{323} See Reza Baraheni, \textit{Kimia va Khak} (Tehran: Morgh-e Âmin, 1985), p. 86.

\textsuperscript{324} See Baraheni, pp. 85–86.

\textsuperscript{325} Ibid., pp. 85–86. (My translation.)

\textsuperscript{326} Ibid., p. 85. (My translation.)
Evidently, Baraheni discusses the influence of translated texts on the poets and writers who are in turn responsible for building the national culture. He thinks that the translators and the translated texts cannot build the national culture directly. This view seems unrealistic and is not shared by many other scholars and critics. For example, Muhammad Qazi gives two reasons for the inability of the original novels to build up the national culture: the novel's short life span in Iran and censorship. Qazi, however, believes that the translator can reflect the social conditions in his/her country by resorting to similarities of other nations' sufferings.

Baraheni claims, 'If Sadeq Hedayat opens his eyes, he will certainly find out that "the need of the Iranian literature for the translation of the old and new masterpieces" has been satisfied completely.' Then he compares the disproportionate number of translated novels to the original works as evidence for his belief.

While admitting that some of the manifestations of the Persian culture are deeply influenced by the West and that the western forms and genres have been

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328 See Salehi, p. 79.
329 Baraheni, p. 91. (My translation.)
330 'Since almost all our publishing companies: Amir Kabir, Franklin, Jibi, Neel, Khawrazmi, Agah, Zaman, like The Book Translating and Publishing Company, were all translating and publishing companies. [...] They published 50 translated narrative works but just three Persian narrative works. Why was it so? Was it not economical? Would the government prevent the publishers from publishing original Persian works? Did people dislike the original Persian works?' (Ibid., pp. 92-93. My translation.)
imitated, he maintains that the performance in important cultural fields has been genuine, taking account of the requirements and conditions of the national culture.\(^{331}\)

He refers to the contents and themes of these imitated forms and genres; he believes that the poets and writers are responsible for building the national culture according to their own genuine cultural conditions and background although the forms and genres are imitated. The form is there as an established reality. It has ascertained its fixed position in Persian literature. But some themes of foreign novels are still felt not to be quite natural for the Iranian readers. The predominantly Islamic reader does not feel at home when meeting with texts born out of Christian values. These texts sound alien against the value system of Islam. Islamic values cannot accommodate some cultural manifestations of the West and there has been an Islamic resistance towards western cultural products, including some literary translated works. The novel is a western product, and it enters the society, which is struggling with the problem how to become modern without losing its own cultural identity.

It is noteworthy to mention that concerning the problem of encounter with the West in Iran there has been an inherent binary opposition between ‘nativists’ and ‘westernisers’ not only in political fields but also in ideological, cultural, and literary domains. This has continued even after the revolution; in literature it is reflected in the two associations of authors and translators established recently.\(^{332}\) Jalal Al-e Ahmad was a famous pre-revolutionary novelist who wrote several popular novels in

\(^{331}\) See ibid., p. 62.

\(^{332}\) See the next chapter.
colloquial language. He also wrote a polemical monograph entitled ‘gharb-zadegi’\(^{333}\) (‘westernisation’) in which he attacked the Iranian westernised intellectuals and their passive and servile embrace of Western ideas and culture, as well as their activities. In this book, Al-e Ahmad tried to discredit the contemptuous stance of westernised Iranians towards their Islamic past. This work gave birth to a discourse of the same name (i.e. *gharb-zadegi*) that can be regarded as the modern Iranian articulation of nativism.

Other related topics raised by nativists were the ‘alienation’ of westernised intellectuals and the necessity to ‘return to the self’. These notions were mainly elaborated by Ali Shari’ati, a prominent Islamic theoretician and sociologist who was effective in preparing the youth before the revolution for the coming revolution. Shari’ati, influenced by Franz Fanon’s ideas and particularly his discourse of ‘return of the oppressed’,\(^{334}\) insisted that Iranian intellectuals had to distinguish themselves from their European counterparts. He rebuked those intellectuals who have advocated imitating Western models of development as alienated, *assimilés*, and uprooted individuals who have forfeited their cultural identity. To counteract this intellectual-cultural trend of ‘alienation’ and imitation from the West, Shari’ati promoted the discourse of *bāzgasht be khīstan* (‘return to the self’). Shari’ati’s discourse was religious in tone and placed its emphasis on ‘Islamic roots’, not racial, historical, pre-Islamic roots that were advocated by westernised intellectuals.

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A modern topic related to the problem of encounter with the Western culture and civilization has been raised by Ayatollah Khamenei, the leader of Islamic Iran. He discusses the 'Western cultural invasion' as compared to inter-cultural exchange. He describes different features of this 'cultural invasion' against Islamic World, and condemns the 'sick and dependent' intellectuals' servile attitude towards the West and their role in alienating and negating the (native Islamic) culture of the nation. Despite approving the resistance against the Western dominance and asserting the native Islamic culture, at the same time he believes that there should be exchange with 'other' cultures based on equality and cooperation. Cultural isolation is not acceptable. Intellectuals can borrow from the Western culture and civilisation, but it should be carried out from an Islamic stance, consciously and meticulously chosen and to the benefit of the nation. The Western culture and civilisation is not totally rejected; some elements that go well with the Islamic culture and do not contradict Islam can be utilised. These elements are not just 'European', they do not belong exclusively to Europeans, they are universal concepts, they can be considered as the achievements of the whole humankind. So we Iranians can appropriate them and make them ours. For example, after the revolution the concepts of a 'republic', 'parliament', 'democracy', 'participation of people in decision-making through voting', 'separation of the judiciary, executive and legislative branches of the government', and 'human rights' (based on Islamic precepts) have been incorporated completely into the society and politics and considered genuinely acceptable.

335 In Iran, it is customary to call westernised intellectuals 'dependent' due to their dependence on western culture.
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according to the Islamic culture. The import of Western technology and science, and methods of research and education are mainly regarded not only as acceptable but quite desirable as well. Iran, even, attempts to catch up and compete with European countries in these respects.

This problem of encounter with the West has been one of the causes that has contributed to the major social movements during the last two hundred years in Iran. Different trends have been followed by Iranian intellectuals and prominent figures in certain periods of time. After the Constitutional Revolution (1905–11) in Iran the westernised intellectuals gained the upper hand, but after the Islamic Revolution (1977–79) the nativists are in the lead.337

Thus, Al-e Ahmad was a nativist who did not avoid writing in the (new) western forms of the novel and short story. Therefore, although adoption of the western forms is considered to be acceptable, imitating western themes338 is regarded as an act of westernisation and a sign of alienation.339


337 For further information on the encounter of the Iranian intellectuals with the West and the 'nativist' approach to the problem, see Mehrzad Boroujerdi, Iranian Intellectuals and the West: The Tormented Triumph of Nativism (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1996).

338 'Western' refers to culture-specific themes, excluding universal ones. For example, themes set in places such as casinos, gambling places and pubs are considered westernised.

339 It is noteworthy to mention that other cultures have also encountered or experienced europeanisation or westernisation wherein they have been forced to reject their immediate (mainly religious) past and national identity while embracing the European culture and taking pride in ancient or pagan 'golden' times. Turkey, Egypt and Russia are among them. However, they try to adopt the western ways of life thoroughly, they are just regarded as semi-europeanised nations, they do not attain full recognition by the European countries as fully westernised. The term globalisation is a newly coined term that tries to conceal the imposition of western values and norms on other cultures. An interesting account of westernisation in Russia and the conflict between westernisers and nativists can be seen in the following article: Itirii M. Lotman and Boris A. Uspenskii, 'Binary Models in the
2. Objectives of translating the western literature

An important aspect of the multifaceted impact of translation on Persian literature is that it can help develop fiction writing by representing the skill of the world's great authors in illustrating humans' deeds and different social contexts. Therefore, imitation from the great authors can prove beneficial to the Iranian author.340

Another topic concerning the objectives of translating the western literature into Persian is a 'complete lack of direction and aim'. While admitting it in general, Mahdi Sahabi, a translator of novels, notes some hopeful signs of progress in the translation of literature in recent years (late 80's and early 90's). Firstly, the Persian translators have become more experienced, knowledgeable and sensitive than ever in translating literary works. Secondly, there are a vast number of learned, enthusiastic and choice readers who are fed up with dispersed translations from second-rate authors, who look at literary translations meticulously and evaluate them, and hence motivate the translators towards the translation of the classical works of western literature.341

However, Baraheni (1985) denounces the prevalent objectives in translating novels and defines its nature in the following way:

Its main objective is providing entertainment, preoccupation and diversion, in other words, preventing readers from taking themselves and others seriously. It intends to exile the reader from real situations and genuine world-views and thought patterns into banal faraway pseudo-happiness. In this first step

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340 Mir-abadini, p. 201. (My translation.)

341 See 'Interview with Mahdi Sahabi', Motarjem, 6 (1992), 27-36 (p. 29).
to exile the reader from the national culture background, ‘Shāhābād’ has undertaken the task of all the commonplace magazines of the previous regime.

The cultural term Iranian critics usually use to refer to commonplace, banal or junk works is mobtazal. Some other literary critics share Baraheni’s dissatisfaction with mobtazal books; however, translators and publishers do not take heed of such scholarly or elitist statements because there has always been a demand for popular novels/translations. Thus, such translations have existed side by side with the serious literature, and they have their own readers.

According to Baraheni, ‘while in the past some authors exiled themselves to the age of Qasida and the prose style of Marzban-Nama, now it is time for the exile of the reader. […] The characteristic of this type of translation is clear to everyone. The translator summarises an 800-page masterpiece into a banal, popular novel of 200 pages.’ Baraheni denounces such novels as ‘fake and artificial’. He thinks the

342 It is the main publishers’ district in Tehran. The publishers there are infamous for publishing popular commonplace translations (and ignoring the quality) just for profit-making and seizing the market in their hand.

343 Baraheni, pp. 17-18. (My translation.) Baraheni disapproves the low quality, the banal and easy-going approach, of such translations. He also rejects the ‘entertainment’ role of novels and supports the social commitment and serious ‘instructive’ function of the novels that can help ‘build the national culture’.

344 This attitude towards many western literary works reflected in the culture-specific term mobtazal seems to correspond to Anna Wierzbicka’s remarks concerning the Russian culture-specific term poślost’. She says,

Words with special, culture-specific meanings reflect and pass on not only ways of living characteristic of a given society but also ways of thinking. […] Certainly, objects and phenomena merit this label exist — the Anglo-Saxon world of popular authors contains a rich array of phenomena which merit the label poślost’, for example the entire genre of bodice-rippers — but to call these volumes poślost’ would mean to review them through the prism of a conceptual category provided by the Russian language. […] If a sophisticated witness like Nabakov tells us that Russians often think about such things in terms of the conceptual category poślost’, we have no reason not to believe him — given that the Russian language itself provides objective evidence for this claim in the form of the whole family of words,
tragic point here is that ‘such a translation becomes the best-seller, even selling more than the books of our best novelists’.

He wishes he could ‘explode’ the ‘Shāhābādī culture’. He argues that with its banal and easy-going approach and special marketing, and its particular trickery in summarising, distributing and selling books it is a major obstacle in the production of the national culture. One can find such books everywhere in Iran, village or city, from the barber’s and drugstores to big stores. Baraheni also disapproves of Zabihullah Mansoori’s highly free method of translation or ‘school of expansion’:

Another phenomenon in throwing the reader from the real situations into exile is an ‘honourable’ hardworking translator called Mr. Zabihullah Mansoori. His expertise is just opposite to that of the typical ‘Shāhābādī’ translator though they follow the same objective. If the latter is a follower of the ‘school of contraction’, the former is an advocate of the ‘school of expansion’. He translates a 600-page novel into 1000 pages at least. His historical novels are usually published in no less than six volumes. With his particular genius, Mr. Zabihullah Mansoori leads some dazzled readers to imaginary wonderlands, to 18th and 19th century royal courts, in whose depth, the complexes suppressed by the [Islamic] Revolution are activated. The readers, in their imagination, make new covenants with the king, queen and royalties.

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pošly, pošlost’ pošljak, pošljacka, and pošljatina. (Anna Wierzbicka, Understanding Cultures through Their Key Words (Oxford: OUP, 1997), p. 5.)

343 See Baraheni, p. 97. Baraheni’s criticism of such translated texts reminds of Venuti’s attack against ‘domestication’: a kind of levelling down every foreign text into a simplified fluent language with almost no difference among different texts regarding their diction, style, ...

346 He rejects the summarising or ‘contraction’ method used in such translated novels and supports ‘fidelity’ in translation. However, the low prices of such ‘translated’ novels and their wide distribution have made them popular and provided easy access to literature for a wide group of common people. This should not be considered ‘trickery’. Thus, Baraheni seems to take an elitist attitude towards literature and its readership.

347 See ibid., pp. 97–98.

348 See ibid., pp. 98–99. See also Mir-abadini, p. 767.
The monarchy in Iran preferred historical novels (whether translated or original) based on its antiquarian nationalistic ideology. 349 After the revolution, Mansoori's 'translated' or 'original' novels kept the monarchists' allegiance with, and affections towards, the deposed royal family and the past situation. Thus, Mansoori's translations can be dubbed as 'conservative' as Lambert et al. put it,

We try to determine whether the function of a particular translation is conservative or innovative, and whether translation is a marginal or a central phenomenon with regard to the target literary system as a whole. 350

Muhammad Qazi divides novels into two groups: the 'entertaining' novels, such as most of Alexandre Dumas's works and the like in France, and 'instructive' novels, those that teach rather than amuse. 351 He aims at a philanthropic goal in his translations. He believes that the pains, sufferings and miseries of all humanity belong to everyone and should be shared by everyone. He quotes Sa'di, a great Persian poet:

The sons of Adam are limbs of each other

349 The monarchy promoted both 'western' and 'native' values. However, these 'native' values were of an antiquarian, retrospective (false patriotic) nature of the pre-Islamic period of the Persian Empire. Therefore, the monarchy liked to see historical stories occurring around the royalties of the pre-Islamic period (or foreign contexts as in translations) and about their grandeur and nobility in which some prince or king was involved as a hero. The retrospective nationalism that was mainly promoted by the Pahlavi dynasty will be discussed in the next chapter.

Of course, the desire towards westernization sometimes clashed with the extremist retrospective patriotism. This conflict was sometimes resolved to the advantage of westernization. For example, in a leading article published in January 1920 issue of Kave journal, 'Sayyid Hassan Taqizadeh declared the absolute need for Iran's europeanization. What he called "false patriotism" must be set aside in complete submission to the principles of European civilization. His opinion was that the best way of accomplishing this would be "the publication in Iran of translations of a whole series of the most important European books in plain and simple language". Here was a [...] portent of United-States-sponsored translation projects, when in the 1950s translations of western classics were commissioned under the auspices of the Franklin Institute.' (Avery, in The Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 7, pp. 846-47.)


351 See Salchi, p. 72.
Having been created of one essence.
When the calamity of time afflicts one limb
The other limbs cannot remain at rest.
If thou hast no sympathy for the troubles of others
Thou art unworthy to be called by the name of a man.\textsuperscript{352}

He advises young translators not to waste their precious time translating a novel aimed merely at amusement and storytelling that excludes people's sufferings, and troubles of masses in the hands of colonialism and exploitation.\textsuperscript{353}

\textbf{3. Patronage, cultural policy and selection of the texts to be translated}

The first wave of the long and uneasy journey of modernisation in Iran began when the well-regarded crown prince, ‘Abbas Mirza, dispatched a group of students to Europe in 1811 and invited some European military advisors — out of the need to obtain modern technological developments at a time when Iran was at war with Russia.\textsuperscript{354} However, extensive contacts of Iranian intellectuals with a European culture was made feasible with the establishment of the polytechnic college ‘Dar ol-

\textsuperscript{352} \textit{The Gulistan or Rose Garden of Sa‘di}, translated by Edward Rehatsek, 1989, p. 85.

\textsuperscript{353} See Salehi, pp. 86–87.

\textsuperscript{354} A brief account of ‘Abbas Mirza’s bibliography is provided by \textit{Encyclopaedia Britannica} as follows:

(b. September 1789, Nava, Qajar Iran – d. Oct. 25, 1833, Meshed), crown prince of the Qajar dynasty of Iran who introduced European military techniques into his country. Although he was not the eldest son of Fath ‘Ali Shah (1797–1834), ‘Abbas Mirza was named crown prince and appointed governor of the province of Azerbaijan in 1798 or 1799. When war broke out between Russia and Iran in 1804, he was made commander of the Iranian expeditionary force of 30,000 men. The war (1804–13) resulted in the loss of most of Iran’s Georgian territory and showed ‘Abbas Mirza the necessity of reforming the Qajar military forces. He began sending Iranian students to Europe to learn Western techniques; a first group was sent to England in 1811 and a second group followed in 1815. In 1812 a printing press was established in Tabriz, the capital of Azerbaijan, and the translation of European military handbooks was encouraged. A gunpowder factory and an artillery foundry were also started in Tabriz.

The new army was drilled by British military advisers. (‘‘Abbas Mirza’, in \textit{Encyclopaedia Britannica}, 1995.)
Translation and the Rise of the Novel in Iran

Fonun’ by Naser od-Din Shah Qajar’s chief minister Mirza Taqi Khan (Amir Kabir) in 1851. This college was a westernised academic institute run mostly by French-speaking teachers, and offered education along Western lines. French was the formal language of education at the college, and hence it became the second tongue of the educated throughout the country, a position it has lost since the Second World War.

The college included foreign languages, particularly the French language, as one of its subjects. The Iranians who had graduated from this college (some of whom were sent to France in 1859 to complete their studies in French universities) also taught at the college. Apparently Iranian intellectuals, being acquainted and influenced mostly by the French Revolution\(^{355}\) and its literature, preferred the French culture and civilisation from among other dominant cultures, i.e. British and Russian.\(^{356}\)

\(^{355}\) For example, among these intellectuals one can mention Mirza Malkom Khan who translated the lectures of the Austrian and French teachers at the Dar ol-Fonun College. He was influenced by the Comte de Mirabeau (1749–91), Auguste Comte (1798–1857), and John Stuart Mill (1806–73). He joined freemasonry in 1857 when he was dispatched to Paris as a member of the Iranian delegation to hold negotiations between Iran and Britain on Herat (Afghanistan), mediated by Napoleon III. When he came back to Iran, he received permission from Naser od-Din Shah to establish the first Iranian freemasonry lodge (1858), under the license and influence of the French freemasonry. The name chosen for the lodge was ‘Pārāmīsh-khāne’ or the ‘House of Forgetfulness’. Later he improved it and gave it new names, ‘Majma’-e ‘Ādamiyāt’ (dissolved in 1896) and finally ‘Jame’-e ‘Ādamiyāt’ (in 1908). (See Mirza Malkom Khan Nazem od-Dowle.)

In a report on December 16, 1906, Sir Francis Bertie, the British Ambassador to France, quotes Malkom Khan as saying:

‘There is a feeling of distrust towards both Britain and Russia because Iranians suspect that these countries have colonial intentions, but there is no such suspicion towards France.’ (Ibid., p. 117.) (My own translation from Persian.)

\(^{356}\) There were many reasons for the desire to evade the Anglo-Russian dominance in Iran in the 19\(^{th}\) and 20\(^{th}\) centuries. For example, see the account of Encyclopaedia Britannica of the European penetration in Iran:

‘Fath ‘Ali Shah (ruled 1797–1834), in need of revenue, relied on British subsidies but lost the Caucasus to Russia by the treaties of Golestan in 1813 and Turkmanchay in 1828. The last gave Russian commercial and consular agents entrance to Iran, and this began a diplomatic rivalry between Russia and Britain that victimized Iran. This rivalry was eventually resolved when in 1907 an Anglo-Russian convention established, in Iran, Afghanistan, and Tibet, exclusive Anglo-Russian spheres of influence.’
Therefore, this college built the foundations for Iranian modernisation in every respect: from cultural policy, to technological developments, and from Constitutional law\(^\text{357}\) to administrative bureaucracy. This cultural policy that was based on the French culture encompassed and shaped the writing styles and selection of texts to be translated. The college was the first patron\(^\text{358}\) (out of the royal court) of translation from European languages. The members of the college, led by its erudite principal 'Hajji Mirza Aghasi, a minister of Muhammad Shah (ruled 1834-48), tried to activate the government in a revival of the sources of production and to cement ties with lesser European powers, such as Spain and Belgium, as an alternative to Anglo-Russian dominance, but little was achieved. Naser od-Din Shah (ruled 1848-96) made Iran's last effort to regain Herat, but 1857 saw the end of such expansionist efforts.\(^\text{358}\) ('Iran: European Penetration', in Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1995.)

This last statement is expounded in another article as follows: 'Unable to regain territory lost to Russia in the early 19\(^\text{th}\) century, Naser od-Din sought compensation by seizing Herat, Afghanistan, in 1856. Great Britain regarded the move as a threat to British India and declared war on Iran, forcing the return of Herat as well as Iranian recognition of the kingdom of Afghanistan.' ('Naser od-Din Shah', in Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1995.)

In other words, Fath 'Ali Shah was disastrously defeated by Russia in two wars (1804-13, 1826-28) and thus lost Georgia, Armenia, and northern Azerbaijan. And Afghanistan was severed from Iran by Britain in 1857.

This rivalry between Britain and Russia ended in 1907 (in an Anglo-Russian agreement dividing Iran into zones of influence) and gave way to their friendly division of and more outward and unrestrained interference in Iran. As a result, Iran was occupied and dominated completely by the two powers for several years during and after World War I (1914-18) and World War II (1941-46). Thus, Iran was victimised both in their time of rivalry and friendship!

Graham E. Fuller accounts for the Iranian intellectuals' tendency towards a 'third power' as follows:

>'Because even the two rival powers [i.e. Russia and Britain] could collude to the detriment of Iran's interests, as in 1907, Iran was always interested in identifying some 'third power' that could delimit the influence of the other two. At various times, starting in the nineteenth century, France, Germany, the United States, and later, China and Japan were partially able to serve in this third power capacity.' (Graham E. Fuller, The "Center of the Universe": The Geopolitics of Iran (Oxford: Westview Press, 1991), p. 249.)

\(^{357}\) Mirza Hussain Khan Sepahsalar (b. 1828-d. 1881) compiled the first draft of the Constitutional law with the help of Mirza yusef Khan Mostashar od-Dowle in 1872, a few months after he began his tenure (1871-80) as the prime minister, and managed to have it signed by Naser od-Din Shah in the following year. Sepahsalar later added 'Tanzimat' law and the law for the limits (obligations) of governors and military chief commanders to it. (See Mirza Hussain Khan Sepahsalar (Tehran: Qadr-e Velayat Cultural Institute, 1998, 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) print), p. 96)

\(^{358}\) This duty, i.e. patronage, was later put on the Governmental Translation, Printing, and Publishing Office ('Edare-ye Enteba'at va dar ol-Tarjome-ye Dowlati'). Muhammad Hassan Sani' od-Dowle
Reza Qoli Khan Hedayat, made translations from European languages. The early translators and authors all studied (and/or worked) at this college or in France. For example, Muhammad Taher Mirza (b. 1834–d. 1900) and Mirza Habib Isfahani (b. 1833–d. 1893), the two famous translators of the earliest translated novels, were Dar ol-Fonun translators, and Jamalzadeh (b. 1892–d. 1997) and Hedayat (b. 1903–d. 1951), two famous Iranian authors studied in France and were influenced by the French literature and culture. Mir-Abedini quotes Aryânpoor as observing,

‘The (existence of) historical novels should be deemed as a direct result of Francophile attempts of the Dar ol-Fonun and those affiliated with it.’ Also, ‘The translation of some novels of this type introduced a new genre of European historical literature, and it happened to conform well to our people’s taste.’

This domination lasted until the Second World War, when France was defeated, and Iran was divided into two protectorate parts: the north part was under the protection and influence of the Soviets and the southern part under the protection and influence of the British and allied forces. Between 1941 and 1953, Iran was dominated by the Russian, Soviet or Communist culture. The cultural policy was mainly shaped by the Soviet-Iran Cultural Relations Society. This society organised ‘the First Congress of the Iranian Writers’, a major literary event, in 1946. Many

(later E’atemad os-Saltane) was the head of that office during the tenure of Sepahsalar prime ministry. (See Mirza Hussain Khan Sepahsalar, 1998.)


360 The term used in Persian is ‘farangi’ meaning ‘from farang’. ‘Farang’ seems to be the naturalised form of ‘France’. ‘Farangi’ is close to and confused with the Persian word ‘farhangi’ meaning ‘cultural’. ‘Farangi’ implies Francophile, European (in general), westernised, modernised as well as cultural, civilised, and well-educated.

361 Mir-Abedini, p. 30. (My translation.)
translators, e.g. Bozorg-e Alavi, Karim Keshavarz, and Behazin, who were guided, sponsored, or encouraged by this society selected and translated Russian texts.

After the American-led coup d'état in 1953, the influence of the Russian culture was suppressed altogether and the authors who followed the Communist ideology and the translators who translated Russian literature were either sent to prison or exile or emigrated from Iran to some eastern or western European countries. The American culture was the dominant shaping force in the hierarchy of power relations. The leading publisher in Iran between 1953 and 1973 was the Tehran branch of the American Franklin Publishing Co. It published 1000 titles of books during this time. It sponsored several translators, and selected books from the American (as well British) literature to be translated. With the boom of the book publishing market, many publishers began to print novels:

The translation of novels that was earlier considered as an accomplished elitist entertainment became a profession; many people entered this business to 'gain a living'. Whoever knew a foreign language a bit would embark on translating books that had no special status in their own language and had been outdated for many years. Most of these books were translated from a second or even third intermediary language. For example, the translators of the Mah-e Nou Publishing Co. — skilful and experienced in publishing commonplace works — translated the European authors' works through Arabic.

According to Mir-abedini, this 'disorder' in translation and the tendency towards commonplace works should be related to 'the readers' tastes' as well as to

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362 See Mir-abedini, p. 300.

363 Mir-abedini, p. 296. (My translation.) Translating novels through intermediary languages has certainly been a major trend throughout the history of translation in Iran. The translators of such novels usually do not mention this fact. The intermediary languages involved have been Turkish (the very early translations), French (for most of the non-French novels in the early period of translation until the 1940s after the Second World War when the French language lost its influence in Iran as a second language), Arabic (as mentioned by Mir-abedini, though not a major trend), and finally English. English is presently the usual foreign language taught in schools in Iran along with Arabic.
the objectives of the cultural policy-makers of the society' and the 'profiteering publishers struggling to make more money'. The defeat of the nationalist government of Mossadeq in the American-led coup caused a widespread despair among people about the feasibility of social reforms and people's participation in the state's decision-making and politics. Due to this and the persecution of political activists by the SAVAK (the Iranian intelligence service established in 1956), the cultural policy-makers' objectives and readers' tastes converged in avoiding (the supply and consumption of) 'serious' literature. People were intimidated and reluctant to speak and read about politics and social afflictions.

Since 1963, intellectuals have started a resistance towards this dominance. They tried to fight against this dominance through translation from other cultures such as French, German, Russian, Italian, Spanish, and Latin American. This state of affairs created a sort of balance in the variety of texts selected and translated. The Iranian National Bibliography's statistics indicate that during the years 1963–1978, about 1700 titles of foreign novels were translated and published. They can be categorised according to the nationality of their authors into eight groups: American, French, Russian, English, Italian, German, Latin American and other nationalities.

Mir-abadini records a great development in original fiction writing at this period:

The years 1961–1978 is the period of fruition of the literature that started with constitutionalist thoughts. This period is the result of the convergence of all the periods of fiction writing in Iran; the attempts (i.e. innovative

364 See Mir-abadini, p. 298. By the word 'disorder', Mir-abadini means a lack of conformity to a 'sound' cultural policy that did not exist, or simply a lack of overall specific direction.

365 See Mir-abadini, pp. 411–12.
writings) of the forerunning authors bear fruit; new forces are activated in literature; and the emergence of various literary tendencies turned this period into the most fruitful contemporary literary period. [...] Fiction writing in Iran attains a remarkable status from the perspective of application of modern techniques of writing and from the aspect of content, it gains a deserving variety. The vanguard authors try to proceed along with the modern literature of the world while preserving and expanding national values. 366

The development of fiction during the 1961–1978 period is the result of the innovative writings of the Iranian authors in the process of their historical evolution. The variety of all themes is reflected in this period in a condensed form. Although the literature of this period is the continuation of the most progressive artistic traditions, the best works are produced through the authors' attempts to get released from the prevalent traditional 'genres' and to devise new aesthetic plans. Most innovations occur in novel writing. The novel comprises the most significant part of our prose literature in this period. The growth of middle classes, urbanisation and increase in the number of educated people turned the novel into the most common form of literary expression of the time. Non-engagement of authors in hectic social activities provides them with an opportunity and free time to create novels and to express their contemporary truths of life in a comprehensive way and with a critical attitude.

It seems that the resistance towards the dominant culture (propagated by the government under the influence of Americans) had a great impact on the creation of the best novels of the period. This resistance could be noticed in every aspect of the society, from armed struggles, to resort to Islamic (and to a lesser degree Marxist) ideology and activities, particularly after Imam Khomeini's attack against Americans' influence and interference in Iran in 1963. There was an overall resistance in every
field. Jalal Al-e Ahmad is a good example of these innovative authors at this period who had some inclination towards Imam Khomeini and wrote about social afflictions in a simple and colloquial language.

This balance (in the variety of texts selected and translated from different languages) has continued after the Islamic Revolution. There is no privileged or dominant publisher. Several publishers compete for the market share: some through popular works and some through quality books, that is, they try to select the great authors, the classic or ‘canonical’ foreign texts and the best available translators.

Mir-abedini records a lack of cultural planning and a boom in the translation of novels during the years 1979–1991,

The publication of more than 2000 titles of books indicates the abundance and variety of the novels and stories translated. Translation can be influential in the development of literary genres and the authors’ ‘attitude’ towards literature and reality; and even cause ‘a period of blossoming in writing original composition’. However, it is true that a lack of cultural policy and specific goal in translating valuable works and the existence of various social and economic obstacles in publishing contribute to the translation of banal works.

In the years 1978 and 1979 (during the revolution and early months after the revolution), all sorts of translated or original books and novels, particularly Communist and books that had already been censored were published anonymously (i.e. without the publisher’s name and address and sometimes without

366 Mir-abedini, p. 1165. (My translation.)

367 The impact of the Islamic Revolution and the role of Islamic values on translation will be discussed in a separate chapter.

368 Mir-abedini, p. 767. (My translation.)

the author’s real name) in white covers which were sold and distributed by revolutionary youth on the streets. There was a total freedom as long as the materials were not pornographic. This ‘total freedom’ means a lack of governmental supervision. The people who published, sold and read the books determined the type and contents. There was a general tolerance on the part of people towards the ideologies adhered to in the anonymous books, while a rivalry emerged between different groups involved in the process of publishing and distributing which eventually led to the marginalisation of the Marxist groups. A great number of booksellers could be noticed selling books on the pavement of the main avenue outside the main gate of Tehran University where major publishing and distributing companies had shops. They spread their books on the ground or on some raised platforms (such as tables) and many of them seemed to be agents of the nearby bookshops. Around them and inside the University there were hundreds of young people (mainly students) standing in circles busy discussing ideological, political, socio-cultural, and economic issues, and exchanging news (and sometimes rumours and gossips) and views about the developments in the revolution. Peter Chelkowski evaluates this period (1979) as ‘unusually rich and creative’.

370 These bookshops did not want to be regarded as directly involved in this prosperous and very profitable revolutionary book market since they did not want to bear the consequences of this activity, such as being persecuted or being forced to pay large amounts of taxes. Anyway, during this incredible hunger for books, many publishers became rich.

C. Impact of Translation on Modern Persian Literature

The present status of Persian literature is summarised by Ahmad Samiei, a literary critic:

In some respects, the contemporary literary age is the brightest one in the history of Persian literature. A diversity of contents and forms, multiplicity of different genres, the depth and scope of thoughts, Novelty in subject matters and themes, connection with world literature, and new viewpoints have distinguished the works of this era. The emergence of various unprecedented genres: novel, drama, short story, social and political satire, journalism, modern literary criticism, biography and ‘new’ poetry are the advantages characteristic of this age. One can find valuable works of prose and poetry in this period.372

The translation movement that started from the early 19th century in Iran led to the translation of literary texts (novels and dramas) in the latter part of the 19th century. The translation of literary works developed Persian literature by introducing new literary genres to Iranians; it also had a great impact on the Persian literary language.373

1. Rise of the novel as a new genre in Persian literature

There is no scarcity of narrative writers in classical Persian literature. With few exceptions, all major Persian writers of pre-modern times tried their hand at narratives, from brief anecdotes to long romances. But novels and short stories, as defined in the West, are new in Persian literature and date back to the latter part of the nineteenth century. At that time, increasing contacts with Europe led both to a


reform of Persian prose and an adoption of new genres. The Iran of the last hundred years has experienced an unprecedented growth in the volume of aesthetic works written in prose. In the latest exhaustive bibliography of the translated prose works from the earliest time (1889) up to 1995, the specifications of 6540 titles of books have been enlisted.374 These titles include both novels and collections of short stories.

Regarding the early attempts of novel writing in Iran, Mir- Abedini writes,

As far as we know, the issue of novel writing in Iran was first raised in 1871 in Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzade’s letter to Mirza Aqa Tabrizi, ‘Today a composition that benefits to the nation and satisfies the readers’ tastes is the craft of drama and novel.’ Although the Persian translation of his novel Setāregān-e Farīb-khorde375 (‘The Betrayed Stars’) was published in 1874, the conditions of the time were not favourable for the creation of such new form of expression. One has to wait until 1895 in order to speak of the first Iranian new novel-like story; that is, the year Zain al-Abedin Maraghei’s novel Safar-Nāme ye Ebrahim Beig (‘Ibrahim Beig’s Travel Story’) was published. Still many years passed so that in 1905 Abd or-Rahim Talebof’s novel Masalek ul-Mohsenin (‘The Journeys of the Virtuous’) and Mirza Habib Isfahani’s translation of Haji Baba of Isfahan were published.376

The stories of the time of Constitutional Revolution have a framework of travel writing (i.e. picaresque novel)377 and are considered as the early experiences in the formation of the Persian novel. Maraghei and Talebof, under the influence of translated works from European languages and the prevalent form of travel writing of

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375 The original title for Akhundzade’s only known short story and historical narrative is Aldanmish Kewdkib or Ilıkṣyāt-ye Yusef Shah (The Betrayed Stars or The Story of Yusef Shah).

376 Mir- Abedini, pp. 1159–60. (My translation.)

377 However, the first novels translated into Persian (during the Qajar dynasty in late 19th century) were mainly historical novels, the Persian original historical novels mainly started after Reza Shah’s coming into power, in the 1920s.
the time ‘apply the technique of relating events on the journey to join various events and views of Iranian life.’ Their works are imaginary travel stories that ‘have incorporated small instances of criticism of the Iranian society wrapped up among detailed descriptions and abundant remarks.’378 The first period of fiction writing in Iran is the brainchild of the Constitutionalist thoughts. However, later on with Reza Shah’s coming into power in the 1920s and the weakening of constitutional activists, the historical novel became prevalent and popular. In such novels, a hero saves wretched and helpless people, and hence this hero is always praiseworthy and respectable.

While introducing the pioneers of the Persian fiction writing, Aryanpur, however, admits that they were influenced by the European literature directly (i.e. not through translated texts):

Among the many innovators in the field of modern Persian prose two men stand out both for the quality and volume of their work and the profound influence they have had on younger writers. Both of these men studied abroad, both were influenced by European (especially French) literary conventions, and, most importantly, both wrote in a style that reflected the idiom of the common people. The writings of Jamalzadeh and Hedayat constitute the first major attempts toward creating a new ethos in Persian narrative literature and attuning the Persian language to the demands of our times.379

With the Constitutional Revolution380 in Iran (1905–11), when the ordinary person was involved in historical events and his existence gained significance, the

378 See Mir-abadini, pp. 1159–60.

379 Aryanpur Kashani, p. 302.

380 ‘The national Constitutional Movement belonged to the kind of liberation movements of the urban middle class. The main element of the social and ideological rational foundation of the movement was political democracy or parliamentarian liberalism.'
novel — that describes the life of the individual in the context of social events — became an important literary genre of the time. Of course, well before the revolution writers began to draw attention to social and political issues in Iran, contributing to the national awakening that culminated in the constitutional revolution of 1905.

Evidently, the new genre of novel was born in Iran as a result of translation and the socio-cultural developments of the time. These developments were mainly brought about by the activities of an educated urban middle class and westernised intellectuals who tried to import everything from Europe, material and non-material, in order to modernise Iran. At the turn of the 20th century their demands from the court and the government were focused on a struggle to restrict the king’s autocratic power in political decision-making and to give more power to people (particularly middle classes) through a democratic parliament. Their struggle caused a further expansion of socio-political activities, such as a boom in journalism and criticism of the government’s policies and the court’s decisions. Constitutionalist writers and intellectuals used newspapers and journals in order to disseminate modern Western ideas of democracy and constitutionalism as well as the experiences and the struggles of ordinary people. Much of the journalism was what would commonly be considered literature in the creative and aesthetic sense, and the development of journalism provided a new vehicle for the literature. With the victory of the Constitutional Revolution, this middle class secured more freedom to obtain its demands, including the import (in the form of translation) of European literatures and imitation of their genres.
It is noteworthy to say that the British seemed to be very much involved in directing the general course of the Constitutional Revolution and determining the fate of the country and her rulers to their advantage. David McLean, a member the Royal Historical Society, writes,

British officials had sympathy for the reform movement in Persia. An oppressed people struggling for liberty appealed to their sense of justice — especially if it worked to their advantage. In a sense it did. The constitutionalists in Persia and the intelligentsia of the major towns looked to liberal England for inspiration, just as the Shah and his followers looked towards despotic Russia for the support which they hoped would keep them in power.\[382\]

On the whole, translations from Western languages provided writers with the model examples of genres previously unknown to them, including the novel, the short story, and the drama.

2. Use of colloquial language in Persian prose: an impact of the translation of novels

In the pre-modern times,\[383\] the (written, formal, elevated) literary language was distinguished from the (oral) colloquial language of the common people in Iran. At that time, the use of colloquial language was not customary in literature. One impact of the translation of novels was the introduction of the colloquial language in Persian prose. This broke down the obstacles set up by the literary traditionalists.

Mir-abadini informs,

\[381\] As these intellectuals had extensive contacts with Europeans, especially with the British and French, their activities were most probably directed by foreigners. Some aspects of this intervention or co-operation will be discussed in the next chapter.

