AN SFL-BASED MODEL FOR INVESTIGATING EXPLICITATION-RELATED PHENOMENA IN TRANSLATION: TWO CASE STUDIES OF ENGLISH–ARABIC TRANSLATION

by

Waleed Ahmad Fayiz Othman

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Translation and Intercultural Studies Section

Department of Modern Languages

College of Arts and Law

University of Birmingham

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Abstract

This thesis proposes a robust model based on theoretically-motivated and clearly-operationalised definitions and classifications informed by systemic functional linguistics for investigation of features such as explicitness and implicitness in translated texts. Most previous studies deal with translations from the angle of their source texts, focusing on translation shifts and equivalence, often with respect to cohesion and discourse makers, and ignoring the status of the target text with respect to the corresponding register in the target language. Moreover, studies lack clearly operationalised definitions of the investigated phenomena: explicitation and implicitation are confused with explicitness/implicitness, increased/decreased informativeness, and specification/generalisation, among other related concepts. To address these deficiencies, the proposed model adopts two complementary perspectives, viewing the translation as (1) the realisation of semantic meaning by lexicogrammar in the target text and (2) an instance in the respective TL register. In both cases, translational renderings are looked at as choices within the systemic potential of the target language. Two case studies of translations between English and Arabic demonstrate the model's descriptive potential and provide support for the assumption that shifts (and non-shifts) between the source and target texts do not necessarily correspond to differences between the target text and comparable target language non-translations.

Dedication

to my FATHER

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Transliteration symbols

For the transcription of Arabic, this study follows the style used by *The International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES).* See https://ijmes.chass.ncsu.edu/IJMES_Translation_and_Transliteration_Guide.htm for guidelines. The symbols used to transcribe Arabic sounds are as follows

Letter	Transliteration	Letter	Transliteration	Letter	Transliteration
ء	ʾ	س	s	ل	l
ب	b	ش	sh	م	m
ت	t	ص	ṣ	ن	n
ث	th	ض	ḍ	ه	h
ج	j	ط	ṭ	و	w
ح	ḥ	ظ	ẓ	ى	y
خ	kh	ع	ʿ	ال	al-
د	d	غ	gh	ة	-a
ذ	dh	ف	f	ا	ā
ر	r	ق	q	ي	ī
ز	z	ك	k	و	ū
◌َ	a	◌ِ	i	◌ُ	u

Declaration of already published material

Parts of Sections 2.2 and 2.3 concerned with the literature review of explicitation research were published in Othman (2004) and Othman (2017). Added to these, published material in Othman (2017) also included a few examples that are also used in this thesis.

Abbreviations used in this thesis

ST	source text
TT	target text
SL	source language
TL	target language
BT	back translation
SFL	systemic functional linguistics

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and rationale

For around half a century, translation scholars and linguists have studied translations with the aim of prescribing translation techniques (e.g. Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958/1995; Nida, 1964; Catford, 1965) or describing and explaining the changes that take place during the translation process, i.e. translation shifts (e.g. Blum-Kulka, 1986/2000; Baker, 1993, 1996; Kenny, 1998; Englund-Dimitrova, 2005). Early approaches to the study of translation were predominantly linguistic, focusing on types of equivalence, a paradigm that views the source text–target text (ST–TT) relationship mainly in terms of linguistic encodings. This assumes that producing an accurate translation is the sole guiding principle for the creation of the TT, ignoring other factors such as target reader expectations (Krüger, 2014). A major development in this respect was the emergence of an empirical approach to translation research, which describes the relationship between source and target texts in terms of categories of shifts, rather than types of equivalence. Within this descriptive branch of research, translations came to be studied as facts of the target culture (Toury, 1995) rather than as a “third language”. This can been seen as an attempt to overcome what was described as “the tyranny of the source language” (Duff, 1981, quoted in Munday, 2014, p. 78). In practice, this meant that the study of translations focused on the translated text rather than the ST, as had been the case before then, with the focus shifting onto questions related to the position and function of the translation in the target culture. Hence, the changes that occur in translation

were viewed as features of translated language arising in the process of translation that could be attributed to a variety of socio-cultural factors, such as the function of the translation, the expectations of the readers, or the preferences of the translators.

Two of these features of translated language are explicitation (roughly, making what is implicit in the ST explicit in the TT) and implicitation (roughly, making what is explicit in the ST implicit in the TT). The former has been widely studied, often aided by corpus-based methodologies that make use of parallel and comparable corpora, i.e. collections of speech or texts that are stored in an electronic machine-readable format. However, and while not ignoring the significant contributions made in the literature on 'explicitation-related phenomena'[1], I argue in this thesis that current approaches have a number of drawbacks and limitations (see Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion). Briefly, many existing studies lack a solid theoretical base for investigating explicitation-related phenomena or do not have or do not agree on clear definitions of relevant concepts. This calls into question the validity of the findings of previous studies. In fact, many of the studies that claim to be descriptive translation studies base their investigations on definitions of shifts, equivalence, and explicitation that are rooted in purely prescriptive approaches to translation, in which translations are judged against the criterion of "linguistic sameness" (Lefevere, 1990, p. 11), while neglecting the relationship between the text and its context and culture. Even within systemic functional linguistics (SFL), the theoretical framework for this thesis (see Section 1.3 below), with its rich architecture and precise analytical tools for the

1 In this thesis, the term 'explicitation-related phenomena is used to refer to explicitation, implicitation, explicitness and implicitness. Explicitation and implicitation refer to an individual rendering or a relationship between a ST element and its counterpart in the TT, as well as between the TT actual instance and alternative realisations of the same meaning. On the other hand, explicitness/implicitness is a feature of the TT compared to the ST and respective non-translations. (See Chapter 4, Section 4.6 for definitions).

description of linguistic features at a variety of levels, research on translation has until recently been mainly concerned with equivalence and shifts in translation, i.e. focusing mainly on the TT from the perspective of the ST. Such accounts are problematic because they ignore the relationship between text and register, i.e. “varieties of language operating in different contexts of use” (Halliday, 1978). Other studies that do consider non-translated works in the TL rely mainly on frequency tests, without consideration of the ‘division of labour’ in the TL (or the TL register concerned) among alternative realisations of the same meaning. For example, in order to determine how the occurrences of manner of motion verbs (verbs that conflate both motion and how it unfolds) contribute to the level of explicitness in a certain translated literary text, we first need to find whether the relevant register in the TL favours the use of manner of motion verbs (e.g. *climb*) to no-manner of motion verbs (e.g. *ascend*).

My decision to investigate explicitation-related phenomena was motivated by the opportunity to address these gaps in previous research. Furthermore, I hoped (1) to contribute to the study of the phenomena from the viewpoint of a methodological framework (i.e. SFL) that has been largely overlooked by previous research on this topic; (2) to fill the gap left by a lack of attention to implicitation in comparison with explicitation; and (3) to shed light on the phenomena in translations from and into a language that has not received much attention in the literature (i.e. Arabic).

1.2 Aims and perspectives

The aim of this thesis is to develop a robust model for the investigation of explicitation-related phenomena in translated language. The proposed model has two distinctive features. Firstly, it is based on theoretically-consistent and clearly-operationalised definitions and classifications informed by SFL. Secondly, it starts out from a recognition of the complexity of the phenomenon under investigation. Specifically, acknowledging that translation involves a relationship between two texts, and two language systems, as well as between text and context (or register), the proposed model incorporates these different perspectives in its approach towards the linguistic features related to explicitation. To this end, the model is designed to take account of both shifts and non-shifts in TT renderings relative to their ST counterparts (i.e. instances of equivalence and non-equivalence in terms of both form and content). Furthermore, it classifies the explicitational/implicitational effect of these shifts and non-shifts on the TT relative to both the ST and comparable non-translated texts in the target language. In determining the explicitation status of the TT, both perspectives (i.e. TT vs. ST and TT vs. TL non-translations) consider possible alternative renderings that are less or more explicitly realised than the actual translational instances. The comparison with TL non-translations further highlights the importance of registerial conventions for the evaluation of textual features, such as explicitness, in the TT. The model thus examines the TT in light of the division of labour manifested in the respective register in the TL among different realisations of the same content. For example, if we want to evaluate the use of passive constructions in a certain translated text relative to comparable non-translations, we

first need to find how passive and active constructions are typically used in the relevant TL register or genre.

This research addresses a number of gaps in previous research. Firstly, unlike many previous studies on explicitation-related phenomena, it is underpinned by a robust method for identifying and measuring explicitation-related phenomena. The proposed model, which is outlined in Section 1.5 below and set out in detail in Chapter 4, is based on theoretically-consistent definitions, classifications and parameters of analysis that enable clearer lines to be drawn between notions that were confused or not fully operationalised in previous research. Secondly, I employ case studies (Chapters 5 and 6) to illustrate and test the application of the model in two translation directions (Arabic to English and vice versa) and in two different registers (literature and social sciences). The purpose of the case studies is to highlight the potential of the model rather than to formulate generalisations; however, the studies also yield insights with regard to how languages and registers differ in their construal of meaning and suggest avenues for further research. Thirdly, the research broadens the scope of the study of explicitation-related phenomena. Most previous studies have mainly dealt with explicitation-related phenomena at the level of text cohesion. For example, in Arabic, the only major relevant study (Fattah, 2010), is concerned with cohesive explicitation in translated Arabic texts, focusing on certain types of conjunctive markers. However, it is obvious that any kind of meaning can be explicitated or implicitated. This study therefore investigates explicitation and implicitation shifts in translated texts between English and Arabic with regard not only to cause (Chapter 6) but also manner (Chapter 5). These analyses demonstrate the potential of the proposed model to elucidate varied phenomena and linguistic

features. Finally, as already mentioned, all these contributions are made through study of a language that has been largely neglected in previous research on the topic.

The assumption that this thesis explores is that the overall degree of explicitness in the TT, as perceived by TL readers, does not necessarily correspond to explicitness measured in terms of shifts from the ST. What counts is the extent to which the TT follows TL conventions and, therefore, readers' expectations in the register concerned. To investigate this assumption, the thesis explores the relation between (1) explicitation and/or implicitation as translation renderings, i.e. shifts in relation to the ST, and the (2) overall degree of explicitness in the target text in relation to similar but non-translated texts in the TL.

1.3 Systemic functional linguistics

The choice of SFL as a framework for the study of explicitation-related phenomena was motivated by a number of reasons. First, it has been usefully used in translation studies in other respects, including transitivity (Calzada-Pérez, 2007; Mason, 2012), appraisal (Munday, 2012), metafunctions (House, 1997, 2004) translation shifts (Matthiessen, 2001, 2014a), cross-linguistic variation (Teich, 2003), as well as in translation teaching and assessment (Kim, 2007a, 2007b, 2009; Manfredi, 2008, 2011). This thesis presents a model for the study of explicitation-related phenomena based on how SFL views language. I intend to demonstrate how the application of concepts and procedures drawn from SFL can provide useful insights into the intricacies surrounding this elusive issue.

As explained in the previous section, I start out from the assumption that in order to gain a complete picture of the degree of explicitness in a translated text, it needs to be evaluated in relation to both the corresponding ST and respective TL non-translations. What is needed to this end is a theory of language that enables (1) linguistic features of the ST and TT to be related to each other, (2) the different choices made in the translation to be explained in a systematic manner, and (3) these choices to be contextualised with respect to register. SFL fulfils these requirements. Based on a theory that provides an explicit account of the relationship between language and meaning, SFL provides organising dimensions and precise analytical tools for the description of linguistic features at all levels, from elements in the clause up to the level of the text as a whole and how it relates to the wider language system, register, and culture (see, for example, Halliday, 1978, 1994). In other words, SFL allows us to look at "language in its entirety, so that whatever is said about one aspect is to be understood always with reference to the total picture" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p. 20). Adopting the view that "language and context are interdependent" (Thompson, 1996, p. 9), this thesis looks at the text not in isolation but as an instance that is explicitly linked to the socio-cultural context in which it operates. In short, the proposed model examines translated language from the SFL perspective, assuming that a translation involves a relation between the two texts and the two language systems, as well as between text and register.

SFL views language as a system of meaning potential (Halliday, 1978), while SFL itself is "a theory of meaning as choice"[1] (Halliday, 1992, p. 15; see also Chapter 3). From this perspective, "[t]ranslation is meaning-making activity" (Halliday, 1992, p. 15), and the rich architecture of SFL provides the basis for a systematic investigation of the actual choices made by a translator as well as the ones that could have been made (Thompson and Muntigl, 2008).

According to SFL, different choices, or different utterances, express different kinds of meanings. For example, both English and Arabic have several grammatical resources for realising cause–effect relations. The same relation can be encoded in a variety of grammatical constructions, for example (from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p. 673).

Her ignorance of the rules caused her to die.

Because she didn't know the rules, she died.

She didn't know the rules. Consequently, she died.

According to SFL, these alternative lexicogrammatical realisations represent different kinds of meanings of the same experience (see also Chapter 3). Therefore, whenever we need to express a certain experience, we choose to talk about it in a specific way and at the same time avoid other realisations. The choices we make are

1 There are different views on what 'choice' means in SFL. Matthiessen, Teruya, and Lam (2010) define "choice" as both an option and an act. As an option, the nature of choice is determined by what the option realises, is realised by, and by the other contrasting options in a system. As an act, choice is "part of the overall account of the process of traversing a system network making selections along the way". This second sense of "choice", Matthiessen, Teruya, and Lam add, may or may not be intentional or conscious (ibid, p. 69).

of course not arbitrary; rather, they reflect the intentions or purposes of the discourse, as well as norms and conventions related to context, register, or culture.

Thus, SFL does not look at languages in terms of what interactants can and cannot say, but rather views them as resources for making choices from the range of meaning potential available. In this sense, languages are systems of choices (Halliday and Martin, 1993; Martin, Matthiessen, and Painter, 1997). Moreover, it is a basic premise in SFL that all choices are meaningful (Halliday, 1971). From this perspective, shifts in translation should not be seen as being triggered by linguistic differences between the source and target languages, for there is always more than one way to realise the same meaning, but as reflecting choices of the translator to express meaning in a particular way. Among other considerations, choices made by language users take account of their suitability in particular social contexts. For example, the language used to talk about faith is expected to differ from other registers of language, such as those of science and literature. This is because these different registers make different use of structures and functions; they realise the meaning potential of language in different ways.

The proposed model considers both shifts and non-shifts in translation. In a general sense, this procedure is justified because SFL is concerned with the interaction of form, function, and context. Therefore, when exploring a text for a certain linguistic phenomenon, all instances relevant to the object of study are to be recorded. Specifically, in this thesis, translation renderings are not approached in terms of obligatoriness or optionality. The focus is on the effect of the entirety of the renderings on how the text is perceived by its targeted readership; this requires that

the model should take account of all shifts and non-shifts in renderings of the phenomenon being investigated. This procedure is applied in the case studies to test the assumption that the overall explicitation effect of shifts and non-shifts in the TT with respect to the ST does not necessarily correspond to the explicitation effect of the TT with respect to register-specific TL norms and readers' expectations.

1.4 Research questions

The thesis addresses the following questions:

(1) *To what extent does the proposed SFL-based model provide a descriptive mechanism for the investigation of explicitation-related phenomena in translation from the perspectives of both the ST and non-translations in the TL*?

(2) *To what extent can the proposed model be applied to the study of explicitation-related phenomena in Arabic–English translations and how these are related to specific linguistic features of Arabic and English*?

Question 2 leads to two sub-questions

(2A) *Given that Arabic and English are claimed to differ in terms of the attention they give to manner and in how they construe manner meanings, to what extent can the proposed model prove useful for investigating explicitation-related phenomena in English-into-Arabic translated literary texts with reference to manner of motion construal*?

(2B) *Given that Arabic and English differ in how they construe cause–effect arguments, to what extent can the proposed model prove useful for investigating explicitation-related phenomena in Arabic-into-English translated social sciences texts with reference to the construal of cause–effect relations*?

To answer Question (1), the following objectives were identified:

To situate and explain the rationale for the study in relation to translation studies and SFL (Chapters 1 – 3).

To develop a comprehensive model capable of investigating translated texts and accounting for the features therein from different perspectives (Chapter 4).

To answer Question (2A), the following objectives were identified:

To justify the choice of the phenomenon of manner of motion verbs as a case relevant to explicitation-related phenomena in translation (Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1).

To provide further categorisation and procedures for operationalisation needed for addressing the topic of manner of motion verbs (Chapter 5, Section 5.3.2).

To apply the model to an English-into-Arabic translation of a literary text (Chapter 5, Sections 5.3 and 5.4).

To answer Question (2B), the following objectives were identified:

To justify the choice of the phenomenon of causal relations as a case relevant to explicitation-related phenomena in translation (Chapter 6, Section 6.2).

To provide further categorisation and procedures for operationalisation needed for addressing the topic of cause relations (Chapter 6, Section 6.3).

To apply the model to an Arabic-into-English translation of a social sciences text (Chapter 6, Sections 6.4 and 6.5).

1.5 Data and methods: A brief overview

In this section, I provide a brief overview of the data and methods used in the case studies. Fuller accounts are given in the relevant chapters.

The data for the case study on manner of motion verbs (e.g. *crawl, creep, scramble*) comprise William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* (1954/1996) and an Arabic translation of the novel (سيد الذباب – */ Sayyid al-dhubāb/* by Mheidli, 1988), in addition to an online corpus of Arabic literature comprising 7,800,000 words (Bibliotheca Alexandrina, 2013). The corpus size could be too small to provide reliable data; however, as already mentioned, the main aim of the thesis is to demonstrate the method's applicability. The novel was chosen for investigation because it includes a large number of verbs that conflate manner, including manner of motion verbs, thus making it an appropriate candidate for the investigation of how the expression of motion and manner is treated in translation. The choice of manner of motion verbs was motivated by a claim in cognitive linguistics about languages and registers being different in how they lexicalise manner (Talmy, 1991, 2000a; Slobin, 2006) and in the level of attention their speakers pay to manner in describing motion events (Slobin, 2004).

The data of the case study on the expression of cause consist of an Arabic social science text (Abu Sulayman's أزمة العقل المسلم – *Azmat al-ʿaql al–Muslim,* 1991) and its English translation (*The Crisis in the Muslim Mind* by Yusuf DeLorenzo, 1993). This case study also makes use of a sub-corpus of the British National Corpus (BNC), comprising 8,655,486 words. The book was chosen because of its highly argumentative style, which is manifested by an abundant use of cause–effect relations as a means for argumentation and persuasion. One reason behind choosing the topic of causal relations for investigation in this case study is that cause can be expressed in English and Arabic in different lexicogrammatical constructions. Translational renderings involving shifts between different constructions can therefore have explicitational or implicitational effects.

The methodology of the applied model comprises three phases (see Chapter 4 for a full account). The first phase is concerned with the amount of content communicated to ST and TT readers. Renderings in the TT are classified as communicating more, less or the same amount of content, compared to the corresponding passage in the ST. The second phase re-examines these content shifts (and non-shifts) from the perspective of the systemic potential of the TL. From this perspective, in each instance, the translator can choose from a range of alternative realisations available in the TL, resulting in a rendering that is more, less or equally explicit, compared to the corresponding passage in the TL. The aim of this phase is thus to determine the explicitation status of individual renderings (i.e. whether they are explicitational, implicitational, or explicitationally/implicitationally neutral — referred to as 'non-explicitational'), and to assess the effect of those renderings on the TT relative to the ST. Finally, the third phase, addresses the question of how the totality of translational

renderings affects the TT with respect to TL norms and conventions of the register concerned; in this case, the literary register (Chapter 5) and the social sciences register (Chapter 6). This phase looks at shifts and non-shifts as instantiations in the register. Renderings are evaluated collectively, rather than individually, against registerial conventions or preferences by comparing frequencies of occurrence of different categories of realisations in the TT to their occurrence in a corpus of non-translations. This procedure situates translational renderings and translated texts in the context of naturally occurring language rather than merely examining them as de-contextualised utterances.

1.6 Organisation of the thesis

The rest of the thesis is organised as follows:

Chapter 2 presents an overview of previous research on translation shifts and explicitation-related phenomena with a view to identifying their advantages and limitations. The chapter summarises two main approaches to translation shifts in general (i.e. the prescriptive and the descriptive) and outlines how these two approaches have looked at explicitation-related phenomena. This is followed by a brief account of Blum-Kulka's (1986) explicitation hypothesis, as well as my view of explicitation-related phenomena. The chapter also includes a look at typologies of explicitation-related phenomena and sets out my own view on their classification.

Chapter 3 introduces the main theoretical assumptions and terminology of SFL to be used in the development and application of the proposed model. In this chapter, I

also explain the difference between congruent and incongruent lexicogrammatical realisations; this prepares the ground for the case studies (Chapters 5 and 6) where congruence is a key parameter used to determine explicitation status.

In Chapter 4, I present a new model for investigating explicitation-related phenomena. The model makes use of SFL's basic notions of choice, realisation, and instantiation to identify and classify types of translation renderings and to evaluate the effect of those renderings on the TT *vis-à-vis* the ST and respective non-translated texts in the TL.

Chapter 5 presents the first of two case studies aimed at testing the model proposed in the previous chapter. The study focuses on the translation of English manner of motion verbs (e.g. *walk, crawl, clamber*, etc.) into Arabic, using William Golding's Lord of the Flies (1954/1996) and its Arabic translation (*/Sayyid al-dhubāb/ – Master of the Flies*) by Mheidli (1988). The second case study presented in Chapter 6 focuses on cause construal in English social sciences texts translated from Arabic, using Abu Sulayman's *أزمة العقل المسلم – Azmat al-ʿaql al–Muslim* (1991) and its English translation *The Crisis in the Muslim Mind* by Yusuf DeLorenzo (1993). In both case studies, the analysis is conducted in phases, in accordance with the model presented in Chapter 4.

In conclusion, Chapter 7 summarises the main findings of the research. It outlines the achievements and limitations of the research and provides suggestions for future research.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 From translation shifts to translation features

Linguists and translation scholars have since the middle of the twentieth century made numerous efforts to describe, explain, and provide systematic categorisations of the linguistic changes that occur during translation. Such changes were first termed *translation shifts* by Catford (1965). They were considered “inevitable but somewhat undesirable”, that is, “they were accepted as ways of coping with the systematic differences that exist between any two languages” (Cyrus, 2009, p. 95). While acknowledging important conributions made in early approaches to the study of translation shifts, those were mainly linguistic, prescriptive, and source text-oriented (e.g. Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958/1995; Nida, 1964; Catford, 1965). Those were based on describing the relationship between two linguistic systems with the aim of proposing techniques that could help produce a well-formed TT. This is evident in Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995), who conducted a contrastive analysis of English and French. The aim of that analysis was to help translators avoid the pitfalls relevant to these two languages. Several translation techniques were proposed during this didactically-oriented era of translation scholarship in order to deal with the lack of correspondence between specific language pairs. These techniques include, among others, borrowing, adaptation, and additions. Table 2–1 shows examples of three techniques and the problems they were proposed to solve (examples are cited in Molina and Albir, 2002).

Technique	Problem	Example
Borrowing (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958/1995)	No lexicalised correspondence in TL	*dollar* (English) ⇒ *(دولار /dūlār/ – dollar)*(Arabic)
Adaptation (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958/1995)	TL communicative situation is unknown in the SL	*Cyclisme* (French) ⇒ *Cricket* (UK)*, Baseball* (US)
Addition (Nida, 1964)	Elliptic expressions, ambiguity, etc.	*Jerusalem* (English) ⇒ *مدينة القدس /madīnat al-quds/ – the city of Jerusalem)*

Table 2–1 Illustration of three translation techniques

A key concept concomitant to the investigation of translation shifts at the time was *equivalence*. Nida (1964), for example, distinguishes between formal and dynamic equivalence. Formal equivalence considers both form and content, while dynamic equivalence emphasises sameness in reception of message for both ST and TT readers. Nida contends that a translator needs to make use of certain "techniques of adjustment" (i.e. additions, subtractions, and alterations) during the translation process in order for a translation to evoke the same response as the original did, regardless of equivalence in form (Ibid, p. 226). Catford (1965) talks of equivalence in his discussion of translation shifts. He argues that a translation shift results from the absence of formal correspondence between a textual equivalent and its source. A formal correspondent is defined as "any TL category (unit, class, structure, element of structure, etc.) which can be said to occupy, as nearly as possible, the 'same' place in the 'economy' of the TL as the given SL category occupies in the SL" (Ibid, p. 27). A textual equivalent, on the other hand, refers to "any TL text or portion of text which is observed on a particular occasion … to be the equivalent of a given SL text or portion of text" (Ibid, p. 27).

Two major types of shifts were proposed by Catford: level shifts and category shifts. Level shifts result from the realisation of the TT instance at a level (grammar and lexis) different from that of the ST counterpart. For example, an English verb in the present perfect tense is often rendered into Arabic by means of the particle and verb construction لم يزل (*lam yazal/ – is/are still*). Under category shifts, defined as "departures from formal correspondence in translation" (Ibid, p. 76; italics removed), Catford proposes four types: unit, structure, class, and intra-system shifts, which are presented in Table 2–2 below (Ibid, pp. 73-82; hereafter any example without a reference is my own).

<table>
<tr><th>Shift</th><th>Definitions and Examples</th></tr>
<tr><td>Unit Shift</td><td>occurs when the SL–TL instances are set up at different grammatical ranks; (i.e. sentence, clause, group, word and morpheme); in the example here, the English nominal group is translated as a clause in Arabic, e.g. heavy rain
<table>
<tr><td>Arabic:</td><td>غزيرا
/ghazīran/</td><td>المطر
/al-mataru/</td><td>كان
/kāna/</td></tr>
<tr><td>Gloss:</td><td>heavy</td><td>the-rain</td><td>was</td></tr>
</table></td></tr>
<tr><td>Structure Shift</td><td>occurs as a result of opting for different classes of elements or a different arrangement of those elements; in the example here, the adjective in the Arabic clause follows the noun it modifies, e.g. John bought a new car
<table>
<tr><td>Arabic:</td><td>جديدةً
/jadīdatan/</td><td>سيارةً
/sayyāratan/</td><td>جون
/John/</td><td>اشترى
/ʾishtarā/</td></tr>
<tr><td>Gloss:</td><td>new</td><td>a car</td><td>John</td><td>bought-(he)</td></tr>
</table></td></tr>
<tr><td>Class Shift</td><td>results from a change in the word class. In the example here, the adjective medical in medical student is translated into Arabic as an idaafa (possessive) construction that involves two nouns, e.g. medicine student
<table>
<tr><td>Arabic:</td><td>الطب
/al-ṭibbi/</td><td>كلية
/kulliyyati/</td><td>في
/fī/</td><td>طالبٌ
/tālibun/</td></tr>
<tr><td>Gloss:</td><td>the-medicine</td><td>college</td><td>in</td><td>a student</td></tr>
</table></td></tr>
<tr><td>Intra-system Shift</td><td>results from opting for a non-corresponding item in presence of a corresponding one. For instance, English and Arabic both have a definiteness-based article system (Deprez, Sleeman, and Guella, 2011), but the English indefinite noun in definitions is translated as a definite noun in Arabic, e.g. A lion is a carnivorous animal
<table>
<tr><td>Arabic:</td><td>لاحمٌ
/lāḥimun/</td><td>حيوانٌ
/ḥayawānun/</td><td>الأسدُ
/al-ʾasadu/</td></tr>
<tr><td>Gloss:</td><td>carnivorous</td><td>an animal</td><td>the-lion</td></tr>
</table></td></tr>
</table>

Table 2–2 Catford's Category Shifts of Translation

The purely linguistic approach to translation (represented above by Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958/1995; Nida, 1964; and Catford, 1965) was mainly concerned with equivalence between a text and its translation based on pre-defined prescriptive criteria. According to Delisle (1988), the missing consideration of meaning in these linguistic approaches, where isolated words and sentences are approached in terms of equivalence, is the reason why they fail to fully account for translations and the complexities of the translation process. Such approaches, Snell-Hornby (1988, p. 85) contends, will not go beyond the conception of translation as mere substitution or transcoding.

In the 1970s, scholars of translation started to move away from the linguistic approach to translation in favour of a more functionally-oriented one (the so-called *cultural turn* in translation studies). Attention was then shifted from the linguistic features of the ST to the function or purpose of the translation and the target culture (see, for example, Reiss and Vermeer, 1984; Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990). Reiss (1977/1989) sees translation as a communicative act, which is why equivalence should be sought at the level where communication is achieved. In an informative text, for example, the focus of translation should be on achieving semantic equivalence (in semantic translation, “the translator attempts, within the bare syntactic and semantic constraints of the TL, to reproduce the precise contextual meaning of the author” Newmark, 1981, p. 22). Such approaches highlight the relationship between translation and culture on the ground that social-cultural circumstances determine the construction of meaning, but they overlook the linguistic aspects of translation and thus cannot explain how those circumstances are projected onto the text.

Another step in the development of translation studies was the adoption of a descriptive empirical line of research (Toury, 1985, 1995). Descriptive Translation Studies looked at translations as "facts of target culture only as opposed to the source-culture context that is predominant in the equivalence paradigm" (Pym, 2010, p. 65). The trend was to describe what translations are like rather than prescribe how they should be, as the case had been within the previous linguistic approaches. This approach to translation tends to describe the relation between source and target texts by focusing on categories of shifts rather than on types of equivalence. From this approach, translation shifts are not viewed as mistranslations (van Leuven-Zwart, 1990b) or as a means to cope with linguistic differences, but as features of translated language that occur as a result of a variety of factors including the intended readership, the function of the translation or the competence or preferences of the translators.

The features of translated language were proposed to be universal, i.e. regardless of the languages involved in the translation process (Toury, 1980, 1995). Baker (1993, p. 243) defines universals as “features which typically occur in translated texts rather than original utterances and which are not the result of interference from specific linguistic systems”. The proposed translation universals include simplification, normalisation, explicitation, implicitation, among others. Simplification is "the idea that translators subconsciously simplify the language or message or both" (Baker, 1996, p. 176), such as the use of shorter sentences in the translation. Normalisation is "the tendency to exaggerate features of the target language and to conform to its typical patterns and practices" (Ibid, p. 183), such as avoiding ungrammatical structures (see also Baker, 1995; Kenny, 1998).

Of particular interest in this thesis are explicitation and implicitation, the former is generally perceived as a translational instance that is more explicit than its counterpart in the ST, the latter describes a shift the other way round. However, explicitation and implicitation are approached here as features of translated texts that do not necessarily have universal status. According to Zanettin (2013, p. 25), although translation universals is an area that has received extensive attention in descriptive translation studies, it is still quite controversial due to several reasons, including the lack of theoretical justification of the concept and the vagueness of mapping formal operators into linguistic indicators and consequently into descriptive features. The study here, being restricted to one pair of languages (i.e. English and Arabic), does not aim to prove or disprove the universality of explicitation and implicitation. The objective is rather to propose a new approach to the investigation of translated language features that considers the TT with relevance to both the ST and the respective TL register. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the choice of explicitation and implicitation as the focus of this thesis was prompted by three main reasons: to contribute to the study of the phenomena from a perspective that has not been much considered in previous explicitation/implicitation research, i.e. SFL, to fill the gap caused by the lack of attention to implicitation as a counterpart of explicitation, and to investigate the phenomena in a language (Arabic) that has not received much attention.

2.2 Explicitation and implicitation

While explicitation is now a well-established and extensively researched topic within translation studies, implicitation has only received rare attention (cf. Séguinot, 1988; Øverås, 1998; Klaudy, 2001, 2009). A rough search in Translation Studies Bibliography (TSB) returned 196 results for explicitation but only 46 for implicitation. Of the 196 works on explicitation, 59 have explicitation in their titles, while only 7 of the 46 implicitation entries have implicitation in their titles. This lack of attention to implicitation, according to Krüger (2014), who also mentions a search in TSB, is a reflection that implicitation, mainly featuring in some discussions on explicitation, does not have "a truly independent conceptual status and only being evoked when a counterpart is needed in the theoretical discussion of explicitation" (p. 148). Krüger attributes this imbalance in empirical attention to "Blum-Kulka's (1986) hugely influential Explicitation Hypothesis", as well as "the impetus explicitation research received with the advent of corpus-based translation studies in the 1990s" (Krüger, 2014, pp. 148–9). To redress this imbalance, implicitation is given more attention in this research than it had in previous research.

Ever since their introduction by Vinay and Darbelent (1958/1995), explicitation and implicitation have been defined and interpreted differently. They are referred to as techniques, strategies, activities, processes, relationships, features, universals, among others. However, the two terms have rarely been defined in a rigorous manner that would enable a comparison of research findings and the drawing of conclusive conclusions about their contribution to translation and translation studies. Intuitive definitions of the phenomena, often coupled with lack of theoretical

foundation, have added to the terminological vagueness surrounding their concepts, resulting in confusion over what would be considered explicitation/implicitation, in addition to a variety of distinctions between and among various types of translational shifts. In the rest of this section, definitions of explicitation and implicitation provided in some influential works on the phenomena are presented. This is followed by a brief account of research that was mainly based on Blum-Kulka's explicitation hypothesis, as a key milestone in the lively explicitation discourse.

The prescriptive approaches suggested explicitation and implicitation as translation procedures in certain cases. For instance, Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995) define explicitation as a "stylistic translation technique which consists of making explicit in the target language what remains implicit in the source language because it is apparent from either the context or the situation" (Ibid, p. 342). The authors contend that explicitation should only be used in cases where implicit ST information can be derived from linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts. For example, *students* in a girls' school is translated into Arabic as الطالبات (*/al-ṭālibāt/ – female students*). Implicitation, on the other hand, is a "stylistic translation technique which consists of making what is explicit in the source language implicit in the target language, relying on the context or the situation for conveying the meaning" (Ibid, p. 344).

Nida (1964), without directly referring to explicitation or implicitation, recommends certain types of additions that render implicit ST information in the TT explicitly or resolve ambiguity without changing the message. These types include "filling out elliptical expressions", "additions required by grammatical restructuring", and "obligatory specifications", among others, e.g. *Jordan* translated as *River Jordan* (pp.

227–230). Similarly, in Nida and Taber (1969), explicitation is viewed within the context of expansion techniques, of which there are two types: syntactic or formal expansions (e.g. *Be angry but do not sin* translated as *Even if you do get angry, you must not sin*; Ibid, pp. 166–7) and lexical or semantic ones (e.g. *Jerusalem* translated as *City Jerusalem*; Ibid, p. 167). Implicitation, in Nida's (1964) approach, can be related to his technique of subtraction, which, he maintains, does not happen as frequently or variously as addition (Ibid, p. 231). Subtractions include deleted reference, deleted transitionals, and avoidance of repetition, among others.

The first and most well-known study to look empirically into explicitation as a feature of translated language that is not governed by language pair differences was Blum-Kulka's (1986/2000). This descriptive study, also differs from the prescriptive studies above in its concern with shifts at the level of discourse (e.g. cohesion and coherence), rather than with grammar and lexis. Blum-Kulka justifies her textual analysis approach on the basis that "translation is a process that operates on texts (rather than words or sentences) and hence its products need to be studied within the framework of discourse analysis" (Ibid, p. 312). Blum-Kulka postulates that the process of translation involves shifts at the levels of text and discourse. Within this model, shifts are classified into shifts of cohesion and shifts of coherence.

Shifts of cohesion relate to the effect of cohesive features on the TT's level of explicitness and its overt meanings relative to the ST. The changes in the level of explicitness can result either from stylistic differences between the two languages or from an explicitation process inherent to the translation. Blum-Kulka recommends that such cohesive effects on the TT should be approached through first conducting

“a large-scale contrastive stylistic study” in order to “establish cohesive patterns” relevant to a given register and differentiate between obligatory and optional choices” (Ibid, p. 312).

Shifts of coherence in Blum-Kulka’s model are either reader-based or text-based. The former result from change in readership, e.g. Translating the Islamic term زكاة (*/zakāt/* – roughly *‘money gathered from the well-to-do and paid to the poor’)* into English as *dues* will be a reader-based shift because the translation does not convey the full connotations that Muslims share of the Arabic term (Farghal, 2012). Text-based shifts, on the other hand, result from the translation process per se, e.g. the Hebrew literal translation of the English *I beg your pardon* encodes apologising, but in English it could also signal indignation or non-comprehension. (Blum-Kulka, 1986/2000, p. 310). Thus, in English the intended meaning or sense is only clear in context. Both types of coherence shifts affect the potential meaning of the text. Blum-Kulka highlights the need to follow any analysis of texts with an investigation of textual effects, for which she advocates a psycholinguistic approach. In her study, she explored discourse level explicitation and formulated the famous explicitation hypothesis:

> the process of interpretation performed by the translator on the source text might lead to a TL text which is more redundant than the SL text. This redundancy can be expressed by a rise in the level of cohesive explicitness in the TL text. This redundancy may be stated as the "explicitation hypothesis", which postulates an observed cohesive explicitness from SL to TL texts regardless of the increase traceable to differences between the two linguistic and textual systems involved. (Blum-Kulka, 1986/2000, p. 300)

According to van Leuven-Zwart (1989), explicitation and implicitation are two subdivisions of the class of syntactic-stylistic modification: those triggered by differences in "the quantity of elements conveying information" (p. 167). Explicitation occurs when the TT contains more elements than the ST and implicitation when the opposite takes place, e.g. rendering *Laura gave a childish sob* into *Laura cried like a child.* The author states that "addition, deletion or replacement of function words may cause a shift with respect to the degree of explicitness through which cohesion is achieved"; an example she gives from Dutch is the translation of the "semantically almost void coordinating '*y*' (and) into '*maar'* (but)" (1990a, p. 81). Leuven-Zwart's study is similar to Blum-Kulka's in two respects. It is a descriptive study, which means that explicitation is not seen as a technique prescribed to solve a communication problem, but as a shift that contributes towards a feature of translated text. The study is also concerned with the effect of explicitation on the discourse level of text, not only with syntactic or lexical information rendered by the technique of explicitation. To the author, micro-structural shifts, which are investigated through a comparative approach, have a cumulative effect on the macro-structural level, which is evaluated through a descriptive model.

Drawing on the definitions provided by Vinay and Darbelnet and/or Blum-Kulka's explicitation hypothesis, several scholars conducted empirical studies to look into explicitational and sometimes implicitational shifts. Some of these studies were supportive of the hypothesis that explicitation is inherent in translated language, i.e. language-pair independent. For example, Øverås (1998, p. 4) defines explicitation as "the kind of translation process where implicit, co-textually recoverable [source text] material is rendered explicit in [the target text]". She explores explicitation and

implicitation in an English-Norwegian parallel corpus of literary texts, and finds that translated texts – both English and Norwegian – exhibit more explicitations than implicitation. Olohan and Baker (2000), who define explicitation as "the spelling out in a target text of information which is only implicit in a source text" (p. 142), conducted a large-scale empirical study using the Translational English Corpus (TEC) and the British National Corpus (BNC). Their research indicates a significantly heavier use of the reporting *that* with the verbs *say* and *tell* in the TEC than in the BNC. This is suggested as evidence for explicitation in translated English. The results of Olohan and Baker's study are in line with Burnett (1999), who also uses the TEC and the BNC as corpora to review uses of the verbs *suggest*, *claim*, *admit*, *believe*, *think*, *hope*, and *know*. Again, the translated corpus indicates a higher frequency of the optional *that* than in the non-translated English corpus. Pápai (2004, p. 159) also concludes that explicitation seems to be a strong tendency in the English-Hungarian translation direction, regardless of the fact that "the agglutinative Hungarian uses fewer words to express the same meaning than the analytical English". Pápai uses a comparable corpus of English into Hungarian translations and Hungarian non-translations and finds that the translations are more explicit than the non-translations. Kenny (2005) investigates the use of *that* in reporting structures with *say* in German into English fiction translations. Her findings are consistent with Olohan and Baker's (2000) findings for translated English in general.

In general, all these studies seem to follow a definition of explicitation that is merely a rewording of Vinay and Darbelnet's (1958/1995). Those definitions, as well as the explicitation hypothesis continue to be debated due to several problems. Before

discussing these problems, in Section 2.3, I present another topic of interest in explicitation research: typologies of explicitation.

2.3 Typologies of explicitation

The question of categorising explicitational shifts is another main issue that has been prolifically debated in the literature. Beginning with Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995), there was the parameter of option and servitude. The authors state “that grammar is the domain of servitudes whereas options belong to the domain of stylistics, or at least to a certain type of stylistics” (Ibid, p. 16). In other words, option has to do with non-obligatory changes in the target language caused by personal preferences and style of the translator. Servitude, on the other hand, is related to mandatory transpositions and modulations, which are caused by language-pair differences. Vinay and Darbelnet (Ibid, p. 36) define *transposition as* “replacing one word class with another without changing the meaning of the message”; for example, *the successful fishermen* rendered as *the fishermen succeeded. Modulation* refers to a “variation of the form of the message”, obtaining “a change in the point of view”; for instance, *God knows* for *No one knows*. Like Vinay and Darbelnet but with more emphasis on style, Popovič (1975, p. 16) distinguishes between constitutive shifts and individual shifts. A constitutive shift is “an inevitable shift that takes place in the translation as a consequence of differences between the two languages, the two poetics, and the two styles of original and translation”. Individual shifts, on the other hand, are attributed to the styles of individual translators.

In descriptive studies, explicitation is mostly divided into two types: those "traceable to differences between the two linguistic and textual systems involved, and those that are not" (Blum-Kulka, 1986/2000, p. 300). Toury (1995) divides explicitation into obligatory and non-obligatory shifts, the former dictated by syntactic and semantic differences, the latter translation norm-dependent, i.e. derived from the general values or ideas shared by the community of translators in a given culture at a given point of time. Klaudy (1998) distinguishes between four types of explicitation: obligatory, optional, pragmatic, and translation-inherent explicitation. Obligatory explicitations are caused by linguistic/systematic differences. Without such shifts, the translation would be ungrammatical, e.g. the grammatical gender of nouns and adjectives in Arabic. Optional explicitations result from variations in text-building strategies and stylistic preferences between the SL and the TL. Those shifts are optional because the sentences in which they occur are already grammatically correct, e.g. the addition of connectives for stronger links. Pragmatic explicitations are triggered by differences between cultures. These are usually explanations of some cultural aspect that is unknown to the TT readers, e.g. names of geographical locations. Finally, translation-inherent explicitation is attributed to the nature of the translation process itself. Klaudy does not provide examples or further clarification on this type of explicitation. A possible example of translation-inherent explicitation would be the insertion of cause information made in translating *his grey shirt stuck to him* (Golding, 1954; 1996, p. 11) as التصق قميصه الرمادي بجسده من شدة العرق (*/iltaṣaqa qamīṣahu al-ramādiyyu bi-jasadihi min shiddati al-ʿaraqi/ – his grey shirt stuck to his body due to profuse sweat*). The shift in this example cannot be attributed to linguistic or stylistic differences between English and Arabic, nor is it explainable along the

lines of pragmatic cultural considerations. All in all, these researchers seem to agree that obligatory explicitations are dictated by language-pair differences; however, what they consider to be optional cases of explicitation are triggered by different factors, including translators' personal preferences, translation norms, and/or extra-linguistic constraints.

In the following section, I offer a summary of the main problems with the explicitation hypothesis and previous definitions and typologies, which also incorporates my views on the issues discussed.

2.4 Towards a new understanding of explicitation-related phenomena

The following points sum up main problems with the explicitation hypothesis and previous definitions and typologies.

2.4.1 Informativeness

An assumption underlying previous definitions is that a TT with explicitation is necessarily more informative than its ST (i.e. includes information that is not realised, implied, or assumed in the ST). To challenge this assumption, Saldanha (2008) uses examples of self-reflexiveness or meta-language (i.e. language used to talk about language), as well as culture-specific items. For example, the informativeness of culture-specific items depends on the cognitive store of the reader, or his/her assumptions about the world. The Spanish word *chicha* (i.e. a fermented beverage

that is made from maize or rice with varying percentages of alcohol and can also be made as a soft drink), which refers to an alcoholic beverage in Saldanha's data set, could on its own be "much more informative to a source culture reader than *chicha beer* to an Anglo-Saxon reader" (Ibid, p. 27).

Saldanha (Ibid) argues that the explicitation hypothesis, as well as other definitions of explicitation, assumes correspondence between ST implicitness and TT explicitness. Examples include Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995), Blum-Kulka (1986/2000), Øverås (1998), among others. According to Saldanha (2008, p. 21), such an assumption is not necessarily true. Consider for example an element which is optional in the TT but not so in the ST. For example, the complementiser *that* in reported speech is optional in English, whereas the corresponding Arabic إن (*/inna/* – *that*) is not. Based on this, Saldanha argues, while not excluding source language interference, that not all instances of TT's optionally explicitated "that" correspond with implicit ST instances.

Of significant relevance to the above argument is the issue of distinguishing between explicitation and addition (i.e. information added to the TT but cannot be traceable to the ST) as well as between implicitation and omission (i.e. ST information omitted from the TT and cannot be inferred from its context/co-text). This task, according to Kamenická (2007, p. 51), "may be complicated by how much co-text is allowed for a shift to qualify as explicitation/implicitation". Along the same lines, Schreiber (1993, cited in Krüger, 2014, p. 162) maintains that the added information has to be traceable to the SL text or be considered as common knowledge of the SL text readership. Otherwise, this would be a case of addition rather than explicitation.

Consider the prepositional phrase من احتراق (*/min iḥtirāqi/ – by the burning of*) in the translation of this example.

[…] there are three approaches to capturing the CO2 generated from a primary fossil fuel […]. (Krüger, 2013, p. 289)

ثمة طرق ثلاثة لجمع غاز ثاني أكسيد الكربون المتولد من احتراق الوقود الأحفوري (My translation)

/thammata ṭuruqin thalāthatin li-jamʿi ghazi thānī uksīdi al-karbūni al-mutawallidi min iḥtirāqi al-waqūdi al-uḥfūriy/

BT from Arabic: *there are three ways to capture CO2 (which is) generated by the burning of a fossil fuel.*

Here the information that CO_2 is generated by burning a fossil fuel, being general knowledge, is probably well known to the ST and TT readers; therefore, the insertion of the prepositional phrase من احتراق (*/min iḥtirāqi/ – by the burning of*) in the translation can be considered a case of explicitation, rather than addition.

In this thesis, like in Saldanha (2008), explicitation does not make the TT necessarily more informative than the ST, nor does implicitation make it necessarily less informative. This is because a shift is regarded explicitational/implicitational only if it can be traced to the respective context, which includes the co-text and extra-linguistic assumptions about the world and the readers. On the other hand, shifts that cannot be traced back to their respective contexts are not considered explicitational or implicitational; they are additions and omissions that render the TT respectively more/less informative than the ST, that is, they convey more/less information than can be retrieved from the ST/TT and its context. For example, translating *he climbed up the tree* into Arabic as تسلق الشجرة بحذر (*/tasallaqa al-shajarata bi-ḥadharin/ – he*

climbed up the tree carefully) is an instance of addition if the careful manner of climbing cannot be traced back to the context of the ST. However, tracing a shift back is not always a straightforward process, particularly when dealing with lexical features. This is why manual investigation of the TT and ST is often indispensable. Because extra-linguistic contextual variables such as common knowledge or the author's/translator's assumption about the readership are inherently subjective variables and therefore difficult to operationalise, in the case studies in this thesis I only rely on the linguistic context to decide whether a shift is traceable or not.

2.4.2 Expansion and reduction

Two other concepts that have been coupled with explicitation and implicitation in previous research are expansion and reduction (Krüger, 2014). Expansion is defined as an "increase in the amount of text that is used in the target language to express the same semantic content as compared to the parallel segment in the source text" (Delisle, Lee-Jahnke, and Cormier, 1999, quoted in Krüger, 2014, p. 159), e.g. rendering *clockwise* into Arabic as باتجاه عقارب الساعة (*/bittijāhi ʿaqāribi al-sāʿatil – in the direction of the hands of clock*). On the other hand, reduction refers to a "decrease in the amount of text used in the target language to express the same semantic content as compared to the parallel segment in the source text" (Delisle, Lee-Jahnke, and Cormier, 1999 quoted in Krüger, 2014, p. 165), e.g. rendering ضربة جزاء (*/ḍarbatu jazāʾin/ – a penalty shot*) into English as *penalty*. Similarly, one relevant manifestation of explicitation in Klaudy (2001) is the distribution of a linguistic unit in the ST over several units in the TT. This is also mirrored by a reverse move in the case of

implicitation. The same reasoning is seen in Pápai (2004), who claims that translations into Hungarian from English are expected to lead to implicitation because Hungarian, as an agglutinative language, “uses fewer words to express the same meaning than the analytical English” (Ibid, p. 159). Krüger (2014, pp. 159–60), basing his argument on the majority of definitions of explicitation as the verbalisation in the TT of some ST missing information, argues that Klaudy’s and Pápai’s distribution of linguistic units, cannot qualify as explicitations, but rather as expansions, since they do not add semantic information. The view taken in this thesis towards this complicated matter will be presented in Chapter 4. In short, the distribution/repackaging of semantic meaning over more/less linguistic units can lead to explicitation/implicitation only when specific conditions have been met (see Section 4.2 in Chapter 4).

2.4.3 Specification and generalisation

Another debated issue concerns associating explicitation with specification and implicitation with generalisation. In Klaudy and Károly (2005, p. 15), explicitation takes place when "a SL unit with a more general meaning is replaced by a TL unit with a more specific meaning" and implicitation occurs when "a SL unit with a specific meaning is replaced by a TL unit with a more general meaning". This necessarily means that specification entails addition of semantic features, while generalisation entails loss of such features. However, according to Kamenická (2007, p. 48), to associate explicitation with specification and implicitation with generalisation is "an assumption whose validity is limited", for a general rendering, rather than a specific

one could result in explicitation, particularly with ST instances involving pragmatic or cultural references or abstract meanings expressed within complex sentences. To illustrate, Kamenická gives the following example.

Eng. ST: *The job of a check-in clerk at Heathrow, or any other airport, is ...*

Back translation from Czech: *Checking in passengers at an airport counter, whether in London or anywhere else, is …* (Kamenická, 2007, pp. 48–49)

This shift, according to Kamenická, is explicitatory because the general rendering of *Heathrow* as *an airport in London* would reduce the processing effort on the part of Czech readers, who were unfamiliar with air travel at the time when the translation was produced. My perspective towards the distinctions above is similar to Kamenická's. Explicitation is not seen as a synonym of specification nor is implicitation of generalisation because the TT reader and his/her assumptions about the world are taken into consideration (see also Chapter 4, Section 4.3, where I discuss delicacy and congruency as parameters for evaluating explicitation/implicitation).

2.4.4 Interchangeability of terms

Many previous studies also do not differentiate between explicitation and explicitness (as well as implicitation and implicitness). A further problem with the explicitation hypothesis, according to Kamenická (2007), is that "Blum Kulka fails to make a distinction between 'explicitness' or the degree of it – as a property of any text, translated or untranslated – and 'explicitation' as a rise in explicitness observable in

the transition from SL texts to TL texts" (p. 7). A few researchers, however, do differentiate between the two terms, which is also the perspective taken in this thesis. A study that has considered explicitness together with explicitation was conducted by Pápai (2004). In her process and product-oriented research, the author defines explicitation in terms of process as "a technique of resolving ambiguity, improving and increasing cohesiveness of the ST and also of adding linguistic and extra-linguistic information". As a product, it is "a text feature that contributes to "a higher level of explicitness in comparison with non-translated texts" (Ibid, p. 145). Adopting a similar view of distinguishing between explicitation as the strategies that make implicit ST information explicit in translation (or as shifts between STs and TTs), and explicitness as a feature of translated language in comparison with non-translations in the same TL, Puurtinen (2004) investigated a one-million word corpus of children's literature comprising original Finnish books and English to Finnish translations. Along almost similar lines, Hansen-Schirra, Neumann, and Steiner (2007) discuss some key concepts (such as informational density and type-token ratio[1]) relevant to the study of explicitness in order to delineate their notion of explicitation. According to them, explicitness is realised on the lexicogrammatical level and the textual level, the totality of which leads to explicitation on the overall text/discourse level. In this sense, explicitness is defined as a property while explicitation is a "process or a relationship between intralingual variants and/or translationally related text" (Ibid, p. 243).

In her paper titled "Explicitation in Discourse across Languages", House (2004) starts by identifying the problem of "what it means to be explicit in discourse". According to

1 The term informational density is defined as "the average amount of discourse information per sentence" (Fabricius-Hansen, 1996, p. 526). Type-token ratio refers to the relationship between the total number of running words in a corpus and the number of different words used (Olohan, 2004, p. 80).

her, it is the exact encoding of what a person means rather than leaving meaning for the reader to infer from the context. House argues that an overt encoding into the TL of some content that is covert in the SL can be a reflection of TL's communicative preferences, whereby the TL speakers present information in a more explicit manner than the speakers of the SL do[1]. Relevant to this latter notion of explicitness in language, Arabic could be described as an explicit language, particularly in the case of cohesive linking (Hatim and Mason, 1990). In a study of subordination and coordination in Arabic into English translations, Othman (2005) concludes that Arabic favours the use of explicit linkers in coordinated sentences not only for grammatical requirements, but also for stylistic purposes. In contrast with Arabic, Chinese, for example, exhibits a relatively low degree of cohesive explicitness (Chen, 2004, cited in Becher, 2011). Similarly, House (2006) concludes that German discourse is generally more explicit than English discourse, and that German translators translating from English make additions that can be attributed to the German norm of explicitness.