Before Jamalzadeh, Mirza Habib Isfahani (b. 1833–d. 1893) presents Haji Baba of Isfahan (first printed in 1905) as a collection of colloquial vocabulary and popular customs and traditions. In this work, a live picture of the Iranians’ ways of life at early stages of the Qajar period is illustrated in a ‘simple’ language through various events occurring to various characters.384

In the introduction to his collection of short stories Yeki Bud Yeki Nabud (‘Once Upon a Time’) (1921) that laid the foundation for modern Persian prose, Muhammad Ali Jamalzadeh (b. 1892–d. 1997) regards ‘the simple and intelligible composition of narrative prose’ as the ‘key’ to the progress of the ‘civilised nations’. He recommends that writers use the colloquial language of the common people in their writings and try their hand in the novel and short story as the preferred literary genres for this modern style of language.385 He says that the contemporary culture can be enriched by introducing the ‘simple’386 language of the novel into Persian literature. He denounces the imitation of the traditional poetic language of Qasida and Ghazal, arguing that the new socio-cultural situation required a modern language. He also believes that the nation’s language will benefit best from this style of composition (of the novel). It is the only type of composition that can provide a way of recording all the words, idiomatic expressions, proverbs, various language structures, real speech, dialects and registers in context, even better than dictionaries.

383 See footnote number 322.

384 Mir-ahedini, p. 80. (My translation.)


386 Jamalzadch refers to the colloquial language spoken by common people as ‘simple’ compared to the decorative elevated language of the literary text of the time, particularly that of poetry. His view was a resistance to the literary genres and the style of language used by traditionalists that were not addressed to common people. Such complicated outdated style was only useful for the conservative elite. This view was made in concordance with the requirements of the time when ordinary people came to the foreground after the Constitutional Revolution (1905–11).
When such words and expressions eventually become outdated in the language, then the novel becomes the best depository for the nation.

The publication of the short stories of Jamalzadeh, whose outspoken social criticism and complete break with the traditional inflated and pompous prose style inaugurated a new era of modern Persian prose. Many young writers adopted this new form, among them Sadeq Hedayat (died 1951), whose stories — written entirely in direct, everyday language with a purity of expression that was an artistic achievement — have been translated into many languages.

The use of colloquial Persian in translated novels is an important choice made by translators. It will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6 on the norms and models Iranian translators have to take into consideration.

3. Novel as a mirror of the national culture

Jamalzadeh considers the novel’s role in reflecting the nation’s culture as its main benefit:

Summarising the benefits of the novel, Jamalzadeh states that the novel is the best mirror to reflect the moral states and cultural characteristics of a community. So much so that there is no better way to know, say, the Russian nation than reading Tolstoy and Dostoevsky’s books. [...] As the best way for the progress of the Iranian literature today, he recommends that the literary artists [...] expand their scope of writing in all the branches of

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387 See Baraheni, pp. 26–27.

Jamalzadeh’s resistance towards the dominant elevated style of the literary elite of the time and resort to popular forms resemble Newman’s views as put forward by Venuti;

‘The `foreign’ in Newman’s foreignizing translations was defined precisely by his resistance to academic literary values, by his aim to encompass rather than exclude popular forms affiliated with various social groups.’ (Lawrence Venuti, The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 146.
literature, especially in the narrative prose. Thus they can refresh and revive our literature with their new poetry and prose works. 388

Reza Baraheni, a translator, novelist and literary critic, believes that Jamalzadeh’s preferences regarding the use of colloquial style and adoption of the novel ‘reflected’ the requirements of his time. 389

Baraheni maintains, ‘Ever since the Constitutional Revolution (1905–11), the real creators of our national culture have been those influenced by the western literature directly or indirectly, by reading original or translated texts. 390 He further adds, ‘Every nation moulds their own and imported elements (of culture) in their national world-view. The works of Hedayat in Iran are the excellent examples of such a definition for the national culture. 391

However, Muhammad Qazi, a famous translator of novels, believes that the novel is ‘a mirror of the social life events going on in a country or community; the faster those events move, the faster and more diversified the novels will be. 392

It seems that there is a diversity of attitudes concerning the national culture and the role of the translator and the novelist in it: whether novels enrich, build or create the national culture, or just reflect it like a mirror. The paradox is that some scholars, like Baraheni, ascribe an active role to the novel — influencing, introducing, shaping or changing the national culture. However, some other scholars, like

388 Baraheni, pp. 26–27. (My translation.)
389 Ibid., p. 28.
390 Ibid., pp. 51–52. (My translation.)
391 Ibid., p. 59. (My translation.)
Muhammad Qazi, attribute a passive role to the novel, simply ‘reflecting’ the national culture and social events. These two more or less contradictory attitudes exist side by side. The attitude that ascribes a ‘reflective’ role to the novel (or literature in general) considers the novelist at best as a ‘mirror’ of the national culture. However, the opposite attitude that gives a ‘constructive, didactic’ role for the novel (or literature in general) attributes a high status to the novelist as the ‘builder’ of the national culture.

These two attitudes seem to constitute two poles of a continuum. Literature is not indeed a mere reflection of the realities, yet one cannot expect too much of literature, (as a main parameter) to build the national culture, though it can, in some certain periods of time and conditions, contribute to other factors involved in building the national culture. Nowadays in Iran, the national culture has already been shaped by the Islamic Revolution, and Persian literature is expected to reflect the social events, however in a critical way.

**D. Centrality of Translation and Its Effects**

The centrality of translation in the modern Persian literary polysystem and the consequent effects of this centrality are reflected in three major issues: the importance and esteem given to translators, the rise of pseudotranslations, and the existence of several translations of a single original work.

**1. Translator versus the author: the significance of translation**

Some critics in Iran regret the high importance given to translation. According to Baraheni, the need for translation is understandable. Nevertheless, as for the national

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392 Salchi, pp. 112–3. (My translation.)
culture of a community, it is the writers, rather than the translators, of the country who are considered important. However, he admits that there exists a particular situation in Iran that needs to be studied. Maybe only in Iran and other Third World countries, translation has gained such a high importance (central status) that it even exceeds original writing. 393

Douglas Robinson provides a more elaborate account of the prevalence of translation in the dominated cultures on the basis of power relations:

Perhaps the best introduction to the problems of translating across power differentials is offered by Richard Jacquemond (1992). [...] Jacquemond is specifically concerned with translation between France and Egypt, but along the way he offers highly productive general schemas of translational inequalities. He develops four broad hypotheses:

(1) A dominated culture will invariably translate far more of a hegemonic culture than the latter will of the former;
(2) [...] A dominated culture will translate a hegemonic culture’s works accessibly for the masses. [...] To put that more succinctly: [...] A hegemonic culture [...] will be represented in a dominated culture by translations that are (1) far greater in number than their counterparts in the opposite direction, (2) perceived as intrinsically interesting to a broad reading public, (3) chosen because they come from the hegemonic culture, and (4) typically written in utter ignorance of the dominated culture. 394

Robinson stresses ideology, while Baraheni emphasizes the role of economics as a cause of this phenomenon in Iran:

It may take ten years to write a 1000-page novel. Whereas translating a novel of 1000 pages may take no more than a year, even if the novels are of the (serious) kind that Behazin, Tavakol, Shamloo, Darya-bandari and Seyed-Hussaini have translated. The translation has now become the greatest rival to the national culture. It is reasonable to consider that the translator is more important than the writer. If the translator fulfils the need of the market, whether with Shāhābādī-type or with proper and excellent

393 See Baraheni, p. 162.

394 Robinson, pp. 31–32.
translations, then will there remain any need for original literary production?\textsuperscript{395}

Why is translation preferred? In reply to this question, Muhammad Qazi recalls his encounter with Josué de Castro, a Brazilian novelist, the author of 'Des Hommes et Des Crabes', before the Islamic Revolution:

Once, he had come to Tehran to act as the head of a Seminar called ‘the Third World in the Year 2000’. I went to see him and we talked for an hour. One of his questions to me was: ‘Do you also write books?’ I said, ‘No!’ He asked, ‘Why not?’ I answered, ‘If we put down the sufferings of our people on paper, we cannot publish our work due to the severe censorship of the press. We render your books reflecting the pains of your society that are almost the same as ours into Persian. In case the censorship finds any fault with our translation, we will have an excuse. We can say that it is the complaining language of an underdeveloped nation like that of Brazil; it has nothing to do with the ‘brilliant’ conditions of the developed nation of Iran. Thus, under this pretext, we can get through (censorship) and publish our books.’ Josué de Castro smiled and said nothing.\textsuperscript{396}

The way censorship is applied to translations has often been much more lenient, as compared to original writings.\textsuperscript{397}

Although Baraheni rejects Hedayat’s view as ‘Our literature needs the translation of foreign literature’, in fact he himself reiterates the same view:

On the one hand, the writer is influenced by the deep and innate attraction of the national culture, on the other hand, by the attraction of new issues introduced by translators to Iran. Our translators should translate literary works, while considering the current needs of our writers. The translators

\textsuperscript{395} Baraheni, pp. 163–64. (My translation.) He is rather concerned about the importance of the translator, the disproportionate number of the translated novels, and the translator’s capability of fulfilling ‘the need of the market’. He contradicts himself by saying that ‘the translation has now become the greatest rival to the national culture’ while he believes that it is only upon the (Iranian) poets and writers to build the national culture (that is, the translation cannot build the national culture directly). He thinks that the building of the national culture is an internal affair, it should be made based on our own resources from within, not from outside.

\textsuperscript{396} Salehi, p. 79. (My translation.)

\textsuperscript{397} See Toury, p. 42. The constraint of censorship and its restrictive impact on the translation of novels will be discussed in Chapter 6.
should give priority to the need of the national writer for new themes, rather than to the publisher’s considerations. 398

Baraheni expresses his dissatisfaction with the centrality of translation in Iran. However, he admits that sometimes a translation may also be good enough to rank as an original writing in creating ‘cultural tides’:

Nowhere in today’s serious world, is the translator’s rank compared and equalled to the writer’s. It is true that translators play an important role in cultural transmission, especially at very sensitive historical, social and cultural periods. However, in all important cultural and literary stages, the literary translator has been considered to rank below the author. The translator himself has never sought to claim equality with the writer. [...] The high tides in serious effective literature are created by the authors in the community, rather than by the translators. If a serious and effective tide is created by a translation, such translation has certainly been done as an original writing; the translator has taken his work as seriously as a writer. It means that the translator has dissolved the subject matter and content of the original text so skillfully in the target language that the work is no longer a translation. The influence created by such a work in the community equals that of the work created by a serious writer of that community. 399

One may give another reason for the prevalence and popularity of translations besides difficulty of writing, time-consumption, censorship and economy. The reason is that: there are hundreds of people who have studied abroad or graduated from translators’ training colleges or foreign language departments who want to create something, and the easiest and quickest way is the translation of a popular novel that is sure to be sold. Moreover, there are always some readers who need entertainment and fun through reading and verbal communication. There are hundreds and thousands of novels each year published in the world that provide a good repository from which one can select for translation.

398 Baraheni, pp. 166-67. (My translation.)

399 Ibid., p. 105. (My translation.)
The importance given to translation certainly comes from the centrality of translation in the Persian literary polysystem.

2. Pseudo-translations

Another phenomenon that supports and reflects the centrality of translation in Iran is pseudotranslation. In an interview with Motarjem quarterly, Mahmood Kianush, a famous translator, poet, and novelist, reveals that in 1971 he published a pseudo-translation, Through the Window of Taj Mahal. He used an Indian pseudonym, 'Pradip Omashankar', as the poet and his own name as the 'translator'. He said that some of the poems in that collection could be published only under the guise of 'translation' at that time due to censorship. The expression 'Taj Mahal' has helped the book to be accepted as a translation, while at the same time as it meant 'the Crown's Place,' it could cunningly refer to the (Iranian) king's palace or dominion.

There is a special instance of pseudo-translation in Iran. Mansoori, the most active and popular 'translator' of novels, has left scores of novels published under the guise of 'translation'. One cannot decide which of those novels he translated and which were originally written by him.

In an essay on Zabihullah Mansoori's 'translations', Karim Emami gives a list of some historical novels (and their presumed authors) translated by Mansoori, and he suggests that a research should be undertaken to check how many of those authors

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400 See 'Interview with Mahmood Kianush', Motarjem, 21–22 (1996), 13–37 (p. 16).

401 As Toury believes, 'What pseudo-translators often do [...] is incorporate in their texts features which have come to be associated, in the (target) culture in question, with translation — more often than not, with the translation of texts of a specific type and/or from a particular source language and
really existed and how many were created by ‘our hardworking novelist’.\textsuperscript{402} Mansoori disguised himself under an author’s name; however, he disregarded and abused the original text, if ever such a thing as ‘the original text’ existed; he endorsed the ‘death of the author’ in practice;

The notion of the death of the author must inevitably lead to the death of the original, and once the original ceases to be, the translation can no longer be perceived as subsidiary to it and the translator is released from thrall to the all-powerful source.\textsuperscript{403}

Toury provides some reasons to account for such fictitious translations:

Sometimes the innovation [\textit{i.e.} pseudo-translation] is not much in terms of culture at large, but rather relative to the previous activities of a particular author who is now seeking to change course and who wouldn’t like his/her new endeavours to be associated with his/her name already stands for. […] It is a way of hiding behind a pseudonym, then, with the added value of possibly benefiting from the status assigned to translations at large, or, more likely, to a certain translational tradition, in the domestic culture. Another explanation which has sometimes been offered for disguising texts as translations […] is an author’s fear of censorial measures against him-/herself or his/her work. […] After all, it is precisely deviations from what is culturally sanctioned that are most likely to meet with opposition; and the way censorship is applied to translations has often been much more lenient. One reason for this difference is precisely the fact that the presumed non-domestic origin of translations makes them look less menacing; another is that there seems to be no way of actually going after the ‘absent’ author, who should presumably take most of the blame.\textsuperscript{404}

‘Benefiting from the status assigned to translation’ in Iran and ‘fear of censorial measures’, as put by Toury above, can explain Mansoori’s resort to a special type of pseudo-translation.

\textsuperscript{402} See Emami 1993, p. 85.

\textsuperscript{403} Bassnett, in \textit{Translation, Power, Subversion}, p. 12–13.

\textsuperscript{404} Toury 1995, p. 42.
A colleague of Mansoori’s once said that no one could definitely estimate the number of books ‘translated’ or written by Mansoori during seventy years of his professional life. She estimated that Mansoori had ‘translated’ or written some 1500 to 3000 books!\(^{405}\) Thus, one feels that Mansoori has had some followers who have been eager to follow his style\(^{406}\) and benefit from his ‘name’ still after his death (1986). Any book published under the name ‘Zabihullah Mansoori’ becomes a best-seller and is sold immediately. Muhammad Hoqooqi maintains that Mansoori is a member of the group of translators who adapted the original text:

It was the business of Iranian translators for a long time [early years at the beginning of the translation movement from European languages] to take the themes of Molière’s and other comedies, to rewrite them according to their own personal gifts and give an Iranian colour to them. Among the examples are ‘Haji Rīā’ī Khān yā Tārtuff-e Sharqi’ [‘The Haji Hypocrite Khan or The Eastern Tartuffe’ (originally: Le Tartuffe, ou l’imposteur)] (...), and in later periods, in the ‘translations-writings’ of Zabihullah Mansoori, about whom some have said that since the time of Gutenberg and the invention of the printing press nobody has used the pen so much as he did.\(^{407}\)

It seems that some of Mansoori’s works are adaptations and others are pseudo-translations, but all are published under the guise of translation.

\(^{405}\) See Emami 1993, p. 90.

\(^{406}\) He expands a novel by his own imagination through lengthy descriptions. He writes clearly and smoothly. The composition of his imaginative ‘translated’, ‘adapted’, or ‘original’ novels is so easy to read that when you read one of his novels, you feel you are watching a film, as if the words did not exist. The words and idiomatic expressions do not impose an obstacle for quick reading and comprehension of the text itself.

3. Several translations of a novel

A third phenomenon reflecting the centrality of translation, particularly the translation of novels in Iran, especially after the Islamic Revolution, is the existence of several translations of the same original text.

Since the revolution, as Iran offers little or no protection to foreign works,\textsuperscript{408} Iranian publishers do not observe copyright treaties and conventions. Furthermore, there is no centre for the exchange of information about the works under translation, nor any translators’ associations in Iran. On the contrary, there is a free competition among the publishers to publish the best-selling and prize-winning novels as soon as possible. Several translations appear at the same time. For example, William Golding’s \textit{Lord of the Flies} appeared in four different translations in the same year (1984), a year after the author received the Noble Prize; George Orwell’s \textit{Animal Farm} appeared in three translations in the same year (1983).\textsuperscript{409} However, all the copies get sold since the translated novels in Iran are usually published in 3000–5000 copies at each print. Children’s literature (e.g., \textit{The Adventures of Tom Sawyer} and \textit{The Treasure Island}) and famous or prize-winning novels (e.g., \textit{Lord of the Flies}, \textit{Animal Farm}, \textit{Cry the Beloved Country}, \textit{The Old Man and the Sea}, \textit{Pride and Prejudice}, and \textit{The Grapes of Wrath}) have been translated several times.

\textsuperscript{408} There is no such thing as an ‘international copyright’ that will automatically protect an author’s writings throughout the entire world. Protection against unauthorized use in a particular country depends, basically, on the national laws of that country. However, most countries do offer protection to foreign works under certain conditions, and these conditions have been greatly simplified by international copyright treaties and conventions. There are two global, multilateral treaties — the Universal Copyright Convention (UCC) and the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works.

\textsuperscript{409} There was a national antipathy against communist groups, particularly the Soviet-leaning \textit{Tudeh} Party, in Iran then, and the \textit{Animal Farm} was claimed to represent the totalitarian regime governing the USSR.
Mir-abedini denounces this situation after the revolution:

While many significant and valuable literary works have not yet been translated properly into Persian, the bookshops are filled with hasty and repeated translations of the authors who have gained fame. [...] Some translators make a living from their work without learning their job [properly], instead of transferring new cultural insights into their country and homeland; and in order to avoid losing the market, they consider and follow a simplistic popular taste that has no free time and motivation to read serious books. There appear some ‘translators’ who create new translations by copying from the translations that were produced several years earlier by skilful translators. Such translations can be regarded as ‘translation from translation’.

Saleh Hussaini, a translator of novels, gives two more reasons for this phenomenon. In an interview with *Motarjem* quarterly about his translations that have already been translated by others, he says,

*Brothers Karamazov* and *The Sound and the Fury* belong to the first-rate (great) works of literature. Such works need to be translated at least once in 20 years due to language possibilities (or changes). However, this reason does not apply to the translation of *1984*. The reason for a new translation was merely that I was annoyed with (the quality of) its previous translations and I intended to present a good translation of the novel.

The view that the great classics of literature should be translated once in 20, 25 or 30 years is shared by many translators and scholars, as re-translation gives new life to the original.

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410 Mir-abedini, p. 767. (My translation.)


412 For example, Newmark observes,

‘The concept of the ‘ideal translation’ (Jäger, 1975) is unreal. Translation is an ‘endless’ procedure, except in the case of ‘performatve’ statements. Other translations can never be finished, only laid aside. They can always be improved. And, for any linguistically difficult passage, there are often several equally good (if in some respect inadequate) solutions. Moreover, since it is assumed that the TL reader is alive, a translation is written in the modern language, and therefore there is a case for revising it every 30 years.’ (Newmark 1981, p. 140.)
In brief, the following reasons may be outlined for retranslations: (1) a need felt by some translators for the translation of great works to be renewed after a generation time since the language changes or the previous translation(s) are not acceptable (any more); (2) simultaneity of translations; (3) when all copies of a translation are sold quickly, other translators or publishers feel the market’s need for a certain book and they retranslate it, particularly when reprinting is impossible for some reasons or when the first translator/translation is regarded as unimportant; (4) if a novel is considered a best-seller and prize-winner in the original language, different translators/publishers feel inclined to translate it as quickly as possible; and (5) the absence of a copyright system.

E. Comparison between Pre- and Post-revolutionary Translation

1. Translation of novels before the Islamic Revolution

Baraheni estimates that ‘between the years 1941 and 1978, our translation production (in every field) was ten times the number of our national production.’

He mentions two reasons for the central position of translation at that time:

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413 This view is stressed by Barnstone;

‘Perhaps the outstanding characteristic of a translated text is its subjugation to the taste and fashion of its time and the harsh test it undergoes of reading and rereading. Although a text deemed original may fade from fashion but still be read, when a translation ages its instability is more acute, and it requires a new life through retranslation.’

‘So a translation can never be definitive. The original text may seem to be permanent and readable, although it too changes as the language changes. [...] Yet precisely because the translation is not definitive it survives and must be constantly refashioned and reborn.’

‘The outstanding advantage, perhaps exaggerated, of the interlingual translation over the intralingual one is that a work always gains new life through translation between tongues, and successive generations recognize the necessity to perform this life-saving activity, which thereby carries no stigma. [...] In fact the inconstancy of a translated work and the need to redo it, to reread and to re-create, leads paradoxically not only to its survival but to what Walter Benjamin calls the eternal afterlife of a work of art through translation.’ (Barnstone, p. 231.)
During the monarchy, translation secured the professional translator in two respects. Firstly, the regime would not prevent the publishing of a translated work hence the publisher would more easily invest into a translated book than into an original one. Secondly, the income gained from translation was very much better. 413

During the 1961–1978 period (the late part of Muhammad Reza Shah’s reign) the Persian prose that adopted a resistant stance towards the dominant culture could reach a highly regarded status, but was still less popular than world classics and other translated novels.

Baraheni says that most publishing companies in Iran were active mainly in translation so much so that ‘they published 50 translated narrative works while publishing just three original narrative works.’ 416

Aryanpur, a former vice-president of the college of translation, points out to the central position of (translated) novels and short stories:

Few artists write in the vein of Rumi and Hafez. Narrative poetry has given its place to novels and short stories. 417

On the volume of the prose works in Iran, he also adds,

A glance at what is currently [in 1973] on sale at the bookstores of Tehran can give an idea of the volume and diversity of prose works being produced in Iran today. Most of these are written in a simple, supple style that makes those of the early prose reformists look old-fashioned and stiff by contrast. 418

414 Baraheni, p. 94. (My translation.)
415 Ibid., p. 163. (My translation.)
416 Ibid., pp. 92–93. (My translation.)
417 Aryanpur, p. 290.
418 Ibid., p. 308.
Mir-abedini divides the history of fiction writing — based on the historical events having significant impact on cultural and intellectual developments in Iran — since its inception up to the Islamic Revolution into four periods:

1. From early attempts (i.e. writings) (around 1890) to 1941: Search for Security and Identity
2. From 1941 to 1953: Idealism and Propagation
3. From 1953 to 1961: Defeat and Escape
4. From 1961 to 1978: Vigilance and Self-awareness. 419

For each period he gives some rough statistics concerning the number of books translated, the themes, types and original languages of the novels translated, and names of the best translations420 and famous publishers involved in translation. A summary is given in the table below:

**Table 5.1. Translated novels and stories from the earliest time up to the Islamic Revolution**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical Period 421</th>
<th>Theme or Type of the Novel</th>
<th>Dominant Original Lang./Literature</th>
<th>Best Translations of the Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) 1889 to 1941: Search for Security and Identity Translated prose</td>
<td>Historical, travel, social, detective, popular adventurous</td>
<td>French (Romantic literature)</td>
<td>Pushkin's <em>The Captain's Daughter</em>, Hugo's <em>Les miserables</em>,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

419 See Mir-abedini, pp. 10-11.

420 They are considered ‘best’ both because of the quality of prose translation (that is, if the translator is regarded as famous or competent), and the content of the original novel itself (that is, if the novel is considered serious or classical).

421 The names of periods as well as other pieces of information in this table have been taken from Mir-abedini.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/action romantic</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2) 1941 to 1951&lt;sup&gt;423&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Realistic, revolutionary, sensual, adventurous, pseudo-historical</td>
<td>Russian (Realistic literature)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idealism and Propagation</td>
<td>Translated prose comprised 9.6% of the total book market during 1942–1946</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) 1951 to 1961&lt;sup&gt;424&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Popular, detective, historical, sensual romantic</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Cervantes' <em>Don Quixote</em>, Balzac's <em>Père Goriot</em>, Romain Rolland's <em>Jean-Christophe</em>, Stendhal's <em>Le Rouge et le Noir</em>&lt;sup&gt;426&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defeat and Escape</td>
<td>Translated prose comprised 13.7% of the total book market during 1957–1961.&lt;sup&gt;425&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) 1961 to 1978&lt;sup&gt;427&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>American, French, Joyce's <em>Dubliners</em>, <em>Proust</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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422 See ibid., p. 120.

423 Mir-abadini calls this period the Period of Short Story. (See ibid., p. 409).

424 Mir-abadini calls this period the Period of the Translation of Novels. (See ibid., p. 298.)

425 During the years 1944–1963, 372 Iranian original novels were published, while 666 foreign novels were translated into Persian. (See ibid., p. 297.)

426 Mir-abadini says, 'The Noel Publishing Co. embarks on publishing great novels and publishes the works of Cervantes (*Don Quixote*, trans. by Muhammad Qazi, 1956–58), Balzac (*Père Goriot*, trans. by Behazin, 1955), Romain Rolland (*Jean-Christophe*, trans. by Behazin) and Stendhal (*Rouge et le Noir*, trans. by Abdullah Tavakol) in its collection of "Ten Great Novels". These translations strengthen the power of distinguishing artistic works from commonplace writings among authors and readers.' (Ibid., p. 299. My translation.)

427 Mir-abadini calls this period the Period of Novel Writing
While comparing the original Persian novels with translated novels, Muhammad Qazi gives two reasons why the original novels cannot 'keep up with' foreign novels in quality and quantity. The first reason is that the life span of novel writing in Iran is still very short and this new-born 'child' has not grown up enough; one cannot expect too much of it. The other reason is that the writers (in Iran) are not free enough; they are under scrutiny. Thus, they cannot write whatever they like. The issue of censorship that has some relevance to translation as well as to writing in Iran will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

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428 There is no percentage available for this period.

429 See Mir-ahcdini, p. 414.

430 It is interesting to note that a recent novel published in Iran, Haj Seyed-Javadi's novel, *Bamdad-e Khomar* ('The Dizzy Dawn'), has sold over 500,000 copies.

431 See Salehi, pp. 112–3.
2. Translation of novels after the Islamic Revolution

"This high rate of translation continued after the revolution. The translational production in the field of novels and stories has been one hundred times the number of our national production."432 Baraheni describes the situation in the following way:

Translators have flooded the market with their translations of western novels. The publishers, booksellers and readers are all accustomed to translated novels. Many publishers are in the habit of asking everybody, even the authors who resist translation, to translate for them. When you go to a bookstore and ask for a novel, the bookseller will at once offer you some translated novels; however, he should first introduce original novels.433

The above estimation is confirmed by Mir-abedini who provides less exaggerated and more accurate statistics:

The statistics of the fictional books published from October 1984 to October 1987 indicate a considerable fall in the production of literary books and an increase of translations in proportion to original compositions — the proportion of translations to original texts is five to one.434

Still, the proportion of translations to original compositions is strikingly high. Mir-abedini records a boom in the translation of novels during the years 1979–1991.435 During that period more than 2000 titles were published.436 The existing statistics indicate the abundance and variety of the novels and stories translated. According to Mir-abedini, the translated novels and stories (published during this period) can be

432 Baraheni, p. 96. (My translation.)
433 Ibid., pp. 163–64. (My translation.)
434 Mir-abedini, p. 766. (My translation.)
435 No overall statistics is available after this period, but from the monthly (or yearly) figures published by the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, it is quite obvious that this boost has continued after 1991 mainly due to the end of the war.
436 See Mir-abedini, p. 767.
categorised according to their authors' nationality into French, American, English, Russian, German, Italian, Latin American and other nationalities.437

Table 5.2. Translated novels and collection of stories from 1979 to 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Lang/Cult.</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>American</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Latin America</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Titles of Novels</td>
<td>Over</td>
<td>About</td>
<td>About</td>
<td>Over</td>
<td>About</td>
<td>About</td>
<td>Less than 50</td>
<td>Less than 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>600</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The popularity of novels after the revolution depends to a large extent on the population growth — it was doubled in twenty-five years, and the youth comprise a high majority of people (more than 75% of the population). There has also been a marked improvement of literacy from 47% to over 80%. Urbanisation, which increases the demand for leisure-time activities, is another significant factor that has stepped up in the last 30 years. The expansion of higher education has also contributed to the increase in readership. One may also argue that as some forms of cultural entertainment were restricted in Iran during the early years (i.e. the first decade) after the Islamic Revolution, the translated novels seemed to fill the gap created by the absence of western movies, TV films, magazines and other types of amusement.438 However, this trend has shifted; that is, the quantity and variety as well


438 Concerning the restriction of some forms of entertainment in Iran in the 1980s, Peter Chelkowski writes,

Now many places of entertainment have been eliminated or closed. The new and stringent forms of religious, political, and moral censorship have led Iranians back to their own homes, where banned music or tapes of various kinds, card-playing or other disallowed activities may take place privately among family members or close friends. (Chelkowski, p. 769.)
as quality of TV films and print media have exceeded the popularity of the novel after
the first post-revolutionary decade.  

Although the process of translation continued after the Islamic Revolution,
two important events decreased the attraction of foreign novels: the revolution and
the Iran-Iraq War. Baraheni believes,

The important themes raised about and after the [Islamic] Revolution in the
social and historical settings have diminished the force of such foreign
attractions. The revolution has provided numerous and diversified
possibilities of form (and content). Furthermore, the [the Iran-Iraq] War
provides an important theme: the destroyed towns, the idea of confronting
alien forces, the problem of refugees and the like. From whatever attitude
you look at these issues, the period of 1980s is significant for the Iranian
literature. If you combine them, you will obtain the richest combination of
themes in the world, on the whole.  

In the 1980s a new generation of authors emerged who utilised themes from
the revolution (1978–79) or the war (1980–88) to write original novels which have
been popular among the new generation who were themselves actively involved in the
events of the revolution and the war. Short stories, memoirs and poetry about the
revolution and the war also became popular. New subsystems of literature appeared
that were called the literature of ‘the (Islamic) Revolution’ and ‘the front and war’
literature which revolved around the themes related to the revolution and the war
and had its own readership.

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439 The impact of the Islamic Revolution on the translation of novels will be discussed more explicitly
in Chapter 7.

440 Baraheni, pp. 166–67. (My translation.)

441 ‘Front’ referred to the themes directly related to the war fronts, whereas ‘war’ referred to the
themes emerged as a consequence of the war, though not necessarily occurred in the war fronts, such
as migration and its consequences.
Mir- Abedini, too, mentions the influence of the revolution and war on literature.

In this period, with the change of literary political atmosphere, we notice a break in the flow of the previous fiction writing, and a new attitude toward the mission of literature. The revolution and the war and their political, economic and cultural consequences have changed many issues. The literature that cannot remain detached from the impact of such developments has developed as well.\(^{442}\)

By the expression 'the change of literary political atmosphere', he seems to refer to a shift in the attitude toward the function of literature: from 'art for art's sake' (adhered to mostly before the revolution) to 'representative committed art' or 'art for life's sake' (adhered to mainly after the revolution).

3. Naturalness before and after the Islamic Revolution

One important concern for many critics of translation in Iran is the quality of the language of translation.

Baraheni devotes parts of his book to the issue of form and content in translation. He believes that a natural original composition is connected somehow with the way that the content is dissolved in the (target) language. Although he does not use the term 'natural composition' or 'naturalness', he supports such kind of writing in translation. He also tries to determine the value and status of the content, the form, and the unity of content and form\(^{443}\) in literature:

The composition style in *Haji Baba of Isfahan*, Sartre's *Huis-Clos* translated by Sadeq Hedayat [...] and García Lorca's *Las Bodas de Sangre* ('Blood Wedding') translated by Ahmad Shamloo, on different levels, are

\(^{442}\) Mir- Abedini, p. 779. (My translation.)

\(^{443}\) Baraheni's discussion of the 'unity of content and form' resembles Tytler's views on the 'artistic union of ease with fidelity'. (See Tytler, pp. 112-13.)
among the tide-creating ‘translation-as-original writings’ in the history of our literature. They should be looked at through the standards of original writing.

However, the number of such translations is very limited in our literature. Although we have abundant first class translators, most of the translations are merely translations, not ‘translation-as-original’ works. [...] The majority of our good translations remind us of the foreign language, rather than our native language, in respect to the linguistic performance. [...] 

The content of the work resists separation from its form. The translator tries to set the spirit of the work free from the form and to pour it in the mould of another language. The translator’s skill is precisely tested in transferring that spirit from one language form to another language form. Most of our good translators, in proportion to their knowledge of the foreign language, are (just) faithful ones. 444

Baraheni’s examples make it clear that he takes sides with the authors or poets who embark on translating, presumably because they possess a skill to mix the content and the form naturally. He raises an important issue regarding the connection between the form and the content:

Unfortunately, a false belief has spread in Iran through translation: ‘the content is separate from the form; the important part is the content, rather than a unity of form and content.’ The message is always separated from the form in critical reviews and literary critiques, and the form remains out of the work. However, there is no use in separating one from another, when the literary nature, entity and structures are involved. It is better to consider the whole work, rather than the probable components of the work. 445

He believes, ‘the individual elements of content have a non-artistic impact, but the very elements, when dissolved in the form, after evolution and form-taking, have an artistic impact. The nature of literature lies in this change of raw material into an artistic goal. 446

444 Baraheni, pp. 106–7. (My translation.)
445 Ibid., p. 158. (My translation.)
446 Ibid., p. 109. (My translation.) Compare it to Alan Duff’s view of the ‘wholeness’ of a text:
He asks several questions regarding the form and content of the original text in translation:

Should we put aside the energy of the form of the original text in translation completely? If such a thing occurs, have we remained loyal to the original work? Can we transfer the form of the original text into Persian in detail? Is it practically possible? Can we put aside the form of a literary work completely and transfer only the content as given information in the source language to the target language? Then what is the difference between the translation of a text of mathematics and that of a work of literature? The main question is this: What is the main characteristic of literature that we mostly speak of?  

Mir-abedini complains that most translations are so hasty and low-level that they create a kind of ‘artificial language of translation’ (i.e., ‘translationese’ or ‘third language’). Describing the situation of translation in the period 1953–1963, he says:

As a result of the [hasty and low-level] translated works — whose number is increasing in recent years — a flood of strange collocations and anomalous and wrong and even unintelligible expressions have flooded Persian. Consequently, a kind of translational language has been created in which not only are Persian grammatical rules and word-order ignored, but also it often happens that the human wisdom and logic cannot grasp it.” This ‘language’ has had an impact on many of our authors. 

The negative impact of the translational language or translationese on the writers and the Persian language has also been criticised by some other scholars. However, there are some critics who believe that the translation, even of the low quality, has had a very positive impact on the Persian language. In a lecture published

— And “patchwork” is what we get in translation when the bits and pieces of the original are pasted together and no longer match. Each text is an entity, and its wholeness must be preserved; but it can be preserved only if the translation is itself coherent, it is one language, and not a mixture of styles and languages, not a third language. The translator must inhabit two worlds, not three.’ (Duff 1981, p. 12) 

417 Baraheni, p. 108. (My translation.)

418 Mir-abedini, p. 296. (My translation.)
in the collection *Sī Sāl Tarjome, Sī Sāl Tajrobe*, Kamran Fani, an experienced
translator, says,

I believe that we live in a very good time compared to 30 or 40 years ago [i.e., the 1940s–1950s] firstly, because the Persian language has been refined a lot, and this refinement is indebted to the language of translation. That is, it was the language of translation, however poorly the works had been translated, that enriched the [Persian] language and improved it from such a mono-dimensional language that could only have good poetry. The language of translation has increased the scope and strength of Persian, which is indebted to the translators’ activity. The Persian language that is prevalent nowadays has gained more possibilities, and become more fluent and more beautiful, the range and scope of its vocabulary have extended a lot.449

Safdar Tagizadeh, a famous translator, believes that naturalness is the most important aspect of translation, and if the reader is uneasy about the composition he or she may stop reading:

The most important thing is to put emphasis on the quality of the Persian language of the translated text. That is, the translated text should be compatible with the appropriate and acceptable criteria of the Persian language and should represent a ‘clean’ Persian so that the reader can read it easily, without any problems, and communicate with it. A few non-fluent sentences and some improper words that are used out of place and out of their original place may prevent the reader from reading. If the translator is compelled sometimes [during the translation] to use unintelligible, unclear, and problematic sentences, it is better for him to distance himself from the structure of the original text and try to make the Persian text clear, appropriate, and intelligible.450

Translation has been growing ever since its inception in the late 19th century from a quantitative point of view, and it has generally improved Persian literature and styles of writing to a large extent. Nevertheless, from a qualitative perspective, as the


concern of several critics indicates, on the whole one major drawback of translation is that it has caused unacceptable language (translationese) due to the presence of so many inexperienced translators.
CHAPTER SIX

MODELS AND NORMS OF TEXT PRODUCTION:

A Norms Analysis

To the extent that translations are models of their originals, are they ever the only possible models? If not, how do they acquire their particular textual mix of approximation and difference in the relation between a given translation and its source text? How do the ‘contingent features’ in a translation acquire their particular shape? Are they entirely haphazard, or are they likely to be modelled on some other text or textual pattern? If so, does this make it desirable to study translations not only in relation to their source texts but also to these other textual prototypes? 451

The Iranian prose translator is faced with some norms and models towards which he or she often has a leaning and takes a position even before embarking on translation. These norms and models serve as a foundation that shapes the translation and guides the translator in the process of decision-making. As there are different paths and trends within these norms, various versions of the translated novel in Persian will finally be produced based on the trends chosen and followed by the translator. The translator’s mind is set by the interaction of these trends and the positions he or she
takes, and a kind of internalised monitoring device is created in the translator’s mind. Such a stance or leaning is activated during the act of translation itself inasmuch as the translator has internalised the norms pertinent to the culture, and uses them as a constant monitoring device.\textsuperscript{452}

The major models and norms to be discussed in this study are (1) the style of language, (2) the choice of vocabulary, (3) the impact of anti-Arabism on the Persian spelling and script, and (4) the impact of censorial measures.\textsuperscript{453} Within each norm, there are some lesser trends and every translator may follow one or another from among these trends; each translator’s overall choice of these trends makes his or her final work different from those of other translators.

The different trends (observed in this study) within each of the above-mentioned norms will be described and analysed, and their historical roots and developments will be examined and discussed in this chapter in the order of importance.

\textsuperscript{451} Hermans, in Levius, p. 77.

\textsuperscript{452} See Toury 1995, p. 277.