In line with the above, in this thesis, explicitation/implicitation and explicitness/implicitness are understood and examined separately. The former refers to an individual rendering or a relationship between a ST element and its counterpart in the TT, as well as between the TT actual instance and alternative realisations of the same meaning. On the other hand, explicitness/implicitness is a feature of the TT evaluated relevant to the ST and respective non-translations. The relationship

1 House uses the terms overt and covert in her model for translation quality assessment. An overt translation is a strategy that presents the text explicitly as a translation with the aim of the translator being to provide the TT reader with access to the cultural and contextual discourse world of the ST. On the other hand, the strategy of covert translation leads to a TT that "enjoys the status of an original source text in the target culture" (House, 1997, p. 69; House, 2015, pp. 54–56)

between explicitational/implicitational shifts and explicitness/implicitness is not necessarily direct. Shifts and non-shifts, taken in their entirety, do not necessarily make the TT more/less explicit than is expected by its targeted readers in a particular register (see Chapter 4 for detailed discussion).

2.4.5 Types of explicitation

Singling out and categorising explicitational and implicitational occurrences is another controversial topic in relevant research. Séguinot (1989) claims that most of the evidence Blum-Kulka provides can be explained by established differences in the stylistics of English and French. An example is that “French makes grammatical gender explicit, which leads to more explicit anaphoric reference” (p. 108). In Séguinot’s opinion, additions that can be explained by structural, stylistic, or rhetorical differences between linguistic systems should not be considered explicitatory since they occur due to constraints inherent to these systems. Rather, the instances that should be considered in the investigation are those that result from the translation process per se. According to her, explicitation can be attributed to the translation process only if there has “been the possibility of a correct but less explicit or less precise version” (Ibid, p. 108). In a similar vein, Pym (2005, p. 30) argues that the term *explicit* itself is a cause for debate, for "much depends ...on the kinds of things we accept as examples of explicitation". For example, the Arabic و (*wa – and*) is often used for mere stylistic purposes (Al-Amri, 2004), and does not necessarily mark a more explicit relationship between sentence constituents or text units. Very often, the و (*wa – and*) is used in a sentence-initial position or to introduce

paragraphs, which is also done to adhere to stylistic conventions of Arabic (Saad, 2010). For example.

وغادر القاهرة أمس مساعد وزير الدفاع

/wa-ghādara al-qāhirata amsi musāʿidu wazīri al-difāʿi/

And the assistant minister of defence left Cairo yesterday (Ryding, 2005, p. 409)

Klaudy's typology of explicitation has also been criticized, mainly for being difficult to apply (cf. Englund-Dimitrova, 2005; Kamenická, 2007; Becher, 2011). According to Englund-Dimitrova (2005), while the first three types can be readily identified, being linguistically realised and influenced by systematic, stylistic and cultural differences between the language pair involved, the translation-inherent type of explicitation is only hypothetical (Ibid, p. 38). Furthermore, Englund-Dimitrova argues, "the borderline between what is optional and what is obligatory can be fluid" (Ibid, p. 36). She also argues that pragmatic explicitation can be subsumed as a subclass of optional explicitation and that the class of translation-inherent explicitation is vague. Becher (2010b, p. 2) goes even further, questioning the validity or usefulness of "the assumption of the translation-inherence of explicitation" and suggesting that it should be replaced by a better and more useful hypothesis".

In investigating the TT relative to the ST, according to the model proposed here, all types of shifts are considered, including unidiomatic renderings (which do not sound natural in the TL) and those triggered by linguistic, pragmatic, or cultural variations. The distinction between optional and obligatory shifts (the latter deriving from differences between the linguistic systems) is not followed because, for one thing,

any translation between English and Arabic is expected to produce a large number of obligatory shifts. Arabic is a Semitic language with grammar very different from that of English. In terms of morphology, for example, Arabic is an agglutinative language, in which several morphemes are used within a word. With respect to syntax, Arabic has two basic sentence types: nominal and verbal, the former may not contain a verb.

Furthermore, the division between obligatory and optional explicitations/implicitations is not crucial because the model is more concerned with how the TT is received rather than how it is produced, and where it fits in relation to the TL. Whether a rendering is congruent with the TL lexicogrammatical rules or stylistic conventions, or otherwise does not conform to those rules and conventions, it is necessary to see how or to what extent such shifts affect the TT, first against the ST and later against respective non-translations. In other words, as Krüger (2014, p. 284) puts it, “if we view explicitation and implicitation as potential indicators of text-context interaction in translation, there is no reason why obligatory shifts should be any less interesting than those which are not obligatory”. In fact, and because the initial identification and classification of renderings in the proposed model are based on lexicogrammatical realisation and content, there is a need to consider non-shifts, including those that are ascribed to literal or word-for-word translations, either out of translators’ incompetency or as a result of a commonality between the two languages in a particular grammatical system. (See Chapter 4 for a detailed account of the proposed model and classifications).

2.5 Summary and final remarks

The purpose of this literature review was to identify gaps related to explicitation-related phenomena in the literature. The first of these is that many of the studies are "not motivated or informed by a coherent theoretical framework" (Fattah, 2016), and the definitions used, if any, are either vague or unclear (cf. Becher, 2010b). The direct bearing of such a drawback is that the validity of the findings of previous studies becomes questionable; many are not properly operationalised, and so they cannot provide conclusive evidence for the hypotheses being tested. (See also Pym, 2005; Saldanha, 2008; Becher, 2010a, 2011; Murtisari, 2013).

Second, many of the studies on explicitation that claim to subscribe to descriptive translation studies base their investigations on definitions of shifts, equivalence, and explicitation/implicitation that are rooted in purely prescriptive approaches to translation, which model translation against the parameters of difference between languages. Such accounts are problematic because they deal with translations in terms of realisation and fail to complement that with respect to instantiation, that is, they perceive of translation as a matching between options from two abstract systems (de Souza, 2010) and ignore the relationship between text and register in translation (cf. Matthiessen, 2001).

Other studies that do consider non-translated works in the TL rely solely on frequency tests without consideration of how the TL or the TL respective register manifests a division of labour between or among alternative realisations of the same meaning. In other words, it is not enough to compare frequencies of a certain

linguistic feature (e.g. causal connectives) or a specific category (e.g. logical connectors) in the TT and comparable non-translations. Such statistics can only indicate shining-through (interference) from the ST (if the ST is itself peculiar in its use of that specific linguistic feature or category) or the SL (if the SL has significantly more lexicogrammatical resources for construing that specific meaning), or normalisation (if the TL has significantly more lexicogrammatical resources for construing that specific meaning). In other words, the simple comparison of frequencies found in some previous studies might not reveal the complexity of the phenomena and could produce skewed results.

Fourthly, like Blum-Kulka (1986/2000), many researchers were mainly concerned with cohesive explicitation, ignoring other lexicogrammatical elements or features related to the ideational or interpersonal content of texts. (see, for example, Weissbrod, 1992; Øverås, 1998; Burnett, 1999, cited in Olohan, 2001; Olohan and Baker, 2000; Pápai, 2004; Puurtinen, 2004; Klaudy and Károly, 2005; Hansen-Schirra, Neumann, and Steiner, 2007). It is also worth mentioning that the sole major study on translated Arabic was also concerned with cohesive explicitation. Fattah (2010) investigates clause complexing and conjunctive explicitation in a specially compiled corpus consisting of two sets of Arabic translations and comparable non-translated Arabic texts both produced by the same translators/authors. Focusing on certain types of conjunctive markers, Fattah's study adopts an SFL approach to find lexicogrammatical evidence of explicitation in selected target texts. The study confirms the findings of earlier studies on explicitation, revealing a tendency of explicitation features to cluster in various metafunctional environments, with the overall effect of reducing vagueness or complexity, avoiding ambiguity, and

enhancing comprehensibility. The parallel and comparable analyses the researcher conducted reveal patterns of explicitational shifts relative to the STs and non-translations. For example, the research concludes that causal conjunctive markers were more common in translated texts than in their STs. The research also confirms more frequent use of concessive markers in the translations than non-translations. Apart from the above study, the study of explicitation in Arabic can only be cited as a translation technique in other works related to translation shifts — examples include Al-Amri, 2004; Gharib, 2011, and Salha, 2011.

In order to address the problems summarised above, there is a need for a theoretically-consistent model that enables relating linguistic features to each other and explaining different choices made in the translation in a systematic manner, and ultimately relating those choices to context, or register. SFL, with its explicit account of the relationship between language and meaning can cater for such needs. The model is presented in Chapter 4. Before this, in Chapter 3, I explain the main principles and tenets of SFL relevant to the study of translations and translation features.

3 SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS

3.1 Introduction

Over the last twenty-five years, there has been a growing interest in an SFL-based translation theory, which employs concepts from Hallidayan linguistics and in particular his concepts of metafunctions, or modes of meaning. From the vantage point that translation, like any other communicative acts, is a meaning-making process that makes use of the potential of language, several translation theorists and systemic functional linguists employed the theory of SFL to translation studies (see, for example, Hatim and Mason, 1990, 1997; Halliday, 2001; House, 2001; Matthiessen, 2001; Mason, 2003; Steiner, 2005a; Calzada-Pérez, 2007; Kamenická, 2007; Munday, 2012). In addition, given the vital role of context in the analysis of text, many systemic functional linguists and translation scholars have been concerned with the study of translation and translated texts that belong to particular genres or registers; examples include the register of advertisements (Steiner, 1998; 2004), guide books (Neumann, 2003), narrative texts (Hansen-Schirra, 2003), among others.

However, most of such studies have, at least until recently, been more concerned with the textual metafunction than with the ideational or interpersonal metafunctions (Matthiessen, 2009b). This may be ascribed to the fact that features of linguistic and textual cohesion, such as cohesive devices, lend themselves easily to both manual and electronic investigation. Exceptions include Hatim and Mason (1990), who apply

the framework of SFL, focusing on the experiential components of meaning, to analyse translation within a socio-cultural context, dealing particularly with register (variation according to language use) and dialect (variation according to language users). Similarly, Munday (2012) applies appraisal theory, which is based on SFL and focuses specifically on the interpersonal metafunction of language, to investigate the linguistic manifestations of a translator's intervention and subjective evaluation in the translation process.

Regarding the focus of this thesis, SFL-based explicitation/implicitation studies are few. House (2004) adopts SFL's metafunctions and relations of expansion to study explicitation. She distinguishes between obligatory and optional explicitational shifts based on typological language-pair variations. Optional explicitation in House's schema are categorised into ideational, interpersonal, and textual. One instance she cites to exemplify ideational explicitation is the expansion of *Hämoglobin* (haemoglobin) in a popular science text with additional information, i.e. the red blood pigment. House concludes that the use of explicit cohesive devices is more common in German than in English. Steiner (2008) uses SFL to distinguish between explicitness and explicitation. Explicitness, according to him, is a property of text at or beyond the clause level; within the clause it can interact with other clausal and textual features (e.g. markers of cohesion) to create explicitness at the text level. Explicitation, on the other hand, is a cross-text process that can take place in the presence of identifiable linguistic clues; the result of this process of explicitating ST implicit information is a complete and coherent TT. (See also Hansen-Schirra, Neumann, and Steiner (2012) for empirical studies into explicitation in English-German translations).

As detailed in Chapter 1, SFL was chosen as a framework for the study of translation for several reasons. Because translation, in Holmes' words (1985, p. 111), "represents a crucial instance of what happens at the interface between linguistics, literary and cultural codes", purely-linguistic approaches to translation, which look at translation in terms of "linguistic sameness" (Lefevere, 1990, p. 11), will fail short of accounting for the relationship holding between the text and its context and culture. The missing consideration of meaning in formal linguistic approaches to translation, where isolated words and sentences are approached in terms of equivalence, is the reason why they fail to fully account for translations and the complexities of the translation process (Delisle, 1988). Such approaches, Snell-Hornby (1988, p. 85) contends, "will not go beyond the conception of translation as mere substitution or transcoding". SFL transcends linguistic approaches to translation that consider language in isolation or out of context. It integrates form and function in language use, which enables it to deal with all aspects of translation: textual, contextual, semiotic, and cultural. Thanks to its micro-level functions (e.g. Actor, Process, Theme) and macro-level functions (e.g. the ideational, interpersonal, textual), SFL allows for a two-level analysis of translations (see below for examples on these functional terms). At the micro-level, which is based on the lexicogrammatical realisation of semantic meanings, we can say how and why the text means what it does. This linguistic analysis will in turn enable us "to say why the text is, or is not, an effective text for its own purposes … This goal … requires an interpretation not only of the text itself but also of its context … and of the systematic relationship between context and text" (Halliday, 1994, p. xv). In other words, the macro-level evaluation of the translated text against its ST or similar non-translations in the TL rests on

interpretation of the relationship between text and context, which in turn rests on micro-level descriptions of the lexicogrammatical realisation of semantic patterns.

SFL is also in a better position for exploring translations than function-oriented approaches to translations studies. Such approaches highlight the relationship between translation and culture on the ground that social-cultural circumstances determine the construction of meaning, but they overlook the linguistic aspects of translation and thus cannot explain how those circumstances are projected onto the text. According to SFL's view of language as meaning potential, grammar is a realisation of semantic patterns in context. Consequently, all choices are meaningful (Halliday, 1971), and language users can make choices that are suitable for social contexts. As Hasan (1984, p. 105) puts it, "ways of saying are ways of meaning". That is, meanings are realised through forms. Moreover, in its view of language as meaning potential, SFL does not only account for actual choices, but also for those that could have been.

The rest of this chapter outlines the main theoretical assumptions and terms of SFL that are used in the development of the proposed model and the investigation of explicitation-related phenomena in the data of this thesis.

SFL was originally developed by Michael Halliday in the 1950s and 1960s (cf. Halliday, 1956/1976, 1961/1976). It is a theory that focuses on the functions of language and organises them as systems, hence the name. Language, according to SFL, is a type of semiotic system that represents a meaning-making resource for its users. The speakers of a language have at their disposal a system of options, or a meaning potential from which they can select the relevant options; this is directly

relevant to the study of explicitational/implicitational shifts as choices or alternatives that could lead to a more/less explicit TT. The theory is organised around a number of interacting dimensions: global dimensions (metafunction, stratification and instantiation) and local dimensions (rank, axis, and delicacy). Each of these theoretical dimensions articulates a characteristic aspect of the general view of language as a semiotic resource. The dimensions are explained and illustrated in the following subsections.

3.2 Metafunctions

In SFL, the clause is viewed as conflating several strands of meaning, or metafunctions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. The ideational metafunction comprises an experiential mode and a logical one. The experiential mode is related to the content or ideas and is realised by the system of transitivity (i.e. configuration of the clause comprising Participants, Processes, and Circumstances; see below). The logical mode is related to relations between ideas and is realised by taxis (i.e. hypotaxis and parataxis) and logico-semantic relations (or the meanings that join clauses together, e.g. elaborating, extending, enhancing; see Section 3.4.1 below). The interpersonal metafunction is concerned with the relations between the addresser and addressee. Interpersonal meanings are enacted in grammar by the systems of mood (i.e. indicative or imperative) and modality (e.g. probability, usuality, temporality, etc.). Finally, the textual metafunction is concerned with the distribution of information in the clause and is realised by the Theme system (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). Table 3–1 below demonstrates the analysis of an English clause

(taken from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014) experientially, interpersonally and textually. The functional elements in this table are illustrated in Table 3–6 below. Throughout this thesis, names of structural functions defined within SFL are capitalised.

	The duke	has	given	my aunt	that teapot
Ideational	Actor	Process		Recipient	Goal
Interpersonal	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Complement
	Mood Block		Residue		
Textual	Theme	Rheme			
Class	nominal group	verbal group		nominal group	nominal group

Table 3–1 Metafunctional integration in the structure of the clause

Although the three metafunctions are all simultaneously instantiated whenever language is used, the primary interest in this thesis, given time and space limitations, is in renderings that are realised within the ideational metafunction. However, it should be stressed that the model proposed in Chapter 4 can be easily extended to capture meanings at the interpersonal and textual levels. Since the focus of the thesis is on the ideational metafunction, before proceeding to the local dimensions, I will further elaborate on the experiential component of this metafunction to introduce terms that are relevant to the present thesis. The logical component is further elaborated in Section 3.4.1 because it builds on a discussion of the dimension of rank.

The experiential mode of the clause comprises three elements: Participants, Process, and Circumstances. These elements make up the transitivity structure of the clause (Halliday, 1969/1976, 1970/1976). Typically, the Participant is realised by a nominal

group, the Process by a verbal group, and the Circumstance by a prepositional phrase or adverbial group. An example is given in Table 3–2. (Unless otherwise indicated, all the examples in this chapter are taken from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014)

These two green plastic food containers	have been washed	in the dishwasher
Participant	Process: happening	Circumstance: Location
nominal group	verbal group	prepositional phrase

Table 3–2 Experiential configuration of a clause

The nominal group is a group of words that represents an entity. Table 3–3 illustrates the experiential structure of a nominal group.

Those	two	green	plastic	containers	on the table
Deictic	Numerative	Epithet	Classifier	Thing	Qualifier
determiner	numeral	adjective	adjective	noun	prep. phrase

Table 3–3 Experiential configuration of a nominal group

The verbal group is the constituent that represents a Process in the transitivity configuration of the clause. The experiential structure of the finite verbal group is Finite plus Event, with optional elements, Auxiliary (one or more) and Polarity, as seen in Table 3–4.

Could	not	have	been	washed
Finite	Polarity	Auxiliary 1	Auxiliary 2	Event

Table 3–4 Experiential configuration of a verbal group

The adverbial/ prepositional group functions in the transitivity configuration of the clause to express experiential Circumstances surrounding the Process, e.g.

I	came	alone
I	'll sail	across the mighty ocean
Participant	Process	Circumstance

Table 3–5 Adverbial/preposition group as Circumstance

TYPE	**Meaning**	**Process and Participants**			
material	doing & happening	Actor	Process	Goal	Recipient
		The company	is giving	a new teapot	to my aunt
		Actor	Process	Goal	Client
		He	bought	a house	for his mother
		Actor	Process	Range	
		I	am playing	the piano	
mental	sensing, seeing, etc.	Senser: conscious	Process	Phenomenon	
		My aunt	wants	a new teapot	
verbal	saying	Sayer	Process	Verbiage	Receiver
		The letter	says	kind things	to my aunt
relational	being & having: (attributing, identifying)	Carrier	Process	Attribute	
		This teapot	is	beautiful	
		Identified	Process	Identifier	
		This	is	the teapot that …	
existential	existing		Process	Existent	
		There	was	a storm	
behavioural	behaving	Behaver	Process		
		He	was smiling		

Table 3–6 Process types and main associated Participants

Thus, the mode of expression of the experiential function is the transitivity system, which is a representation of our experience of the world as configurations of Processes, Participants, and Circumstances. There are different types of Processes

with associated type of Participants. Due to space limitations, it is not possible to present the whole transitivity system here. Table 3–6 will however serve as reference to the labels given to each type of Process and its Participants. It presents figures (the semantic category for clause; see Section 3.4.2 below) in terms of semantic types (i.e. doings, happenings, sensing, saying, being, and having) and with relation to realisation in the grammar of transitivity. For example, the semantic type of doings and happenings is realised as material clauses.

3.3 Stratification

SFL looks at language as a system of various strata: semantics, lexicogrammar, and phonology/graphology. These strata are linked through realisation: semantics (the system of meaning) is realised by lexicogrammar, and lexicogrammar is realised by phonology (the system of sounding, in the case of oral communication) or graphology (in the case of written communication). Because the study of explicitation-related phenomena is basically related to meaning and how it is grammaticalised (i.e. realised in lexicogrammar), the two core strata, semantics and lexicogrammar, are of main interest in this thesis. It is worth noting that SFL does not treat grammar or lexis as separate components. Rather, grammar and lexis are two different ways of looking at the same phenomenon (experience), with lexis at the most delicate (most specific) end of the lexicogrammar, grammar at the least delicate (see Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, 2004, 2014; see Section 3.5 below on delicacy). This perspective is useful in addressing shifts between grammar and lexis; as will be seen in Chapter 4 and the case studies, shifts from grammar, for example, to lexis can lead to a shift

in the level of explicitness, e.g. rendering the conjunction *for* as the complex conjunctive *it is for this reason*.

In addition to semantics and lexicogrammar, the notion of context assumes a very important role in SFL theory. Because the instantiation of meaning is determined by situational contexts, context is regarded as a stratum on its own. In fact, language use is treated in SFL as being inherently dependent on context, thus giving rise to patterns of language according to use in context, i.e. registers. In this thesis, the situational context is related to the notion of register and is therefore necessary to evaluate the features of explicitness and implicitness in the translation against registerially related non-translations (see Section 3.6 below and Chapter 4).

Along the parameter of stratification, there may be similarities and variations between languages, but as a tendency, languages show more commonalities at the semantic stratum than at the stratum of lexicogrammar (Teich, 2003, p. 51). This means that the meanings expressed in different languages tend to be the same but they are realised in different lexicogrammatical terms. Here is an example to illustrate the notion of stratification (from Hawkins, 1986, cited in Teich, 2003, p. 31).

Example 3–1

The guitar broke a string.

Example 3–2

An der Gitarre riss eine Saite.

Literally: at the guitar broke a string

Example 3–3

**Die Gitarre zerriss eine Saite.*

The guitar broke a string.

The meaning of a string breaking on a guitar is expressed in both the English (3–1) and the German (3–2). However, in German the nominal group *Gitarre* cannot assume the role of Agent (a functional term for the instigator of the action in a material clause, which construes doings or happenings; see Table 3–6) in a transitive construction, as illustrated in (3–3). The only way to express the meaning of the English clause in German is by using *Saite* as a Medium (a functional term for a nominal group that refers to the medium through which the Process is actualised; cf. Matthiessen, Teruya and Lam, 2010) and *an der Gitarre* as a locational Circumstance, as in example (3–2) above. This difference in the lexicogrammatical realisation of ideational meaning is due to typological differences along the parameter of stratification between English and German.

According to systemic theory, the strata of semantics, lexicogrammar, and phonology are all organised according to the same general principles: rank, axis, and delicacy. These are illustrated below.

3.4 Rank

For each stratum there is a rank scale (i.e. a hierarchy of units based on constituency), on which each rank is realised by the rank immediately below. Figure 3–1 illustrates the lexicogrammatical rank scale of a clause in English, which

is similar to that of the Arabic clause (see Bardi, 2008 for an SFL-based description of Arabic).

Rank Scale	
clause	I can't move with all these creeper things
group/phrase	I + can't move + with all these creeper things
word	I + can't + move + with + all + these + creeper + things
morpheme	I + can + not + move + with + all + these + creep + er + thing + s

Figure 3–1 Rank scale of an English clause

Within strata, units are distributed compositionally, from the largest to the smallest, and each unit is realised by the unit right below; for example, within the stratum of lexicogrammar, clauses are realised by groups, groups by words, and words by morphemes. The rank scale, according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), is present in the grammar of every language, and each unit on the scale consists of one or more units of the rank below. There is also the potential for rank shift, that is, a unit of one rank may be downgraded, i.e. embedded, to function in the structure of another unit. In the clause *this is the book that I told you about*, the rank-shifted clause *that I told you about* does not stand as a ranking clause because it functions as a constituent within a group; it is a Qualifier (a post-modifier) within the nominal group *the book*.

3.4.1 Expansion: The logical mode

Units of every rank may form complexes by means of expansion. For example, a clause (or clause simplex) is linked to another clause simplex by means of some kind of logico-semantic relation to form a clause complex (see Table 3–7 and Table 3–8). When a clause complex consists of more than two simple clauses, each single linkage is referred to as a clause nexus (see Table 3–9).

Kukul pulled out the arrow	and headed for the river
Clause simplex	Clause simplex
Clause complex: parataxis	

Table 3–7 Paratactic clause complexing

Kukul headed for the river	because he wanted to wash his wound
Clause simplex	Clause simplex
Clause complex: hypotaxis	

Table 3–8 Hypotactic clause complexing

Kukul pulled out the arrow	and headed for the river	to wash his wound
Clause simplex	Clause simplex	Clause simplex
Clause nexus		
	Clause nexus	
Clause complex: parataxis and hypotaxis		

Table 3–9 Clause nexuses in clause complexing

Clause complexes are formed by parataxis, i.e. coordination (as in Table 3–7) or hypotaxis, i.e. subordination (as in Table 3–8) or a mixture of both (as in Table 3–9). The clause simplexes making up a clause complex are referred to as *primary* or *secondary*. In a paratactic clause complex, the primary clause is the one that comes first (initiating). In hypotaxis, on the other hand, the primary clause is the independent

(dominant) one and the secondary clause is the dependent, regardless of order in the clause complex. Table 3–10 below illustrates this.

	Primary	**Secondary**
Parataxis	Initiating Kukul pulled out the arrow	Continuing and headed for the river
hypotaxis	Dominant You can never tell	Dependent till you try

Table 3–10 Primary and Secondary clauses in a clause nexus

Within the general category of expansion, there are three subtypes: elaborating, extending, and enhancing. These are briefly illustrated here.

Elaboration is a logico-semantic relation of expansion, where a clause or group restates, specifies, comments on, or exemplifies the meaning of another. In the clause complex *John didn't wait; he ran away*, the simplex *he ran way* elaborates on *he didn't wait* by restating its meaning. Similarly, in the group complex *got killed, got run over*, the meaning of the verbal group *got killed* is elaborated by further specification in *got run over.*

In the **extension** type of expansion, the extending clause or group gives an exception or offers an alternative. For example, in the clause complex *John ran away, whereas Fred stayed behind*, the first clause is extended by the information in the second. The same is true of the group complex *on time instead of two hours later*, where the prepositional phrase *on time* is extended by *instead of two hours later*.

Enhancing is a relationship of expansion by means of which a clause or a group qualifies another with some circumstantial feature of time, place, manner, cause, or condition. This relationship can take place within the two modes of the ideational

metafunction, the logical mode and the experiential mode, as well as within the textual metafunction (the metafunction concerned with the distribution of information in the clause). Within the logical mode, it can happen at clause or group/phrase rank (e.g. *tomorrow before lunch*). Within the experiential mode, enhancing is realised in the form of either circumstantial augmentation of the clause (e.g. *he paced forward unsteadily*) or modifications within nominal groups (*the Art Gallery of N.S.W.*), in addition to other incongruent realisations illustrated in Section 3.4.2 below. Textually, enhancement takes place between clauses or stretches of discourse where the relationship is marked by a conjunctive, such as *therefore, As a result,* etc.

3.4.2 Congruent and incongruent realisation

In SFL, anything that can be construed as part of human experience is a phenomenon. This is the most general experiential (semantic) category, of which there are three levels (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999). These are illustrated below with examples of my own.

Figure: This is a configurational phenomenon that consists of elements. This semantic category represents experience as a configuration of a Process, the Participants that take part in the Process, and associated Participants (e.g. *he cannot come to the party*).

Element: This is an elemental phenomenon. The three kinds of elements in a figure are the Process (being, e.g. *is*; doing, e.g. *walk*; sensing, e.g. *see*; saying, e.g. *contend*), Participant (a thing, e.g. *man, recipe*; or a quality, e.g. *partly cloudy*), and

Circumstance (time, e.g. *today*; manner, e.g. *carefully*; extent, e.g. *for 15 minutes*; etc.). A fourth type of element is the Relator (e.g. *so, because*), but this element functions between figures in sequences as a construal of logico-semantic relations.

Sequence: This is a complex phenomenon that consists of figures related temporally, causally, etc. One of the figures in a pair of figures may either expand the other (e.g. *he cannot come to the party, but he will send his children; he cannot come to the party because he has work to do*) or project it (e.g. *I think he cannot come to the party; he says, "I cannot come to the party"*).

Thus, in the congruent mode, the resources for construing experience are:

Semantics		**Lexicogrammar**
sequence		clause complex
figure		clause simplex
element	Participant	nominal group
	Process	verbal group
	Circumstance	prepositional phrase/adverbial group
	Relator	conjunctions

Table 3–11 The congruent lexicogrammatical realisations of semantic categories

However, semantic categories and lexicogrammatical categories are not in a one-to-one relationship. Other mappings are possible; sequences, figures and elements as semantic resources for construing experience may be realised incongruently (metaphorically). That is, a given semantics can be grammaticalised in ways other than the congruent way. Incongruent expressions are referred to as grammatical metaphor, or incongruent mappings/realisations. Consider the following example (from Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, p. 227, also discussed in Teich, 2003).

Example 3–4

A: *Smith et al. have shown that if one takes alcohol one's brain rapidly becomes dull*

B: *Alcohol's rapid dulling effect on the brain has also been observed by other researchers in the field* (Teich, 2003, p. 46; underlining in the original).

The two underlined parts of the text above grammaticalise the same ideational meaning in different lexicogrammar. Semantically the first is a sequence while the latter is an element. In terms of lexicogrammar, while the first is a clause complex, the latter is a nominal group. Several shifts are involved in this move from clause complex to nominal group, or from a sequence to an element; for example, the conjunction *if,* functioning as a logico-semantic Relator between two clauses, has been replaced by the noun *effect*, which functions as Head in the nominal group. Typically, such shifts involve loss of information, which can be tested by rewording variant B as variant A, the former is ambiguous as to the logico-semantic relation (potentially referring to either cause/condition or location/time). In other words, variant B, being worded at a lower rank is less explicit than variant A (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, pp. 227–231).

The distinction SFL makes between a congruent realisation and incongruent agnates is based on three perspectives, referred to as semogenic processes, or processes that take place through time (Ibid, p. 17).

The phylogenetic perspective: The congruent realisation evolved earlier in the language (see Halliday, 1988)

The ontogenetic perspective: The congruent realisation is learned earlier by children (see Halliday, 1978)

The logogenetic perspective: The congruent realisation appears earlier in the text. (see Halliday, 1998)

Halliday and Matthiessen (1999) place congruent and incongruent mappings of a given semantics on a cline, rather than as symmetrically related variants, thus, no simple dichotomy is maintained between 'literal' and 'metaphorical', but rather a continuum with the least metaphorical at one pole and the most metaphorical at the other pole. In general, "the variant that contains most information, or the least ambiguous one, is the congruent variant; the others belong to the set of metaphorical option" (Teich, 2003, p. 47).

3.5 Axis and delicacy

At each rank within each stratum, language sets up relations on two axes, paradigmatic and syntagmatic, or as system and structure. The paradigmatic axis (system) defines the relations between choices in the sense of what could be used instead of what, e.g. passive or active, indicative or interrogative. Hence, the grammar of a language is modelled via system networks, rather than as an inventory of structures, and these systems represent the choices available to speakers of the language (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 23). In the system network for MOOD type, for example, there is a choice between two system features: the indicative and the imperative. Each of these lead to further choices. For example, an indicative

clause is either declarative or interrogative. An Interrogative clause is either of the yes/no type or the wh-type. This is the scale of delicacy (see below). The syntagmatic axis (structure), on the other hand, defines the clause functional elements that can go together by means of realisation statements (e.g. Participant + Process + Goal; see Table 3–6 above). The relation between the two axes is one of realisation; paradigmatic choices are realised by syntagmatic patterns. Figure 3–2 depicts the system of MOOD TYPE.

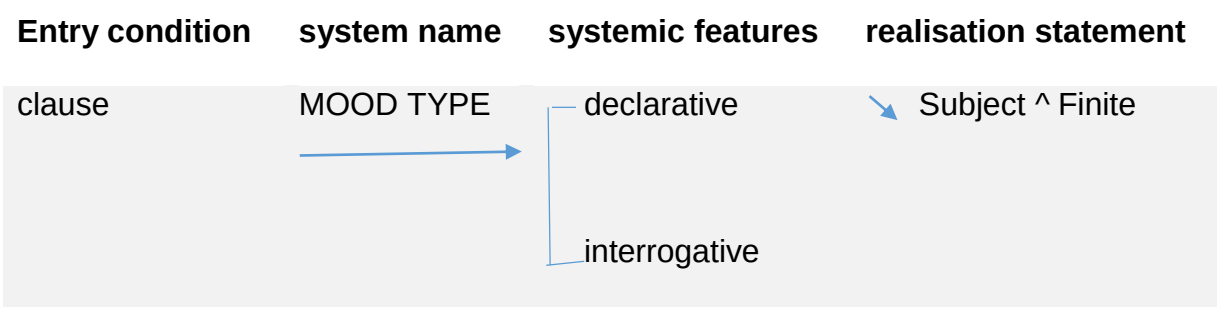

Figure 3–2 Elements of a system

Delicacy is the organising principle that orders paradigmatic options on a system network from the least delicate (most general) to the most delicate (most specific). For example, the system of PROCESS type (see Table 3–6) can be extended in delicacy to include the subtypes of mental Processes: emotive (e.g. *love*), cognitive (e.g. *believe*), desiderative (e.g. *want*), and perceptive (e.g. *notice*). An example of more delicate grammatical options is found in the imperative forms of French, which distinguishes imperatives according to the number of addressees and politeness (Teich, 2003, p. 56). This last distinction is also found in the Arabic use of second-person pronouns, where a person can be addressed as أنتم (/*antum*/ – plural *you*) to show respect and politeness.

3.6 Instantiation

The relation between the linguistic system (i.e. potential) and text (i.e. instance) is defined by the dimension of instantiation (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 26; Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 333). For Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 2014) system and text are only two different perspectives on language, rather than two distinct phenomena. That is, a text is seen in SFL as an instance of a particular situational context (i.e. the specific material and social situation in which the text is being used) which is embedded in a wider cultural context (i.e. general beliefs and ideology) (Miller, 2005, cited in Manfredi, 2008, p. 39). For example, the simple future is more likely to occur in weather forecasts than in the context of a football match commentary. Caffarel, Martin and Matthiessen (2004) illustrate the concept of instantiation cline using Halliday's metaphor of climate and weather.

> If our field of study was meteorology, this would be analogous to observing the weather on a number of occasions and then going on to produce commentaries on each instance that had been observed without generalizing across all these instances […] But meteorologists generalize beyond the instances of weather that they have observed in order to describe weather patterns and even the climate. Weather patterns and the climate are not different phenomena from the weather: they are all part of the same realm of meteorological phenomena; they differ only in generality. A weather pattern is nothing more than an accumulation of a number of instances of weather; and the climate is nothing more than an accumulation of a number of weather patterns. By the same token, today's weather here in Sydney is nothing more than an instance of Sydney's climate. (Caffarel, Martin and Matthiessen, 2004, pp. 18–19)

Thus, weather corresponds with text (instance) and climate with system (potential), each is located at one end pole of the cline of instantiation. What lies in the middle

between the two poles are sub-climates, or sub-systems or sub-potentials, representing registers, genres and text types.

The parameter of instantiation is of particular importance in translation between languages that differ in conventions that are related to register (i.e. language variation according to use). This difference, according to Teich (2003), cannot be predicted by looking at language systems, but only in texts, that is, as instantiations of language systems. This parameter is useful in a functional description of translation when a translator has available more than one TL realisation of a functional grammatical type but chooses to use one rather than another. This means that the choice is triggered not by a difference in system options, but rather as a result of instantiation conventions, which are ruled by the situational context. To further illustrate, I quote the following example form Teich (2003, p. 58).

Example 3–5

To draw a polyline (ST: English)

Drawing a polyline (Back translation from Bulgarian)

You draw a polyline as follows (Back translation from German)

These example all express the same ideational meaning of someone drawing a polyline, but they realise this meaning differently. The English is a non-finite clause, the Bulgarian is a nominal group, and the German a finite clause. According to Teich (Ibid), the variation in realising the semantics of the three instances is not triggered by a difference in the systems options, because both Bulgarian and German have available the choice of expressing the same meaning by means of a non-finite

clause, as in the SL, English. Therefore, the difference is not explainable with respect to language systems, but rather as a result of different instantiation conventions according to register, the register of instructions in this case (Ibid, p. 58).

3.7 Final remarks

In this chapter, the main aim was to define and illustrate the main notions and concepts of SFL theory that would be used in developing the proposed model. In Chapter 4, I present a new model for investigating translation features, such as explicitness and implicitness. The model makes use of SFL basic notions of choice, realisation, and instantiation to identify and classify types of translation renderings and to evaluate the effect of those renderings on the TT *vis-à-vis* the ST and respective non-translated texts in the TL. The study of explicitation-related shifts and classifying them could be well accounted for based on SFL concepts, such as choice. As mentioned earlier, SFL is a theory that looks at language as a type of semiotic system that represents a meaning-making resource for its users. The speakers of a language have at their disposal a system of options, or a meaning potential from which they can select the relevant options. Also important about SFL theory is that it emphasises context, which makes it highly relevant to the study of translation shifts and translation features as products of variations according to language use and language users.

4 AN SFL-BASED MODEL FOR INVESTIGATING EXPLICITATION-RELATED PHENOMENA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a model for investigating explicitation and implicitation as translation shifts, as well as explicitness and implicitness as features of translated texts. Based on parameters related to SFL's basic notions of choice, realisation, and instantiation, the model is intended for the identification and classification of types of translation renderings and evaluating the effect of those renderings on the TT *vis*-à-*vis* the ST and respective non-translated texts in the TL.

As previously mentioned, SFL is a theory of language that is centred on the notion of choice; the language user has a set of options in the form of system networks to choose from when construing meaning. This choice may or may not be conscious (Matthiessen, Teruya, and Lam, 2010, p. 69). In translation, at least in the revising/editing phase if one takes place, choice may be the result of a decision making process that depends on various variables, including typological differences between languages, translator's background and knowledge, readers' informational needs, general ideological beliefs, norms, and register constraints, among other linguistic and extra-linguistic factors (see Fawcett, 2013 and Hasan, 2009 for the place of choice and context in SFL).

Matthiessen (2014a, p. 272) characterises translation as “the recreation of meaning in context through choice”. According to him, choice by the translator is “an ongoing process of choosing options within the systems of the source language and of the target language”. This means that different translators are expected to make different selections from the meaning potential of the target language based on their interpretation of the choices in the ST. This is nicely outlined in Matthiessen (2001).

> Any expression in the source text will be agnate to innumerable alternative expressions defined by the systemic potential of the source language and all these agnates are candidates in the source for translation into the target and, by the same token, there will also be a set of agnate candidates in the target language. […] The agnates make up the source text’s shadow texts — texts that might have been because they fall within the potential of the language-and these shadow texts are thus relevant to translation. By the same token, an actual translation exists against the background of shadow translations-possible alternative translations defined by the systemic potential of the target language. (Matthiessen, 2001, p. 83)

The constructed examples in Figures 4–1 and 4–2 illustrate shadow texts and shadow translations. Note that the examples in Figure 4–1 are not necessarily translations of the examples in Figure 4–2.

In Figure 4–1 below, the actual ST instance *he rushed out of the room* exists in the environment of several shadow texts, or agnates (i.e. the alternative encodings in the outside circles of Figure 4–1). The choice of the actual ST instance is made in the environment of the context in which the ST operates. In Figure 4–2, which represents possible translations of the ST instance and its shadow texts, the actual TT instance (in the central circle) is a direct equivalent of the ST actual instance in terms of form and content. Both have the same basic experiential configuration (i.e. Actor + Process + Circumstance: location), which is realised by similar lexicogrammatical

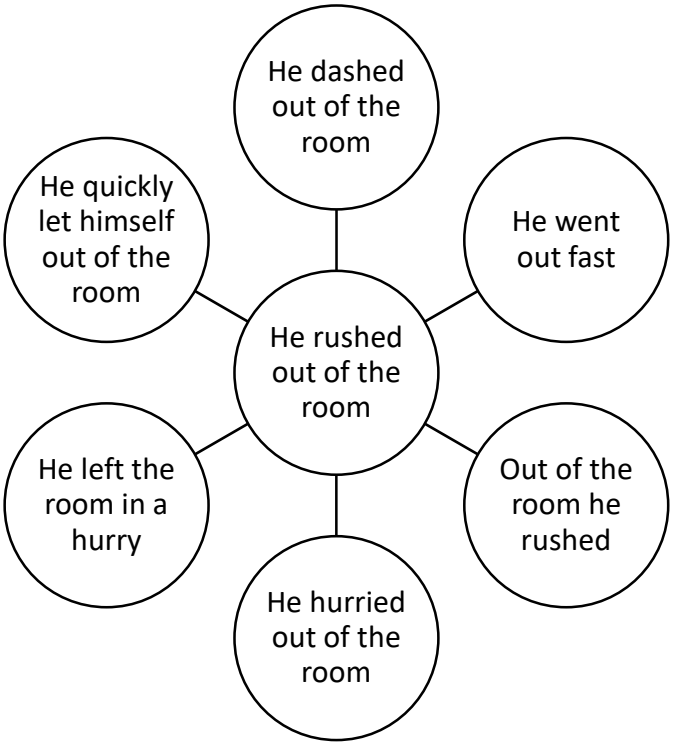

Figure 4–1 A constructed example of shadow texts

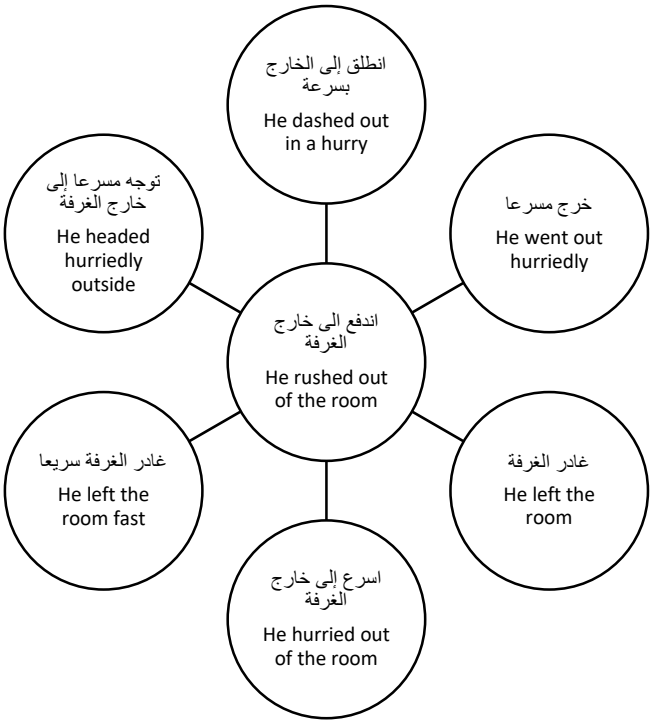

Figure 4–2 A constructed example of shadow translations

elements (i.e. nominal group + verbal group + prepositional phrase). In addition, both clauses express the same ideational content, i.e. they construe the same experience. A translator could alternatively opt for a rendering that is equivalent not to the actual ST instance, but to one of its shadow texts, or agnates. Again, the choice made in the TT exists in the environment of other choices, or shadow translations, and in the context in which the TT operates. For example, the Arabic غادر الغرفة مسرعا (*Ighādara al-ghurfata musriʿan/*) is a direct rendering of the shadow instance *he left the room hurrying.* Since the benchmark against which shifts are singled out is the actual ST instance, this Arabic clause is regarded as a shift because it differs from the actual ST clause in experiential configuration and lexicogrammatical realisation. The ST Process, realised by a verbal group, has been rendered in the TT as a Process and an attending Circumstance realised as an adverbial. However, with respect to ideational content, all the components of the ideational content are still the same (i.e. *some male person leaving a specific room in a hurry*).

These alternative lexicogrammatical realisations represent different kinds of meanings of the same experience. Therefore, whenever we need to express a certain experience, we choose to talk about it in a specific way and at the same time avoid other realisations. The choices we make are all meaningful and reflect the intentions or purposes of the discourse or some norms and conventions related to context, register, or culture. In the examples above, the choice of any specific rendering of the actual ST instance will succeed in recreating the ST meaning in the context of the TT if that choice meets the expectations of the TL system and register. This entails that a direct rendering is not necessarily the best choice to make. A direct rendering, which has succeeded in conveying the form and content of its ST

counterpart, might not fit well in the context of the TT. At the level of text, a direct rendering, or any rendering for that matter, could for example be in violation of the information structure, thus interrupting the information flow in the text. From the context, or register perspective, it could contribute, together with similar structural or lexical units, to raising or lowering the expected level of a certain textual feature, such as explicitness. The model proposed in the following section is based on these notions of choice, realisation, and instantiation.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Section 2.1, the linguistic approach defines shifts mainly based on formal correspondence (e.g. Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958/1995, Catford, 1965). In the view adopted here, both form and content are taken into consideration in the classification of shifts, hence the use in this thesis of the term *rendering* to describe not only shifts but also non-shifts. The term *rendering* as used here is defined as a TT instance (at clause or clause element rank) whose meaning is at least partially realised in the ST. The view of renderings and shifts illustrated by the example above is also related to the effect shifts and non-shifts may have on translations relative to established or congruent conventions in respective registers. A TT instance representing a shift relative to the ST may eventuate as a non-shift relevant to the respective TL register, and vice versa.

4.2 The proposed model: An overview

This section provides an overview of the proposed model, but the model is taken up further for a more comprehensive account in the following sections. The model is presented here to account for explicitation-related phenomena with reference to

ideational meaning, but it can be used or extended to investigate other types of phenomena and meanings. The proposed model comprises three phases: (1) inter-textual realisation, (2) inter-textual actualisation, and (3) registerial instantiation.

Phase 1 is referred to as 'inter-textual realisation' because it is concerned with the lexicogrammatical realisation of the content of ST renderings in the TT. In this phase, the ST and TT are first explored for manifestations of a certain linguistic feature or phenomenon. If, for instance, the focus is on a certain category of verbs, i.e. motion or reporting, a list is created with all such verbs in the SL based on dictionaries and available studies on the topic. The ST is then searched for these verbs. This step can also start with the TL and TT, although with some limitations (see Chapter 6). For example, if we are investigating a translation from Arabic into English with a focus on pronominal reference, it will be difficult to start with the Arabic text because of the highly inflectional nature of Arabic morphology. The next step in Phase 1 is to identify relevant translational renderings and classify them according to whether there is a shift in the ideational content of the investigated elements. Renderings are classified in terms of how much of the content of the study object is conveyed into the TT. Three main types of renderings are suggested: [=content], [+content], or [–content], where [content] refers to the ideational content of the unit being investigated. Further categorisations and operational procedures could be needed, e.g. availability/non-availability of direct equivalents in the TT.

Identified content shifts and non-shifts are also considered in terms of context traceability. Context traceability is used to decide whether a rendering is inter-textually recoverable, that is, if the shift can be traced back to the context of the

relevant text (the ST or TT). Relevant to traceability, the following types of renderings need to be clarified, but see also Section 4.3 below for further explanation and examples.

(1) Insertions and additions are both [+content] renderings and refer to meanings that are lexicogrammatically realised in the TT's clause, but only insertions can be traced back to, or retrieved from the ST's context. That is, insertions are inter-textually recoverable, but additions raise the text's level of informativeness. An insertion is traceable to the context outside the investigated unit in the ST.

(2) Deletions and omissions are both [–content] renderings and refer to meanings that are lexicogrammatically realised in the ST's clause, but only deletions can be retrieved from the TT's context. This means that deletions are inter-textually recoverable, whereas omissions lower the text's informativeness. A deletion is traceable to the context outside the investigated unit in the TT.

(3) Unpacking (i.e. the distribution of the ideational content of a compact linguistic unit over more units) **and packing** (i.e. the repackaging of more than one unit into one compact unit) are both [=content] renderings. They are both inter-textually recoverable shifts because in either case the content of the actual TT instance derives from the content of its ST counterpart.

(4) Direct renderings (i.e. instances where the content and form of the investigated unit are maintained) **and rewordings** (instances where the content of the investigated unit is maintained through a different form, other than un/packing) are

both inter-textually recoverable [=content] renderings for the same reasons given for un/packing.

With all [=content] renderings, except for those involving cultural or pragmatic meanings, traceability is limited to the unit under investigation in the ST and its counterpart in the TT. However, with [+content] and [–content] shifts, tracing a shift back is not always a straightforward endeavour, more so when dealing with lexical features. Frequently, locating a referent requires careful consideration of text beyond the clause. Such reference could be found in co-text descriptions relating, for example, to the physical and/or psychological state of the Actor (e.g. a person with a foot or leg injury will *limp* rather than *walk*), or the location or ground where the action takes place (e.g. one will more probably *trot* than *walk* on hot sand). A referent could also be attributed to extra-linguistic contextual variables such as common knowledge or the author's/translator's assumption about the readership. These two latter variables are inherently subjective and therefore difficult to operationalise. Therefore, in this thesis, I only rely on the linguistic context to decide whether a shift is traceable or not. To this end, I follow research in cognitive linguistics (Svoboda, 1981; Chafe, 1994; Firbas, 1995), which sets a referential distance of up to seven clauses, beyond which an item is no longer recoverable.

Inter-textually recoverable renderings are then examined in terms of their explicitation status. This is Phase 2 of the analysis. Here, renderings are looked at not only against their ST counterparts, but also as choices or different mappings within the systemic potential of the TL, that is, relative to other possible shadow translations. As will be seen below, it is important to consider TL alternative realisations to determine

whether a shift is explicitational/implicitational or not. The analysis of renderings in this phase is carried out against the parameters of realisational congruency and/or delicacy (see Chapter 3, and Section 4.4 below). In general, the move in realisation up the cline of congruency (from the incongruent to the congruent) or up the cline of delicacy (from the less delicate to the more delicate) would result in explicitation. Shifts the other way round would generally result in implicitation. These are not hard and fast rules, though. Because this section is intended as an overview of the model, I elaborate more on the moves along the clines of congruency and delicacy in section 4.4 below. I refer to this phase as 'inter-textual actualisation' because the eventual aim here is to determine the explicitation status of the actual TT renderings *vis-à-vis* their ST counterparts and other potential alternative options in the TL. Before moving on to phase three, it is worth stressing that Phases 1 and 2 can take place simultaneously. In this chapter, they are presented separately for the sake of illustrating the model as clearly as possible.

The third phase looks at shifts and non-shifts as instantiations in the register, hence the term 'registerial instantiation'. Here the renderings are examined collectively or in categories, rather than individually, against registerial conventions or preferences. This is a quantitative analysis ideally based on corpus-based investigations. Such an investigation into authentic texts could give a clear picture of how the TL register manifests a division of labour between or among different linguistic features. This intra-lingual macro-level analysis compares the frequencies of TT's features, which were obtained from the previous analysis, against a corpus of respective non-translations. The eventual objective is to determine how the relevant renderings affect the TT's level of explicitness, not as a whole, but in terms of a certain feature

(e.g. motion, manner, cause) as compared to similar non-translations in the TL. It will be seen (Section 4.5 below) that explicitational/implicitational renderings and registerial explicitness/implicitness are not necessarily in a one-to-one relationship.

In short, Phases 1 and 2 involve different analytical procedures that have to be performed sequentially. The content analysis in Phase 1, although advantageous over previous models (in that it considers both shifts and non-shifts), is still not sufficient to single out the renderings that give rise to explicitation shifts and those that do not. Hence, Phase 2 sets out to determine the explicitation status of renderings based on parameters that characterise the actual TT renderings as choices within the systemic potential of the language. Phase 3 reassesses the implications of translational renderings on the TT's level of explicitness from the vantage point of registerial congruency. The phases of investigation and the relevant parameters are explained in more detail in the following sections.

4.3 Phase 1 (inter-textual realisation): Identifying and classifying relevant renderings in terms of content and traceability

In this subsection, I propose a classification of renderings based on how much of the ideational content of the unit being investigated is conveyed into the TT. Three main types of renderings are suggested: [=content], [+content], or [–content]. To illustrate these types of renderings and manifestations, I use examples taken from different sources, including the data of the two case studies, as well as constructed examples.

The discussion of the examples in this section does not refer to their explicitation status; focus at this stage is to show how lexicogrammatical shifts and non-shifts are identified and categorised in terms of content and traceability.

4.3.1 [=content] renderings

The [=content] class includes instances where the ideational content of the unit under investigation is preserved. Manifestations of [=content] renderings include (1) direct rendering, (2) unpacking, (3) packing, and (4) rewording. As mentioned above, all [=content] renderings are inter-textually recoverable because the content of the TT actual instance derives from the content of its ST counterpart. In other words, the linguistic context is the resource we employ to trace renderings back. The context, in its wider concept as outside of language, could also be invoked in [=content] renderings that involve rewording of cultural or pragmatic meanings, as in rendering an English culture-specific proverb into an Arabic-specific saying that serves the same function.

(i) Direct rendering

An instance where the content and form of the investigated unit are maintained. In the following constructed example the unit under investigation, in bold type, is the verb.

Example 4–1

English	The players **rushed** forward			
Arabic	الأمام */alʾamāmi*	إلى */ilā/*	اللاعبون */al-lāʿibūna/*	**اندفع** ***I**indafaʿa/*
	the-forward	to	the-players	**rushed-(he)**
BT:	'The players **rushed** forward'			

This is an instance of a shift in realisation at the clause level (namely, the word order has changed) that does not lead to a shift in the clause ideational content. However, since the focus of analysis in this example is on the verb, the translation is seen as a non-shift both in realisation and content, thus an [=content] rendering. The ST verb *rush* is rendered into an equivalent verb in the TT. Both *rush* and اندفع (*/indafaʿa/* – *rush/dash*) are run-verbs that denote fast rate of motion.

(ii) Unpacking

An instance where the ideational content of a compact linguistic unit is distributed over more units.