\textsuperscript{453} Censorship (bowdlerisation, self-censorship and editorial censorship) has been studied by Paul Chilton as an ethical norm (see Translation and Norms, ed. by Christina Schaffner, p. 40) and Graham King (1978) (see Hermans, Translation in Systems, p. 86).
A. Style of Language in the Translation of Novels

1. Simplicity of composition

Toward the end of the 18th century, various influences, including contact with the West, began to transform Persian literature.\textsuperscript{454} In the 19th century, the florid style characteristic of Persian prose began to be simplified. Muhammad Hoqooqi writes,

> From the early 19th century, there was no instance of florid and decorative prose literature, so much so that one can regard [the prose works in] this century as the earliest models for simple Persian prose of later periods, and call it a period of an imitational prose writing.\textsuperscript{455}

Mirza Abolqassem Qa’em Maqam, the chief minister of Muhammad Shah (reigned 1834–48), was the first person who used a prose style closer to simplicity and normal speech.\textsuperscript{456} Later, Mirza Taqi Khan Amir Kabir was the most influential figure in the advance of the simplification of language. During his tenure as Naser od-Din Shah’s chief minister, he ‘issued an edict [1851] banning ornate and excessively formal writing in government documents; the beginning of a modern Persian prose style dates from this time.\textsuperscript{457} However, translations from European languages mainly

\textsuperscript{454} For an account of the western influences on the simplification of style in Muslim countries see ‘European and Colonial Influences: Emergence of Western Forms’, in \textit{Encyclopaedia Britannica}, 1995.

\textsuperscript{455} Hoqooqi, p. 11. (My translation.)

\textsuperscript{456} See Hoqooqi, p. 12.

made by the members of the polytechnic college Dar ol-Fonun (which was founded by Mirza Taqi Khan in 1851) played a very significant role in shaping the simple style.458

Journalistic prose that was considered valuable in late 19th century contributed to the development of the 'new' style. Writers began to draw attention to social and political issues in Iran, contributing to the national awakening that culminated in the Constitutional Revolution of 1905.

Maraghei, Talebof, Deh-khoda, and Jamalzadeh were the earliest Iranian writers whose simple and colloquial style outdated various traditional prose styles and indirectly extended the scope of readership (that previously belonged exclusively to the elite) to common people by making use of the 'language of the people' in their newly adopted genres of the novel, short story, drama, journalistic prose, and children’s literature. As Hoqooqi puts it,

During the last seventy years, our prose writers and novelists have inevitably taken ordinary and colloquial language into consideration as a requirement of the time. (... ) Isn't it the case that when the subject matters of [the modern] writings are directly related to people's life, the language dealing with such matters should adopt the features of people’s language, too?459

Many writers and literary scholars share this view that the adoption of a simple style and the use of colloquial language in modern writing are closely related

458 'In Iran, the situation to a certain extent resembled that in Turkey. While the last 'classical' poet, Qa'ani (died 1845), had been displaying the traditional glamorous artistry, his contemporary, the satirist Yaghma (died 1859), had been using popular and comprehensible language to make coarse criticisms of contemporary society. As in the other Islamic countries, a move toward simplicity is discernible during the last decades of the 19th century. The members of the polytechnic college Dar ol-Fonun (founded 1851), led by its erudite principal Reza Qoli Khan Hedayat, helped to shape the 'new' style by making translations from European languages. Shah Naser od-Din himself described his journeys to Europe in the late 1870s in a simple, unassuming style and in so doing set an example to future prose writers ' ('Islamic Arts: Persian Literatures', in Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1995.)

459 Hoqooqi, p. 19. (My translation.)
to the ‘requirements of the time’. That is, popular life has come into the limelight, common people have gained more weight in the social hierarchy, their role has shifted from a marginal one to a more canonical position in the power relations of the society. In the past, common people were rather ignored in the hierarchy of power; their language, the ‘language of the people’ was, too. The elite classes were considered important and the language developed by them was used in literature and read by them. In modern times, however, when common people attained ‘canonicity’, their style of language, too, gained importance, whereas the language of the elite was pushed into ‘marginality’.

Safdar Taqizadeh attributes the use of simple language to the translation of modern literary works. He defines this simplicity as bringing the written language close to the language of speech. He considers this phenomenon as one of the translators’ valuable cultural achievements.\(^{460}\)

2. Use of colloquial language

Up to about eighty years ago, no one among authors took heed of the colloquial language or the ‘language of speech’; it rarely could be seen on paper, except occasionally in popular and children’s poetry. Jamalzadeh was the first author to use colloquial language in fiction nearly eighty years ago followed by Sadeq Hedayat, Sadeq Chubak, and the generations following. Today the language of speech has found its way into prose fiction. A short historical background to the use of colloquial language was discussed in the previous chapter.

\(^{460}\) ‘Interview with Safdar Taqizadeh’, p. 68. (My translation.)
The use of colloquial language has been beneficial to the Persian literary system in general. Karim Emami, who is a prose translator, discusses the benefit of the use of colloquial style in novels:

The penetration of the colloquial style in the written prose was certainly beneficial, because it suddenly doubled the choice of words and expressions for the writer and translator and improved the descriptive and narrative potentials of the language. The authors, such as Jamalzadeh, Hedayat, Al-e Ahmad, Chubak and Golestan showed the right way, created successful pieces, and proved the appropriateness and value of the use of the colloquial words. Now there should remain no doubt (as to its benefit) for anyone.\textsuperscript{461}

With the use of colloquial language in fiction, or in other words, the use of a kind of `written language of speech', several controversial topics have emerged. One is the reason for the divergence of the two styles (the language of `speech' and the 'written' language) in the first place. Darya-bandari comments on the relationship between these two types of language and accounts for their divergence as follows,

I think that the true language is the language of speech; that is, the sounds we make to communicate with others. [...] The written language is the recorded form of the language of speech. This form is normally related to a certain period of time or a certain geographical area, and since it is recorded, it has remained relatively fixed. [...] The language of speech represents the latest developments that have occurred in the language. In other words, the language of speech indicates the dynamism of the language, whereas the written language, as I mentioned earlier, is rather fixed, that is, it shows the old form, or even sometimes the obsolete and dead form, of the language. Of course, the written language is not absolutely fixed; it changes due to the impact of the language of speech.\textsuperscript{462}

However, his remark can only partially account for this divergence. It should be added that authors themselves are involved in the development and modification of

\textsuperscript{461} Emami 1993, pp. 28–29. (My translation.)

\textsuperscript{462} ‘Interview with Najaf Darya-bandari', in Si Sül Tarjome, Si Sül Tajrohe ("Thirty Years of Translation, Thirty Years of Experience"), ed. by Mahdi Afshar (Tehran: Anvar-e Danesh, 1998), pp. 61–108 (p. 84). (My translation.)
the written language. That is, influential authors extend the possibilities of the written language through different literary and aesthetic conventions available to them, such as development of an elevated and florid style totally distinct from the colloquial language.

Another topic is the difference between the language of ‘speech’ and the ‘written’ language. The following can be outlined as the features of these two types of language:

1. The **pronunciation** and consequently the **spelling** of words between these two types of language are obviously different. In the colloquial language, the words are usually pronounced in a shortened form and their style of recording is called ‘broken’ writing.

2. The utterances in the language of speech are usually short and its **syntax** is simple, whereas the sentences of the written language might be very long and its syntax very complex.

3. The **diction** is simpler in the language of speech, with fewer technical/formal terms and fewer Arabic/European loan words. Traditional Persian is mixed with numerous Arabic words, whereas the colloquial language emphasizes an Iranian national identity reflecting the genuine culture of popular classes.

Concerning the difference between these two types of language, Daryabandari believes that in Iran,

> We Persian speakers all speak the language of speech, and some of us [i.e. the educated ones] write in the written language. These people among us naturally know the difference between these two types of language. The problems arise at the time when we want to record the language of speech
on paper; or in other words, when we want to change the ordinary language of speech into 'the written language of speech'. 463

Although one can distinguish between these two types of language easily and provide a list of different features and examples, it should not be forgotten that there is some degree of overlap and similarity between the two types. That is, the two share a 'common core', some kind of 'simple' style.

According to what has been discussed above a very important feature can be noticed in the Persian literary polysystem, particularly in regard to the language of prose fiction: the existence of a diglossia. 464 This phenomenon has been noticed and mentioned by Darya-bandari, a famous and experienced prose translator:

In my viewpoint, in our contemporary age the language of speech is advancing and the written language is retreating. In fact, we are in a state of diglossia; the stage of diglossia is always a prelude to transfer from one language to another. 465

Hudson provides a definition of diglossia as follows:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. 466

463 'Interview with Najaf Darya-bandari', pp. 85–86. (My translation.)

464 See Chapter 8 for an illustration of diglossia in Persian.

465 'Interview with Najaf Darya-bandari', p. 90. (My translation.)

466 Hudson, p. 54. The Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics defines 'diglossia' as follows:

When two languages or language varieties exist side by side in a community and each one is used for different purposes, this is called diglossia. Usually, one is a more standard variety called the High variety or H-variety, which is used in government, the media, education, and
Persian speakers also use two varieties of Persian: standard (classic) and colloquial Persian that are quite distinct from each other. Thus, one can conclude that there is a state of diglossia in Persian, but this does not necessarily support the hypothetical statement, ‘a prelude to transfer from one language to another’, made by Darya-bandari.

In the field of translation, it is noteworthy to say that Persian prose translators acknowledged the language of speech and began to use it in their translation some sixty years ago.

Knowledge of this diglossia and the use of colloquial language are important for translators. In this regard, Karim Emami maintains that one important task for the translator is the choice of an appropriate language. He suggests that the translator should first distinguish the type of language used by the author — whether colloquial,
exact and scientific, elevated literary, slang, satirical, or obsolete. Then he or she should try to find an appropriate language for it in Persian. 468

This knowledge of or proficiency in the language of speech constitutes a vital requirement to become a prose translator in Iran. A lack of proficiency can certainly make it difficult for many would-be translators to be admitted into the profession. For example, Baha-od-Din Khorramshahi adds a fourth element to the qualities (i.e. proficiency or knowledge of the source language, of the target language, and of the subject matter) generally required of a translator: ‘the craft or skill of translation’ or a sufficient knowledge of the modern language of speech. He expounds it as follows:

[The translator] possesses those three qualities and begins to produce a literal translation. He might translate dialogues in a way, say, instead of saying ‘Hālet chetore?’ he would say ‘To rā che mishavad?’ [That is, he would use an obsolete literary style instead of a colloquial language.] Do you know %shv? He is not familiar with the craft of translation. He does not know that in conversation (speech) for what he or she [i.e. the foreign speaker] says, we should provide an equivalent that circulates readily in our tongue, and that is customary in our society. ‘To rā che mishavad?’ has not been used customarily in our society for 150 years. So the translator should have this fourth quality in addition to acquiring those three other qualities. 469

Problems arise at the time when the translator wants to record words of colloquial language in dialogue section of novels on paper, or in other words, when he or she wants to change the ordinary language of speech into the ‘written language of speech’. This special recording of words is called ‘shekasti-nevisi’ (‘writing words in a broken style’). In Persian the speech sounds are altered in colloquial language, just like English words ‘ain’t’ and ‘donna’. However, some translators say that ‘the

colloquial language cannot be reflected just through writing words in the “broken” style; the texture of the sentence should be colloquial, not just the form of words.\footnote{470} Safdar Taqizadeh claims that after the publication of a short play written by O’Neil in the \textit{Sokhan} magazine, this style of writing (\textit{mohāvere-nevīsī}) appeared for the first time in Iran. He, too, recorded words in their ‘broken’ style and tried to approach a language of speech when translating a collection of plays written by Eugene O’Neil.\footnote{471} This evidence indicates the importance of modern foreign writing for Iranian culture and its impact on the development of new literary conventions and norms.

Darya-bandari distinguishes between \textit{lafz-e qalam} (‘the word of pen’) and \textit{lafz-e shekaste} (\textit{shekaste-nevīsī}). He thinks that one might use \textit{lafz-e shekaste} both to record the colloquial language, hence creating the Tehran dialect, and recording the ‘written’ language, and thus creating a ‘fake’ and ‘unpleasant’ language. Concerning the confusion of Tehran dialect with the colloquial language by some translators, he comments,

\begin{quote}
Many people have imagined that if they record [the spelling of] words in the Tehran dialect, they have recorded the language of speech. That is, For example, it is enough to write ‘\textit{nūn}’ instead of ‘\textit{nān}’ and instead of ‘\textit{mīgām}’, to write ‘\textit{mīgām}’, and so on. I call it the difference in dialect. If the ‘written’ language is written only in the form of the colloquial [‘broken’] language, it proves something very unpleasant and obscene. This is what we see in many of today’s writings and translations. The reason lies in the fact that we do not see the more important differences [rather than pronunciation and spelling] between these two languages [i.e. the colloquial and the written languages]. As I said earlier, the main difference lies in the composition of
\end{quote}

\footnote{470} \textit{Interview with Safdar Taqizadeh}, p. 170.
\footnote{471} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 170.
discourse or syntax of sentences. (...) If the composition of discourse is colloquial and dynamic, the difference in dialect is not so important.⁴⁷²

The use of diglossia, that is, the use of both the colloquial and the standard styles, in translated (as well as original Persian) novels has become a norm in Persian literary system, and hence is a constituent of naturalness.

**B. Choice of vocabulary**

The trends in Persian literature concerning the choice of vocabulary have been *arabī-gerā’ī* (‘Arabism’), *sare-nevisī* (‘purism’), *bāstān-gerā’ī* (‘retrospection’ or ‘antiquarianism’) and *arabi-setizī* (‘anti-Arabism’), archaism, *farangi-gerā’ī* (‘tendency toward the use of European words’), *bigāne-setizī* (‘purism against western vocabulary’), and *fārsī-gerā’ī* (‘tendency toward natural Persian’) that advocates the use of *zabān-e fasih-e fārīš* (‘the clear modern Persian language’) and rejects purism.

The problem with vocabulary in Persian reflects a complex history of the country (pre-Islamic, Islamic, colonial and postcolonial). The distinctions in the choice of vocabulary reflect Persian attitudes to its colonial history. Different cultures have left their marks on the Persian language: Arabs, Mongols, Turks, and more recently Europeans as well as Russians each have provided a repository or a cultural capital from which Persian has borrowed and naturalised some words. However, there has always been some sort of resistance towards the ‘penetration’ of foreign vocabulary, and this resistance has often been able to moderate the extreme use of non-Persian words. Although the literary figures often warn against the corruption and total annihilation of the Persian language (referring to the penetration of foreign

⁴⁷² ‘Interview with Najaf Darya-bandari’, pp. 87. (My translation.)
vocabulary), Persian has survived the threats of colonial influences throughout its history of about eleven centuries.\(^{473}\)

1. Nationalism, retrospection, and purism

Contact with the West at the beginning of the 19th century encouraged a tendency toward **retrospection**.\(^{474}\) In Muslim states, writers concentrated their attention on their country and particular heritage, such as the ‘pharaonic myth’ of Egypt, the Indo-European roots of Iran, and the Central Asian past of Turkey. In short, there was an emphasis on differentiation, inevitably leading to the rise of **nationalism**, instead of an emphasis on the unifying spirit and heritage of Islam. The main aim of retrospection was to replace the Islamic solidarity among Muslim people with different national identities in order to separate Muslims of different ethnic origins and to overshadow and put the Islamic history and culture into oblivion. This was certainly a colonial policy throughout the Muslim world.\(^{475}\)

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\(^{473}\) Modern Persian developed in northeastern Iran after the conquest of Islam. It is most closely related to Middle and Old Persian, former languages of the region of Fars ("Persia") in southwestern Iran. Modern Persian is thus called Farsi by native speakers. Written in Arabic characters, modern Persian also has many Arabic words and an extensive literature. Old Persian was spoken until approximately the 3rd century BC and written in cuneiform. Middle Persian was spoken from the 3rd century BC to the 9th century AD and was written in Aramaic script. Pahlavi was the name of the official Middle Persian language of the Sasanian Empire.

\(^{474}\) 'The transference of the European humanist nationalism to Iran played a significant role in the romantic discovery of the ancient Iran.' *(Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani*, p. 93. My translation.)

'Nationalism, the souvenir brought by the diseased intellectuals, had a special characteristic: the revival of the ancient Iran at the price of the negation of Islam and its culture, traditions, and customs.' *(Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani*, p. 92. My translation)

\(^{475}\) 'In concordance with the general policy of the colonial governments [i.e. European powers, particularly Britain and France] in the colonies, the ethnic nationalism had to be strengthened and publicised in various ways and forms, and the pre-Islamic history of Iran had to be utilised as an ideological instrument in the face of Islam. The publicity of the "national pride" and belonging to the "Aryan race" fell to such a banality that Reza Khan adopted the nick name "Pahlavi" and his son became "Arya-mehr", and in order to legitimise "king-worshiping" (the modern nationalism), myth-making about the past Iranian kings and sanctifying them reached to its climax.' *(Shapur Ravasani,*
Retrospection or antiquarianism, which refers to a nostalgic attitude toward magnificent pasts or ‘golden age’ and longing for the lost mythical glories, gained strength in the second half of Fath Ali Shah’s reign (1797–1834) due to external factors (i.e., the measures taken by Masons, penetration of western military advisors and political representatives, and cultural, intellectual currents inspired by the French Revolution) as well as internal factors (i.e., defeat by Russia and the feeling of contempt arising out of it, loss of valuable parts from Iran, pessimism toward the clergy, despair about the efficiency of religious motives in confronting the enemy and the propaganda of the state culture on this point). The defeat by Russia in two wars proved catastrophic for Iran and the rulers wanted to account for the defeat and put the blame on anyone or anything except their own total lack of efficiency. They wanted some excuses and scapegoats and tried to find anything soothing or healing to divert the attention of people and the elite from the deep anguish they felt. At that time, retrospection was a political trend propagated mainly by the French and the British. This tendency got inspiration from foreign (imported) culture, but the elements of state culture (the rulers and the court) were actively involved in publicising and propagating it.

This trend began to grow and gain more strength during Naser od-Din Shah’s reign (1848–96) when new elements were introduced (Orientalists’ new findings about the pre-Islamic ancient languages, religion, history, etc.,\(^{476}\) and activities of

Indian Parsis\(^{477}\) as well as Iranian Zoroastrians\(^{478}\) in Iran, supported by the French and British political representatives). David McLean thus reports the British entanglement with Persian nationalism, 'The growth of Persian nationalism was the second major

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\(^{477}\) For example, Mankji Limji Houshang Patria, who was sent to Iran in 1854 by the Indian Parsis (See Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzade, p. 116), Ardeshir Ji Reporter (1865–1933) who was sent to Iran in 1893 by the Indian viceroy under the guise of the representative of Indian Parsis in Iran (See Seyed-Hassan Taqizadeh (Tehran: Qadr-e Velayat Cultural Institute, 2\(^{nd}\) print, 1998), p. 216) and Din Shah (1881–1938), the representative of the Indian Parsis who was invited to Iran by Reza Shah in 1932.

The co-operation between the British and the Indian Parsis as well as the commissioning of Parsis to set up British bases in Iran to advance the British colonial causes can be inferred by the accounts provided by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*:

'From the 10\(^{th}\) century onward, groups of Zoroastrians emigrated to India, where they found asylum in Gujarat. Their connection with their coreligionists in Iran seems to have been almost totally broken until the end of the 15\(^{th}\) century. Re-established in 1477, the connection was kept up chiefly in the form of an exchange of letters until 1768. Under British rule, the Parsis, who previously had been humble agriculturists, started to enrich themselves through commerce, then through industry. They became a most prosperous and 'modern' community, centred in Bombay. Formerly they had adopted the language (Gujarati) and the dress of their Hindu milieu. Later they adopted British customs, British dress, the education of girls, and the abolition of child marriage. In their enterprises as well as in their charities they followed the example of the West. From the 19\(^{th}\) century on, they were able to help their less favoured brethren in Iran, either through gifts or through intervention with the government.' ("Zoroastrianism and Parsiism: The Parsis in India", in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1995.)

'With the establishment of British trading posts at Surat and elsewhere in the early 17\(^{th}\) century, the Parsis' circumstances altered radically, for they were in some ways more receptive of European influence than the Hindus or Muslims and they developed a flair for commerce. Bombay came under the control of the East India Company in 1668, and, since complete religious toleration was decreed soon afterward, the Parsis from Gujarat began to settle there. The expansion of the city in the 18\(^{th}\) century owed largely to their industry and ability as merchants. By the 19\(^{th}\) century they were manifestly a wealthy community, and from about 1850 onward they had considerable success in heavy industries, particularly those connected with railways and shipbuilding.' ("Parsi", in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1995.)

'Long isolated, the Iranian Zoroastrians made contact with the Parsis, the wealthy Zoroastrians of India, in the 15\(^{th}\) century, and exchanged messages concerning religious lore. Since the 19\(^{th}\) century the Parsis have taken a lively interest in improving the depressed condition of their Iranian coreligionists. They organized a society that raised funds to provide general aid and, especially, facilities for education. With the support of British ambassadors, their representatives remonstrated with the Persian government over discrimination against Zoroastrians. Beginning with the reign of Reza Shah (1925–41), the Iranian Zoroastrians enjoyed wider religious tolerance for decades until the Islamic revolution of 1978–1979. They currently number a few thousand.' ("Gabar", in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1995.)

\(^{478}\) Such as Arbab Jamshid Jamshidian, the person who opened the Jamshidian Bank in 1891 in Iran, he was the representative of Zoroastrians in the first parliament's session; and Arbab Kaykhosro, the Zoroastrians' influential representative for 11 parliamentary terms (terms 2–12).
factor which shaped British policy in Persia in the late 1900s.\textsuperscript{479} This trend gradually became a cultural ideological as well as political movement among the dependent intellectuals. Many Iranian intellectuals began to learn Old and Middle Persian (or Pahlavi) and study and propagate Zoroastrianism as an alternative to Islam though they themselves did not believe in it. The major figures among these Iranian westernised intellectuals who were active in advancing the cause of the retrospective approach were Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzade, Talebof, Mirza Malkom Khan, Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani, and Seyed-Hassan Taqizadeh. ‘Due to his enmity against Islam, Aqa Khan, like Mirza Malkom Khan, Talebof, and Fath Ali Akhundzade, praised the ancient Iran and whatever perceived to belong to it, including Zoroastrianism and the Pahlavi script, in his writings only to oppose Islam without having a genuine tendency toward Zoroastrianism.’\textsuperscript{480}

Two aspects of the retrospective approach that concerned language were (1) the attempts at promoting anti-Arabism or change of language that eventually led to

\textsuperscript{479} McLean, p. 77.

\textsuperscript{480} Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani, p. 14. (My translation.)

An analysis of the views raised by these westernised intellectuals in building a ‘national identity’ against the ‘Islamic identity’ has been provided by the contemporary thinker, Shahryar Zarshenas, as follows:

‘Nationalism has originated from the western thought and seeks a humanistic ideal. Following and imitating the western intellectualism superficially and blindly, the Iranian intellectuals gained a nationalistic disposition in line with Europeans (who generally had extreme rationalistic tendencies in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century); however, nationalism was a tool in the hands of the Iranian intellectuals of that period to fight the faith of Islam, superficially propagate Zoroastrian customs and traditions (as an alternative to Islam), and spread modernism.’

‘Indeed, the intellectuals of that period wanted to fight Islam and propagate their secular and modernist objectives by creating ethnic and racial false feelings, reviving the dead and dust-covered traditions and customs, and appreciating the fake and made-up “national identity” raised in the face of the “Islamic identity”. In fact, nationalism was an ideological excuse, trick, and pretext in the hands of the intellectuals of that period to eradicate the faith from the society and to propagate the secular culture.’ (Shahryar Zarshenas, \textit{Ta’ammolātā darbāre-ye Roshanfekhrī dar Iran} (‘Delibrations on the intellectualism in Iran’) (Tehran: Barg, 1994), p. 86. My translation.)
sare-nevisi (or purism) and (2) the efforts aimed at making a reform of the Arabic script, used in Persian.

'The grounds for the tendency toward sare-nevisi i dates back to the pre-revolutionary (1905) time, and its real turning point can be attributed to the discovery and publication (in India by Mulla Kavoos in 1819 persuaded by Sir John Malcolm) of a book entitled Dasä! Fr that was claimed to have been written by Azar Kayvan during the reign of Akbar Shah (reigned 1556–1605) in India. Mirza Sadeq Khan Amiri Farahani (known as Adeeb ol-Mamalek) (1860–1918) was a notable figure among the first intellectuals who was enchanted by the words of Dasätir, he considered himself an expert in Dasätir words and composed poetry out of such words with great effort.

During the reign of Reza Khan (1925–41) (who was chosen by Ardeshir Ji Reporter, an influential Parsi and British agent in Iran, the extremist retrospective

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481 He was an Indian Parsi who came to Iran in 1887 apparently to resolve the discrepancies in the calendar with the help of Iranian Zoroastrians.

482 Sir John Malcolm (1769–1832) was the British ambassador to Iran in the first decade of the 19th century.

483 'Dasatir presented a historical account of Iran's pre-Islamic prophets and kings which was fabricated by Azar Keyvan. The book also contained words that according to its author existed in Iran's pre-Islamic languages. In reality, however, Azar Keyvan had made up these so-called ancient words.' (Mehrad Kia, 'Persian Nationalism and the Campaign for Language Purification', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (April 1998), 9–36 (p. 12).)

484 Shahla Parvinzad, 'Bastän-gerä'1 va Bästün-setä'1 dar Tarikh-e Mo'äser-e Iran: Naqsh-e Ferämäsönari dar Gostareh-e Bästän-gerä'1' ('Retrospection and Antiquarianism in the Modern History of Iran: The Role of Freemasonry in the Expansion of Retrospection'), *Sobh*, 108 (1999), p. 18. (My translation.)

state nationalism was established, and naturally the religion as a factor negating all ethnic racial superiority and ancient glories, was the first victim. Often accepting European assessments of traditional religion as a barrier to modernisation, many nationalists sought an identity in the pre-Islamic past. Reza Shah Pahlavi argued that the Islamic period was but an accidental interlude in the continuous history, since Achaemenid times, of Iran as a unified entity. At this time, many activists of the state culture helped to advance this retrospective trend. Among them one can mention Seyed-Hassan Taqizadeh, Muhammad Ali Foroughi, Mosheer od-Dowle, Shoja od-Din Shafa, Pour-Dawood, Zabihullah Safa, Reza-zadeh Shafaq, Asadullah A'lam, Sa’eed Nafissi, etc.

The movement toward change of Perso-Arabic script was not successful, but the task of language change was entrusted to the Persian Language Academy established by Muhammad Ali Foroughi in 1935. Its main objective was to 'purify' the Persian language from foreign words; however, in practice, this objective turned into casting out Arabic words and introducing sare ('pure') Persian words, the effects

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486 'The image we have of the government in the pre-Islamic era in our mind is the one drawn by the Freemason thinkers such as Foroughi and Moshir od-Dowle during the Pahlavi's reign. Indeed, it is an idealised form of Reza Khan's form of dictatorship that has been matched/implanted on to the pre-Islamic history of Iran. This image indicated: as though there had been authoritative and centralised governments in the pre-Islamic "brilliant history" that had been collapsed during the Arab attack. Then a long period of deterioration and weakness of the central government and anarchy prevailed in Iran, and eventually, as an inevitable conclusion of this model, Reza Khan emerged as the 'Saviour' of the excellence and magnificence of the pre-Islamic Iran and put an end to provincial power centres such as tribal chiefs and large landowners.' (Muhammad Ali Foroughi (Tehran: Qadr-e Velayat Cultural Institute, 3rd print, 1998), p. 169. My translation.)

487 E’atemad os-Saltane (1840–96) was the first Iranian writer to suggest the idea of creating an academy as a means of saving the Persian language. (See Kia 1998, p. 16)
of which are still present. ‘My Message to the Academy’ is one of Foroughi’s famous essays that was effective in achieving the aim of undermining the role of the Arabic language and Islamic culture. A brief account of the academy reads as:

The members of the academy were chosen from among the contemporary scholars and literary men and their mission was to coin new words based on Persian archaic words and texts or disseminate obsolete words, and gradually replace foreign words with Persian ones. Foroughi himself headed the academy for a short time in 1935. Then Vosooq od-Dowlé was chosen to chair it, and later the duty of running the academy was put on the Ministry of Culture.

The academy ratified 120 words in the year it was established (1935). The number increased to 360 in 1936 and 650 in 1937. (…)

The task of the academy was in practice limited to purifying the Persian language of Arabic words. It was proven that the Persian Language Academy was itself a tool for eradicating the Islamic culture from the scene/context of people’s life since the founders and authorities of the academy were themselves westernised scholars and chief disseminators of the western culture. How could one expect them to wipe out what they advocated [i.e., the European words] from the language? In reality, Muslim people witnessed how western words and expressions became extensively/intensively prevalent not only in scientific and academic texts, but also in ordinary communications and everyday conversations and dialogues, and its scope of influence was so much that it extended to proper names of people and places.

Sadeq Hedayat was influenced by this trend as well. He began to study history, beginning with the Sasanian period (224–651) and the Pahlavi, or Middle Persian language, and he used this study in his later fiction. In 1936–37 he went to Bombay to live in the Parsee Zoroastrian community there in order to further his knowledge of the ancient Iranian religion. Extreme attention to the ancient Iran brings

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488 It is noteworthy to mention that Reza Shah (reigned 1925–41) praised Atatürk’s reforms and tried to follow his steps of modernization in Turkey, one of which was the establishment of the language academy to purify language.

489 Muhammad Ali Foroughi, pp. 51–52. (My translation.)
about the translation of several Pahlavi texts by Hedayat, Pour-Dawood, Bahar, and others.\footnote{490}

Anti-Arabism or sare-nevšt ('purism') that attempted to replace Arabic loan words with Old or Middle Persian words (or with newly-coined words with the help of purely Persian roots and affixes) had been an important topic in the agenda of the retrospective nationalism advocated by the activists of the state culture and intellectuals since early 19th century. This trend lost vigour after the victory of the Islamic Revolution. The attempts made by the advocates of retrospective nationalism have left its mark on the overall process of change in the Persian language.

2. Opposition to purism

However, making extreme attempts to revive obsolete or archaic words is considered an imposition (i.e. of archaism) against the natural evolution of the language itself. Some scholars advocated zabăn-e fasîh-e fârsî ('the clear modern Persian language') that we have inherited as a result of natural purification and evolution. Darya-bandari talks about the growth and aging of vocabulary in the following way:

Parts of experience become old and worn-out and then die; so do dictionaries. As it is true with the language itself: some words become obsolete and unsuitable for use after, say, 100 or 200 years, like fingernails that have grown too long which need to be cut and thrown away. In the language, new words emerge in place of old ones and this happens due to the liveliness of the language.\footnote{491}

\footnote{490 See Mir-abedini, p. 119.}

\footnote{491 ‘Interview with Najaf Darya-bandari’, p. 73.}

Mahdi Afshar poses a question concerning archaism to Darya-bandari: ‘you say that one should not use obsolete words any more. What do you say about the translation of old English texts or the translation of 17th-, 18th-, or 19th-century texts? Are new words and structures sufficient by themselves?’
Different cultures take different attitudes towards foreign words. One culture may consider them as 'intruders' and, hence, tries to resist their penetration into their language or even fights against their presence in their language; another culture may regard them as gains or spoils and tries to accommodate and incorporate them in their language and appropriate them. Najaf Darya-bandari, an experienced prose translator, says,

The British have had a very confident approach in borrowing foreign words, which is different from ours. When we look at a foreign word, it seems to us that this word is an intruding element; we think that it is something standing outside the realm of [i.e. posing as an alien to] our language; and if we do not block its way, it will create problems for us, so we must obstruct it. We sometimes bind its limbs and deport it in that bound situation from our language. English speakers do not usually approach [a word] in such a way. They usually see the foreign word as a kind of spoil or gain.492

Defining sare-nevisi as 'avoidance of the use of Arabic words', Darya-bandari considers it as 'a disease':

Sometimes, some people try to use only Persian words and not to use Arabic words at all. I think it is a disease that is most prevalent among the Iranians who live in Los Angeles. (...) I do not believe that all Arabic words should be expelled from Persian. They are spoils and revenues in our hands and we should utilise them. (...) I myself have had a tendency towards Persian words; that is, when I write I see no point in putting aside a Persian word if there is one to convey a concept, and using an Arabic word instead. However, on the other hand, the Arabic language serves as a support for the

Darya-bandari replies, 'I did not mean that we should never use some certain words. When we say a word dies, it means that the word goes out of your mind; that is, it is not [readily] available to you. In order [to be able] to use dead words, you should refer to old texts and dictionaries. Indeed, by the dead word I mean the word that is out of customary usage. This usually occurs: from one generation to another, the vocabulary that exists in the mind or so-called common conscience of the society changes. It is sufficient to open a text of 500 years ago to see words that are not used today. However, whether we should translate a foreign text of 500 years ago with our own vocabulary of 500 years ago or with our new vocabulary is a complicated issue. I think such a [translated] text should sound archaic to some extent. However, if you want to search and find out how such and such object was called in 500 years ago and plan to use it [in your text], then it will prove problematic, and the translation will not be intelligible at the end. ('Interview with Najaf Darya-bandari', p. 100.)

492 'Interview with Najaf Darya-bandari', p. 95.
Persian language, particularly in scientific and philosophical fields. This is not exclusive to Persian. Not at all. Take English; you see most of its scientific and philosophical terms are Latin. Latin for English is just like Arabic for Persian. (...)

Of course, there was a time, particularly in late Qajar era, when many writers stuffed Arabic [words] into the Persian language just for showing off their competence/accomplishments. However, the Persian in which we are speaking now is a purified Persian, and it is not that much polluted with unnecessary Arabic words. I think we should not be concerned about it [i.e. the impurity of Persian]. There has been a [natural] process of purification prevalent in the Persian language since 120 or 150 years ago. It is different from that disease of sare-nevisi from which some people suffer. Our language itself puts aside unnecessary elements [e.g. words] that we can dispense with. It is a good and auspicious process. 493

The resistance toward foreign words involves two major trends: avoiding perceived foreign words already present and in use in the language and the censoring of direct interference (borrowing) from the source text and language during the process of translation.

The interference of the SL words is usually censored or checked by a monitoring device that the translator has already internalised; this device activates a purification process to resist the unwanted interference. Toury puts this point, i.e. resistance against interference (including the SL words into the TL language) as follows:

The alleged undesirability of interference is thus not ‘natural’ in any sense. Rather, if and when it is rejected, its undesirability is always a function of a host of socio-cultural factors, which may therefore be said to condition our law. Here it would be quite safe to start by arguing, very generally, that

communities differ in terms of their resistance to interference, especially of the ‘negative’ type.

Strong resistance to interference may indeed lead to a considerable reduction of its manifestations, especially in the translational output of professionals, shaped as it is by environmental feedback. Thus, resistance quite readily leads to the activation of purification, or other censorial mechanisms,

whose influence, however, can hardly ever be absolute, due to the cognitive as well as behavioural factors. [...] Censorship can also be activated during the act of translation itself though, inasmuch as the translator has *internalized* the norms pertinent to the culture, and uses them as a constant monitoring device.\(^{494}\)

In brief, in the last two centuries there have been contrasting tendencies among authors and translators concerning the choice of vocabulary; however, the use of the natural, clear, modern Persian language ("zabān-e fasīh-e fārsī") has become the prevailing norm in this regard. On the whole although this tendency prefers customary modern Persian words, it does not show extreme enmity against foreign (particularly Arabic) loan words which do not have acceptable customary equivalents in Persian.

**C. Impact of anti-Arabism on the Persian Spelling and Script**

Middle Persian declined after the Arab conquest in the 7\(^{th}\) century. Modern Persian had developed by the 9\(^{th}\) century. It is written in Perso-Arabic script (an expanded version of Arabic script). Following the Islamic conquest in the 7\(^{th}\) century, Modern Persian gradually emerged as a literary language, incorporating an immense Arabic vocabulary and adopting Arabic script.

Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzade (1813–1878) was originally an Iranian who worked as a translator from Oriental languages for the Russian governor of the Caucasus in Tbilisi. He advocated and propagated the need for the change of the Arabic script in Muslim world, since he considered it as the cause for the retardation

\(^{491}\) Toury 1995, p. 277.
of Muslims from the western progress and civilisation.\footnote{For further information on Akhundzade's views, see Mehrdad Kia, 'Persian Nationalism and the Campaign for Language Purification', and Mehrdad Kia, 'Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzade and the Call for Modernization of the Islamic World', Middle Eastern Studies, 31:3 (1995), 422-48.} He wrote his booklet, 'Ālifbā-ye Jadīd barā-ye Tahrīrāt-e 'al-Sanah-ye 'Eslāmīya "The New Alphabet for the Writing of Islamic Languages" in 1857\footnote{See Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzade, pp. 74-75. From the references Akhundzade makes in his book, 'Ālifbā-ye Jadīd, it becomes clear that one of the original sources of inspiration for his alphabet reform came from his readings on Peter the Great and the reform which the Russian ruler had introduced in the Russian script.} in which he proposed the first version of his invented alphabet.\footnote{In 'Ālifbā-ye Jadīd, Akhundzade argued that the existing deficiencies in the Arabic script were the principal cause of the high rate of illiteracy among Arabs, Iranians and Turks. The reform of the script would primarily simplify the method of teaching and learning Arabic, Persian and Turkish, which would substantially increase the rate of literacy among Muslim men and women.' (Kia, 'Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzade and the Call for Modernization of the Islamic World', p. 429)} Later he modified it in co-operation with Mirza Malkom Khan. Besides writing several articles in this regard and having close co-operation and exchange of ideas with Mirza Malkom Khan, he was dispatched to Istanbul in 1863, supported by Russians, to propagate his plan for a reform in the Arabic script.\footnote{See Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzade, p. 45.} He attacked the Arabs for the imposition of Arabic script:

In addition to overthrowing our 1000-year-old [pre-Islamic] sovereignty, eradicating our high status and magnificence, and destroying our country completely, the Arabs have imposed a script on us that has made it the most difficult job for us to acquire even customary literacy. What afflictions this people has inflicted on us! An enlightened man would cry when imagining those afflictions.\footnote{Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzade, p. 63. (My translation.)}

Eventually in 1872 Akhundzade, having received negative responses from the Ottoman and Iranian governments to his proposed alphabets and under the influence
of an article published by Charles Mismer\textsuperscript{500}, called for a total rejection of the Arabic script in favour of Latin alphabet.\textsuperscript{501}

Mirza Malkom Khan was an activist of secularism during the Constitutional Revolution who considered blind imitation from the West, change of the Persian script and language and putting aside religion from all social areas as the only way to rescue Iranian people.\textsuperscript{502} Mirza Malkom Khan can be regarded as the forerunner among the westernised characters who did their best to import the western values and serve foreigners sincerely to their best. He persistently supported the European colonisers' investment in Iran. He sought the acquisition of the western technology and civilisation, removal of the Arabic script from the Persian language, and superiority of the language over the religion. In the course of his thoughts to attain the ideal of rationalism and scientism, in harmony with Charles Mismer and Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzade, Mirza Malkom Khan stressed the need for reforms in Islam ('Islamic Protestantism') and change in the script and alphabets of Islamic countries.

\textsuperscript{500} He was a French journalist who served as Fuad Pasha's advisor in the Ottoman court. He wrote \textit{The Heritage of the World of Islam, The Nights of Istanbul}, and some other books in which he discussed the problems of the Islamic countries. According to some researches, he is the initiator/designer of the idea of introducing the Latin script for the Muslim world. In a letter to Fuad Pasha (in March 1869), he proposed the Latin script in place of the Arabic script. He had contacts with Malkom Khan and Akhundzade, and struggled for the political and cultural penetration of the West and induction of its beliefs in the Muslim world. (\textit{Mirza Malkom Khan-e Nazem od-Dowle} (Tehran: Qadr-e Velayat Cultural Institute, 3rd print, 1998), pp. 32-33. My translation.) There is a copy of Mismer's letter to the Ottoman prime minister in Persian translation at the National Library of Iran under the title of '\textit{Tarjome-ye Maktub-e Charch Mismer-e Foranei be Sadr-e A zam-e Osmani}, March 1869.'

\textsuperscript{501} See Kia 1995, p. 429.

and Iran. He took various measures in this direction. Though not successful, his views provided a source of inspiration for later dependent intellectuals. This is why he is regarded as the 'father of new intellectualism' in Iran.

Aqa Khan Kermani is another westernised intellectual who stressed the need for a change in the Arabic script. His views are quoted as follows:

Aqa Khan Kermani, like his intimidated friends [i.e., intimidated and enchanted by the western civilisation and culture] Mirza Malkom Khan and Fath Ali Akhundzade, showed hostility to whatever was considered Islamic including its script [i.e., Arabic script] and he, like them, made the most unfair and indecent judgements in this regard: "Still, people do not know how far the difficult Arabic script has kept them away from progress and civilisation. (...) If only Iranian learned scholars had used their strange tenacity they exerted to propagate the Arabic language, in civilising the African black people and American Indians, they would have made them civilised nations."

The way Aqa Khan related the Arabic script with backwardness of Iran and other Muslim states and attacked scholars and writers for their use of Arabic loan words in Persian was obviously superficial, unfounded and unfair.

'The Islamic language and script was another element that had to be reformed or subverted according to the westernised intellectuals' thought and nationalism. Mirza Malkom Khan had raised this view before Aqa Khan and had also taken some

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503 Concerning Malkom Khan's plan to change the Arabic script, Edward Browne narrates:

Ile [i.e. Malkom Khan] talked to me less about the "religion of humanity" than about a new plan for printing Persian, Turkish and Arabic with unjoined letters, in the elaboration and perfecting of which he was then engaged. The types for this experiment were actually cut under his supervision, and a small printing-press, worked by an ingenious Persian named, I think, Häjji Muhammad Khan, was established in Notting Hill Gate, not far from Holland Park, where the Persian Legation was at that time situated. The Gulistín of Sa'ādī and several small primers, of which I possess copies, were printed there. (Edward G. Browne, The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909 (London: Cup, 1910; Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1966 (1910), pp. 38-39.)

504 See Mirza Malkom Khan-e Nazem od-Dowle, pp. 32-33.
measures that bore no fruit at least in Iran, although this view was later actualised in Turkey. In Iranian nationalism, Aqa Khan praised the pre-Islamic Iranian script: "The pleasant language of Pahlavi [i.e., the Middle Persian] that manifested the Iranian ethnic identity became obsolete with the conquest and dominance of the Arabic language. The alphabet of Islam has converted the Persian script into mysterious drawing and [unintelligible] codes which has kept Iranians away from progress and civilisation." [He raised such a claim] despite the fact that researchers have attributed the outdating of the Pahlavi language and script to its difficulty and inefficiency. 506

In summary, although the movement of the above-mentioned intellectuals did not bring any changes in the script used in Persian, its impact can still be traced in some authors’ or translators’ works. For instance, Abbas Na’lbandian ‘wrote show-off books with strange spellings and scripts such as “sandali” ['chair'] with “Sôr” [a letter considered Persian, instead of “Sâd” which was assumed to be its Arabic equivalent] that had no implications but nonsense and futility. (...) Realising the falseness and futility of his attempts, he became so distressed and repentant at the gate of the [Islamic] Revolution that he found no other solution or way out except hanging himself [i.e. committing suicide]. 507 Before the Islamic Revolution a book, Darbâre-ye Jahân-e Sevvom-e ‘Estelâhî ‘Este’ärîye-‘t Nîrâ-ye Sevvom, was sent to the Office of Printing and Publishing Books (in charge of screening books) to receive permission for publishing on which the censors commented, ‘It has some innovations in regard to Persian script to facilitate reading. For example, it prescribes to write

503 Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani, pp. 82–83. (My translation.)

505 Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani, p. 98. (My translation.)
some words in a form like `&-', `t', and `jl. They are Arabic words, most of which containing some letters that are not pronounced, their ordinary forms are احترار، خنثاء، فعلان، لفمن، respectively.

D. Impact of censorial measures

1. History of censorship

In an announcement published in issue number 552 (of 22 December 1863) of the Rūznamē-y e Dowlat-e ʿĀliye-y e Iran ('the journal of the Exalted State of Iran'), censorship (the need to inhibit publication of material harmful to morality and the state and also contrary to religious law) started officially in Iran. Saniʿ ol-Molk or Saniʿ od-Dowle (1840–96) (later named Eʿatemad os-Saltane510) who was in charge of the newspaper as well as the head of the Governmental Translation, Printing, and

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507 Hoqooqi, p. 60. (My translation.)

508 Khosravi, p. 212. (My translation.)

509 As regards the incident that instigated this announcement, it has been said, 'Censorship was first introduced in Nasir al-Din Shah's time when he became incensed over a verse satire published in Bombay. The author was a Shaikh Hasan-i Shirazi, who ridiculed the aspirants to learning patronized by the Court. The Shah demanded of the Iʿtimad al-Saltana how such pernicious attacks printed abroad and critical of his regime might be stopped entering Iran. The Iʿtimad al-Saltana explained how European states had an arrangement called ʿaresār, 'censor'. The Shah commanded the establishment of such a system so that "henceforth the way of this vice might be blocked and the threat of this traffic broken". (Avery, in The Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 7, p. 828.)

510 Concerning gentlemen's titles in Iran during the Qajar dynasty, Edward Browne writes, Everybody of any consequence in Persia has a title, and these titles are generally compounded with one of these three words [i.e. 'Molk,' 'Dowlar,' and 'Saltane'], e.g. Mushirul-Dowlar ("Counsellor of the Empire"), Nasirul-Mulk ("Helper of the Kingdom"), Iltishamus-Saltana ("Pomp of the Sovereignty"), etc. (Edward Browne, p. 450). Moreover, 'Mirza' (before the name) and 'Khan' (after the name) — meaning 'Mr.' and 'Master' (or 'Lord') respectively — were widely used. However, the clergy had a different set of ranks and titles.
Publishing Office was appointed to supervise the materials to be printed. He ordered that all the materials to be printed had to be stamped by him and called this procedure 'the establishment of internal censorship'.

However, the first code of censorship was issued within a statute of criminal laws in 1879 proposed by the Count de Monte Farte, an Italian adventurer who served as the commander of the police (or Nazmiyeh) of the Naser od-Din Shah's court. In the section concerning the freedom of expression and writing it prescribes:

'If someone publishes a book that is against the religion, or government or people, he will be imprisoned from 5 months to five years. (...) If someone dares to stick announcements or any kind of written materials in the streets against the king, whoever he is, (...) he will be imprisoned from one month to five years in proportion to the gravity of his faulty act. (...) If someone disputes and has plans to instigate revolt against the government or slander and defame in written form against the government, he will be imprisoned from one to fifteen years in proportion to the gravity of the fault, if he is proved guilty.'

In brief, the Naser od-Din Shah's period started with unofficial screening. Then prior-to-publishing censorship became prevalent. The term 'censor' entered Persian literature, and the censoring office, the Ministry of 'Entebat ('Printing and Publishing Affairs'), began to screen the press, and the importation of all the printed materials to the country were monitored.

Among the first novels censored in Iran were Zain al-Abedin Maraghei's novel Safar-Nâme-ye Ebrahim Beig or Siâhat-nâme-ye Ebrahim Beig ('Ibrahim Beig's Travel Story') (1895) and Abd or-Rahim Taleb's novel Masâlek ol-Mohsenîn ('The
Journeys of the Virtuous’) (1905) as ‘māmnū‘e’ (‘prohibited’) or ‘zālle’ (‘misguiding’) books.\(^{514}\) Regarding the first translations being censored, it is noteworthy to mention that Mirza Muhammad Khan E’atemad os-Saltane, who was in charge of the official censorship in Iran during Naser od-Din Shah as well as the head of the Translation Bureau of the Dar ol-Fonun college, translated The Comprehensive History of Louis XIV, Mademoiselle Montpensier’s Mémoires and Comtesse de Ségur’s Mémoires d’un Âne which were banned by Naser od-Din Shah due to the ‘dangerous consequences’ of reading these books.\(^{515}\)

The 20th article of the amendment to the first constitutional law of Iran ratified in 1907 reads: ‘All publications are free, except the zalāl (‘misguiding’) books and materials harmful to Islam, and it is forbidden to screen them [i.e. the press].’\(^{516}\) The 24th article reads: ‘the publications and the press are free to express views unless they undermine the principles of Islam or public rights. The law will determine the details.’\(^{517}\)

According to the press law in Iran during the Pahlavi dynasty, if a book, essay or any cultural form of expression violated one of the following sanctities, it would be censored:

\(^{514}\) See Seyed-Hassan Taqizadeh, pp. 66.

\(^{515}\) See Va’ez Shahrestani, p. 93.

\(^{516}\) Edward G. Browne provides a translation of the whole Article 20 in his book The Persian Revolution of 1905–1909 as follows:

‘All publications, except heretical books and matters hurtful to the perspicuous religion [of Islam] are free, and are exempt from censorship. If, however, anything should be discovered in them contrary to the Press law, the publisher or writer is liable to punishment according to that law. If the writer be known, and be resident in Persia, then the publisher, printer and distributor shall not be liable to prosecution.’ (Edward G. Browne, p. 375.)
(1) The political foundation that created the national unity

(2) The faith of Islam

(3) The Pahlavi dynasty

(4) Public decency.

In practice, other rules were involved, such as a ban on speaking against friendly countries, notably the Allied countries during World War II and the US and Israel after 1953, writing or translating Marxist or revolutionary texts or on any social movements, publishing books in other local languages or dialects other than Persian, or saying anything against corruption among high-ranking officials, using any proper names or nick names kept exclusively by the Royal family, or revealing any tortures in the regime's prisons. 518 During the Pahlavi dynasty there were times when censorship became harsher. According to Mir-abedini, from the year 1933 to his exile in 1941 (by the Allied Forces) during Reza Khan's rule censorship reached its climax; the Organisation for Nurturing Intellects was established to supervise, censor and direct thoughts. 519 After the American-led coup d'état [1953] many authors either emigrated or were sent to prison or into exile. 520 As Mir-abedini puts it, censorship affected original fiction writing but contributed to the boom in translation:

The censorship after the coup d'état prevents the growth of Iranian progressive fiction writing. The printing of valuable works is problematic. The author who cannot raise essential social issues — and who often lacks

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517 Khosravi, p. 43. (My translation.)

518 See ibid., pp. 184–96.

519 See Mir-abedini, p. 124.

520 See ibid., p. 295.
the capability of creating a comprehensive artistic work at the same time — regards it as wise to turn to translation. 521

In 1966 during Muhammad Reza Shah’s rule, the government ordered publishers to present their printed books to the Office of Book Writing in the Ministry of Culture and Art before publishing them. 522 The Authors’ Association was established in 1967 to defend the authors’ rights to free expression. The period between 1971 and 1976 is considered as the years of the ‘aggression of censorship’. 523

In practice, translated texts have benefited from a lenient treatment in Iran except for the novels translated from the Soviet Union and other communist countries which were considered to contain direct ideological agitation and propaganda for Communism, notably after the American-led Coup d’état in 1953. During the Pahlavi dynasty anything considered communist or fundamentally Islamic would be suppressed.

Khosravi has surveyed all the files of the books (20313 in total) that were sent to the Office of Book Writing, the state apparatus responsible for screening books, from 1941 to 1978 to get the permission for their publishing. On the whole during this period, 26% of the literary books received approval ‘conditional’ to certain minor corrections (the highest rate in this type of censorship compared to other subjects), and 11% of them were rejected totally. The rejected books did not receive any written

521 Ibid., p. 259. (My translation.)
522 See ibid., p. 416.
523 See ibid., p. 419.
notification from the office.\textsuperscript{524} Most of ethical censorship was related to literature and arts books.\textsuperscript{525} The average detainment of each book in that office was 47 days.\textsuperscript{526} Khosravi suggests the use of an appropriate method of censorship in Iran after the Islamic Revolution: avoidance of any screening before the publication of books.\textsuperscript{527}

2. Censorship after the Islamic Revolution,

The Islamic Revolution Council of Iran\textsuperscript{528} ratified the first Press Law of the Islamic Republic after the revolution (and in fact the fourth Press Law in Iran) on 9\textsuperscript{th} August 1979, six months after the victory of the Islamic Revolution. When this law was ratified, the Islamic Republic of Iran still had no constitutional law; therefore, this law was not based on the constitutional law so as to expound and interpret a constitutional principle, but it was a response to the anarchy prevalent in the situation of the press at that time and a way to supervise the printing and publishing of numerous and various publications that were printed and published without following any specific criteria throughout the country.\textsuperscript{529} The third item 'the Pahlavi dynasty' was removed from the law. During the early years after the revolution, the publishers

\textsuperscript{524} See Khosravi, pp. 178–79.

\textsuperscript{525} See ibid., p. 205.

\textsuperscript{526} See ibid., p. 224.

\textsuperscript{527} See ibid., p. 231.

\textsuperscript{528} A decision-making council set up during the Revolution by Imam Khomeini to determine the course of the revolution that served as a substitute for the parliament before the new Constitutional law was finalised in a council of experts and approved in a referendum.

had to bring their books to be checked by the office in the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance for different reasons, particularly in order to observe the law.

When the system was completely established, the said Ministry tried to alleviate the problem of delay made at the Office of Printing and Publishing Books due to the huge number of books that were to be monitored by adopting a lenient policy of screening. For a few years (particularly after the Iran-Iraq War, 1980–88) those in charge of book publishing affairs in the Ministry of Culture did not believe in the screening of books before their publication and considered it as contrary to the practice known in the modern world. The publishers printed and published their books without any outward censorship, but there was one condition: they had to observe the press law. This means that the judiciary system may prosecute them if they violate the law and in case any complaint is raised against them.

This system seems to be effective. There have been few cases where a publisher broke the law or the accepted social norms. One might say that publishers themselves, instead of the government, censor what they are going to publish — that is, there exists some sort of self-regulation or self-censorship — because they do not want to waste their time and money or to face court trials. 530

Indeed, people supervise the contents of novels through their judgements based on the acceptable social norms that have been codified as the Press Law. Sometimes it is some ‘revolutionary’ 531 people, particularly from religious lower

530 ‘A research taken place during the years 1979 to 1986 in Iran indicates that the phenomenon of self-censorship existed in the press and some mentioned “concern about the consequences of publishing their information” as its cause.’ (Khosravi, p. 72. My translation.)

531 Their opponents (in Iran) may prefer to call them ‘pressure groups’ that they claim to have affiliations with the ‘conservatives’, but they themselves prefer the proper name ‘Ilizbulati’ (‘the
classes, who complain against the publication of a 'promiscuous'\textsuperscript{532} book. It seems that the 'revolutionary' people are more sensitive and find out violations of the press law before the authorities and react to them more strictly than the authorities.

A rare example is discussed here to illustrate people's reaction. On 30 July, 1995, \textit{Sobh} magazine reported the publication of a 'commonplace' book that was 'contemptuous toward religious values and the holy defence [i.e. in the Iran-Iraq War]' and 'full of scenes of killings and murder and description of obscene sex acts' by the Morgh-e Āmin Publishers that had received permission for its publication from the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance.\textsuperscript{533} Religious dignitaries complained against the cultural situation that tended to be anti-Islamic and pointed to that book as evidence. However, the bookshop was set ablaze in September and the perpetrators were not identified.\textsuperscript{534} The \textit{Kayhan} newspaper (published in London) blamed \textit{Sobh} magazine and a distinguished clergyman for the incident.

\begin{itemize}
\item members of the Party of Allah\textsuperscript{\textdagger}) by which they partially mean they reject any partisan affiliation with any political parties whatsoever. They also mean they want to be practising Muslims and obey God's orders. They are always ready to hold demonstrations and shout slogans in support of (the values of) the Islamic Revolution and to take part in struggles against anti-revolutionaries and anti-revolutionary activities. For example, they went to the war fronts as basejīs (volunteers) to fight against Iraqi troops. The western media usually describe them with the general pejorative term 'fundamentalists' that ignores/distorts some of their characteristics. A true understanding of the concept of "Ummat-e \textit{Hizbullah}" (the nation of the Party of Allah) that has been exported and extended to Lebanon and Palestine as well seems necessary in order to follow up tendencies and developments in Iran after the revolution. "Ummat-e \textit{Hizbullah}" provides the dynamic force for the advance and preservation of the revolution.

\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{532} This term refers to description of obscene sex acts and violation of public indecency.


\textsuperscript{534} The U.S.-backed groups might have been involved in that incident.
With time, this incident led to a general dissatisfaction among Hizbulah people with the lenient policies of the Ministry. Thousands demonstrated against 'dissemination of cultural banality' and gathered in front of the publisher's bookshop and demanded that the authorities of the Ministry deal severely with those publishers that publish 'commonplace' works. Finally in February 1995 the relevant deputy minister and the general director were changed under the pressure of people's demonstrations and complaints, and the Ministry changed its policies.

At present, the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance gives permission to publish books according to the code, 'the objectives and criteria of publishing books', ratified by the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution in 1997. This code obliges the government to prevent the publication of any books whose content violates the following criteria:

(1) Propagation and dissemination of atheism (blasphemy) and rejection of the principles of the faith,

(2) Dissemination of lewdness and ethical corruption,

(3) Instigation of the society to revolt against the Islamic Republic system of Iran and opposition to it,

(4) Propagation and dissemination of the doctrines of unlawful and mohareb ('fighting against the Islamic system' or 'resisting armed') groups as well as zalle ('misguiding', 'erroneous', or 'astray') groups,

(5) Creation of turmoil and clashes among ethnic and religious groups, and

(6) Derision and weakening of national pride and the spirit of 'love-for-homeland', causing a disposition (spirit) of alienation towards western or eastern culture and civilisation and colonial systems, and the propagation of

535 A certain influential group of religious people who constitute the combatant force of the revolution and set the dominant social norms after the revolution. They support the Islamic Revolution and promote its values.

536 This phrase has been used to avoid the term 'nationalism' that carries some western cultural load.
dependence on any world powers and opposition to the policy and insight seeking to preserve independence.\(^{537}\)

The major taboos are pornographic pictures or unethical descriptions, support for communism, monarchy (by the elements of the previous regime), or imperialism ('the arrogant powers of the world', i.e. Israel and the US); that is, they are not tolerated. Sanctities are observation of public decency, Islamic axiomatic precepts and great leaders of Islam, national unity and the territorial integrity, and avoidance of publication of classified (confidential) information. However, the details are not clear in practice and this is the cause of disturbances. Reza Sarshar, a novelist and the secretary of Iran's Pen Association describes the publishers' concern in respect to the problems arising from the Ministry's Office of Printing and Publishing Books (in charge of screening) as follows:

The [publishers'] concern mainly arises from the law's lack of exactness and impracticality and its incorrect execution. That is, firstly the present law is very general and interpretable [in different ways]. Consequently, it allows its administrators to interpret it, as they like, in many respects and to use (or misuse) it according to their own personal likes and dislikes. Moreover, the publishers' and authors' lack of knowledge of the contents of the law contributes to this problem. On the other hand, care is not often taken in the appointment of authorities in charge of the book publishing section. (Indeed, most learned, tolerant, broad-minded, and pious persons should take charge of this important task.) This contributes to the creation of the grounds for the misuse of the law.\(^{538}\)

The lack of clarity gives the Office of Printing and Publishing Books an option to decide what is and what is not allowed. This task is very sensitive in the socio-political context of Iran and has sometimes been quite controversial. Taking a policy


\(^{538}\) *Kayhan* Daily, 16645 (30 October, 1999), p. 9. (My translation.)
of extreme strictness or leniency in dealing with book screening has proved to be problematic for the authorities.

Ayatollah Khamenei, the spiritual leader of Iran, summarised the Islamic Republic’s policies and norms regarding the screening of cultural production in a lecture addressed to dozens of Iranian publishers on February 5, 1999. Although Iran is ‘receptive to opposition ideologies and allows publication of those ideologies’, it opposes (1) any materials ‘undermining the system’ or attempting to ‘infiltrate the pillars of the Islamic system of government’, and (2) ‘unethical works of art’ that ‘have ruinous ethical effects’ and seek ‘certain freedoms such as ‘sexual freedom and the freedom to commit sin’, materials that lead the youth ‘astray and to corruption’. He believes that is upon the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance as well as publishers themselves to screen works of art.\(^{539}\)

Here an example is provided to illustrate how a censored novel is looked at from the Iranian socio-political point of view:

A leaning toward banality and solecism is a feature of the westernised\(^{540}\) artists. They do not recognise any ethical and religious limits for their activities, and consider it their duty to display the humans’ animalistic characteristics. What they instil into their addressees’ mind as story represents their ideal society such as nudity, promiscuousness, homosexuality, lewdness up to the point of madness, drug addiction, etc. In order to observe ‘the sanctity of the pen’ [i.e. euphemism], we provide just some small [not so harsh] portions and examples below.


\(^{539}\) [http://www.irna.com/newshtml/eng/28215407.htm](http://www.irna.com/newshtml/eng/28215407.htm) A copy of Ayatollah Khamenei’s lecture is provided in the appendix.

\(^{540}\) The term ‘westernised’ has a very negative connotation in Iran, particularly after the revolution. It refers to the alienated dependent intellectuals who have rejected their original Islamic culture and embraced the Western culture with all its ‘filth’. However, it does not imply that *all* Western art equals banality and filth and hence is unworthy of reading.
work, which was not permitted [in Iran] to be printed, contains lovemaking themes in which the body members were apparently mentioned in all the examples [i.e. scenes?]. It is the story of a woman called Molly Bloom and a man called Michael Robarts, in this story the woman offers herself to every one.\(^{541}\)

It is noteworthy to say that James Joyce's works, which are now regarded as masterpieces, were also considered obscene, and banned at the beginning in its Christian cultural context.\(^{542}\)

Moral censure has become a feature of Iranian life since 1979. A 'notorious'\(^{543}\) author, Simin Behbahani, whose books, particularly her poems, have usually been censored, was asked by the 'anti-revolutionary' Kayhan newspaper (published in London) to comment on the performance of the Office of Printing and Publishing Books (in charge of screening books) regarding her books. She compared the types of censorship before and after the revolution as follows:

> I have always had problems with the censoring apparatus [i.e. the Office of Printing and Publishing Books], but the cases and the matters involved have been dissimilar at different times. For example, in the past period, a severe censorship was exerted concerning [issues related to] the monarchy and the royal family and political ideas and beliefs, but in the age of the revolution they use strictures concerning [violation of] religious issues, decency considerations and women's modest covering. Of course, concerning the

\(^{541}\) 'Tarvîj-e Fesâd va Fahshâ dar Matbâ'ât' ('Dissemination of Corruption and Lewdness in the Press'), Sobh, 100 (1999), pp. 5 and 22 (p. 22). (My translation.)

\(^{542}\) For instance, when Ulysses appeared, it was banned in Ireland, because the Catholic Church could not tolerate it. It was also banned in December 1920 while the American Little Review was publishing episodes from it.

\(^{543}\) 'Notorious' since she is usually willingly and knowingly violates public decency and moral values perhaps to test the threshold of the tolerance of the Islamic Government. She often opposes the screening of her books and confronts the screening officials.
same issues, they have dealt sometimes very strictly and at other times more leniently.  

In an interview with Sa'far Taqizadeh, a famous prose translator, Mahdi Afshar asks him about his approach toward ‘censorship’:

If you face a text that does not correspond to the Islamic Republic [of Iran]’s norms and criteria and you yourself, too, feel that it does not so much conform to our culture, how would you treat the problem? For example, would you put three dots [‘...’] in place of some words [i.e. the customary method of ‘bowdlerisation’] or would you try to cover up the concept in an obscure disguise [i.e. ‘euphemism’], or how would you treat such problems?

Sa'far Taqizadeh provides a detailed answer to his question as follows:

This question has several aspects: (1) the problem is related to a whole text or book, (2) a few words or probably some paragraphs need to be corrected, changed, or omitted, and (3) the text of the book is not faulty from the viewpoint of the translator, but he or she is compelled to make some alterations in it. As concerning the first type, I would not turn to problematic books in the present state of affairs and conditions; I would refrain from trying to print and publish such books until the conditions become favourable for their printing. In respect to the second type, where a word or paragraph needs alterations or omission, primarily I would resist [and insist on keeping them unaltered] especially when I see the omission of a word or sentence would damage the whole work, I would not be ready to omit it. Of course, in the translation of Strange Pilgrims [twelve stories written by Gabriel García Marques] I was compelled to make a few slight alterations concerning the structure of the sentence in order to remove the obstacles of printing and publishing it. Such cases [of slight alterations], I think, would not damage the context and structure of the story. However, if a text is not faulty in my own viewpoint, and they compel me to cover up some matters in obscure disguise [i.e. euphemistic language] or omit or alter some bits of the text, I would dispense with it altogether or put it aside half-finished since I believe that such a text is not faulty according to morals and other issues.

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544 ‘Ta'fīvot-e Momayezi Ketāb dar Qabl va Ba'd 'az 'Engelāb' (The Difference of Book Screening before and after the Revolution’), Sobh, 65 (1996), p. 7. (My translation.)

545 The word ‘bowdlerize’, current by 1838 as a synonym for expurgate, was coined after the famous statement made by Thomas Bowdler (1754–1825) that ‘if any word or expression is of such a nature that the first impression which it excites is an impression of obscenity, that word ought not to be spoken, or written, or printed, it ought to be erased.’ (See Hermans, Translation in Systems, p. 86.)
and I think the state of affairs in printing books will not persist as it is at the present time.\textsuperscript{546}

As it is clear from Safdar Taqizadeh’s remarks about censorship, this is a process based on dialogic relationship between the translator and the censoring apparatus. That is, the translator himself or herself monitors texts and resorts to censorial measures even before encountering the state apparatus, perhaps as not to cause delays in printing and publishing the translated text due to disagreement with the censor. This is a self-imposed censorship or ‘self-censorship’. The situation in Iran today concerning self-censorship and a compromise between creators and censors reminds one of Miklós Haraszti’s ironic remarks,

Traditional censorship presupposes the inherent opposition of creators and censors; the new censorship strives to eliminate this antagonism. The artist and the censor (...) diligently and cheerfully cultivate the gardens of art together. This new culture is the result not of raging censorship but of its steady disappearance. Censorship professes itself to be freedom because it acts, like morality, as the common spirit of both the rulers and the ruled.\textsuperscript{547}

Moreover, because of the fluctuations in the Ministry of Culture’s policies of censorship, that coincide with a change in the censors’ attitudes towards appropriate norms or simply with a change of censors themselves, translators sometimes translate whatever text they like and wait till the conditions are favourable for the publication of the text.

Sometimes it is not the government that monitors the texts, but the editors or publishers have their own preferences as well. An example may clarify the point here:

\textsuperscript{546} ‘Interview with Safdar Taqizadeh’, pp. 179–180.

I remember once I translated a Hemingway short story into Persian and sent it to the Sadaf magazine. Sadaf was a literary magazine that had two different periods. The chief editor of the first period who is one of our famous authors and translators himself did not publish the story, and in a private session he prohibited me from translating such ‘contaminated’ works. He did not see any ‘message for people’ in the story, and the story had no ‘rise and fall’ and was not ‘progressive’, and as a result, it would not ‘attract interest’. After a while, the authorities of the magazine changed, and a new chief editor took charge and published the same story, Cat in the Rain. I mean there were some ‘ideological’ differences and issues involved as well that obstructed innovations and would not let us get familiar with the new literary forms of the western world.548

The above quotation indicates the existence of ‘editorial censorship’ based on the ideologies of the editors and publishing houses.

Recently two authors’ associations have started their activities. ‘The first post-revolution association of Iranian writers, translators, poets, and researchers under the title of “Iran’s Pen Association” [Anjoman-e Qalam-e Iran] started its activities as of May 26, 1999.’ This association that acquired official permission from the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance said in an announcement that it would be active as ‘an independent association’ and that the goal of the association is ‘to defend freedom of speech and thoughts within the framework of Islam and the constitution’.549 Its members support the Islamic Revolution. Reza Sarshar (Rahgozar), a novelist, was chosen as the secretary of the Association. The other one is Kānūn-e Nevisandegān-e Iran (‘The Iranian Authors’ Centre’), that held its first general meeting on November 25, 1999 and chose 5 members as its secretarial

548 ‘Interview with Safdar Taqizadeh’, pp. 165–66. It is not clear when the incident happened, either before or after the revolution.

549 http://www.irna.com/newshtm/eng/12110132.htm a copy of which is provided in the appendix.
board. Most of its members are known for their secular positions and anti-Islamic or anti-revolutionary remarks, and the association describes itself as the ‘independent and democratic’ centre for Iranian authors.

Nowadays, there is a vigorous tendency towards a plurality of views in Iran, but at the same time, there is an unwillingness to compromise.

In summary Persian translators, more or less like authors, usually are faced with some norms and models of text production towards which they take positions and show certain leanings. These models and norms, such as the impact of censorial measures, the choice of vocabulary, the style of language, the impact of anti-Arabism on the Persian spelling and script as well as cultural expectation, will further be analysed and illustrated with examples taken from the corpus of the study in chapters 7 and 8.

550 It is said that the establishment of the centre is a result of the activities of the German Embassy in Iran. Sobh magazine quoted a Die Welt’s article written by Peter Schute claiming that ‘the establishment of the Iranian Authors’ Centre was the result of the activities of Kurt Scharff, the German cultural attaché in Iran. He invited the opposition authors to gather in his embassy residence in the autumn of 1979 before the victory of the revolution for discussion, and this led to the establishment of the first free and independent authors’ association in the history of Iran. According to this paper, the association could remain active for two years after the revolution, but then it was banned. Now the Iranian authors struggle to gain permission for renewal of their activities.’ (‘Knntln-e Nevisandegün İldsel-e Talāsh-haye Sefaral-e Alman dar Tehran Bideh ‘Ast’ (‘The Authors’ Centre Has Been a Result of the Activities of the German Embassy in Iran’), Sobh, 90 (1999), p. 5.
CHAPTER SEVEN

THE IMPACT OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION ON TRANSLATION

A Cultural Analysis

Political patterns of behavior and styles of operation [...] are more viscerally expressed and often better understood from the literature, fiction, and even films of a country than they are in scholarly studies of politics. [...] Although the political culture of Iran is complex, it is certainly not "crazy" or "irrational" as was often averred during periods of American confrontation; the basis of Iranian reality must be grasped by all who deal with it.\textsuperscript{551}

\textbf{A. Historical Background and Ideological Foundations}

The nationalistic-religious movement in the early 1950s that was initially successful in nationalising the British-controlled oil industry in Iran was suppressed by an Anglo-American coup (called Operation Ajax by Americans, 18 August 1953) that toppled the popular Prime Minister Muhammad Musaddiq and brought King Muhammad

\textsuperscript{551} Graham E. Fuller, pp. xiv–xv.
Reza Pahlavi back to power from a self-imposed exile. From that incident on Americans had a strong influence on Iran. They tried to 'modernise' Iran (according to western values) in many respects. They particularly set up an intelligence service (SAVAK) and modernised the Iranian Army and trained skilled officers in the US to control these organisations. Iran became a close ally (some would say a mercenary) of the US, Britain and other western countries.

By way of 'modernising' Iran, the Americans introduced some reforms in 1962 and 1963 that the king called the 'White Revolution'. Finally the introduction of the 'capitulation law' bestowing privilege on the American advisors who lived in

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553 This 'modernisation' was mainly superficial and it did not intend to include the political system. Thus, pseudo-modernisation can be a more precise term.


555 It was a national development program that were supposed to bring about radical changes to the society; hence, the shah would call it the 'White Revolution', hinting that no blood was shed in the process of implementing those reforms. He claimed that revolutions were usually bloody and 'red', except his revolution that was peaceful and hence 'white'. However, it was evident that it was a set of reforms forced on Iran by Americans, and the shah himself initially opposed them, but later on he was forced to accept them. Many people indeed got killed or injured in opposing those reforms.

556 'In the history of international law, ["capitulation" referred to] any treaty whereby one state permitted another to exercise extraterritorial jurisdiction over its own nationals within the former state's boundaries. The term is to be distinguished from the military term "capitulation," an agreement for surrender.' (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1995.)
Iran outraged the religious leaders, particularly Ayatollah Khomeini. After giving a lecture against this 'anti-Islamic' law and opposing Iran's close relationship with the US and Israel in November 1963, He was arrested and expelled from the country in 1964, first to Turkey and then to Iraq.

The Americans had a firm grip on Iran in every respect. There were about 50,000 American advisers living in Iran at the time of the Islamic Revolution in 1978 and Iran was regarded as the 'gendarme of the region' and the 'Island of calm' or as some would call it, the 'Island of silence'. The opposition groups were silenced; the western governments were allegedly involved in choosing cabinet and parliament members from among westernised intellectuals. The opposition groups had no voice in the parliament or the press. Opponents were persecuted and tortured in prisons. No prospect could be seen in the opposition's struggles through the press or the parliament. Two major policies were particularly attacked by the opponents: the Shah's close collaboration with Washington and forced (pseudo-) modernization.

The salvation came from the religious seminaries and mosques. The theological students demonstrated in protest against an article published in Ettela'at newspaper in November 1977 defaming Ayatollah Khomeini. The demonstration held in Qum, a religious town near Tehran, was violently suppressed and many people were killed or injured. Similar incidents were repeated serially in different towns and cities throughout Iran, and people from the lower classes and middle classes took part in demonstrations against the regime. Eventually a powerful majority that supported

557 Opposition to the Shah himself was based upon his autocratic rule, corruption in his government, the unequal distribution of oil wealth, forced westernisation, and the activities of SAVAK (the secret police) in suppressing dissent and opposition to his rule.
this Islamic Revolution led by the clergy, particularly by Ayatollah Khomeini, could easily topple the regime in military clashes that lasted two days in February 1979.558

The revolution gained victory through the demonstrations, sittings, and strikes wherein almost the whole nation participated. The intellectuals had to follow the clergy and people. The movement proceeded on the shoulders of the religious institution that was completely detached and independent from the regime. The political parties and the press were controlled by the regime559 and the revolutionary people did not trust any parties, even the emerging opposition groups. This social movement and revolution did not exclude any classes, and one could find members of all classes and different strata of people in demonstrations, young and old, men and women. However, the ruling classes, the rich people opposed the revolution and consequently many of them emigrated when the revolution won power. It is estimated that 2 to 3 million Iranians left the country and settled mainly in the US.

Millions of people took part in these demonstrations, and their demands were reflected in the rhythmic slogans that were shouted at the demonstrations, were learnt by heart and later appeared on the walls of cities and towns as graffiti. Those slogans played a very significant role in the direction of the revolution and constituted the ideological foundations and socio-political values of the Islamic regime.560 Their

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558 'Two dominant schools of thought have emerged on the causes of this popular, turbulent, and controversial revolution. The first approach views the revolution in terms of socio-economic factors related to Iran's rapid and uneven economic development. The second emphasizes cultural and ideological factors, notably the rise of politicized Islam, Iranians' disenchantment with the West, and their search for a new cultural identity.' (Boroujerdi, p. xiii.)

559 Two widely used means of communication available to the revolutionaries were distributing leaflets, communiqués, and cassettes, and giving lectures by religious leaders mainly in mosques.

560 In Persian, the term for 'values' is "arzesh-hā'. Its antonym, 'zedd 'arzesh-hā' (anti-values, negative values), that are followed particularly by westernised liberals and independent intellectuals
influence has been so powerful that they are still referred to as the criteria and acceptable values for appropriate political practice. An analysis of those slogans and key words\(^{561}\) (indicating the value system of the Islamic Republic) can contribute to the understanding of Iran’s behaviour. Two well-known leading political slogans that were shouted extensively during the demonstrations were as follows: (1) ‘Na Shargi, Na Gharbi, Hokumat-e ‘Esldi’ (Neither East, nor West, Islamic government’) (2) ‘Esteglal, ‘Azadi, Jomhuri-ye ‘Esldi’ (‘Independence, Freedom, Islamic Republic”). Historically, Iran had always looked to external powers to protect her from foreign threats usually with negative and disastrous consequences. Therefore, people rejected all dominant political systems: either western (capitalist or liberal systems) represented mainly by the USA and Britain, or eastern (communist systems) represented mainly by the USSR.\(^{562}\) (However, hatred towards USA has been denounced. In sociopolitical activities, much emphasis is put on values. For example, there exists a political party in Iran called Jamiyat-e Defa’ az Arzesh-ha (‘the Society for the Defence of [the Islamic Revolution’s] Values’). In recent years, the leaders of Iran have raised another slogan that contains more sophisticated values considered important in Iran’s foreign policy and relations with other states: Hekmat, Maslahat, ‘Ezzat (‘Wisdom, Expedience, Honour’). These values, that indicate growing political maturity, complement two other important foreign policies: tashannoj-zodat (‘rapprochement and removal of tensions’ [in Iran’s relations with other countries) and goftego-ye tamaddonha (‘the dialogue of civilizations’). These are formally announced as foundations of the Iranian foreign policy. Iran’s offer of the ‘dialogue of civilizations’ (that opposes Samuel Huntington’s theory of ‘the clash of civilizations’ — he is an American professor of international relations at Harvard University who has written a book entitled ‘The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of the World Order’) has been received warmly by other nations and hence the UN has named the year 2001 as the ‘Year of Dialogue of Civilisations’.