Example 4–2

English	Roger **clambered** up the ladder-like cliff (Golding, 1996, p. 196)				
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 237)	المنحدر الصخري الشاهق الشبيه بالدرج */al-munḥadara al-ṣakhriya al-shāhiqa al-shabīhi bi-l-daraji/*	روجر *Roger*	**تسلق** */tasallaqa/*	**بجهد** */bi-juhdin/*	و */wa/*
	the steep rocky slope similar to stairs	Roger	**climb**	**with-effort**	and
BT:	**'With effort**, Roger **climbed** the steep stairs-like cliff'				

This is an instance of [=content] because the compact ideational content of the English Process (*clamber*, which means *to climb up, across, or into somewhere with*

difficulty, using the hands and the feet[1]) is unpacked into Arabic in the form of a Process and Circumstance (*climb with effort*). Note that the change in the clause configuration, which is caused by the unpacking as well as by other shifts in realisation, does not influence the ideational content of the Process (*clamber*). If the change in realisation or configuration leads to a change in the ideational content of the Process, which is the object of study in the case of this example, this would be a case of [+content] or [–content], as in Example 4–6 and Example 4–7.

Unpacking that could lead to [=content] renderings includes those involving a shift across metafunctions. For instance, *the traditional approach has consistently failed due to ignorance of the realities of history and material development* construes two figures that are incongruently encoded in a clause simplex. This compact clause simplex can be unpacked into the clause complex *the traditional approach has consistently failed, for it has ignored the realities of history and material development,* or the cohesive sequence *the traditional approach ignores the realities of history and material development. Therefore it has consistently failed* (DeLorenzo, 1993, p. 5), among other agnates. The three realisations share the same ideational content through varied structures at different ranks within different metafunctions (see Section 6.2 in Chapter 6).

(iii) Packing

The opposite of unpacking and refers to the repackaging of more than one unit into a compact unit. The examples above can be seen as cases of packing when considered in the opposite direction.

1 https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/clamber

(iv) Rewording

Instances where the content of the investigated unit is maintained through a different form, other than un/packing.

Example 4–3

Arabic (Abu Sulayman's, 1991, p. 94)	الرسول صلى الله عليه وآله وسلّم يصر دون مواربة أو تردد على عدم استخدام العنف أو الرد على العنف بالعنف */al-rasūla yuṣirru dūna muwārabatin aw taraddudin ʿalā ʿadami istikhdāmi al-ʿunfi aw al-raddi ʿalā al-ʿunfi bi-l-ʿunfi/*	نجد */najidu/*	**ولذلك** */wa-li-dhālika/*
	that the prophet, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him and his family, insists without equivocation or hesitation on not using violence or responding to violence with violence	find-(we)	**hence**
English	**It is also for this reason** that the Prophet used to emphasise to his followers never to use confrontational methods or to return open hostility with hostility (Delorenzo, 1993, p. 48)		

In this example, the Arabic ST clause is linked to previous discourse by means of a simple conjunctive (i.e. *hence*). In the translation, this is rendered as a complex conjunctive manifested in the form of a clause simplex (i.e. *it is for this reason*). Because the content of the unit under investigation (the cause–effect relator, or conjunctive) was preserved in the TT, this is an [=content] rendering. Note that the rendering involves several shifts in the clause configuration and realisation, but these do not affect the content of the unit being investigated. Note also that the rendering of one relator to the other does not involve a shift in the number of functions they have; this is why such renderings are classified as rewording rather than un/packing.

Under rewording, I also include instances that maintain the same content with a shift involving insertion, deletion or re-ordering of structural clause elements, as in the following example (from Matthiessen, 2001).

Example 4–4

English	Omar's brother **is** the most ignorant boy in the school.					
Arabic	المدرسة */al-madrasati/*	في */fī/*	ولد */waladin/*	أجهل */ajhalu/*	عمر */ʿumar/*	أخو */akhū/*
	the-school	in	boy	most-ignorant	Omar	brother
BT:	'Omar's brother (is) the most ignorant boy in the school'					

In this example, where the study unit investigated is the clause, the English clause simplex is an identifying relational clause with the Process realised by the verb *be*. In Arabic such clauses are called nominal clauses because they start with a nominal group and un-markedly lack a verb. The Arabic and the English clauses above, according to Matthiessen (2001, p. 110), are translation equivalents although they are structurally different. Note also the difference in the structure of the genitive أخو عمر (*/akhū ʿumar/ – brother Omar*) and the absence of the definite article in the superlative أجهل (*/ajhalu/ – most ignorant*). In this sense, Catford's (1965) category shifts and Vinay and Darbelnet's (1958/1995) transpositions would all fit under the category of rewording (see Section 2.1 above). For another example, the verb in Arabic can include pronominal affixes that represent the Participants involved in the Process, as in ذهبتْ إلى المدرسة (*/dhahabatʾilā al-madrasati/ – went-(she) to the-school*). Translating this Arabic clause into English as *she went to school* involves shifts in structure and a move up the rank scale, i.e. from the word rank (i.e. the affix in the Arabic verb) to clause rank (as a separate pronoun functioning as Actor at clause rank).

This category, as well as the other categories explained below, can also be extended to include shifts/non-shifts in and across other ranks, systems, and metafunctions. Consider this constructed example.

Example 4–5

Arabic	أسرع ولد في المدرسة */asraʿu waladin fī al-madrasati/*	هو */huwa/*	عمر */ʿumar/*
	fastest boy in the school	he	Omar
English	**It is Omar who** is the fastest boy in the school		

Here, where the focus of study is presumably the theme, the Arabic clause is also a nominal clause, but it also markedly includes the pronoun هو (*/huwa/* – *he*) to "put more emphasis on the Theme by presenting the explicit formulation of contrast" (Halliday, 1994, pp. 58–59). In English, this function is encoded in a structure with a predicated Theme (i.e. It is Omar who …). In other words, English and Arabic have different Theme systems. Because the structural and systemic shift here do not lead to a shift in textual meanings, the rendering above can be considered an [=content] rendering, where *content* refers to textual meanings. As a final example, translating a SL unit that carries cultural or pragmatic meanings (e.g. carry coal to New Castle) into a TL unit that construes the same function (e.g. يبيع الماء في حارة السقائين */yabīʿu al-māʾa fī ḥārati al-saqqaʾīn/* – sell water in the water carriers' alley) is considered an [=content] rendering through rewording.

The classification of [=content] renderings into these four types of renderings is more fine-grained than the expansion–reduction categorization in previous research (e.g. Nida, 1964; Delisle, Lee-Jahnke, and Cormier, 1999; Klaudy, 2001). For example, expansion as defined by Delisle, Lee-Jahnke, and Cormier (i.e. "increase in the

amount of text that is used in the target language to express the same semantic content as compared to the parallel segment in the source text", 1999, p. 159) could simply be due to typological differences in the lexicogrammatical realisation of semantic meanings, as in Example 4–4 and Example 4–5 above. In short, the four types of renderings illustrated above are all [=content] renderings, but they could differ in their status in terms of explicitation, as will be seen in Section 4.4 below.

4.3.2 [+content] renderings

A [+content] shift is necessarily a rendering that construes more content than its ST counterpart does. Manifestations of [+content] renderings include insertions and additions, only the former are traceable to the ST and context. Additions, on the other hand, refer to meanings that are lexicogrammatically realised in the TT but cannot be traced back to the ST and context. Note that traceability of a shift does not mean that it is an [=content] rendering; content, as previously mentioned, refers to what is lexicogrammatically realised in the unit under investigation. There are two manifestations of [+content] renderings:

(i) An inserted/added lexicogrammatical element

Example 4–6

English:	he hadn't no business **crawling** like that out of the dark (Golding, 1996, p. 193)			
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 234)	وسط الظلام */wasaṭa al-dhalāmi/*	**متسللا ببطء** */mutasallilan bibiṭʾin/*	**يحبو** */yaḥbū/*	لم يكن يجدر به أن */lam yakun yajduru bihi an/*
	amid the dark	**sneaking-(he) slowly**	**creep-(he)**	He oughtn't have
BT:	'he oughtn't have **crept**, **sneaking slowly** in the dark'			

This instance involves unpacking and insertion. The unpacking is manifested by spelling out the rate of motion (بيطء */bibiṭʾin/* – *slowly*) outside the verb. The insertion involves additional manner (متسللا */mutasallilan/* – *sneaking*) taken not from the ST verb, but from other ST clause constituents as well as the preceding discourse. The translator rendered the ST verb *crawl* into the equivalent Arabic يحبو (*/yaḥbū/* – *crawl*), but he also made use of the manner Circumstance of comparison in the same ST clause (i.e. *like that out of the dark*, which refers back to an important incident in the previous discourse) and inserted a circumstantial (*sneaking*) that construes furtive motion and a Circumstance of manner (*slowly*) that denotes slow pace.

Example 4–7

English	[…] and sat on the **steamy** earth (Golding, 1996, p. 12)				
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 7)	**التي يتصاعد منها البخار** *Ilallatī yataṣāʿadu minhā al-bukhāru/*	**الأرض الساخنة** *Ial-arḍi al-sākhinatil*	على */ʿala/*	من ثم */min thamma/*	جلس */jalasa/*
	which rise from it the steam	the **hot** earth	on	then	sat-(he)
BT:	‘and then sat on the **hot** earth **from which steam was rising**’				

In this example, the Circumstance of location in the ST clause is realised by a prepositional phrase that includes an Epithet (i.e. *steamy*). In Arabic, the word بخاري (*/bukhārī/* – *steamy*) cannot assume the role of Epithet to describe something that produces steam. It can only be a Classifier of something that uses steam, e.g. قطار بخاري (*/qiṭārun bukhārī/* – *steam train*). This is why the translator rendered the ST Epithet into a relative clause functioning as a Qualifier (*from which steam was rising*). This is an [=content] rendering manifested by rewording. However, the translator also inserted another more general Epithet (*hot*), which is traceable to the context, thus

ending with a [+content] shift. (See Chapter 3, Section 3.2 for examples of the functional terms used in this paragraph).

(ii) Insertion/addition by opting for a more specific item

Example 4–8

English	--and then, the beast might try to come in. You remember–how he **crawled** (Golding, 1996, p. 197)			
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 239)	**تسلل**	كيف	بالطبع	تتذكرون
	/tasallala/	*/kayfa/*	*/bi-ṭṭabʿi/*	*/tatadhakkarūna/*
	sneaked-(he)	how	of course	remember-you (plural)
BT:	'the beast might try to come. Of course you remember how he **sneaked'**			

This is an instance of [+content] rendering manifested by opting for a more specific item. Both the English *crawl* and the Arabic تسلل (*/tasallala/* – *sneak*) are manner of motion verbs; however, because none of the senses of the verb *crawl* in English denotes furtive motion, translating it into */tasallala/* is a [+content] shift. This translation can also be seen as a [–content] rendering because the Arabic verb does not encode the manner related to the motor pattern that is encoded in the English *crawl* (i.e. moving on hands and knees). Such borderline cases need to be subjected to further analysis before they are classified. The analysis would include looking up the verbs in dictionaries and considering the context more attentively. In the case of this example, it could be argued that the manner related to furtive motion, which is inserted in the Arabic translation, is more important to encode than the manner related to motor pattern. This is because crawling is not always done for sneaking

purposes, not to mention that crawling can also mean “to move or progress slowly or with difficulty”[1]. Therefore, this shift can be classified as [+content].

For another example (from Baker, 2011), rendering the English *famous* into the French *fameux* will be a case of [+content] rendering manifested by opting for a more expressive, or specific item. According to Baker, the two items basically mean ‘well-known’, but the French is potentially evaluative and can be used in a derogatory way, as in *une femme fameuse,* or *a woman of ill repute.* Note here that rendering the English into the French will involve a shift from the experiential to the interpersonal metafunction; while *famous* is neutral in meaning, *fameux/ fameuse is* evaluative.

Translating between synonyms or near-synonyms does not always lead to [+content], as in the examples above. This is more so when dealing with collocational restrictions. The Arabic ينظف أسنانه (*/yunadhifu asnānahu/ – clean his teeth*) is a rewording of the English *brush his teeth*, i.e. an [=content] rendering. Similarly, rendering the conjunction *so* into *for this reason* will also be an [=content] rendering because both function as cause relators. This last rendering involves a shift from the logical metafunction to the textual metafunction since *so* is a logical conjunction while *for this reason* is a cohesive conjunctive.

4.3.3 [–content] renderings

A [–content] shift is necessarily a rendering that construes less ideational content than its ST counterpart does. Manifestations of [–content] renderings include

1 www.collinsdictionary.com

deletions and omissions, only the former are retrievable from the TT. Omissions, on the other hand, refer to meanings that are lexicogrammatically realised in the ST but cannot be retrieved from the TT. Note that the respective context for deciding on the traceability of [–content] shifts is that of the TT. [–content] renderings are manifested by:

(i) a deleted/omitted lexicogrammatical element

Example 4–9

Arabic (Abu-Sulayman, 1993, p. 152)	**فا**لحقيقة لدى العقل المسلم هي حقيقة موضوعية */fa-lḥaqīqatu ladā al-ʿaqli al-muslimi hiya ḥaqīqatun mawḍūʿiyyatun/*	ولذلك */wa-li-dhālika/*	**فا**لعقل المسلم وفطرته عقل وفطرة مبصرة بنور الوحي وهدايته، */fa-lʿaqlu al-muslimu wa-fiṭratuhu ʿaqlun wa-fiṭratun mubṣiratun bi-nūri al-waḥyi wa-hidāyatihi/*
	so reality for the Muslim mind is an objective reality	and therefore	**so**, the Muslim mind and common sense (are) given insight by the light and guidance of revelation
English	The Muslim mind and common sense are given insight by the light and guidance of *wahy*. For the Muslim mind, reality is objective (Delorenzo, 1993, p. 81)		

In this example, the Arabic ST instance has three linking devices (in bold type). None of those is rendered into the English TT counterpart. Because at this phase the focus is on clause elements, we say that the example above has three [–content] renderings, all of which can be regarded as deletions because the cause-effect relationship can be inferred from the TT clauses.

(ii) Opting for a less specific item

Example 4–10

<table>
<tr><td>English</td><td colspan="3">he jumped off the palm terrace into the sand and his trousers fell about his ankles; he stepped out of them and trotted to the platform (Golding, 1996, p. 24)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 21)</td><td>نحو المنصة الصخرية
/naḥwa al-manaṣṣati al-ṣakhriyyati/</td><td>مشى
/mashā/</td><td>وقفز الصبي من المرتفع النخلي إلى رمل الشاطئ فسقط سرواله حتى كاحليه. وحرر نفسه منه ثم
/wa-qafaza al-ṣabiyyu mina al-murtafaʿi al-nakhliyyi ilā ramli al-shāṭiʾi fa-saqaṭa sirwāluhu ḥattā kāḥilayhi wa-ḥarrara nafsahu minhu thumma/</td></tr>
<tr><td>to the rocky platform</td><td>walked-(he)</td><td>and the boy jumped off the palm terrace onto the sand and his trousers fell about his ankles; and he stepped out of them and</td></tr>
<tr><td>BT:</td><td colspan="3">‘the boy jumped off the palm terrace into the sand and his trousers fell about his ankles; and he stepped out of them and walked toward the rocky platform’</td></tr>
</table>

Here, the translator chose to translate a ST manner verb that has a direct Arabic equivalent manner verb into a less specific verb. The verb مشى (*/mashā/* – *walk*) is used to encode motion on foot, that is by conflating the means but not the quality of motion. In other words, the TT verb is less expressive in that context since it expresses only part of the content of the ST verb. This is a case of deletion because the manner can be inferred from the psychological state of the Actor (the boy, excited to find the other boys, would more probably trot than walk).

Example 4–11

English	he swam with steady strokes under Simon and **crawled** out of the other side of the pool to lie there (Golding, 1996, p. 92)			
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 93)	ليستلقي */li-yastalq ī/*	**فصعد** */fa-ṣaʿada/*	يسبح بضربات منتظمة مارا بسيمون حتى وصل إلى الطرف الآخر من البركة */yasbaḥu bi-ḍarabātin muntadhamatin mārran bi-sāymun ḥattā waṣala ilā al-ṭarafi al-ākhari mina al-birkati/*	راح */rāḥa/*
	to-lie-(he)	and-**arose-**(he)	swimming with steady strokes, passing by Simon until he reached the other side of the pool	went-(he)
BT:	'he swam with steady strokes, passing by Simon until he reached the other side of the pool and **arose** to lie'			

Crawl encodes moving on hands and knees or moving slowly and/or with difficulty. The Arabic صعد (*/ṣaʿada/* – *arose*) is a verb that denotes upward motion but no manner. That is, the translator has inserted content about the path of motion and entirely left out the manner of that motion. Inter-textually, this shift is not recoverable; which is why it is regarded as an omission rather than a deletion.

Renderings that involve a change in specificity are not limited to those involving the Process (in the nuclear transitivity), as in the example above. Example 4–12 below illustrates a shift within circumstantial transitivity.

Example 4–12

ST:	The boy with fair hair lowered himself **down the last few feet of rock** (Golding, 1996, p. 11)			
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 5)	**عبر المسافة القصيرة المتبقية من الصخور** */ʿabra al-masāfati al-qaṣīrati al-mutabaqiyati mina al-ṣukhūri/*	بحذر */bi-ḥadharin/*	الصبي الاشقر */al-ṣabiyyu al-ashqari/*	تدلى /tadall*ā*/
	through the remaining short distance of the rocks	in-caution	the blonde boy	descended-(he)
BT:	'the fair-haired boy descended carefully **down the remaining short distance of rock**			

In this [–content] example, the translator rendered the content of *the last few feet* in the Circumstance of location into *the remaining short distance,* that is, by opting for a less specific realisation.

In summary of the inter-textually-based Phase 1, to identify potential instances of explicitation and implicitation, we examine them against their ST counterparts in terms of configuration, realisation, and ultimately of content and traceability. An instance may represent a shift in lexicogrammatical realisation but not in ideational content. Another may represent a shift at all levels, and another still may be a non-shift at any level. In the second phase of analysis, explained in the following section, other parameters are employed to determine the explicitation status of the TT instances against their ST counterparts and other TL alternatives.

4.4 Phase 2 (Inter-textual actualisation): Classifying renderings in terms of explicitation status

This phase follows a micro-level perspective that leads to the determination of the explicitation status of renderings in the TT as compared to their ST counterparts and other TL alternative choices, and to an evaluation of the level of explicitness in the TT relative to the ST. The unit of analysis at this level is the ST clause, or some element of the clause, and its translation. The element or clause is seen to be instantiated or actualised in the text, or as one choice within the systemic potential of the language.

Determining whether a rendering is inter-textually traceable does not always indicate its explicitation status, unlike in most previous research. This is where the variables of realisational congruency and delicacy come in handy. I will first recall these concepts and then propose criteria for determining the explicitation status of renderings.

With respect to realisational **congruency**, a given meaning tends to be realised in one particular way. The semantic category of figure[1] is congruently realised at clause rank, and that of sequence (of figures) at clause complex rank. The lower-ranking semantic categories of Participant, Process, and Circumstance have their congruent realisations in nominal groups, verbal groups, and prepositional phrases and adverbs, respectively. This is however, not a one-to-one relationship. Other incongruent mappings are possible (see Halliday 1988; Halliday 1998; Halliday and

1 “Experientially, the clause construes a quantum of change in the flow of events as a figure, or a representation of experience in the form of a configuration, consisting of a process, participants taking part in this process and associated circumstances” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999 p. 52). “A sequence is a series of related figures” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999 p. 50).

Matthiessen, 1999; Teich, 2003). For example, a clause simplex such as *she died due to ignorance of rules* is considered an incongruent realisation because two figures are compacted in a single clause simplex. On the other hand, the clause complex *she died because she didn't know the rules* is seen as a congruent realisation of the same sequence. As illustrated in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2, shifts down the cline of congruency (from the congruent realisation to incongruent realisations) typically involve loss of information or lead to ambiguity, thus resulting in less explicit variants (see Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, pp. 227–231).

Delicacy relates to the order of systems from the general to the more specific (e.g. rendering *walk* as *crawl*), and also from the grammatical to the lexical (e.g. rendering *due to* as *caused/resulted in*), the latter being more delicate (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999 p. 87). In the example in the previous paragraph, the logical conjunction *because* can be seen as more delicate than the preposition *due to* because the former has some explicit lexical traces that signal the logico-semantic relationship, namely *cause* (in SFL, lexical choices are more specific than grammatical ones, Matthiessen 1991, p. 253). Based on these two factors, congruency and delicacy, a rendering from the clause simplex to the clause complex could result in explicitation, not only because the shift can be traced back to the ST instance, but also because of the shift in realisation from the incongruent to the congruent and from the less delicate to the more delicate. In the same manner, a shift in the other direction could result in an implicitation. This is however not a hard and fast rule; other scenarios are possible. In the following three subsections, I illustrate those with respect to the types of content shifts and manifestations. Before this, two important points need to be highlighted.

The first point relates to the question of whether the criteria for realisational congruency, which are explained above with relation to English, also apply to Arabic or any other language studied. In this thesis, I intuitively assume that they are the same. Moreover, if we take the term 'congruent' to mean 'prototypical', we find that this assumption is implicit in traditional Arabic grammar too. To illustrate, (from Fattah, 2018)1, in Hasan (1987), the categorial term اسم (*/ism/* – noun) is defined as signifying an abstract or material thing. Consider how the embedded clause أن تصوموا (*/an ta-ṣūmū/ – to fast*-you/plural) in the clause simplex *أن تصوموا خير لكم* (*/an ta-ṣūmū khayrun lakum/ – to fast is best for you*), is somehow 'thingized'; this kind of characterisation is tantamount to positing a 'grammatical metaphor' as described by Halliday. In traditional Arabic grammar as جملة في محل رفع مبتدأ (a clause in position of nominative case, functioning as subject). The phrase في محل (i.e. in position of) is presumptive and implies that the prototypical (i.e. congruent) case is one where the Participant in this relational clause, or indeed any other clause, is prototypically a Thing. This is the case in almost all traditional Arabic grammars, where a Participant is typically a thing or person, while a Process is typically signified by a verb. Even Halliday's suggestion that a preposition is a kind of 'mini-verb' is echoed in some traditional Arab grammarians' assumption of an implicit verb (i.e. يوجد */yūjad/ – exist*), as in the circumstantial relational clause *محمد [يوجد/موجود] في البيت* (*/Muhammed yūjad fī al-baytil* – lit. *Mohamed [be/present] in home*). Overall, I would say that the

1 Fattah, A. (2018) Email to Waleed Othman, 15 July.

assumption of typical congruent realisation of semantic categories in Arabic, though not trivial, is a plausible one, despite the paucity of relevant research in Arabic.[1]

The second point relates to a basic tenet in the proposed model, which is aimed to compensate for the arbitrariness of the assumption made above. The point is that an individual instance in the TT can be described in terms of explicitness only by taking consideration of alternative agnates in the TL. This is because explicitness is a relative concept that might be perceived differently in different systems. Therefore, I propose the following two conditionals, to which I refer as the 'alternatives availability condition'.

- An actual TT instance is realisationally more explicit (i.e. an explicitation) than the actual ST counterpart if the TL allows for at least one **less** explicit realisation.

Example 4–13

<table>
<tr><td>ST (English)</td><td>TT (Arabic)</td><td>TL (Arabic) agnates</td></tr>
<tr><td>he rushed out of the room</td><td><table><tr><td>مسرعا
/musriʿan/</td><td>الغرفة
/al-ghurfata/</td><td>غادر
/ghādara/</td></tr><tr><td>hurrying</td><td>the-room</td><td>left-he</td></tr></table>BT: 'he left the room in a hurry'</td><td>غادر الغرفة (/ghādara al-ghurfata/ – he left the room);
اندفع إلى خارج الغرفة (indafaʿa ʾilā khāriji al-ghurfati/ – he rushed out of the room)</td></tr>
</table>

The rendering of the English clause into the Arabic clause in this example involves a move up the cline of congruency because the double-functional Process in English has been unpacked into a Process and a Circumstance. Before we can decide that

1 There could also be some evidence derivable from the ontogenetic development of the Arabic language. Like, Fattah (2018), if we consider our own personal observations of Arab children's early language development, one could reasonably assume that children, generally, pick up concrete before abstract concepts, and that clausalization of Participants is a fairly late phenomenon in language development. The same could be said of sequencing or clause complexing, with hypotaxis generally coming much later in the development than parataxis. Obviously, empirical evidence is lacking here.

this move is explicitational, it is important to consider other choices in the TL. We need to check the actual TT instance against other alternatives in the TL to see where it stands in terms of explicitness. Since the TL (Arabic) allows for a less explicit realisation of the same content (e.g. by packing or deletion, as in the third column), and because of the shift up in congruence we can say that the TT actual instance sounds relatively explicit to the TT readers. In other words, based on the shift up in congruence, from the ST to the TT and from less congruent TL agnates to the actual TT instance, this rendering is a case of explicitation.

- An actual TT instance is realisationally less explicit (i.e. an implicitation) than the actual ST counterpart if the TL allows for at least one **more** explicit realisation.

Example 4–14

<table>
<tr><td>ST (English)</td><td>TT (Arabic)</td><td>TL (Arabic) agnates</td></tr>
<tr><td>The fire spread because the water supply was not sufficient</td><td>
<table>
<tr><td>الحريق
/al-ḥarīq/</td><td>انتشار
/intishār/</td><td>إلى
/ilā/</td><td>المياه
/al-miyāh/</td><td>نقص
/naqṣ/</td><td>أدى
/addā/</td></tr>
<tr><td>the-fire</td><td>spread</td><td>to</td><td>the-water</td><td>lack</td><td>led</td></tr>
</table>
BT: lack of water caused the fire to spread
</td><td>انتشر الحريق لأن المياه المتوفرة لم تكن كافية (intashara al-ḥarīq li-ʾanna al-miyāha lam takun kāfiyatan/ – the fire spread because the water available was not enough)</td></tr>
</table>

The rendering in this example involves a move down the cline of congruency because the English clause complex has been repackaged into a clause simplex. Since the TL (Arabic) allows for a more explicit realisation (by a clause complex as in the third column, among other more explicit realisations), and because of the move down from more congruent TL agnates to the actual TT instance, we can say that TT

actual instance sounds relatively implicit to the TT readers. The shift is thus implicitational.

Nevertheless, given the capacity of language to express almost any meaning in more than one realisation, it could be assumed, tentatively though, that there are always more or less explicit alternatives in the TL. However, in cases that involve SL culture-specific information or common knowledge it is doubly necessary to consider alternative agnates in the TL.

Example 4–15

<table>
<tr><td>English</td><td colspan="7">We got to Heathrow thirty minutes late</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Translation 1</td><td>دقيقة
/daqīqa/</td><td>30</td><td>متأخرين
/mutaʾakhirīn/</td><td>هيثرو
Heathrow</td><td>مطار
/maṭārl</td><td>إلى
/ilā/</td><td>وصلنا
/waṣalnā/</td></tr>
<tr><td>minutes</td><td>30</td><td>late-we</td><td>Heathrow</td><td>Airport</td><td>to</td><td>got-we</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="7">BT: ‘We got to Heathrow Airport 30 minutes late’</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Translation 2</td><td>دقيقة
/daqīqa/</td><td>30</td><td>متأخرين
/mutaʾakhirīn/</td><td>هيثرو
Heathrow</td><td>إلى
/ilā/</td><td>وصلنا
/waṣalnā/</td></tr>
<tr><td>minutes</td><td>30</td><td>late-we</td><td>Heathrow</td><td>to</td><td>got-we</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">BT: ‘We got to Heathrow 30 minutes late’</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Translation 3</td><td>دقيقة
/daqīqa/</td><td>30</td><td>متأخرين
/mutaʾakhirīn/</td><td>المطار
/al-maṭār/</td><td>إلى
/ilā/</td><td>وصلنا
/waṣalnā/</td></tr>
<tr><td>minutes</td><td>30</td><td>late-we</td><td>the-airport</td><td>to</td><td>got-we</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">BT: ‘We got to the airport 30 minutes late’</td></tr>
</table>

The first translation involves an insertion manifested by expanding the nominal group functioning as Scope (i.e. *Heathrow*). This is a [+content] rendering that is retrievable from common knowledge shared by the speaker of the ST and his audience. The shift in this case does not necessarily mean that the TT clause is more explicit to its readers than its ST counterpart to the ST readers. To a reader in the UK, *Heathrow* as actualised in the instance above is already highly explicit. One does not need to

say ‘Heathrow Airport’ unless the context or situation points to some other possibilities, such as Heathrow Village. The only way to describe this shift as explicitational is to look at it from the angle of alternative TL choices. Since the translator could have made less explicit choices, as in the second and third variants above, translation 1 is regarded explicitational. The second variant is an [=content] rendering because no shift has taken place. This does not mean that the rendering is non-explicitational (or non-implicitational). Given that Heathrow is already highly explicit to the ST reader, a direct rendering into Arabic will be an implicitation (if the co-text in the TT provides some clues) or an omission (if no clues are available). The third variant is manifested by a shift down in delicacy from the specific ‘Heathrow’ to the general ‘the airport’. This shift could be an implicitation if there are clues to Heathrow in the TT. But it could also be explicitational, from a cognitive perspective (as in Kamenická, 2007), if the idea of an airport is more important in that context than the idea of a specific airport.

4.4.1 [=content] renderings in terms of explicitation status

In the first phase of analysis, it was established that [=content] renderings can be manifested by (1) direct rendering, (2) packing, (3) unpacking, or (4) rewording. As mentioned above, all [=content] renderings, except for those involving cultural or pragmatic meanings, are inter-textually recoverable because the content of the TT actual instance derives from the content of its ST counterpart. This, however, does not mean that all [=content] renderings are explicitational (see below).

The first type of manifestation, i.e. **direct renderings**, had it been addressed in previous research on explicitation-related phenomena, would have been straightforwardly regarded neither explicitational nor implicitational only because no shift in realisation has taken place. Considering Example 4–1 above, the rendering of the English Process *rushed* into its direct equivalent in Arabic does not involve any changes or moves along the clines of congruency or delicacy. In the model proposed here, there is a need to first consider other TL alternatives. In English, the verb *rush* is incongruently double functional (because it construes both the Process and manner), which renders it at a low level of explicitness. The same applies to the Arabic اندفع (*/indafaʿa/* – *rush/dash*); it is also low in explicitness. From an inter-textual perspective, only one condition has been satisfied, i.e. that the TL allows for at least one more explicit realisation, which could mean that the TT's rendering is implicitational. However, the other condition has not been satisfied, i.e. a shift in realisation between the ST and TT has not taken place. Therefore, the rendering is inter-textually non-explicitational (and non-implicitational for that matter). The same will apply to any direct rendering, except in the cases that are traceable to common knowledge or translators' assumptions about their readership.

Unpacking shifts, generally speaking, are explicitational due to the move up the cline of realisational congruency, whereas **packing** shifts are implicitational due to the move down the cline of realisational congruency. No regard is given to delicacy in un/packing cases unless a change in content has taken place, as in insertions and deletions. In Example 4–2 above, rendering *clamber* into *climb with effort* is a case of unpacking that involves a move up the cline of congruency. As mentioned above and in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2, a Process is congruently realised by a verbal group and

a Circumstance by a prepositional phrase or an adverb group. In Example 4–2, the Process *clamber* functions both as a Process and as an implicit Circumstance. This double functionality of an element in the clause semantics results in an incongruent clause configuration (see Qingshun, Bingjun, and Binli*,* 2015 on double-functionality of Relators). Based on this, and because the condition relating to the availability of other TL agnates have been met, the unpacked variant in the translation is more explicit than its English counterpart.

For another example, consider unpacking a clause simplex (Her death was due to ignorance of the rules) into a clause complex (She died because she was ignorant of the rules) or a cohesive sequence (She was ignorant of the rules. Consequently, she died). Such a shift in rank and metafunction will be regarded explicitational not only because the shift involves a move up the cline of congruency, but also because the TL can also express the content of the clause simplex in different realisations at varying levels of explicitness.

[=content] shifts manifested by **rewording** (i.e. instances where the content of the investigated unit is maintained through a different form, other than un/packing) could be explicitational/implicitational or non-explicitational. In Example 4–3 above, translating the Arabic لذلك (*/li-dhālika/* – *hence*) into English as *it is for this reason* is an [=content] rendering because both units function as cause–effect Relators. In terms of explicitation status, this is a non-explicitation because both relators serve as cohesive conjunctives. However, if the shift involves a move across metafunction, it could be explicitational, as in rendering a clause complex with the Relator realised as *so/for* into a cohesive sequence with a conjunctive, such as *consequently* (see

Chapter 6 for more details on operationalising shifts in cause construal). Also non-explicitational are instances like Example 4–4, where the Arabic nominal clause is rendered into English as an identifying relational clause (i.e. Omar's brother is the most ignorant boy in the school). Instances like the ones in this paragraph are classified as rewording shifts because they involve insertion, deletion, or re-ordering of structural items that do not affect the content of the investigated unit or the number of functions it fulfils. The same applies to Example 4–5, which focuses on the Theme. The shift in realisation from the nominal Arabic clause عمر هو أسرع ولد في المدرسة (*/ʿumar huwa ʾasraʿu waladin fī al-madrasati/* – lit. Omar he is fastest boy in the school) into the English *It is Omar who is the fastest boy in the school* does not involve a shift in metafunction. In other words, both the English and the Arabic clauses express the same textual meaning.

The discussion so far in this section revolved around [=content] renderings that are manifested by direct rendering, unpacking, packing, and rewording of ST units into the TT. This is due to more than one reason. For one thing (as mentioned in Chapter 1) such manifestations, particularly direct renderings, have not received their due attention in explicitation research. For another, as it has been illustrated above, equivalence in content does not mean sameness in explicitness. A third reason is that the other two types of shifts, [+content] and [–content], are mostly straightforward cases of explicitations and implicitations, respectively. Therefore, in the remainder of this section, I briefly illustrate [+content] and [–content] renderings in terms of their inter-textual explicitation status.

4.4.2 [+content] shifts in terms of explicitation status

Explicitational shifts can occur as a result of insertions (in addition to unpacking that leads to congruent realisation and some cases of rewording, as illustrated in the section above). Unlike insertions, additions, which are not traceable to the ST, cannot be explicitational; they make the TT more informative than the ST. As illustrated in Section 4.3 above, insertions are manifested by (1) a new explicitly stated element or by (2) opting for a more specific item. In Example 4–6 above, translating *crawl* into *crawl, sneaking slowly* involves a move along the cline of congruency (through unpacking) as well as the cline of delicacy (through the insertion of specific manner content). The unpacking is manifested by spelling the rate of motion (ببطء */bibiṭʾin/* – *slowly*) outside the verb. The insertion involves explicitated manner (متسللا */mutasallilan/* – *sneaking*) taken not from the ST verb, but from other ST clause constituents as well as the preceding discourse. Based on this, and since the TL has other less explicit agnates, the rendering is a case of explicitation. In Example 4–8, rendering *crawl* as *sneak* is another instance of explicitation caused by a move up the cline of delicacy. The English *crawl* is rendered into a more delicate Arabic verb (*sneak*). Note that the cline of congruency is not consulted here because both the ST and TT Processes are incongruent as they both conflate the Circumstance of manner.

4.4.3 [–content] shifts in terms of explicitation status

Implicitational shifts occur as a result of deletions (in addition to packing that leads to incongruent realisation, as illustrated above). Unlike deletions, omissions, which are not traceable to the TT, cannot be implicitational; they make the TT less informative than the ST. As illustrated in Section 4.3.3 above, deletions are manifested by (1) leaving out a ST element or by (2) opting for a less specific item. In Example 4–9 above, the [–content] rendering manifested by dropping the conjunctive ولذلك (*/wa-li-dhālika/ – and therefore*) is a case of implicitation because the deleted conjunctive can be inferred from ST corresponding clauses. Note also that the shift in this example can be seen as a move down the cline of delicacy, as manifested by replacing the conjunctive with a full stop. (See also Chapter 6 for further elaboration on moves across metafunctions and the three types of realisational congruency: experiential, logical, and textual).

The other manifestation type of deletion includes cases that take place as a result of a shift down the cline of delicacy, towards a less specific sense of a linguistic item. In Example 4–10 above, the high-delicacy *trotted* is rendered as سار (*/sāra/ – walked*), a verb that is less specific in terms of manner as it does not denote the pace of motion. In Arabic, the verb هرول (*/harwala/ – trot*) is used to construe motion that is faster than walking but slower than running (Dawood, 2002, p. 307). On the other hand, the verb سار (*/sāra/ – walked*) is used to construe the experience of people or animals walking on foot (in additional to other metaphorical senses). Because the shift is traceable (i.e. a deletion, rather than an omission) and involves a move down the cline of delicacy, it can be regarded as an implicitation.

4.4.4 Summary of phases 1 and 2

The following bulleted statements sum up the main points in the inter-textual phases.

- A particular rendering is inter-textually recoverable if it succeeds in recreating meanings of the ST in the TT or its context, or if it does not add or omit information that is not traceable to the ST. Because additions raise the text's level of informativeness, they cannot be counted as explicitations. Similarly, omissions lower the text's informativeness and cannot thus be counted as implicitations.

- With direct renderings, rewording, and un/packing, traceability is limited to the ST unit being investigated and its TT counterpart, except when cultural or pragmatic aspects are involved. With insertions, the inserted content can be traced to the co-text outside the ST unit or outside the ST. With deletions, the deleted content can be traced to the co-text outside the TT unit or outside the TT.

- Unpacking into congruent realisation generally results in explicitation while packing into incongruent realisation generally leads to implicitation. Delicacy does not count in such cases, unless a change in content has taken place.

- The initial classification of shifts and renderings in terms of content (in Phase 1) does not necessarily hold for their explicitation status (Phase 2). This is because the initial identification phase looks at instances with respect to their content, while the second phase considers them as actualisations in the text, employing the parameters of realisational congruency and delicacy, as well as choice.

The approach explained above for determining the explicitation status of individual renderings differs from those adopted in many of previous works in translation studies. (1) It considers non-shifts along with shifts, which is significant since non-shifts, together with shifts, can make the TT more/less explicit than the ST or respective non-translations. (2) It determines the explicitation status of renderings on the basis of parameters (traceability, realisational congruency, and delicacy) that characterise the shifts/non-shifts as instantiations in the text, or as choices within the systemic potential of the language. (3) It takes account of alternative choices in the TL, thus enabling us to determine how explicit a certain rendering sounds to respective readers. With this in mind, the model, in its second phase, could be able to account for some of the issues regarded as limitations in previous explicitation/implicitation research, such as explicitation vs. informativeness, and generalisation vs. specification.

A very important question to ask at this point is whether the shifts/non-shifts discussed above are consistent with established patterns of instantiation in the relevant register. It is imperative to know whether the renderings are in consistency with the targeted readership's expectations. The relation of these questions to the proposed model is vital because we still need to see how the explicitational/implicitational and non-explicitational renderings, taken collectively, typically in groups or categories, rather than individually as I have so far been doing, fit in the TT in comparison not with the ST, but rather with comparable original TL texts, or alternatively against established TL patterns or preferences. To answer these questions, a look beyond individual instances and individual texts is in place. The recurrent patterns identified in the previous phase can be used for drawing

tentative conclusions or generating hypotheses concerning differences and commonalities in construing a particular meaning (e.g. manner, cause, etc.). The formulated hypotheses can then be tested for congruency with registerial conventions by investigating a corpus of non-translations.

4.5 Phase 3 (Registerial instantiation): Evaluating the TT against register-related non-translations in the TL

From an SFL view, “the system of a language is instantiated in the form of text” and the relationship between the two is a cline, with the system (potential) on one pole and text (instance) on the other. Intermediate between the two poles are patterns that can be viewed from either pole (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, pp. 27–8). In the perspective explained above, renderings were considered in their location at the instance end of the pole. One can also look at texts as (1) patterns representing the potential of the language system in its entirety, or (2) as patterns that are specific to a particular register or genre.

Seen from the systemic perspective (at the system end of the pole), texts are evaluated against some existing generalisations pertaining to the whole system or to all the speakers of the language. For example, Arabic is known to favour parataxis over hypotaxis (Othman, 2004; Al-Qinai, 2009; El-Farahaty, 2015, p. 42). In English, speakers are more probable to use the positive than the negative, a ratio of 0.9 to 0.1 (Halliday and James, 1993). German discourse, for another example, is generally characterised by a higher degree of explicitness than English discourse (House, 2006). German speakers and writers tend to verbalise propositions rather than leave

them implicit. Therefore, English into German translators tend to make ‘additions’ (to use House’s words) that can be attributed to the German norm of explicitness (Ibid). Such additions are systemically instantiated because they are made pursuant to typical patterns in the system of German or to its communicative preferences. In other words, those additions, which make the TT more explicit than the ST but not than other TL non-translations, are necessary if a text is to be deemed acceptable/natural by the German readership.

The other perspective views texts in the intermediate zone of the cline and describes them in terms of sub-systems (registers) or text types (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, pp. 27–8). For example, the future tense is more likely to occur in weather forecasts than in stories. In the sub-system zone, translational instances and text features are looked at from the angle of registerial patterns. Here we talk of registerial instantiation. For example, research has indicated that nominalisation is a typical feature in scientific registers (Halliday and Martin, 1993; Holtz, 2009). Therefore, it could be said that nominalised constructions in a scientific text are registerially instantiated. For another example, Smith and Frawley (1983, cited in Baker, 2011, p. 205) suggest that genres differ in how conjunctive they are as well as in the types of conjunctions they prefer. In religious texts, for example, we can expect heavy use of negative additive and causal conjunctions. Register related norms are then the conditioning factors that help decide on the registerial instantiation of shifts (and non-shifts), thus determining their contribution to the TT in terms of explicitness *vis-à-vis* a specific register. This necessarily implies that certain choices in the system are more appropriate for a particular situational context, or register.

This is all relevant to the model adopted in this thesis and my perception of explicitation/implicitation vs. explicitness/implicitness. Earlier in this thesis, it was suggested that explicitation/ implicitation is a shift in the level of explicitness/ implicitness as seen not only from the perspectives of the two texts and their linguistic contexts, but also from the perspectives of their language systems and their readerships. This entails (following Séguinot, 1988) that explicitation can only be defined relative to the kind and degree of explicitness in the target language. More precisely, explicitness (following Pápai, 2004 and Puurtinen, 2004) is a feature of the target text as compared with non-translations in the same TL and/or a particular TL register. This also holds true for implicitation.

Instantiation in system and register is necessary if a text, whether a translation or a non-translation, is to sound natural and acceptable for its targeted readership. Because register is always involved in any translation, in this thesis I only consider translations against the parameter of registerial instantiation. In all the instances discussed in Section 4.4 above, where I looked at shifts as individual instances, the decision to determine the explicitation status of renderings was conditioned by context traceability of the content that has been explicitated/implicitated, in addition to realisational congruency, delicacy, and the availability of other agnates in the TL. If those explicitational/implicitational shifts are seen from the angle of some particular TL register, they may not prove so. For example, a shift that proves implicitational from the TT–ST perspective may not be so when evaluated, in a category with other similar shifts, in terms of registerial instantiation. Therefore, if we are to decide whether the TT features some degree of explicitness, we need to compare it with TL non-translations or against some established sets of norms in the literature. This TT–

TL perspective is where the parameter of registerial instantiation comes in. The choice among registerially instantiated alternatives will of course have implications on the level of explicitness that the readers expect. A text cannot be determined registerially explicit/implicit if the overall effect of the explicitations/implicitations in it conforms to typical patterns or preferences towards explicitness/implicitness in a specific TL register, as it is the case in the abovementioned examples on German discourse and nominalisation in scientific writing.

When we speak of registerial instantiation, we do not consider shifts as individual cases. Rather, we look at them collectively or in categories in order to evaluate how and to what extent they contribute towards explicitness/implicitness of the TT. It is not valid then to say that a particular shift is registerially instantiated. Rather, it is the collective effect of shifts that is considered. This effect can be evaluated by quantitatively investigating respective TL non-translations for the linguistic phenomenon at hand and comparing the results in terms of frequencies with those in the TT. For example, Matthiessen (2015) found that material Processes are most dominant in narratives, mental Processes in casual conversations and verbal ones in news reports. If specific translated texts that belong to these genres were found to include similar frequencies, regardless of the ST, those translations will be in conformity with registerial patterns, and the shifts/non-shifts therein will not be seen as contributing to a higher or lower level of explicitness.

The analysis in this phase is basically quantitative, ideally based on corpus-based investigations; such investigation into authentic texts could give a clear picture of how the TL register manifests a division of labour between or among different

lexicogrammatical realisations of linguistic features/phenomena, e.g. whether literary texts in Arabic favour the use of manner of motion verbs or no-manner verbs. The intra-lingual macro-level analysis conducted at this phase compares frequencies of TT's features, which were obtained in the previous phases, with a corpus of respective non-translations. The eventual objective is to determine whether that text features more/less explicitness than is typical in the respective register. It is important to note here that the statistical tests are conducted in a way as to consider how the TL or the TL respective register manifests a division of labour between or among alternative realisations of the same meaning. In a study of passive and active voice, for example, the explicitational effect of rendering English passive structures into Arabic active structures can be measured against ratios or proportions of corpus query results for the two alternative mappings of voice, that is, we do not focus only on passives but also count the instances of both passive and active voice (the latter seen as the only other possible alternative).

4.6 Summary, definitions and final remarks

In short, the model comprises three phases. In the initial phase (inter-textual realisation), the ST and TT are investigated for manifestations of a certain phenomenon with the aim of identifying and classifying relevant renderings in terms of content and traceability. The second phase (inter-textual actualisation), which can be conducted simultaneously with the previous one, is also a micro-level analysis of individual shifts that takes into consideration the factors of choice, realisational congruency and delicacy to determine the explicitation status of renderings. The third

and final phase (registerial instantiation) sets out to test conclusions or hypotheses made on the basis of the results of the previous phases. This analysis is conducted from a TT–TL perspective that makes use of the parameter of registerial instantiation. This is a macro-level parameter that is applied on the text as a whole for the evaluation of the effect of explicitational/implicitational and non-explicitational renderings. The eventual objective is to determine whether that text features more/less explicitness with respect to a specific linguistic feature than is typical in the TL respective register. This effect can be measured quantitatively by comparing frequencies or proportions of manifestations of the investigated feature in the TT with alternative choices in a registerially restricted corpus.

Having explained and illustrated the theoretical framework in this and the preceding chapter, I am now in a better position to suggest working definitions of explicitation, implicitation, and explicitness/implicitness.

A TT rendering is regarded explicitational if it realises contextually recoverable meanings of its ST counterpart in more explicit lexicogrammar (i.e. by including more, traceable content or increasing congruency and/or delicacy), provided that the TL can express the same meaning of the actual TT instance in less explicit agnates.

A TT rendering is regarded implicitational if it realises contextually recoverable meanings of its ST counterpart in less explicit lexicogrammar (i.e. by including less, traceable content or decreasing congruency and/or delicacy), provided that the TL can express the same meaning of the actual TT instance in more explicit agnates.

Explicitation/implicitation is thus a relationship holding between actual TT renderings on the one hand and their ST counterparts or other TT shadow renderings on the other hand.

Explicitness/implicitness is a relative feature of the translation product, and it can describe individual renderings as well as whole texts. Individually, it refers to how a certain realisation compares with other agnates in terms of content, realisational congruency and/or delicacy. At the text level, we speak of a degree or level of explicitness that results from the entirety of explicitations, implicitations, and non-explicitations, which together contribute to a TT that is more/less explicit than the ST and/or other comparable non-translations in the TL.

With all this in mind, it should also be made clear that the study of explicitation-related phenomena should not be limited to cohesion, nor to any specific phenomenon; explicitational/implicitational effect, or explicitness/implicitness can result from any recurrent type of shifts. The definitions provided here will hopefully support the robustness of the model proposed for identifying and classifying explicitational/implicitational and non-explicitational renderings and measuring their effect on the TT *vis-à-vis* the ST and respective non-translations.

The view of explicitation in the current research has been developed in light of not only the limitations of previous research, but also by considering the important contributions made in it. In the proposed model, I follow House (2004) in taking consideration of communicative conventions, or cross-linguistic variations in discourse norms for the investigation of translational explicitation/implicitation. Thus, the model looks at shifts and non-shifts (unlike any previous model) not only from the

perspective of the ST (like Halliday, 2001, 2010), but also from that of registerial norms (like Steiner, 2001a, 2001b, 2006). However, unlike House (2004), and in fact almost all other previous models, the distinction between optional and obligatory shifts (the latter deriving from differences between the linguistic systems) is not followed here for the reasons given earlier in the thesis (see Section 2.4.5). The model also bears similarity with Steiner's (2004, 2005b) in that both differentiate between explicitation and explicitness. Also unlike any other previous work, the proposed model takes consideration of TL alternative realisations that differ from the actual instances in terms of explicitness. Proposing this new model, which is based on such a comprehensive view and supported with theoretically operationalised definitions and classifications, is seen as the main contribution of the current research.

5 A CASE STUDY OF MANNER OF MOTION VERBS IN ENGLISH–ARABIC LITERATY TRANSLATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a case study aimed at testing the SFL-based model proposed in the previous chapter for evaluating explicitation-related phenomena in translation. Though the model is not intended for a particular linguistic feature/phenomenon, register, or language, the study presented here focuses on the translation of English manner of motion verbs (e.g. *walk, crawl, clamber*, etc.) into Arabic, using William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* (1954/1996) and its Arabic translation (سيّد الذباب/ *Sayyid al-dhubāb/ – Master of the Flies*) by Mheidli (1988; see Section 5.3.1 below). The topic of manner of motion verbs was chosen as a case relevant to explicitation-related phenomena in translation for several reasons, which are outlined in Section 5.2.1 below. In accordance with the proposed model, the study comprises three phases, each with a methodology of its own. However, in the analysis sections in this case study, phases 1 and 2 are dealt with together due to space considerations. In the first two phases, I look at translational instances in comparison with their ST counterparts and other TL agnates. The aim is to determine the explicitation status of the cited renderings relative to their ST counterparts and alternative TL realisations. In phase 3, I use an online corpus of Arabic literature comprising 7,800,000 words (see Section 5.4.1 below) to investigate the explicitation effect that the translational

instances cited in the previous phases may have on the TT's level of explicitness from the vantage point of Arabic literary non-translations.

5.2 Manner of motion verbs

5.2.1 Why manner of motion verbs?

Motion verbs in general construe the experience of moving in space. Motion verbs can provide information on path (e.g. *ascend*) or manner of motion (e.g. *crawl*), or both (e.g. *climb*). Others denote neutral motion without any information on path or manner (e.g. *move*) (see, for example, Talmy, 2000a, 2000b; Slobin, 2006). Manner of motion verbs can be further classed as low-manner verbs, such as *walk*, *run*, *and jump*, and more specific high-manner verbs, such as *clamber*, *inch*, and *amble* (Slobin, 1997) (see Section 5.2.2 below).

The topic of manner of motion verbs was chosen for investigation in this case study for several reasons. Firstly, in a pilot study (Othman, 2017) on explicitational enhancement (see Section 3.4.1) in translation, using the first three chapters of the same novel I am using in the current case study and the corresponding parts of three Arabic translations, manner of motion verbs were among the most frequently cited instances of translational shifts of enhancement.

Secondly, manner of motion verbs have received rather scant attention in SFL (cf. Sharoff, 2005; Matthiessen, 2009a, 2014b). However they are clearly worthy of investigation as an example of explicitation-related phenomena that may be rendered

differently by translators working in different languages and genres, which are assumed by SFL to differ in how they instantiate semantic meanings (Matthiessen, 2014c).

The third reason relates to the claim by cognitive linguistics that languages differ in how they lexicalize manner (see, for example, Talmy, 1991, 2000a, 2000b; Slobin, 1996, 1997; Özçalışkan and Slobin, 2000a, 2000b; Özçalışkan, 2004). As further elaborated in section 5.2.2 below, languages vary in terms of their manner salience, i.e. the level of attention their speakers pay to manner in describing events. According to Slobin (2004), languages can be placed on a cline ranging from high- (e.g. English) to low-manner salience (e.g. Spanish); while Al-Qarni (2010) concludes that Arabic speakers do not pay much attention to the expression of manner of motion.

For this reason, manner of motion verbs are of particular relevance for the investigation of explicitation-related phenomena. For example, rendering an everyday English manner verb, like *walk*, as a more expressive Arabic manner verb, such as تسلل (*/tasallala/ – sneak*), involves explicitation, since information is inserted related to specific manner of motion that is not present in the English verb, i.e. the furtive manner of motion in *sneak* that is not present in *walk*. On the other hand, a manner verb rendered as a less specific manner verb could lead to implicitation. For instance, rendering the English verb *scramble* as the Arabic اندفع (*/indafaʿa/ – rush/dash*) would result in less manner information in the TT, since the Arabic verb اندفع (*/indafaʿa/ – rush/dash*) does not lexicalize the quality of awkward motion associated with *scrambling*. The topic of manner of motion verbs is thus directly relevant to the

proposed model for investigating explicitation-related phenomena, particularly in relation to how it deals with the varying amount of attention given to manner construal in different languages or genres. As illustrated in the presentation of the model, when explicitations and implicitations are looked at in their entirety from the perspective of register, the effect on the TT could be different. For example, an explicitational instance (in comparison with the ST) may not necessarily be explicitational in comparison with the level of explicitness that is typical in non-translations (see Chapter 4 and Section 5.4.2 below for further elaboration).