\(^{561}\) ‘Key words’ are words that are particularly important and revealing in a given culture. (See Wierzbicka, pp. 15–17). Wierzbicka’s remarks concerning the study of culture through its key words is inspiring here:

Some words can be studied as focal points around which entire cultural domains are organized. By exploring these focal points in depth we may be able to show the general organizing principles which lend structure and coherence to a cultural domain as a whole, and which often have an explanatory power extending across a number of domains. (Wierzbicka, pp. 16–17)

\(^{562}\) As Graham Fuller puts it, ‘Iran will remain an extremely prickly state for the West to deal with, constantly concerned that its independence, freedom, and honor is about to be compromised. Any
expressed more vigorously since the revolution, particularly after the seizure of the American Embassy in Tehran, called 'the Espionage Den' by the students who called themselves 'The Followers of Imam Khomeini's Path'. In demonstrations and gatherings since the revolution, people have shouted the slogan 'marg bar Amrica' ('Death to America', 'Down with America') more than any other slogans, and Imam Khomeini described America as the Great Satan'.

They wanted a native self-reliant system, i.e. an Islamic system. Iran's new revolutionary position towards foreign powers, i.e. the policy of 'neither East, nor West', was solidified by some major consequent events. The Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan (1979–89), and Israel's occupation of Lebanon (1982–2000), as well as the 1980–88 Iran-Iraq War during which Iraq received military support from major capitalist and communist powers at the same time had consolidating effects on Iran's policy. Iran began to help Afghani and Lebanese people in their resistance against foreign occupation based on its active 'neither East, nor West' policy.

Throughout its history Iran had suffered a lot from two sources: foreign intervention and internal despotism. These factors gave rise to the second slogan 'Independence, Freedom, Islamic Republic'. 'Independence' rejected foreign

Iranian government will view foreigners — especially Americans, British, and Russians — with the greatest suspicion.' (Fuller, p. 31)


565 During the revolution, a new Quranic term emerged in the political circles, 'hokūmat-e tāghūt' meaning 'the government of the rebel (against God) or oppressive autocrat'.
intervention and "este’mār" (colonialism or imperialism).\textsuperscript{566} ‘Freedom’ mainly rejected despotism and coercion. This freedom was restricted by the ‘Islamic’ part of the slogan; that is, the freedom should be based on the Islamic and moral principles. The ‘Islamic’ part of the slogan also rejected the separation of religion from government’, i.e. the secular’ model of government practiced in Iran during the Pahlavi dynasty. The ‘republic’ part of the slogan rejected the kingdom and monarchy. People remembered all the struggles that occurred in the last century to set up ‘a republican government’ and that were doomed to failure.

In brief, a new cultural identity was created by the revolution that brought about new expectations, values and norms that have had much influence on every aspect of human life in Iran, including the process of translation.

\textit{B. Impact of general cultural and ideological norms on translation}

The ‘independence’ of the translator after the revolution can be deduced from two visible sources: one is the \textit{title pages} of translated novels, the other one is the \textit{prefaces} written by the translators.

The title pages of all the translated novels analysed as the corpus of study are reproduced below:

\textsuperscript{566} Likewise, a new term was chosen to characterise imperialism: "'estekbār-e jahāni" (‘the global arrogance’). Masses of people under the oppression of autocrats and oppressive global powers (‘'estekbār-e jahāni' or imperialists) were called ‘mostaz'afīn' (‘the weakened or the oppressed’).
This is an authorized Persian translation of
LORD OF THE FLIES
by William Golding.
Copyright 1954 by William Golding.
Originally published by Faber & Faber 1954
London, England

Tehran, 1972
1351
This is an authorized Persian translation of
YOUTH AND HEART OF DARKNESS
by Joseph Conrad.
First published 1902

Tehran, 1976
1. Data on the title pages of the corpus

There is no mention of genre (e.g., 'fiction', 'novel', or 'tale') on the title pages of the translated novels studied in the corpus. In this regard, the translated texts do not follow the original source texts, but they conform to the pattern of the Iranian novels. The books are identified as translations, and the translators' names are mentioned. Before the revolution, on the cover page, the translators' names are given under the authors' names in smaller typefaces. However, after the revolution, the translators' names appear on the title pages under the authors' names in the same typefaces.

Translators before the revolution, who were under the cultural oppression exerted through the processes of neo-colonialism and Western (particularly American) dominance, believed to be bound to authors and assumed a lower status, i.e. inferior to the original author. They regarded themselves not to be so competent as to write independent creative prefaces. This can be connected to the colonial hegemony and subjectification that considered them 'incompetent' and made them 'inert'. After the revolution, the liberated and decolonised translators have felt more freedom (in being creative) and generally have earned a status equal to (original) authors. Before the revolution, we are told that such and such translated book is 'an

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567 See Robinson, pp. 22–24 for definitions of 'hegemony' and 'subjectification'. Some famous studies on post-colonial translation and the influence of 'colonial hegemony' and 'subjectification' on translation are as follows: Tejaswini Niranjana, Siting Translation: History, Post-structuralism, and the Colonial Context; Douglas Robinson, Translation and Empire: Postcolonial Theories Explained; Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi, eds., Post-Colonial Translation: Theory and Practice; and Maria Tymoczko, Translation in a Postcolonial Context.
authorized Persian translation' of book 'x'. After the revolution we are told that the work is translated by 'y'.

After the revolution, Iranian artists usually make cover designs, and their names are also mentioned on the title pages, though foreign designs may also be chosen from different sources that are not necessarily the source texts.

The norm for the number of copies at each print deduced from the title pages of the corpus was 2000 to 3000 before the revolution and 3000 to 5000 after the revolution. Two factors should be taken into consideration regarding copies at each print. (1) The number of copies doubled after the revolution to fulfill the demand for novels stimulated by a young fast-growing population and improvement in education. (2) There was a shortage of paper and other printing materials (usually imported) due to scarce financial resources affected by the Iran-Iraq War.

Both before and after the revolution publishing was affected by a strong ideological pressure. Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* was considered an ideal novel to represent the view of the world as understood by the Islamic revolutionary system. Saleh Hussaini translated the title as 'Del-e Tārīkī' in 1994. Safarian

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568 Franklin Institute received permission for the translation of novels from the original copyright holders (the authors or publishers). 'Authorization' referred to such permission.

569 The cost and copyright do not matter here. The Iranian publishers may decide to use the original design or a relevant foreign design freely or ask an Iranian designer to make a suitable design. What matters is the quality of the design that should attract the Iranian readers.

570 The law obliges publishers to state the number of copies (at each print) clearly on the title page.

571 Refer to Chapter 5 of this thesis for more information on the improvement of education and rate of literacy in Iran after the Islamic Revolution.

translated ‘Heart of Darkness and Youth’\(^{573}\) as ‘Del-e Tārīkī va Javānī’ in 1976.\(^{574}\) Youth is another long tale by Conrad. However, in the Persian title, it contributed to a kind of ambiguity with ‘darkness’, as if they went together in meaning.

Javad Peyman translated ‘Lord of the Flies’ as ‘Khodāvandgār-e Magahā’ in 1972 and used the same term within the text.\(^{575}\) However, after the revolution, this title was considered inappropriate and unacceptable given the religious sanctities: the word ‘Khodāvandgār’ that means ‘Lord’ or ‘God’ must not be tarnished and abused. Association of God with flies sounds unpleasant. Therefore, after the revolution, another translator, Mahmood Azad (1984) chose a religious term, ‘Ba’lzabūb’ (‘Beelzebub’) as the title and used ‘Rabb on-no’e Magahā’ within the text.\(^{576}\) ‘Rabb on-no’e’ is an Arabic phrase meaning ‘the god’ (with small ‘g’). Rafi’ei (1984) (as well as two other translators of the same novel) chose ‘Sālār-e Magahā’ as the title.

\(^{573}\) In English, they used to be included in the same volume.


\(^{576}\) In his preface to Azad’s translation, the publisher comments about the choice of these terms as follows:

‘On the title of the book, ‘Ba’lzabūb’, it is worth saying that it is the exact meaning of the original title, *Lord of the Flies*. Besides it, ‘Rabb on-no’e Magahā’ sounded appropriate which was used within the text’ (in William Golding, *Lord of the Flies*, trans. by Mahmood Azad (Tehran: Ebtetkar, 1984), pp. 5–7 (p. 7). My translation.)

In his biographical and critical note to *Lord of the Flies*, E. L. Epstein comments on the term Beelzebub as follows:

‘The “lord of the flies” is a translation of the Hebrew Ba’alzevuv (Beelzebub in Greek). It has been suggested that it was a mistranslation of a mistransliterated word which gave us this pungent and suggestive name for the Devil, a devil whose name suggests that he is devoted to decay, destruction, demoralisation, hysteria and panic and who therefore fits in very well with Golding’s theme.’ (in William Golding, *Lord of the Flies* (USA: Wideview/Perigee Books, 1954), pp. 185–190 (p. 187).)
and used it within the text. 'Sālār' means 'master' or 'superior'. These terms sound acceptable and do not cause any religious offence.

Before the revolution, the norm of appropriate behaviour for the translator was to make 'authorised' translations as it is clearly mentioned on the title pages of Safarian's translation of Joseph Conrad's *Youth and Heart of Darkness* (1976) and Peyman's translation of William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* (1972). The American publisher, Franklin, that was the main sponsor of translation projects in the 1950s and 1960s, obtained such 'authorisation' (i.e. permission for translation) from the foreign copyright holders. After the revolution, Franklin stopped operating, and no other publisher operates under the umbrella of the copyright law. Therefore, translators are not bound to 'foreign sources and authors'.

2. Data gathered from the prefaces of the corpus

Before the revolution it was not customary for the translator to 'write' a preface to the translated novel, though he could translate the preface written by a foreign writer or critic. After the revolution the translators (as well as publishers) felt free to write their prefaces to the novel. That is, translators after the revolution have exercised their creativity more by adding prefaces, commentaries and explanatory notes to translation intended to make the original texts more intelligible for the readers of a different culture. Thus, Safarian (1976) and Peyman (1972) (who translated *Youth and Heart of Darkness* and *Lord of the Flies* respectively before the revolution) have no prefaces of their own. While, Hussaini (1994) and Hajati (1986) (translators of *Heart of Darkness*) and Azad (1984) and Rafi'ei (1984) (translators of *Lord of the Flies*)

added their own prefaces and commentaries to the novels they translated after the revolution.

Before the revolution, Safarian (1976) translated a preface of seven pages written by Bertrand Russell in his translation of *Youth and Heart of Darkness*. In this preface, the readers, including censors, were assured that Joseph Conrad was an 'aristocratic Polish gentleman to his fingertips' who loved England romantically, hated Russia — 'both Czarist and revolutionary' — took 'a gloomy view of the future' of China, and rejected international socialism and totalitarianism. It was also claimed that Conrad was not 'so much interested in political systems' and was 'by no means politically sympathetic with revolutionaries', and that he was 'a rigid moralist' who put emphasis on the 'discipline that should come from within.' This preface gives the theme of the novel as follows:

Of all that he had written I admired most the terrible story called *The Heart of Darkness*, in which a rather weak idealist is driven mad by horror of the tropical forest and loneliness among savages.

The way Joseph Conrad and his novel were described in this preface was quite acceptable for the regime before the revolution, and certainly guaranteed its 'permission for publication' by the censors.

Hussaini translated Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* in 1994. He wrote a preface of 23 pages to the novel and added two separate reviews at the end of the book. One is entitled, 'Discovery of the Truth at the Depth of Darkness' in 15 pages,

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and the other one is a translated critique ‘Buddhist thoughts in the Heart of Darkness’ in 9 pages.\textsuperscript{580}

Under a subsection in his preface, Hussaini (1994) considers the Heart of Darkness as an account of ‘Christian Imperialism’:

In addition to being a miniature of various major literary genres, the Heart of Darkness is an account of Christian imperialism.\textsuperscript{581} Imperialists have always subjected nations to their control, squeezed their life’s resources and plundered their wealth under the pretext of disseminating their religion and propagating their faith. Marlow’s account is related to the Belgian imperialism in Congo and the massacre of the indigenous people and plunder of their wealth. Kurtz goes to Congo as an emissary of the Messiah, a pioneer of light, progress and science.\textsuperscript{582} However, instead of planting the ‘Tree of Knowledge’, he makes heaps out of the skulls of the aborigines and plunders the wealth of Congo. Conrad, nonetheless, knows well that in this game, all autocrats and oppressors throughout history have a share. For this reason, while referring to the dark places of the world, Marlow says:

‘I was thinking of very old times, when Romans first came here, nineteen hundred years ago — the other day .... Light came out of this river since — you say Knights? Yes; but it is like a running blaze on a plain, like a flash of lightning in the clouds. We live in the flicker —

\textsuperscript{580} Whose are these? In his preface, Hussaini writes, ‘Parviz Talebzadeh wrote one of the two reviews at the end of the book. The origin was in English, and we [Talebzadeh and Hussaini] together rendered it into Persian.’ (Heart of Darkness, trans. by Hussaini, p. 26. The emphasis added.) On the title page of the critique at the end of the book, the name ‘Parviz. Talebzadeh’ appears above the title, ‘Buddhist thoughts in the Heart of Darkness’ without mentioning whether he is the translator or writer of the commentary. The original title and the author’s name are not mentioned either. This may indeed be a pseudotranslation. What about the other one? Nothing is mentioned explicitly about the other one. Apparently Hussaini himself wrote (or translated?) it.

\textsuperscript{581} Cedric Watts, too, says, ‘ “Heart of Darkness” can be related to a diversity of traditions, generic and technical, including political satire, protest literature, traveller’s tale, psychological odyssey, symbolic novel, mediated autobiography; while, to those readers who seek prophecies, it speaks eloquently of the brutalities and follies of subsequent history.’ (Joseph Conrad, Heart of Darkness, ed. by Cedric Watts (Oxford: OUP, 1998 (1990), p. xv.)

He also adds, ‘ “Heart of Darkness” remains one of the most vividly intelligent tales of western civilisation. No other Victorian literary work addressed so radically the great era of imperialism; and probably no other nineteenth-century story projected such questioning images so deeply into the imagination of the twentieth century.’ (Heart of Darkness, ed. by Cedric Watts, p. xxiii)

\textsuperscript{582} However, within the source text, we read, ‘He is an emissary of pity, and science, and progress, and devil knows what else.’ (Heart of Darkness, ed. by Cedric Watts, p. 169.)
may it last as long as the old earth keeps rolling! But darkness was here yesterday. [...]"

‘They were conquerors, and for that you want only brute force — nothing to boast of, when you have it, since your strength is just an accident arising from the weakness of others. They grabbed what they could get for the sake of what was to be got. It was just robbery with violence, aggravated murder on a great scale [...]’

It is interesting that Britain that was once one of the dark places of the earth, where Romans embarked on massacre and whose wealth they plundered, becomes the pioneer (of oppression) in the course of time and replaces the Roman Empire. At the beginning of the novel, the Thames is described as follows: “Hunters for gold or pursuers of fame, they all had gone out on that stream, bearing the sword, and often the torch, messengers of the might within the land, bearers of a spark from the sacred fire. What greatness had not floated on the ebb of that river into the mystery of an unknown earth! ... The dreams of men, the seed of commonwealths, the germs of empires."  

Commenting on his translation of the Heart of Darkness, Hussaini (1994) explains:

Before embarking on the translation of this novel, I taught it seven times, and I can say that I have read all critiques and reviews written about it. During discussions, I have found out a lot of its delicate points. I finished its translation within a few months working eight hours per day, pondering, writing and rewriting with a lot of difficulty and painstaking effort as well as enthusiasm and exuberance. Certainly, the transfer of the poetic language of this work that is a mixture of exalted language and colloquial language is very difficult, if not impossible. If I have been able to transfer fifty percent of such a language into Persian, I have received my reward.

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583 Cedric Watts expresses this fact as follows:

‘During the twentieth century, the word ‘imperialism’ gained increasingly pejorative associations. Today, so many people (for sound reasons) regard the history of Imperialism as a predominantly sordid saga of imposition and exploitation. (...) The year of Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee, 1897, was a time of imperialistic fervour in Britain. England’s power extended round the world; a quarter of the human race was subject to the Queen.’ (Heart of Darkness, ed. by Cedric Watts, p. viii.)

584 Joseph Conrad, Heart of Darkness, trans. by Hussaini, pp. 22–24. My translation, except for two passages quoted within the quotation marks that have been taken from the source text, pp. 139–140 and 137 respectively.

Hussaini (1994) does not mention the reason(s) for selecting this novel for translation, but implies that he liked it and taught it at the university and read the criticism related to it. He also implies the difficulty of translating faithfully, as he admits that he has managed to transfer at most ‘fifty percent’ of ‘this mixture’ of languages.

In an earlier translation of the *Heart of Darkness* (1986), Fereydoon Hajati who chose the title ‘*Dar A’māq-e Zolmat*’ (literally meaning ‘In the Depths of Darkness’, but *zolmat* has some deep religious connotations, it is the opposite of light and illumination in its religious metaphoric notion: it implies the rule of satanic forces not guided by the right path, pagan, uncivilized situation, and dominance of brutality, barbarism, savagery, cruelty, everything that is corrupt, nihilistic, malign) has a preface of seven pages where he discusses different aspects of imperialism in general and the history of the Belgian colonization of Congo in particular. First he provides a general historical background to imperialism,

> From the 15th century until the 20th century, except for some short periods when people have risen against imperialism, Europe has been vigorously engaged in expanding the colonies of Britain, France, Norway, Portugal and Spain. Later, Germany and Belgium, too, joined them in a desire to enlarge the dominion of their empire overseas. There is no doubt that they tried to acquit and justify imperialism in one way or another.\(^{586}\)

Regarding the colonization of Congo, he writes,

> The Belgian king Leopold II who thought that his country needed some colonies in Africa attempted secretly to make some conquests in Congo, despite opposition from the Belgian people and parliament. To that end and of course under the pretext of exploring some intact wild regions of that land that had not already acquired any designations, he formed a group called ‘the

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International Association for Exploring and Civilizing Africa\textsuperscript{587} which is most probably identical with `the International Society for the Suppression of Savage Customs' mentioned by Joseph Conrad in the text. In 1878 it was reported that the famous English explorer and journalist Henry M. Stanley had explored [1874–77] all the regions of Congo and made some maps of those regions. Since Britain was not interested in dominating over Congo at that time, Mr. Stanley came under the service of Leopold II and led an expedition travelling in Congo from 1879 till 1884.\textsuperscript{588} Thus, Belgians gained footholds in Congo.\textsuperscript{589}

Hajati (1986) maintains that the term `darkness' in the title of the book refers to colonization, and that Conrad's description of the British conquerors as `hunters for gold or pursuers of fame' and reference to `sword and torch' is indeed intended to `disclose the real goals that the “civilized world” has concealed behind the curtain of missionary evangelism and philanthropic claims.'\textsuperscript{590} In addition to other vices of colonizers, Hajati mentions two significant ones as expressed indirectly by Conrad. One is the difference between their words and their practice. He says that the last sentence in Kurtz's report [to the International Society for the Suppression of Savage Customs] proposing to `Exterminate the brutes!' contradicts his eloquent noble

\textsuperscript{587} The exact name is `Association Internationale Africaine ('African International Association') for which Encyclopaedia Britannica reads,

A society of explorers, geographers, and philanthropists formed in September 1876 at the instigation of Leopold II, King of the Belgians, to "civilize" Central Africa. [...] At its formation it was intended that the association, with headquarters in Brussels, should be divided into national committees, each of which was to be organized and financed by the country to which its committee members belonged. [...] [It was said that European] 'roads and posts will greatly assist the evangelization of the blacks and the introduction among them of commerce and modern industry. ('Association Internationale Africaine', in Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1995.)

\textsuperscript{588} Under the Committee's auspices, Stanley established stations on the upper Congo and opened negotiations with local rulers.

\textsuperscript{589} Joseph Conrad, \textit{Heart of Darkness}, trans. by Hajati, p. 5. (My translation.)

\textsuperscript{590} Joseph Conrad, \textit{Heart of Darkness}, trans. by Hajati, p. 7. Joseph Conrad at the beginning of \textit{Heart of Darkness} writes, "They [i.e. hunters for gold or pursuers of fame] all had gone out on that stream [the Thames], bearing the sword, and often the torch, messengers of the might within the land, bearers of a spark from the sacred fire. (Conrad, p. 137; emphasis added.)
words pretending ‘august benevolence’ and ‘altruistic sentiment’, and indeed suggests how ‘Europeans carried out their ideals merely in words, but in practice they annihilated whatever they deemed savagery and of course, along with savagery, those whom they assumed to be savage.’591 The second vice is telling lies. Marlow tells a lie to Kurtz’s intended (fiancée). Marlow indeed justifies the whole system of imperialism with such a lie. This suggests that other people, too, resort to lies in some cases in order to justify imperialism, so their remarks and reports should not be trusted thoroughly.592 In his review of Conrad’s works, Edward Said, too, mentions Marlow’s telling lies to ‘safeguard Kurtz’s heroic eloquence’; however, he seems to be unable to explain the nature of Kurtz’s eloquence and to connect Kurtz’s eloquence with telling lies the way Hajati (1986) does;

Marlow [...] cannot deny his own will to live and returns to Kurtz’s fiancée with a lie on his lips, an image of Kurtz’s good nature created for the unhappy girl’s benefit. He too cannot bear looking at reality for very long.593

He [Marlow] tells a lie that simplifies the dark truth but safeguards the power of Kurtz’s heroic eloquence. And that eloquence—what is it really? It is quite impossible to say.594

Thus, Hajati puts emphasis on a lack of ethical values in the imperialist and colonial systems.

The edition contains a short biography of Joseph Conrad, but it is missing a statement about Hajati’s own approach to translation and the reasons for selecting


Heart of Darkness for translation. But, of course, it is clear from the preface he has written about imperialism and colonialism that the book has provided a good opportunity to attack Western colonialism, particularly the British one, at a time when the revolutionary mood in the country demanded such works.

Hamid Raf’ei’s reasons for translating Lord of the Flies in 1984 is clearly stated in the preface:

I have regarded the Lord of the Flies as an example of modern classics since the time of learning and school. The fascination of the Nobel Prize of literature that was granted to William Golding, the author of this tale, this year has not been the only incentive for the rendering of this work into Persian. 595

He admits that the award of the Nobel Prize to William Golding was the major, if not the only, reason for the translation of the Lord of the Flies. Raf’ei (1984) does not mention the existence of the previous translation by Javad Peyman (1972), which may not be accidental, because one can easily see similarities between the two translations that could indicate that Raf’ei consulted the first translation.

On his method of translation, he says,

The rendering of the words of the book was like climbing a rocky mountain. Alas! I had no ‘cane of knowledge’ suitable for this task and where can you go with a lame leg? 596

Raf’ei (1984), like Hussaini (1994), speaks about the difficulty of translating, emphasizing the importance of equivalence at the lexical level, and claims that he has been well acquainted with the text for a long time. It is noteworthy to say that, based

594 Ibid., p. 113.
595 Lord of the Flies, trans. by Raf’ei, p. 9.
on the Persian culture and modesty conventions, the Iranian reader interprets the ‘difficulty of translation’ and the admitted ‘lack of perfect competence’ — Hussaini (1994) speaks about his ‘fifty percent’ success and Rafi’ei (1984) refers to his ‘lame leg’ — as understatements which point to their ‘significant success’.

In the *Lord of the Flies*, translated by Mahmood Azad (1984), the publisher, Ebtekar, has a preface of three pages wherein he explains the selection of the book for translation as follows:

> When *Ba’lzabūb*, written by the English author William Golding, was introduced as the winner of the literary Nobel Prize in 1983, I [Ebtekar] intended to ask some friends to render it into Persian. Then I obtained a copy of this work in English and our colleague Mahmood Moshref Azad Tehrani, an author and poet, began at once to translate it. 598

He reiterates the theme of ‘difficulty’ of translation, but he admires Azad’s success and loyalty to Golding’s specific style:

> The rendering of *Ba’lzabūb* seemed very difficult in view of the use of ethical and philosophical allegories in the form of a science-fiction novel and the mixture of delicate, sensitive, violent and poetic style with a childish language. By observing faithfulness to Golding’s specific style in justifying the author’s philosophical allegories about life, human nature, childish behaviour, speech and the clear differences in the mind of people enslaved by evil and that of the people with good qualities of wisdom and honesty, Azad has rightfully been successful. 599

The publisher admits to have access to the existing translation made by Javad Peyman (1972), but just after Azad began to translate:

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597 A modest claim to success is traditional in the Iranian culture because they do not wish to appear proud and boastful.


599 Ibid., p. 5.
It is noteworthy that in the process of rendering *Ba'lbäb*, we received an old translation of the same work entitled *Khodāvandgār-e Magas-hā* that clearly showed that its honourable translator, Peyman, has suffered (i.e. struggled) a lot to translate this work. Now after twelve years it constituted an effective foundation to renew the translation of the work. 600

The reason(s) for selecting a novel for translation may or may not be given explicitly by the translator or publisher. However, the selection of a novel certainly fulfils a need in the target culture.

3. General make-up of the text itself

Chapter divisions: There are chapter divisions both in *Heart of Darkness* and *Lord of the Flies*. In the *Lord of the Flies*, the listing of the original 12 chapters at the beginning of the text in the table of contents are preserved by Peyman (1972) and Rafi'ei (1984), but not by Azad (1984).

Chapters start on a new page both in *Heart of Darkness* and *Lord of the Flies*. However, Hussaini (1994) does not follow the original pattern, i.e. starting on a new page. *Lord of the Flies* bears titles as well as chapter numbers in letters — for example, 'CHAPTER TWO: *Fire on the Mountain*' that are preserved by Azad (1984) and Rafi'ei (1984) in their translations, but Peyman (1972) uses Arabic numbers (in place of numbers in letters) with the titles. However, *Heart of Darkness* bears Roman numerals that are shifted to Arabic numbers within brackets (in Safarian's translation) and to numbers written in letters or alphabetical numbers (in Hussaini’s translation).

600 Ibid., pp. 5-6
Paragraph division: There are the same paragraph divisions within chapters in the Persian translations, except in Azad’s translation. Azad (1984) divides long paragraphs into shorter ones.\footnote{It is worth noting that the publisher introduces Azad as an ‘author and poet’ in his preface to \ldots}

Quotation marks: Direct speech is indicated by means of single/double quotation marks in Heart of Darkness and Lord of the flies, and they (as well as most other punctuation marks) are imitated in the Persian translations. It is noteworthy to mention that the Persian language did not use punctuation marks in the past, and began to imitate the European punctuation marks only in the 19th century; however, with time some modifications have been made.

The data obtained from the general make-up of the set of texts in the corpus of the study leads to the conclusion that the Persian translators generally follow a ‘faithful’ approach on the surface level, though the translators after the revolution feel freer to deviate from the source text.

4. Cultural expectation and manipulation of the text

Norms of acceptability are related to values and beliefs prevalent in the society. The Islamic Revolution has categorically changed the dominant socio-cultural values. Three most debated values in post-revolutionary era are ‘freedom-seeking and anti-despotism’, ‘independence-seeking and anti-colonialism’, and ‘social justice and opposition to exploitation’.

As it was stated earlier, in translation freedom of expression is certainly felt more after the revolution, whereas silence, imitation, and subordination were more prevalent before the revolution. The prefaces written by the translators to their...
translations imply that translators found their own 'voice' and utilised their freedom and 'originality' after the revolution. One of the sentiments they wished to express was anti-colonialism. Hussaini (1994) slightly manipulates the original text by translating 'commonwealth' into 'mosta'merāt' (meaning 'colonies'). He also uses 'mosta'mere' ('colony') for the word 'dependency' in the translation of the following sentence:

'This is my share in the advantages my country shall reap from the possession of such a magnificent dependency.'

He manipulates the text in such a way as to indicate that the translated novel was a clear account of colonialism and imperialism. On the other hand, Safarian (1976) did not either mention the terms 'mosta'mere' or 'mosta'merāt' ('colony/colonies') or spoke about 'imperialism' or 'colonialism' outwardly. Therefore, he used 'jomhūrī-hā' ('republics') for 'commonwealth' and 'tābe'i'yat' for 'dependency'.

Another good example of the relationship between norms and values on the one hand and norms and the translator's interpretation, manipulation and choices on the other hand, can be illustrated by the rendering of the phrase 'Colonialism is a conspiracy against nations'. The following sentence provides a good opportunity for the translator to interpret the source text and hence, manipulate the target text as he/she wishes in order to point to this conspiracy and reflect the value/belief:

'We want,' he began to declaim suddenly, 'for the guidance of the cause intrusted to us by Europe, so to speak, higher intelligence, wide sympathies, a singleness of purpose.'

Azad's translation of Lord of the Flies, pp. 5-7 (p. 5).

602 This sentence is expressed by an old doctor who works at the headquarters of a company that controls the whole 'trade' in Congo. (Heart of Darkness, ed. by Cedric Watts, p. 148.)
After the revolution, Hussaini (1994) has translated ‘higher intelligence’ into ‘ettełāˈät-e foqolˈāde sərrī’ (‘top secret information’) and ‘purpose’ into ‘ḥadaf’ (‘target’, ‘aim’) as if intelligence services (meaning spying) were also involved in gathering information to be used by the colonisers. However, Safarian (1976) took a more positive attitude (perhaps in an ironic way!) towards colonisers and hence translated ‘higher intelligence’ into ‘tafāhom-e bīštar’ (‘more mutual understanding’) and ‘purpose’ into ‘nazār’ (‘view’, ‘opinion’) as if colonisation created a civilised, cultural ground that required dialogue, exchange of views and mutual understanding. Thus, the active presence of the translator is visible here and ‘opacity’ is achieved in the target text.

Likewise, another belief/value adopted after the revolution is that ‘exploiting and plundering nations’ wealth are deplorable and similar to, or even worse than piracy and robbery.’ Below, we can see how this slogan was transformed into the textual practice when operating on a text (i.e., Heart of Darkness) describing

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603 ‘Ile’ refers to the brick-maker of the Central Station who indeed serves as the manager’s spy upon other agents at the Station. This Station is the representative of a trading company whose headquarters are located in Belgium, and indeed the main arm of colonialism and exploitation in Congo. An example that indicates he spies on other agents and tries to gather ‘secret information’ is given in the following passage:

“I had no idea why he wanted to be sociable, but as we chatted in there it suddenly occurred to me the fellow was trying to get at something — in fact, pumping me. He alluded constantly to Europe, to the people I was supposed to know there — putting leading questions as to my acquaintances in the sepulchral city, and so on.” (Heart of Darkness, ed. by Cedric Watts, p. 168.)

604 Heart of Darkness, ed. by Cedric Watts, p. 169.

605 Of course, they were indeed involved, but this notion was not intended in the above passage that attributed positive notions to colonialism. It is difficult to decide if Hussaini’s translation is the case of deliberate manipulation or simply a case of mistranslation.

606 Theo Hermans uses the term ‘opacity’ to define the interference of the translator and manipulation of the target text to fulfill the needs of the target culture. See Theo Hermans, ‘Some Concluding
colonialism as a context that allows exploitation, plundering and forced labour. The original passage reads:

There were rumours that a very important station was in jeopardy, and its chief, Mr. Kurtz, was ill. Hoped\(^607\) it was not true.\(^608\)

And when Conrad calls the agents of colonial exploitation 'buccaneers' and describes them with adjectives like 'sordid, greedy, and cruel' who tear treasures in the following way:

This devoted **band** called itself the Eldorado Exploring Expedition, and I believe they were sworn to secrecy. To tear treasure out of the bowels of the land was their desire, with no more moral purpose at the back of it than there is in burglars breaking into a safe. Who paid the expenses of the noble enterprise I don't know; but the uncle of our manager was **leader** of that lot.\(^609\)

Hussaini (1994) translates the terms 'chief' and 'leader' as 'sarkarde' and 'sardaste' respectively — which are usually used to refer to 'chief of pirates' and 'head of a gang of robbers' — and 'band' as 'dār-o daste' — usually referring to 'a band of gangsters' — in the translation of the above sentences. This clearly reflects the rhetoric used after the revolution. In contrast, Safarian in his 1976 translation uses neutral or positive terms, 'ra'ts' ('boss'), 'rahbarī' ('leader') and 'gorūh' ('group') as an equivalent for the English words *chief, leader, and band*.\(^610\)

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\(^607\) The speaker is the manager of the Central station, and he talks about the chief of the Inner Station who collects and sends ivory more than all other agents.

\(^608\) *Heart of Darkness*, ed. by Cedric Watts, p. 165.

\(^609\) *Heart of Darkness*, ed. by Cedric Watts, p. 177.

\(^610\) After the revolution, the word 'lead' and 'leader' are used in limited cases with positive connotations. They are not used in pejorative insulting contexts.
Hussaini (1994) takes a negative attitude towards colonialism and hence uses terms with negative connotations in order to show his sympathy with the society's dominant beliefs, values and norms. This is a case of interpretation and manipulation of the text that creates opacity. For instance, he uses the term ‘kazā’ī’ (literally meaning 'as described before', but with a negative connotation) as an equivalent for the definite article ‘the’ in the original sentence:

In the outer room the two women knitted black wool feverishly.611

In the following sentence that refers to the same band that called itself ‘the Eldorado Exploring Expedition’ (mentioned above), we see a similar strategy used.

He carried his fat paunch with ostentation on his short legs, and during the time his gang infested the station spoke to no one but his nephew.612

Hussaini (1994) translates the underlined phrase as ‘dār-o daste-'ash qarārgāh rā be gand-e vojūdeshān ‘ālūde būdand’ (H., 79) (literally meaning ‘his gang have polluted the station with the filth of their existence/presence’) which is a much more negative phrase than the original one. A similar negative emphasis is present in the interpretation and translation of the following sentence:

He was very anxious for me to kill somebody, but there wasn’t the shadow of a carrier near.613

611 Heart of Darkness, ed. by Cedric Watts, p. 146. Marlow (the narrator) says, ‘Often far away there I thought of these two, guarding the door of Darkness, knitting black wool as for a warm pal, [...].’ (Ibid., p. 147.) Compare the ‘door of Darkness’ with the ‘Heart of Darkness’.

612 Heart of Darkness, ed. by Cedric Watts, pp. 177-8.

613 Heart of Darkness, ed. by Cedric Watts, p. 162. ‘He’ refers to Marlow’s white companion in his walking journey who got fever during their long journey. Then he had to be carried by black servants in a hammock, but as he weighed sixteen stone, the carriers dropped him in a bush one morning — a sign of ‘mutiny’ — and all sneaked off. The word ‘anxious’ in English has two opposite meanings in different context: one is ‘worried, uneasy’, the other ‘willing, eagerly wishing’.
Hussaini (1994) interprets and translates the word ‘anxious’ as ‘moshtāq’ (H., 61) (‘willing’) as a purposeful wish expressed by a white coloniser to kill black people. Safarian (1976) interprets and translates this word into ‘negarān’ (H., 99) (‘worried’), a humanistic attitude towards black people.

The result is a textual conflict between the cultural identity of the source and of the target text. As Maria Tymoczko puts it,

Oppression and enslavement, rebellion and revolution, all have discursive components. Inevitably, when people and nations speak different languages, the discursive practices at the heart of their interactions must turn on translation.614

In brief, after the revolution, the translator feels more independent from the author and has attained more freedom to make himself visible in translation and if necessary to manipulate the text. Compared to the pre-revolutionary times, the Iranian readership is better educated and bigger in size; therefore, there is a constant demand for the translated literary texts that are meticulously selected.

C. Textual and other appropriateness norms

In this section, some of the norms that were generally discussed in Chapter 6, ‘Models and Norms of Text Production’ will be related specifically to the corpus of study. The following norms will be looked at in some detail:

(1) Impact of anti-Arabism on the Persian spelling and script;

(2) Choice of vocabulary; and

(3) Impact of censorial measures.

1. Impact of anti-Arabism on the Persian spelling and script

As it was discussed in Chapter 6, there has been an attempt to simplify the spelling of certain Arabic words as to make them seem more natural in Persian (in accordance with the naturalisation of loan words/phrases in the language). Some authors and translators have tried to change the spelling of some Arabic words in Persian, from its original Arabic to some perceived more Persian-looking spelling. This trend is also present in the works under consideration.

a. One significant parameter involved in this process is the 'broken' or 'abbreviated' type of writing that follows the use of colloquial style in dialogues. This method of writing that produces peculiar word forms in Persian\(^{615}\) has shifted some Arabic words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original form</th>
<th>Shifted form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>يا الله</td>
<td>يا لا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>والش</td>
<td>وال لا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مذهب تو</td>
<td>مصبتو</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. After the revolution, translators as well as writers try to change the Arabic letter 'ت' ('ط') in non-Arabic words into its Persian counterpart 'ت' ('ت'). The most conspicuous examples\(^{616}\) are listed below:

\(^{615}\) It is similar to the English slang style of speech that combines and contracts words, e.g. 'donna' or 'ain't'.

\(^{616}\) In the examples that follow in this chapter, A. stands for Azad, II. stands for Hussaini, P. stands for Peyman, R. stands for Rafi'ei, and S. stands for Safarian. The numbers that follow them are the page numbers of their own translations.
c. Rafi’ei (1984) tries to avoid the Arabic adverb suffix ‘î’ (called ‘tanwin’) in colloquial style of dialogues by turning them into Persian ‘ن’ (English ‘n’ sound):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original form</th>
<th>Colloquial form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>قبل</td>
<td>قبلان (R., 34 and 58; P., 202)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فعل</td>
<td>فعان (R.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>اصلا</td>
<td>اصلان (R., 84)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of this ‘colloquial’ form is not consistent. Rafi’ei (1984) sometimes uses the original form as well; for example on page 77 of his translation he uses ‘اصلا’ twice in dialogues:

"بالاخره مه روزی به کشتی مرسه به این حزیره. شاید اصلا کشتی باباخوم باشه. ما از اینجا نخات بیدا می کنم."