5.2.2 Manner of motion in SFL and cognitive linguistics

As pointed out above, systemic functional linguists have paid relatively little attention to the construal of manner of motion. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) deal with manner of motion in the context of enhancement. For example, within the experiential mode of the ideational metafunction, manner enhancement is realised in the form of Circumstances specifying the manner of the unfolding of the Process. In "*he paced forward unsteadily*" (Ibid p. 314), the Circumstance *unsteadily* specifies how the Process *paced forward* took place. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) also refer in passing to manner of motion verbs in their description of the enhancing type of transformative material clauses, where a Participant (e.g. the Actor) is construed as being transformed with the unfolding of the Process (Ibid, pp. 232–238). In transformative material clauses with motion verbs, the outcome of the Process is a change of the location of a Participant. In "*I limped back to the door*" (Ibid, p. 233), the Process *limped* enhances the Actor as it denotes a change of its physical

location. The same is true of the Process *advance* in "*Ralph stumbled, feeling not pain but panic, and the tribe, screaming now like the chief, began to advance*" (Golding, 1954; 1996, p. 233). Both *limp* and *advance* in the examples above are referred to in SFL as motion verbs, however, the verb *limp* is subcategorised as motion–manner because it lexically incorporates a feature of manner (i.e. *walk with difficulty*), whereas the verb *advance* only refers to motion and is therefore sub-classified as motion–place. Recently, Matthiessen and Kashyap (2014) and Kashyap and Matthiessen (2017, 2018) have investigated variations in linguistic construal of space and motion in different registers, such as narratives of walking or driving tours, or of journeys. Focusing on the field of activity (ideation) within context, the authors explore a range of English texts from different registers and find that the construal of motion is sensitive to registerial variation (2017, p. 67). It was found, for example, that verbs that conflate manner of motion are frequently used in recreating contexts (e.g. folk tales, short stories, stage plays) and reporting contexts (e.g. historical accounts) (Kashyap and Matthiessen, 2018).

Cognitive linguistics deals with manner of motion in the context of motion verbs (or motion events, as they are referred to by cognitive linguists). As briefly stated in the introduction of Section 5.2 above, cognitive linguists classify motion verbs into three categories, i.e. path of motion verbs (e.g. *proceed*, *advance*), neutral motion verbs (e.g. *move*, *travel*), and manner of motion verbs (e.g. *clamber*, *walk*). Both path and neutral verbs are no-manner verbs of motion. Manner of motion verbs are further classed into low-manner and high-manner verbs. Low-manner verbs are those that describe common or usual types of motion, i.e. those high-frequency everyday verbs that indicate basic gait or direction (Slobin, 2014). The low-manner category mainly

includes those that pertain to motor-pattern, namely, *walk, run, jump, swim,* and *fly*. These are everyday verbs that are hypernyms of more specific high-manner verbs. For example, *march, amble, stagger,* and *stump* denote different ways of walking; they are all hyponyms of *walk* that construe content in more expressive lexicogrammar. High-manner verbs can also differ in the degree of expressiveness. For example, *worm* and *crawl* are both high-manner verbs that denote different ways of walking; however, the verb *worm,* in the sense of "*walk with difficulty by crawling or wriggling*"[1] is more expressive than the verb *crawl*, since the latter does not express the aspect of difficulty or the wriggling manner of motion that the former construes.

The cognitive linguistic investigation of motion verbs is mainly based on a classification of world languages by Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000a, 2000b). He divides languages into two categories based on their lexicalization patterns of motion: satellite-framed and verb-framed languages, referring to them as S-Languages and V-languages, respectively. This categorization is primarily based on how the core feature of an event is expressed linguistically. According to Talmy (1991), the core feature in motion events is the path of motion. S-languages (e.g. some Indo-European languages, including English) typically encode path of motion in an associated satellite, i.e. "the grammatical category of any constituent other than a nominal complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root" (Ibid, p. 486). A satellite is normally an adverb (e.g. *out* in *crawl out*) or a prepositional phrase (e.g. *through the garden* in *walk through the garden*). This expression of path as a separate element makes the main verb slot available for manner encoding (e.g. *trot* along, *hasten* back); therefore, speakers of an S-language will have plenty of manner

1 https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/worm

of motion verbs at their disposal. Slobin cites the following sign at San Diego Zoo to showcase the diversity of such verbs in English.

> DO NOT TREAD, MOSEY, HOP, TRAMPLE, STEP, PLOT, TIPTOE, TROT, TRAIPSE, MEANDER, CREEP, PRANCE, AMBLE, JOB, TRUDGE, MARCH, STOMP, TODDLE, JUMP, STUMBLE, TROD, SPRING, OR WALK ON THE PLANTS (2006, p. 59, capitalization in the original)

On the other hand, V-languages (e.g. Semitic languages, including Arabic) tend to express path of motion inside the verb (e.g. the implicit outward direction in *exit* and the implicit upward direction in *ascend*). Therefore, manner has to be encoded outside the verb in the form of a subordinate element such as an adverbial expression (e.g. enter *quickly),* a non-finite verb (e.g. enter *running*) or a prepositional phrase (e.g. enter *in haste*). Consequently, manner of motion verbs are fewer and less diverse in V-languages than in S-languages. The following constructed example illustrates how path and manner of motion are expressed differently in English and Arabic, an S-language and V-language, respectively.

Example 5–1

English	The children **ran** out of the classroom			
Arabic	**راكضين** */rākiḍīn/*	من غرفة الدرس */min ghurfati al-darsi/*	الأطفال */al-aṭfālu/*	**خرج** **/***kharaja/*
	running-they	from classroom	the-children	**exited-(he)**
BT	‘The children **left** the classroom**, running’**			

In the English clause in this example, the co-event of manner is conflated in the verb and the path is lexicalized as a separate element. In the Arabic, the path is conflated

in the verb خرج (*/kharaja/ – exit*) while manner is expressed in the accusative راكضين (*/rākiḍīn/ – running*).

Empirical research in cognitive linguistics also suggests that “languages differ considerably in the attention their speakers pay to manner as a dimension of motion events” (Slobin, 2006, p. 59; see also other works cited in Özçalışkan and Slobin, 2003, p. 2). V-language speakers pay less attention to manner in writing or speaking about motion and only encode manner separately when manner is at issue, in order to avoid increasing the processing load required (Özçalışkan and Slobin, 2003, pp. 1–2). Manner salience differs not only across languages, as noted above, but also across genres. In a study of *Frog Stories* (Berman and Slobin, 1994; see also Slobin, 2004, 2006), it was found that V-languages, such as Spanish, French, Italian, Turkish, and Hebrew pay virtually no attention to manner. In these languages, manner was expressed in between 0% to 3% of all motion events described. By contrast, manner is more salient in S-languages such as English, Mandarin, and Russian, with instances of manner expression ranging from 32% for English to 100% for Russian (Slobin, 2006). Özçalışkan (2015) explains that speakers of V-languages tend to express path, or direction, in the main verb, e.g. دخل (*/dakhala/ – entered*) and have thus to rely on subordinate manner of motion verbs or adjunct manner expressions to encode manner of motion, e.g. دخل زحفا (*/dakhala zāḥfan/ – entered crawling*). Either of these two additional clause elements, Özçalışkan and Slobin (2003) contend, leads to more processing effort on the part of V-language speakers, and thus a tendency to leave out manner information altogether from their descriptions.

In a study of manner of motion verbs in Arabic, Al-Qarni concludes that both satellite-framed and verb-framed patterns are used in Arabic (2010, p. 175–6). According to Al-Qarni, speakers of Arabic tend to use patterns of S-languages to describe motion when the manner of motion is of concern to them. By contrast, patterns of V-languages are used when manner is not within the focus of the speaker's attention. However, in both patterns, linguistic or pragmatic factors determine whether manner is to be expressed (Ibid, p. 250). Linguistically, Arabic is more inclined to express manner in separate elements, such as an adverbial or a prepositional phrase. Pragmatically, Arabic tends to drop manner encoding if manner can be easily inferred from the context, which, according to Al-Qarni, includes such factors as the "degree of informativeness, or expectations about the specific demands of the conversational exchange" (Ibid, p. 251). An Arabic language speaker living in Saudi Arabia, for example, would typically say *أنا مسافر إلى بريطانيا يوم الجمعة القادم* (*/anā musāfirun ilā biriṭānya yawma al-jumʿati al-qādim/ – I'm travelling to Britain next Friday*) rather than *أنا مسافر إلى بريطانيا بالطائرة يوم الجمعة القادم* (*/anā musāfirun ilā biriṭānya bi-ṭāʾirati yawma al-jumʿati al-qādim/ – I'm travelling to Britain by plane next Friday*), or the unnatural *سأطير إلى بريطانيا يوم الجمعة القادم* (*/sa-ʾaṭīru ilā biriṭānya yawma al-jumʿati al-qādim/– I'm flying to Britain next Friday*). Thus, it is relevant to examine how translators deal with manner of motion, in terms of realisation and instantiation. This case study examines the extent to which an Arabic translation of Golding's *Lord of the Flies* conforms to the common practice of low-manner salience in this language.

5.3 Phases 1 and 2: Inter-textual realisation and actualisation

As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, the proposed model comprises three phases. However, in the analysis sections in this case study (Section 5.3.3 below), Phases 1 and 2 are dealt with together. In other words, the relevant instances are classified in terms of both content (with relevance to manner of motion) and explicitation status. This avoids the need to refer back to the analysis of content when considering the explicitation status. The objective of the micro-level analysis in these two phases is to determine the explicitation status of individual TT translational instances, compared to their ST counterparts and other alternatives in the TL, and to reach a preliminary conclusion regarding the TT's level of explicitness relative to the ST. The unit of analysis in this phase is the TT clause and its ST counterpart, but the focus is mainly on how manner of motion verbs are rendered.

In Phase 1, I explore the ST and TT for manifestations of manner of motion verbs, and relevant instances are classified into three types: [=content], [+content], and [–content]. Note that renderings are classified in terms of how much of the ideational content of manner of motion verbs is conveyed into the TT. Other changes in the realisation or configuration of the clause are considered only if they influence the translation of manner of motion verbs.

As a further step in Phase 1, I examine identified content shifts (i.e. [+content], and [–content] renderings) to determine context traceability. Context traceability is used to decide whether a rendering is inter-textually recoverable; that is, if the shift can be traced back to the respective text and context. All [=content] renderings are inter-

textually recoverable because they encode the same content as the ST counterpart. With [+content] and [–content] shifts, particularly in the case of manner of motion, a shift is considered traceable if the context provides direct or indirect reference to the inserted or deleted content. In this case study, I rely solely on the linguistic context to determine traceability.

In Phase 2 of the analysis, I examine inter-textually recoverable renderings, to determine their explicitation status. Here, I look at shifts as choices, or different mappings within the systemic potential of the language, with reference to the parameters of realisational congruency and/or delicacy (see Sections 3.4.2 and 4.4). In this case study, the domain of realisation is the experiential mode of the ideational metafunction; therefore, hereafter I refer to realisational congruency as experiential congruency. In general, a move from incongruent to congruent (or up the cline of experiential congruency, also referred to as de-metaphorisation) or from less delicate to more delicate (or up the cline of delicacy) results in explicitation. The reverse shifts result in implicitation. The potential for explicitation is however conditioned by the availability of TL agnates that express the content of the actual TT instance in more/less explicit lexicogrammar.

At this stage (i.e. in Phases 1 and 2), no regard is paid to the wider context that involves registerial conventions or preferences. These are examined in Phase 3 (Section 5.4 below), where translational instances are considered as instantiations in register.

5.3.1 Data

The data of the first two phases of this research comprises William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* (1954/1996) and an Arabic translation of the novel. The English novel is available in both paper and electronic formats. The text of the electronic version comprises 60,927 words. The Arabic version of the English novel, titled *سيّد الذباب (Sayyid al-dhubāb – Master of the Flies)* was translated by Fawzi Mheidli, a Lebanese writer, poet and translator. The text of the translation is in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), a pan-Arab variety of Arabic used in most forms of printed media (Ryding, 2005, p. 5), including newspapers and magazines, books, official documents, road signs, advertisements, etc. Because the hard copy of the TT was produced by mechanical typesetting, it would have been very time-consuming to convert the TT to an electronic format. Based on a rough calculation using the paper copy, the Arabic text comprises approximately 51,000 words. Although there are several Arabic translations of the novel, I chose this particular translation because it was the earliest one that could be obtained, which reduces the chances that the translator was influenced by earlier translations[1].

As noted above, I chose *Lord of the Flies* for this study of manner of motion verbs after carrying out a pilot study on explicitation (Othman, 2017) that examined multiple Arabic translations of the English novel. This study revealed that the novel includes a large number of verbs that conflate manner, including manner of motion verbs. It was

1 Other Arabic translations include:
Al-Jammal, A. (1994) *Amīr al-dhubāb (Prince of the Flies)*. Cairo: Al-Dar al-Mareyyah al-Lubnaneyah.
Al-Hibl, L. (1995) *Malik al- dhubāb (King of the Flies)*. Damascus: Dar al-Anwaar.
Kiwan, A. (2008) *Sayyid al- dhubāb (Master of the Flies)*. Damascus: Dar Al-Bihar
Nassar, S. (2014) *Lūrd al-dhubāb (Lord of the Flies)*. Amman: Al-Ahlia

thus deemed appropriate source material for the investigation of how manner of motion verbs are treated in translation. I anticipated that this would provide interesting insights into typological/registerial variations in the construal of manner.

First published in 1954, *Lord of the Flies* is considered a modern classic and has been translated into all major languages[1]. The novel is number 41 in the Modern Library's list of 100 Best Novels[2]. *Lord of the Flies* is about a group of schoolboys whose plane crashes on a deserted island during a war. Finding themselves without supervision, the marooned boys elect a leader, Ralph, to set rules and devise rescue plans. Another boy named Jack also wants to be a leader, so he starts drawing the other boys away, making use of their natural inclination to adventure. The younger boys start to believe that there is a beast on the island. Later an aerial battle takes place over the island and a dead pilot drifts down with his open parachute. Seeing the enormous silhouette of the parachute and hearing the strange flapping noises it makes, the boys are now sure the beast exists. In reaction to this, Jack forms a small group and tries to turn the others against Ralph. All but a few of the boys eventually join Jack, and they slaughter a pig and put its head on a stake as an offering to the beast. One of the boys, Simon, discovers that the mountain beast is only a dead pilot. When he attempts to bring the news to the other boys, they beat him to death. The following day the boys have a fight in which the intellectual of the group, Piggy, is killed with a boulder and the conch shell which they use to call for meetings is shattered. The boys then undertake a manhunt to kill Ralph and they start a fire to

1 http://www.william-golding.co.uk/books/lord-of-the-flies
2 http://www.modernlibrary.com/top-100/100-best-novels/

smoke him out of his hiding place. The fire is seen by a passing ship and Ralph is rescued.

5.3.2 Methods

I initiated Phase 1 of the analysis by identifying the manner of motion verbs to be considered in the investigation. I created an initial list by referring to existing literature on manner of motion verbs, mainly from research in cognitive linguistics and lexical semantics (Levin and Rappaport Hovav, 1992; Levin, 1993; Talmy, 2000a, 2000b; Slobin, 2006), and secondarily from SFL (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p. 235). The list, was expanded by searching for synonyms and near-synonyms in WordNet (Princeton University, 2010), an online resource that offers semantically oriented classifications of English words. In total, I identified 268 manner of motion verbs (see Table 5A in the Appendix).

As explained in detail below, the investigation was restricted to those ST verbs (and their TT renderings) that were found to occur most frequently in the ST, in order to allow closer investigation and description of individual Arabic renderings. For the same reason, the final list of manner of motion verbs includes only those verbs that construe self-initiated locomotion on land, resulting in change of location of a human Actor. The novel abounds in such verbs; moreover, as explained in Section 5.2.2 above, this is the type of verb that has received most attention in cognitive linguistic research. Thus, verbs belonging to the following categories of manner of motion verbs were excluded from the investigation, unless they can also express the kind of locomotion described above.

- Verbs that denote body-internal, or self-contained motion with no change in location, e.g. *Lexa staggered unsteadily for a moment before falling to one knee; she's wriggling and twisting on the bed all the time*[1]. The category of body-internal motion verbs also includes verbs that describe change of posture (Slobin, 2005), e.g. *he jumped to his feet*; *he staggered to his feet*; *Ralph rolled on his stomach*. However, some of the motion verbs under this category can also denote change of location, for example, the verb *stagger* in the sense of *walk as if unable to control one's movement*, e.g. *the drunken man staggered into the room*[2]. When used in this sense, such verbs are included in the analysis.

- Homographs of manner verbs that are not relevant to motion, e.g. the verb *bumble* is included when it means *move clumsily*, but it is excluded when it means *speak in a faltering way*.

- Verbs that denote caused motion, where the outcome of changing location extends to the Goal[3] of the clause, e.g. *then they inched the grotesque dead thing up the rock and toppled it over on top* (Golding, 1954, p. 51). Note that the intransitive sense of *inch* can construe translational motion, and in this sense it is included in the list of manner of motion verbs, e.g. *Mackenzie inched along slowly as he probed for sure footing with each step*[4].

After creating the list of manner of motion verbs, I used AntConc (a freeware corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis; Anthony, 2014) to search the ST

1 https://en.oxforddictionaries.com
2 https://www.thefreedictionary.com/stagger
3 the Participant being affected or impacted by the involvement of the Actor in the Process (Matthiessen, Teruya and Lam, 2010, p. 108)
4 https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/inch

for the listed verbs. About one third of the listed verbs were found in the ST, with varying frequency. I selected for analysis a sample of the 34 cited verbs whose occurrences amounted to around 90% of the total 301 cited occurrences (see Table 5–2 below). This procedure made data analysis more manageable in the limited time available. It also enhances the validity of the findings and provides a sounder base for generalisation by excluding instances of infrequently used verbs.

Having singled out the relevant ST instances and saved them in a Word file, I proceeded to the TT and manually paired these ST instances with their Arabic renderings. Only those parts (clauses) of the TT corresponding to the cited English instances were keyboarded and saved into the same Word file (see Table 5B in the Appendix). After that, I carefully examined the paired instances and arranged the Arabic renderings in accordance with a two-dimensional classification system.

The first dimension of classification refers to availability/non-availability of equivalent Arabic counterparts of the cited ST English verbs. Arabic renderings were assigned to one of two categories:

1) ST verbs with no equivalent Arabic counterparts (henceforth, zero-equivalent verbs). These are English verbs that are not lexicalized as verbs in MSA and have to be unpacked if manner is to be conveyed in full; for example, *tiptoe* is paraphrased as *walk/move on one's toes*. The other cited ST verbs in this class included *inch, march, scurry, toil, scramble, clamber, edge,* and *worm.* There are also some manner of motion verbs that can be used in English to denote both change of location and body-internal motion, while Arabic makes use of them only to denote body-internal motion. For example, *stagger* in English could refer to motion in place (e.g. *he*

staggered to his feet) or a change of location (e.g. *she staggered out of bed*[1]). In Arabic, *staggering* is lexicalized as a circumstantial accusative that augments another motion Process (e.g. مشى مترنحا */mashā mutaranniḥan/ – walked staggeringly*) or as a non-finite verb in a hypotactic clause (e.g. مشى يترنح */mashā yatarannaḥu/ – walked staggering*). The other similar cited ST verbs included *wriggle, limp, blunder,* and *stumble*.

1) ST verbs with equivalent Arabic counterparts (henceforth, verbs with equivalents). These are SL verbs that translate directly into equivalent TL verbs. For example, the English verbs *sneak*, *crawl*, and *climb* denote the same motion–manner semantics as the Arabic تسلل (*/tasallala/*), زحف (*/zaḥafa/*), and تسلق *(/tasallaqa/*) respectively. The cited verbs with equivalents included *bound, charge, hurry, race, slide, step, wander, push, jump, leap, steal, creep, rush, trot, walk,* and *run*.

The term equivalent counterpart as used here stands for any sense the dictionary gives for that verb as used in the ST. Therefore, the availability/non-availability of an equivalent counterpart was considered separately for each sense, as defined in the dictionary, in which the English verb is used in the ST. For example, the verb *rush* in English can have the following senses[2]:

(I) to hurry or cause to hurry; hasten

(II) to make a sudden attack upon (a fortress, position, person, etc.)

(III) to proceed or approach in a reckless manner

1 https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/stagger
2 https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/rush

The following cited instances, corresponding to the first and second definitions, respectively, are considered [=content] renderings.

Example 5–2

English	Jack **rushed** toward the twins (Golding, 1996, p. 80)		
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 91)	نحو التوأمين */naḥwa al-tawʾamayn/*	جاك *Jack*	**اندفع** */indafaʿa/*
	toward the twins-two	Jack	**rushed-(he)**
BT:	'Jack **rushed** toward the two twins'		

Here, the ST manner verb *rush* is rendered into an equivalent manner verb in the TT. Both *rush* and اندفع (*/indafaʿa/* – *rush/dash*) denote a fast and increasing rate of motion.

Example 5–3

English	The boys shouted and **rushed** forward (Golding, 1996, p. 166)		
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 200)	إلى الأمام */ilā al-ʾamām/*	**وهجموا** */wa-hajamū/*	وصرخ الصبية */wa-ṣarakha al-ṣibyatu/*
	forward	and **charged**-(they)	and the boys shouted
BT:	and the boys shouted and **charged** forward		

Here, the ST and TT verbs (*rush* and هجم */hajama/* – *charge*) conflate fast and violent motion.

The categorisation of verbs in terms of availability/non-availability of equivalent Arabic counterparts is important because it allows for a consideration of typological differences and commonalities. This allowed me to formulate qualitative descriptions and explanations regarding how and why verbs of a certain category are rendered in a particular way. At the inter-textual level, I was able to draw conclusions regarding the types of manner shifts that occur with each category of verbs; for example,

whether zero-equivalent verbs are mostly unpacked in order to maintain the same manner content, or alternatively rendered into less specific manner of motion verbs. Because I also considered typological commonalities, I was able to ascertain whether English verbs that have direct Arabic equivalents are translated into their equivalent counterparts or into more/less explicit renderings. With respect to register, the categorisation was also expected to yield insights into how the verbs in each category can best be translated if the aim is to achieve congruency with the conventions of the relevant register. In this respect, based on the corpus analysis in Phase 3, it might be found that Arabic verbs with equivalents are better rendered into less/more expressive manner of motion verbs than into their direct equivalents.

The second dimension of classification refers to the content of the translational instances and assigns each rendering to one of three categories, i.e. [=content], [–content], and [+content], in addition to the possible manifestations (sub-categories) of each type of rendering (see Table 5–1). This classification is part of the first phase, where individual renderings are examined against their ST counterparts in terms of content. Content refers only to the ideational content of the manner of motion verbs under investigation, but other changes in the realisation or configuration of the clause are considered if they influence the translation of the unit being investigated. Renderings were classified in accordance with Table 5–1, with the help of monolingual English and Arabic dictionaries and fine-grained classifications of manner of motion verbs in English (Cifuentes Férez, P. 2008) and Arabic (Dawood, 2002).

Rendering Type	Manifestations	Examples
[=content] The ST and TT units denote the same manner of motion content	Direct rendering: high-manner verb translated into an equivalent high-manner verb	Crawl rendered as زحف (*/zaḥafa/ – crawl/creep*)
	Direct rendering: low-manner verb translated into an equivalent low-manner verb	jump rendered as قفز (*/qafaza/ – jump*)
	Rewording: an addition/insertion that does not lead to a change in the content of motion and manner	ran rendered as راح يركض (*/rāḥa yarkuḍu/ – started running*)
	Rewording: translations between synonyms that are used interchangeably	rush, hurry, or race rendered as اندفع (*/indafaʿa/ – rush*), أسرع (*/asraʿa/ – hurry*), هرع (*/haraʿa/ – hasten*), and انطلق (*/inṭalaqa/ – dash*) because all these are run-verbs that encode fast and increasing rate of motion
	Packing/unpacking with no additional manner content	Stumble rendered as مشى متعثرا (*/mashā mutaʿathiran/ – walk stumblingly*)
[+content] The TT unit denotes more manner of motion content than the ST unit does	Low-manner verb translated into a high-manner verb	walk rendered as هرول (*/harwala/ – trot*)
	High-manner verb translated into a more expressive high-manner verb	crawl rendered as تسلل (*/tasallala/ – creep/sneak*)
	Packing/unpacking with more manner content	crawl rendered as زحف متسللا (*/zaḥafa mutasallilan/ – crawl sneakily*)
[–content] The TT unit denotes less manner of motion content than the ST unit does	High/low-manner verb translated into no-manner verb	crawl rendered تقدم (*/taqaddama/ – proceed*)
	High-manner verb translated into low-manner verb	clamber rendered as تسلق (*/tasallaqa/ – climb*)
	High-manner verb translated into less expressive high-manner verb	scramble rendered as زحف (*/zaḥafa/ – crawl*) wriggle rendered as شق طريقه (*/shaqqa ṭarīqahu/ – pick one's way*)
	Packing/unpacking with less manner content	crawl sneakily rendered as زحف (*/zaḥafa/ – crawl*)
	Manner of motion verb translated into no-motion realisation	blunder rendered as اختبأ (*/ikhtabaʾa/ – hide*)

Table 5–1 Types and manifestations of potentially explicitational/implicitational manner renderings

It is worth stressing that the categorisation in Table 5–1 indicates potential explicitation/implicitation but is not yet a definitive evaluation of explicitation status. As explained above, this requires a further step, in which renderings are considered in terms of (1) context traceability (to single out the inter-textually recoverable instances and to exclude cases of additions and omissions that increase or decrease the information content of the text, rather than explicitate/implicitate what is less/more explicit in the ST), (2) experiential congruency, (3) delicacy, and (4) (non-) availability of alternative TL realisations (see Sections 3.4.2 and 4.4). The consideration of cited renderings against these variables in the second phase of the model could lead to a classification of explicitational and implicitational shifts that is different from their preliminary classification in terms of content. The second phase identifies renderings as explicitation, implicitation or explicitationally/implicitationally neutral (referred to as 'non-explicitation'), considering them as choices within the systemic potential of the TL. For example, translating the clause *he rushed out of the room* as غادر الغرفة مسرعا (*ghādara al-ghurfata musriʿan – he left the room hurriedly*) leads to an [=content] rendering since both construe the same ideational content. However, since the construal in the unpacked agnate represents a move up the cline of congruency (from the incongruent to the congruent), and because the condition relating to alternative TL agnates is satisfied, the shift is regarded explicitational (see Section 4.4, Chapter 4 for a detailed presentation of this aspect of the model). In brief, the initial classification of renderings in terms of content does not necessarily correspond directly to their explicitation status. The following example illustrates the procedure explained above:

*There were little cliffs to be **scaled**, some to be used as paths, lengthy traverses where one used hands as well as feet. Here and there they could **clamber** over wave-wet rock* (Golding, 1996, p. 144)

*كانت هناك منحدرات صغيرة يجب **تسلقها** (**/tasalluqahā/ – climbed**). وكان بعضها يشكل عوائق عريضة يتطلب اجتيازها استخدام اليدين والقدمين معا. وهنا وهناك كان عليهم **تسلق** (**/tasalluqa/ – climb**) صخور بللها الموج* (Mheidli, 1988, p. 237)

*/kāna hunāka munḥadartātun ṣaghīratun yajibu **tasalluquhā**. wa-kāna baʿḍuhā yushakkilu ʿawāʾiqa ʿarīḍatan yataṭallabu ijtiyāzuhā istikhdāma al-yadayini wa-l-qadamayni maʿan. wa-hunā wa-hunāka kāna ʿalayhimu **tasalluqa** ṣukhūrin ballalahā al-mawju/*

BT: *'There were little cliffs that had to be **climbed**, and some of those formed wide barriers that required the use of one's hands and feet. Here and there they had to **climb** wave-wet rock. '*

The English manner of motion verbs in bold type are translated into Arabic with less manner information. For example, the verb *clamber, which* means "*to climb or move in an awkward and laborious way, typically using both hands and feet*"[1], is rendered as *تسلق* (*/tasallaqa/ – climb*), which is also a manner of motion verb but does not lexicalize the effort exerted in clambering. In other words, the Arabic rendering is less expressive, or less specific in denoting manner. This shift is initially identified as a [– content] shift, that is either a deletion or an omission. Since the co-text, quoted above, shows that the setting where the Process unfolds is clearly a difficult terrain, the manner information that is conflated in the ST Process but missing from the Arabic rendering can be retrieved from the surrounding discourse in the translation. In the model proposed in this thesis, this is considered a case of deletion, rather than an omission, and thus the shift is described as inter-textually recoverable. Now, deciding on the shift's status in terms of explicitation requires checking that shift against experiential congruency and/or delicacy, as well as availability of a more

1 https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/clamber

explicit TL alternative. Both *clamber* and */tasallaqa/* represent incongruent or metaphorical realisations of the experience of motion and manner, both being double-functional. With regard to delicacy. */tasallaqa/* is less delicate, or less expressive than *clamber* (the definition of *clamber* includes the more general meaning of *climb*[1]). With regard to availability of alternatives, in the following analysis it is taken for granted that this condition is met, given the capacity of language to express almost any meaning in more than one realisation and because motion verbs, including those with manner, comprise a large set of lexical items. Thus, this rendering is regarded as implicitational because of the shift to lesser delicacy and because the 'availability of alternatives' condition is met.

This example illustrates how Phases 1 and 2 involve different analytical procedures that, in each case, have to be performed sequentially. The discussion below considers results in terms of both content (Phase 1) and explicitation status (Phase 2) of the TL renderings, and summarises the findings by reporting proportions and patterns (see Section 5.3.4 below).

1 https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/clamber?q=clamber+

5.3.3 Analysis: Content and explicitation status

Manner of motion verbs			
Verbs cited	**Frequency (no. of occurrences)**	**Total no. of tokens**	**% of tokens**
bounce, bumble, caper, circle, dash, flee, flit, flounder, fumble, glide, hasten, labour, pace, plonk, prowl, roll, saunter, scrabble, scutter, scuttle, shoot, shove, slink, slither, speed, spurt, stroll, struggle, surge, tear, thread, tread, trek, trundle, twist, vault, wade, whirl	1	38	38 (13%)
inch, march, scurry, tiptoe, toil, wriggle, bound, limp, stumble, slide	2	20	263 (87%)
charge, hurry, race, creep (2)	4	16	
scramble, edge, creep (1)	5	15	
blunder, clamber, wander, push, stagger, step, leap	6	42	
worm, jump, sneak	7	21	
steal	9	9	
crawl	11	11	
rush, trot	15	30	
walk	28	28	
climb	35	35	
run	36	36	
Total types = 72	**Total tokens = 301**		100%

Table 5–2 Tokens of ST manner of motion verbs grouped by frequency of occurrence

Table 5–2 lists the English verb types that are cited in the ST and the corresponding number of tokens. As the table shows, 72 verbs, out of the initial 268-verb list, are cited in the ST. Of those 72 verbs, 38 (in the first row of the table) are cited only once in a sense that relates to self-initiated motion on land. Because of the low frequency of these verbs, the investigation in this phase focused on the remaining 34 verbs, whose tokens amount to a percentage of approximately 90% of the total. As the table

shows, the 34 verbs chosen for analysis vary in the number of occurrences, from 2 to 36. Generally, the less specific the verb in terms of manner meaning is, the more frequent it is. For example, the low-manner (everyday, motor-pattern) verb *run* is more frequent than all its near-synonyms, i.e. *rush, trot, scramble, race, hurry, race, scurry,* and *dash*. However, some of these high-manner near-synonyms are more frequent than others, e.g. the tokens of *rush* and *trot* are about double those of the remaining near-synonyms of *run*.

The next subsections (5.3.3.1–5.3.3.3) offer interpretation of the three categories of content renderings, and indicate some principal findings with regard to their explicitation status. This is followed by the presentation and discussion of summary results of Phases 1 and 2 (content and explicitation status) in Section 5.3.4.

5.3.3.1 [= content] renderings

Verb category	**[=content]**		
	Direct Rendering/Rewording	**Un/packing**	**Totals**
Zero-equivalent verbs	0	14	14
Verbs with equivalents	171	0	171
Total	**171 (92%)**	**14 (8%)**	**185**

Table 5–3 Manifestations of [=content] renderings in terms of (non-)availability of equivalent counterparts

In the first phase, a rendering is classified as [=content] if the TT unit denotes the same manner and motion content as the ST unit does. Table 5–3 above shows the frequencies of the cited [=content] renderings, grouped by the (non-)availability of Arabic counterparts, and the corresponding lexicogrammatical manifestations. As shown in the table, there are 185 [=content] renderings. In 171 instances, a ST verb

with an Arabic equivalent is translated using an equivalent TT verb or by means of rewording. The remaining 14 renderings are instances of unpacking of English zero-equivalent verbs, and I will discuss these first (see Table 5B in the Appendix for the paired ST-TT instances).

[=content] renderings of zero-equivalent verbs

The 14 [=content] tokens of English zero-equivalent verbs are all realised by unpacking, which renders them explicitational, on grounds of de-metaphorisation, i.e. a move up the cline of experiential congruency. Although these verbs have no Arabic equivalents, unpacking cannot be said to be forced on the translator by linguistic variation. At least one other option is available, i.e. rendering such verbs into less expressive manner of motion verbs (e.g. *clamber* into *climb*) or no-manner of motion verbs (e.g. *clamber* into *go up*). This would result in a [–content] shift, which as illustrated below is potentially implicitational. The question to be asked here is why the translator does not opt for a [–content] shift with all zero-equivalent verbs. The ST contains 51 tokens of English zero-equivalent verbs, of which only these 14 of are rendered by unpacking, and the remainder (with one exception) using verbs with less manner information (see Section 5.3.3.2 below). To answer this question, I considered renderings of the zero-equivalent verb *clamber*. There are 6 citations of this verb, 4 of which a rendered by [–content] shifts. The 2 [=content] renderings are manifested by unpacking the content of *clamber* into a less expressive Arabic verb and a manner Circumstance, as illustrated below.

Example 5–4

English	Roger **clambered** up the ladder-like cliff (Golding, 1996, p. 196)				
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 237)	المنحدر الصخري الشاهق الشبيه بالدرج */al-munḥadara al-ṣakhriya al-shāhiqa al-shabīhi bi-l-daraji/*	روجر */rūjar/*	**تسلق** */tasallaqa/*	**بجهد** */bi-juhdin/*	و */wa/*
	the steep rocky slope similar to stairs	Roger	**climbed-(he)**	**with-effort**	and
BT:	**'With effort**, Roger **climbed** the steep stairs-like cliff'				

In Example 5–4 the English verb *clamber* is rendered using the Arabic verb *تسلق* (*/tasallaqa/ – climb*) and the manner Circumstance *بجهد* (*/bi-juhdin/ – with effort*). There is no obvious reason why the translator chooses in this particular instance to explicitate the manner content through unpacking, since this content can be inferred from the co-textual description of some kind of rough terrain in all the cited instances. In fact, in several cases other than those of *clamber*, the translator opts for different renderings in translating the same verbs. The verb *blunder*, for example, is rendered as Arabic verbs whose English equivalents are *hide*, *stumble*, *exit*, *scatter*, and *rush*, in addition to one case where both motion and manner were dropped altogether. With such inconsistencies, those renderings cannot be attributed to socio-cultural factors such as the function of the translation or expectations of the readers. They may be regarded as translator's idiosyncrasies, which respond to considerations not addressed directly in this thesis.

As previously mentioned, some zero-equivalent verbs can be used in English in the sense of body-internal motion (motion in place, a sense that is excluded from the

current investigation), as well as in the locomotion sense, where the location of the moving entity changes, as in the following examples.

He staggered to his feet, tensed for more terrors (Golding, 1954, p. 299)

They staggered up the last steep of the mountain (Golding, 1954, p. 51)

Only in the second example does the verb *stagger* construe change of location. In Arabic, the first sense, which encodes motion in place, can be rendered equivalently as ترنح واقفا (*/tarannaḥa wāqifan/ – he staggered standing)*. The other sense of the verb (as in the second example above) is however not used in Arabic, and therefore, such verbs have to be unpacked if manner is to be conveyed, as illustrated in the following TT example.

Example 5–5

English	Presently the heap broke up and figures **staggered away** (Golding, 1996, p. 189)				
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 229)	**مترنحة** */mutaranniḥatan/*	**تبتعد** */tabtaʿidu/*	الأشكال */al-ashkālu/*	وراحت */wa-rāḥati/*	تفرقت الكومة */tafarraqati al-kawmatu/*
	staggeringly	**move-away**	the-figures	went(she)	the heap broke up
BT:	the heap broke up and the figures **moved away staggeringly**				

In this example, the ST verb *staggered* conflates both motion and manner of motion. In the Arabic TT, motion and manner are construed in two elements; the no-manner, path verb تبتعد (*/tabtaʿidu/ – move away*) is construed as a Process that denotes motion and direction, which is then enhanced with an accusative circumstantial that encodes manner (مترنحة */mutaranniḥatan/ – staggeringly*). Again, although this

unpacking may be seen as triggered by variations between Arabic and English, the rendering is still explicitational because it is experientially congruent.

[=content] renderings of verbs with equivalents

In the category of verbs with equivalents, there are 171 [=content] instances (See Table 5–3). These are rendered into equivalent Arabic verbs (e.g. rendering *run* as ركض */rakaḍa/ – run*), or reworded into synonyms that can be used interchangeably; e.g. translating the English *rush, hurry,* or *race* into the Arabic verbs اندفع (*/indafaʿa/ – rush/dash*), أسرع */asraʿa/ – hurry*, هرع */haraʿa/ – hasten*, and انطلق */inṭalaqa/ – dash.* All these are run-verbs that encode fast and/or increasing rate of motion. Also regarded as [=content] renderings are instances with an insertion of an optional or obligatory structural element that does not lead to a change in the content of motion and manner, e.g. translating *ran* as راح يركض (*/rāḥa yarkuḍu/ – went he running*), where */rāḥa/* is used as a grammatical marker that denotes the ongoingness of the activity encoded in the motion verb (Abdulrahim, 2013, p. 14). In this case, because no shift has taken place in experiential congruency or delicacy, all these instances are non-explicitational. It is notable that [=content] renderings, particularly those manifested by direct equivalents, have been ignored in all previous studies of shift and equivalence paradigms. However, as revealed by the analysis in Phase 3 of the proposed model, such renderings can have significant effect on the TT's level of explicitness relative to comparable non-translations (see Table 5B in the Appendix for the paired ST-TT instances).

In summary, [=content] renderings are manifested by direct equivalents, rewording or unpacking of the ST manner verb. In terms of their explicitation status, the first two

types, direct renderings and rewording, are non-explicitational. In the case of unpacking, all instances are explicitational since by definition they involve a move up the cline of experiential congruency. A table demonstrating the proportions of explicitation/implicitation will be presented after the discussion of the other two types of content renderings (see Table 5–6).

5.3.3.2 [–content] renderings

Verb category	[–content]			Total
	no-manner verb	Less expressive manner verb	no-motion realisation	
Zero-equivalent verbs	4	25	7	36
Verbs with equivalents	12	19	5	36
Total	**16 (22%)**	**44 (61%)**	**12 (17%)**	**72**

Table 5–4 Manifestations of [–content] renderings in terms of (non-)availability of equivalent counterparts

In the first phase, a rendering is classified as [–content] if the TT unit denotes less manner and motion content than the ST unit. Table 5–4 demonstrates the manifestations of the 72 [–content] shifts cited in the TT. In 22% of those instances, the translator opts for no-manner Arabic motion verbs (e.g. *advance, enter, move*) to render the English manner of motion verbs. Less expressive manner verbs account for 61% of the total [–content] renderings (e.g. rendering *worm* as *crawl*). As illustrated in Section 5.2.2 above, the degree of expressiveness is measured in terms of the verb semantics and the co-text in which it occurs. The third manifestation includes renderings of English manner of motion verbs into verbs that denote neither motion nor manner (e.g. rendering *blunder* as *hide*), in addition to a few cases where the verb is dropped altogether or mistranslated. These no-motion

realisations account for 17% of the total 72 [–content] shifts. The 72 [–content] renderings are evenly distributed between zero-equivalent verbs (36) and those with equivalents (36). The distribution of the three manifestations is broadly similar in these two categories of verbs, although it is notable that no-manner verbs are used more frequently, and less expressive manner verbs are used less frequently, in renderings of verbs with equivalents. In the rest of this section, I illustrate [–content] shifts in Arabic renderings of zero-equivalent verbs and verbs with equivalents and discuss their explicitation status.

[–content] renderings of zero-equivalent verbs

As shown in Table 5C in the Appendix, the cited tokens of zero-equivalent verbs in the ST are 51. In the TT, 36 instances of these verbs are [–content] renderings, while the remainder (with one exception) are [=content] renderings manifested by unpacking (see Section 5.3.3.1 above). This means that in most of the renderings of such verbs the translator deletes or omits some manner information. This is simply due to the non-availability of Arabic counterparts for those verbs. In terms of lexicogrammatical realisation (as shown in Table 5–4), the TT renderings of those verbs are no-manner Arabic verbs (4 instances), low or less expressive manner verbs (25 instances), and no-motion realisations (7 instances). Of all these instances, 7 renderings are not traceable to the context and are thus omissions rather than implicitations, and these 7 renderings were therefore excluded from the explicitation analysis in Phase 2. The following examples illustrate the three manifestations.

Example 5–6

English	He **blundered** out of the triangle toward the drop to the white sand (Golding, 1996, p. 158)		
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 190)	الى حيث المهبط */ilā ḥaythu al-mahbaṭi/*	من المثلث */mina al-muthallathi/*	**وخرج** */wa-kharaja/*
	toward the drop	from the triangle	and-**exited**-(he)
BT:	'he **exited** from the triangle toward the drop'		

The ST *blunder* is a high-manner verb that conflates the manner of blind, unsteady motion. The translator rendered all this into خرج (*/kharaja/ – exited*), which only encodes motion together with direction, or path. The manner of motion can however be inferred from previous discourse (i.e. *the humiliating tears were running from the corner of each eye*), so this is a deletion, not an omission. Since the rendering is inter-textually recoverable, and the Arabic verb is less delicate than the English, this is a case of implicitation.

Example 5–7

English	Savages were **clambering** up the Castle Rock, right up to the top (Golding, 1996, p. 229)				
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 280)	باتجاه قمة القلعة الصخرية */bi-ittijāhi qimmati al-qalʿati al-ṣakhriyati/*	صعودا */ṣuʿūdan/*	**يتسلقون** */yatasallaqūn/*	بعض المنوحشين */baʿḍu al-mutawaḥishīna/*	كان */kāna/*
	toward the top of the Castle Rock	up	**climbing-they**	some savages	was
BT:	'Some savages were **climbing** up toward the top of the Castle Rock'				

Clamber means "*to climb or move in an awkward and laborious way, typically using both hands and feet*"[1]. To maintain the same manner in Arabic, the translator can unpack the ST verb; however, he opts for a different manner verb, which is less

1 https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/clamber

expressive in that context. The Arabic تسلق (*/tasallaqa/ – climb*) does not capture the quality of difficult motion that is conflated in *clamber*. The shift here is traceable (the children were going up a steep mountain) and the move in realisation is towards less delicacy, which renders this instance implicitational.

Example 5–8

English	then suddenly he fell silent and **blundered** away through the bushes (Golding, 1996, p. 80)		
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 91)	وراء الشجيرات */warāʾa al-shujayrāti/*	**واختبأ** */ʾikhtabaʾa/*	ثم لاذ فجأة بالصمت */thumma lādha fajʾatan bi-l-ṣamti/*
	behind the bushes	and-**hid**-(he)	Then he became silent
BT:	'Then he became silent and **hid** behind the bushes'		

In this example, the ST manner of motion verb *blundered* is rendered into *hid*, a verb that does not denote motion or manner. This no-motion realisation reduces the text's informativeness because no clues to the quality of motion can be found in the TT. In other words, this is a case of omission rather than an implicitation; therefore, in the proposed model, it is not subject to explicitation analysis in Phase 2.

[–content] renderings of verbs with equivalents

As shown in Table 5–4 above, there are 36 [–content] renderings of verbs with Arabic equivalents, which could be used to convey the same manner content, as the translator does in the other 171 instances of [=content] (see Section 5.3.3.1 above). However, the translator uses different lexicogrammatical realisations in those [–content] shifts: no-manner Arabic verbs (12 instances), low or less expressive manner verbs (19 instances), and no-motion realisations (5 instance). Of all these

instances, 13 renderings are not traceable to the context and are thus omissions that are not be subjected to explicitation analysis in Phase 2 (see Table 5B in the Appendix for the paired ST-TT instances). The following examples illustrate manifestations of omissions and deletions in [–content] renderings of verbs with equivalents.

Example 5–9

<table>
<tr><td>English</td><td colspan="4">he swam with steady strokes under Simon and crawled out of the other side of the pool to lie there (Golding, 1996, p. 92)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 93)</td><td>ليستلقي
/li-yastalqī/</td><td>فصعد
/fa-ṣaʿada/</td><td>يسبح بضربات منتظمة مارا بسيمون حتى وصل إلى الطرف الآخر من البركة
/yasbaḥu bi-ḍarabātin muntadhamatin mārran bi-saymun ḥattā waṣala ilā al-ṭarafi al-ākhara mina al-birkati/</td><td>راح
/rāḥa/</td></tr>
<tr><td>to-lie-(he)</td><td>and-arose-(he)</td><td>swimming with steady strokes, passing by Simon until he reached the other side of the pool</td><td>went-(he)</td></tr>
<tr><td>BT:</td><td colspan="4">‘he swam with steady strokes, passing by Simon until he reached the other side of the pool and arose to lie’</td></tr>
</table>

Crawl encodes moving on hands and knees or moving slowly and/or with difficulty. The Arabic صعد (*/ṣaʿada/ – arose*) is a verb that denotes upward motion but no manner. That is, the translator inserts content about the path of motion and entirely leaves out the manner of that motion, although he could use زحف (*/zaḥafa/ – crawled*) to render the same manner of motion as in the ST. Inter-textually, this shift is not recoverable; which is why it is regarded as an omission rather than an implicitation.

Example 5–10

<table>
<tr><td>English</td><td colspan="3">he jumped off the palm terrace into the sand and his trousers fell about his ankles; he stepped out of them and trotted to the platform (Golding, 1996, p. 24)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 21)</td><td>نحو المنصة الصخرية
/naḥwa al-manaṣṣati al-ṣakhriyyati/</td><td>مشى
/mashā/</td><td>وقفز الصبي من المرتفع النخلي إلى رمل الشاطئ فسقط سرواله حتى كاحليه. وحرر نفسه منه ثم
/wa-qafaza al-ṣabiyyu mina al-murtafaʿi al-nakhliyyi ilā ramli al-shāṭiʾi fa-saqaṭa sirwāluhu ḥattā kāḥilayhi, wa-ḥarrara nafsahu minhu thumma/</td></tr>
<tr><td>to the rocky platform</td><td>walked-(he)</td><td>and the boy jumped off the palm terrace into the sand and his trousers fell about his ankles; and he stepped out of them and</td></tr>
<tr><td>BT:</td><td colspan="3">‘the boy jumped off the palm terrace into the sand and his trousers fell about his ankles; and he stepped out of them and walked toward the rocky platform’</td></tr>
</table>

Here, the translator chooses to translate a ST high-manner verb that has a direct equivalent Arabic manner verb into a low-manner verb. The verb مشى (*/mashā/ – walk*) is used to encode motion on foot, that is, by conflating the means but not the quality of motion. In other words, the TT verb is less expressive in that context since it expresses only part of the meaning of the ST verb. This is a case of implicitation because the deleted manner can be inferred from the psychological state of the Actor (the boy, excited to find the other boys, would more probably trot than walk) and the move towards the less delicate end of the cline of delicacy.

Example 5–11

English	Simon turned away from the open space and **crawled** through the creepers till he was in the dusk of the forest (Golding, 1996, p. 180)		
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 218)	عبر النباتات المتشابكة حتى بلغ ظلمة الغابة */ʿabra al-nabātāti al-mutashābikati ḥattā balagha dhulmata al-ghābati/*	**وتدبر أمره** */tadabbara ʾamrahu/*	فانصرف مبتعدا عن المكان المكشوف */fa-nṣarafa mubtaʿidan ʿani al-makāni al-makshūf/*
	through the creepers until he reached the dark of the forest	and **managed**-(he) his-situation	and he left going away from the open space
BT:	'and he turned away from the open space and he **managed** [to get] through the creepers until he reached the dark of the forest'		

In this instance, the translator tries to paraphrase the ST high-manner verb, but not by means of unpacking; rather, he uses a verb that does not even denote motion, i.e. a no-motion realisation. Since the deleted quality of motion cannot be inferred from the context of the TT, this rendering is an omission rather than an implicitation.

5.3.3.3 [+content] renderings

A rendering is classified as [+content] if the TT unit denotes more manner and motion content than the ST unit does (i.e. insertion/addition of experiential manner content). In the current investigation, only 6 such shifts were identified, 2% of the total renderings. The [+content] renderings occurred in the translation of four manner of motion verbs (*inch, run*, creep, and *crawl*), of which all but one (*inch*) can be rendered directly into Arabic, but the translator chooses to insert/add some manner

content in the renderings. The renderings are in three manifestations, as illustrated in the following examples.

Firstly, the [+content] shift may result from rendering the ST manner verb into an equivalent Arabic manner verb and inserting/adding a Circumstance or a non-finite verb that denotes more manner.

Example 5–12

English	he hadn't no business **crawling** like that out of the dark (Golding, 1996, p. 193)			
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 234)	وسط الظلام */wasaṭa al-dhalāmi/*	**متسللا ببطء** */mutasallilan bibiṭʾin/*	**يحبو** */yaḥbū/*	لم يكن يجدر به أن */lam yakun yajduru bihi an/*
	amid the dark	**sneaking-(he) slowly**	**creep**-(he)	He oughtn't have
BT:	'he oughtn't have **crept**, **sneaking slowly** in the dark'			

In this example, the translator renders the ST verb *crawl* into the equivalent Arabic يحبو (*/yaḥbū/* – *creep*), but he also makes use of the manner Circumstance of comparison in the same ST clause (i.e. *like that out of the dark*, which refers back to an important incident in the preceding passage) and inserts a non-finite (*sneaking*) that construes furtive motion and a Circumstances of manner (*slowly*) that denotes slow pace. In this instance, the content shift is traceable, since the additional content in the TT can be inferred from the ST. It also represents a move up the cline of congruency; the instance is thus explicitational.

Secondly, a ST manner verb may be rendered as a more expressive manner verb.

Example 5–13

English	and then, the beast might try to come in. You remember how he **crawled** (Golding, 1996, p. 197)		
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 239)	**تسلل** */tasallala/*	تتذكرون بالطبع كيف */tatadhakkarūna bi-l-ṭabʿi kayfa/*	من الممكن أن يحاول الوحش المجيء. */mina al-mumkini ann yuḥāwil al-waḥshu al-majīʾ/*
	sneaked-(he)	You remember of course how	It is possible that the beast tries to come.
BT:	'the beast might try to come. You remember of course how he **sneaked'**		

Both the English *crawl* and the Arabic *تسلل* (*/tasallala/* – *sneak*) are high-manner verbs; however, because none of the senses of the verb *crawl* in English denotes furtive motion, translating it into */tasallala/* is a [+content] shift, which is also explicitational on grounds of traceability (the speaker is reminding the other boys of a past incident) and the move up the cline of delicacy.

Thirdly, unpacking the ST manner verb with more traceable content.

Example 5–14

English	and they had to watch Piggy **crawling** nearer (Golding, 1996, p. 84)				
Arabic (Mheidli, 1988, p. 96)	**ببطء** */bi-biṭʾin/*	**يتسلق** */yatasallaqu/*	وهو */wa-huwa/*	بيغي /Piggy/	وكان عليهم انتظار */wa-kāna ʿalayhimu intidhāra/*
	slowly	**climb**-(he)	and he	Piggy	and they had to wait
BT:	'and they had to wait for Piggy as he **climbed slowly'**				

In this example, the ST *crawl* is rendered as *تسلق* (*/tasallaqa/* – *climb*), which is a different manner of motion verb. However, the meaning of slow motion that *crawl*

encodes is maintained in the TT's Circumstance of manner ببطء (*/bi-biṭʾin/ – slowly*). Since this is a case of unpacking, it can be considered explicitational. Note also that the TT's verb */tasallaqa/* explicitates the upward path of motion, which is not present in the ST's verb *crawl.*

The 6 shifts included under the category of [+content] are all inter-textually recoverable since the increased content can be traced back to the ST. The renderings are explicitational due to the moves up the clines of congruency and/or delicacy.

5.3.4 Summary of phases 1 and 2

The analysis of the renderings has yielded some patterns with relation to the realisation of manner of motion content and explicitation status, as shown in Table 5–5 and Table 5–6. The data in these tables is derived from Table 5B and Table 5C in the Appendix, as well as the last two tables above.

Content renderings	**Verbs with equivalents**	**Zero-equivalent verbs**
[=content]	171	14
[–content]	36	36
[+content]	5	1
Total	212	51

Table 5–5 Content shifts across verb categories

- With respect to content, the following general observations can be made. First, the category of [=content] renderings in both categories accounts for most of the TT

instances (171 + 14 = 185 occurrences of the total 263 tokens). This may be due to two main reasons. Firstly, equivalent Arabic counterparts are available for 19 of the 34 verbs investigated, including those with the highest frequencies, such as *walk*, *climb,* and *run*. Secondly, the category of [=content] renderings is very broadly defined to include any TT instance that has conveyed the same manner content through direct rendering, rewording, or packing/unpacking (see Table 5–1). The category of [–content] renderings accounts for 72 (36 + 36) occurences of the total 263 renderings. Table 5C in the Appendix shows that most of the cited verbs have instances of manner deletion or omission. However, the relative frequency of [–content] shifts was far higher in the renderings of zero-equivalent verbs (36, or 71% out of 51 tokens), compared to those with Arabic equivalent counterparts (36, or 17% out of 212 tokens). By contrast [+content] shifts occurred very infrequently, accounting for only 2% (5 + 1) of the total tokens. The 6 cited [+content] instances occurred in the translations of three high-manner verbs (*inch, creep,* and *crawl*) and one low-manner verb (*run*).