"اگه به کشتی به این حزیره ندیدیک بشه، از چه معلوم که اصلا مارو بینه؟"

On the whole, such de-Arabisation attempts can make only minor modifications at word level, but they do not lead to a major change in the use of the Arabic script in Persian.
2. Choice of vocabulary

As the western dominance lost its grip after the revolution and the Iranian westernised intellectuals, who advocated imitation from the West and, at the same time, took pride in the pre-Islamic era and its ‘pure’ Persian words, were pushed to the margins in the new Islamic cultural identity, European loan words and sare (‘pure’) Persian words lost their prestige and went out of fashion after the revolution. Thus, a close look at the choice of vocabulary used in the corpus of study indicates that,

a. After the revolution, there is a stronger tendency to avoid foreign, particularly French and English, lexical items. Still, many English, French and Russian terms can be found in the translated texts. On the whole there is also a tendency to avoid the Arabic combinations and functional words as well as Arabic suffixes at the end of non-Arabic words such as the plural-making suffixes of ‘-īn’ and ‘-āt’ and adverb-making suffix, ‘ī’ (called ‘tanwin’).

b. There is less effort to use ‘sare’ or pure Persian words. However, some words that were coined by the Language Academy have been used, e.g. ‘pezhvāk’ (R., 54) (‘echo’) and ‘vāzhe’ (R., 151) (‘word’).

c. Some vocabulary from the translator’s regional dialect can be found in the translated texts. Evidently the use of regional dialects is not a norm in translated texts. Furthermore, the terms and expression from regional dialects noticed in the corpus of study are used sporadically and most probably unconsciously. This unconscious idiosyncratic use of dialectal forms (unlike the conscious use of Tehrani dialect in a consistent manner) creates some irregularity and inconsistency that affects naturalness. It is
interesting that the use of regional dialects in original Persian novels is indeed acceptable and even recommended by some scholars as a way of recording cultural assets of the language for the use by future generations, in an attempt to save them from total erasure, enrich the vocabulary of the language in general (i.e. the standard Persian) or to collect proverbs and idioms and other figures of speech. Some authors indeed have tried their hand at using dialects and were quite successful and praised for their writings. Moreover, in some original (Persian) plays, regional and class dialects are used skilfully in the service of characterization. It seems then, that there is a gap in this respect between the original and the translated texts.

d. The translators sometimes have used different terms that create a lack of consistency. For example, Rafi’ei (1984) uses ‘pā’ as the Persian equivalent for ‘foot/feet’ as a measure of length, while using other English measures such as ‘inch’, ‘yard’ and ‘mile’ (in transliterated form), but towards the end of the book, he begins to use ‘foot’ (in transliterated form) (e.g. R., 331 and 341). Peyman (1972), too, has used ‘inch’ besides metric system and Persian traditional measures. A lack of consistency does affect naturalness; however, when the context is different

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617 For instance, Jamalzadeh in Yeki Bud Yeki Nabud (‘Once Upon a Time’) (1921). See Chapter 5 for a discussion of his views.

618 It is noteworthy to mention that there are three different systems of measurements used in translated texts in Persian: the metric system, like metre, kilometre and so on, the British system, like yard, mile and so on and the Iranian traditional system like zar’a (almost half a meter), meel (very similar to English mile), farsang or farsakh (some six kilometres). However, the British system sounds less acceptable than the other two. The Iranian system is used when exact measures are not important and
and the translator uses this technique for certain reason(s) knowingly, it can be justified, and hence acceptable. For example, the use of English utterances, whether in original form or transliterated form, in the translated TL (Persian) novels has been regarded as acceptable (i.e. have not caused any objection from the native speakers who responded to the intuition-judgement tests held in this study ⁶¹⁹) because those scarce utterances were spoken by some foreigners (non-English speakers) to show off that they can speak English, not as a fluent string of communication.

3. Impact of censorial measures.

Censorship is closely related to bowdlerisation, euphemism, and manipulation of the text and results from power relations in the socio-political and ideological context of the target culture. Usually the mere existence of censorship in itself is enough to influence the translators’ and editors’ choice. That is, with self-censorship and editorial censorship there is often no need for the direct censorial interference. Translators and editors practise some form of self-censorship based on their knowledge of target culture norms and values and interpretation of the rules of censorship.

Before the revolution, the regime was sensitive to certain political issues, particularly publications attacking western imperialism or colonialism as well as internal despotism. Therefore, over forty percent of the censored or ‘modified’ texts

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⑥¹⁹ The results of these tests will be discussed in the next chapter.
were related to socio-political issues. After the revolution, the Islamic system has provided grounds for the criticism of colonialism/imperialism and oppression/despotism, while encouraging bowdlerisation of texts for moral and ethical reasons. Thus, the use of 'mosta'mere' and 'mosta'merāt' by Hussaini (1994) (as mentioned before) are quite welcome, though it was not so much welcome before the revolution.

On the other hand, once or twice Hussaini (1994) uses terms that violate the acceptable norms of post 1979 morality: For instance, the English clause ‘he baffled himself’ (HD, 168) has been translated as ‘vaqtash rā talaf mikard’ (S., 107) (‘He wasted his time’) by Safarian (1976), but as ‘goh-gīje gerefte būd’ (H., 68) (literally meaning ‘He was shit-confused’) by Hussaini (1994). In the view of post-revolutionary ethics, the latter phrase is immoral and unacceptable. The next examples show the attitude towards modernity in pre-revolutionary times.

Safarian and Hussaini used different equivalents for the same terms — brick and van:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Preferred before the revolution)</th>
<th>Hussaini’s translation (1994)</th>
</tr>
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</table>

The term used in the ST is ‘brick’, but as it is mentioned in the ST that there is a need for ‘straw’ to make such ‘bricks’, the Persian term ‘khesht’ is more suitable.

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620 See Khosravi, pp. 181–82.

621 Safarian’s expression is moral and acceptable after the revolution.
here. However, before the revolution, the more ‘modern’ and ‘progressive’ term, ‘ajor, was advocated.

(2) ‘kāmīyūn-i (‘a truck’) (S., 126) ‘gārī (‘a cart’) (H., 85)

In the source text, the term is ‘a van’ used in a simile:

“Imagine a blindfolded man set to drive a van over a bad road. I sweated and shivered over that business considerably, I can tell you.”

In the same way, ‘a truck’ (a sign of modernity) was used before the revolution instead of ‘a cart’ (a sign of backwardness).

Also, Hussaini (1994) uses the terms ‘vālā-hazrat’ (‘Her Excellency’), ‘shāhān’ (‘shahs’) (H., 32) in negative connotation, ‘mobāreze’ (‘combat’) (H., 144), ‘tūde-hā-ye mīlyūnī’ (‘millions-strong masses’) (H., 46), as well as many religious terms that were not tolerated before the revolution.

In the Lord of the Flies there are many obscene phrases that have to be bowdlerized, euphemised, modified or at least ‘softened’ in order to become acceptable after the revolution. They mostly refer to the body and bodily functions. A short list of examples is given below:

(c) Peyman’s indecent phrases (1972) Rafi’ei’s and Azad’s tolerable phrases (1984)

(1) ‘Oh kūnam!’ (P., 146) ‘Oukh! Kapalam!’ (R., 221; A., 154)
(Oh! my ass!’) (‘Oh! My bottom’)

(2) ‘Doros tū kūneshe’ (P., 175) ‘Neize rafte ‘unjāsh’ (R., 258)
(‘Exactly in its arse!’) (‘The arrow has gone into ‘that place’ of it’)

‘Neize tū daste tū mātahteshe’

622 Heart of Darkness, ed. by Cedric Watts, p. 184.
In brief, before the revolution Peyman (1972) could easily use obscene (foul, direct) language that is considered inappropriate after the revolution. Abusive and foul words and expression were apparently used more before the revolution. However, their use in pre-revolutionary translations should not necessarily be considered part of the western influence, and therefore to be rejected for political reasons after the revolution.624 Direct terms for certain parts of the body (private parts) and their functions are considered ‘obscene’ (a cultural norm). Obscene swearing (or cursing) offered to someone’s sister, mother and aunt is also considered inappropriate and taboo. In real conversation, the use of such curses may cause brawls and rows. The post-revolutionary trend away from ‘vulgar’ bodily terms also

623 One of the methods of euphemism in Persian is the use of relatively unfamiliar Arabic words, just as English uses Latin. Thus, the Arabic phrase ‘mūtaht’ is used as a euphemistic term in Persian.

624 Traditionally, some Persian poets are notorious for using terms referring to bodily functions and making pornographic descriptions. However, it should be noted that their works were intended for a limited number of adult, mainly male, elite readers, but not children, women or common people. It seems that the prohibition of the use of obscenities (and indeed its use) has a long history. There is an interesting study of obscenities in the context of Russian culture wherein prohibitions and taboos, like those in Iranian culture, prevails. See B.A. Uspenskij, ‘On the Origin of Russian Obscenities’, in The Semantics of Russian Culture, ed. by Ann Shukman (Michigan: Department of Slavonic Languages and Literature, The University of Michigan, 1984), pp. 295–301.
applies to other forms of literature, not just translations. The translators and authors after the revolution have been expected to be more 'polite' and 'considerate' towards readers. However, pornographic descriptions of sexual intercourse are more overtly and strongly prohibited by religious rules and practice. For a detailed discussion of the standards and norms practised in the Islamic context of Iran before and after the revolution, see Chapter 6.

With the revolution, a new cultural era started and the old tenets and trends have been put aside or pushed to the margins. The tendencies of anti-Arabism and the use of sare words and of European loan words have lost their vigour and prestige and hence are not acceptable any more. The emphasis of censorship shifted from political to moral issues.

In the next chapter, the use of colloquial style and its impact on the choice of pronouns will be discussed in a linguistic micro-structural analysis of the data collected from the corpus of study on ellipsis and reference. Moreover, the factors involved in deviating ellipsis and reference from the norm of acceptability and naturalness will be extracted.

Islam emphasizes ethical codes and morality. Ethics is an important subject of Islamic 'sciences'. The Persian cultural tradition, too, supports moral codes though there are exceptions to this general norm.
CHAPTER EIGHT

A MICRO-STRUCTURAL STUDY OF COHESIVE DEVICES,

REFERENCE/ELLIPSIS:

A Linguistic Analysis

The topic of cohesion, which may have first appeared in Hasan (1968), was expanded in Halliday & Hasan (1975), and revised in Halliday (1985), has always appeared to me the most useful constituent of discourse analysis or text linguistics applicable to translation.626

A. Cohesive devices in translation

'Cohesion is the network of lexical, grammatical and other relations which provide links between various parts of a text.'627 Halliday and Hasan define cohesion as follows:

The concept of cohesion is a semantic one; it refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text.

626 Newmark 1991, p. 69.

Cohesion occurs where the INTERPRETATION of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one presupposes the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it. When this happens, a relation of cohesion is set up, and the two elements, the presupposing and the presupposed, are thereby at least potentially integrated into a text. [...] 

Cohesion is part of the system of a language. The potential for cohesion lies on the systematic resources of reference, ellipsis and so on that are built into the language itself. [...] A cohesive relation is set up only if the same word, or a word related to it [...], has occurred previously.  

They distinguish between ‘cohesion’ and ‘structure’: whereas structure refers to the relation that links the parts of a sentence or a clause, cohesion is the relation among the parts of a text — the sentences, or paragraphs, or turns in a dialogue.  

They also distinguish between ‘cohesion’ and ‘register’ that make up ‘texture’.  

Halliday and Hasan identify five main cohesive devices in English: reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion. Their model of cohesion is the best-known and most detailed model available in English, and it will be utilised in the present study. Based on their model, an attempt is made in the present research to devise a taxonomy/paradigm for Persian reference and ellipsis categories as observed in the instances occurring in the translated novels under study. Persian grammarians totally ignore the colloquial style that is widely used in dialogues in the translated translated novels. 

628 Halliday and Hasan, pp. 4–5.

629 Ibid., p. 6.

630 ‘Texture results from the combination of semantic configurations of two kinds: those of register, and those of cohesion. The register is the set of semantic configurations that is typically associated with a particular CLASS of contexts of situation, and defines the substance of the text: WHAT IT MEANS, in the broader sense, including all the components of its meaning, social, expressive, communicative and so on as well as representational. Cohesion is the set of meaning relations that is general to ALL CLASSES of text, that distinguishes text from “non-text” and interrelates the substantive meanings of the text with each other. Cohesion does not concern what a text means; it concerns how the text is constructed as a semantic edifice.’ (Ibid., p. 26.)
novels (as well as in other forms of Persian literature), and do not provide any
taxonomy based on authentic data in this regard.

Different functions are attributed to cohesion. For instance, Roger Fowler
believes that all linguistic devices that contribute to linkage between sentences are
vital to ‘information-continuity’ and to ‘cohesion’; pronouns and pro-verbs, lexical
cross-references, and question-answer sequences are among these cohesive devices.632

In translation studies cohesion has not been given much attention. Recently
Peter Fawcett has drawn our attention to this issue:

Cohesion is one of the more interesting aspects of textuality, one that
receives a great deal of attention in certain kinds of literary criticism but
which is often all too easily overlooked in the translation situation.633

It is also the case that few scholars have worked on the relationship between
cohesion and naturalness. Vehmas-Lehto has dealt with ‘cohesion flaws’ and
accounts for such flaws in her case study.634 She discusses the relationship between
‘naturalness’ and ‘textual cohesion’:

The unnaturalness and obscurity of the translations could not be entirely
accounted for by lexical and syntactic factors: there are also flaws in textual
cohesion. Similar observations about translations have earlier been made by
Klaudy (1984) and Kachroo (1984). The former even maintains that most
translation errors and shortcomings are connected with textual cohesion.
The latter found a dependence between the naturalness, "authenticity" of the

632 Fowler, p. 49.
633 Fawcett, p. 91.
634 ‘The paper discusses some flaws in the use of intersentential cohesion devices in translations from
Russian into Finnish. The flaws are divided into two categories: those which affect just the style and
those which also affect the clarity of the translations. The main reason for translation flaws in the
material is the interference from the source texts.’ (Vehmas-Lehto, in Empirical Research in
Translation, 1991, p. 171.)
translations (as assessed by native speakers of the target language) and the degree of their resemblance to authentic target language texts in terms of the distribution of cohesion devices.\textsuperscript{635}

She gives two reasons for 'cohesion flaws' in translated (target) texts: 'lack of transfer' and 'interference' that cause unnaturalness.\textsuperscript{636}

Hatim and Mason have considered the notion of a continuum or a scale of values 'an ideal way' to assess the 'degree of textuality' (including cohesion) from 'the vantage point of users' expectations' and its adherence to 'norms of language use'.\textsuperscript{637}

Also Shoshana Blum-Kulka looked at the relationship of cohesion to 'shifts'\textsuperscript{638} (a concept closely linked to naturalness in translation, as discussed in Chapter 3).\textsuperscript{639}

1. Reference (or pronouns)

One of the cohesive devices analysed in this case study will be 'reference'. Grammarians usually use the term 'pronoun' to refer to the process of reference. Papegaaïj and Schubert (1988) define 'pronouns' as 'syntactic markers having hardly any semantic content of their own' and account for their uses.\textsuperscript{640} Such linguistic

\textsuperscript{635} Ibid., p. 172.
\textsuperscript{636} Ibid., p. 179.
\textsuperscript{637} Hatim and Mason 1997, pp. 27–28.
\textsuperscript{638} 'Shifts' occur due to the communicative function of the translated text in adjusting the text to the expectations of the target readers.
\textsuperscript{640} 'Pronouns, especially personal pronouns, are words which function almost as syntactic markers having hardly any semantic content of their own. They occupy the position where a semantically full element would be expected. (Of course this is an expectation from a theoretical analysis of the
definitions — that will be challenged in this study — ignore the cultural contexts and constraints in the choice of pronouns.

According to Halliday and Hasan, ‘exophoric reference’ is excluded from ‘cohesion’, since it does not bind the two elements together into a text.\textsuperscript{641} However, endophoric reference items are considered as cohesive and can be divided into ‘anaphora’, referring back to something that came earlier in the text, and ‘cataphora’, referring forward to something coming later.

In translation studies there has not been enough study on the important subject of reference and the way it operates at the textual level. Some translation theorists have emphasised the importance of and need for the study of reference in translation. For instance, Fawcett considers the use of ‘reference’ as an ‘understudied field’ in translation studies: ‘The most interesting problem with reference lies in possible differences of use between source and target, although again this is an understudied field.’\textsuperscript{642} Karim Emami, a famous Iranian prose translator and theorist, calls for the study of the use of pronouns in the English-to-Persian translating:

You may be surprised to hear that one of the difficulties faced by the translators who render English texts into Persian is to find suitable equivalents for some English pronouns. Pronouns as well as verbs are among the most frequently used items of any languages. If there is indeed any difficulty as how to find equivalents for the English pronouns in Persian, then

\begin{quote}
You may be surprised to hear that one of the difficulties faced by the translators who render English texts into Persian is to find suitable equivalents for some English pronouns. Pronouns as well as verbs are among the most frequently used items of any languages. If there is indeed any difficulty as how to find equivalents for the English pronouns in Persian, then
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{641} Halliday and Hasan, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{642} Fawcett, p. 96.
In this study, Halliday and Hasan’s category of ‘comparative reference’ is not covered. Thus, only cohesive personal pronouns and demonstratives are discussed.

2. Ellipsis

Another cohesive device analysed in this case study will be ellipsis. Fawcett defines ‘ellipsis’ and observes its importance for translation as follows:

Another way to hold text together is, paradoxically, by missing bits out, a device known as ellipsis. According to Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 68) this phenomenon is not very well understood, since most linguistic research has concentrated on so-called ‘well-formed sentences’. Consequently, although it should be a grammatical matter [...] coverage in grammar books tends to be very patchy. [...] From the point of view of translation it is important to know what each language is allowed to miss out and in what circumstances. [...] The phenomenon of whether something is elided or represented constitutes the difference between languages that feel the need to provide the verb with all of its complementary bits and bobs, and other languages that are happy to wield the scissors.644

Halliday and Hasan define ‘ellipsis’ as ‘something left unsaid’ ‘but understood nevertheless’.645 They further explain it as follows:

We are referring specifically to sentences, clauses, etc. whose structure is such as to presuppose some preceding item, which then serve as the source


644 Fawcett, p. 92–94.

645 Halliday and Hasan, p. 142.
of the missing information. An elliptical item is one which, as it were, leaves specific structural slots to be filled from elsewhere.\textsuperscript{646}

They categorise ellipsis into nominal, verbal and clausal.

In brief, cohesion is of the greatest importance in creating a style, whether in writing or in translation. It is an interesting topic for research in translation studies, but at the moment it is an ‘understudied field’. The search for the relationship of cohesion to (consistent, regular) shifts and naturalness draws the researcher’s attention primarily to the two distinct styles of the Persian language used in novels.

\textbf{B. Norm-abiding: diglossia: ‘oral’ language versus ‘written’ language}

\textit{Style of language in the translation of novels}

As has been discussed in Chapter 6, the first phenomenon that shows itself to the examiner of a translated novel in Persian is the existence of a kind of diglossia. That is, the language used by common people, called the language of ‘speech’, or ‘oral’ or ‘colloquial’ language, has special features that distinguishes it from the ‘written’, ‘literary’ or ‘standard’ language. The former is considered to be a non-standard language, that can be a ‘dialect’ of certain specific region, but the latter is considered as a standard language used and understood by every educated Iranian citizen; it is the official language of education. The official documents and announcements, the journalistic reports and the like are all written in this language. In brief, educated people use it for the ‘written’ material. Moreover, in formal settings and speeches such as university lectures, scientific, political, economic and parliamentary debates, news and commentaries on radio and television, court proceedings and the like are

\textsuperscript{646} Ibid., p. 143.
carried out in the formal language. However, the way people speak at home and in private daily contexts is different. The literary scholars in Iran generally regard it as the 'simple' language of common people. The translators of novels, just like the authors of original Iranian (modern) novels who attempt to 'record' and reproduce the speech of people, try to imitate this language of speech in translated texts. Translators and original writers both try to represent the language of speech in their works. As a result, foreign novels are translated partly into this 'written form' of the language of speech, and partly into the 'written' formal language.\textsuperscript{647}

The blending of the two styles is the primary feature of naturalness or acceptability in literary translation, and it looks that at present there is a norm regulating the use of this diglossia. Najaf Darya-bandari describes and formulates the norm as follows:

\begin{quote}
Presently we use the language of speech only in stories, in the speech of the characters, not in the narration of the story, except when the narration itself is made by one or more of the same characters, such as The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. In non-fiction books, of course, the written language is always used.\textsuperscript{648}
\end{quote}

In the following tables, the two sets of pronouns observed in the corpus of study that belong to the standard and colloquial languages are represented and compared with the view to show or investigate the taxonomy for Persian reference in the translated texts.

\textsuperscript{647} See Chapter 6 of the present thesis for a history of tendencies towards the simplification and colloquialism of the modern Persian language.

\textsuperscript{648} 'Interview with Najaf Darya-bandari', p. 90. (My translation.)
Table 8.1. Subject pronouns in English and Persian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Standard Pronouns</th>
<th>Standard Verb endings$^{649}$</th>
<th>Colloquial Pronouns</th>
<th>Colloquial Verb endings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You (singular)</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>-ī</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>-ī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He/she</td>
<td>'ū</td>
<td>No ending (past)</td>
<td>'ū or 'ūn</td>
<td>-esh or no ending (past)</td>
<td>-eh (present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vey</td>
<td>-ad (present)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It</td>
<td>'ān</td>
<td>No ending (past)</td>
<td>'ān</td>
<td>-esh or no ending (past)</td>
<td>-eh (present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'īn</td>
<td></td>
<td>'īn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>-īm</td>
<td>mā / māhā</td>
<td>-īm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You (plural)</td>
<td>shomā</td>
<td>-īd</td>
<td>shomā / shomâhā</td>
<td>-īn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>'ishān</td>
<td>-and</td>
<td>'ishūn$^{650}$</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'ānhā</td>
<td></td>
<td>'ūnāl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'ānān</td>
<td></td>
<td>'ūnhā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'īnhā</td>
<td></td>
<td>'īnā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'īnān</td>
<td></td>
<td>'īnā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^{649}$ The use of subject verb endings is obligatory in complete sentences, containing finite verbs. However, the use of marked pronouns is optional and depends on certain considerations.

$^{650}$ This colloquial pronoun can only be used to refer to a respectful single person (as a 3rd person singular pronoun that will be discussed under the subheading ‘the power-solidarity relations in society’ below).
### Table 8.2. Object and possessive pronouns in English and Persian\(^{651}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Standard Detached</th>
<th>Standard Attached</th>
<th>Colloquial Detached</th>
<th>Colloquial Attached</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Me/my</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You/your (singular)</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>-at</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>-at/-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Him/his/her</td>
<td>'ā / vey</td>
<td>-ash</td>
<td>'ā or 'ān</td>
<td>-ash/-esh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It/its</td>
<td>'än</td>
<td>-ash</td>
<td>'än</td>
<td>-ash/-esh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Us/our</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>-emān</td>
<td>mā / māhā</td>
<td>-amūn/-emūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You/your (plural)</td>
<td>shomā</td>
<td>-etān</td>
<td>shomā</td>
<td>-atūn/-etūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Them/their</td>
<td>'īshān</td>
<td>-ēshān</td>
<td>'īshūn</td>
<td>-ashūn/-ešūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'ānhā</td>
<td></td>
<td>'ūnā/ 'ūnhā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{651}\) As direct objects, the marked pronouns are usually followed by the object marker 'rā' in the standard language and 'ro' or 'o' in colloquial language. For example, 'man' becomes 'man rā' (or some may prefer to write 'manārā') in the standard language and 'mano' in colloquial language. The unmarked enclitic pronouns may attach to the verb (after the subject verb-ending) or to a verb particle in compound verbs. There is a tendency in the standard language to use marked pronouns, and in colloquial language to use unmarked forms. In colloquial language it is also possible to use both marked and unmarked forms at the same time, for example, 'mano dīvānam kardan.' ('They made me crazy.')

As objects of preposition, the marked or unmarked pronouns follow prepositions such as 'tāz' ('from'), 'bā' ('with'), 'be' ('to'); unmarked pronouns attach to prepositions, and in colloquial language they change the form of prepositions to which they have attached, for example, 'bā + -ash' make 'bāshāsh' and 'be + -esh' make 'beheshtāsh', and 'barāy + -at' make 'barātāsh' (or in Tchrani dialect 'vāse-at' meaning 'for you').

As possessive adjectives, the detached forms follow the nouns and the attached forms attach to the nouns they modify. When the subject and the possessive pronouns refer to the same person, the detached possessive pronouns - 'man', 'io', etc. - cannot be used, and in the standard language the words 'khod', 'khish' or 'khishtan' can substitute the detached possessives. When the third person singular (or plural) is the subject and 'it' or 'vey' ('ānhā' or 'īshān' or their colloquial equivalents) are used as possessives, it indicates that the subject and possessive pronouns refer to different persons.
Table 8.3. Demonstratives in English and Persian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Colloquial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This</td>
<td>'in / hamin</td>
<td>'in / hamin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That</td>
<td>'än / hamän</td>
<td>'än / hamän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>These</td>
<td>'in / hamin (as modifier)</td>
<td>'än / hamän (as modifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'inhä / 'lnän (as head)</td>
<td>'än (as head)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those</td>
<td>'än / hamän (as modifier)</td>
<td>'än / hamän (as modifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'änhä / 'änän (as head)</td>
<td>'änö (as head)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The</td>
<td>'än / -e(h)</td>
<td>'än / -e(h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here</td>
<td>'injä</td>
<td>'injä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There</td>
<td>'änjä</td>
<td>'änjä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Now</td>
<td>hâlâ / 'aknün</td>
<td>'al'än</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Then</td>
<td>'änvaqt / 'änmoqe</td>
<td>'änvaqt / 'änmoqe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above description, we can deduce that changes from standard to colloquial sets of pronouns are not haphazard at all. For example, the syllable ‘‘än’’ in the standard language becomes ‘‘än’’ in colloquial style, and ‘‘hâ’’ changes to ‘‘â’’. When colloquial verb endings or attached pronouns are used, the verbs, verb particles, or prepositions to which they are attached change their pronunciation and spelling. In other words, whole sentences change their pronunciation and spelling. This is not all. Even the structure of sentences and the diction are simpler in the language of speech.
This 'language of speech' used in dialogues of translated (target) texts seems to be mainly constituted from the Tehrani dialect that is spoken and comprehended not only by Tehranis but also by many other people who have ever lived (as seasonal workers, students, etc.) some time in Tehran. A feature of this dialect is 'shekastenevisi' (literally meaning 'broken-writing'). One characteristic shift of pronunciation and spelling in this language is the change of the syllable 'ân' to 'ün' in most words. (For example, 'meidân' changes to 'meidün' ('market') in this process of shekastenevisi). Another one is the omission of 'h' in a 'ha' syllable. Such shifts occur in most words.

Following on from the earlier discussion of varieties of Persian and the dominance of the Tehrani dialect in Chapters 3 and 6, it can be concluded here that knowledge of the Tehrani dialect is very crucial for the translator because the use of it in dialogues has become a norm, almost an obligation. However, translators cannot obtain this knowledge through their formal education.

Persian does not distinguish between sexes in 3rd person singular, but it does distinguish between singular and plural in the 2nd person, so the translator should decide whether one person or more are addressed when English uses 'you' or 'your'. That is, the Persian translator has some freedom of choice and interpretation in changing such implicit information (i.e., the second person pronouns in the ST) into explicit singular or plural pronouns.

612 No marker is usually used for the English 'the' in the standard Persian. However, an enclitic ('-eh') has developed in colloquial Persian that is attached to the modified noun as suffix.
Examples of the two sets of pronouns in the corpus of the study

a. The equivalent of the English article ‘the’ in the Persian colloquial language:

1. “There was that pilot. But he wasn’t in the passenger cabin, he was up in front.” (LF, p. 8)

Peyman (1972) has used ‘‘ūn’ (‘that’) before ‘khalabān’ (‘pilot’) and both Raf’ei (1984) and Azad (1984) have used the suffix ‘-eh’ attached to ‘khalabān’ as an equivalent of the English article the. However, ‘‘ūn’ implies that there was more than one pilot in the aircraft. Moreover, the three translators have used ‘‘ūnjā’ as a colloquial equivalent of the English there. The English pronoun he is not represented in Persian with a separate pronoun, but the verb ‘būd’ (‘was’) carries the third person singular verb ending referring to the pilot.

2. “He says the beastie came in the dark.” (LF, p. 33)

Two of the translators have used the suffix -eh as an equivalent to the English the, but the other one has used no marker which in itself is enough to indicate the noun jānevar (‘beast’) is already known or definite for the addressee or readers.

b. The use of possessive pronouns in the standard Persian:
[He] stood there [...] with green shadows from the palms and the forest sliding over his skin. He undid the snake-clasp of his belt, lugged off his shorts and pants, and stood there naked, looking at the dazzling beach and the water. (I.F., p.10)

In the translations of the above descriptive passage into the standard Persian, Azad (1984) has used the attached possessive pronoun ‘-ash’ (‘his’) to the end of the phrase ‘shalvär va zīr shalvär’, Rafi’ei (1984) has used ‘khod’ (a general detached pronoun equivalent to English himself, etc. referring to the subject, if it is used as a possessive) and Peyman (1972) has not used any pronouns with this phrase at all. These three variations are optional in the standard Persian, though only the attached possessive is used in the colloquial Persian, and when khod is used as a possessive for emphasis, it is accompanied with the attached possessives such as -esh, etc. It should be added that like in English, there is no need to have one possessive pronoun (referring to the same person) for each member in a noun phrase; one is enough for the whole phrase. Moreover, when the possessive pronoun and the subject of the
sentence refer to the same referent (i.e. they are co-referential), it is possible to avoid the use of the possessive or to use the general pronoun *khod* or more formal and literary pronouns *khīsh* and *khīštan* for any person in the standard Persian. A fourth variation of the possessive pronoun in Persian is the use of a detached possessive pronoun when the possessive and the subject refer to different referents. In the above translations, Peyman (1972) and Rafi’ei (1984) have used ‘*ā*’ (the same as he in Persian but functioning as a detached possessive pronoun) after the phrase ‘*pūst-e badan*’ (‘the skin of body’). An –e sound (equivalent to the English of) follows the preceding noun phrase that is modified by a detached possessive, and hence combines them into a genitive phrase. The detached possessive pronouns can be used only when the subject and the possessive pronouns refer to different persons or entities.

c. The use of ‘*ūn* and ‘*ūnā* in the colloquial language:

“He’s not a hunter. He’d never have got us meat.” *(LF, p. 115)*

‘*ūn* is the counterpart of the standard pronoun ‘*ū*’ in the colloquial language, though it has not completely replaced ‘*ū*; that is, ‘*ū*’ is also used in the colloquial language.

“We’ll have to go back and climb the mountain. That’s where they saw the beast.” *(LF, p. 97)*

‘*ūnā* has been used both before and after the revolution more than other forms of colloquial 3rd person plural pronoun.
d. The use of shomāhā in the colloquial language:

“I was with him before anyone else was.” (LF, p. 23)

Both Peyman (1972) and Rafi’ei (1984) have used shomāhā within noun phrases: kasi ‘az shomāhā (‘any one of you’) and shomāhā hichkodümetün (‘none of you’). This colloquial pronoun (i.e. shomāhā that is the literal plural form of shomā or you) seems to emphasize each and every one of you. It can also be used outside a compound phrase.

e. The use of māhā in the colloquial language:

“Three of us — if we take more we’d get all mixed, and lose each other — three of us will go on an expedition and find out.” (LF, p. 22)

Rafi’ei (1984) has used māhā in the above translation twice in a compound phrase se nafar/tä ‘az māhā (‘three of us’), but he has not used this colloquial pronoun consistently. Māhā is the literal plural form of mā (‘we’). The other two have not used this form.

f. Use of tshān in the standard Persian

He sought, charitable in his happiness, to include them in the thing that had happened. (LF, p. 63)
Rafi’ei (1984) has used ‘ishsn (along with other standard pronouns, ‘ânhâ and ‘ânân) as a subject or object pronoun of the standard Persian in the description section of his translation of the Lord of the Flies.

g. Use of vey in the standard Persian

"He has to live in the midst of the incomprehensible, which is also detestable."

(HD, p.140)

"وی ناجاار است که در میانه آنچه در فهم نمی‌آید زندگی کند و این هم نفرت اگیر است."

(H, 35)

Hussaini (1994) has used vey in the descriptions that represent formal language, though rarely.

C. Power-solidarity relations in society and its impact on the choice of pronouns

There is still another set of alternative pronouns prompted by social differences between the speakers. ‘Level of respect’ and ‘power-solidarity’ are two sociological terms to describe the factors involved in choosing one or the other alternative from the following sets of pronouns.

Table 8.4. Use of plural pronouns for single persons in Persian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Intimate/solidarity-based</th>
<th>Respectful/power-based</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>mā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>shomā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He/She</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>‘ishn / ‘ishān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In an empirical research held in 1977, Nader Jahangiri discovered that his research subjects frequently used ‘mā’ ('we') to refer to themselves as singular speakers (i.e. the first person singular). Jahangiri and Hudson try to give possible explanations for the occurrence of, and transition between, the alternative variables of 'man' and 'mā' for the same referent as follows:

One possible explanation is that all such variables are evidence of code-switching, but this seems unhelpful unless we can find evidence of other variables which co-vary closely with each other and which could be described meaningfully as involving two different 'codes'. [...] Another possibility is that the variants have separate contextual meanings, so that each corresponds to a different way of conceptualizing the situation, on the lines of the well-known markers of power and solidarity. For instance, by referring to himself by the word which normally means 'we' a speaker would show that he was seeing himself simply as a representative of some larger group (cf. The habit of many authors of referring to themselves as we, as though they were a collective of some kind). 653

Richard A. Hudson says, 'There are, perhaps, linguistic items in every language that reflect social characteristics of the speaker, of the addressee, or of the relation between them.' 654 He continues to define 'power' and 'solidarity' relations between people who are involved in speech:

'Speech may also reflect the social relations between the speaker and addressee, most particularly the POWER and SOLIDARITY manifested in that relationship. [...] 'Power' is self-explanatory, but 'solidarity' is harder to define. It concerns the social distance between people — how much experience they have shared, how many social characteristics they share (religion, sex, age, region of origin, race, occupation, interests, etc.), how far they are prepared to share intimacies, and other factors.

For the English speaker, the clearest linguistic markers of social relations are personal names, such as John and Mr. Brown. [...] However,

654 R. A. Hudson, Sociolinguistics. (Cambridge: CUP, 1980), p. 120.
other languages have other devices for signalling power and solidarity [...], such as the use in French of the pronouns tu and vous, both meaning 'you' and both singular, although vous is also plural. The norms for choosing between tu and vous in the singular are precisely the same as those for choosing between first name only and title plus family name in English, tu being used prototypically to a close subordinate, and vous to a distant superior, with other situations resolved in relation to these. 655

More complicated forms of pronouns prevalent among other nations and cultures have also been noticed and reported:

According to class, rank, and number, 'you' is rendered in sixteen different ways, and this as well in the language of the journeyman as in that of the courtier. Profusion is the style of the language. In Siam there are eight different ways of saying "I" and "we," depending on whether the master speaks to the servant or the servant to the master. [...] Each one of these synonymies is linked to custom, character, and origin of the people; and everywhere the inventive human spirit reveals itself. 656

Such examples indicate a close relationship between pronouns and culture on the one hand, and pronouns and power-solidarity relations on the other hand. In Persian, one may use some noun phrases instead of pronouns 'you' and 'I' based on power-solidarity relations: phrases like 'hazrat-e 'äli' and 'jenâb-e 'äli' along with 2nd person plural verb ending, and more formal phrases such as 'hazrat-e' vâlá' and 'sarkâr khânnum' (the last one to address women) along with 3rd person plural verb ending may be used to refer to the singular addressee (equivalent to English 'you'); and some humble phrases like 'bande' ('(this) servant') and '(în) haqîr (=nûchîz)' ['this little (unimportant) one'] may be used to refer to the 1st person singular, i.e. the speaker. Phrases referring to the addressee may carry some flattering besides assigning some higher (real or assumed) rank to the addressee, whereas phrases

655 ibid., pp. 122-4.
referring to the speaker are often understatements implying humbleness. Such phrases are considered as noun phrases, but they function like pronouns.

Furthermore, changes in social hierarchy, like the one caused by the Islamic Revolution in Iran will certainly have impact on the choice of power- and/or solidarity-based pronouns. For instance, the power gap in the servant-master relations has decreased, if not been totally removed, and lost its importance after the revolution, and hence the use of the above plural forms or noun phrases referring to a single 2\textsuperscript{nd} person based on power relations has to a large extent decreased. Hudson says, 'It is not hard to relate changes in relative importance of power and solidarity in choosing pronouns to concurrent changes in social structure.'\textsuperscript{657} Persian is among the languages that make use of two different forms for the second person singular pronoun, reflecting power and/or solidarity. Hudson suggests 'two possible linguistic universals' in respect to the 'linguistic signalling' of the differences in power and solidarity. These linguistic signals 'could be explained by reference to the extreme importance of both power and solidarity in face-to-face relations between individuals, and the need for each individual to make it clear how he sees those relations.'\textsuperscript{658}

He refers to Persian linguistic signals that are sensitive to power-solidarity as follows:

a. Two different forms for the second-person singular pronoun,

b. A range of noun phrases referring to the speaker and to the addressee,

\textsuperscript{657} Hudson, p. 124.

\textsuperscript{658} Ibid., p. 125.
c. Verbs having different lexical forms, but with the same meaning.£

Examples of pronouns reflecting power-solidarity relations taken from the corpus of the study

As examples of noun phrases and verbs that reflect power-solidarity relations, 'hazrat-e ʿāli' (meaning 'shomā' or the respectful you for a single addressee) and 'farmūd' (equivalent of 'goft' meaning 'he said') can be mentioned that have been used by Hussaini in his translation of *Heart of Darkness* after the revolution. The 1st person plural (i.e., 'mā') for single persons has scarcely been used in the corpus of study. This can indicate a special naturalness for the translated (target) texts; that is, the target texts do not necessarily reflect every detail of intricate power relations in the target culture, though they reflect some overall power structure.

We commented adversely upon the imbecility of that telegraphic style.

(H., 91)  

(S., 131)

The Persian reader will interpret the mā ('we') used by Hussaini (1994) in the above sentence as referring to one single 'powerful' or 'haughty' speaker ('Marlow'). However, examples of the use of the 2nd person plural pronoun (i.e., 'shomā') for a single person have indeed been found in the translation of *Heart of Darkness* and will be discussed in the following pages. For instance,

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659 See ibid., pp. 124–127.
‘My dear sir,’ said the fellow, ‘I don’t want to be misunderstood, and especially by you, who will see Mr. Kurtz long before I can have that pleasure. I wouldn’t like him to get a false idea of my disposition….’ (HD, pp. 170–71)

In the above utterance that the manager’s agent addresses to Marlow, there are some linguistic signals indicating power relations. Both Hussaini (1994) and Safarian (1976) have used pronouns besides other words to reflect the power relations. Hussaini has used the noun phrase hazrat-e ‘āli (meaning ‘you’) and ‘ishān (meaning ‘they’ but referring to ‘he’), and Safarian has used shomā (plural ‘you’ referring to a single person) with plural verbs that indicate unequal power relations.

**D. Translators’ criteria of measurement of naturalness: consistent shift (regularities vs. idiosyncrasies)**

One reliable source of measurement is the use of ‘regular, consistent shifts’ made by a translator or a group of translators since translators themselves are the best reflectors of the socio-cultural norms of the society at a certain period of time. (The assumption is that regularity in behaviour is norm-governed.) However, the native-speakers are

---

660 For instance, Theo Hermans says, ‘The actual realization of so-called obligatory shifts, to the extent that it is non-random, and hence not idiosyncratic, is already truly norm-governed. So is
not so reliable as a source of measuring the naturalness of a translated (target) text because they may belong to a different era and have a different language/dialect and educational background from those of the intended readership of the target text. In the following tables, the first 100 instances of the cohesive use of pronouns (except in regard to 'she' that was repeated only 82 times cohesively throughout *Heart of Darkness*) have been recorded along with two of their translations (i.e. one rendered by Safarian (1976) before the revolution and the other by Hussaini (1994) after the revolution). There is no intention to be exhaustive and include all the instances occurring in the corpus of the study.

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everything that has to do with non-obligatory shifts, which are of course more than just possible in real-life translation: they occur everywhere and tend to constitute the majority of shifting in any single act of human translation, rendering the latter a contributing factor to, as well as the epitome of regularity.' (Hermans, *Translation in Systems*, p. 75.)
Table 8.5. How English cohesive ‘I’ and ‘we’ have been rendered into Persian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Pronouns</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>We</th>
<th>We</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Translator</td>
<td>H.</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Common</td>
<td>H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarked: No Pronoun</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marked: Pronoun</td>
<td>9 man</td>
<td>16 man</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15 mā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other pronouns</td>
<td>1 'nijāneb</td>
<td>1 har do</td>
<td>2 har do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod./trans.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. or trans.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellipsis of the sentence</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

661 In the following tables, ‘mod.’ refers to modulation and ‘trans.’ refers the transposition of the whole sentence in translation. Also, ‘Ellipsis’ refers to the omission of the whole sentence in the translation, not just the pronoun itself.
Table 8.6. How English cohesive ‘you’ has been rendered into Persian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Pronouns</th>
<th>You (subject)</th>
<th>You (object)</th>
<th>You (Gap-filler)</th>
<th>You (Gap-filler)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Translator</td>
<td>Hussaini</td>
<td>Safarian</td>
<td>Hussaini</td>
<td>Safarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarked: No Pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13 singular verbs &amp; 1 pl. for single person)</td>
<td>(10 singular verbs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marked: Pronoun</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 shoma (2 for single)</td>
<td>3 shoma (1 for single)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other pronouns</td>
<td>4 to</td>
<td>11 to</td>
<td>4 to</td>
<td>5 to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hazrat-e 'ali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 khodat</td>
<td>1 -at</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 khodetan</td>
<td>3 shoma-ha</td>
<td>1 -etan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modulation or transposition including the same/another form of the pronoun or referent</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. or trans.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellipsis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.7. How English cohesive ‘he’, ‘she’ and ‘they’ are rendered into Persian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>He</th>
<th>He</th>
<th>She</th>
<th>She</th>
<th>They</th>
<th>They</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In English, too, especially spoken English, however much less frequently than Persian, the subject pronouns may be omitted. A few instances of such an ellipsis have been found in *Heart of Darkness* as follows:

1. "Oh, yes — he did it. *Did it very well, too, no doubt." (p. 139)
2. "‘The other day I took up a man who hanged himself on the road. He was a Swede, too.’ *Hanged himself? Why, in God’s name? I cried." (p. 153)
3. "He is a very remarkable person. (...) *Sends in as much ivory as all the others put together." (p. 159)
4. "He could not wait. *Had to start without me." (p. 164)
5. "There were rumours that a very important station was in jeopardy, and its chief, Mr. Kurtz was ill. *Hoped it was not true." (p. 165)

7. "I delivered a regular lecture. My dear boys, it was no good bothering. *Keep a look-out? Well, you may guess I watched the fog for the signs of lifting as a cat watches a mouse." (p. 197)

*The asterisks indicate where the pronouns have been omitted.

Table 8.8. How English cohesive ‘it’ has been rendered into Persian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>H.</th>
<th>S.</th>
<th>Common</th>
<th>H.</th>
<th>S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Translator</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarked: No Pronoun</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>57=69%</td>
<td>46=56%</td>
<td>41=50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16=19%</td>
<td>17=20%</td>
<td>9=11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marked: Pronoun</td>
<td>6 'a</td>
<td>14 'a</td>
<td>4 'a=4.8%</td>
<td>13 'a=15.8%</td>
<td>3=3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other pronouns</td>
<td>2 vey</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 har do</td>
<td>3 har do</td>
<td>1 'an do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod/trans. incl.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same/another form of the pronoun or referent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod/trans.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellipsis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>82=663</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>56=68%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In English, too, especially spoken English, however much less frequently than Persian, the subject pronouns may be omitted. A few instances of such an ellipsis have been found in *Heart of Darkness* as follows:

1. "Oh, yes — he did it. *Did it very well, too, no doubt." (p. 139)
2. "‘The other day I took up a man who hanged himself on the road. He was a Swede, too.’ *Hanged himself? Why, in God’s name? I cried." (p. 153)
3. "He is a very remarkable person. (...) *Sends in as much ivory as all the others put together." (p. 159)
4. "He could not wait. *Had to start without me." (p. 164)
5. "There were rumours that a very important station was in jeopardy, and its chief, Mr. Kurtz was ill. *Hoped it was not true." (p. 165)
7. "I delivered a regular lecture. My dear boys, it was no good bothering. *Keep a look-out? Well, you may guess I watched the fog for the signs of lifting as a cat watches a mouse." (p. 197)

*The asterisks indicate where the pronouns have been omitted.
### Discussion of the results

Hussaini (1994) uses a special 3rd person singular pronoun, i.e. 'vey' twice (pp. 35 & 37) and Safarian (1976), too, uses the colloquial 2nd person plural pronoun, i.e. 'shomāhā' only three times (p. 126) but no more throughout the text. Their use certainly involves some shifts in style. Their partial use indicates a 'lack of consistency' on the part of the translators; it might have arisen from a second thought about choosing alternatives, tiredness of the translator, or time break in the translation of different parts. However, Rafi'ei (1984) in his translation of Lord of the Flies has used 'shomāhā' (and to some extent māhā) more consistently.

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The English cohesive pronoun 'she' is repeated only 82 times throughout Heart of Darkness.
It can clearly be seen that the Persian translator determines whether the person who has been addressed in English as `you', is indeed one person or more, is superior to the speaker or subordinate. Of course, the degree of respect the speaker conveys to the addressee (in the source culture and in the target culture) is determined by the translator and his or her conception of the social expectations and norms.

One obvious result emerging from this study is that in Persian, as the verb indicates the subject obligatorily, the subject pronoun is often considered redundant. Therefore, a consistent regular shift takes place and the subject pronoun is omitted in Persian. However, there is a fluctuation between different subject pronouns in this process of subject omission. An interesting comparison can be made between the omission of ‘ü’ as an equivalent for ‘he’ and ‘she’. ‘Ü’ as an equivalent for ‘he’ has been omitted in 75% of the instances, but for ‘she’ in 69% (Hussaini (1994) after the revolution) and 56% (Safarian (1976) before the revolution). Moreover, in 20% of instances the common names that refer to the female person have been used whereas in less than 5% of the instances the referents for ‘he’ have been recovered.

In recovering the intended referent (the presupposed items), the translator has some opportunity to ‘clarify’ the situation and make the text more ‘explicit’, that is, to increase the level of ‘explicitness’ or vice versa, to make it more ‘implicit’ or indeed hide some elements. An interesting example encountered in Heart of Darkness is the explicitation of the pronoun ‘they’ in the following sentence by Hussain (1994) after the revolution and its hiding by Safarian (1976) before the revolution:

“I left in a French steamer, and she called in every blamed port they have out there.” (HD, p. 150)
Hussaini (1994) has translated ‘they’ into ‘farânsavihâ’ (‘the French’) to remind the reader of the French colonies in Africa explicitly while Safarian (1976) (before the revolution) hid this reality by translating the clause ‘they have out there’ into ‘ān havâhî’ (‘thereabouts’). Is it not possible to speak of manipulation or opacity of the text by the means of the translator’s choice of interpretation in this case?

In another example, where the translators have had the choice of interpretation of the following remark addressed to Simon by the Lord of the Flies, “— Or else,” said the Lord of the Flies, “we shall do you. See? Jack and Roger and Maurice and Robert and Bill and Piggy and Ralph. Do you. See?” (LF, p. 131)

Azad (1984) has interpreted ‘we’ as referring to the Lord of the Flies along with ‘Jack and Roger and Maurice and Robert and Bill and Piggy and Ralph’ and ‘you’ as referring to ‘Simon’; on the contrary, Rafi’ei (1984) and Peyman (1972) have
interpreted 'we' as referring to the *Lord of the Flies* (the powerful speaker\(^{664}\)) and perhaps to other evil forces in the case of Rafi'ei and 'you' as referring to 'Simon' as well as *Jack* and others. Rafi'ei has used a plural 1st person verb ending for *we*, but Peyman has used a singular one. Different interpretation of the two pronouns here has had an intricate impact on the reading of the whole novel.

One challenging question for the researcher is that if the norm of acceptability or naturalness is a target language norm and that cohesive devices follow the norms of the target language; that is, if the naturalness of the use of a cohesive device is determined by the norms prevalent in the target language and culture, then what is the relationship between the cohesive devices in the translated (target) text and the process of translation? Consistent shifts (or regularity of behaviour) represent the norm of acceptability. The researcher should look for interference (positive or negative) as potential items that may cause unnaturalness. Concerning the use of pronouns one potential source of negative interference is the keeping of the subject pronouns as they are in English. However, other determining factors may be involved in their preservation such as the need for emphasis and the presence of a word, phrase or clause modifying them. Nevertheless, there may be some inappropriate imitation of the English pronoun without any other specific reasons to keep the pronoun in Persian. Some possible cases of unnatural use of pronouns can be: (1) the repetition of the same pronoun in two consecutive sentences as subject, (2) the preservation of the order of a conjoined phrase that includes at least one pronoun (for example if the order in the phrase 'Jack, Simon and me/I' is preserved, it will create an unnatural phrase in Persian since Persian prefers to bring the 'I' at the beginning), (3) some

\(^{664}\) See discussion under the subheading 'the power-solidarity relations in society' in this chapter.
cultural phrases such as 'my goodness'\textsuperscript{665} (or 'my God') if translated with the possessive, will be considered inappropriate by many native speakers because as some would say, 'God does not belong to me (alone), he is not my property or possession.'

In order to find out the regularity of behaviour of the Iranian prose translators with regard to rendering English ellipsis into Persian, all the examples of ellipses occurring in Heart of Darkness as well as those occurring in two of its Persian translations have been compared and summarized in the following table. A taxonomy of different types of ellipsis has also been developed within the framework of the model Halliday and Hasan have proposed in Cohesion in English.

Table 8.9. Cohesive ellipses in Heart of Darkness and in two of its Persian translations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of ellipsis &amp; Ellipted element(s)</th>
<th>Number of occurrences</th>
<th>Hussaini’s translation \textsuperscript{666}</th>
<th>Safarian’s translation \textsuperscript{667}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1. Nominal ellipsis</td>
<td>32 (31)\textsuperscript{668}</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2. Verbal ellipsis</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.a. Ellipsis of 'subject + verb'</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{665} Some Iranian translators translate this interjection, as well as similar expressions like 'my God' and 'my Lord' into 'khodä-ye man' ('my God'). Here, the point is not whether this translation is accurate/adequate equivalent or not, but whether this expression in Persian in itself (without comparing to the English phrase) is natural and acceptable or not.

\textsuperscript{666} This column shows the number of occurrences of cohesive ellipsis that Hussaini’s translation (1994) has preserved or added under each type.

\textsuperscript{667} This column shows the number of occurrences of cohesive ellipsis that Safarian’s translation (1976) has preserved or added under each type.

\textsuperscript{668} One of them is not a cohesive ellipsis.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Ellipsis Explanation</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.a.1.</td>
<td>Ellipsis of 'subject + verb'</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.a.2.</td>
<td>As above in question &amp; answer</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b.</td>
<td>Ellipsis of the 'verb + predicate'</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.b.1.</td>
<td>Repet./expansion of the subject</td>
<td>13 (12)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.b.2.</td>
<td>Repet. of 'subject + auxiliary'</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.c.</td>
<td>Ellipsis of the predicate</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.c.1.</td>
<td>with 'be' as verb</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.c.2.</td>
<td>with lexical verbs</td>
<td>8 (6)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3.</td>
<td>Clausal ellipsis</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.a.</td>
<td>Short Wh-question</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.b.</td>
<td>Echoing/repeating/adverb</td>
<td>23 (19)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.c.</td>
<td>Yes-no short answer</td>
<td>14 (13)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.d.</td>
<td>Ellipsis of a dependent clause</td>
<td>24 (17)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>192</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of different types of cohesive ellipsis used in the translated (target) texts taken from the corpus of study

In order to clarify how ellipses occur, an example will be provided for each type below:

**Type 1. Nominal Ellipsis:**

669 One of them is not elliptical in English.

670 In one instance, Hussaini makes two elliptic sentences of the same type whereas in English there is one ellipsis.

671 Two of them are not considered ellipses in English.

672 Four of them are not elliptical in English.

673 One of them is not elliptical in English.
"The pilgrims could be seen in knots gesticulating, discussing. Several *675 had still their staves in their hands." (HD, p. 170)

Some 31 instances of the nominal ellipsis676 were found after the numerative: 'one', 'two' and 'first', the epithet (or pre-modifying adjectives): 'yellow', 'left' and 'right' and the deictic: 'another', 'each', 'any', 'some', 'several' and 'all' in Heart of Darkness. In a majority of cases, i.e. 23 or 24 out of 32 instances, the two Persian translators have 'recovered' and replaced the ellipted elements with their full, non-elliptical equivalents by 'referring' to the text anaphorically and detecting the presupposed elements within the text. Such 'pre-supposition,' and 'textual recoverability' can provide some freedom for the translator to interpret and choose the degree of implicitness and explicitness.677 The rest of them where the ellipses have been kept and no shifts exerted are potential cases of unnaturalness.

Type 2. Verbal Ellipsis

2.1 Ellipsis of 'subject + verb'

674 Seven of them are not elliptical in English.

675 * The asterisks in these examples indicate where ellipses have occurred.

676 'Under certain circumstances the common noun may be omitted and the function of Head taken on by one of these other elements [i.e. modifiers that are categorised into deictic, numerative, epithet, and classifier] (...) In an elliptical nominal group, this element [i.e. the Head] is not expressed, and one of the other elements (Deictic, Numerative, Epithet or Classifier) functions as Head.' (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p. 147)

677 Halliday and Hasan say,

'An elliptical nominal group is cohesive; it points anaphorically to another nominal group which is presupposed by it. But how much of the presupposed group is in fact included within the presupposition?'

'So far we have merely indicated that the Thing designated by the common noun is presupposed. But there may be other elements in the presupposed group which likewise do not occur in the elliptical one.' (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p. 150.)
‘We talked of everything,’ he said, quite transported at the recollection. (…)  
‘Everything! * Everything! … * Of love, too.’ (p. 217) 

In Persian, the verbs have been recovered in 13 instances (by Hussaini) and 16 instances (by Safarian), i.e. between 30 and 40 percent of the total occurrences. 

2 a 2. As above in question & answer 

‘What’s this?’ I asked. He clapped his hands in wonder. ‘* The station!’ he cried. (p. 211) 

2. b 1. Repetition or expansion of the subject 

What greatness had not floated on the ebb of that river into the mystery of an unknown earth! … The dreams of men, the seed of commonwealths, the germs of empires *. (p. 137) 

2. b 2. Repetition of ‘subject + auxiliary’ 

I believe I undertook amongst other things not to disclose any trade secrets. Well, I am not going to *. (p. 146) 

In Persian, the verbs have been recovered in 4 instances (by Hussaini) and 7 instances (by Safarian), i.e. between 30 and 54 percent of the total occurrences. 

2. c 1. Ellipsis of the predicate (with ‘be’ as verb) 

‘Pardon my questions, but you are the first Englishman coming under my observation… ’ I hastened to assure him I was not in the least typical. ‘If I were *;’ said I, ‘I wouldn’t be talking like this with you.’ (p. 148) 

2. c 2. Ellipsis of the predicate (with lexical verbs) 

You should have heard him say, ‘My ivory.’ Oh yes, I heard him *. (p. 206) 

Type 3. Clausal Ellipsis 

3. a. Short Wh-questions
Nobody here, you understand, **here**, can endanger your position. And why *? You stand the climate — you outlast them all. (p. 181)

3.b Echoing/repeating/adverb

*Echoing another speaker's remarks*

'We will not be free from unfair competition till one of these fellows is hanged for an example,' he said. 'Certainly *;* 'grunted the other. (p. 181)

*Repeating/correcting one's own remarks*

'Oh, they meant no harm,' he said; and as I stared he corrected himself, 'Not exactly.' (p. 213)

*Repetition/introduction of an adverb*

'Everybody had behaved splendidly! *Splendidly!* (p. 162)

3.c Yes-no short answer

'Is he alone there?' 'Yes *,' answered the manager. (p. 179)

3.d Ellipsis of a dependent clause

*I had no clear perception of what it was I really wanted [...]. I don't know *; I can't tell*.* (p. 245)

In brief, the Persian translators imitate the original English elliptical sentences in a majority of cases (75%) both before and after the revolution; these elliptical sentences are often considered as acceptable according to the natural manner of expression in Persian. Still, in 25 percent of instances the translators have used their choice of interpreting and recovering the presupposed elements. This process of
interpreting and recovering the implicit information indeed gives rise to the overall 'level of explicitness' and 'redundancy' in the TL texts.

**Explanation and theoretical discussion**

The existence of unnatural use of cohesion can mainly be explained by the empirical law (or general translation law) of interference from the SL (as well as interference from the translator's knowledge of a third language or regional dialect) that has been discussed in chapters 2 and 3. However, as unnaturalness is a relative concept and constitutes a continuum with naturalness, it is useful to consider the concept of naturalness (and examples of the adjusted, naturalised use of cohesive devices) along with the concept of unnaturalness (and examples of unnatural use of cohesive devices).

There are three different explanatory tools that can be utilised to account for the differences in the use of cohesive devices in the target language and the source

---

674 See Shoshana Blum-Kulka, in *The Translation Studies Reader*, pp. 298–313 for a discussion of the relationship between shifts in levels of explicitness and cohesion in translation as well as the 'explicitation hypothesis'.

679 Chesterman defines the descriptive laws of translation behaviour as follows:

'We can gloss 'law' in this sense as "observable behavioural regularity". Such translation laws are purely descriptive, and have the following general form:

Under conditions X, translators (tend to) do (or refrain from doing) Y.

Or as Toury puts it (1991: 186):

If X, then the greater/the smaller the likelihood that Y.

Provided that conditions X can be specified, such general descriptive laws of translation behaviour could be set up at many different levels of generality.' (Chesterman, p. 71)

Then he discusses three general translation laws: the law of interference, the law of explicitation and the law of growing standardization. Concerning the last law, he maintains, 'This [standardization] law seems to run counter to the law of interference: whereas interference points to the dominance of the source language, the law of growing standardization points to the dominance of the target language system at the expense of specifically source-text features.' (Chesterman, p. 72)

680 They can indeed be considered as translation strategies generally followed by translators.
language: consistent shifts (regularity in behaviour as compared to idiosyncrasies), the
level of explicitness/implicitness (the law of explicitation\textsuperscript{681} or ‘explicitation
hypothesis’\textsuperscript{143}) and the change of cohesive devices in the process of translation
(cohesion change).\textsuperscript{653}

There are obvious, though not simple, correlations between the three
phenomena mentioned above (i.e. consistent shifts, explicitness and cohesion change)
and naturalness. Naturalness can be discussed and explained on the basis of the
following assumptions. (1) The regular shifts the translator makes are norm-governed
and indeed they are carried out in order to adapt the target (translated) text to the
norm of acceptability (naturalness). (2) The translator usually renders his or her
translation more explicit according to the requirements of the target language (that is,
he or she tries to enhance the clarity and acceptability of his or her translation for the
readers). (3) In the process of translation, the translator sometimes chooses other
types of cohesive devices rather than the ones used in the original text, due to the
requirements of the target language (so as to conform to the norm of acceptability).

In tables 8.5 to 8.8 the degree of explicitation/implicitation occurring in the
Persian translation of pronouns can be noticed as distributed in three rows of 'nouns',

\textsuperscript{681} See Chesterman, p. 71.


Blum-Kulka formulates the explicitation hypothesis as follows:

‘It might be the case that explicitation [i.e., a rise in the target text’s level of explicitness] is a
universal strategy inherent in the process of language mediation, as practiced by language
learners, non-professional translators and professional translators alike.’ (Blum-Kulka, p.
302)

\textsuperscript{143} As Chesterman puts it, ‘A cohesion change is something that affects intra-textual reference,
ellipsis, substitution, pronominalization and repetition, or the use of connectors of various kinds.’
(Chesterman, p. 98.)
'marked pronouns' and 'no marked pronouns'. The category of 'nouns' indicates more explicitness in the Persian translation of pronouns, that of 'no pronouns' suggests more implicitness, and that of 'marked pronouns' indicates no shift, which includes potential interference. The categories of 'modulation and transposition' as well as 'nouns' indicate cohesion change. However, in regard to ellipsis, as it can be seen in table 8.9, the major process is explicitation and to a lesser degree implicitation (that is, where an elliptical structure has occurred in Persian, whereas the sentence is non-elliptical in English). The other phenomenon of 'cohesion change' is almost absent in regard to the translation of the instances of ellipsis into Persian.

The consistent shifts in pronouns and ellipsis should be checked under certain circumstances; for instance the translators' behaviour should be surveyed under each type of ellipsis. A 'no shift' category, however, does not necessarily lead to interference (negative transfer) though it indicates the domain of potential interference; it might also suggest positive acceptable transfer. Although such a category (i.e. 'marked pronouns' in tables 8.5 to 8.8 and the 'number of ellipses' preserved by the translators and put under each translator's name in table 8.9) reflects no shift, it indicates some kind of regularity of behaviour that might have arisen from the phenomenon of interference or due to the preferences shared by the two languages. Therefore, although the consistent shifts made by translator point to naturalness, the 'no shift' category does not necessarily indicate unnaturalness.

Some language-specific features of naturalness in Persian

There are some language-specific structures used in Persian that sometimes require obligatory shifts in the process of translation from English.

a. Part in place of whole as the subject of the sentence
An instance of often obligatory consistent shifts of subject (pronouns) in the process of translation from English into Persian concerns the Persian preference for the use of part of a human being when verbs bearing some mental, emotional or physical functions are involved. In such a rather obligatory shift, a modulation takes place involving a change of whole (i.e. a human being as the subject functioning as the subject of the sentence) into part. For example, see the following examples:

"But you like it!" shouted Ralph. "You want to hunt! While I —" (LF, p. 49)

The underlined section of the Persian translation can be back-translated literally into 'Your heart wants (you) to hunt pigs'. Instead of you (the whole), 'your heart' (the part) is the subject.

b. Pseudo-subject (pronoun)

1. "What's your father?" (LF, p. 12)

There is an interesting structure in Persian that uses a subject pronoun corresponding with the possessive immediately following it; however, this subject pronoun is not the subject of the sentence, but the noun phrase following this subject is indeed the subject of the sentence. This subject pronoun is used mainly to introduce a new topic. The translation made by Peyman (1972) contains this special structure. Its literal word-to-word back translation into English gives: You, your dad is what?

2. Roger and Maurice came out of the forest. They were relieved from duty at the fire and had come down for a swim. (LF, p.55)
Rafí'ei's sentence can literally be back-translated as 'They, their turn of looking after the fire had finished.' The real subject is 'their turn'. This can be termed as a language-specific structure in Persian. However, it usually does not require an 'obligatory' shift in translation from English to Persian, as the other two translations are quite acceptable without such a shift.

c. Combinations of khod + possessive pronouns as substitutes for subject pronouns

As in Persian the subject pronoun is not usually mentioned, the emphatic pronoun khod plus a relevant possessive may take the position of the subject and function as a cohesive device. For instance, see the following example:

"I cut the pig's throat," said Jack proudly (L.F., p. 63)

In Persian the verb ending corresponds the number and person of the subject; however, in the standard Persian sometimes the non-animate (third person) plural subject may correspond with a singular verb:

The bushes were dark evergreen and aromatic and the many buds were waxen green and folded up against the light. (L.F., p. 28)
Peyman (1972) has used the singular verbs *būd* ('was') and *jam' karde* for the plural non-animate subjects *būte-hā va golhā-ye mo'attar* ('aromatic bushes and flowers') and *ghonche-hā-ye besyāri* ('several buds') respectively. Likewise, Azad (1984) has used the singular verb *būd* with the plural subject 'in *būte-hā*, but he has used the plural verb *jam' karde būdand* for the plural subject *ghonche-hā*. However, Rafi’ei (1984) has used plural verbs for plural subjects.

Based on the two steps discussed above (the researcher’s own intuitive judgement and the translator’s regular behaviour/idiosyncrasies), some test items were chosen out of the instances of supposedly unnatural use of cohesive devices found in *Heart of Darkness* and *Lord of the Flies* to check their (un)naturalness on the basis of native speakers’ intuitive judgement. The results will be discussed below.

### E. Potential readers’ or native speakers’ intuitive judgement

The researcher’s judgement can be complemented by the native-speakers’ intuitive judgement, though their knowledge of the kind of language used in the target texts may vary (as it was discussed under ‘language variety’ and ‘speech community’ in Chapter 3 of the thesis). Nevertheless, a more reliable view can be obtained from the questionnaires given to the 70 students and lecturers. In total the number of female students exceeded the male students; 38 out of the total respondents were female. The classes were randomly chosen, but the type of courses were chosen on the
assumption that the students are acquainted with language and literature and have a knowledge of English and may have read translated as well as original novels in English. The following table illustrates the specification of the respondents to the questionnaires or the intuition-judgement tests that were given in autumn 1999:

Table. 8.10. Respondents to the intuition-judgement tests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>No. of respondents</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Age group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate in English Language &amp; Literature</td>
<td>18, in 1st year</td>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>18–21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate in English Language &amp; Literature</td>
<td>15, in 2nd year</td>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>19–22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate in English Literature</td>
<td>9, 1st year</td>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>24–30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate in TEFL</td>
<td>11, 1st year</td>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>24–30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate in the History of Ancient Languages</td>
<td>12, 1st year</td>
<td>Allame Tabataba’i</td>
<td>24–30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University lecturers teaching translation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Allame Tabataba’i</td>
<td>40–55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Test results and discussions

Three different types of tests were given to 70 undergraduate, graduate students as well as lecturers. The nature of these tests has been discussed in Chapter 4, ‘Methodology of the Study’. The results are briefly provided below:

Part A: Underline unacceptable elements and explain.

\[644\] This direction was originally given in Persian. What follows this direction here is the result of the test, but not the test items themselves. A copy of the complete test items in Persian will appear at the appendix.
The problem underlined

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>How many pointed to it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 'ūnhā' to 'ūnā'</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ūnā' to 'ūnhā'</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to...to...' (You...You...)</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(The second one is not necessary.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. marbūt mishē to 'marbūt mishod'</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Informal / colloquial) to (standard)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 'andākhtand' (plural) to 'andākht' (singular)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'andākhtand' to 'andākhtan'</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'biyāyad' to 'biyād'</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bādand' to 'bādan'</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bar-mīgardad' to 'bar-mīgarde'</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'yekī 'ūn panjerehāyash' to 'yekī 'az 'ūn panjerehāyash'</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'panjerehāyash' to 'panjerehāsh'</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mā rā' to 'mā ro'</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tayāre rā' to 'tayāre ro'</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ' vér, makān-e bi makānī.' (Ellipses of the verb)</td>
<td>No rejections</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

66 In Part A, the students were given 10 different passages and asked to underline in each of them the element or elements which they considered as unacceptable or against the Persian natural way of expression, and give their reasons and comments. They were also informed that the passages were taken from real published translations of English novels. They were given no other hints whatsoever as to what was meant by ‘unacceptable’ or ‘unnatural’ or which elements (e.g. ellipsis or pronouns) were intended to be tested.

67 Lack of consistency between two colloquial forms of the 3rd person plural pronoun: 'ūnhā and 'ūnā.

68 Repetition of the 2nd person singular pronoun 'to' in two consecutive sentences.

68' marbūt mishē' (colloquial verb ending) looks unnatural in the (formal) narration; 'marbūt mishod' or 'marbūt mishavāl' could be more natural.
5. '... man, ... man, ... man' (my..., my..., my...) 
   No rejections

6. 'Adieu (bedrūd)' ('Adieu' is extra.) 
   'Good-by' to 'Good-bye' 
   'Isn't it better to bring these English words in the footnote?' 
   'mīgūʿīd' to 'mīgūd' 
   'bāshad' to 'bāshe' 

7. 'be-ʿash' to 'behesh' 
   'be-ʿash' to 'be ū' (colloquial to standard) 

8. 'shāvud' ('Perhaps!') 
   No rejections!

9. 'khokā ye man' ('My Goodness!') 
   9 rejected this! 

10. '--- chī beheshān mīgīn? ---' 
    Or some have changed one or more of the following verbs: 
    'be tasavvor bīyāvarīd,' 'bāvar bedārīm,' 'khosh dārīd' and 'dar tasavvor bīyāvarīd' 
    'beheshān' to 'beheshūn' or 'be ūnḥā' 
    4

---

167 'Adieu' and 'Good-by' were used in the translated (target) texts, in their original English writing!
Part B: Do you agree that the underlined elements are unacceptable (unnatural) in Persian? Why or why not?630

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problematic and/or correction</th>
<th>Other choices</th>
<th>No problem</th>
<th>No reply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 'Jak va Simon va man'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LBT: (Jack and Simon and I)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original: We --- Jack, Simon and me 692 — we climbed the mountain.

2. 'man tā madrese tānīhā shāgerdī budām ke 'āsm dāshīt'694

LBT: (I was the only pupil at school who had asthma.695)

630 In Part B, the students were given 10 different passages, with an underlined element in each of them that was considered as unacceptable or against the Persian natural way of expression. The students were asked whether they agreed with such a view (that the underlined elements were unacceptable according to the TL norms) or not and on what grounds.

631 Literal back-translation

632 The non-standard 'me' is not problematic for Persian because there is not much difference between the subject and object pronouns for the first person singular. The important point here is that the order preferred in English is not natural in Persian. The first person pronoun usually comes before other names or pronouns in Persian.

633 They think the first 'in' is unnecessary.

634 Peyman, p. 4.

635 The problem here is not the ungrammatical relative pronoun 'what'. But it seems that in Persian the verb in the dependent clause (in this specific structure) should agree with the subject of the main clause (i.e. 'I') rather than with the immediate noun preceding the relative clause (i.e. 'the only boy') as in English. (In Persian, verbs carry a subject ending that should agree with the subject of the sentence. If they do not agree, an unnatural structure will emerge.) Suppose that the English sentence were in the present tense: 'I am the only boy in our school that has asthma,' said the fat boy with a touch of pride. 'Has' in English agrees with 'the only boy', not with 'I'. Likewise, the translator might have been influenced by this English structure. However, another explanation can be that the translator wanted to compensate the ungrammatical relative clause 'what' with another ungrammatical element in Persian.
Original: "That's right. Can't catch me breath. I was the only boy in our school what had asthma," said the fat boy with a touch of pride.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problematic and/or correction</th>
<th>Other choices</th>
<th>No problem</th>
<th>No reply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that's right. Can't catch me breath. I was the only boy in our school which had asthma,&quot; said the fat boy with a touch of pride.</td>
<td>31 51%</td>
<td>7 10%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. "Tan digari ghorrید ke "mosallaman""

LBT: (The other grunted that "Certainly.")

Original: 'We will not be free from unfair competition till one of these fellows is hanged for an example,' he said. 'Certainly,' grunted the other.

|            | 22 35% | 26 41% | 41% | 15 24% | 7 |

4. 'har pezeshki hayad bāshad — tā 'andāze'-I'

LBT: (Every doctor should be — to some extent.)

Original: 'Are you an alienist?' I interrupted. 'Every doctor should be — a little,' answered that original, imperturbably.

|            | 54 82% | --- | --- | 13 | 19% | 4 |

5. 'motevayye hūlam? Ke hūlam.'

LBT: (Was I aware? That I was.)

Original: Did I see it? I saw it.

|            | 51 89% | --- | --- | 6 | 10% | 13 |

4. They say both 'dishtam' and 'dishti' are correct.

5. They suggest other words in place of 'mosallaman'.
6. "in shabih-e... 'ast."

LBT: (It is like...)  

Original: Light came out of this river since — you say Knights? Yes; but it is like a running blaze on a plain, like a flash of lightning in the clouds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problematic and/or correction</th>
<th>Other choices</th>
<th>No problem</th>
<th>No reply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. 'in shabih-e... 'ast.'</td>
<td>24 49%</td>
<td>3 06%</td>
<td>22 45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. 'khodā-ye man!' (My God!)

Original: 'Good God!' he said, glaring at the wounded man.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problematic and/or correction</th>
<th>Other choices</th>
<th>No problem</th>
<th>No reply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. 'khodā-ye man!'</td>
<td>33 56%</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. 'pīsh-dāvarīst. bi tārdid.'

LBT: (It is prejudice. Without any doubt.)  

Original: In a very few hours I arrived in a city that always makes me think of a whited sepulchre. Prejudice no doubt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problematic and/or correction</th>
<th>Other choices</th>
<th>No problem</th>
<th>No reply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. 'pīsh-dāvarīst. bi tārdid.'</td>
<td>43 73%</td>
<td>6 10%</td>
<td>10 17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. 'man be hich kodām 'az 'ānhā nemīraftam. Man be rang-e zard mīraftam.'

LBT: (I was not going to any one of them. I was going into the yellow.)  

Original: However, I wasn't going into any of these. I was going into the yellow. Dead in the centre. And the river was there — fascinating — deadly — like a snake.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problematic and/or correction</th>
<th>Other choices</th>
<th>No problem</th>
<th>No reply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9. 'man be hich kodām 'az 'ānhā nemīraftam. Man be rang-e zard mīraftam.'</td>
<td>32 57%</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

698 They think 'iñ' (that) or 'iñhā' (these) is better than 'in' (this).

699 They suggest other Persian (so-called non-Arabic) equivalents.
10. 'va rāstī ham, cherā na!'

LBT: (And indeed, why not!)

Original: ‘After all,’ said the boiler-maker in a reasonable tone, ‘why shouldn’t we get the rivets?’ Why not, indeed! I did not know of any reason why we shouldn’t. ‘They’ll come in three weeks,’ I said confidently.

They suggest ‘cherā ke na’ instead of ‘cherā na’. However, some native-speakers consider the former as less acceptable.
Part C. Rate the following translations according to their degree of acceptability: give number 1 to the most acceptable (natural) one, number 2 to the less acceptable one, and number 3 to the least acceptable one in each item.\(^{701}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st percent</th>
<th>2nd percent</th>
<th>3rd percent</th>
<th>NA (^{702})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A. 50 75%</td>
<td>14 21%</td>
<td>2 03%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. 15 22%</td>
<td>41 62%</td>
<td>10 15%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C. 1 01%</td>
<td>11 16%</td>
<td>54 82%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>A. 17 26%</td>
<td>22 34%</td>
<td>25 39%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. 30 46%</td>
<td>25 39%</td>
<td>9 14%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C. 17 26%</td>
<td>17 26%</td>
<td>30 47%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A. 3 04%</td>
<td>20 31%</td>
<td>40 63%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. 6 09%</td>
<td>34 54%</td>
<td>23 36%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{701}\) In Part C, the students were given 10 different items; in each item there were three different translations of the same original passage. The students were asked to grade all the three choices in each item according to their degree of acceptability; that is, they were supposed to give numbers 1 to the most acceptable and 3 to the least acceptable choices in each item. They were also informed that the passages were taken from real published translations of English novels. They were given no other hints whatsoever as to what was meant by 'unacceptable' or 'unnatural' or which elements (e.g. ellipsis or pronouns) were intended to be tested.

\(^{702}\) NA = The number of respondents who did not give any answer for the item.

\(^{703}\) It contains 'esmamā' (twice) instead of 'esmamo'. It seems to be a regional dialect and quite unacceptable.

\(^{704}\) It contains 'barā hamin' in place of 'barāye hamin' (standard) or 'vāse-ye hamin' (informal). There is also inconsistency in style: 'tasmīm bēgīrīm ke che bekonīm' and 'asāmi-ye yekdīgar' are formal and the rest are informal. 'asāmi' has an Arabic plural form that makes it peculiar in a colloquial style.

\(^{705}\) In 'Rālf jalase karde. Tā tasmīm bēgīrīm chīkār konīm' the point (the full stop) is extra; that is we should have one sentence instead of two.

\(^{706}\) 'bom' (instead of 'bomb') seems unacceptable. The question mark has been forgotten. And 'hame-ye shān' is used instead of 'hama-shān'.

\(^{707}\) It contains 'esmamā' (twice) instead of 'esmamo'. It seems to be a regional dialect and quite unacceptable.
| C. | 54 | 85% | 9  | 14% | 00 | 00% |
| 4. A. | 9  | 14% | 35 | 54% | 20 | 31% |
| B. | 50 | 78% | 14 | 22% | 00 | 00% |
| C. | 5 | 07% | 15 | 23% | 44 | 68% |
| 5. A. 708 | 11 | 17% | 18 | 28% | 34 | 54% |
| B. | 38 | 60% | 22 | 35% | 3 | 04% |
| C. 710 | 14 | 22% | 23 | 36% | 26 | 41% |
| 6. A. 711 | 42 | 64% | 23 | 35% | 00 | 00% |
| B. | 00 | 00% | 00 | 00% | 65 | 100% |
| C. | 23 | 35% | 42 | 64% | 00 | 00% |
| 7. A. 712 | 8  | 12% | 10 | 16% | 45 | 71% |
| B. | 28 | 44% | 23 | 36% | 8  | 12% |
| C. | 23 | 36% | 30 | 47% | 10 | 12% |
| 8. A. | 35 | 53% | 26 | 40% | 4  | 06% |

707 The two sentences ‘khalabáine chi goft? Ráje' be bomb-e ‘atomi?’ should be one; that is, the question mark in the middle is extra.

708 ‘dast nayáid’ is an obsolete and very formal verb. ‘khákáro’ and ‘badanásh’ disagree in respect to their number.

709 ‘nemífahmad’ and ‘hastím’ are formal verbs. ‘bábáti va na hích kár-e dígár.’ as a sentence with a verbal ellipsis seems unacceptable.

710 ‘jazíre-‘ast’ (instead of ‘jazíre- ‘as’) and ‘hishki (instead of ‘híchki’) seem unacceptable to some degrees.

711 In ‘ün ye pesár’ (P. 20), ‘ye’ as an equivalent of the English definite article (‘the’) is totally unacceptable. It seems to be a typographical mistake or taken from the translator’s dialect! The two other translators have used ‘pesár-‘eh’; that is, in colloquial Persian ‘-‘eh’ or stressed ‘-‘e’ at the end of a noun is equivalent to the English ‘the’.