Content renderings	**Non-explicitational**	**Implicitational**	**Explicitational**	**omissions**	**Total**
Verbs with equivalents	171 (81%)	23 (11%)	5 (2%)	13 (6%)	212
Zero-equivalent verbs	0	29 (57%)	15 (29%)	7 (14%)	51
Total	**171 (65%)**	**52 (20%)**	**20 (8%)**	**20 (8%)**	**263**

Table 5–6 Explicitation status across verb categories

- With respect to the relationship between the verb categories and the explicitation status, a chi-square test of independence (using the values shown in Table 5–6 as a 2 X 4 contingency table) returned a result of $X^2 = 124.145$ ($p < 0.05$).

This means that there is a relation between the type of shift in terms of explicitation and the verb category. This is clear in the table above, which shows that the majority of the verbs with Arabic equivalents (171 out of 212; 81%) are non-explicitational. On the other hand, the Arabic renderings of English zero-equivalent verbs are mostly implicitational (29 tokens out of 51; 57%).

- Table 5–6 also shows that about one-third of all the shifts included under the category of [–content] could not be traced to their respective contexts and are thus regarded as cases of omissions, decreasing the text's informativeness, rather than implicitations. On the other hand, [+content] shifts are all inter-textually recoverable and are thus explicitational. The tendency to tone down manner information could be attributed to the translator's style, but it could also be attributed to preferences, or norms relevant to the overall system of Arabic or the register of literary works. This is the concern of the third phase of the analysis (see Section 5.4 below), where these implicitational shifts may eventuate as registerially instantiated, i.e. being in conformity with registerial conventions, and thus registerially non-implicitational.

- As Table 5–6 shows, across the two verb categories, there are more cases of implicitation than explicitation (20% and 8%, respectively). Implicitations occurred in renderings of both zero-equivalent verbs and those with Arabic equivalents. Most of them were considered implicitational because the TT reader can still find clues to the deleted manner, while the renderings themselves represent a move down the cline of delicacy. The lower percentage of explicitations could be attributed to two main reasons. First, many of the most frequently used verbs have direct equivalents in Arabic, into which they were rendered. Second, there is a tendency on the part of the

translator to tone down rather than increase manner information. This is particularly pronounced with zero-equivalent verbs. The analysis in Phase 3 is expected to explain why this might be the case.

- As shown in an earlier table (Table 5–4), in cases of implicitation, across the two verb categories, there is a stronger tendency to translating manner of motion verbs into less expressive manner verbs than into no-manner verbs or no-motion realisations. The translator opts for less expressive manner verbs in 61% of the total 72 [–content] renderings. This could indicate that the translator is trying to preserve as much of the manner content as possible, particularly when dealing with zero-equivalent verbs, where such cases amount to 69% out of the total 36 [–content] renderings.

- Another pattern relating to implicitation (see Table 5–4) is that in the cases where the manner is dropped altogether, the translator opts more frequently for no-manner verbs (e.g. *advance*) than no-motion realisations (e.g. *hide*) with verbs that have Arabic equivalents, but the distribution was the other way round with zero-equivalent verbs. This can be attributed to inconsistency on the part of the translator in rendering motion verbs, which is more pronounced with zero-equivalent verbs.

- The distribution of all non-explicitations, explicitations, and implicitations (as shown in Table 5–6 above and displayed in Figure 5–1 below) suggests that manner of motion is less explicitly realised in the TT than in the ST. Note that the 8% omissions cannot be included in evaluating the level of explicitness in the TT as compared to the ST, because these decrease the text's informativeness rather than reduce its level of explicitness. In Phase 3, however, omissions and additions are

included in the analysis since these represent alternative realisations and because this phase is based on a comparison of ratios and proportions.

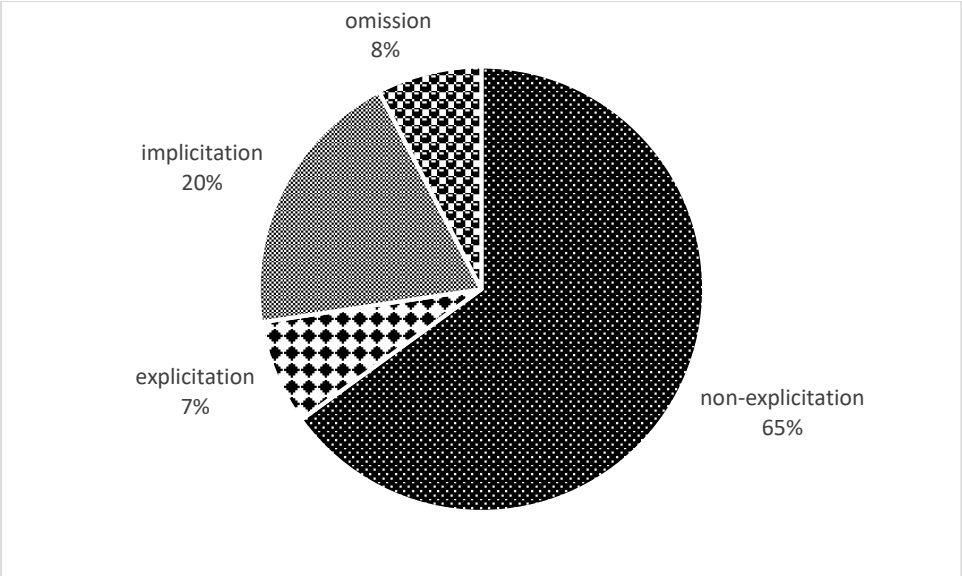

Figure 5–1 Distribution of TT renderings in terms of explicitation status

The inter-textual perspective illustrated in this section has been used for determining the explicitation status of individual shifts, and to reach a preliminary conclusion regarding the TT's level of explicitness relative to the ST. As noted above, Phases 1 and 2 involve different analytical procedures that have to be performed sequentially. The content analysis in Phase 1, although advantageous over previous models (in that it considers both shifts and non-shifts), is still not sufficient to single out the renderings that give rise to explicitation shifts and those that do not. Hence, Phase 2 sets out to determine the explicitation status of renderings on the basis of parameters (traceability, realisational congruency, and delicacy, as well as the availability of alternatives) that characterise the shifts/non-shifts as choices within the systemic potential of the language.

However, like many previous works in translation studies, this approach still pays no attention to the norms of the TL or possible preferences of speakers of the TL who are also readers of the translation. Without consideration of these issues, the preliminary conclusion that the TT is less explicit than the ST is incomplete. To explore these issues, Phase 3 of the proposed model assesses the TT in terms of registerial instantiation and, from this perspective, reassesses the implications of translational renderings on the TT's level of explicitness. Phase 3 investigates how shifts and non-shifts in content conform to or diverge from established patterns of instantiation in the TL respective register. I use the corpus described in the data section below to investigate the effect of the renderings analysed in Phases 1 and 2 from the vantage point of registerial congruency. The aim is to test the central assumption made in this thesis that the overall degree of explicitness in the TT cannot be inferred directly from the totality of explicitation shifts from the ST (as shown for example in Figure 5–1); that is, a preponderance of explicitational/implicitational renderings does not necessarily make the TT more/less explicit than respective non-translations in the TL.

5.4 Phase 3: Registerial instantiation

So far, I have looked at translational renderings from the standpoint of the ST as individual instances of renderings, considered as choices within the systemic potential of the TT, taking into consideration the availability of alternative TL choices (Phases 1 and 2). The approach adopted so far is partly new in that (1) it considers both shifts and non-shifts in translational renderings (i.e. between ST and TT) and (2)

content shifts do not necessarily correspond to shifts in explicitational status. For example, the above analysis of the case study demonstrates that reconstructing the same ideational content of a ST manner verb into the TT by means of unpacking is explicitational since it involves de-metaphorisation. Furthermore, it has been shown that [–content] shifts can be omissions that decrease the TT's informativeness, rather than implicitations, only the latter are subjected to explicitation analysis in Phase 2. However, there is still a need to see how translational instances in their entirety fit in the respective TL register. Examining the translation from the perspective of register may lead to a different conclusion regarding its degree of explicitness. I explore this possibility in the following analysis, which applies Phase 3 of the proposed model.

Phase 3 of the model adopts a macro-level perspective that looks at renderings as instantiations of register. Here I examine categories of cited instances and compare them with registerial conventions or preferences, rather than individually in comparison with their ST counterparts. This is in keeping with the overall SFL approach of the thesis, which views the text as an instance linked to the socio--cultural context in which it operates, rather than as an assembly of isolated lexicogrammatical constructions. The analysis in this phase is based on corpus-based investigations of authentic texts. These can provide insights into how the TL register manifests a 'division of labour' between or among different lexicogrammatical realisations of linguistic features/phenomena, e.g. whether literary texts in Arabic favour the use of manner of motion verbs or no-manner verbs. The intra-lingual macro-level analysis conducted at this phase compares frequencies of features of the TT identified in Phases 1 and 2 of the analysis, with a corpus of TL non-translations. The objective of this macro-level analysis is to determine the extent to which TT

renderings affect the level of explicitness of the TT (not as a whole, but in terms of a certain feature, in this case manner of motion), in comparison with non-translations.

5.4.1 Data and methods

The data for Phase 3 of the analysis, i.e. the investigation of the TT in comparison with non-translated Arabic texts, was extracted from the International Corpus of Arabic (Bibliotheca Alexandrina, 2013). The corpus covers numerous sources such as newspapers, web articles, books, and numerous genres including literature, sociology, politics, and sciences, among others. The total number of tokens in the corpus amounts to 65,000,000 words of written MSA. The literary sub-corpus that was used for this investigation has a total of 7,800,000 words comprising novels, short stories and plays published within the last 30 years. The website on which the corpus is hosted (http://www.bibalex.org/ica/en/about.aspx) provides several search options: Exact match, Lemma-based, and Root-based searches, in addition to other fine-grained search parameters such as gender, number, and country (Alansary and Nagi, 2014). One major limitation in the hosting website is that query returns cannot be downloaded or saved online, so I had to copy each screen of hits into Word files. In addition, the corpus size could be too small to provide reliable data; however, as already mentioned, the main aim of the thesis is to demonstrate the method's applicability.

Evaluating the TT's renderings against register-related non-translations in the TL was achieved by comparing frequencies of the renderings in specific categories in the TT with the frequencies of alternative realisations of the same categories in the corpus. I

analysed the corpus query returns to determine how the register of the literary sub-corpus manifests a division of labour between or among realisational alternatives in a specific category (e.g. furtive motion). This was used as the basis for evaluating the registerial status of the renderings of the same category and its effect on the level of explicitness of TT.

To this end, I adopted the following procedure:

I classified the 34 cited ST verbs into three main groups based on the basic type of motion, or motor pattern of motion that each verb encodes: run-verbs, jump-verbs and walk-verbs (Slobin, 2005). *Run*, *jump* and *walk* are three low-delicacy, superordinate verbs that realise low manner of motion content under which all the other cited verbs can be subsumed. For example, the verbs *rush* and *trot* can be subsumed under *run* as they both conflate rate of motion. The second group (i.e. *jump*) is the most straightforward since there are a limited number of synonymous manner of motion verbs in the ST (e.g. *leap, spring, vault***)**. The category of walk-verbs is the largest of the three, since walking is the default way of moving for humans (Cifuentes Férez, 2008); most English manner of motion verbs are defined in dictionaries as *walk* (or *move*) plus a Circumstance of manner (e.g. *stagger*: *walk or move unsteadily*). This categorization of the cited manner of motion verbs has two advantages: firstly, it avoids cluttering the research with too many statistics, and secondly it simplifies the comparisons between the TT and the corpus hits. Furthermore, and relevant to the basic tenet in the proposed model that a TT cannot be described as more/less explicit than non-translations in all aspects, it facilitates comparative analysis of the totality of renderings in a certain category. For example,

it may be found that jump-verbs contribute to more TT explicitness than *run-verbs,* in terms of manner of motion construal.

Then I chose sample verbs or sub-categories from each group for analysis and found the Arabic equivalents of those verbs (from bilingual dictionaries) because it would have been too time-consuming to filter the multitude of corpus returns for irrelevant instances of their Arabic counterparts, which could form the majority in the case of some verbs. Given the empirical nature of the previous phase of this research and because some verbs can belong to more than one basic type of motion (e.g. *rush* can be a run-verb or walk-verb), I made the selection based on specific manner details in addition to the frequency results from Phase 2. Table 5–7 shows the groups, sub-categories and ST corresponding Arabic verbs investigated in the first corpus query.

Sub-category	**Category**	**ST cited verbs**	**Arabic verbs**
Jumping motion	Jump-verbs	jump; leap	*قفز (/qafaza/ – jump) and وثب (/wathaba/ – jump/leap)*
Climbing motion	Walk-verbs	climb; clamber	*تسلق (/tasallaqa/ – climb)*
Furtive motion	Walk-verbs	sneak; steal; creep	*تسلل (/tasallala/ – sneak)* *انسل /insalla/. – sneak)*
Rapid motion	Run-verbs/ Walk-verbs	scurry; scramble; charge; hurry; race; rush; trot; run	*ركض (/rakaḍa/ – run); أسرع (/asraʿa/ – hurry, hasten); هرع (/haraʿa/ – hasten, hurry); اندفع (/indafaʿa/ – rush/dash); انطلق (/inṭalaqa/ – dart, dash); هرول (/harwala/ – trot); جرى (/jarā/ – jog, trot)*

Table 5–7 Categories of manner of motion verbs used in the corpus queries

However, the results obtained from the corpus queries of the sample Arabic verbs above cannot be directly compared with the TT frequencies. This is because the frequency of a certain category in the TT could be attributed to a similar frequency in

the ST. That is, the ST itself could be peculiar in its use of specific manner of motion verbs. This could be checked by comparing the ST to a respective SL corpus, but this is not a necessary step here, as explained below; and besides would be impractical in view of the time and effort needed for such an undertaking. What is required at this point is an intra-corpus comparison in order to see how Arabic, specifically its literary register, embodies a division of labour between different mappings within a specific category of manner of motion. By investigating the corpus for alternative renderings, it is possible to reach conclusions regarding preferred realisations. Such conclusions, in the form of proportions or ratios, enable evaluation of the effect of translational instances on the TT. To this end, I undertook a second round of queries (for an intra-corpus comparison), applying the following procedures to determine the most probable TL alternatives for the manner of motion verbs in each category.

- If the manner in the Arabic verb can be encoded in a separate enhancing element derived from the verb itself, the intra-corpus comparison considered the verb itself and its derived forms (e.g. تسلل */tasallala/ – sneak and* متسللا */mutasallilan/ – sneakingly*). With some manner of motion verbs, the manner content can also be encoded in a separate enhancing element other than the derivational forms (e.g. تسلل */tasallala/ – sneak and* خفية */khifyatan/ – furtively*). Those forms were obtained by careful examination of the returns of the verb itself (obtained in the first query) and also by looking up synonyms. All identified enhancing forms were queried for frequency. The results pertaining to Arabic preferences with such verbs were used to evaluate the registerial explicitation effect of direct renderings and unpacked realisations (see for example Section 5.4.2.1).

- If the Arabic manner verb has a no-manner near-synonym that can be used interchangeably, the intra-corpus comparison considered the two verbs in order to determine which Arabic is more inclined towards. تسلق (*/tasallaqa/ – climb*) is the only cited verb that satisfies this condition (see Section 5.4.2.1). The results were used to determine registerial explicitation or implicitation because the renderings in this case are from manner to no-manner verbs or vice versa. If the verb also satisfied the first condition above, alternatives considered included unpacked realisations.

- With respect to implicitational renderings, whether of verbs that have a direct equivalent or not, the search for more/less explicit alternative realisations is not as straightforward. Such implicitations, as seen in the results obtained in the previous phase, can be realised by no-manner verbs, less expressive manner verbs, or even no-motion realisations. This variety of implicitational realisations makes it very difficult to pinpoint alternatives that shed light on the registerial status of the implicitations cited in the TT. A possible, but time-consuming, solution would be to search the corpus for low-manner and no-manner Arabic verbs that are known for their high frequencies (e.g. مشى */mashā/ – walk,* خرج */kharaja/ – exit*) and then to examine the returns to determine the percentage that is augmented with manner enhancements. This was the procedure I adopted, as described in Section 5.4.2.3).

A sampling frame was needed because the queries conducted returned large search hits. I used the research randomizer hosted at www.randomizer.org to generate sets of 50 instances each, using a number range that covers the total corpus returns for each query. Then I examined a number of sets, each time adding the total number of relevant instances and dividing by the number of sets until the last set added almost

nothing to the average (see Sinclair, 1999). The results of the corpus queries for a certain verb and its most probable alternative(s), selected based on the criteria above, were tested (against the total number of words in the corpus) for significance using chi-square test[1]. This provided insights into Arabic preferences for expressing manner of motion (e.g. expressing upward motion by means of manner of motion verbs or no-manner verbs), which contributed to the registerial evaluation of the renderings cited in the TT. To this end, I used the frequencies of the intra-corpus queries and compared these with the TT instances, by means of another chi-square test[2]. Note than instances of omission are also included in the analysis in Phase 3, since these represent alternative realisations and because this phase is based on a comparison of ratios and proportions.

5.4.2 Analysis: Registerial instantiation

In section 5.3 above, I looked at translation renderings as individual instances, comparing their experiential content with their ST counterparts, and the determination of explicitation status was based on context traceability, experiential congruency, and/or delicacy, in addition to the availability of TL alternatives. The investigation showed that the 65% of TT renderings (i.e. 171 out of 263; see Table 5–6) were non-explicitational, which was ascribed mainly to the availability of an Arabic counterpart for the verbs with the most cited tokens. Explicitations, implicitations, and omissions were found to account for 7%, 20%, and 8% respectively (See Table 5–6). The

1 To calculate the ratios representing the normalized frequencies of the Arabic verbs and to find whether they are significantly different, I used the Corpus Frequency Test Wizard, an online resource hosted at http://sigil.collocations.de/wizard.html.

2 I used the chi-square calculator for a simple 2x2 contingency table available at http://www.socscistatistics.com/tests/chisquare/Default2.aspx

investigation also revealed that the Arabic renderings of English zero-equivalent verbs were mostly implicitational (29 tokens out of 51; 57%) and that the explicitational cases (15 tokens out of 51, 29%) were manifested as unpacking. This tendency towards implicitation, rather than explicitation, was also observed in the renderings of the English verbs that have Arabic equivalents (see Section 5.3.4 above for a summary).

As explained above, in Phase 3 of the analysis, the aim is to evaluate the effect of the manner renderings on the TT in terms of their registerial congruency, i.e. with the preferences or conventions of TL register. The assumption to be tested is that there is no direct correspondence between the explicitation status of individual renderings and the level of registerial explicitness in the TT as a whole. To this end, the remainder of the chapter explores the registerial effect of the TT renderings. The focus is first (in Section 5.4.2.1) on non-explicitational renderings of verbs with equivalents, since they constituted the majority of renderings in the previous phase; this is followed, in Section 5.4.2.3, by an account of implicitational renderings for zero-equivalent verbs.

5.4.2.1 Verbs with equivalents: Non-explicitations

Jumping motion

Jump and *leap* are the only cited verbs in the jump-verbs group. In this section, I deal with these two verbs together for two reasons. Firstly, the main difference between the two verbs in English is not in the manner of motion, since they both construe low

manner of motion (i.e. the motor pattern). The verb *leap* encodes information about the distance (length or height) in addition to the manner that *jump* also encodes[1]. Secondly, their direct equivalents in Arabic, قفز (*/qafaza/ – jump)* and وثب (*/wathaba/ – leap*), are used interchangeably in MSA (Dawood, 2002, p. 187).

The first corpus query, for the lemmas[2] */qafaza/* and */wathaba/* was delimited to instances that are in the past tense and collocate with explicit information about direction or source of motion, since this is the case in most of the TT's instances. The corpus search returned 1,098 occurrences for */qafaza/* and 694 for */wathaba/*. The relevant instances amounted to 592 instances of */qafaza/* and 198 of */wathaba/*, a total of 790 relevant instances. This is only 44% of the total corpus hits because the two Arabic verbs were found to be used in other senses that are not relevant to the motion sense under investigation, such as *hasten to do, jump in place, increase rapidly*, in addition to their use with animals (some manner of motion verbs can be the default way of moving for certain animals, e.g. *snakes slide/slither*).

The second corpus query for alternative realisations of the two verbs followed the first of the procedures outlined above, i.e. the search was broadened to include corresponding enhancing elements derived from the two verbs (such as *jumping* or *leaping, see* Table 5–8 below). The rationale for this procedure is that Arabic is more inclined to encoding manner outside the verb; hence the first alternative that comes to mind is unpacking. This, as shown in the results of Phases 1 and 2, is often manifested as the enhancement of a low-manner verb or a no-manner verb using a

1 https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/leap
2 Corpas-Pastor (2008, cited in Zanettin, 2012) suggests that lemma counts yield more accurate statistics, especially with languages that have a rich morphology.

circumstantial construction or a non-finite hypotactic clause. For many of the cited verbs, the enhancing element is derived from the verb itself. In the case of */qafaza/* and */wathaba/*, unpacked agnates can be in the form of a verb of motion and any of three derivational realisations, as illustrated in Table 5–8 below. No other enhancement realisations, to the best of my knowledge, can construe the manner of jumping/leaping.

قافزا (/qāfizan – jumping) *واثبا (/wāthiban/ – leaping)* circumstantial accusative grammaticalized as an active participle (non-finite)	*قفزا (/qafzan/ – jumping)* *وثبا (/wathban/ – leaping)* circumstantial accusative grammaticalized as a gerund (non-finite)	*قفزة (/qafzatan/ – a jump)* *وثبة (/wathbatan/ – a leap)* cognate accusative grammaticalized as a noun
غادر، ركض، انطلق، هرع **قافزا** */ghādara/rakaḍa/ inṭalaqa/haraʿa/* ***qāfizan****/* leave/run/dash/hasten **jumping** ركض، نزل، قفز **واثبا** */rakaḍa/nazala/qafaza/* ***wāfizan/*** run/descend/ jump **leaping**	صعد، نزل، دخل، خرج **قفزا** */ṣaʿada/ nazala/ dakhala/ kharaja/* ***qafzan****/* ascend/descend/enter/exit **jumping** عبر، نزل، تقدم، جاء **قفزا** */ʿabara/nazala/taqaddama/jaʾa/* ***qafzan****/* cross/descend/proceed/come **jumping**	قفز **قفزة** */qafaza* ***gafzatan****/* jump a **jump** وثب **وثبة** */wathaba* ***wathbatan****/* leap a **leap**

Table 5–8 Alternative enhanced realisations of */qafaza/* and */wathaba/*

The corpus search for these derived forms retuned 396 concordances, but only 143 tokens were found to be relevant to the sense of motion under investigation (see Table 5–9 below). If we compare the corpus results for the total number of these three alternative realisations (143) and the number of verbal occurrences for */qafaza/* and */wathaba/* (790), we get a frequency of 18 pmw (per million word) for the unpacked options and 101 pmw for */qafaza/ and /wathaba/*, a statistically significant

difference (X^2=447.310, p<0.05). This result indicates that Arabic is far more inclined to encode the meaning of */qafaza/* and */wathaba/* as a verb rather than as an enhancement, a ratio of 5:1, calculated by dividing both quantities by the smaller quantity.

# relevant instances	*/qāfizan/ – jumping* (19 tokens) */wāthiban/ – leaping* (5 tokens)	*/qafzan/ – jumping* (20 tokens) */wathban/ – leaping* (29 tokens)	*/qafzatan/ – a jump* (34 tokens) */wathbatan/ – a leap* (36 tokens)
Total	143		

Table 5–9 Corpus frequencies of alternative enhanced realisations of */qafaza/* and */wathaba/*

As noted above, 7 instances of *jump* and 6 instances of *leap* were cited in the ST (see Table 5–2). Of these 13 instances, 11 are rendered as */qafaza/,* 1 instance as */wathaba/*, and there is 1 case of omission. The 12 TT textually-recoverable instances were regarded non-explicitational because of their interchangeable usage in Arabic. However, only 10 of those are in the past tense and collocate with explicit direction. To evaluate the effect of the non-explicitational renderings at the registerial level of instantiation, I compared these 10 TT instances with the corpus results obtained above, as shown in the following contingency table.

	TT	**corpus**
Verbal construal	10	790
Alternatives	0	143
Ratios	10:0	5:1

Table 5–10 Tokens of *qafaza* and alternatives in corpus and TT

The number in the alternatives row in this table refers to explicitation by means of unpacking in the corpus. In this case, because there are no such cases in the TT, I

used Fisher Exact test instead of Chi-square test. The comparison between the TT and corpus returned a statistic value of 0.374; $p < 0.05$. This difference is not statistically significant. What this means is that there is not enough data to prove that the non-explicitational renderings of *jump* and *leap* in the TT are registerially instantiated. Therefore, we cannot sustain that they have a different impact upon the reader than comparable readers of the same TL register.

The ratios in the table above might suggest that rendering English jump-verbs into their Arabic direct equivalents would not have explicitational/implicitational effects on the TT as compared with non-translations. On the other hand, unpacking such verbs into augmented constructions could have explicitational effects on the TT as compared with non-translations. However, since the results above pertain to a small sample of only one category of verb, further evaluation of additional verbs is required to demonstrate the more general validity of these conclusions. Ideally, the verbs investigated should be low-manner verbs and have equivalent Arabic counterparts, as is the case with */qafaza/* and */wathaba/*. To this end, I investigate the verbs مشى (*/mashā/*) and سار (*/sāra/*), which both mean *walk*. These two verbs, according to *A Frequency Dictionary of Arabic* (Buckwalter and Parkinson, 2011) are the most frequently used Arabic manner of motion verbs. This investigation is presented in Section 5.4.2.3, where I look at cases of implicitation.

Climbing motion

Climb is a walk-verb that conflates both manner and direction of motion. The ST instances *of climb were* mostly rendered as تسلق (*/tasallaqa/ – climb*) in the TT. The alternative realisation queried in the corpus was صعد (*/ṣaʿada/ – ascend*), a near-

synonymous no-manner of motion verb in Arabic that can replace */tasallaqa/* in almost all contexts and with the same collocates. The verb */ṣaʿada/* conflates the direction of motion but not its manner.

The first corpus query returned 844 concordances for */tasallaqa/*, of which 557 occurrences were designated relevant to the sense of motion under investigation (verbs that construe self-initiated locomotion on land, resulting in change of location of a human Actor). The second corpus query, for the near-synonym no-manner verb */ṣaʿada/* returned 3,940 hits, that is about five times more than for */tasallaqa/*. Using the above sampling frame (see Section 5.4.1) relevant tokens amounted to around 2750. If we compare these with the corpus hits of */tasallaqa/*, we get a normalised frequency of 71 pmw for */tasallaqa/* and 353 pmw for */ṣaʿada/*. The frequency of */tasallaqa/* is about five times lower than that of */ṣaʿada/,* and the difference is statistically significant (X^2 = 1,453.263; p < 0.05). This suggests that Arabic favours the use of */ṣaʿada/*, a no-manner verb, to */tasallaqa/*, a high-manner of motion verb. This could further suggest that Arabic makes more use of no-manner of motion verbs when there is an option to choose either a manner verb or a no-manner verb.

In the ST, there are 35 tokens of *climb* (see Table 5–2), of which 30 are translated into non-explicitational renderings realised as تسلق *(/tasallaqa/ – climb*), which is the Arabic direct equivalent of *climb*. The other 5 renderings are implicitations manifested mainly by no-manner verbs (see Table 5C in the Appendix). Thus a manner verb:no-manner verb ratio of 1:5 in the corpus compares with a ratio of 6:1 in the TT (see Table 5–11 below). Comparing the intra-corpus frequencies with those of the TT revealed that this difference is statistically significant (X^2 = 113.455; p < 0.05). This

suggests that most of the 30 non-explicitational instances in the TT are not registerially instantiated. Given that the alternative rendering is less explicit, the highly frequent use of */tasallaqa/* in the TT points towards a more explicit TT relative to TL non-translations.

	TT	**Corpus**
Verbal construal	30	557
Alternatives	5	2,750
Ratios	6 : 1	1 : 5

Table 5–11 Tokens of */tasallaqa/* and alternatives in corpus and TT

Furtive motion

The ST verbs that express furtive motion are *sneak, steal,* and *creep*. These high-manner verbs translate into the Arabic تسلل */tasallala/* or انسل */insalla/*. One reason why these Arabic verbs were chosen for further investigation, besides their high frequency in the TT, is that the manner content can be construed in several circumstantial and non-finite realisations (see below). The lemma query for */tasallala/* returned 1,342 hits, of which 498 results were relevant to the sense being investigated (irrelevant instances include examples like *Sunlight/perfume/fear/sickness sneaked*). The search for the other Arabic verb */insalla/* returned 431 instances, of which 145 tokens were found relevant. The relevant instances of the two verbs were observed to fall into two categories, with or without circumstantial augmentation. In 65% of tokens (330 instances of */tasallala/* and 90 of */insalla/*, i.e. a total of 420 instances), the verbs are used without manner augmentation, but the clauses often include location circumstances (both place and time) that indirectly relate to the sneaking manner, as in *sneak at night/ through the window/in the dark/into a hole/up the back stairs*, etc.

The remaining 35% (168 instances of */tasalla*la and 55 of */insalla/*, i.e. 223 in total) were instances of */tasallala/* and */insalla/* that are further augmented with manner Circumstances that construe furtive manner of motion, e.g. تسلل خفية (*/tasallala khifyatan/ – sneak furtively*).

The second corpus query involved a search for all possible derived realisations of */tasallala/* and */insalla/* (which in Arabic vary in terms of number and gender: */mutasallilan/, /mutasallilatan/, /mutasallilīn/, etc.,* all mean *furtively*), and then for a list of other *sneaking*-related circmustances. The list, which I drew up from augmented hits I obtained in my first query of */tasallala/*and */insalla/* above, included several prepositional phrases and adverbs. Those are shown in Table 5–12 below with their respective corpus frequencies.

Circumstantial realisation	**No of hits**	**No. relevant tokens**
متسللا، متسللة، متسللين *(/mutasallilan/, /mutasallilatan/, /mutasallillīn/ – sneakingly)*	86	56
بخفة *(/bikhiffatin/ – secretively)*	334	29
خفية *(/khifyatan/ – stealthily)*	877	70
مستخفيا *(/mustakhfiyan/ – disguising)*	32	15
خلسة *(/khilsatan/ – furtively)*	494	140
في غفلة من *(/fī ghaflatin min/ – in a covert way)*	223	12
على رؤوس الأصابع *(/ʿalā ruʾūsi al-ʾaṣābiʿ/ – on tiptoes)*	202	50
لواذا *(/liwādhan/ – furtively)*	9	5
سرا *(/sirran/ – secretly)* في السر *(/fī al–sir/ – secretly)*	1,538	65
Total relevant tokens		**442**

Table 5–12 Corpus queries of *sneaking* circumstances

Corpus queries thus returned 420 relevant instances of non-augmented *verbs* and 442 relevant instances of manner and no-manner verbs augmented with enhancing

elements realizing the meaning of sneaking. The latter could of course be more, given that the enhancing element could be construed in other literal and figurative realisations, such as *(without somebody noticing, like a mouse, behind my back*, etc.). Based on these frequencies, the difference between the frequencies of occurrence of these two renderings of furtive motion was not statistically significant (X^2 = 0.511 at p< 0.05). This suggests that there is not enough data to prove Arabic's inclination to either of the two realisations in construing furtive motion in Arabic literature, i.e. verbal and augmented realisations.

In the analysis of explicitation status, 15 (out of 21) renderings of furtive motion were found to be non-explicitational because they are direct equivalents of the ST verbs, i.e. renderings employing non-augmented */tasallala/* (see Table 5B and Table 5C in the Appendix). The other renderings were implicitational (5 instances) and explicitational (1 instance). Because only the explicitational instance is manifested by unpacking, the ratio is 15:1 in the TT compared to an intra-corpus ratio of 1:1 (see Table 5–13 below). This difference is statistically significant (X^2 =12.739; p< 0.05). Considering the ratio of verbal to augmented alternatives in the corpus (i.e. 1:1), we might say (very cautiously though, given the division of labour was found not statistically significant) that about half of the verbal instances in the TT could concord with registerial expectations, i.e. they could be registerially non-explicitational. The other half are thus not registerially instantiated; because they were not unpacked, they contribute to a less explicit TT relative to TL non-translations.

	TT	**Corpus**
Verbal construal	15	420
Alternatives	1	442
Ratios	**15 : 1**	**1 : 1**

Table 5–13 Tokens of */tasallala/* and enhanced alternatives in corpus and TT

Rapid motion

This sub-category includes run-verbs and walk-verbs but I dealt with them together here because they encode fast rate of motion. The cited English verbs are *charge*, *hurry*, *race*, *rush*, *trot*, and *run*. The Arabic verbs that denote fast rate of motion are shown in Table 5–14, together with English meanings, specific manner details, and the filtered results of the corpus queries for those verbs.

Verb	Manner details	Relevant tokens
ركض *(/rakaḍa/ – run)*	low-manner (run-verb)	1,107
أسرع *(/asraʿa/ – hurry, hasten)*	High-manner (walk or run): increasing rate of motion	1,323
هرع *(/haraʿa/ – hasten, hurry)*	High-manner (walk or run): increasing rate of motion; state of Actor: afraid, worried	566
اندفع *(/indafaʿa/ – burst, rush, hurtle)*	High-manner (walk or run): increasing rate of motion; fast and violent motion	372
انطلق *(/inṭalaqa/ – dart, dash, bolt)*	High-manner (walk or run): increasing rate of motion; fast and violent motion	1,042
هرول *(/harwala/ – trot)*	High-manner (walk or run): Slow rate of motion; move nimbly	507
جرى *(/jarā/ – jog, trot)*	High-manner (run-verb): run at a slow pace	93
Total		**5,041**

Table 5–14 Arabic verbs of rapid motion

In the second corpus investigation, I conducted a query of the adverbials and prepositional phrases that can encode fast rate of motion. These adverbials and phrases are accusatives derived from the verbs above. As Table 5–15 below shows, these queries returned 2,539 relevant tokens. The adverbials and prepositional phrases were found with many manner and no-manner verbs, such as *came back,*

came, dashed, ran way, jumped, entered, exited, rushed, and walked, among several others. Comparing this result with returns for the verbs (5,041), the difference was found statistically significant (X^2 = 825.599; p< 0.05). What this means is that fast rate of motion is more frequently construed as a verb than in unpacked alternatives, by a ratio of 2 to 1.

Adverbials and prepositional phrases	**No. relevant tokens**
Lemma مسرعا (/musriʿan / – fast) accusative	1,615
بسرعة/ في سرعة (/bi-surʿatin/ fī-surʿatin/ – quickly, fast) prep. ph.	596
Lemma مهرولا (/muharwilan/ – trotting) accusative	160
Lemma مندفعا (/mundafiʿan/ – rushing) accusative	44
Lemma راكضا (/rākiḍan / – running) accusative	74
ركضا (/rakḍan/ – running) accusative	24
جريا (/jaryan/ – running) accusative	13
جاريا (/jāriyan/ – running) accusative	13
Total	**2,539**

Table 5–15 Arabic adverbials and prepositional phrases of rapid motion

In the ST, the instances of the English verbs that encode fast rate of motion amounted to 78 tokens (i.e. tokens of *charge*, *hurry*, *race*, *rush*, *trot*, and *run* in Table 5–2). The cited instances were rendered into equivalent manner of motion verbs (62 instances), or less expressive manner and no-manner verbs (16 instances). In terms of the explicitation status of those instances, the 62 direct renderings are non-explicitational, and the remainder are either implicitations or omissions. To evaluate the effect of the non-explicitational renderings at the registerial level of instantiation, I compared the corpus results for the verbs and adverbials/prepositional phrases that denote fast rate of motion with those in the TT; that is, the 62 direct renderings and zero unpacked instances, as shown in the following contingency table.

	TT	corpus
Verbal construal	62	5,041
Alternatives	0	2,539
Ratios	**62:1**	**2 : 1**

Table 5–16 Tokens of rapid motion verbs and alternatives in corpus and TT

Thus a verb:alternative ratio of 62:1 in the TT compared to an intra-corpus ratio of 2:1. The difference is statistically significant (X^2 = 31.100; p< 0.05). This means the verbal realisations in the TT, which were found in Phase 2 to be non-explicitational, are not all registerially instantiated. Given that the alternative rendering is more explicit than the verbal realisation, the highly frequent use of fast rate of motion verbs in the TT suggests that in this respect the TT is less explicit than TL non-translations. More specifically, based on the ratio of verbal to unpacked alternatives in the corpus (i.e. 2:1), around one-third of the TT verbal tokens expressing fast rate of motion would need to be unpacked for the TT to concord with registerial expectations in the TL.

5.4.2.2 Summary of the registerial effect of non-explicitational renderings

The analysis and discussion in the last four subsections focused on the renderings of verbs with equivalents that were found to be non-explicitational in Phase 2 because these constituted the vast majority of renderings in each case. In three cases (i.e. jumping motion, furtive motion, and fast motion), the non-explicitational direct renderings were compared with explicitational unpacked alternatives. In the case of climbing motion, the comparison was with a less specific near-synonym of تسلق

(/tasallaqa/ – climb). The table below sums up the results from the previous subsections, showing the registerial effect of the non-explicitational renderings cited for the four motion categories.

Verb	No. tokens	Explicitation status	Registerial effect
Jumping motion	10	Non-explicitational	Non-explicitational
Furtive motion	15	Non-explicitational	Half non-explicitational, half implicitational
Rapid motion	62	Non-explicitational	Two-thirds non-explicitational, one-third implicitational
Climbing motion	30	Non-explicitational	Explicitational

Table 5–17 Inter-textual explicitation status vs. registerial effect of four motion categories

This table is based on the ratios found for the corpus queries and how those compare with the ratios in the TT. Although these results are based on corpus queries and statistical tests, the conclusions regarding similarities or differences between explicitational status and registerial effect of the TT must still be regarded as tentative, except perhaps with respect to the climbing and jumping categories. In the case of climbing, the alternative rendering used in the comparison, i.e. the no-manner verb صعد (*/ṣaʿada/ – ascend*) is a very strong candidate for use in the translation because climbing is rarely expressed in other realisations, for example, as a Circumstance. With respect to jumping, the only alternative way to express the jumping content is through unpacking, i.e. as an enhancing Circumstance, but it was found that Arabic is far more inclined to encode the meaning of *jumping* directly as a verb. On the other hand, in the case of rapid motion and furtive motion, unpacking is not the only alternative option. Other realisations are possible, but these involve

either [+content] or [–content] shifts. For example, Phase 1 identified a number of [–content] renderings of the fast motion verbs, which were realised in the TT both as low-manner of motion verbs, namely مشى (*/mashā/*) and سار (*/sāra/*), which can both be translated as *walk*, and no-manner of motion verbs, such as عاد (*/ʿāda/ – return*), لحق (*/laḥiqa/ – follow*), دار (*/dāra/ – circle*), and تراجع (*/tarājaʿa/ – retreat*).

In which cases do translators opt for a [–content] rendering when there exists a direct TL equivalent? In fact, as demonstrated above, Arabic has a rich reservoir of verbs, adverbials, and prepositional phrases that can construe rapid motion. Considering the relevant instances and their renderings, two possible explanations are possible. Firstly, the translator tends (although inconsistently) to conflate path in the verb and dispense with manner when confronted with a ST construction consisting of a manner verb and an adverbial that denotes direction. For example, *run after* is rendered as لحق (*/laḥiqa/ – follow*) and *run back* as عاد (*/ʿāda/ – return*). The second possible explanation relates specifically to renderings of one particular rapid motion verb, *trot*, whose 11 [–content] renderings constitute 55% of the total [–content] renderings of rapid motion verbs and 31% of the total [–content] renderings of all the verbs that have equivalent Arabic counterparts (i.e. 11 out of 36). In the 11 [–content] instances of *trot*, the translator opts 7 times for مشى (*/mashā/ – walk*) or سار (*/sāra/ – walk*), and once for each of عدى (*/ʿadā/ – run*), صعد (*/ṣaʿada/ – ascend*), تمشى (*/tamash-shā/ – stroll*), and تراجع (*/taraja ʿa/ – retreat*). What is interesting about these instances is that most of them (7 out of 11) were classified as omissions rather than implicitations. It seems that the translator is trying, although inconsistently and for no obvious reason, to avoid using the verb هرول (*/harwala/ – trot*), even though this verb is frequently used in TL non-translations and returned 507 corpus hits. The argument

I am trying to advance here is that the translator's choice of [–content] renderings in the case of verbs with equivalents in general, and rapid motion in particular, is not justified because these verbs can translate into frequently used, direct Arabic counterparts. Opting for these Arabic counterparts would avoid the reduced explicitness of the TT relative to TL non-translations resulting from the presence of the 36 [–content] renderings (implicitations or omissions) of verbs with equivalents.

5.4.2.3 Zero-equivalent verbs: Implicitations

The procedure adopted for investigating the registerial effect of non-explicitational renderings was based on searching the corpus for the equivalent Arabic verbal counterparts and alternative realisations, mainly through unpacking. However, with implicitation (and explicitation for that matter), particularly in the case of zero-equivalent verbs, it is impractical to apply this procedure, since there are a large number of possible alternative translations within the systemic potential of the language. For example, the verb *edge* ("*to move slowly with gradual movements or in gradual steps"*[1]), does not translate equivalently as one verb in Arabic but has to be translated as a low-manner verb (e.g. *walk*) or a no-manner verb (e.g. *proceed, move*) and a Circumstance of manner (e.g. *slowly, gradually, unhurriedly*). The question is whether Arabic, specifically the literary genre, prefers to suffice with such general verbs as *walk* (a low-manner verb) and *move* (a no-manner verb) or to further augment them with manner Circumstances.

1 https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/edge

Answering this question requires a corpus that can be searched for complex syntactic patterns comprising a verb and an adverbial or prepositional phrase. This was not possible in the corpus used for this investigation. One option would be to look up general motion verbs alone (i.e. low-manner and no-manner verbs) without manner Circumstances; however manual filtering of these results would be time consuming because these verbs occur with very high frequency in Arabic. For example, the low-manner verb مشى */mashā/* and its *synonym* سار */sāra/* (both are direct equivalents of walk) retuned around 19,400 hits. This is too many to be filtered manually, first for relevant motional senses and then for occurrences with or without manner Circumstances. Therefore, I conducted a search limited to the past tense of the two verbs and investigated a sample of the tokens, using the sampling frame described in Section 5.4.1. The corpus queries returned 2899 hits for the verb */mashā/* and 5858 for the verb */sāra/* out of 7,800,000 words in the corpus. The relevant motion instances of */mashā/* amounted to around 1,800 and those of */sāra/* to around 3,500. Of these, only 207 tokens of */mashā/* and 155 tokens of */sāra/* are augmented with manner of motion Circumstances. This accounts for only 7% of the total motion tokens of the two verbs. This result is similar to those for قفز (*/qafaza/ – jump/leap*), which is also a low-manner of motion verb, and for rapid-motion verbs, where in all cases verbal construal was found more frequent than enhanced realisation.

Similar results might be expected for no-manner of motion verbs, especially those that are highly frequent in Arabic, such as جاء (*/jāʾa/ – come*), ذهب (*/dhahaba/ – go*), دخل (*/dakhala/ – enter*), رجع (*/rajaʿa/ – return*), etc. These verbs rank amongst the highest in *A Frequency Dictionary of Arabic* (Buckwalter and Parkinson, 2011, p. 124). Due to time and space limitations, I briefly examined only two of those verbs,

i.e. خرج (*/kharaja/ – exit*) and دخل (*/dakhala/ – enter*). The corpus query results for the two lemmas, limited to the past tense, were 13,264 and 9,999 hits, respectively. Looking at the first 500 hits for each, I only found 6 and 5 instances of manner enhanced realisations for */kharaja/* and /*dakhala/*, respectively. Although they addressed only four verbs, the results of these corpus queries provide further evidence that Arabic is inclined to disregard specific manner details when employing low-manner verbs (e.g. *walk* and *jump*) and no manner verbs (e.g. *exit, enter*). These results thus provide a useful frame of reference for assessing the registerial status of the [–content] shifts in renderings of the English zero-equivalent verbs in the TT. Table 5–18 sums up the results from Phases 1 and 2.

Zero-equivalent verbs – Total tokens: 51			
Explicitations	**Implicitations & omissions**		
Unpacking	**No-manner motion verb**	**Less expressive manner verbs**	**No-motion realisations**
15	4	25	7
29%	71%		

Table 5–18 Explicitation status of renderings of zero-equivalent verbs

In Phase 1, I found 51 tokens zero-equivalent verbs in the ST. In the TT, 15 (29%) of their renderings were explicitational, manifested by unpacking. The remaining 36 (71%) renderings were implicitational shifts and omissions (see Table 5–6). Based on the results obtained from the corpus for the low-manner */mashā/* and */sāra/* (*walk*) and the no-manner verbs */kharaja/* (*exit)* and */dakhala/* (*enter*), only a small portion of the tokens could be in the form of augmented realisations. In Table 5–18, it can be seen that the augmented instances make 29% of the tokens. This suggests that the explicitational strategy of unpacking will lead to shifts that are not registerially instantiated, and will thus have the same effect at the registerial level; adding to the

explicitness of the TT in comparison with TL non-translations. By contrast, the 71% implicitations and omissions will not have the same effect at the registerial level of instantiation. In fact, these could be registerially instantiated renderings as they are more in line with the Arabic preference toward low-manner and no-manner realisations, again based on the results above. Thus, the effect at the registerial level would be non-explicitational. In short, translating zero-equivalent verbs by means of unpacking would in most cases result in renderings that are explicitational both inter-textually and registerially. On the other hand, translating such verbs using reduced-manner or no-manner alternatives, regardless of lexicogrammatical realisation, will result in renderings that are inter-textually implicitational but registerially non-implicitational. Further research is needed to confirm this finding based on more detailed corpus analysis.

In summary of Phase 3, it can also be tentatively concluded, given that there are more registerial implicitations than explicitations or non-explicitations (based on Table 5–17 and the results in the previous paragraph), that the TT is generally less explicit than registerially-relevant non-translations.

5.5 Final remarks

This chapter has presented a case study with the aim of testing the proposed model for investigating both explicitation and implicitation as translational shifts and explicitness and implicitness as text features. I adopted an empirical approach for analysis of the TT, compared firstly with its ST (Phases 1 and 2 of the model) and secondly with register-related (i.e. literary) non-translations (Phase 3). Phases 1 and

2 examined the translation of English manner of motion verbs into Arabic and the translation shifts (and non-shifts) in renderings of these verbs, with the aim of identifying content shifts (Phase 1) and determining the explicitation status (Phase 2) of individual instances. I found that most renderings denoted equal content (see Table 5–3). This was mainly due to availability of equivalent Arabic counterparts for more than half of the verbs investigated, including those with the highest frequencies, such as *walk*, *climb,* and *run*. It was also a result of the procedure adopted, which classifies as [=content] renderings those that maintain the same experiential content through direct rendering, rewording and un/packing. With regard to renderings with increased or decreased content, I found that such shifts were caused by opting for more or less expressive or more or less specific realisations of the semantics of the ST elements.

The analysis conducted in Phase 2 of the analysis provided further insights into the explicitation status of content renderings. Most importantly, it was concluded that Arabic renderings of the majority of the verbs with Arabic equivalents were non-explicitational while those of English zero-equivalent verbs were mostly implicitational (see Table 5–6). Phase 3 tested the assumption that TT renderings do not necessarily have the same explicitational effect in terms of instantiation as they do in terms of realisation. To this end, I made use of a corpus of Arabic literary non-translations to compare the frequency and distribution of the manner renderings in the TT with those of specific manner encodings in the corpus. The results of the corpus investigation provided support for the assumption. Some renderings had the same non-explicitational status both inter-textually and registerially; whereas in other cases inter-textual non-explicitations led to increased explicitness at the register

level. Similarly, some shifts that were classified as implicitational at the inter-textual level had a non-implicitating effect at the registerial level. Thus, the same translated text may have a different effect on the level of explicitness in relation to the source text (inter-textually) than in comparison with TL non-translations (registerially).

As mentioned earlier, Phase 1 is intended to showcase the importance of including non-shifts in the analysis of translated texts. Phase two, with the parameters of realisational congruency and delicacy, as well as the availability of alternatives, characterises the shifts/non-shifts as choices within the systemic potential of the language. Phase 3 acknowledges the different perspectives from which we need to approach linguistic features related to explicitation.

In conclusion, it is important to say that the main purpose of the case study was to illustrate the application of the proposed model. The results presented in this chapter are tentative, firstly because in some cases I have suggested general conclusions based on a small number of verbs and TT occurrences and, secondly, because the limitations of the corpus made it difficult to search for complex structures in non-translations for comparison with the TT.

6 A CASE STUDY OF CAUSE CONSTRUAL IN ARABIC–ENGLISH TRANSLATION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a second case study aimed at testing the SFL-based model proposed in Chapter 4 for evaluating explicitation-related phenomena in translation. The study presented here focuses on cause construal in English social science texts translated from Arabic, using Abu Sulayman's (1991) أزمة العقل المسلم – *Azmat al-ʿaql al–Muslim* and its English translation *The Crisis in the Muslim Mind* by Yusuf DeLorenzo (1993; see Section 6.4.1 below). I chose the topic of cause construal as a case relevant to explicitation-related phenomena in translation for several reasons, which are outlined in Section 6.2 below. In applying the proposed model, the study comprises three phases, each with a methodology of its own. However, as in the previous chapter, in the analysis sections in this case study, Phases 1 and 2 are dealt with together for space considerations. In the first two phases, translational instances are looked at in comparison with their ST counterparts and other TL agnates. Phase 3 uses a social sciences sub-corpus of BNC comprising 8,655,486 words to investigate the influence that the translational instances cited in the previous phases may have on the TT's level of explicitness/implicitness in comparison with English non-translations that deal with similar topics.

6.2 Cause Construal

In this study, I am concerned with the causal enhancement type of expansion within the clause transitivity structure (clause simplexes; cause construed in a Circumstance, the Process, or a Participant), between clauses (clause complexes with conjunctions such as *so, for, because*), and between clause complexes and stretches of texts (cohesive sequences with conjunctives such as *therefore, thus, as a result*). (For further explanation, see Subsections 6.2.1–6.2.3 below.)

Cause is a logico-semantic relationship of enhancement that shows the reason, result, or purpose of an event or action (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). This relationship can be realised (1) experientially, at the clause rank, in which case it is encoded by (a) a Circumstance (e.g. *because of*), (b) the Process (e.g. *caused, resulted in*) or (c) a Participant (e.g. *the cause/reason*). Cause can also be realised (2) logically, marked by (a) a structural conjunction (e.g. *for*, *so, in order to*) or (b) a non–finite verb (e.g. *resulting in*). Finally, cause can be realised (3) textually, marked by (a) a non–structural conjunction, or conjunctive adjunct (e.g. *therefore*, *as a result*) or (b) a zero-conjunctive, i.e. as in juxtaposed clauses. In this study I refer to these three different types of realisation as ‘ranks’ or ‘domains’. See below for a more detailed illustration of cause construal in English and Arabic.

I chose the topic of cause construal for investigation in this case study for three main reasons. Firstly I wanted the second case study to deal with a genre that was distinctly different from the literary genre examined in Chapter 5 and had identified as suitable a book from the genre of social sciences, in which the author uses an

argumentative, persuasive style. Cause was a suitable topic for investigation of this text, since such a style is greatly reliant on showing reasons and explaining results and purposes. According to SFL, different languages and genres differ in instantiating semantic meanings (Matthiessen, 2014c), which could influence the way translators express causal relations and require that research take account of such differences when investigating translations. Secondly, cause is suitable for a study of explicitational phenomena. Cause can be expressed at different ranks and within different metafunctions, from group to clause to clause complex, and even to longer stretches of text (see below), and translational renderings involving such rank or metafunctional shifts can have explicitational or implicitational effects on the TT. For example, a shift from the experiential to the logical mode of ideation can involve unpacking of the content of a clause simplex (e.g. *her ignorance of the rules caused her to die*; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p. 673) into a clause complex (e.g. *she didn't know the rules, so she died* or *because she didn't know the rules, she died*; Ibid, p. 673). This process of unpacking explicitates the logico-semantic relation by means of an explicit conjunction (*so* and *because* respectively). In the remainder of this section, I illustrate causal realisation in English and Arabic (See, for example, Fattah, 2010; Bardi, 2008). The English examples are taken from Halliday and Matthiessen (2014).