712 There is a disagreement of number between two sequential verbs: ‘dáshtím’ and ‘bebínám’.
The respondents have largely supported the researcher’s judgement, particularly in type b items where the supposedly unnatural elements were underlined. In type c, sometimes it is not so clear why they graded an item below or above another one. The most reliable test type seems to be type a where no clue was given as to what element was exactly tested in this test of naturalness.

The fluctuations observed in the results may have various reasons. Two major ones are as follows. Firstly, the students who answered the questionnaires have come

713 ‘betān’ (instead of ‘behetūn’) can be confused with ‘botīn’ (meaning ‘cement’) since in Persian the short vowels, ‘a, o, and e’, are not written but they are pronounced. So it seems unacceptable. The use of ‘jānevari’ (formal style) is a mismatch of style, and it is more natural to have the colloquial form of ‘jūnevari’.

714 The sentence ‘sakāre-ye marjān.’ seems to require a verb. And the change of special Arabic script for the letter ‘-an’ (equivalent of the English ‘-ly’ that makes adverbs) in the word ‘qablan’ is an extreme alteration and seems unacceptable to some degrees.

715 ‘dide-'am’ is in the formal style. The informal and more acceptable one in this context is ‘didam’.

716 The verbal phrases ‘lezem bäshad’ and ‘tashkil bedahim’ and the pronoun ‘išilai’ in the direct speech are formal. Also, the word ‘yekbari’ seems very formal in the narration.
from different regions of the country with different mother languages or dialects; they are not sure about their knowledge of the Tehrani dialect or even the standard language. Secondly, the borderline between what constitutes natural and unnatural is blurry, and not so clear-cut.

One drawback of the test, as mentioned by some of the students, was the brevity of the passages that hindered comprehension to some extent. Other general views given about the test items, particularly by the lecturers of translation, are listed below:717

1. ‘The verbs do not correspond to each other in respect to their style. Some of them are shekaste and colloquial, others are ‘complete’ and formal.’

2. ‘The problem with this translation [of one of the items] is that the translator has mixed the colloquial language with the standard language. Therefore, the translation has little attraction (is not very interesting).’

3. ‘These passages were neither totally colloquial nor bookish [i.e. written].’

4. ‘The narrator’s word should not be colloquial.’ [Tendency to express the norm]

5. ‘Some verbs and words were put in formal style and others in informal style, and consequently the passages do not look fluent and consistent during reading.’

6. ‘Some of the shekaste (‘broken’) and colloquial words caused misunderstanding such as, ‘be-emân’ (‘to us’), ‘betîn’ (‘to you’) and ‘kü’

717 These remarks were written on the test papers as the respondents’ comments. All are my translation.
(‘where’) that might be confused with ‘be-amän’ (‘to the refuge/trust’), ‘botün’ (‘cement’) and ‘käh’ (‘mountain’) respectively.

7. [On the expression, ‘my God’] ‘This combination has become customary in modern translated (target) texts — if the standard is idiomaticity, then we can use some idiomatic terms from the ordinary language in its place, such as ‘ey wāy’. (Mrs. Farzaneh Farahzad, lecturer at Allame Tabataba’i University)

8. [On the use, ‘bītardīd’ (‘No doubt.’), an adverb as an elliptical sentence] ‘If this (the use of a word instead of a sentence) is the manner of expression in the source text, then it is necessary to preserve it in Persian. One of the features of the narrative literature is that it avoids normality in its syntactic and semantic combinations.’ (Mrs. Farzaneh Farahzad)

9. ‘In general, it is not correct to use [a certain] dialect in translation since in that case [people of] each region should translate into their own dialect, then we will have ten different types of translations.’ ‘Although it is not permissible to use a dialect, some translators do so.’ (Mr. Saddiqi, lecturer at the University of Allame Tabataba’i University from Mashad)

Other examples of unnatural use of cohesive devices taken from the corpus of the study

The corpus of study has been studied with a view to find examples of unnatural use of cohesive devices. A few instances have been selected and used for the intuition-judgement tests that have been discussed earlier, but there are indeed more instances of the unnatural use of cohesive devices. Some representative examples will be given below:
a. Lack of consistency (Mixture of styles)

1. "I don't care what they call me," he said confidently, "so long as they don't call me what they used to call me at school." [...] "They used to call me 'Piggy.'"

(L.F. p. 11)

In colloquial Persian, the object marker rā that comes after a direct object is pronounced (and hence recorded) as -o or -ro, but Peyman (1972), unlike Rafi’ei (1984) who has used -o, has used -ā after 'esmam ('my name') which seems to be a regional dialect (perhaps Isfahani) and unacceptable. (See the results of item I of test type C discussed above.) Moreover, in colloquial Persian when the direct object is attached to a verb particle, the particle loses a -y sound or letter at the end, if at all this sound or letter exists in the standard Persian. However, Azad (1984) has kept -y at the end of 'sedā' (sedā) and recorded it as sedāyam once and removed it in the next instance of the word sedā in the same sentence that makes the phrase sedām. Preserving this -y letter and sound is a feature of the standard Persian. Another feature of the standard Persian used here inconsistently by Azad (1984) is the third person plural verb ending in the verbs 'nakon-ænd', 'kon-ænd' and 'bād-ænd', while in another verb in the above example he has used the colloquial third person plural verb
ending 'mikard-an’ without the last d. Thus, Azad (1984) has mixed some features of the standard Persian within a colloquial utterance in a dialogue that contains colloquial words such as ‘mano (equivalent to man + rā in the standard Persian, meaning direct object me), ‘ānā (equivalent to ‘anhā in the standard Persian, meaning ‘they’), rūm (equivalent to rūyam in the standard Persian, meaning the object of preposition ‘on me’ used in a clause literally meaning ‘the name they had put on me’) and the verb fargū nadāre (‘I don’t care’) with the colloquial verb ending -e(h). Such inconsistencies create some degrees of unnaturalness and at the same time indicate some doubts on the part of translators about the ‘proper’ methods of recording the colloquial language.

2. “We got to let that burn out now. And that was our firewood.” (I.F., p. 41)

"حالا باید ولش کیم که بسوزد و خاموش شود. اونا هیزمی بود که بر آتش روشد کردن داشتیم.
(P., 52)

"باید ولش کیم حورش بسوزد و خاموش بشه. این همون هزیم هانیه که واسه آتش لازم داشتیم.
(R., 89)

"دیگه باید ولش کیم بسوزد و خاموش بشه. اون هیزمی بود که برای سوزوندن لازم داشتیم.
(A., 66)

Peyman (1972) has used standard forms of verbs besīzad (‘burn’) and khāmūsh beshavad (‘extinguish’) in a colloquial utterance containing several colloquial words such as velesh konīm (‘let’), ‘ānā (‘they’), barā (‘for’) and ātīsh (‘fire’) that have created a mixture of styles and lack of consistency leading to unnaturalness. However the two other translators have used the colloquial forms of the above verbs: besūze and khāmūsh beshe.
b. My God!

Safarian (1976) has used *khodā-ye man* (‘my God’) several times as a direct translation (or as a result of indirect influence) of the English expression ‘my Lord’. He has used this rather unnatural expression as an equivalent for the interjections ‘Good God!’, ‘Good Lord’, ‘By Jove!’, ‘(Good) Heavens!’ and ‘my goodness’ indiscriminately.

c. Unnecessary repetition of the subject pronoun in two consecutive sentences

*Piggy came and stood outside the triangle. This indicated that he wished to listen, but would not speak; and Piggy intended it as a gesture of disapproval.*

*(LF, p. 71)*

Some Persian native speakers consider the repetition of the subject pronoun ‘*î*’ in two consecutive sentences of the above passage as redundant and unnecessary, and hence unacceptable.

d. Cataphoric demonstratives!

It seems that Persian does not prefer to use demonstrative pronouns in a cataphoric way (referring forward to something coming later). The following underlined sentence seems unnatural to native speakers:

*Simon was not in the bathing pool as they had expected.* *(LF, p. 50)*

*(R., 110)*

The cohesive tie in this example is a structural one.
In the translation of the above English sentence into Persian, an obligatory shift has occurred that has changed the order of the two clauses; moreover, the verbal phrase that is omitted after ‘expected’ in English (i.e. him to be there), has been recovered through an explicitation process. These two changes have been made by the three translators, but a further shift has been necessary that has been ignored by Rafi’ei (1984): that is a shift of the position of the demonstrative pronoun ‘there’ and its presupposed item (i.e. in the bathing pool).

e. Ambiguity

When two 3\textsuperscript{rd} person singular (or plural) are mentioned one after another closely, sometimes an ambiguity arises as to which one of them a following (verb ending attached) pronoun is referred, and hence, say, the subject of the following sentence becomes ambiguous. In such cases, Persian translators usually use (proper) nouns to avoid ambiguity and unnaturalness.\footnote{Of course, the notion of ambiguity is more related to \textit{clarity}, but clarity itself is closely related to naturalness and both are considered as target-language norms.} For instance see the following example:

\textit{Jack spoke. "Give me a drink."

Henry brought \textit{him} a shell and \textit{he} drank, watching Piggy and Ralph over the jagged rim. (LF, p. 136)\footnote{هنری در پرچم نارگیلی آورد و آن را \textit{کشید}؛ در همان حال از روندی \textit{به} دندانه دار \textit{بروسته} نارگیل، رالف و جرخکی را \textit{نگاه} می‌کرد. (R., 285)}}
Rafi’ei (1984) has avoided using a marked pronoun in the sentence following the one beginning with Henry; hence, he has created an unwanted ambiguity as regards to the subject of the following two clauses: it is not clear whether Henry or Jack is the subject of those clauses. His translation can be back-translated into English as ‘Henry brought a coconut [full of water] for him and drank it’. Peyman (1972) has used two (marked) detached pronouns after Henry, and Azad (1984) has mentioned Jack (after Henry) to remove such an ambiguity.

f. Use of regional dialects

“And an airplane, and a TV set,” said Ralph sourly, “and a steam engine.” (L.F., p. 59)

Peyman (1972) seems to have used a regional word form ‘o that resembles and hence confused with the third person singular pronoun ‘î in writing. It is also likely to be a typographical mistake that has changed wa (‘و’) into ‘o (‘و’), but as
Peyman (1972) has used other regional forms (see for example the result of item 6 of the test type C discussed above concerning the phrase ‘‘in ye pesar’’ as well as example 1 of section a above), it seems more likely to be chosen from a regional dialect. Peyman (1972), who translated before the revolution, has occasionally and sporadically used his regional dialect in his translation. For instance, the underlined word in the following sentence is taken from a regional dialect and seems strange for the normal reader:

(P., 48) "--AS' b. iw; -)j »j .. 3 v-' jl cS T ýIAJ;

Peyman (1972) has used the word khikeh from a regional dialect. However Rafi’ei (1984) has used khiki (R., 85), a more acceptable colloquial word.

**Conclusion**

The norm about the use of colloquial language and its blending with the standard language in novels that was discussed at the beginning of this chapter needs to be adjusted and extended a bit,

A mixture of styles in a short passage\(^\text{720}\) will very often appear to be unnatural to the target audience, and if the aim is a ‘natural’ expression, this kind of mixture (of spellings, words or structures) is best avoided.

If there is indeed a consistent mixture, it can serve to highlight or foreground some stylistic abnormality, thus alerting target readers to an unusual feature in the original text.

Therefore, consistency in style in Persian prose translation is of paramount importance. Lack of consistency is a sign of unnaturalness and the regular, consistent

\(^{720}\) This refers to idiosyncratic mixtures — for instance, the incorporation of spellings, words, or structures from the colloquial language into the written language — in a short stretch of text, say, in a turn of a dialogue where the relationship between the addresser and the addressee(s) and the context of situation are constant, or in a paragraph of narration recited by a character or the author.
shifts from the source to the target language is a sign of the recognition of the differences between the two languages and readiness to accommodate the translated (target) text to the target language/culture norms. Not only is consistency in using and keeping a consistent style of language important, it is also important to record the spelling of the words in the colloquial style consistently.

In order to adapt the translated text to the norm of naturalness and expectations of the readers, translators resort to certain strategies more or less consciously; among them are shift, modulation, explicitation, implicitation, and cohesion change. However, there is a more important strategy, interference, which is adopted by translators. It constitutes the foundation of translation, but is at the same time the most influential factor involved in creating unnatural items in the target text. It is the routine strategy that may create a trap for the translator who translates without much thought.
Progress in cross-cultural communication will not be born out of slogans emphasizing only heterogeneity and changeability of cultures and denying the reality of different cultural norms and patterns (in the name of "deconstruction," misguided universalism, or whatever). Progress in cross-cultural understanding requires a basis in well-founded studies of different cultural norms.\(^{721}\)

There is a natural use of linguistic forms common to the native speakers of each language. The violation of naturalness creates 'translationese', 'interlanguage' or 'third language'.

However, language is a dynamic entity constantly changing and adopting new elements, including foreign ones. The point is that each language (or culture) has a level of tolerance and pace in accepting and appropriating foreign elements (interference from the SL through translation). Translators are often criticised for violating these thresholds, but they are also praised when they function within the limits for being creative and expanding the potentials of the language.

\(^{721}\) Wierzbicka, p. 21.
Conclusions

At the methodological level, this thesis has blended empirical description, with polysystem theory and norm concepts as well as cultural studies and socio-political analysis. In this way, the combination of descriptive and systemic study made it possible to study (and proved effective in studying) topics at microstructural and macrostructural levels in a single study.

Based on the theoretical discussions, the first major contribution of this thesis concerns the definition and analysis of various features and aspects of naturalness. Hence, a rather comprehensive definition is proposed in Chapter 3. There has been much misconception about this significant parameter in translation, and the present study has questioned the polarity between naturalness and adequacy raised by Toury as the initial norm of translation. Naturalness cannot be correlated negatively with adequacy. These are two different phenomena. The increase in the degree of naturalness in a translation does not necessarily mean a decrease in its adequacy. The degree of one, or both of them, can increase or decrease in a translation without affecting each other. It has been suggested that the notion of domestication (as opposed to foreignisation) elaborated by Venuti does not necessarily go along with 'fluency' or naturalness. Foreignisation as the strategy of importing foreign cultural capital can coexist with naturalness of expression. They do not necessarily contradict each other.

From the perspective of polysystem theory, one major conclusion that can be extracted from this research is the phenomenon of the centrality of translation, particularly translation of novels, in the Persian literary polysystem throughout the 20th century. It is an undeniable fact that translation has been effective in developing a
modern 'simple' style of writing and in the use of colloquial language in modern Persian literature. It seems that when translation attains canonicity, the original writers try to imitate the language of translation and write pseudo-translations, but when translation is marginal, translators try to be as natural as possible and make adaptations, or pseudo-origina. Examples of both have been quoted in this study.

As to the conclusions derived from the norms analysis, it should be noted that the Iranian prose translator has a choice when faced with norms and models regulating social, cultural and linguistic factors towards which he or she often has a conviction and takes a position even before embarking on translation. As there are different (though limited) paths and trends within these norms, various versions of the translated novel in Persian will finally be produced based on the trends chosen and followed by the translator. Translation scholars often reject a perfect translation and account for the existence of several different versions of the same original text with the possibility of different interpretations (readings) of the source text. An important conclusion from the study of these norms and models is that not only different interpretations may exist, but also different translations exist because different norms and models operate on translators, and translators take different positions towards those norms and adopt different trends and paths within those norms.

Another conclusion of the study of norms and models of text production suggests that there exists a state of diglossia in the Persian language, the use of which has increasingly developed through prose translation in the Persian literary system. It seems that this duality in language has always accompanied the dual paradigm of Persian culture.

From the cultural perspective, the problem of encounter with the West has been one of the causes that has contributed to the major social movements during the
last two hundred years in Iran. Two major trends have been followed by Iranian intellectuals and prominent figures at certain periods of time — westernisation and nativism. After the Constitutional Revolution (1905-11) in Iran the westernised intellectuals gained the upper hand, but after the Islamic Revolution (1977-79) the nativists became dominant. This thesis has reflected the existence of a dual identity among the Iranian cultural elites, which was emerged through their contacts with the West. Some intellectuals have totally rejected their own cultural identity and insisted on the necessity of imitating the West. However, with the Islamic Revolution this trend of dependency has largely been reversed and a nativist attitude has been adopted. A ‘return to the self’ and intercultural exchange based on equality and mutual respect towards each other’s culture and civilisation have become the norm, while domination and dependence have been totally rejected.

From the linguistic analysis, it has been concluded that in order to adapt the target (translated) text to the norm of naturalness and expectations of the readers, translators resort to certain strategies more or less consciously; among them are transposition, modulation, explicitation, implicitation, and change in the type of cohesion.

In a translation, a transformation is sometimes required on the basis of the TL norms and readers’ expectations that will lift the semantic/pragmatic content or message away from the SL cohesive perspective and orient it in accordance with the cohesive necessities of a TL text. This study has shown a connection between TL norms and the translator’s strategies to resolve (supposedly negative) interference. If there remain any instances of unwanted interference in a translation, it can be attributed to the translator’s ‘lack of competence,’ ‘negligence,’ or just because he or
she thinks that such an interference is necessary, creative and positive for a literary text.

Particularly, as the distinction between colloquial and standard languages in the Persian prose translation has rather a short history, and as the methods of recording the language of speech have not yet been consolidated and completely fixed, there is not much consensus among translators (and original writers) or within the works of a single translator or even within a single work.

As regards the hypotheses of the research, this study has supported that:

1- 'Naturalness has a positive correlation with regularities in micro-level shifts'. While naturalness is exclusively related to the TL norms, unnaturalness is connected to SL interference, as well as interference from a third language or dialect and an inconsistent mixture of styles in the TL.

2- The TL norms are dynamic processes that change along the lines of power relations. The Islamic Revolution (1979) was a major social change and turning point in the Iranian culture that had a significant influence on the system of TL norms of acceptability/naturalness.

3- A translator's performance in respect to naturalness is not homogeneous throughout his translation.

**Limitations and Further Directions**

Adequacy of data gathered is often problematic in a descriptive study of translation. A single researcher of translation is not able to collect large amounts of data as to generalize safely to every text type and period. Most generalisations in translation studies suffer from this deficiency. Corpus analysis based on computer readable large
data and e-texts\textsuperscript{722} can enhance the `representativeness' of the data collected on translators' behaviour. Through this study, it has become clear to the researcher that each of the three possible methods of establishing the naturalness of utterances has its own drawbacks. All these three methods (i.e. the researcher's intuitive judgement as a critic, the readers' intuitive judgements as native speakers of the TL gathered through questionnaires and tests and the translators' regular behaviour and consistent shifts collected from the corpus of the study) have been used in this study to complement each other. However, it seems that the data collected from the corpus of study can be more reliable and revealing. The major drawback with this method is that it is often not practical to gather large amounts of data, and researchers tend to rush to reach some tangible generalizable conclusions. Therefore, an improvement in the techniques of gathering large amounts of data (with the help of computing technology) and analysis of the translators' regular behaviour (instead of idiosyncrasies) can increase the reliability and representativeness of the data.

In general, the translation researcher usually bases his or her study on some fundamental assumptions of homogeneity. For instance, one such assumption is that the existence of a book with the name of a translator means that he or she is the only person directly involved in the production of that translation while indeed other translators, editors, proof-readers and typesetters are also involved. Another assumption the translation researcher makes is that the translator is an organism that always works at the same level of performance like a powerful computer without any breakdown or weakness, but human beings have emotions and motives, they may

\textsuperscript{722} The original novel \textit{Heart of Darkness} has been available as an e-text that helped this research a lot, particularly in searching all the examples of pronouns.
sometimes be under time pressure, and the translation of a novel is a prolonged but interrupted process, it does not take place in one brief sitting through which the translator is 'fresh' and completely conscious. Thus, different moods and states of mind may produce different levels of performance.

These factors should be accounted for in further studies. That is, the individuals involved and the role of each of them in the production of a translation as well as different states of mind during the process of translation can also be important because the researcher intends to take all the factors involved in the process and product of translation descriptively. If a descriptive translation scholar wants to reflect and represent a 'model of reality' as exactly and closely as possible, all the parameters involved should be taken into consideration.

Another limitation of this study seems to be connected to the age-old 'problem' of conceptual binary distinctions. Although one of the results of this study is the rejection of dichotomies in translation studies, ironically this study itself could not get rid of the same problem. For instance, in the discussion of interference a distinction is made between positive and negative transfer. Other dichotomies are also mentioned, such as obligatory vs. optional shifts, prescriptive vs. descriptive, competence vs. performance and macrostructural vs. microstructural. The nature of these dualities should be carefully analysed and their reality investigated. Are these dualities just conceptual explanatory tools or do they really exist in the outside world?

A third limitation is that this study has not divided shifts into obligatory and optional. A further study of obligatory shifts can shed more light on the requirements of the target language as compared to optional shifts that indicates the translator's creativity and manipulation of the text. We can only talk of unnaturalness where an obligatory shift has not been made.
As it was necessary to narrow down the topic of research at different levels (microstructural as well as macrostructural), this thesis has chosen the topics of 'naturalness' (rather than 'adequacy'), 'English to Persian' (not the other way), translation of the 'novels' (rather than the 'drama', 'short story' or 'poetry'), the novels written in the 20th century in Britain and translated within 15 years before and 15 years after the Islamic Revolution in Iran, and the cohesive devices of reference and ellipsis (rather than lexical cohesion, substitution, connectives, etc.). Other alternatives can be studied in further studies. My particular suggestion for further study is a historical and systemic research on the use of colloquial language in the Persian translation of dramas since the translation of drama had begun several years before the translation of novels in Iran and the colloquial language was first developed in drama before opening its way into the novel. The drama can be considered as the pioneer of western literary genres that could open its way into the Persian literary polysystem.
Appendices:

Appendix 1: Ayatollah Khamenei's address to the publishers

leader-publisher

leader receives dozens of iranian publishers

leader receives dozens of iranian publishers
tehran, may 18, irna -- the leader of the islamic revolution,
ayatollah seyed-ali khamenei, in a meeting with a group of iranian
publishers said the islamic republic is in principle receptive to
opposition ideologies and allows publication of those ideologies
because once wrong ideas are published, the proper ideology will
markedly stand out from the wrong ideas.

he said: "the enemy is trying to attack the political system in
the islamic republic with the aid of cultural devices. to publish
ideas and ideas that have a certain orientation and are part of a
framework for undermining the system is harmful because the persons
behind those ideas do not solely seek to offer a mere idea or a
philosophical or political thought and they may be knowingly or
unknowingly pursuing a plot for sabotage and subversion.

publication and dissemination of unethical works of art is another
aspect of a negative cultural work which will have immediate effect.
that sector of works of art which have ruinous ethical effects will
have to be prevented, this prevention is the necessary screening
practice. therefore, islamic agencies, as well as the ministry of
islamic guidance and publishers must be wary lest they will lose sight
of that goal.

certainly, the islamic republic is opposed to certain ruinous
freedoms such as sexual freedom and the freedom to commit sin, and it
will not allow the young generation of the state to be exposed to
ruinous effects of those things in the area of culture and arts.
it will not allow the youth to be led astray and to corruption.
therefore, the system is sensitive to the issue of the print media,
books and publishing only from that angle.

freedom of thought and academic freedoms were among the earliest
slogans of the islamic revolution. since a long time ago a cultural
and political move has started by the opponents of islam and the
system with the idea of leaving its mark on the minds of the people
in the area of ethics and public faith. today, there is a strong
movement towards that direction, but with the grace of god, the
islamic system will stand firmly against that movement.

the next step of the opponents of the islamic system is to
infiltrate the pillars of the islamic system of government. the fuss
about 'advisory supervision' is nonsensical and unfounded, and is
done with the idea to weaken the guardian council and with the idea
of paving the way for the presence in the legislative organs of the
state of people opposed to islam. that is what they once did (during
the monarchy) to the leading alims, and they think today, too, they
can do the same thing to the guardians council. but they judge amiss
for that will certainly not happen.

the pillars of the state's political system are very robust. the
administrators of the government and especially the ministry of
culture and islamic guidance should not fear the fuss of the
likelihood of their being accused of opposition with freedoms. you
must know that even if you offer the highest levels of freedoms and at
the same time be loyal to your principles, the propaganda elements of
the enemy will nonetheless describe you as being opposed to freedoms. It is not logical for us to remove all legislative obstacles to satellite (television) already on the presumption that satellite technology will advance even further in the coming years. That would be an act of culture shock. Rather than do that, we must explore possible alternatives to preventing satellite impact. Therefore, the ban against satellite television which was adopted by the Majlis is a proper law, and alongside with that law we should also supply the means for keeping the minds of our youth immune (to unislamic satellite culture).

The leader of the Islamic Revolution addressed himself to the administrators with the three branches of the government in that respect saying for the time being the nation is at a very crucial juncture, and that the task of addressing the needs of the youth and their protection against unislamic culture is the first priority for the government.
Appendix 2: The establishment of Anjoman-e Qalam-e Iran ('Iran's Pen Association')

thr 019
association-pen

* iran's pen association starts activities

tehran, june 2, irna -- the first post-revolution association of iranian writers, translators, poets and researchers under the title of 'iran pen association' started its activities as of may 26.

the association which has acquired official permission from the culture and islamic guidance ministry, said in an announcement that it will be active as an independent association with no attachment to any specific political grouping or faction.

mohammad reza sarshar (rahgozar), spokesman and a founding member of the association, said the goal behind founding the association is to defend freedom of expression and thoughts within the framework of islam and the constitution and support material and moral rights of the creators of literary works in an effort to remove existing irregularities.

he said that the association has been formed through the efforts of 19 iranian authors, translators, poets and researchers, adding that all those with at least one valuable literary work and with commitment to the constitution, belief in a divine religion and no bad record can become member of the association.

however, he said there was nothing wrong with political inclinations of members of the association provided that the political group they support is officially recognized.

sarshar said that the first general assembly of the association will meet in late summer this year following which members of the presiding board will be elected for a period of two years and three inspectors for one year.

he further added that financial resources of the association will be supplied through members, arrangement of profit making cultural programs, participation in economic activities not banned by the association's regulations and contributions of other institutions.

ns/ks
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Appendix 3: The Establishment of Kanun-e Nevisandegan-e 'Iran ('The Iranian Authors' Centre ')}
Appendix 4: The questionnaires given to test the readers’ intuitive judgement

بسمه تعالى

خواهران و برادران گرامی! این آزمون ترجمه به نفع و رفع منجر به تحقیق دکترست. لذا از همکاری شما در پاسخگویی دقیق به هر سه بخش آن کمال تشکر را دارم. تمامی مطالب آزمون عیناً از ترجمه هایی موجود درمانهای انگلیسی گرفته شده است و هر گونه نقل و نقل احتمالی مربوط به اصل متون است.

الف- لطفاً در متن‌های ذیل، زیر قسمت‌هایی را که با بی‌طبعی زبان فارسی ناسازگار (با از نظر خواننده نامتنول) تشخیص می‌دهید، خط بکشید و در صورت امکان توضیح نیز بدهید.

خوکه تمساح بزرگ و صدف را که توی نست رالف بر قهوه می‌زد، نوازش کرد.

رالف?

رالف سر بلند کرد.

ما می‌توانیم با این صدف اوتای دیگه رو خبر کنیم، جلسه کتیم، اونها وقتی صدای بوق ما رو شنیدن، خودشون میان ...؟ به رالف نگاه کرد، چشماهای می‌خندید.

پس تو همه‌ونه می‌خواستی، مگه نه؟ واسه همین بود که تو صدفر از آپ گرفتی؟

ب- ابن مزه پرایی، که به کارشان مربوط می‌شه، هر چه و کرکر دسته همسایان بلند شد.

آنها مثل پرده‌های سیاه که روی تیرک صلبی شکل می‌شیندند، روی ماسه‌ها چندک زده بودند

و با کنجکاوی رالف را برانداز می‌کردند.

پسر چاق یک لحظه در فکر شد:

خلبان چی؟

پسر مورب پایایی را پایین آورد و روی زمین یکت کرده نشست.

بگوییماً وقتی ما را ادعاختند زمین خودش پرورا به کرده و رفته، نمیتوانم اینجا فرد بیاید. با طیاره چرخ دار نمی‌شد.

بی‌م‌ها حمله کرده بودند!

ژوهر حال خلبان سالم برهم گردید.

پسر چاق با تکان دادن سر نظر اورا رگرد کرد و گفت:

و وقتی داشتم می‌افادهمیم از تو یکی اون پنجره هایش نگاه کردم قسم قسمت دیگر طیاره را دیدم، از نوش داشت او می‌اوهمد.
پی - در متن‌های ذیل، زیر قسمتهایی که خوانندگان آنها را با طبیعت زبان فارسی ناسازگار یافته (آنها را نام‌قبول تشخیص داده)، خط کشیده است. لطفا نظر خود را در رد بیان تایید آن و همچنین دلیل و توضیحی برای هر یک بدهید.

1- اما این به جزیره گنگی، عکس و سیمون و در همه مون از کو بالا رفتن. گو می‌ه مه به جادوی میمونه. توش عظا هس و آب هسن و...

2- پسر چاقی با عروس محصول گفت: "درسه. راحتی نمی‌تونم نفس بکشم. من تدو مدرسه‌تنها شاگردی بودم که آسم داشته. از وقت هم که ساله بودم عینک می‌زدم.

3- ادامه داد: "از این رقابت‌های خلاص نمی‌شوم مگر اینکه یکی از آنها را برجای بیفتد.

4- دیگران به دار بکشیم، آن دیگری غریب که مسلماً.

5- حرفس را بریم و پرسیدم اینجا بی‌بیماری‌های روانی هستید؟ واقعیتا را به خونسردی بیان داشت و گفت "هر چیز که باد بیان خدا آساید - گدا آساید".

6- هیچ آن عقلی اعتقاد مافوقش را بی‌خود و بی جهت رد نمی‌گذارد. متوسطه بودم؟ که بودم پس نگر چه می‌خواستم؟ و آنها که واقعاً می‌خواستم میخ پرچ بود، به خدا قسم! فقط میخ برج! 

7- از آن پس هم‌واره نور از این رود بیرون تا این آسیاب را است - شما می‌گویید دلاره؟ بله؛ اما این شیبی شعله ای مدام بی‌نشت، و شیبی بقاء تند گزر بر یک در ایران است.

8- داشت‌م سکن را به طرف راست می‌چرخانم که زایر پزشکی بیوش، عرق ریزان و هیجان زده، در آستانه در ظاهر دش و گفت "رئیس مرا فرسنده، که - اما نگاه کلامکه به لحاظی رسمی شرعنی بود بند آمد و همچنان که خبره به سیاه زخمی نگاه می‌کرد داد،

9- خدا، من!

10- پس از جند ساعت به شهری رساند که همیشه تصویر گوری سفید شده را در می‌بود.

11- نوشته بود و رودخانه مه در آنجا بود - فربنده، مهلک - مثل یک مار.

12- سرگلاغی، به لحنی منطبق گفت و اگاهی، چرا نمی‌میخ پرچ به امان بهره؟ و راستی، هم

جریان! وکیل به خاطر کرم و با اطمینان گفت کاش هنگ Revised به امان می‌رسید..."
ج- لطفاً در هر بخش از متن‌های ذیل بهترین متن را بلحاظ سازگاری با طبیعت زبان فارسی (با مقایسه از نظر شما) با شماره (1) متن نه جناد سازگار را با شماره (2) و ناسازگار ترین متن را با شماره (3) در جه بندی نمایید.

الف: رالف که نفتی از چی می‌خواهد بگوید ساکت ماند. ناجار پسر قبیص صحبت خود را اینطور اداه داد:

اواسته ممن ممس که اسم چی باشیه، فقط دوس ندارم با اون اسمی که بچه های مرده گذاشته بوده، چکو سلام بزنه؟

راfft که کم به موضوع علاقه مند شده بود، پرسياد:

مگه تو مرده چی بیت می‌گفتی؟

پسر قبیص، پشت سر خود را نگاه کرد، به طرف رالف خم شد و آسمه به او گفت:

اسمو گذاشتته بودن خوکه؟

ب: رالف متوجه اشاره او نشد و پسر قبیص ناجار شد که ادامه بدهد:

تا وقتی به اسمی که تو مرده گذاشتته بودند صدای نکنند، قری نداره چی صدام

کنند.

چ: هنگ نخوانمی بود.

کنجبکار رالف برانگیخته شده بود.

تو مرده چی صدای می‌گیرید؟

پسر قبیص سر برگرداند و به پشت سر نگاه کرد و بعد به طرف رالف خم شد و به

جوا گفت: "بنا من خوکه صدا می‌گیرد!".

چ: رالف متوجه منطور او نشد بود ناجار پسر قبیص ادامه داد.

با لحنی محرمانه گفت: "برای من تا وقتی مث این نده صدای نزتن فرقی نمی‌کنه که اسما چی

بگذارن..."

رالف که کم م علاقه مند می‌چری پرسياد:

تو مرده بیت چی می‌گفت؟

پسر قبیص نگاهی از روی شانه به پشت افکند و به طرف رالف خم شد و آسمه در

گوش او گفت: "اسم و (خوکه) گذاشتته بودن.

الف: "بنا همین رالف خوانست این جمله تشکیل بشه تا تصمیم بگیریم که باید چه بکنیم. ما

اسمی که بازگرفته که باید گرفته. اون جانیا. اون دو نام که نه قلون سام و اریک. اون یکی

اریک؟" چاپ نه؟ اسم تو سامه...".

ب: "بنا همین بود که رالف جمله تشکیل داد تا بینیم چیکار باید بکنیم. ما اسم به ها

رو می‌دویم. اون جانیا هستن. این دو تا دولو هستن. سام و اریک. کنونوشون اریک بود؟ تو?

نی تو سامه...".

چ: "بنا همین که رالف جمله کرد، تا تصمیم بگیریم چیکار کنیم و چیکار نکنیم. اسم

اینارو هم پا گرفته. اون جانیا. اون دو تا، اون دو فولو ها، سام و اریک. کدوم اریکه...؟ تو؟

نی تو سامه...؟".
الف: ان. نه آخه نمی‌توان به یک مه کشیدن خلبان درباره بمب اتمی چی می‌گفت. همه شان مرده
ب: چرا هم شون مرده؟ نه اما هم به یک مه کشیدن خلبان درباره بمب اتمی چی می‌گفت؟
ج: "آونا نمی‌توان به یک مه کشیدن خلبان درباره بمب اتمی چی می‌گفت؟
همه شون مرده.

الف: جک گفت: "هاید گردن خوک برید که خون در بیرون بیاید، و گردن نمی‌شه گوشتشو.

خورده.

چرا تو ...؟؟

همه خیلی خوب می‌خندند که چرا جک دستش را پایین نیاورند.

ب: جک گفت: "با یاد گلوی خوک رو برید تا خون در بیرون بیاید. اگه خوک نریزه نمی‌شه گوشتش شو.

پس چرا گلوش نبریدی؟

کاملاً معلوم بود که اگر چرا گلوش به خوک را برده است.

ج: جک گفت: "با یاد گلوی خوک رو برید تا خون بنده خارج بشه. در غیر این صورت گوشش اونو نمی‌شه خورده.

پس تو چرا این کار را نکردی؟ ...؟

معلوم بود که اگر چه علت نست به این کار نیازی. خوک که گفت: همه شون مرده. اینجا یک جزیره س. هیچ کس نمی‌فهمد که ما اینجا هستیم.

ب: خوک گفت: "همه شون مرده ن. اینجا به جزیره س. هیچکی نمی‌فهمه ما اینجا هستیم، نه.

باینیم، نه هیچکی دیگه ....

ج: خوک گفت: "همه شون مرده ن. اینجا به جزیره س. هیچکی هم نمی‌دونه ما اینجا هستیم. باینیم، نه هیچکی نمی‌دونه ....

اعظم: خوک ادامه داد: "اون‌ها، اون‌ها بسره اون‌ها. اینجا باید رفت ....".

جک مربی دیو گفت: "خون خوکه خوکه، زیادی ور می‌شه.

بچه ما زندن زیر خنده.

جک مربی دیو گفت: "اون‌ها بسره ... فراموش کرده .... "

جک مربی دیو گفت: "خونه شو، جاچه، زیادی خرف می‌شه.

بچه خندن بلند شد.

جک مربی دیو گفت: "خونه شو خوکه! خیلی خرف می‌شه.

صدای قفشه خندن به چا بهان شد.

رالف با نگاه تحسین آمیز به پسرها می‌گوید: همان‌که نگاه جک با او تلاقی کرد.

او گفت:
قسمت سی این بود که سعی داشتیم آن را تکرار کردیم که آب همه اطراف را گرفته بود. ولی صدای صفح شما ما را به انجا کشاند:

راشف به شکل تحسین آزمیزی بچه ها را می‌گرفت و بی‌حس اینکه نگاه ببا جک تلاش کرد، جک گفت:

ما داشتیم از تیپ بنیمس مغرمتم که بنیم دور و بر انجا غیر از آب جزیی هس یا نه،

که صدای شیهور تو را رو به انجا م/logo.

رالف یا نگاهی ستایش آمیزی به این نگاه می‌کرد، واقعی جک متوسط نگاه ای شد، توضیح داد که:

من داشتیم از اون تیپ با مغرمتم که بنیم آب و وری گرفته بیانه که صدای صدای تکرار کرد.

من به شما می‌گم که هیچ جویوی در کار نیست.

احساسی که برای رالف ناشناخته بود از ار ارآنکیته شد و وادارش کرد یا این نکته را، دوباره و با صدای بلند بدادر پیدا کرد.

اما من بهتون میگم که انجا خونوری بیدا نمیشه.

احساسی درونی و ناشناخته ای او را واداشت که برای بار دیگر این تنکر را با صدای بند اعلام کند.

ولی من بتون میگم که جانوری وجود نداره.

کوکه سنگ آب‌گیر همونجا، صخره مرجان. من فیل، عکس‌هایی عین همین صخره دیده بود.

"آن صخره آب‌گیر، یه صخره مرجانی. من عکس هایی مثل اون نیده م.

"صخره آب‌گیر اونجا. اون صخره مرجانی. من عکس‌هایی مثل اون نیده ام.

رالف یکی بیا هو نگاه کرد و هیچ نگفت.

فکر می‌کنم لازم باشد اسم همه آنها را باید بگیرم و آنها را به‌نواهم. باید یک جلسه تشکیل بدهم ....

ب: رالف یکی بیا هو نگاه کرد و ساکت ماند. پس جای ادامه داد.

فکر می‌کنم باید اسم همه اونا رو بدونیم. باید به لیست تنهی کنیم؛ بعدش هم یک جلسه تشکیل بدهم.

چ: رالف از گوشه پشت ای را پایید و چزی نگفت.

پسر گفت: گمان اسم همه اونا را باید بگیرم و یک ليست درست کنیم. باید یک جلسه

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