6.2.1 Clause simplex: Experiential cause construal

The clause simplex corresponds to the experiential metafunction in SFL. Experientially, “the clause construes a quantum of change in the flow of events as a figure, or a representation of experience in the form of a configuration, consisting of a Process, Participants taking part in this Process, and associated Circumstances” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999 p. 52). A figure is a unit on the stratum of semantics that corresponds to the rank of clause on the stratum of lexicogrammar. The attendant Circumstances, if there are any, expand the clause by means of elaboration, extension, or enhancement (see Section 3.4.1). Cause, the focus of this case study, belongs to the enhancement type of expansion. Grammatical opportunities for construing cause experientially, that is, at the rank of the clause simplex, include the following realisations:

(1) As a Circumstance: Cause is marked by a preposition or an adverbial expression, e.g.

English: cause marked by the prep. ***due to***	Her death was **due to** ignorance of the rules
Arabic: cause marked by the prep. /***li***/ ***– for***	توقف البث **لأسباب** فنية */tawaqqafa al-baththu li-asbābin fanniyyatin/* Broadcasting was halted **for** technical reasons (adapted from Ryding 2005, p. 371)

(2) In the Process: Cause is marked by the verb, e.g.

English: cause marked by the verb ***caused***	Her ignorance of the rules **caused** her death
Arabic: cause marked by the verb /***yusabbib***/ **– *causes***	الهاتف المحمول **يسبب** الأرق */al-hātifu al-maḥmūlu yusabbibu al-ʾaraqa/* The mobile phone **causes** insomnia (Bardi, 2010: 354)

(3) In a Participant: Cause is marked by the head noun in a nominal group, e.g.

English: cause marked by the noun ***cause***	The **cause** of her death was her ignorance of the rules
Arabic: cause marked by the noun /***sabab***/ **– *the reason***	**السبب** في فشله هو موقفه السلبي *al-sababu fī fashalihi huwa mawqifuhu al-salbiy/* The **reason** for his failure was his negative attitude (my example)

6.2.2 Clause complex: Logical cause construal

The clause simplex corresponds to the logical metafunction in SFL. In a clause complex, two figures are realised in a sequence (the semantic unit that corresponds with the lexicogrammatical rank of clause complex). Specifically two clause simplexes are linked or bound by a Relator. In SFL, the Relators used in such clause complexes are referred to as structural conjunctions. In this study, I will refer to them simply as conjunctions. A distinction can be made between paratactic clause complex and hypotactic clause complex, as illustrated in the following examples:

(1) Paratactic clause complex: Two clauses of equal semantic status construe one figure each, with the latter providing enhancing information about the cause or effect of the first. The two clauses are related by a paratactic conjunction, e.g.

English: cause marked by the conjunction ***so*** or ***for***	She didn't know the rules, **so** she died
	She died **for** she didn't know the rules
Arabic: cause marked by the conjunction /***fa***/ **– *so*** or /***idh***/–**for**	بذل كل ما في وسعه **ف**حصل على نتيجة ممتازة */badhala kulla mā fī wusʿihi fa-ḥaṣala ʿalā natījatin mumtāza/* He did his best, **(*fa*) so** he achieved excellent results (my example)
	حقق الحزب الجمهوري نصرا ساحقا على منافسيه **إذ** حصل على معظم المقاعد */ḥaqqaqa al-ḥizbu al-jumhūriyyu naṣran ṣāḥiqan ʿalā munāfisīhi idh ḥaṣala ʿalā muʿdhami al-maqāʿid/* The ruling republican party realised an overwhelming victory over its opponents (***idh***) **for** it obtained most of the seats (Ryding, 2005, p. 412)

(2) Hypotactic clause complex: In this case the two clauses are of unequal semantic status: one (or lesser status) provides the cause of the other. The Relator binding the two clauses is a hypotactic conjunction, e.g.

English: cause marked by the conjunction ***because***	**Because** she didn't know the rules, she died.
Arabic: cause marked by /***liʾannahu***/ **– because**	حصل على نتيجة ممتازة لأنه بذل كل ما في وسعه (my example) */ḥaṣala ʿalā natījatin mumtāzatin li-ʾannahu badhala kulla mā fī wusʿih/* He achieved excellent results (***li'annahu***) **because** he did his best effort

(3) Non-finite hypotactic clause complex: The cause Relator is left implicit as a result of using the non-finite form of the verb in the secondary clause, e.g.

English: cause not marked	Not knowing the rules, she died.
Arabic: cause not marked	إنما أبكي **خوفا** من الحب */innamā abkī khawfan mina al-ḥub/* I am only crying fearing (**for fear of)** love (Cantarino, 1975a, p. 173)

6.2.3 Cohesive sequence: Textual cause construal

The cohesive sequence corresponds to the textual metafunction in SFL. It is a textual relationship that holds between two clauses or longer stretches of discourse. This may be achieved with or without the use of conjunctives, such as *therefore, consequently, hence*, etc. (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 439–440).The Relators used in such cohesive sequences are referred to as cohesive/textual conjunctives, or conjunctive adjuncts. In this study, I will refer to them as conjunctives. Manifestations of cohesive sequences include of the following:

(1) Zero conjunctive: Two clauses or stretches of text are juxtaposed without a conjunctive, e.g.

English: cause implicitly marked	She didn't know the rules. She died.
Arabic: cause implicitly marked	قضى محمد ليله هادئا مطمئنا نزلت منه الحمى */qaḍā Muḥammadun laylahu hādiʾan muṭmaʾinnan nazalat minhu al-ḥummā/* Mohamed spent a tranquil and peaceful night; the fever had abated (Cantarino, 1975b, p. 7)

(2) Use of a conjunctive: Two clauses or stretches of text are tied with a conjunctive, e.g.

English: cause marked by the conjunctive **consequently**	She didn't know the rules. **Consequently**, she died.
Arabic: cause marked by the conjunctive /***wa–bit-tālī***/ **–therefore**	فالمجتمعات القديمة والمجتمعات المعاصرة لا تتطابق حاجاتها ولا إمكاناتها، **وبالتالي** فلا يمكن أن تتطابق سياساتها وأنظمتها تطابقاً كاملاً (Abu Sulayman, 1991, p. 100) */fa-l-mujtamaʿātu al-qadīmatu wa-l-mujtamaʿātu al-muʿāṣiratu lā tataṭābaqu ḥājātuhā wa-lā imkānātuhā, wa-bittālī fa-lā yumkinu an tataṭābaqa siyāsātuhā wa-andhimatuhā tataṭābuqan kāmilan/* Individuals and societies in different times and places will differ according to their circumstances, opportunities, needs, and challenges. **(*/wa–bit-tālī/*)** **Therefore** their policies and organization will also vary (DeLorenzo, 1993, p. 54)

To sum up, a logico-semantic relation of cause can be encoded within both the experiential and logical modes of the ideational metafunction, as well as the textual metafunction. In experiential enhancement, that is, enhancement within the transitivity of the clause simplex, cause is realised in the circumstantial elements, but can also be encoded in the Process or a Participant. Arabic experiential markers include the prepositions لـ (*/li/ – due to*), بـ (*/bi/ – because of*), in addition to any noun or verb that encodes the meaning of cause, effect, purpose, etc. such as يسبب (/yusabbibu/ – to cause), يرجع إلى (*/yarjiʿu ilā/ – be attributed to*), نتيجة (*/natīja/ – a result*). (See, for example, Cantarino, 1975b; Badawi, Carter, and Gully, 2004; Ryding, 2005.)

In logical enhancement, the enhancing secondary clause expands the primary clause to form a clause complex by means of a structural conjunction. Clause complexes

are related either paratactically or hypotactically. In a paratactic construction, the cause conjunctions used are *so* and *for,* and the two related clauses may be treated as being of equal semantic status. On the other hand, in hypotactically related clauses, which are joined by means of hypotactic conjunctions (e.g. *because, since, as*; see the list in Table 6–2 below) the two clauses may be treated as being of unequal semantic status. Arabic hypotactic conjunctions include particles and adverbials, among others, that mean (1) *because/since/as, e.g.* لأن (*/li-anna/*); إذ (*/idh/*); حيث أن (*/ḥaythu anna/*); (2) *in order to/in order that/ in order for*, *e.g.* حتى (*/ḥatta/*); لـ (*/li/*); كي (*/kay/*); لكي (*/li-kay/*); or (3) *so/for*, e.g. the paratactic فـ (*/fa/*).

Finally, textual or cohesive enhancement takes place when two clauses or longer text segments occur in sequence, often related by means of a conjunctive adjunct such as *therefore*, *consequently*, *as a result*, etc. (see the list in Table 6–2 below). Besides being mainly cohesive in function, such Relators also specify the logico-semantic relation holding between the two conjoined segments of text (as modelled in RST[1]). Arabic conjunctives include وهكذا (*/wa-hākadhā/*), وعليه (*/wa-ʿalayhi/*), ومن هنا (*/wa-min-hunā/*), وبالتالي (*/wa-bi-ttālī/*), لذلك (*/li-dhālika/*); all can be translated as *thus, therefore*, or *hence*. When cohesive conjunctions are dropped and replaced by a punctuation mark, the nature of the relation is no longer specified and has to be inferred from other clues in the text or context.

1 RST (Rhetorical Structure Theory) is a logical semantic system for developing text by means of the rhetorical, or logico-semantic, relations of projection and expansion. (Matthiessen, Teruya, and Lam, 2010)

Some Relators can function either logically or textually; that is in clause complexes or cohesive sequences. Examples include the Arabic *fa* (*so*) and *wa* (and), and the English *and therefore,* and *and thus* (see Sections 6.3 and 6.4.3.1 below).

6.3 Operationalising shifts in cause construal

As illustrated in Chapter 3 and 4, the experientially congruent construal of a figure, or a quantum of change, is a clause simplex, as in *she didn't know the rules.* If we need to congruently expand on this figure with another quantum of change, we will then add another clause simplex. For example, *she didn't know the rules, so she died,* or *she died because she didn't know the rules.* In this case, we have a sequence of two quanta of change realised congruently in the form of a clause complex, in which the secondary clause logically enhances the primary clause. In addition to these congruent realisations by means of logical enhancement, we can also encode the same sequence in the form of a cohesive sequence with a conjunctive, e.g. *she didn't know the rules. Consequently, she died;* or without a conjunctive, e.g. *she died. She didn't know the rules.* Because each clause in the examples in this paragraph encodes a figure, we say that they all are experientially congruent realisations of the logico-semantic relation of cause.

So, at clause level, the congruent realisation of the semantic category of figure is the clause, and that of the semantic category of sequence is the clause complex or the cohesive sequence. We can also speak of experiential congruency when describing the elements within the clause transitivity. In *she didn't know the rules, so she died,* the two Participants in the primary clause are congruently realised by nominal groups

(*she, the rules*), and the realisation of the Process is also congruent because it is a verbal group (*didn't know*). Thus, the primary clause as a whole is realised congruently because it is a construal of one figure. The same is true of the secondary clause (*she died*). The two clauses together make a sequence, which is congruently realised by a clause complex.

However, a single clause can often condense two quanta of change (i.e. events or goings-on). When one of the two figures, which represents the cause or the effect, is realised by a prepositional phrase serving as a Circumstance in the clause configuration, the clause is no longer regarded as a congruent experiential realisation. In other words, the semantic categories are not realised using congruent (i.e. typical) lexicogrammatical resources. In SFL, a prepositional phrase functioning as a Circumstance in a clause simplex is termed a minor Process. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, p. 329), the "prepositional phrase can be interpreted as a shrunken clause, in which the preposition serves as a 'minor Process', interpreted as a kind of mini-verb, and the nominal group as a Participant in this minor Process", e.g. "*the delay was because of* [i.e. *caused by*] *a strike*". The following example illustrates this further.

Her death was due to ignorance of the rules.

She died because she didn't know the rules.

In the first of these clauses, two figures are condensed in a clause simplex (*dying* and *being ignorant*). The second example expresses the same figures in a clause complex, i.e. a sequence rather than a single figure. Because of this realisational incongruency of the clause simplex in the first example, we could say that it is less

explicit than the clause complex example. By the same token, we could say that the clause simplex is also less explicit than a cohesive sequence with a conjunctive, which is also a congruent lexicogrammatical realisation of the semantics of the cause–effect relationship (e.g. *She didn't know the rules. Consequently, she died*).

The other two experiential realisations of cause, by means of a Participant or the Process itself, can also be seen as cases of condensed information, again because two figures are encoded in a single clause. Consider *her ignorance of the rules caused her death*, or *the cause of her death was her ignorance of the rules*. Based on this incongruency, i.e. the realisation of the semantic category of sequence by means of a clause simplex, we could reach the same conclusion regarding the level of explicitness. That is, a clause simplex construing a cause–effect relationship that is marked by the Process or a Participant is less explicit than a clause complex or a cohesive sequence that encodes the same cause–effect relationship.

Thus, the parameter of experiential congruency, which denotes realisation of semantic categories by typical lexicogrammar, can be helpful for comparing the level of explicitness of a clause simplex, a clause complex, and a cohesive sequence that all construe the same experience. The general conclusion, from the perspective of experiential congruency, is that a clause simplex with two condensed figures is less congruent and therefore also less explicit than a clause complex or a cohesive sequence that construes the same experience. However, things are not so straightforward, and we cannot simply claim or generalise that a clause simplex is less explicit than a clause complex. This becomes apparent when explicitness is examined from perspectives other than that of experiential congruency.

To explain this point, the following section examines manifestations of cause–effect from the perspective of the cause marker or Relator. For this analysis, three relevant parameters can be identified: logical congruency, textual congruency, and delicacy.

6.3.1 Logical congruency

From a logical perspective, the congruent realisation of a cause Relator is a structural conjunction (e.g. *because, since, as, for*, *so*; see Table 6–2 for a list of conjunctions) because these are the most explicit markers of a logical relation. In this sense, conjunctions in clause complexes are the only logically congruent realisations of cause Relators. Based on this, we could say, pro tem, that a clause complex is *logically* more explicit than a clause simplex or cohesive sequence, all construing the same cause relation. In this sense, both hypotactically related clauses and paratactically related clauses represent a congruent mode of realising logico-semantic relations not only (1) since they express both parts of the relation each in a single clause (and are therefore experientially congruent) but also (2) because they explicitly mark the logico-semantic relation with a conjunction, and are thus logically congruent (See, for example, Martin, 1992; Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999). In *she died because she didn't know the rules*, the primary and secondary clauses each construe a figure, so both are experientially congruent, and the cause relation is marked explicitly by *because*, making this construal logically congruent.

6.3.2 Textual Congruency

From a textual perspective, the congruent realisation of a cause Relator is a non-structural conjunction (i.e. a conjunctive, e.g. *therefore, thus, hence, as a result, consequently*) because these are the most explicit markers of a textual relation .In this sense, conjunctives in cohesive sequences are the only *textually* congruent realisations of cause Relators. Based on this, we could say that a cohesive sequence is *textually* more explicit than a clause simplex or clause complex, all construing the same causal relation. As with clause complexes, cohesive sequences represent two congruent modes of realisation: they not only (1) express both parts of the relation each in a single clause (and are therefore experientially congruent) but also (2) explicitly mark the relation with a conjunctive, and are therefore textually congruent. Moreover, while conjunctions only indicate the logical relationship between clauses, conjunctives (3) realise logical relations in the semantics (as modelled in RST), in addition to their function as discourse organisers (see for example Martin, 1992; Thompson, 1996). For example, in *she didn't know the rules. Consequently, she died*, there are two figures that are realised in two clauses and the explicit cause marker *consequently*, which is functional both logically and textually.

The two parameters (logical and textual congruency) are then useful when comparing clause complexes with cohesive sequences, provided that both have explicit cause Relators (i.e. conjunctions or conjunctives). A cohesive sequence is more explicit than a clause complex because the latter realises only two of the three functions that the former realises. This was illustrated in the two examples in the last two paragraphs above.

Often though there is a need to compare realisations at the same rank, rather than across ranks as already explained. Clause simplexes are not always equally explicit or implicit, nor are clause complexes or cohesive sequences. To address this, we need to look at the Relator from the perspective of delicacy.

6.3.3 Delicacy

Delicacy is the organising principle that orders paradigmatic options on a system network from the least to the most delicate, i.e. as a range of possible type–subtype relations in the paradigmatic description of a particular unit (Teich, 2003, p. 50). For example, the system of Process type (see Chapter 3) can be extended in delicacy to include the subtypes of mental Processes: emotive (e.g. love), cognitive (e.g. believe), desiderative (e.g. want), and perceptive (e.g. notice). More specifically, in the context of cause, the cline of delicacy extends from grammar to lexis, with grammar being the least delicate and lexis the most delicate (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, 2004, 2014). In other words, structural meanings, in comparison with lexical meanings, are more generalised, have less explicit content, and are in these senses less explicit (Steiner; 2017[1]; Hunston, 2017[2]). One reason why the preposition *through* or the conjunction *so* are less explicit than the conjunctive *the result of this* or the conjunction *leading to* is that the former are structural and the latter are non-structural, i.e. the former are part of the morphosyntax of a language and the latter more part of the lexis. Moreover, as mentioned above, words like *so*

1 Steiner, E. (2017) Email to Waleed Othman, 28/July.
2 Hunston, S. (2017) Conversation with Waleed Othman, 27/July.

and *through* can have multiple meanings and/or functions, unlike phrases like *the result of* and *leading to.*

As explained in Chapter 4, Section 4.4 and illustrated in the analysis in Chapter 5, an individual instance in the TT can be described in terms of explicitness only by taking consideration of alternative agnates in the TL. Therefore, deciding on the shift's status in terms of explicitation also requires checking for the (non-)availability of more/less explicit TL alternatives. However, in this study this condition is satisfied because causal relations can be encoded in multiple realisations in both English and Arabic (as illustrated in Section 6.2 above).

6.3.4 Applying the parameters

This section provides examples of cause in clause simplexes (Set 1), clause complexes (Set 2) and cohesive sequences (Set 3) and assesses each example against the four parameters of explicitness outlined above (experiential congruency, logical congruency, textual congruency, and delicacy). The parameters are assessed as being satisfied (✓) or not satisfied (X); in the case of experiential congruency, this is done separately for each figure. The parameters of logical and textual congruency are only looked at when comparing clause complexes with cohesive sequences. This is because logical congruency is true of both clause complexes and cohesive sequences, while textual congruency is satisfied only in cohesive sequences, which makes them more explicit (see below). The examples in this section are all constructed from a clause taken from DeLorenzo, 1993.

Set 1: Clause simplexes

Experiential congruency	Logical congruency	Textual congruency	Delicacy	Clause simplex
✓ X	X	X	X	(1) The traditional approach has consistently failed **through** ignorance of the realities of history and material development.
✓ X	X	X	✓	(2) The traditional approach has consistently failed **due to/because of/owing to/as a result of** ignorance of the realities of history and material development.
X X	X	X	✓	(3) The traditional approach consistent failure was **caused** by ignorance of the realities of history and material development.
X X	X	X	✓	(4) The **cause** of the consistent failure of the traditional approach was ignorance of the realities of history and material development.

All four examples in Set 1 are clause simplexes, and they are all manifestations of the same cause–effect relationship. They are incongruent experientially, logically, and textually. Experientially, they are all incongruent because in each, two quanta of change, or figures, are encoded in a single clause simplex. They are logically and textually incongruent because they lack a logical or a textual Relator (a conjunction or a conjunctive, respectively). The difference lies in delicacy. Starting with (1) and (2), both construing cause in a prepositional phrase, we can say that (2) is more explicit than (1). This is because the complex preposition in (2) includes a lexical item (e.g. result) that helps us detect the semantic content of the preposition. In other words, it is closer to the lexical end of the cline of delicacy. (Structural Relators that include such lexical items are henceforth referred to as semi–lexical Relators). On the other hand, simple prepositions, such as *through,* lack such lexical traces and therefore

have more generalised meanings, which renders them more difficult to comprehend by the reader. Bordet and Jamet (2010, p 6) quote Borillo (2001) as saying that lexical items help us detect the semantic content in complex prepositions. This point can be further supported by reference to cognitive linguistics. In a study of complex prepositions, Rohdenburg (1996, cited in Hoffman 2005, p 102) notes that “the more explicit variant is generally represented by the bulkier element or construction”, for a simple preposition such as *on* is “far more general in meaning than *upon* and can be used in a great variety of concrete and abstract contexts”.

In the other two clause simplexes, (3) and (4), the cause relation is marked by lexical markers, i.e. the Process *caused* in (3) and the Participant *cause* in (4). Because (2), (3) and (4) are all marked by lexical or semi–lexical Relators, they could be considered equally explicit. All are therefore more explicit than (1).

Set 2: Clause complexes

Experiential congruency	Logical congruency	Textual congruency	Delicacy	Clause complex
✓✓	X	X	X	(5) Having been ignorant of the realities of history and material development, the traditional approach consistently failed
✓✓	X	X	X	6) The traditional approach has ignored the realities of history and material development, **and** it has consistently failed.
✓✓	✓	X	X	(7a) The traditional approach has ignored the realities of history and material development, **(and) so** it has consistently failed.
✓✓	✓	X	X	(7b) The traditional approach has consistently failed, **for** it has ignored the realities of history and material development.
✓✓	✓	X	X	(7c) **Since/As** it has ignored the realities of history and material development, the traditionally approach consistently failed.
✓✓	✓	X	✓	(8a) **Because** it has ignored the realities of history and material development, the traditionally approach consistently failed.
✓X	X	X	✓	(8b) The traditional approach has ignored the realities of history and material development, **resulting in/leading** to/**which resulted in** its consistent failure.
✓✓	✓	X	✓	(8c) The traditional approach has ignored the realities of history and material development, **with the result that** it has consistently failed.
✓✓	✓	X	✓	(8d) The traditional approach has ignored the realities of history and material development, **and thus/therefore** it has consistently failed.
✓✓	✓	X	✓	(8e) The traditional approach has ignored … development, **thus** consistently failing

The clause complexes in Set 2 (except for (8b); see below), are all experientially congruent, as they all construe a sequence of figures in clause complexes. Yet, they

are not equally explicit just because they are all clause complexes; nor are they all more explicit than the clause simplexes in examples (1)–(4). In fact, examples (5) and (6) can be regarded as implicit as (1), since only one parameter of explicitness is assessed as 'present' in each case. Although example (5) is a clause complex, it is considered logically incongruent because the hypotactic relation is realised by a non-finite clause with no explicit logical cause Relator (see Qingshun, Bingjun, and Binli, 2015). Example (6), although it has a logical Relator (and), can also be considered logically incongruent because the function of Relator is realised by what I refer to as a vague structural conjunction (i.e. *and*), and therefore the intended type of relation will have to be inferred[1]. It can thus be placed at the same level of explicitness as (5). Examples (5) and (6) illustrate the fact that we cannot then generalise that a clause complex is always more explicit than its agnate simplex.

The remaining clause complexes are all more explicit than the clause simplexes (1)–(4) and clause complexes (5)–(6). The reason is that they all have explicit cause Relators (unlike (5) and (6), in addition to being experientially congruent (unlike (1)–(4). However, we can still differentiate between them if we consider them from the perspective of delicacy. Examples (7a)–(7c) are less explicit than (8a)–(8e), based on delicacy. The cause Relators in (7) are structural, while those in (8) are closer to the lexical end of the cline of delicacy as they indicate their semantic meaning explicitly. Consider the non–finite *resulting* or the hypotactic binder *with the result that*. The example with *because,* which is also a structural Relator, was nevertheless added to set 8 because it still has traces of the lexical meaning and is more specific in

1 The term *vague relator* in this study stands for any marker that is mainly used to denote functions other than cause or whose meaning is not so specific as to signal cause explicitly, e.g. *and*.

meaning than the other structural Relators (*since*, *as, for,* and *so*), which can be used in a variety of functions. Examples (8d) and (8e) were added to this group because the Relator *thus/therefore* is used within the clause complex rather than in a cohesive sequence. In other words, the conjunctive makes up for the vague conjunction in (8d) and for the missing Relator in (8e). Note that in example (8b) the latter clause nexus is experientially incongruent, which could render (8b) less explicit than examples (8a) and (8c)–(8e). However, in applying the proposed methodology, I consider such instances as experientially congruent, in order to avoid complications.

Set 3: Cohesive Sequences

Experiential congruency	**Logical congruency**	**Textual congruency**	**Delicacy**	**Cohesive sequence**
✓✓	X	X	X	(10)The traditional approach ignores the realities of history and material development. It has consistently failed.
✓✓	✓	✓	✓	(11)The traditional approach ignores the realities of history and material development. **Therefore,** it has consistently failed.
✓✓	✓	✓	✓	(12a)The traditional approach ignores the realities o f history and material development. **The result of this** was that it has consistently failed.
✓X	✓	✓	✓	(12b)The traditional approach ignores the realities o f history and material development. **The result of this** was its consistent failure.

The realisations of causal enhancement in Set 3 are all examples of cohesive sequencing. Here, as mentioned above, two figures, or stretches of discourse, are tied textually. That is, the relation of cause is marked by a textual conjunctive, such as *therefore, thus, hence, as a result,* etc. All the examples (10)–(12) are

experientially congruent. However, when a sequence comprises juxtaposed clauses, without a conjunctive, it could be difficult to tell whether there is a relation and what type of relation that is (Halliday 1994, p. 327). From this perspective, example (10) in this set can be regarded as manifesting neither textual nor logical congruence, nor delicacy, and thus as implicit as examples (1), (5), and (6).

In example (11), the clauses are linked by the cohesive conjunctive *therefore*. As mentioned above, conjunctives differ from conjunctions in that they are non-structural and therefore closer to the lexical end of the cline of delicacy. Also, while conjunctions only indicate the logical relationship between clauses, conjunctives realise logical relations in the semantics, in addition to their function as discourse organisers. Therefore, cohesive sequences with explicit conjunctives, as in example (11), are more explicit than the clause simplexes in the first set and all the clause complexes exemplified in the second set.

Examples (12a) and (12b) display the same level of explicitness. In such cohesive sequences, the enhancing clause starts out with a conjunctive expression that signals, with explicit lexical terms, the relation of the following clause or stretch of discourse with the foregoing discourse (e.g. *this is the reason, the result of this, etc.*). These are referred to as complex conjunctives in this study. Such instances are dealt with under cohesive sequences since they operate across clauses. When used within the clause, the relevant category is the clause simplex, as exemplified in the first set, i.e. encoding cause in the Process or a Participant. Note that examples (12a) and (12b) could be differentiated in terms of explicitness in that example (12b), similarly to (8b) is partially experientially incongruent. However, as also noted above, to avoid

complications, I do not consider this distinction when analysing examples from the case study.

These examples demonstrate that explicitness does not always increase in line with a move up the rank scale, e.g. from group to clause to clause complex, or from the experiential to the logical to the cohesive. In short, the main determinants of explicitness in manifestations of cause–effect are realisational congruency and delicacy of the Relator, where the former includes experiential congruency, logical congruency, and textual congruency. The following points summarise the procedures adopted for comparing different cause realisations in terms of explicitness.

- In comparing instances of the same rank (e.g. two clause simplexes, two clause complexes, or two cohesive sequences), delicacy is used to measure the degree of explicitness. This is because realisational congruency is a constant within each rank: when construing two figures, a clause simplex is experientially incongruent; whereas a clause complex is experientially congruent, as is a cohesive sequence.
- When comparing a clause simplex with a clause complex or a cohesive sequence, the parameters of congruency and delicacy both need to be considered. As illustrated in the examples above, a clause simplex with a lexical marker of cause (e.g. the verb *caused,* a noun such as *reason,* or a complex preposition like *as a result of*) is more explicit than a clause complex with a non-finite hypotactic clause, as in example (4) above, or with a vague conjunction such as *and,* as in example (5). Similarly, a clause simplex with a lexical cause marker is more explicit than a cohesive sequence consisting of juxtaposed clauses.

- When comparing clause complexes with cohesive sequences in cases where they both satisfy the two conditions of congruency and delicacy of the Relator, the degree of explicitness is differentiated by looking at the functions of the Relators. Since the function of conjunctions is to construe the logico-semantic relation, while conjunctives also function as discourse organisers, cohesive sequences are more explicit.

Table 6–1 below orders the possible manifestations of cause–effect from least to most explicit.

		Manifestations and examples
Cline of Explicitness	Least explicit: Missing or vague cause marker	- clause complex with a non–finite dependent clause, e.g. **Having** been ignorant of …, the traditionally approach consistently failed - clause simplex or clause complex with a vague marker, e.g. The traditional approach has consistently failed **through** ignorance of … development. The traditional approach ignores …, **and** it has consistently failed. - cohesive sequences with no cause marker (juxtaposition), e.g. The traditional approach ignores …development**.** It has consistently failed.
	Experientially incongruent & lexically delicate	- clause simplex with a lexical/semi–lexical cause marker, including complex prepositions, e.g. The traditional approach has consistently failed **as a result of** ignorance of … development. The traditional approach consistent failure was **caused** by ignorance … development. The **cause** of the consistent failure of the traditional approach was ignorance of … development.
	Experientially and logically congruent & lexically indelicate	- clause complex with a structural cause relator, e.g. **Since/As** it has ignored … development, the traditionally approach consistently failed. The traditional approach has ignored the … development, (and) **so** it has consistently failed. The traditional approach has consistently failed, **for** it has ignored … development.
	Experientially and logically congruent & lexically delicate	- clause complex with a non–structural/semi–lexical cause relator, e.g. **Because** it has ignored … development, the traditionally approach consistently failed. The traditional approach has ignored … development, **resulting in/leading to** its consistent failure. The traditional approach has ignored … development, **which (and this) led to/contributed to/resulted in/explains** its consistent failure. The traditional approach has ignored …development, **with the result that** it has consistently failed. - clause complex with conjunctives, e.g. The traditional approach has ignored … development, **and thus/and therefore** it has consistently failed. The traditional approach has ignored … development, **thus** consistently fail**ing**.
	Most explicit: Experientially logically, and textually congruent & lexically delicate	- cohesive sequence with simple or complex conjunctives, e.g. The traditional approach ignores the realities of history and material development. **Therefore,** it has consistently failed. The traditional approach has ignored … development. **The result of this** was its consistent failure/ was that it has consistently failed.

Table 6–1 Manifestations of cause–effect on a cline of explicitness

6.4 Phases 1 and 2: Inter-textual realisation and actualisation

As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter and summarised in the following paragraphs, the proposed model comprises three phases. However, as in the previous case study, Phases 1 and 2 are dealt with together; that is, the relevant instances are classified in terms of both content (with relevance to cause) and explicitation status. This helps condense the argument and avoids the need to refer back to the analysis of content when considering the explicitation status.

In Phase 1, I explore the ST and TT for manifestations of cause–effect, and shifts/non–shifts are classified into three types: [=content], [+content], and [–content]. In this case study, the term *content* stands for cause and the classification of renderings is based on cause Relators. As explained below I started by identifying manifestations of cause–effect in the English TT, and then compared these to the corresponding passage in the Arabic ST. A rendering is classed as [=content] if the ST counterpart has any cause Relator, regardless of the shift in the domain of realisation, e.g. from a clause simplex to a clause complex. Those classed as [+content] renderings represent shifts from Relators typically used in logico-semantic relations instead of cause, or from cause-effect realisations with no cause Relator. Renderings in the opposite direction would be [–content] shifts. However the procedure adopted, of starting from the TT, did not enable identification of [–content] shifts, since it did not identify instances of cause in the ST that are not rendered as cause in the TT. As a further step in Phase 1, after identifying content shifts and non-shifts I consider the renderings in terms of context traceability in order to determine

whether a rendering is inter-textually recoverable; that is, if the shift can be traced to the respective context (see Section 6.4.2).

In Phase 2 of the analysis, I look at content shifts as choices within the systemic potential of the language. Specifically, I examine inter-textually recoverable renderings to determine their explicitation status, with reference to the parameters of realisational congruency and/or delicacy (see Chapters 3 and 4). In this study of cause, I further distinguish between three different types of realisational congruency, i.e. experiential, logical and cohesive congruency, as explained in Section 6.3 above. This analysis classifies renderings as explicitational, implicitational, or explicitationally/implicitationally neutral (i.e. non-explicitational). It should be remembered that the classification of renderings in terms of content does not necessarily correspond to their explicitation status (e.g. not all [+content] renderings are explicitational).

6.4.1 Data

The data for Phase 1 and 2 comprises selected parts (see below) of Abu Sulayman's[1] أزمة العقل المسلم – *Azmat al-ʿaql al–Muslim* (1991) and its English translation *The Crisis in the Muslim Mind* by Yusuf DeLorenzo (1993)[2]. Both are available in paper and electronic format. According to the author, this social sciences

1 Dr Abdul Hamid Ahmad Abu Sulayman is an internationally renowned Islamic scholar, thinker, educationist and author of many books and articles on the subject of Islam and Islamic reform, especially in the fields of thought and education. He holds an M.A. from Cairo University and a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. He was the Founding President of International Islamic University Malaysia (1988–99) and is at present the Chairman of the Board of trustees of the International Institute of Islamic Thought, Washington DC.

2 Yusuf Talal DeLorenzo is a well-known Islamic scholar who has published several works on Islamic banking, Quran studies, Hadith studies, in addition to translations of a number of works related to Islamic studies. See Yusuf.Delorenzo.com

text is aimed toward the initiation of serious discussion among Muslim intellectuals about the roots of the malaise of contemporary Muslim society (DeLorenzo, 1993, p. xvii). To this end, the author analyses the causes of the problems facing the Muslim nation and proposes solutions to those problems. The nature of the content thus entails frequent use of causal relations as a means for persuasion.

The English version is a kind of free translation aimed at conveying the message of the original (Ibid, p. xvii). To achieve this aim, the translator frequently omits information that is in the ST or provides additional information. In some cases, he deletes several paragraphs of detailed culturally-specific description and/or analysis. In other cases, long paragraphs in Arabic are divided into smaller ones in the English translation, or vice versa. Sometimes the arrangement of ideas in a paragraph is changed in the corresponding English text. This feature of the translation meant that I could not use a parallel concordancer to compare the two texts. It also meant that starting the search for instances of translation from the ST was not possible (see Section 6.4.2). To pair corresponding instances, I first searched the TT for the cause markers (listed in Table 6–2 below). I had then to carefully read the ST in order to identify the corresponding passages in the ST and then pasted both into a Word file in the form of a table. The Arabic and English texts in the Word file both comprise about 40,000 words each. It is worth mentioning that the original Arabic version comprised 56,000 words, the English 60,000 words, excluding the front matter in both. The sample used for the investigation comes from the six chapters in both texts. The sample excludes sections of the ST that the translator either omits altogether or summarises in short paragraphs. I also excluded the quotations from

the Holy Quran and the Prophetic traditions, since these belong to a different genre, i.e. religious texts.

6.4.2 Methods

The methodology of Phase 1 of the analysis started with the creation of a list of English cause markers that would be investigated in the translation. The principal reason for adopting this procedure was that English cause markers are much more readily identified than Arabic ones. Moreover, it is easier to identify and categorise English clauses in terms of domain due to notable differences in punctuation between English and Arabic (see below). The list was created by referring to grammar resources and existing literature on the topic of cause construal (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976; Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, 2014; Flowerdew and Forest, 2015). Table 6–2 presents a list of cause markers considered in the investigation corresponding to each of the three domains.

Domain: Clause simplex – experiential	**Domain: Clause complex - logical**	**Domain: Cohesive sequence - textual**
Prepositions: because of, as a result of, due to, owing to, on account of; for the purpose of; with the aim of; with the purpose of; with the intention of; for fear of; for the sake of; by reason of; thanks to **Verbs**: cause, explain, attribute, lead to **Nouns**: cause, reason, result	**Structural conjunctions:** for, since; as; in order to; in order for, in order that; so as to, so that **Semi-lexical conjunctions:** with the result that; for the reason that; and thus; and therefore; because	**Simple conjunctives:** Thus/thus; Therefore; Hence; As a result **Complex conjunctives:** The/One/Another result was/is; For this reason; The reason for this; This is because; Because of this; For this purpose; With this in view; On account of this; this explains why/the reasons

Table 6–2 List of causal markers

The complex markers of cause are included in the list in Table 6–2 because they can replace other conjunctions or conjunctives. For example, in the list of logical conjunctions, the expression *for the reason that* can replace *because* in a clause complex. Several similar expressions are included in the list of cohesive conjunctives because they are cohesive/textual in function. They were included in the investigation because they serve to relate the parts of a cause relation in a way similar to that achieved by using simple conjunctives. The investigation in Phases 1 and 2 focuses on cause markers that return high frequencies of occurrence in the TT. This allows closer investigation and description of English renderings of selected markers in terms of content and explicitation status.

As noted above, the analysis started by identifying causal markers cited in the TT. Starting with the English text, rather than the Arabic ST, was considered preferable mainly because English cause markers are much more readily identified than Arabic ones. For example, the Arabic conjunctions و (*/wa/ – and*) and ف (*/fa/ – for*, *so*, and several other functions) are always morphologically preclitic, or attached to another word, as in وقال (*/wa-qāla/ – and he said*), and فقال (*/fa-qāla/ – so he said*).

After preparing the list of cause markers, I pasted the ST and TT in a Word file, mostly at paragraph level, as described above (Section 6.4.1). For space considerations, the paired texts cannot be included in the Appendix; however, the analysis below is illustrated with many examples at paragraph level. As previously explained, the reason why I did not use a concordancer is that the TT significantly differs from the ST in terms of paragraphing and arrangement of ideas. The process of identifying relevant instances was also made more difficult by certain

characteristics of the Arabic ST. The first relates to the typological differences in the way Arabic punctuation is used. It is completely natural in Arabic to find whole paragraphs with one full stop at the end and several commas in between. This means that the clause simplex, clause complex, and cohesive sequence are not so clearly marked in Arabic, another reason for starting with the TT. Moreover, some Arabic markers have several semantic functions, and can be used structurally and cohesively; for example, *fa* (i.e. *so*) is cohesive when used at the start of a paragraph, or when it indicates a "slight shift in topic" (Ryding, 2005: 410), in addition to other cohesive functions (see Cantarino, 1975b, pp. 20–34). However, it can also have a logical function, as in clause complexes such as لم يستطع خلف أن يتعاون معه فاستقال (*/lam yastaṭiʿ Khalafu ann yataʿāwana maʿahu fa-staqāl* – khalaf Kh*alaf was unable to work with him, (fa) so she resigned*; Badawi, Carter, and Gully*,* 2004, p. 552). These characteristics of Arabic meant that, for each cited TT instance, the ST had to be carefully considered in order to locate the corresponding Arabic instance and identify the function of the Relator.

After carefully considering the paired instances, the English renderings were classified in terms of content shifts. However, as noted above, the procedure adopted in this case study only identifies [=content] and [+content] renderings, and not [–content] shifts. The reason for this is that I did not search for cause Relators in Arabic that are not expressed in TT renderings. Instead, I searched the TT for the cause Relators listed in Table 6–2 above. The ST counterparts of those TT Relators will be (i) a cause Relator (regardless of their domain: clause simplex, clause complex, or cohesive sequence; (ii) a Relator typically used in logico-semantic relations other than cause, e.g. و (*/wa/* – *and*); or (iii) zero Relator, as in clause complexes with a

non-finite hypotactic clause or a sequence of juxtaposed clauses. The first case corresponds to [=content] rendering and the final two are [+content] renderings. Instances, for example, of an Arabic clause Relator rendered in English as ‘zero Relator’, i.e. a [–content] rendering, could not be identified in this search.

As a further step in Phase 1, I considered the content shifts and non-shifts identified in terms of context traceability. Context traceability is used to decide whether a rendering is inter-textually recoverable; that is, if the shift can be traced back to the respective text and context. In this study of cause, context traceability only needs to be determined for ST instances that lack a cause Relator (as in non-finite clauses) or where the Relator is vague or typically used to express logico-semantic relations other than cause. All other renderings are inter-textually recoverable.

In Phase 2, I examined inter-textually recoverable renderings to determine their explicitation status. As noted above the content type of a rendering does not necessarily correspond to its explicitation status. For example, translating a ST clause simplex (e.g. *تسبّب جهلها بالقوانين في موتها /tasabbaba jahluhā bi-l-qawanīn fī mawtihā/ – her ignorance of the rules caused her death*) as a clause complex (e.g. *she was ignorant of the rules, so she died*) is an [=content] rendering because both clauses express the same cause relation regardless of the domain or Relator. In terms of explicitation, the shift is explicitational, as it is higher on the cline of explicitness set out in Table 6–1.

In the following section, the discussion and analysis of the cited instances are structured in accordance with the categorisation of content renderings and the

domain of the TT instance, i.e. cohesive sequences, clause complexes and clause simplexes.

6.4.3 Analysis: Content and explicitation status

The initial search for causal markers in the TT returned 157 occurrences for conjunctives (i.e. cohesive sequences), 136 for conjunctions (i.e. clause complexes) and 73 for experiential cause markers (i.e. clause simplexes) (see Table 6A in the Appendix). Some of the cause markers in Table 6–2 above are not listed in Table 6A because they returned zero frequency. The relevant TT instances of the cited cause markers were paired with their ST counterparts in order to classify them in terms of content shifts. Table 6–3 and Figure 6–1 below summarise the results.

Domain	**[= content]**	**[+ content]**	**Total**
Cohesive sequence	99	58	157
Clause complex	79	57	136
Clause simplex	43	30	73
Total	**221**	**145**	**366**

Table 6–3 Statistical overview of content shifts in the TT

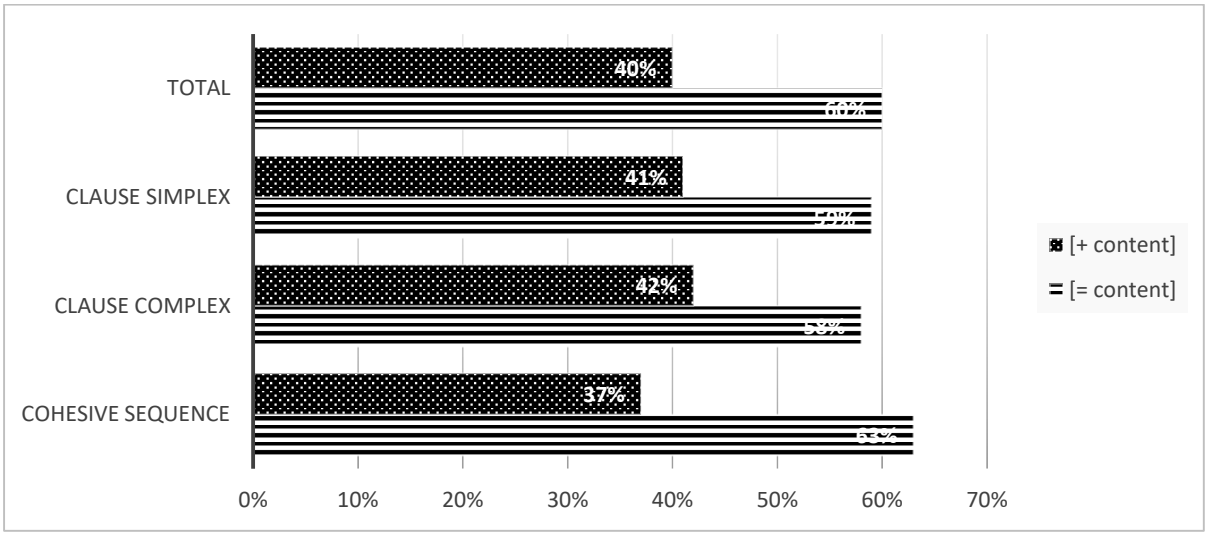

Figure 6–1 Statistical overview of content shifts in the TT

Looking at the total numbers and percentages of the shifts, it can be observed that there are 50% more [=content] renderings than the [+content] renderings (i.e. they represent 60% and 40% of the total respectively). The proportions are similar for each of the three domains. This may be due to the procedure followed in this study for classifying content shifts. As mentioned earlier, a rendering is classed as [=content] if the ST counterpart has any cause Relator, regardless of any shift in the domain of realisation. This is the case in 60% of the total 366 tokens. The remaining 40% are considered [+content] because they represent shifts from Arabic Relators typically used in logico-semantic relations other than cause, or from Arabic cause–effect realisations with no cause marker. The following example illustrates the types of content renderings. In this and similar examples below, the first column shows the translation; the second column provides a more literal translation of the corresponding instance in the ST.

As Example 6–1 shows, the TT paragraph consists of 6 clauses and has 5 cause Relators. Three of those TT Relators translate from ST cause Relators, i.e. [=content]

renderings. The other two TT cause Relators represent [+content] shifts. The TT Relator in clause [B], i.e. *as a result*, is a rendering of the Arabic non-finite clause, and the Relator *and so* in clause [E] has the multi-functional Arabic و (*wa – and*) as its ST counterpart.

Example 6–1

بذلك [A] بقي علم العقيدة مصدر ضعف وبؤرة استنزاف في فكر الأمة،[B] **حرمت** الأمة من وضعه موضع الدليل لحركة أنظمتها وبنائها الاجتماعي والحضاري المتطور والمتغير،[C] **وانفصمت بذلك** دائرة علوم الفقه الحياتية الجزئية عن دائرة علوم العقيدة الكلية التوجيهية، [D] **ولم** تتكامل في بناء الرؤية الإسلامية،[E] **مما أدى إلى** قصور كل من الدائرتين الكلية العقيدية التنظيرية والتطبيقية العلمية التنظيمية، وعجزهما فيما بعد عن مواكبة دواعي التغيير والتحدي[1].	
TT	**Literal translation**
Thus [A] theology remained a source of weakness in the Ummah's[2] thought. [B] **As a result**, the Ummah was unable to use it as a guide to its actions and deliberations in the domains of its social and civilizational organization and development. [C] **Another result was** the dichotomy between the spheres of the legal sciences, with their orientation toward the life of the individual and the instructive and universal orientation of the theological sciences. [D] Without the complementarity of these sciences, no comprehensive Islamic vision developed, [E] **and so** both sciences developed incompletely, [F] **a result which led to** their later inability to keep abreast of the changes and challenges faced by the Ummah.	**Thus** [A] theology remained a source of weakness and a point of depletion in the Ummah's thought, [B] **depriving** the Ummah from using it as a guide to its actions and deliberations in the domains of its social and civilizational organization and development, [C] **and** the bond **thus** broke between spheres of the legal sciences and their orientation toward the life of the individual and the instructive and universal orientation of the theological sciences, [D] **and** there was no complementarity of these sciences to develop a comprehensive Islamic vision [E] **which led to** their inadequacy and their later inability to keep abreast of the changes and challenges faced by the Ummah.

[1] */bi-dhālika [A] baqiya ʿilmu al-ʿaqīdati maṣdaru ḍaʿfin wa-buʾratu istinzāfin fī fikri al-Ummati , [B] ḥurimati al-Ummatu min waḍʿihi mawḍiʿa al-dalīl li-ḥarakati andhimatihā wa-bināʾihā al-ijtimaʿiyyi wa-l-ḥaḍāriyyi al-mutaṭawwiri wa-l-mutaghayyiri, [C] wa-infaṣamat bi-dhālika dāʾiratu ʿulmūmi al-fiqhi al-ḥayatiyyati al-juzʾiyyati ʿan dāʾirati ʿulmūmi al-ʿaqīdati al-kulliyyati al-tawjīhiyyati, [D] wa-lam tatakāmal fī binā'i al-ru'yati al-islāmiyyati, [E] mimmā addā ilā qusūri kullin mina al- dāʾiratayni al-kulliyyati al-ʿaqīdiyyati al-tandhīriyyati wa-l-taṭbīqiyyati al-ʿilmiyyati al-tandhīmiyyati , wa-ʿajzihimā fīmā baʿdu ʿan muwākabati dawaʿi al-taghayīri wa-l-taḥaddiy/*

2 'Umma' refers to "the whole community of Muslims bound together by ties of religion" (Oxford online).

The next step is to check the renderings for traceability. As explained above, this parameter is only needed with [+content] renderings. Interestingly, all [+content] shifts were found traceable, which makes them inter-textually recoverable Determining traceability was not an easy task, though, for a number of reasons: (1) Although the Arabic text is written in MSA, the author seems to follow the Classical Arabic pattern of dense use of basic connectors, mainly **و** (*/wa/ – and*) and **ف** (*/fa/ – and/so*), which are used in Arabic to serve several functions, e.g. addition, contrast, concession, reason, result, sequence, etc. (cf. Holes 2004). (2) The author makes use of different connectors that are not typically used to denote explicit cause–effect relationship, e.g. إن */inna/ – indeed,* حينما */ḥīnamā/ – when*. (3) Paragraphing in the Arabic text tends to follow parallel lines of development, rather than a straight line as in English and some MSA writings. In Semitic languages (e.g. Arabic), argumentative writing presents the argument in parallel propositions, or embodied in stories (Kaplan, 1967). Nonetheless, since the aim of the case study is not mainly to offer generalisations on cause construal, but to demonstrate the applicability of the model, there was some room for subjective interpretation in deciding on the traceability of translational renderings.

I then moved on to Phase 2 of the model and determined the explicitation status of the inter-textually recoverable renderings according to the classification set out in Table 6–1. The results are shown in Table 6–4 and Table 6–5 below, which compare the TT renderings in terms of content shifts and explicitation status.

content shift	
[=content]	221 (60%)
[+content]	145 (40%)
[–content]	NA

Table 6–4 Statistical overview of renderings in terms of content

Explicitation status	
Non-explicitation	146 (40%)
Explicitation	204 (56%)
Implicitation	16 (4%)

Table 6–5 Statistical overview of renderings in terms of explicitation status

From Table 6–4 and Table 6–5 (which are derived from Table 6A and Table 6B in the Appendix), it can be seen that the picture has changed completely. In terms of content, there are 50% more [=content] renderings than [+content] ones. However, in terms of explicitation status, there are 40% more explicitational renderings than non–explicitational ones, in addition to a small number of implicitational renderings. Taking [=content] instances as an example, those were defined above as TT renderings that express the same cause relation regardless of the domain of realisation or the Relator. When considering explicitation however, a clause simplex, for example, is usually less explicit than a clause complex (see Table 6–1 for some exceptions) because of the incongruent realisation in the former. To elaborate more on shifts in terms of explicitation, consider the following table.

Domain	Non-Explicitation	Explicitation	Implicitation	Total
Cohesive sequence	57	100	0	157
Clause complex	50	74	12	136
Clause simplex	39	30	4	73
Total	**146 (40%)**	**204 (56%)**	**16 (4%)**	**366**

Table 6–6 Statistical overview of cause shifts in terms of explicitation

One reason for the high number of explicitational instances may be the procedure adopted in this research for classifying the explicitation status of the renderings. For example, according to the operationalisation set out in Table 6–1, the cohesive sequence (unless lacking cause marker) is the most explicit of all other causal realisations. Therefore, cause relations that are realised in the ST in forms other than cohesive sequences and translated into English cohesive sequences are considered explicitations. For example, there are 73 instances of *thus* in the TT (See Table 6A in the Appendix); 75% of those instances are inter-textual explicitations, i.e. shifts from lower levels of explicitness to the highest level of explicitness (See Table 6B in the Appendix). These cases are further discussed in Section 6.4.3.1 below.

It is interesting that within the domain of clause complexes (see Table 6–6 above), although the total number of explicitations in this domain exceeds the non–explicitations, in the case of the logical conjunctions *in order to/for/that* and *so as to/so that*, there are 39 non-explicitational renderings and only 20 explicitational ones (see Table 6–7 below). The small number of explicitational, compared to non-explicitational renderings for this category suggests the existence of commonalities in the SL and TL. This is further explored in Subsection 6.4.3.2 below.

A final general observation relates to the very low percentage of implicitational renderings (4% of the total tokens). Because of this, implicitational shifts identified in Phase 2 are not analysed in detail in the following sections. These present a detailed analysis of non-explicitational and explicitational renderings and their cited manifestations in the three domains: cohesive sequences, clause complexes, and clause simplexes.

6.4.3.1 Shifts into cohesive sequences

Domain	Relator type	Non-explicitation	Explicitation	Implicitation	Total
Cohesive sequence	**Simple conjunctive**	38	75	0	113
	Complex conjunctive	19	25	0	44
Total		**57 (36%)**	**100 (64%)**	**0**	**157**

Table 6–7 Frequency of cause shifts cited for cohesive cause markers

As shown in Table 6–7 (see also Table 6B in the Appendix), there are 157 TT instances of cohesive sequences with simple and complex cohesive conjunctives. Of these instances, 36% are renderings of equivalently explicit ST realisations and 64% are renderings of less explicit ST realisations. As operationalised in Table 6–1, cohesive sequences with either simple conjunctives or complex conjunctives are highest on the cline of explicitness. Therefore, translating between them is regarded as non-explicitational, i.e. the ST and TT instances are equally explicit. Such instances are important to include here because in Phase 3 they are further investigated against the corpus of English non-translations to determine whether the high frequencies of these cause encodings are congruent with English register-specific patterns of cause construal (see Section 6.5 below).

The explicitational shifts into cohesive sequences, with either simple or complex conjunctives, were considered explicitational not only because they represent a move up the cline in terms of congruency or delicacy, but also because they satisfy the 'availability of alternatives' condition, i.e. an actual TT instance is realisationally more explicit than the actual ST counterpart if the TL allows for at least one less explicit

realisation. To illustrate renderings into cohesive sequences, I discuss some examples of the use of *thus* in the TT (the most frequent simple conjunctive) and of complex conjunctives (e.g. *The reason for this, The result was,* etc.).

First: Simple conjunctives: Thus

A total of 73 instances of *thus* are cited in the TT. Of those, there are 18 (25%) instances of non-explicitations and 55 (75%) instances of explicitations. Table 6–8 shows the manifestations of ST instances that were rendered into *thus*.

ST realisation	**No. of tokens**	**Status & total tokens**
Clause complex with a vague marker, including *wa–and*	29	55 (75%) explicitational
Cohesive sequences with no cause marker, i.e. insertion	12	
Clause complex with a structural cause Relator, including *fa* as a conjunction, i.e. *since/as*	12	
Clause complex with a non-structural/semi-lexical cause Relator	2	
Cohesive sequence with simple or complex conjunctives	18	18 (25%) non-explicitational
Total	**73**	**73**

Table 6–8 ST manifestations of instances rendered into *thus*

A: Explicitational renderings into *thus*

The table (in the first 4 rows) shows 4 manifestations of ST less explicit realisations that have been rendered into *thus,* leading to explicitational shifts. Table 6–8 shows that the 55 instances of explicitational renderings into *thus* correspond to four types of realisation in the ST. The Arabic *wa* accounts for around half of the total explicitational instances, which also include other instances of insertion and shifts

from the domain of clause complexes, the latter involving the Arabic structural conjunction *fa*. All these represent explicitational shifts because they were rendered into *thus*, which is a cohesive conjunctive that satisfies realisational congruency and delicacy, and contributes to the text as a discourse organiser. These manifestations are discussed in more detail below.

A–1: Rewording *wa* into *thus*

The Arabic و (*/wa/ – and*) can be both a logical conjunction and a textual conjunctive, with several functions in each case, and it can also introduce sentences and paragraphs. In fact, its high frequency of use and the wide range of functions it can encode "cannot be reproduced in English" (Cantarino, 1975b, p. 12).

Example 6–2

إلاّ أنَّ نتائج هذا التقليد أيضاً كانت مزيداً من الضعف والتدهور .**و**أصيبت الأمة بظاهرة يطلق عليها الدارسون ظاهرة اتساع الهوة الحضارية- الاقتصادية والتكنولوجية -بين الشمال والجنوب أو بين الدول الصناعية المتقدمة ودول العالم الّثالث المتخلفة والتي تمثل دول العالم الإسلامي جل رقعته وأبرز معالمه[1].	
TT	**Literal translation**
In every case, however, imitation led to greater and more widespread infirmity and decline. **Thus** the cultural, economic, and technological gaps widened between North and South, between the advanced industrialized nations and the underdeveloped nations of the Third World, many of which are Muslim.	However, the results of this imitation have been further weakness and deterioration. (***wa***) **And** the nation was hit by a phenomenon called the phenomenon of widening cultural and economic gap between the North and the South or between the advanced industrial countries and the underdeveloped nations of the Third World, many of which are Muslim.

[1] */illā anna natāʾija hādhā al-taqlīd ayḍan kānat mazīdan mina al-ḍaʿfi wa-l-tadahwuri. wa-uṣībati al-Ummatu bi-dhāhiratin yuṭliqu ʿalayhā al-dārisūna dhāhirata ittisāʿi al-huwwati al-ḥaḍāriyyati – al-iqtiṣādiyya wa-l-tiknulūjiyya – bayna al-shamāli wa-l-janūbi aw bayna al-duwali al-ṣināʿiyyati al-mutaqaddimati wa-duwali al-ʿālami al-thālithi al-mutakhallifati wa-llatī tumaththilu duwalu al-ʿālami al-islāmiyyi julla ruqʿatihi wa-abraza maʿālimihi/*

In Example 6–2, the vague Arabic *wa* does not explicitly indicate the cause relation between the preceding and following stretches of texts. Translating it into the cohesive conjunctive *thus* renders the logico-semantic relation of cause more explicit.

A–2 Rewording *fa* into *thus*

Like *wa,* the Arabic ف (*/fa/ – so, therefore)* can function both cohesively and logically; that is in cohesive sequences as a textual conjunctive and in clause complexes as a logical conjunction. This connector implies several different kinds of relationships with the preceding text elements (Ryding, 2005, p. 410). With respect to cause construal, it can function to encode a resultative meaning (in the sense of *and so*) and a conclusive meaning (in the sense of *therefore*). In the analysis, a *fa*-into-*thus* rendering is explicitational when the *fa* is used logically in the ST; by contrast, a cohesive *fa* rendered into *thus* represents a non-explicitational rendering. The logical function of *fa* is illustrated in Example 6–3. The cohesive *fa* is illustrated in the following subsection since it represents a non-explicitational rendering.

In Example 6–3 below, in the Arabic version, *fa* functions as a logical conjunction, indicating the logico-semantic relation between the underlined primary clause and secondary clause. The translator seems to have thought that the logical relation expands beyond the two conjoined nexuses to include also the preceding discourse at the start of the paragraph. A cohesive conjunctive such as *thus* can accommodate for this expansion in the domain of the logical relation, thereby rendering the meaning more explicit than it is in the ST.

Example 6–3

وكان لا بد أن ينتهي الأمر بها–حتى بعد أن نجحت في بيئاتها البسيطة الصحراوية المحلية في الوصول إلى الحكم–إلى الفشل والذوبان حين بلغ مد فكرها وسلطانها إلى حواضر العالم الإسلامي وعلاقاته الحضارية المتغيرة، حيث أرغمت على المواجهة، فواجهت تحديات العصر وهي غير مؤهلة منهجياً لمواجهتها، **فا**نهزمت فكريا وحضاريا قبل أن تنطوي صفحة وجودها سياسيا وعسكريا[1].	
TT	**Literal translation**
The failure of these movements was inevitable, even if some did succeed in coming to power at local or national levels, for they were totally unprepared to deal with the challenges of modern society. **Thus**, before they suffered either military or political loss, they had lost on the battleground of thought and culture.	And it was inevitable that they end –even after succeeding in coming to power at local or national levels– in failure and breaking up, when their thought and influence reached the main cities of the Islamic World with its changing cultural relations, and so they were forced to confront the challenges of modern society when being systematically unprepared for that confrontation, (***fa***) **and so** before they were defeated ideologically and culturally they suffered either military or political loss.

A–3 Instances of *thus* as insertions

The 12 instances of *thus* that were categorised as insertions include 11 instances that are translations from the Arabic إنّ (*/inna/* – indeed), which is mostly used at the start of a paragraph to indicate certainty or emphasis. Al Kholani (2010, p. 361), in her study on the functions of Arabic discourse markers, concludes that */inna/* is a subjective cause marker (because it can also function interpersonally) that can signal an obvious change of topic and highlight the importance of the topic being initiated. In the cited TT instances of *thus* as renderings of some of the ST */inna/* instances, the translator chooses to explicitate the causal relation rather than the evaluative or

[1] */wa-kāna lā budda an yantahī al-ʾamru bihā - ḥattā baʿda an najaḥat fī bīʾātihā al-basīṭati al-ṣaḥrāwiyyati al-maḥaliyyati fī al-wuṣūli ilā al-ḥukmi - ilā al-fashali wa-l-dhawabāni ḥīna balagha maddu fikrihā wa-ṣulṭānihā ʾilā ḥawāḍiri al-ʿālami al-islāmiyyi wa-ʿalāqātihi al-ḥaḍāriyyati al-mutaghayyirati, ḥaythu urghimat ʿalā al-muwājahati, fa-wājahat taḥaddiyāti al-ʿaṣri wa-hiya ghayru muʾahhalatin manhajiyyan li-muwājahatihā, fa-ʾinhazamat fikriyyan wa-ḥaḍāriyyan qabla an tanṭawī ṣafḥatu wujūdihā siyāsiyyan wa-ʿaskariyyan/*

emphatic aspect of */inna/*. This is particularly true of the */inna/* instances that appear paragraph-initially (6 of the 11 instances of */inna/*), where the causal relation between two longer stretches of discourse is often more difficult to discern, compared with a causal relation between clauses.

Example 6–4

إن علينا أن نتيقن أننا بالجهد المخطط المنظم والعمل المتواصل المثمر نكون قد أدينا واجبنا، وحملنا مسؤوليتنا وحق لنا أن نرجو رضاء الله عنا، وتوفيقه لنا،[1]	
TT	**Literal translation**
Thus we need to be certain, by means of organized planning and diligent work, that we are fulfilling our responsibility to the Ummah. In this way will we be deserving of Allah's pleasure and His *tawfiq*.	**(*/inna/*) Indeed** we need to be certain, that by means of organised planning and diligent work, we will have fulfilled our duty and responsibility to the Ummah and will be deserving of Allah's pleasure and His *tawfiq*. (good fortune, derived from Arabic *وفق/wafiqa/* to be successful[2])

In Example 6–4, the Arabic */inna/* appears at paragraph boundary and so does the English *thus*. This is a case of explicitation because the translation clearly signals the causal relation between this paragraph and the preceding discourse. Given that this paragraph appears at the end of a subsection in the book, the preceding discourse could be that entire subsection, with this paragraph serving as a conclusion. In rendering */inna/* as thus, the translator is trying to maintain the argumentative/persuasive style that characterises the whole of the ST. In short, the explicitational shifts into *thus* are in most cases renderings from Arabic paratactic clause complexes, mainly employing the conjunctions *wa* and *fa.* These renderings represent a shift from the logical to the textual metafunction.

[1] */inna ʿalaynā an natayaqqana annanā bi-ljuhdi al-mukhaṭaṭi al-munadhdhami wa-l-ʿamali al-mutawāṣili al-muthmiri nakūnu qad addaynā wājibanā wa-ḥamalnā masʾūliyyatinā wa-ḥaqqa lanā an narjū riḍāʾa Allāh ʿanna wa-tawfīqihi lanā/*

2 https://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-en/tawfiq/

B: Non–explicitational renderings into *thus*

As shown in Table 6–8 above, non-explicitational renderings into *thus* account for 25% of its total occurrences (18 out of 73 total instances). Those were almost equally divided between translations from direct Arabic counterparts (e.g. لذلك */li-dhālika/*) and the Arabic *fa* as a cohesive conjunctive.

Example 6–5

إن الأنظمة والقيادات إنما تعكس حقيقة فكر الأمة ونفسيتها. ولا يمكن للأنظمة أن تغير طبيعتها أو أدائها ما لم تتغير الأُسس والفكر والنفسية والقيم التي تقوم بتمثلها الأمة، وتقوم بالتالي على أساسها النظم والمؤسسات وتعكس نفسها في السياسات والممارسات، **ولذلك** فلا مناص إذا شئنا إصلاح الأنظمة والمؤسسات وأداء القيادات والحكومات أن نغير الأُسس التي تقوم عليها هذه الأنظمة في عقلية الأمة وفكرها ونفسيتها[1].	
TT	**Literal translation**
Certainly, both the systems and the leadership of the Ummah reflect its thought and personality. Moreover, the nature of a system will never change unless its psychological and ideological foundations undergo change. **Thus**, if we seek to alter the Systems, leadership, and institutions of the Ummah, we must start at the foundational level, in the way that the Ummah thinks and feels.	Certainly, systems and leaderships reflect the reality of the Ummah's thought and personality. And systems cannot change their nature or performance unless the foundations, thought, psychology and values that the nation represents are changed, those on which systems and institutions are based and which are reflected in policies and practices, (***wa-li-dhālika***) **thus/therefore**, there is no escape if we seek to alter the Systems, leadership, and institutions of the Ummah, we must change the foundational level, in the way that the Ummah thinks and feels.

Here, the Arabic clause is introduced by ولذلك (*/wa-li-dhālika/ – thus/therefore*), which is a textual conjunctive that is used to signal cause relations. This cause conjunctive is synonymous with several other Arabic ones, such as ومن ثم (*/wa-min thamma/*), ولهذا

[1] */inna al-andhimata wa-l-qiyādāti innamā taʿkisu ḥaqīqata fikri al-Ummati wa-nafsiyyatihā. Wa-lā yumkinu li-l-andhimati an tughayyira ṭabīʿatahā aw adāʾahā mā lam tataghayyar al-ususu wa-l-fikru wa-l-nafsiyyatu wa-l-qiyamu allatī taqūmu bi-tamaththulihā al-Umma. Wa- taqūmu bi-ttālīʿalā asāsihā al-nudhumu wa-l-muʾssasātu wa-taʿkisu nafsahā fī-l-siyāsāti wa-l-mumārasāti, wa-li-dhālika fa-lā manāṣa idhā shiʾnā iṣlāḥa al-andhimati wa-l-muʾssasāti wa-adāʾa al-qiyādāti wa-l-ḥukūmāti an nughayyira al-ususi allatī taqūmu ʿalayhā hādhihi al-andhimatu fīʿaqliyyati al-Ummati wa-fikrihā wa-nafsiyyatihā/*

(*/wa-li-hādha/*), ومن هنا (*/wa-min hunā/*), وعليه (*/wa-ʿalayhi/*), وبالتالي (*/wa-bi-ttāli/*), among others. All these can translate into *thus* or *therefore*, and they can introduce clauses (as in Example 6–5 above), as well as paragraphs, as in the following example.

Example 6–6

فليست المهمة الإصلاحية التربوية اليوم مهمة ترويض شعوب قوية وإنضاجها؛ وإنما هي مهمة معالجة أمة مريضة ضعيفة تفتقد صفات القوة والإقدام والإبداع والانطلاق والبذل والعطاء والمحبة والرعاية[1]	
TT	**Literal translation**
Thus, the undertaking to reform education and upbringing in the Ummah today is not of the nature of training for a mature and developed people. On the contrary, it is a treatment for an infirm and feeble people who have lost their strength, determination, ingenuity, diligence, and love.	**(*fa*) Thus**, the task to reform education and upbringing is not a task to tame and mature powerful peoples, but rather a task to cure a patient and weak Ummah that has lost its strength, determination, ingenuity, diligence, and love.

The *fa* in this example is different from the one in Example 6–3 above because this time it is cohesive, not logical. In other words, it shows not only the logical relation of the foregoing discourse with the following, but also serves as a discourse organiser that contributes to the text cohesion. The translation into *thus* is therefore regarded as a non-explicitational rendering.

Second: Complex conjunctives

The complex conjunctives that I searched for in the data are those that introduce a clause or a paragraph and refer anaphorically to cause or result in preceding discourse. These included *The/One/Another result was/is; For this reason; The*

[1] */fa-laysat al-mahammatu al-iṣlāḥiyyatu al-tarbawiyyatu al-yawma mahammatu tarwīḍa shuʿūbin qawiyyatin wa-inḍājuhā; wa-innamā hiya mahammatu muʿalajatu Ummatin marīḍatin ḍaʿīfatin taftaqidu ṣifāta al-quwwati wa-l-iqdāmi wa-l-ibdāʿi wa-l-inṭilāqi wa-l-badhli wa-l-ʿaṭāʾi wa-l-maḥabbati wa-l-riʿāyati/*

reason for this; This is because; Because of this; For this purpose; With this in view; On account of this. As stated above, such expressions can readily be replaced by simple cohesive conjunctives, such as *thus, therefore, hence*, etc. Based on the cline of explicitness in Table 6–1, such expressions construe logico-semantic relations, in highly explicit lexicogrammar, at the same level as simple cohesive conjunctives. This is because they fulfil the two conditions of congruency and delicacy, in addition to their function as discourse signals.

ST realisation	**# of tokens**	**Status & total tokens**
clause complex with a vague marker, including *wa – and*	1	25 (57%) explicitation renderings
Cohesive sequences with no cause marker, i.e. insertion	3	
clause complex with a structural cause Relator, including *fa* as a conjunction, i.e. *since/as*	13	
clause complex with a non-structural/semi-lexical cause Relator	8	
cohesive sequence with simple or complex conjunctives	19	19 (43%) [= content] renderings
Total	**44**	**44**

Table 6–9 ST manifestations of instances rendered into complex conjunctives

A: Explicitational renderings into complex conjunctives

Table 6–9 shows the ST realisations that were rendered into such complex cohesive conjunctives. In total, 44 instances of complex conjunctives were cited in the TT. The explicitation shifts into complex conjunctives account for 57% and the non–explicitational renderings for 43% of the renderings. As in the case of simple

conjunctives, these were mainly translated from Arabic clause complexes, as in the following example.

Example 6–7

فالفكر المادي يقوم جوهريا على الأسلوب العقلي التجريبي الاستقرائي وهو ينطلق من العالم المحسوس والتجارب والمعلومات المتوافرة للتعرف على القوانين التي تحكم الحياة والكون، وهو فكر منبت عن أي معرفة مسبقة أو وحي منزل **لأنه** لأسباب خاصة بالأديان الكبرى الأخرى- خاصة المسيحية - فليس بإمكان اتباعها الثقة بأي معلومة مما جاءت في كتبهم المقدسة[1]	
TT	**Literal translation**
Materialist thought is essentially based on rational, empirical, and inductive methods so that it proceeds from experience and knowledge of the real world and extracts from these theories about the laws that govern life and the universe. There is no connection between this thought, however, and revelation. **The main reason for this** has to do with the Western lack of confidence in any of the major religions.	Materialist thought is essentially based on rational, empirical, and inductive methods and it proceeds from the material word and the experiences and knowledge available to identify the laws that govern life and the universe. And it is thought that is not connected to prior knowledge or revelation (***li-annahu)*** **for**–due to reasons particular to other major religions, especially Christianity, their followers cannot have confidence in any piece of information in their holy books.

In this example, the Arabic logical conjunction لأن (*/liʾanna/ – since/for*) links the underlined primary and secondary clauses. In other words, the two clauses are related logically by means of a structural conjunction. The translator could opt for a similar or an equivalent rendering by means of the conjunctions *for* or *because*, but he chooses to highlight the reason by opting for a connective that is more functional than *for*. The complex conjunctive he uses (*the main reason for this*), not only links

[1] */fa-l-fikru al-māddiyyu yaqūmu jawhariyyan ʿalā al-uslūbi al-ʿaqliyyi al-tajrībiyyi al-istiqrāʾiyy, wa-huwa yanṭaliqu mina al-ʿālami al-maḥsūsi wa-l-tajārubi wa-l-maʿlūmāti al-mutawāfirati li-l-taʿarrufi ʿalā al-qawānīni allatī taḥkumu al-ḥayāta wa-l-kawn. Wa-huwa fikrun munbattun ʿan ayyi maʿrifatin musbaqatin aw waḥyin munzalin li-annahu li-asbābin khāṣṣatin bi-l-adyāni al-kubrā al-ukhrā - khāṣṣatan al-masīḥiyya – fa-laysa bi-imkāni atbāʿihā al-thiqata bi-ayyi maʿlumatin mimmā jāʾat fī kutubihim al-samāwiyya/*

the two stretches of discourse but also includes a signalling noun that points back to the result in the foregoing clause, thus rendering the logico-semantic relation more explicitly[1].

B: Non-explicitational renderings into complex conjunctives

Because the TT instances in this section (complex cohesive conjunctives) are located at the highest level on the cline of explicitness, the non-explicitational renderings include those instances whose ST counterparts are either similar complex conjunctives or simple conjunctives (e.g. *therefore*). As Table 6–9 shows, there are 19 instances of non-explicitational renderings. Of these, there are only 2 cases of direct renderings; that is the markers are complex cause Relators in both the ST and the TT. The rest are simple Arabic conjunctives (e.g. لذلك (*/li-dhālika/ – hence*) reworded into complex English conjunctives, mostly at clause, rather than paragraph boundaries. This difference between the ST and TT in realising cohesive meanings could point to differences between English an Arabic in the use of complex conjunctives, a possibility that is explored in Phase 3 of the research.

1 The difference between conjunctions (e.g. because) and simple conjunctives (e.g. therefore) on the one hand, and complex conjunctives (e.g. the reason for this) on the other hand can be addressed by reference to the systems of Theme and information structure within the textual metafunction. While complex conjunctives function as topical Theme and Old information, conjunctions and simple conjunctives are only treated as textual themes (see, for example, Butler, 2003; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014)

Example 6–8

وبسيطرة الأعراب من رجال القبائل على جيش الخلافة والفتح تغيرت القاعدة السياسية التي تستند إليها الخلافة ولم تعد القيم والغايات والمقاصد والمعايير النبوية الإسلامية الخالصة هي تلك القيم والغايات والمعايير التي يستند إليها الجيش الجديد والقاعدة السياسية الجديدة. **ولذلك** كان لا بد أن تنشب الفتنة وأن تسقط الخلافة ليقوم في مقامها سلطان القبلية والعصبية والاستئثار والاستبداد، وكان طبيعيا، وقد تغيرت القاعدة السياسية، أن يستقر الأمر لسلطان بني أمية وأن لا يستقر لعثمان أو علي أو الحسن من بعده رضي الله عنهم جميعاً[1].	
TT	**Literal translation**
Thus the political foundations of the *khilafah* underwent drastic change due to the ascendancy of these bedouins. The purely Islamic values, objectives, and criteria that had been taught by the Prophet were no longer the guiding forces of the new armies or of the new politics. **The inevitable result of such a development** was infighting and the eventual fall of the *khilafah*, which was replaced with the power of the tribes and the ethnocentric and despotic tribalists of the Umayyah royalty.	and with the control of the tribes on the army of the *Khilafah* the political foundations of the *khilafah* underwent drastic change and the purely Islamic values, objectives, and criteria that had been taught by the Prophet were no longer the guiding forces of the new armies or of the new politics. (***wa–li-dhaalika)*** **Hence** it was inevitable that infighting takes place and the *khilafah* eventually falls to be replaced with the power of the tribes and the ethnocentric and despotic tribalists of the Umayyah royalty.

Example 6–8 illustrates the translation of an Arabic simple conjunctive into an English complex conjunctive. The ST in this example comprises two paragraphs that are cohesively linked with the conjunctive ولذلك *(/wa-li-dhālika/ – hence*). In the English translation, the translator opts for a complex conjunctive that includes explicit anaphoric reference to the preceding discourse (i.e. the result of such a development), although either the simple or complex conjunctive would render the

[1] */wa-bi-sayṭarati al-aʿrābi min rijāli al-qabāʾili ʿalā jayshi al-khilāfati wa-l-fatḥ, taghayyarat al-qaʿidatu al-siyāsiyyatu allatī tastanidu ilayhā al-khilāfatu wa-lam taʿud al-qiyamu wa-l-ghāyātu wa-l-maqāṣidu wa-l-maʿāyīru al-nabawiyyati al-islāmiyyati al-khāliṣati hiya tilka al-qiyamu wa-l-ghāyātu wa-l-maʿāyīru allatī yastanidu ilayhā al-jayshu al-jadīdu wa-l-qāʿidatu al-siyāsiyyatu al-jadīda/*

/wa-li-dhālika kāna lā budda an tanshuba al-fitnatu wa-an tasquṭa al-khilāfatu li-yaqūma fī maqāmihā sulṭānu al-qabīlati wa-l-ʿaṣabiyyati wa-l-istiʾthāri wa-l-istibdād, wa-kāna ṭabīʿiyyan, wa-qad taghayyarati al-qāʿidatu al-siyāsiyyatu, an yastaqirra al-amru li-sulṭāni banī Umayyata wa-an lā yastaqirra li-ʿuthmāna aw ʿaliyan aw al-ḥasana min baʿdihi raḍiya allahu ʿanhum jamīʿan/

logical relation equally explicit. As set out in Table 6–1, both satisfy the conditions of congruency and delicacy, and both also have a textual function as discourse markers. The cohesive power of such expressions was investigated by Flowerdew and Forest (2015), who however employ a different terminology, including signalling nouns, Type 3 vocabulary, and shell nouns, among others. These authors conclude that some of those signalling nouns "are strongly associated with a particular logico-semantic relation, to the extent that we can conveniently categorise them as signals of that relation specifically" (Ibid, p. 44).

6.4.3.2 Shifts into clause complexes

	Non-explicitation	**Explicitation**	**Implicitation**	**Total**
Semi-lexical conjunctions	3	32	2	37
Structural conjunctions	47	42	10	99
Total	**50 (37%)**	**74 (54%)**	**12 (9%)**	**136**

Table 6–10 Statistical overview of cause shifts into clause complexes

Table 6–10 provides an overview of cause shifts into clause complexes. Of 136 TT instances of clause complexes with structural and semi-lexical conjunctions, 37% are renderings of equivalently explicit ST realisations, while 54% are more explicit than their ST counterparts, and 9% are less explicit. It is worth recalling at this point that clause complexes are not all equally explicit, although they all represent congruent experiential realisations (by expressing each figure in a clause). For example, a clause complex with a structural cause marker (e.g. *since, as, in order to*, etc.) is less

explicit than other clause complexes with semi-lexical cause markers (e.g. *because*) (see Section 6.3.4 above).

In the following subsections, I illustrate the types of renderings into English clause complexes from the perspectives of the clause (i.e. experiential congruency) and the cause Relator (i.e. delicacy, logical and textual congruency). To illustrate non-explicitational and explicitational renderings into clause complexes, I discuss examples of both semi-lexical and structural conjunctions. From the first, I discuss all instances of semi-lexical conjunctions, because this group accounts for only 37 instances of the total 136 renderings into clause complexes. By contrast, the structural conjunctions I discuss are the instances of the *in order to* group and the conjunction *for*. The conjunctions of the *in order to* group are the most frequent of all the logical conjunctions investigated in this section (see Table 6–13 below). Also, this group is the only one where non-explicitational renderings outnumber explicitational shifts.

First: Semi–lexical conjunctions

The semi-lexical conjunctions considered in the investigation include *for the reason that, with the result that, and thus, and therefore,* and *thus* + non-finite verb. To these I added the conjunction *because*, taking account of the explicit lexical traces it contains. These conjunctions encode logico-semantic relations at a level that is less explicit than cohesive conjunctives but more explicit than structural conjunctions (see Section 6.3.4 above).

Domain	Marker Type	Marker	Non–explicitation	Explicitation	Implicitation	Total
Clause complex	Semi-lexical conjunctions	because	0	11	1	**12**
		with the result that for the reason that	3	5	1	**8**
		and thus/therefore thus + non-finite	0	16	0	**17**
Total			**3 (8%)**	**32 (86%)**	**2 (6%)**	**37**

Table 6–11 Statistical overview of cause shifts into semi-lexical conjunctions

Table 6–11 summarises the explicitation statues of semi-lexical conjunctions in the TT. Of 37 instances cited in the TT, 86% are explicitational shifts, because their Arabic counterparts are at lower level the proposed cline of explicitness (Table 6–1). Table 6–12 below shows the instances of semi-lexical conjunctions broken down by the type of ST realisation. As in the case of structural conjunctions in the previous section, the majority of explicitational renderings were from clause complexes with vague markers (17 instances) and clause complexes with structural markers (13 instances). Example 6–9 and Example 6–10 illustrate these shifts.

ST realisation	# of tokens	Status & total tokens
Clause complex with a non–finite dependent clause (no cause marker)	1	**32 (86%) explicitation**
clause complex with a vague marker, including *wa–and*	17	
Cohesive sequences with no cause marker, i.e. insertion	1	
clause simplex with a lexical/semi–lexical cause marker	0	
clause complex with a structural cause Relator, including *fa* as a conjunction, i.e. *since/as*	13	
clause complex with a non–structural/semi–lexical cause Relator	3	**3 (8%) non–explicitation**
cohesive sequence with simple or complex conjunctives	2	**2 (6%) implicitation**
Total	**37**	

Table 6–12 Manifestations of instances rendered into semi–lexical conjunctions

Example 6–9

وبذلك سيطر على دراستهما المعاصرة مفهوم التقليد التاريخي وفكرة النسخ، وضاعت حكمة السياسة الشرعية ومقاصد الشريعة وحركية الفقه والفكر الإسلامي،[1]	
TT	**Literal translation**
This is why contemporary Islamic studies have been overshadowed by traditional historical *taqlid* and the concept of abrogation (*naskh*), **with the result that** the wisdom of the higher purposes of the Shari'ah and the concept of a relevant and responsive fiqh were lost.	Thus contemporary Islamic studies have been overshadowed by traditional historical *taqlid (imitation)* and the concept of abrogation (*naskh*), (***wa*) *and*** the wisdom of the higher purposes of the Shari'ah (Islamic Law) and the concept of a relevant and responsive fiqh were lost.

Example 6–9, similarly to several others given above, represents a shift in the type of expansion. The extension (additive) marker *wa* in the Arabic is rendered into the

[1] */wa-bi-dhālika sayṭara ʿalā dirāsatihimā al-muʿaṣirati mafhūmu al-taqlīdi al-tārīkhiyyi wa-fikratu al-naskh, wa-ḍāʿat ḥikmatu al-siyāsati al-sharʿiyyati wa-maqāṣidi al-sharīʿati wa-ḥarakiyatu al-fiqhi wa-l-fikri al-islāmiy/*

enhancing expression of cause *with the result that,* which is an inter-textually explicitational shift.

Example 6–10

إن المطلوب منا هو فهم البعد الفكري والثقافي في الحلول الأجنبية المستوردة حتى لا يضيع منا مزيد من الوقت في التقليد والتبعية والمحاكاة **لكي** لا نجلب مزيداً من المعاناة والألم والحسرات لأنفسنا ولأمتنا[1].	
TT	**Literal translation**
What is required of us is that we understand the intellectual and cultural dimensions of the imported foreign solutions. If we can accomplish this, then we will not waste any more time on imitation and parody, **and therefore** spare ourselves and the rest of the Ummah more suffering and pain.	Certainly, what is required of us is understanding the intellectual and cultural dimensions of the imported foreign solutions so that we do not waste any more time on imitation and parody, (***li-kay***) **so that** we do not cause more suffering, pain and sorrow to ourselves and our Ummah.

Example 6–10 is an Arabic clause complex with the conjunction of purpose لكي (*li-kay* – so *that*) that is translated into English as a clause complex with a conjunction and a conjunctive (*and therefore*). Despite the unchanged type of expansion (both are enhancing) and taxis (both are paratactic), the use of the non-structural conjunctive *therefore* as a conjunction helps render the logico-semantic relation of cause more explicit.

[1] */inna al-maṭlūba minna huwa fahmu al-buʿdi al-fikriyyi wa-l-thaqāfiyyi fī al-ḥulūli al-ajnabiyyati al-mustawradati ḥattā lā yaḍīʿa minnā mazīdun mina al-waqti fī al-taqlīdi wa-l-tabaʿiyyati wa-l-muḥākāti li-kay lā najliba mazīdan mina al-muʿānāti wa-l-alami wa-l-ḥasarāti li-anfusinā wa-li-ummatinā/*

Second: Structural conjunctions

Domain	Marker type	Marker	Non-explicitation	Explicitation	Implicitation	Total
Clause complexing	Structural conjunctions	for	8	18	2	**28**
		since	0	5	0	**5**
		in order to/that/for so as to/ so that	39	19	8	**66**
Total			**47 (47%)**	**42 (43%)**	**10 (10%)**	**99**

Table 6–13 Statistical overview of cause shifts into structural conjunctions

As operationalised in Table 6–1, conjunctions that can be considered structural are those that do not show explicit traces of their semantic meaning and/or can denote different types of logico-semantic relations. For example, the conjunction *for* is structural because of its multifunctional nature in the grammar. The conjunction *because*, on the other hand, is quite explicitly related to the semantic meaning of cause, hence counting it as a semi-lexical conjunction in this study. Table 6–13 above presents interesting results with regards to the conjunctions *for* and the *in order to* group. The TT occurrences of *for*, which introduces a reason clause, tend to be explicitational. On the other hand, the *in order to* group, which introduce purpose clauses, tends to occur in non-explicitational renderings. Note also that the conjunction *since*, which is the only hypotactic conjunction in the list, has the fewest number of occurrences. Possible reasons for these tendencies are given below.

ST realisation	# of tokens		Status& total tokens
	for	In order to	
Clause complex with a non–finite dependent clause (no cause marker)	2	2	**37 (39%) Explicitation**
Clause complex with a vague marker, including *wa*	15	13	
Cohesive sequences with no cause marker/ insertion	0	1	
Clause simplex with a lexical/semi–lexical cause marker	1	3	
Clause complex with a structural cause Relator, including *fa* as a conjunction, i.e. *since/as*	8	39	**47 (50%) Non–explicitation**
Clause complex with a non–structural/semi–lexical cause Relator	0	5	**10 (11%) Implicitation**
Cohesive sequence with simple/complex conjunctives	2	3	
Total	**28**	**66**	**94**

Table 6–14 ST manifestations of instances rendered into *for* and *in order to*

A: Explicitational shifts into structural conjunctions: *for* and *in order to*

Table 6–14 shows the number of instances of *for* and the *in order to* group that were rendered into English clause complexes with structural conjunctions, broken down by type of ST realisation, As the table shows, there are 37 explicitational shifts. Most of these (in the second row of the table) are renderings from Arabic clause complexes with vague markers, i.e. conjunctions that are not typically used to express explicit cause relations, such as */wa/* – *and.* The examples below illustrate such inter-textually explicitational shifts.

Example 6–11

والإسلام لا يهبط بالإنسان إلى درك المتاع والمادية، **و**لا يمتهنه ويسحقه أشواقاً وتطلعات روحية،[1]	
TT	**Literal translation**
Thus, Islam refuses to relegate humankind to the level of mere matter, **for** it refuses to suppose that humankind is no more than the stirrings of the spirit.	And Islam does not relegate human kind to the level of mere matter, (***wa*) and** it does not lower him to mere stirrings of the spirit.

In Example 6–11, both the Arabic and English are paratactic clause complexes; however, the linker in the Arabic clause is *wa,* which functions as an additive rather than causal marker. The translator managed to bring out the hidden cause–effect relation by opting for the explicit cause marker *for.*

Example 6–12

وهذا الانفصام بين علم العقيدة وعلم الفقه لم يكن مجرد انفصام شكلي تخصصي وأكاديمي، **ولكنه** انفصام فكري خطير ترك آثاره على العلاقة بين الدين ومفاهيمه ومقاصده وبين الحياة الاجتماعية ومؤسساتها[2].	
TT	**Literal translation**
This rift was not limited to outward appearances or even to specialized and academic issues, **for** it was a serious intellectual rift that had deep-seated effects on the relationship between concepts and purposes of religion on the one hand, and between social life and institutions on the other.	And this rift between the doctrinal science and the science of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) was not limited to outward appearances or even to specialized and academic issues, (***wa-lākinnahu*) and but** it was a serious intellectual rift that had impacted the relationship between concepts and purposes of religion on the one hand, and between social life and institutions on the other.

While *wa* is the most frequent vague marker cited in the ST, there are several other vague markers in Arabic whose main functions are not to show cause and effect that

[1] */wa-l-islāmu lā yahbiṭu bi-l-insāni ilā daraki al-matāʿi wa-l-mādiyati, wa-lā yamtahinuhu wa-yasḥaqahu ashwāqan wa-taṭallu ʿātin rawḥiyya/*

[2] */wa-hādhā al-infiṣāmu bayna ʿilmi al-ʿaqīdati wa-ʿilmi al-fiqhi lam yakun mujarrada infiṣāmin shakliyyin takhaṣuṣiyyin wa-akādīmiyy, wa-lākinnahu infiṣāmun fikriyyun khaṭīrun taraka āthārahu ʿalā al-ʿalāqati bayna al-dīni wa-mafāhīmihi wa-maqāṣidihi wa-bayna al-ḥayāti al-ijtimāʿiyyati wa-muʾassasātihā/*

are rendered with the cause maker *for* in the TT. In Example 6–12, the Arabic instance is a clause complex with the adversative conjunction لكن (*/lākin/ – but*), which is prototypically a marker of extension rather than enhancement. In extension, one clause extends the meaning of another by adding something new to it, for example an addition, a replacement, or an alternative (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p. 472). As in the previous example, this use of the cause marker *for* in the TT entails a shift in the type of logico-semantic relation that brings out the hidden cause–effect relation.

B: Non-explicitational renderings into structural conjunctions: *for* and *in order to*

The non-explicitational renderings into English clause complexes with structural conjunctions account for 50% of the total renderings into such conjunctions (Table 6–14). In these non-explicitational renderings, the translator opts for direct translations of the Arabic conjunctions. These include the connective *fa* used logically, or the conjunctions لـ (*/li/*), لأن (*/li-ʾanna/*), كي (*/kay/*), لكي (*/li-kay/*), حتى (*/ḥatta/*), all of which can translate into *in order to.* This number of Arabic conjunctions that translate directly into any of the English conjunctions in the *in order to* group could explain the reason for the high percentage of non-explicitational renderings in this group. Two examples will suffice to illustrate this.

Example 6–13

ولكي تنجح الحركات الإسلامية المعاصرة في الحواضر الإسلامية عليها إجراء تجديد جذري في منهج الفكر الإسلامي ورؤيته الحضارية[1]	
TT	**Literal translation**
In order for an Islamic movement to succeed in the modern Islamic world, it must first seek to reform the methodology of Islamic thought and the way it looks at civilization in general.	**(*wa–li-kay*) And in order for** modern Islamic movements to succeed in the modern Islamic world, they must make radical reforms in the methodology of Islamic thought and the way it looks at civilization in general.

Example 6–14

كما ألغوا الحرف العربي وأحلوا محله الحرف اللاتيني **حتى** لا يكون للثقافة الإسلامية مجال في التأثير على الأجيال الناشئة،[2]	
TT	**Direct Rendering**
In order to nullify the effects of Islamic culture on future generations, the Arabic script was abolished and replaced with the Latin alphabet.	And they abolished the Arabic script and replaced it with the Latin alphabet (***ḥattā***) **so that** the Islamic culture will not have effects on future generations,

In these two examples, the clause complexes with لكي (*li-kay*) and حتى (*ḥattā*) are rendered into equivalent English clauses with *in order for* and *so that,* thus maintaining the hypotactic type of taxis as well as the logico-semantic relation of cause. In Example 6–14 however, the translator has changed the order of the clauses by starting with the secondary clause, rather than maintaining the unmarked order of primary then secondary clauses. This type of shift is not within the scope of our study, since it relates to shifts in the systems of Theme–Rheme and Given–New information (see Halliday, 1994; Baker, 2011; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014).

[1] */wa-likay tanjaḥa al-ḥarakātu al-islāmiyyatu al-muʿāṣiratu fī al-ḥawāḍiri al-islāmiyyati ʿalayhā ijrāʾu tajdīdin jadhriyyin fī manhaji al-fikri al-islāmiyyi wa-ruʾyatihi al-ḥaḍāriyyati/*

[2] */kamā alghū al-ḥarfa al-ʿarabiya wa-aḥallū maḥallahu al-ḥarfa al-lātīniyyi ḥattā lā yakūna li-l-thaqāfati al-islāmiyyati majālun fī al-taʾthīri ʿalā al-ajyāli al-nāshiʿati/*

6.4.3.3 Shifts into clause simplexes

	Non–explicitation	Explicitation	Implicitation	Total
Prepositions	10	16	2	**28**
Verbs & nouns	29	14	2	**45**
Total	**39 (53%)**	**30 (41%)**	**4 (6%)**	**73**

Table 6–15 Statistical overview of cause shifts into clause simplexes

In a clause simplex, cause is marked by a prepositional phrase, a verb, or a noun in the transitivity structure of the clause. Table 6–15 summarises the occurrence of clause simplexes in the TT. Of 73 TT instances of clause simplexes, 53% are renderings of similar ST clause simplexes (i.e. non-explicitations), 41% are more explicit than their ST counterparts, and 6% are less explicit.

Example 6–15

وإذا كانت غلبة الأعراب على جيش الفتح **وإسقاط** الخلافة الراشدية وإقامة ملك بني أمية في موضعها السبب الأول للتغيير والانحراف[1]	
TT	**Literal translation**
If the bedouin domination of the army that **led to** the fall of the *khilafah* and its replacement with the Umayyah royalty was the first cause of change and deviation,	And if the predominance of the bedouins on the army of conquest (**wa**) **and** the overthrow of the *khalifah* and the establishment of the Umayyah royalty was the first cause of change and deviation,

The explicitational renderings into clause simplexes were mainly from ST clauses with vague markers, as in Example 6–15. Here, the logico-semantic relation of cause expressed in the TT is far more explicit than it is in the Arabic text. The translation brings out the cause–result relation that is vaguely marked by the Arabic *wa.*

[1] */wa-idhā kānat ghalabatu al-aʿrābi ʿalā jayshi al-fatḥi wa-iṣqāti al-khilāfati al-rāshidiyyati wa-iqāmati mulki banī Umayyata fī mawḍiʿihā al-sabab al-awwal li-l-taghyīri wa-l-inḥirāfi/*

Example 6–16

إلاّ أنَّ **نتائج** هذا التقليد أيضاً كانت مزيداً من الضعف والتدهور[1].	
TT	**Literal translation**
In every case, however, imitation **led** to greater and more widespread infirmity and decline.	However, the **results** of this limitation have been further weakness and deterioration.

Non-explicitational renderings into clause simplexes are mostly from Arabic clause simplexes with the cause marked by the Process, e.g. يسبب *(/yusabbibu/ – cause*), تمخض عن *(/tamakhkhaḍa ʿan/ – result from*), نجم عن (*najama ʿan/ – caused by*), etc. This is the case in Example 6–16 where both the Arabic and English are clause simplexes. In the Arabic clause, the cause is marked in the Participant (i.e. *the results*), which functions as the Identified in a relational clause. In the English clause, the cause–effect relationship is expressed by the Process (i.e. *led to*). The shift that took place here did not involve a move across metafunctions. Since both usages are metaphorical, the rendering in this example is non-explicitational.

[1] */illā anna natāʾija hādhā al-taqlīdi ayḍan kānat mazīdan mina al-ḍaʿfi wa-l-tadahwuri/*

6.4.3.4 Summary of Phases 1 and 2

The results of the analysis of the inter-textual construal of cause–effect relationships are summarised in Table 6–16. Key findings of the analysis can be summarised as follows:

Domain	Non–explicitation	Explicitation	Implicitation	Total
Cohesive sequence	57 (36%)	100 (64%)	0	**157**
Clause complex	50 (37%)	74 (54%)	12 (9%)	**136**
Clause simplex	39 (53%)	30 (41%)	4 (6%)	**73**
Total	**146 (40%)**	**204 (56%)**	**16 (4%)**	**366**

Table 6–16 TT renderings in terms of explicitation status across three domains

- As the table shows, a majority of renderings in the domains of cohesive sequence and clause complex are explicitational. Non-explicitational renderings account for one third of the cited instances in these domains. By contrast, of the renderings into clause simplexes, non-explicitational renderings outnumber explicitational ones (53% and 41%, respectively).

- The table also shows that renderings into clause complexes with structural conjunctions are almost equally divided between explicitational and non-explicitational renderings; the latter mostly express purpose with the cause markers by *in order to, in order that, in order for, so as to,* and *so that.* On the other hand, renderings into clause complexes with semi-lexical conjunctions are mainly explicitational, mostly from Arabic vague markers.

- As illustrated in Section 6.4.3.1 and Table 6–8, around 40% of the explicitational shifts into cohesive sequences are renderings from the Arabic *wa*. These renderings do not always represent a shift from the logical to the textual metafunction. The shifts are from additive *wa* (which functions logically), or the continuative *wa* (which functions textually). In either case, this is inter-textually explicitational since *wa* is regarded as a vague marker, given its multi-functional nature. This finding is an indication that Arabic allows the use of *wa* to signal cause relations.

- As illustrated in Table 6–12 and Table 6–14, around 65% of the explicitational shifts into clause complexes (with structural and semi-lexical conjunctions) are renderings from Arabic complexes with vague markers, again mostly *wa*. These represent a shift in the type of expansion, from elaboration or extension to enhancement.

- With cohesive sequences and clause complexes, the explicitations mostly involve a shift in metafunction, i.e. from the experiential to the logical and from the logical to the textual. On the other hand, almost all the explicitational renderings into clause simplexes take place within the experiential metafunction.

- In short, the TT is more explicit that the ST in construing causal relations for two main reasons: First, the TT has significantly more cohesive sequences and clause complexes than the ST. Second, about one third of the cause relations in the ST are marked by vague or no markers. Table 6–17 further supports this conclusion. The table columns represent the number of cause markers in the TT, broken down by category, while the rows represent those of the ST. For example, the first row shows

the frequencies of the TT marker types into which the ST cohesive conjunctions are rendered.

		TT					
	Domain	**cohesive conjunctives**	**semi-lexical conjunctions**	**structural conjunctions**	**experiential markers**	**vague or no marker**	**Total**
ST	**cohesive conjunctive**	57	2	5	3	NA	**67**
	semi-lexical conjunctions	13	3	5	0	NA	**21**
	structural conjunctions	29	13	47	1	NA	**90**
	experiential markers	0	0	4	39	NA	**43**
	vague or no marker	58	19	38	30	NA	**145**
	Total	**157**	**37**	**99**	**73**	**NA**	**366**

Table 6–17 TT Comparison of Phase 1 and Phase 2 results

6.5 Phase 3: Registerial instantiation

In section 6.4 above, I looked at translation renderings as individual instances, comparing them with their ST counterparts in terms of content and actualisation. In phase three of the analysis, I evaluate the influence of the cause renderings on the TT with respect to their congruency with the expectations or conventions of TL register, i.e. registerial congruency. Here, I am concerned with the level of explicitness of the TT in comparison with registerially-related non-translations rather than with explicitation and implicitation as shifts between the ST and the TT. My assumption is that the overall level of explicitness, considered as the inter-textual explicitation status of individual renderings in their entirety, does not correspond to

the overall level of explicitness of the TT, considered similarly in terms of registerial congruency.

6.5.1 Data and methods

Phase 3 tests the above assumption. The data used for this purpose is the TT and a sub-corpus of social sciences formed from the BNCweb, which consists of 278 texts comprising 8,655,486 words. The corpus size could be too small to provide reliable data; however, as already mentioned, the main aim of the thesis is to demonstrate the method's applicability. The corpus is used to measure the degree of explicitness of the TT from the perspective of register-relevant non-translations. I performed a quantitative analysis by searching the corpus for the same English cause markers that were initially searched for in the TT, including those that did not return any tokens, and then comparing the frequencies of the corpus returns with those of the same markers in the TT. For the analysis, I used the same classification of cause markers as in Phase 1. After filtering all the corpus returns for each category of markers (i.e. experiential markers, simple conjunctives, complex conjunctives, structural conjunctions, and semi-lexical conjunctions), I calculated their frequencies of occurrence in order to determine the 'division of labour' among the five categories of cause markers in the social sciences register in English. I then compared these results with the corresponding frequencies in the TT.

To search for the cause markers in the sub–corpus at hand, I made use of the features available at the host website (http://bncweb.lancs.ac.uk) to ensure the accuracy of search returns, as shown in Table 6–18.

Tags/wildcards	Illustration:http://bncweb.lancs.ac.uk/bncwebXML/Simple_query_language.pdf
<s>	A tag inserted in query expression to match the boundaries of a region. This was used in the search of simple and complex conjunctives. Using this tag returned only those instances that are used clause-initially, which is the congruent position of conjunctives in a clause.
>>3>>	Special syntax, a tag for searching one item within a specified range of another, was used in the queries of complex conjunctives and semi-lexical conjunctions. For example, search for the expression 'The >>3>> {result} of this' will return hits that include adjectives, such as *the end result of this.*
_VBD/ _VBB	Part-of-speech tags that stand for the past tense and present tense forms of the verb BE, respectively. For example, the query expression 'The >>3>> {result} _VBD' will return all those hits that include *was* or *were,* as in *the result was that*.
CONJ	This part–of–speech tag was used in the queries of the simple conjunctions. For example the query {for/CONJ} returned only those instances in which *for* is used as a conjunction. In the case of the conjunction *since,* the search results still needed to be filtered in order to single out those instances that are relevant to cause and exclude the temporal ones.
*****	This is a wildcard used in queries involving word sequences in order to include an optional token. For example the expression 'Thus*VVG' returned all those instances in which *thus* is followed by a non-finite verb.
Case sensitivity	This query mode in the drop-down menu was used to distinguish between uppercase and lowercase results.

Table 6–18 BNCweb tags and wildcards used in the queries

These tags and wildcards were very useful and produced highly accurate and, in most cases, relevant results. This was confirmed by examining random instances from each screen. Some cases, however, required closer investigation.

For example, *therefore* could function in cohesive sequences and clause complexes (see Table 6–1). In cohesive sequences, it can occur clause initially (e.g. *Therefore, it is* …) or backgrounded (e.g. *It is therefore* …). In clause complexes, it can occur with

the conjunction *and* (e.g. *and therefore it is* …, *and it is therefore* …). Querying the corpus for *therefore* as a clause–-initial conjunctive was a straightforward process that yielded accurate results, thanks to the region boundary tag (<s>) and the case sensitivity mode. On the other hand, the search for backgrounded *therefore* in the corpus was not that straightforward. I looked up *therefore* in its lowercase form using the case sensitivity mode. From this I deducted the results I found for another lowercase realisation (and >>3>> therefore), which belongs to the domain of clause complex. The outcome was the number of *therefore* instances in its backgrounded realisation.

Another case that required closer investigation was that of the hypotactic cause marker *since*. To single out relevant instances of *since* as a cause marker, the query results were filtered using a random sampling technique. I used the research randomizer hosted at www.randomizer.org to generate 20 sets of 50 instances each, using a number range of 1–3000, which is around the total number of returns for *since*. After examining 5 sets, the frequencies of occurrences of *since* began to converge and this enabled me to estimate its overall frequency of occurrence in the corpus.

6.5.2 Analysis: Registerial instantiation

In Section 6.4 above, translation renderings were considered as individual instances by comparing their content with their ST counterparts, and the determination of explicitation status was based on context traceability, realisational congruency, and/or delicacy. The investigation showed that the 56% of the TT renderings (see

Table 6–16) were explicitational, most of which are renderings from the Arabic و (/*wa*/ – and) into English cohesive conjunctives and clause complexes. Non-explicitations and implicitations were found to account for 40% and 4% respectively. The investigation concluded that the TT is more explicit that the ST in construing causal relations because the TT has significantly more cohesive sequences and clause complexes than the ST, and about one third of the cause relations in the ST are marked by vague or no markers. In Phase 3, the aim is to reassess the effect of renderings on the TT in terms of their registerial congruency. The assumption to be tested is that there is no direct correspondence between the explicitation status of individual renderings and the level of registerial explicitness in the TT as a whole.

The corpus queries for cause markers returned a total of 41,167 tokens. Table 6–19 summarises the frequency of occurrence of the five categories of cause maker considered in the analysis. The percentages of the two categories of simple and complex conjunctives were combined because they were operationalised as equally explicit, i.e. at the most explicit end of the proposed cline of explicitness (see Section 6.3 above). (For the detailed results, see Table 6C in the Appendix).

Domain	**Cause marker type**	**Corpus query results**	
Clause simplex	**Experiential markers**	16,879	41%
Clause complex	**Structural conjunctions**	8,295	20%
	Semi–lexical conjunctions	9,763	24%
Cohesive sequence	**Simple conjunctives**	5,702	15%
	Complex conjunctives	528	
Total		**41,167**	**100%**

Table 6–19 Tokens of cause categories in the corpus

The results of the search demonstrate that English texts of social sciences make most frequent use of experiential markers (41%) when construing cause. In other words, the register of social sciences in English relies to a considerable extent on experiential construal of cause relations, which is low in explicitness. The two categories of cohesive conjunctives are the least represented in the corpus. This low frequency of occurrence of the most explicit categories of markers also indicates that the social sciences register is generally low in explicitness with respect to cause construal. The representations of the two categories of structural and semi-lexical conjunctions, which belong to the domain of clause complex (or the logical metafunction), are roughly equal. Together, they represent about 44% of the total tokens, which is similar to the percentage of experiential markers. On the cline of explicitness, these two logical categories are placed in the middle, but the category of structural conjunctions is closer to the least explicit end and the category of semi-lexical conjunctions is nearer to the highly explicit end. All in all, the table above shows that 61% percent of the cause markers in the corpus correspond to the less explicit half of the cline, i.e. experiential and structural markers. This division of labour in construing cause relationships can be seen as the typical distribution for non-translations in this genre and provides a benchmark for evaluation of translated texts. Thus, a translated text can be considered to follow typical registerial conventions if it exhibits a fairly similar division of labour in its construal of causal relationships. In other words, a TT with similar distribution of cause encodings can be regarded as equally explicit/implicit as register-relevant non-translations.

Domain	Cause marker type	TT tokens	
Clause simplex	**Experiential markers**	73	20%
Clause complex	**Structural conjunctions**	99	27%
	Semi–lexical conjunctions	37	10%
Cohesive sequence	**Simple conjunctives**	113	43%
	Complex conjunctives	44	
Total		**366**	**100%**

Table 6–20 Tokens of cause categories in the TT

Table 6–20 shows the numbers of tokens and percentages of the categories of cause markers in the TT. The most represented category is that of cohesive conjunctives (43%), which is the most explicit on the cline of explicitness. In combination with the tokens of the second most explicit category, i.e. semi–lexical conjunctions, 53% of all tokens correspond to the more explicit half of the cline. Of the remaining 47% of tokens that correspond to the less explicit half of the cline, the category of experiential markers represents only 20% of the total. The low representation of the least explicit category and the high representation of the most explicit category indicate that the TT at hand is generally high in explicitness with respect to cause construal.

Figure 6–2 compares the distribution of the cause marker categories in the corpus and the TT, highlighting the marked differences in frequency of occurrence of all categories of cause markers.

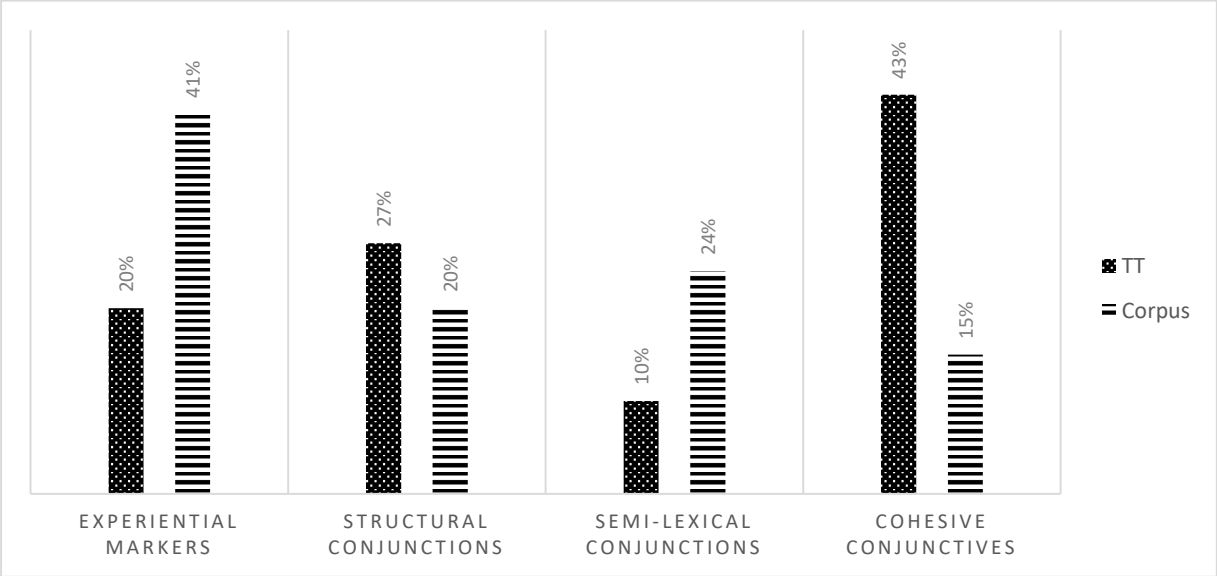

Figure 6–2 Distribution of cause categories in the TT and corpus

Overall, it is clear that the TT is more explicit than non-translations in construing causal relations; as indicated above, 61% of tokens in the corpus correspond to the less explicit half of the cline, compared to 47% in the TT. By contrast, 39% of the corpus tokens correspond to the most explicit half of the cline, compared to 53% in the TT. In the rest of this section, I compare the findings of the inter-textual phases with the results found at the registerial level for each category of marker.

6.5.2.1 Cohesive conjunctives

Simple conjunctives (e.g. *therefore, thus, as a result*) share with complex conjunctives (e.g. *for this reason, the result is that*) the highest level of explicitness of all cause markers. In the first phase, 157 cohesive conjunctives were cited in the TT. Of these, 64% were found to be inter-textually explicitational and 36% were non-explicitational renderings (see Table 6–7). Considering these renderings from a registerial perspective (Table 6–21 below), it is notable that the percentage of

cohesive sequences in the TT is almost three times the percentage in the corpus. The results of a chi-square test indicate that this difference is highly significant (X^2 = 212.741, p < 0.05). This indicates that about two-thirds of the conjunctives in the TT are not registerially instantiated, since non-translated social sciences texts do not typically contain so many cohesive sequences. As conjunctives are the most explicit of all cause markers, this means that these instances are registerially explicitational. In short, renderings into cohesive conjunctives are explicitational both inter–textually and registerially.

	TT	**Corpus**
cohesive conjunctives	157	6,230
Total cause markers	366	41,167
relative frequency	**43%**	**15%**

Table 6–21 Tokens of cohesive conjunctives in the corpus and TT

6.5.2.2 Semi-lexical conjunctions

Semi-lexical conjunctions (e.g. *and for this reason, and therefore, with the result that, because*, etc.) are more explicit realisations of cause than structural conjunctions, clause simplexes, and other realisations with vague or missing markers, but they are less explicit than simple and complex conjunctives. In Phase 2, 86% of the 37 cited semi–lexical conjunctions were classified as inter-textually explicitational, as they were renderings from less explicit ST realisations, mainly vague markers and structural conjunctions (see Table 6–11 above). The TT contains relatively few semi-lexical conjunctions, amounting to 10% of total cause markers, a significantly lower percentage than in the corpus (24%; X^2 = 36.502, p < 0.05) (see Table 6–22 below). This means that all the TT causal instances with semi-lexical conjunctions, including

the 86% inter–textually explicitational cases, are registerially instantiated. Their frequency of occurrence in the TT is no greater than expected in non-translated social sciences; thus their registerial effect as a whole is neither explicitational nor implicitational.

	TT	**Corpus**
semi–lexical conjunctions	37	9,763
Total cause markers	366	41,167
relative frequency	**10%**	**24%**

Table 6–22 Tokens of semi-lexical conjunctions in the corpus and TT

6.5.2.3 Experiential markers

The experiential realisation of cause–effect relationships, in a Participant, a Circumstance, or the Process, corresponds to a low level of explicitness. In Phase 2, a percentage of 41% of the 73 cited experiential instances were found to be inter-textually explicitational while 53% were non-explicitational renderings (see Table 6–15 above). The TT contains a significantly lower percentage of experiential markers than in the corpus (20% vs. 41%; X^2 = 65.712, $p < 0.05$) (see Table 6–23 below). Since frequency of occurrence of experiential markers in the corpus is double that of the TT, all the TT tokens, including the 41% explicitational ones, are registerially instantiated, and thus do not affect the level of explicitness. Because experiential realisation is low in explicitness, this means that the frequency representing the missing experiential markers in the TT corresponds to the use of more explicit realizations, such as clause complexes and cohesive sequences.

	TT	Corpus
experiential markers	73	16,879
Total cause markers	366	41,167
relative frequency	**20%**	**41%**

Table 6–23 Tokens of experiential markers in the corpus and TT

6.5.2.4 Structural conjunctions

Structural conjunctions (e.g. *in order to, so, so that*, etc.) represent a less explicit level than cohesive conjunctives and semi–lexical conjunctions, but they are more explicit than experiential markers, and other realisations with vague or missing markers. In Phase 2, the 99 instances cited were divided almost equally between explicitational shifts (43%) and non–explicitational renderings (47%) (see Table 6–13 above). The TT contains a significantly higher percentage of structural conjunctions than in the corpus (27% vs. 20%; X^2 = 10.285, $p < 0.05$) (see Table 6–24 below). Unlike the three previous categories, in this case it is not as straightforward to decide whether the effect of these additional instances of structural conjunctions, compared to what is expected in the corpus, is registerially explicitational or implicitational. This is because these structural conjunctions could have alternatively been rendered into any of the other realisations of cause, which can be less explicit (as in the cases of clause simplexes, vague or missing markers), or more explicit (as in semi–lexical conjunctions and simple and complex conjunctives). However, it can be tentatively argued, since the data is compositional in nature (referring to proportions of a whole), that the score of this fourth category can be derived from the scores that have been established for the other three categories. Specifically, since the two categories of experiential markers and semi-lexical conjunctions are under-represented in the TT,

the additional TT's instances of structural conjunctions might be divided in half between explicitation and implicitation.

	TT	**Corpus**
structural conjunctions	99	8,295
Total cause markers	366	41,167
relative frequency	**27%**	**20%**

Table 6–24 Tokens of structural conjunctions in the corpus and TT

In short, both the overall distribution of causal realisations and the results of the chi-square tests confirm that the category of cohesive conjunctives is over-represented in the TT compared to the corpus, while the categories of semi-lexical conjunctions and experiential markers are under-represented. Thus, if the aim was to achieve registerial congruency between the TT and the corpus, more than half the cohesive sequences could/should have been rendered as clause simplexes or as clause complexes with semi-lexical markers.

6.6 Final remarks

This chapter presented a case study that was aimed at testing the model proposed for investigating explicitation and implicitation as translational shifts as well as explicitness and implicitness as features of translated language. The empirical mixed-method approach adopted in this study relied on investigating the TT first against the ST and then register-related non-translations. In the first two phases of the analysis, I examined the translation of Arabic cause construal into English in terms of translation shifts that occurred in the process of translation. The results of the inter-textual

comparison indicate that explicitational shifts in the TT exceeded non-explicitational renderings. This is because the TT contains significantly more cohesive sequences and clause complexes than the ST. Furthermore, about one-third of the realisations of cause relations in the ST are signalled by vague markers (very often Arabic *wa* and *fa*) or no markers.

To evaluate the effect of the TT renderings on its level of explicitness relative to English non-translations in the same genre, and at the same time test the assumption that those renderings do not necessarily have the same explicitational effect if considered in terms of instantiation, rather than realisation, I investigated a sub-corpus of English non-translations from the genre of social sciences and quantitatively compared the frequency and distribution of the cause renderings in the TT compared with those in the corpus. The results indicate that renderings in the TT into two of the four investigated categories of cause Relators (i.e. semi-lexical conjunctions and experiential markers) do not affect the TT's level of explicitness. Their frequency of occurrence in the TT is less than expected in non-translated social science texts; thus the effect of the TT's renderings into these categories, including the inter-textually explicitational ones, is neither explicitational nor implicitational. By contrast, renderings in the TT into cohesive sequences are explicitational both inter-textually and registerially. The instances of the fourth category, clause complexes with structural conjunction, are either explicitational or implicitational. These findings are in line with the main assumption made in the introductory chapter. Shifts and non-shifts between the ST and the TT do not necessarily have the same effect when the TT as a whole is viewed from the vantage point of the relevant register/genre. In short, the inter-textual status of individual shifts in a specific category of whatever

linguistic phenomenon under investigation does not necessarily persist at the registerial level of instantiation. It is the perspective through which the text is viewed that matters.

7 CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Introduction

The main aim of this thesis is to develop a model for investigation of explicitation-related phenomena in translated language. To this end, the thesis begins by examining relevant literature on translation shifts and the phenomena of explicitation and implicitation. The review identifies a number of drawbacks and limitations in previous research. The lack of clear, operationalised definitions of the phenomena under investigation leads authors to confuse explicitation/implicitation with explicitness/implicitness, increased/decreased information content, and specification/generalisation, among other related concepts. In terms of content, most previous studies confine their attention to features related to cohesive markers. Many of them, even among those although claiming to adhere to the descriptive paradigm, investigate the phenomena starting out from definitions of shifts, equivalence, and explicitation/implicitation that are rooted in purely prescriptive approaches to translation. Even SFL-based research has, at least until recently, focused on the target text (TT) from the perspective of the source text (ST) and the paradigms of equivalence and shifts in translation. Thus, a new model for investigation of explication-related phenomena needs to draw clearer lines between notions that are confused or non-operationalised in previous research. Moreover the model should consider the TT as a ‘fact in the target culture, i.e. the result of choices made by the translator within the systemic potential of the TL. To this end, it should take a comprehensive approach towards the TT, by considering not only the ST, but also

the TL register, examining not only translation shifts but also non-shifts and alternative translations of the corresponding instances in the ST.

SFL not only informs my critique of current research approaches, but also provides the tools required to describe translated texts both as realisation of ST meanings and instantiation of TL registerial conventions, at all levels from elements in a clause up to the text as a whole and how it relates to the wider language system, register, genre, and culture.

The proposed model applies the SFL approach to evaluate the extent to which translations (1) correspond to the respective ST and (2) adhere to TL conventions and fulfil readers' expectations in this respect. Specifically the model is designed to explore (1) the relation between explicitation and implicitation in translation renderings and (2) the overall degree of explicitness in the target text compared to similar but non-translated texts in the TL. The assumption underpinning the design of the model is that shifts and non-shifts in the TT in relation to the ST, taken in their entirety, do not necessarily correspond to explicitness of the TT in relation to register-specific TL norms and, therefore, readers' expectations.

I test the model by applying it to two case studies, one on the translation of manner of motion verbs in an English literary text into Arabic, and the other on the translation of cause markers in an Arabic social sciences text into English. The results of these case studies broadly support the assumption regarding the non-equivalence of inter-textual and register-related explicitation effects.

7.2 Revisiting the research questions and objectives

This section summarises the results of the research with respect to the objectives corresponding to each of the research questions.

7.2.1 Research question (1)

To what extent does the proposed SFL-based model provide a descriptive mechanism for the investigation of explicitation-related phenomena in translation from the perspective of both the ST and non-translations in the TL?

In order to answer the first research question, the following objectives were identified:

To situate and explain the rationale for the study in relation to translation studies and SFL.

This objective was achieved as set out in the first three chapters of this thesis. Chapter 1 explains that the study makes a significant contribution to translation studies because it deals with widely-debated phenomena from a standpoint that has been largely neglected in previous research. In this sense, the application of the theoretical framework of SFL to the study of explicitation phenomena is the principal methodological contribution of the thesis. The literature review in Chapter 2 highlights the need for a new model for investigating explication-related phenomena in translated language that rectifies the weaknesses and drawbacks in previous models, including the lack of clear definitions and procedures for operationalisation. Chapter 3

introduces the main theoretical assumptions of SFL, and the concepts to be used in the development of the proposed model.

To develop a comprehensive model capable of investigating translated texts and accounting for the features therein from different perspectives.

This objective is achieved in Chapter 4. The principal features of the model are summarised in the following paragraphs.

The proposed model comprises three phases. The first and second phases explore the inter-textual explicitation status of individual translational instances in the TT compared to their ST counterparts and possible alternative TL realisations of the corresponding content. The third phase adopts a different perspective and explores the explicitation status of the TT as whole in relation to comparable TL non-translations.

Concretely, Phase 1 examines the TT to identify content shifts and non-shifts in renderings of a certain feature, or study object, such as manner of motion verbs or cause relations. Identified instances are then categorised based on the amount of content (more, less or the same) in the TT rendering compared to the corresponding realisation in the ST. As a further step in the inter-textual comparison, the identified content shifts and non-shifts are then considered in terms of context traceability. Context traceability is operationalised by considering four pairs of content renderings: insertions and additions, deletions and omissions, direct renderings and rewordings, and unpacking and packing. The parameter of traceability is used to differentiate between inter-textually recoverable content shifts that explicitate/implicitate

information in the ST and those that increase/decrease the information content of the TT, relative to the ST, by adding or omitting information.

Deciding on inter-textual recoverability prepares the ground for Phase 2, which determines the explicitational status of TT renderings identified in Phase 1. Phase 2 compares all inter-textually recoverable renderings against their ST counterparts and other alternative realisations within the systemic potential of the TL, and determines their explicitation status with reference to the parameters of realisational congruency and delicacy. In general, a shift from incongruent to congruent (or up the cline of realisational congruency, also referred to as de-metaphorisation) or from less delicate to the delicate (or up the cline of delicacy) results in inter-textual explicitation. Shifts the other way round generally result in inter-textual implicitation. A further parameter was proposed for determining explicitation status, i.e. the 'alternatives availability' condition (see Section 4.4). However application of the model in the case studies showed that this parameter has limited practical relevance, as explained below in Section 7.3. The procedure is explained in detail in Chapter 4 and its application is demonstrated in the two case studies.

Phase 3 of the model adopts a macro-level perspective and looks at renderings as instantiations in the register. Here the cited instances are looked at collectively (in categories) against registerial conventions or preferences, rather than individually against their ST counterparts. This procedure is in keeping with the viewpoint of this thesis, informed by SFL, that the text itself should be considered as an instance linked to the socio-cultural context in which it operates, rather than a set of isolated lexicogrammatical constructions. Using information obtained from corpus queries,

Phase 3 conducts a quantitative analysis of authentic TL texts, in order to elucidate the division of labour in the relevant TL register among different lexicogrammatical realisations of the linguistic features under investigation. For example, in the first case study, this analysis examines the extent to which literary texts in Arabic favour the use of manner of motion verbs or no-manner verbs. The frequencies of occurrence of these lexicogrammatical realisations in the TT, based on results from Phases 1 and 2, are then compared to their frequencies in respective TL non-translations. This macro-level analysis sheds light on how TT renderings affect the overall level of explicitness of the TT compared to TL non-translations, with respect to the linguistic feature under investigation.

7.2.2 Research question (2A)

Given that Arabic and English are claimed to differ in terms of the attention they give to manner and in how they construe manner meanings, to what extent can the proposed model prove useful for investigating explicitation-related phenomena in English-into-Arabic translated literary texts with reference to manner of motion construal?

To answer Question (2A), the following objectives were identified:

To justify the choice of the phenomenon of manner of motion verbs as a case relevant to explicitation-related phenomena in translation.

This objective was achieved as set out in Section 5.2.1. The most compelling justification is the claim made by cognitive linguists (e.g. Talmy, 1991, 2000; Slobin,

1996, 1997) that languages, as well as genres, differ in how they lexicalise manner; and that speakers of different languages show varying preferences for manner expression (Slobin, 2006). This claim substantiates the argument that the topic of manner of motion verbs is of immediate relevance to explicitation-related phenomena and to the proposed model (see Section 5.2.1 for further justification).

To provide further categorisation and procedures for operationalisation needed for addressing the topic of manner of motion verbs.

This objective was achieved as set out in Section 5.3.2. The cited ST verbs are classified into zero-equivalent verbs and verbs with equivalents. This categorisation in terms of (non-)availability of Arabic equivalent counterparts incorporates typological differences and commonalities into the analysis. Specifically it provides insights into how SL verbs of different categories are rendered in the TL, and why they are rendered in a particular way. This enables classification of the types of translation renderings in terms of content; the classification was operationalised by tabulating the possible manifestations of each type of shift (see Table 5–1).

To apply the model to an English-into-Arabic translation of a literary text.

This objective was achieved as set out in Sections 5.3 and 5.4. Briefly, results from Phases 1 and 2 indicate that both texts (ST and TT) share the same level of explicitness when expressing manner of motion by means of highly frequent everyday verbs. On the other hand, in renderings of more specific manner of motion verbs, the TT is less explicit than the ST. This is because the translator opts for less specific manner details in rendering such verbs, particularly those which are not

lexicalised in the TL. These findings could suggest a conclusion confirming the claimed lack of attention to manner details in Arabic.

The results of Phase 3 are in line with the assumption that shifts and non-shifts between the ST and the TT (i.e. at the inter-textual level) do not necessarily have the same effect when we consider the TT from the vantage point of the relevant register/genre. The principal conclusions are summarised below. The first three points below relate to manner of motion verbs that are highly frequent in both English and Arabic. The fourth point pertains to more fine-grained manner of motion verbs mostly not lexicalised in Arabic.

Furtive motion and rapid motion can be realised in Arabic as verbs (e.g. تسلل */tasallala/* or انسل */insalla/* – both mean *sneak* or *steal*) or as enhanced constructions (e.g. دخل متسللا */dakhala mutasallilan/* – *enter furtively*), with both mappings being highly frequent in the literary register. The translation renders most of the English verbs of furtive and rapid motion as equivalent Arabic verbs, and avoids the more explicit enhanced constructions. Since this is not in congruence with registerial conventions of Arabic literary discourse, it can be concluded that the TT is less explicit than comparable non-translations in terms of expressing furtive motion and rapid motion.

Climbing motion can be realised in Arabic by means of manner of motion verbs (e.g. */tasallaqa/* – *climb*) and no-manner verbs (e.g. */ṣaʿada/* – *ascend*); however the latter occurs far more frequently in the literary register. The translator renders almost all instances of climbing motion directly into Arabic, and avoids the use of less explicit no-manner verbs. Since this is not in congruence with registerial conventions of

Arabic literary discourse, in this case the TT is more explicit than comparable non-translations in terms of expressing climbing motion.

Jumping motion can be construed in Arabic both as a verb (e.g. *qafaza – jump; wathaba – leap/jump*) and as a verb enhanced with an adverbial derived from the Arabic verbs of jumping motion (e.g. قافزا */qāfizan/ – in a jumping manner*), with the former occurring far more frequently in the literary register. Similarly everyday low-manner verbs of motion, namely *walk* and *run,* are far more frequently encoded as verbs than as circumstantial adverbials (e.g. جاء يركض */jāʾa yarkuḍu/ – come running*). In most instances, the TT renders English jumping verbs and low-manner verbs of motion directly into their Arabic equivalents. Since these renderings are registerially congruent, the TT has the same level of explicitness with respect to the use of these verbs as Arabic non-translations.

With more fine-grained, less frequent manner of motion verbs, particularly those that are not lexicalised in Arabic, the translation relies mainly on less expressive manner verbs and no-manner verbs, which is in congruence with registerial conventions in the TL, based on corpus queries of four highly frequent verbs, i.e. مشى */mashā/* and سار*/sāra/* (*walk*), خرج */kharaja/* (*exit*), *and* دخل */dakhala/* (*enter*). Thus, in this respect the TT, while implicitational at the inter-textual level (in comparison with the ST) is non-explicitational at the level of register (in comparison with TL non-translations).

Comparing the results from Phases 1 and 2 with those of Phase 3 enables some tentative conclusions to be drawn regarding the choices made by the translator. In general, the translator's choice of [–content] renderings in the case of verbs with equivalents in general appears to be unjustified, not only because it is done

inconsistently, but also because these verbs can translate into direct Arabic counterparts that are highly frequent in a corpus of Arabic literary discourse. The [–content] renderings of verbs with TL equivalents not only represent unnecessary implicitations or omissions, but also contribute toward reduced explicitness relative to similar TL non-translations. In contrast, implicitational shifts in renderings of zero-equivalent verbs could be justified by the fact that they are registerially instantiated renderings, i.e. in line with the preference in literary Arabic for low-manner and no-manner realisations.

7.2.3 Research question (2B)

Given that Arabic and English differ in how they construe cause–effect arguments, to what extent can the proposed model prove useful for investigating explicitation-related phenomena in Arabic-into-English translated social sciences texts with reference to the construal of cause–effect relations?

To answer Question (2B), the following objectives were identified:

To justify the choice of the phenomenon of causal relations as a case relevant to explicitation-related phenomena in translation.

This objective was achieved as set out in Sections 6.1 and 6.2. The main reason for the choice of the topic of cause construal was the fact that cause can be expressed at different ranks and within different metafunctions, from group to clause to clause complex, and even to longer stretches of text. Thus, translational renderings involving

such rank or metafunctional shifts can have explicitational or implicitational effects on the TT (See Section 6.2 above for further justification).

To provide further categorisations and procedures for operationalisation needed for addressing the topic of cause relations.

This objective was achieved as set out in Section 6.3. Cause markers were categorised into five classes: experiential cause markers (where a cause relationship is construed in a single figure, for example using a verb such as *led to*), simple conjunctives (e.g. *thus, therefore*), complex conjunctives (e.g. *this is why, the result is*), semi-lexical conjunctions (e.g. *for the reason that, with the result that*), and structural conjunctions (e.g. *since, for*). These are associated with three 'domains' of cause construal: the clause simplex (which employs experiential cause markers), clause complex (with structural and semi-lexical conjunctions) and cohesive sequence (with simple and complex conjunctives), and also with three metafunctions in SFL (i.e. experiential, logical and textual, respectively). Since shifts in cause expression in the TT relative to the ST involve moves across metafunctions, it is also necessary to consider explicitational shifts from this perspective. To this end, procedures were developed to operationalise three dimensions of realisational congruency, i.e. experiential congruency, logical congruency, textual congruency (characteristic, respectively, of experiential, logical and textual metafunctions, as defined in SFL). In accordance with the model, delicacy was also considered in the analysis of explicitation status.

To apply the model to an Arabic-into-English translation of a social sciences text.

This objective was achieved as set out in Sections 6.4 and 6.5. Briefly, results from Phases 1 and 2 show that the TT is more explicit than the ST in construing cause relations for two main reasons. First, the TT has significantly more cohesive sequences and clause complexes (mainly with semi-lexical conjunctions) than the ST. Second, about one third of the cause relations in the ST are marked by vague markers, often و (*/wa/ – and*), or construed using no markers. Across all categories, around half of the explicitational shifts in the TT relative to the ST are renderings of Arabic constructions with no markers, or vague markers. The remainder are renderings from other less explicit ST realisations, mainly from clause complexes with structural conjunctions into cohesive sequences and clause complexes with semi-lexical conjunctions (See Table 6–17).

As in the first case study, the results of Phase 3 are in line with the assumption that shifts and non-shifts between the ST and the TT (i.e. at the inter-textual level) do not necessarily have the same effect when we consider the TT from the vantage point of the relevant register/genre. The results can be summarised as follows, but see also Figure 6–2:

- Non-translated English social sciences texts rely heavily on experiential realisation of cause relations; that is in the form clause simplexes with the cause marked by the Process, a Participant, or an attending Circumstance. According to the operationalisation in Chapter 6, the construal of cause in a clause simplex is experientially incongruent (as well as logically and textually incongruent); this realisation is less explicit than all other realisations, except for those with a vague or

no cause marker. Because of the low frequency of clause simplexes in the TT, in this respect it is more experientially explicit than the comparable TL non-translations.

- The TT contains a higher frequency of cohesive sequences, and is thus more textually explicit than typical ST non-translations. The higher frequency of cohesive sequences in the TT compared to the corpus also corroborates the above conclusion that it is more explicit experientially.

- With respect to the category of logical conjunctions (i.e. the domain of clause complex), the corpus was found more logically explicit than the TT. However, in this particular category, which comprises two sub-categories, the corpus relies almost equally on structural and semi-lexical conjunctions. The TT, on the other hand, relies significantly more on the structural type, which is less delicate and thus less explicit.

Comparing the results obtained at the inter-textual level (Phases 1 and 2) with the results obtained in terms of registerial instantiation (Phase 3), a principal difference is that while the TT is more explicit that the ST experientially, logically, and cohesively, compared to the corpus, it is more explicit only experientially and cohesively. In general, the translator seems to favour textual realisations over logical and experiential ones, particularly in translating ST instances with a vague or no cause marker and clause complexes with structural conjunctions. One possible reason for the translator's excessive use of cohesive sequences could be attributed to an attempt on his part to translate a culturally-rich text in a manner that conveys the message to English readers in clear terms. In short, although the TT is generally more explicit than similar TL non-translations, the translator's choice of such a reader-based translation strategy appears to be justified.

7.3 Evaluating the model and answering the research questions

The methodological contribution of this thesis lies in its operationalization of SFL for the analysis of translations. The model proposed here makes use of concepts from SFL, i.e. realisation, instantiation and the notion of choice, to analyse translational renderings and the effect those renderings have on the level of explicitness of the TT relative to both the ST and similar non-translations in the TL. The concept of realisation informed the investigation of translational renderings as choices within the systemic potential of the language that are differentiated on the bases of realisational congruency and delicacy. Thus, unlike many previous models to explicitation, the current model classifies translational instances not only based on how much of the content or meaning is realised but also on how they compare with alternative TL realisations in terms of congruency and delicacy. This procedure recognises that explicitness is a relative concept that may be perceived differently in different systems; therefore, it is not enough to say that a TT instance is more explicit than its ST counterpart merely because the former is more congruently/delicately realised. Presumably, if explicitation is considered a “choice within the systemic potential of the language” then a rendering cannot be considered explicitational if no less explicit alternatives were available. Therefore, the following ‘alternatives-availability’ condition was proposed: A TT rendering that is more(less) explicit than its ST counterpart is considered explicitational (implicitational) if the TL allows for at least one less(more) explicit realisation. However, given the capacity of language to express almost any meaning in more than one realisation, it was tentatively assumed

that there are always more or less explicit alternatives in the TL, except in a small minority of cases where the SL realisation contains or refers to culture-specific information or common knowledge (see Example 4–15).

The concept of instantiation was helpful in considering the TT as an instance in the TL respective register. The notion of choice informed exploration of the division of labour among different mappings of the same linguistic feature, in a given TL register, in order to determine the extent to which the TT complies with these norms. In short, the model builds on the SFL perspective on language, assuming that a translation involves a relation between the two texts and the two language systems, as well as between text and register.

The investigation reveals that it is important not only to consider translation shifts but also non-shifts, i.e. direct TT renderings that share the same lexicogrammar and semantics with their ST counterparts. The consideration of non-shifts is an innovation compared with previous studies. It is necessary in order to form a complete picture of the explicitation effect of a translation, because non-shifts from an inter-textual perspective may be implicitational or explicitational when viewed from the perspective of the TL register. The model thus challenges how explicitation/implicitation has been seen until now and reveals the complexity of the phenomenon, highlighting the need to examine it from different perspectives in order to obtain a complete picture.

The analysis of the texts and corpora and the results obtained showed that explicitation and explicitness are convenient and applicable concepts for illustrating the relation between text and register in translation. The analysis in the two case studies showed that the overall degree of explicitness in the TT, as perceived by TL

readers, is not necessarily the result of shifts from the ST. This is because the level of explicitness of the TT in relation to the ST (the effect of shifts and non-shifts taken in their entirety) does not necessarily correspond to the level of explicitness of the TT relative to comparable non-translations. In this respect, what counts is the extent to which the TT conforms to preferences and conventions in the relevant register. This does not imply that the relation between the TT and non-translation should be given priority over the ST–TT relation. These are two different relations that are evaluated from two different angles and using different operational procedures. However, taking this broader view leads this research to challenge the assumption in previous studies of correspondence between ST implicitness and TT explicitness. It also rejects the simplistic association of explicitation and implicitation with specification and generalisation or with expansion and reduction. From a ST–TT perspective, a rendering that is more specific, or more delicate could be an addition (not traceable to the ST), or a mistranslation, or it could introduce a concept with which the TL readership is not familiar. Similarly, expansion, in the sense of using more text to express the same content (divided in this thesis into unpacking and rewording) does not always lead to explicitation; for example, in the construal of cause, a cohesive sequence comprising juxtaposed clauses is not more explicit than a clause simplex. From the TT register perspective, the totality of a certain type of renderings, say generalisations (manifested by a move down the cline of delicacy and therefore inter-textually implicitational), could turn out to be in congruence with registerial TL expectations, which would render them registerially non-implicitational.

In short, the model proposed here differs from those adopted in many of previous works in translation studies in that (1) it considers non-shifts along with shifts,

recognising that non-shifts can affect the explicitation effect of the TT relative to comparable non-translations; (2) it determines the explicitation status of renderings on the basis of parameters (traceability, realisational congruency, and delicacy) that characterise the shifts/non-shifts as instantiations in the text, i.e. as choices within the systemic potential of the language; (3) it takes account of alternative realisations in the TL (which could have been chosen by the translator) to shed light on readers' perceptions of the explicitness of renderings in the TT. These features of the model help overcome limitations in previous explicitation/implicitation research, such as the relation between explicitation and informativeness, and between explicitation/implicitation and generalisation/specification.

In short, the main contribution of the thesis is the development of an SFL-based model for the investigation of explicitation-related phenomena. Furthermore, the two case studies, in addition to demonstrating the model's descriptive potential, are empirical contributions towards the understanding of these phenomena. The studies address a wider range of linguistic features than previous studies of explicitation and implicitation, which have mainly focused on discourse markers. Following Teich (2003, p. 149), the criterion for selection of linguistic features for analysis was that they should be "typologically interesting" in the sense that they are "drawn from a set of contrastive features of" the language pair. In this respect, the choice of manner of motion verbs for the first case study was inspired by the results of a pilot study on circumstantial enhancement (including not only manner, but also location and cause). It was also motivated by previous research which found that speakers of Arabic would prefer to dispense with manner when it is not at issue, or when it can be inferred from the context (Maalej, 2011; Al-Qarni, 2010). The choice of causal

relations for the second case study can also be considered typologically interesting because the two languages, as confirmed by the study findings above, show varying preferences for different cause realisations. Teich (2003) also stresses that the features chosen for investigation “have to be interesting from the point of view of the register under investigation” (p. 149). This is also true of the manner of motion verbs investigated in Chapter 5, which are a key feature in the register of literature. Similarly, in Chapter 6, one reason for the choice of cause construal was that the investigated register, i.e. social sciences, is heavily dependent on construal of cause–effect relationships.

It is obvious that different linguistic categories (e.g. conjunctives and conjunctions) can influence the TT in opposite directions, leading either to more or less explicitness. Therefore, it is often the case that we cannot claim or conclude that a certain text is more or less explicit than its ST or TL non-translations in all aspects or at all levels. Rather, we can argue and contend, based on category-specific results, that the totality of the renderings of that specific category contributes towards making the text more or less explicit with respect to the ST or non-translations. However, the case studies show that, within the same translated text, the explicitation effects of renderings of particular categories, viewed from the register angle may be different from the effects of the same categories when viewed from the angle of the ST. In short, even with respect to a single linguistic feature, it is not easy to decide whether a text, as a whole, is more/less explicit relative to comparable non-translations. Perhaps this is only possible when the majority of investigated categories are registerially explicitational/implicitational. In the case study on cause relations, for example, it was fairly safe to conclude that TT is more explicit than the corpus in

construing cause relations because the TT, as compared to the corpus, has a significantly higher representation of cohesive sequences and a significantly lower representation of clause simplexes. It is worth pointing out that although the analysis is a quantitative one, it does not propose a way of quantifying the degree of explicitness; however, it enables us to make an informed qualitative judgement based on those quantitative analyses.

These findings of the case studies, could not have been reached without a multi-perspective model such as the one proposed in this thesis. For example, the conclusions with respect to the explicitation effect of the TT relative to non-translations could not be drawn only by comparing the TT and corpus for frequencies of a certain type or category of a lexicogrammatical realisation (e.g. passive voice constructions, cohesive connectors, manner of motion verbs), as in some previous models. For instance, according to these models, if a translated text has a higher frequency of manner of motion verbs than non-translations, this means that the translation construes manner of motion more explicitly than non-translations. Such an argument is not always valid for two main reasons. First, the ST could be peculiar, as compared to similar SL texts, in its use of manner of motion verbs. Therefore, results showing greater frequency of occurrence of these verbs in the TT and compared to non-translations do not provide definite evidence of explicitation. The difference could provide evidence for interference or shining through (i.e. that the translation is more oriented toward the SL), rather than for explicitation. Second, a higher frequency of a certain lexicogrammatical realisation in the TT as compared to TL non-translations could be the result of a tendency towards normalisation (i.e. over-use of linguistic features that are typical of the TL) on the part of the translator. To overcome this

limitation, in this thesis the TT frequencies are considered against corpus frequencies of multiple alternative realisations that differ in terms of explicitness (e.g. *sneak in* and *walk/enter/move furtively*). For example, in the first case study (Chapter 5), knowledge of the division of labour in the Arabic corpus among different mappings of rapid motion was required in order to determine the explicitational effect of the corresponding TT renderings. In the second case study, a similar procedure was adopted to determine the explicitational effect of the use of different categories of cause construal.

Using corpus tools was found necessary for the interpretation of translational renderings in terms of the influence they have on the TT from the vantage point of respective TL non-translations. Applying a corpus-based approach was useful in testing the assumption made in this study that a translated text cannot be considered more/less explicit than respective non-translations only because it is more/less explicit than the ST.

In summary, with reference to research questions (2A) and (2B), the proposed model proved useful in investigating explicitation-related phenomena in translations between English and Arabic of manner of motion and cause relations. Moreover, the ability of the proposed model to address these contrasting linguistic features and in both directions of translation suggests that it could be usefully applied more widely to a range of languages and linguistic features.

7.4 Limitations and research suggestions

Due to time and space limitations, and because the main aim of the case studies was to demonstrate how the proposed model can be applied, I could only use one translated work in each case study. I could have obtained more generalisable results by using more texts. Further research could be done on a corpus of translated works, rather than on one work, as in the two case studies conducted here. The texts used also had some limitations, which might have had an impact on the analysis and results. I had to do most of the analysis in Chapter 5 manually because the TT, produced by mechanical typesetting, could not be converted to electronic format. If the TT had been available in electronic format, I could have searched it for instances of manner of motion that the translator chose to render less explicit ST instances. As it was, such instances probably went unnoticed because the investigation was based on identifying the ST instances and then looking for their counterparts in the TT. Similalry, in the case study on cause construal, the English translation was a kind of free translation aimed at conveying the message of the original. To achieve this aim, the translator frequently resorted to deleting/omitting, adding/inserting, or re-ordering information. This feature of the translation meant that use of a parallel concordancer would have meant a lot of manual editing of the alighned texts. It also meant that starting the search for instances of translation from the ST was not possible (see Section 6.4.2). The direct bearing of this was the exclusion of [–content] implicitational shifts; starting from the TT did not enable identification of such instances since it did not identify instances of cause in the ST that are not rendered as cause in the TT.

Since the principal aim of the case studies was to demonstrate the applicability of the model, and not to formulate generalisations on the particular objects of study (i.e. manner of motion and cause relations), there was some room for subjective interpretation in applying the model, particularly when deciding on the traceability of translational renderings. As mentioned above (Section 4.2), a referential span of up to seven clauses was set for a shift to be regarded retrievable; however, because recoverability might be influenced not only by the quantity of text, but also by the quality of intervening material (Geluykens, 1992, p. 54), deciding on traceability at times required some intuitive guesswork.

Further research is required to test the proposed model, both within and beyond the case studies presented in this thesis. In the case of manner of motion verbs, there is a need to further explore motion and manner by investigating categories of manner of motion verbs similar to those investigated here. For example, the findings obtained for furtive motion can be examined through investigation of highly frequent manner of motion verbs that can be unpacked into Process-plus-Circumstance constructions. Similalry, the results with respect to the choice between manner and no-manner verbs (e.g. climb and ascend) can be further investigated by looking at similar types of motion that can be expressed in near-synonymous manner and no-manner verbs, e.g. تعقب (*/taʿaqqaba/ – trail*) and لحق (*/laḥiqa/ – follow*). In any case, it is recommended that a corpus of translated texts be used instead of one text, which would produce more reliable results with relevance to both the object of study (e.g. manner of motion verbs) and the textual feature being investigated (e.g. explicitness).

The model could also be applied to investigate text features other than explicitness and implicitness. In fact, the results of the analysis with regards to explicitness/implicitness of the TT *vis-à-vis* non-translations can be interpreted in terms of other features of translated language, such as shining through and normalisation. Teich (2003, p. 146) assumes that more than one tendency can co-occur in one translation, an assumption which she argues is also made by Baker (1995). Teich (2003, p. 147) asserts that two tendencies co-existing "in one corpus of texts from the same register … do not necessarily cancel each other. Rather, taken together they give a good picture of what is specific to translations as opposed to comparable original texts". For example, in the case study on cause construal, the category of structural conjunctions was found to be almost equally distributed in the TT and non-translations. This could be seen as evidence of normalisation.

One very important field of research that has been largely neglected in studies of Arabic relates to grammatical metaphor, i.e. congruent vs. non-congruent mapping of semantic meanings. In my research, investigation of the effect of congruency on the realisation and instantiation of meaning was based on the assumption that English and Arabic are similar in terms of how they realise semantic functional categories. This assumption was supported by very limited evidence; namely that in almost all traditional Arabic grammars, a Participant is typically a thing or person and a Process is typically signified by a verb. There is a notable lack of — and need for — more in-depth research on this topic. Further insights on this topic would have enabled more replicable analyses and more reliable results of the case studies. Such research should consider evidence from the ontogenetic development of the Arabic language. The ontogenetic perspective (i.e. that the congruent realisation is learned earlier by

children; see Halliday, 1978) is one of three historical perspectives referred to as semogenic processes, i.e. processes that take place through time (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, p. 17; see Section 3.4.2). Long-term research from this perspective could be conducted by observing how children develop the use of non-congruent forms as they get older. Research on grammatical metaphor, from the ontogenetic perspective or from contrastive and corpus-based perspectives, could expand our understanding of language and yield valuable conclusions about linguistic variations and commonalities across cultures, language systems, and registers. Such conclusions would be useful in translation research on features of translation.

Appendix

Table 5A: List of manner of motion verbs

amble, ambulate, angle, backpack, bang, barge, beetle, billow, blunder, bob, bolt, bounce, bound, bowl, breeze, bulldoze, bumble, canter, caper, careen, career, carom, cascade, cavort, charge, chicken, circle, circulate, clamber, climb, clomp, clump, coast, cock, coggle, crank, crawl, creep, crush, dart, dash, dawdle, debouch, dodder, drag, drift, edge, elbow, file, flee, flit, float, flock, flop, flounce, flounder, foot, footslog, forge, frolic, fumble, gallop, galumph, gambol, ghost, glide, goosestep, gyrate, hare, hasten, hie, hike, hitch, hobble, hoof, hop, hotfoot, hurdle, hurry, hurtle, inch, jog, joggle, jostle, jounce, jump, keel, labour, lance, leap, leapfrog, leg, limp, lollop, lope, lumber, lurch, march, meander, mince, mosey, mouse, muscle, nip, pace, pack, pad, pan, parade, pelt, perambulate, plod, plonk, plough, plow, pound, prance, process, promenade, prowl, puddle, push, pussyfoot, rabbit, race, ramble, reel, roam, roll, romp, rove, ruffle, run, rush, sag, sashay, saunter, scamper, schuss, scoot, scorch, scrabble, scram, scramble, scrape, scud, scuff, scuffle, scurry, scutter, scuttle, shadow, shamble, shin, schlep, shoot, shoulder, shove, shuffle, shuttle, sidle, sift, skedaddle, skin, skip, skitter, skulk, sleepwalk, slide, slink, slip, slither, slog, slop, slosh, slouch, snake, sneak, somersault, somnambulate, spank, speed, spirt, splash, splosh, spring, sprint, spurt, sputter, squelch, squirrel, squish, stagger, stalk, stamp, steal, steam, steer, step, stomp, storm, straggle, stray, streak, stream, stride, stroll, struggle, strut, stumble, stump, surge, swag, swagger, swan, sway, sweep, tack, tail, tample, tap, tear, teeter, thread, throng, thrust, tip, tippytoe, tiptoe, tittup, toddle, toe, toil, tootle, totter, traipse, tramp, trample, tread, treadle, trek, troop, trot, trudge, trundle, tumble, twist, vagabond, vault, waddle, wade, waggle, walk, wander, weave, wheel, whirl, whish, whisk, whiz, wiggle, wind, wobble, worm, wriggle, zigzag, zip, zoom

Table 5B Paired ST and TT instances of manner of motion and type of rendering

ST instances (Golding, 1954; 1996)	TT instances (Mhedili, 1988)	Back translation and type of rendering
The squareness of the rock allowed a sort of plinth round it, so that to the right, over the lagoon, one could **inch** along a ledge and turn the corner out of sight. (p. 131)	فالشكل المربع لهذا المنحدر يسمح بالدوران حوله بحيث يمكن للشخص **التسلق تدريجيا** إلى اليمين فوق البجيرة الشاطئيةعلى إفريز صخري ثم الانعطاف عند الزاوية ليختفي عن النظر. (p. 155)	**climb gradually** unpacking/ [=content]
Presently they all began to **inch** forward sweating in the silence and heat. (p. 166)	وفي الحال بدأوا جميعا **بالتقدم** إلى الأمام والعرق يتصبب منهم (p. 199)	**advance** [–content]/no manner verb
The creature was a party of boys, **marching** approximately in step in two parallel lines and dressed in strangely eccentric clothing (p. 26)	وظهر بالنهاية أن المخلوق كان فرقة من الصبيان **يمشون** ضمن خطين متوازيين **وبخطىمنتظمة** (p. 24)	**walk in regular steps** unpacking/[=content]
Jack got to his feet. His face was red as he **marched** away (p. 155)	نهض جاك على قدميه فبان الاحمرار على وجهه وهو **يسير** مبتعدا (p. 186)	**walk** [–content]/low-manner verb
Then the piglet tore loose from the creepers and **scurried** into the undergrowth (p. 40)	لكن الخنزير الصغير مزق شبكة النباتات التي تلفه **واندفع هاربا** بين الأشجار (p. 41)	**rush running away** unpacking/[=content]
The wood was not so dry as the fuel they had used on the mountain. Much of it was damply rotten and full of insects that **scurried** (p. 161)	لم تكن العيدان الموجودة هنا جافة كتلك التي استخدمت فوق الجبل. فالكثير منها كان عفنا على شيء من الرطوبة ومليئا بالحشرات التي راحت **تنطلق مسرعة**(p. 194)	**dash hurrying** unpacking/[=content]
He **tiptoed** down the sandy side of the pool, and sat there up to his neck in water (p. 18)	وأخيرا **نزل** إلى القسم الرملي من البركة **على رؤوس أصابعه** (p. 14)	**descend on tiptoes** unpacking/[=content]
He **tiptoed** down the sandy side of the pool, and sat there up to his neck in water (p. 99)	وقام بيغي **بدخول** المثلث **على رؤوس أصابعه**(p. 114)	**enter on tiptoes** unpacking/[=content]
Behind Jack walked the twins, carrying a great stake on their shoulders. The gutted carcass of	كان التوأمان يمشيان خلف جاك وهما يحملان على كتفيهما عمودا علقت به جثة خنزير مقتول تتمايل كلما **مر** التوأمان على أرض غير	**pass** [–content]/no manner verb

a pig swung from the stake, swinging heavily as the twins **toiled** over the uneven ground (p. 86)	مستوية.(p. 98)	
Simon saw a humped thing suddenly sit up on the top and look down at him. He hid his face, and **toiled on** (p. 180)	ثم رأى سيمون شيئا محدودبا يجلس فجأة على القمة وينظر إليه، فأخفى عينيه (p. 219)	**Not translated** [–content]/**<u>omission</u>**
There's less of that jungly stuff; and more pink rock. Come on." The three boys began to **scramble** up. (p. 34)	لا يوجد الكثير من الأشجار الكثيفة بل الكثير من الصخور الغرانيتية. هيا بنا. وبدأ الثلاثة **بالتسلق** (p. 34)	**climb** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
They **scrambled** down a rock slope (p. 39)	وقام الصبية **بالتزحلق** نزولا على منحدر صخري (p. 40)	**slide** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
Jack made a move toward Piggy who **scrambled** away till a great rock lay between them (p. 90)	ما أن خطا جاك باتجاه بيغي، حتى **اندفع** الأخير مبتعدا إلى أن فصلت صخرة كبيرة بين الاثنين (p. 103)	**rush** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
Then as though they had but one terrified mind between them they **scrambled** away over the rocks and fled (p. 122)	قام التوأمان **بالسير على الأربع** مبتعدين ثم فرا، وكأنهما يمتلكان العقل المرتعب نفسه (p. 144)	**walk on all four** [–content]/incomplete unpacking; less expressive manner
He **scrambled** round the fire, squatted by Eric (p. 122)	**وزحف** سام حول النار ثم جلس قرب أريك (p. 143)	**crawl** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
He was **clambering** heavily among the creepers and broken trunks (p. 11)	وبينما كان الصبي **يشق طريقه** بين النباتات المعرشة وجذوع الأشجار المحطمة (p. 5)	**pick one's way with difficulty** unpacking/[=content]
They had guessed before that this was an island: **clambering** among the pink rocks, with the sea on either side, and the crystal heights	كانوا قد توقعوا قبلا بأنهم على جزيرة وأدركوا بما يشبه الغريزة أن البحر يترامى من كل جانب (p. 37)	**Not translated** [–content]/**<u>omission</u>**

of air, they had known by some instinct that the sea lay on every side. (p. 37)		
Ralph was already **clambering** over the first smashed swathes of the scar (p. 50)	كان رالف قد بدأ **يتسلق** العتبات الأولى من الجرف (p. 53)	**climb** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
Here and there they could **clamber** over wave-wet rock (p. 144)	وهنا وهناك كان عليهم **تسلق** صخور بللها الموج (p. 172)	**climb** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
Roger **clambered** up the ladder-like cliff (p. 196)	**وبجهد تسلق** روجر المنحدر الصخري الشاهق الشبيه بالدرج (p. 237)	**climb with effort** unpacking/[=content]
Savages were **clambering** up the Castle Rock, right up to the top (p. 229)	كان بعض المنوحشين **يتسلقون** صعودا باتجاه قمة القلعة الصخرية (p. 280)	**climb** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
Where the pink cliffs rose out of the ground there were often narrow tracks winding upwards. They could **edge** along them, deep in the plant world, their faces to the rock (p. 34)	وحيث كانت صخور المنحدرات ترتفع عن الأرض هنا وهناك كانت ترتسم بينها طرق ضيقة ومتعرجة صاعدة باتجاه الجبل. وأخذ الثلاثة **يسلكون** هذه الطرق التي تتسلل أيضا بين تجمعات الأشجار (p. 34)	**take/travel along** [–content]/no- manner verb
For most of the way they were forced right down to the bare rock by the water and had to **edge along** between that and the dark luxuriance of the forest (p. 144)	فقد أجبر الصبية على السير معظم الدرب فوق الصخور الجرداء التي بموازاة الماء، مع **التقدم أحيانا بتمهل** بين تلك الصخور وبين ظلام الغابة (p. 172)	**advance slowly** unpacking/[=content]
Roger **edged** past the chief, only just avoiding pushing him with his shoulder (p. 224)	**واندفع** روجر بمحاذاة الرئيس، وكاد يصدمه بكتفه (p. 273)	**rush** [–content]/less expressive manner verb:**omission**
Ralph **edged** forward, feeling his way over the uneven surface as though he were blind (p. 229)	**تحرك** رالف إلى الأمام نحو الممر متحسسا طريقه عبر الأرض غير المستوية وكأنه شخص أعمى (p. 280)	**move** [–content]/no-manner verb

A sound behind him made him turn. Jack was **edging along** the ledge (p. 131)	لدى سماعه صوتا وراءه، استدار رالف فرأى جاك **يتقدم** على الافريز الصخري (p. 155)	**advance** [–content]/no-manner verb
Savages appeared, painted out of recognition, **edging round** the ledge toward the neck (p. 215)	فظهر المتوحشون مطليين بهدف التمويه. كانوا **منتشرين** على الافريز لجهة الممر(p. 262)	**spread** [–content]/no-motion realisation
Then he bent down and **wormed his way** into the center of the mat. The creepers and the bushes were so close that he left his sweat on them and they pulled together behind him. (p. 72)	ثم انحنى **وزحف** فاتحا طريقا إلى مركز الحصيرة النباتية. كانت النباتات المعرشة والشجيرات متراصة فترك عليها عرقه (p. 80)	**crawl** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
At last Ralph **wormed** out of the ferns and sneaked forward to the edge of that impenetrable thicket that fronted the neck of land (p. 226)	أخيرا **زحف** رالف من بين الخميلة السرخسية وتسلل إلى الأمام نحو حافة أجمة كثيفة تواجه الممر المؤدي إلى القلعة(p. 276)	**crawl** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
He took no time to consider but grabbed his sharp stick and wriggled back among the ferns. Within seconds he was **worming** his way into the thicket (p. 235)	لم يضع رالف الوقت في التقدير بل سارع إلى القبض على عصاه الحادة وراح يستجمع نفسه بين أوراق السرخس. في غضون ثوان كان **يزحف** إلى داخل الأجمة (p. 287)	**crawl** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
It would take them a week to break a path through the thicket; and anyone who **wormed** his way in would be helpless (p. 237)	سيلزمهم أسبوع ليشقوا طريقهم وسط الأجمة، واي شخص يحاول **الزحف** إلى الداخل سيقضى عليه (p. 289)	**crawl** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
He **wormed** his way through the thicket toward the forest (p. 239)	راح رالف **يزحف** عبر الأجمة باتجاه الغابة(p. 292)	**crawl** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
If you **wormed** into the middle of that you would be five yards from the edge (p. 242)	إذا ما **زحفت** إلى منتصف الحصيرة تكون مختبئا على بعد خمسة ياردات عن الأطراف (p. 295)	**crawl** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
Cautiously, his stick trailing behind him, Ralph	**زحف** رالف بخذر بين السوق المرتفعة وهو يجر عصاه خلفه. وحينما	**crawl**

wormed between the rising stems (p. 243)	بلغ منتصف الحصيرة استلقى زراح يصغي (p. 295)	[–content]/less expressive manner verb
He took no time to consider but grabbed his sharp stick and **wriggled** back among the ferns (p. 235)	لم يضع رالف الوقت في التقدير بل سارع إلى القبض على عصاه الحادة وراح **يستجمع نفسه** بين أوراق السرخس (p. 287)	**gather himself** [–content]/no-motion realisation: **omission**
When Ralph had **wriggled** into this he felt secure, and clever. He sat down carefully among the smashed stems and waited for the hunt to pass (p. 236)	وحينما **شق رالف طريقه** إلى حيث الصخرة، شعر بالأمان والنشاط (p. 288)	**crawl** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
He **limped** away through the fruit trees (p. 226)	وراح **يسير عارجا** بين أشجار الفاكهة (p. 276)	**walk limping** [=content]/unpacking
He turned and **limped** away through the forest toward Jack's end of the island (p. 227)	واستدار ثم راح **يعرج سائرا** عبر الغابة (p. 277)	**limp walking** [=content]/unpacking
"He must have had a nightmare. **Stumbling** about among all those creepers (p. 47)	لا بد أنه رأى كابوسا بعد ذلك **السير المتعثر** وسط النباتات المعرشة والزاحفة (p. 49)	**stumbling walk** [=content]/unpacking
"I was thinking of the light. We'll be **stumbling** about (p. 146)	كنت أفكر بمسألة النور. **سنتعثر** من دونه (p. 175)	**stumble** [–content]/no change in location
Bill started up laughing; then suddenly he fell silent and **blundered** away through the bushes (p. 80)	بيل الذي أهذ يضحك ثم لاذ فجأة بالصمت، **واختبأ** وراء الشجيرات (p. 91)	**hide** [–content]/no-motion realisation: **omission**
Simon, struggling with the bushes, caught his breath. His face was twisted. Ralph **blundered on**, savaging himself, as the wisp of smoke moved on. (p. 85)	كان سيمون يلهث وهو يشق طريقه، في حين تابع رالف قسوته على نفسه مع تحرك خيط الدخان مبتعدا (p. 96)	**Not translated** [–content]/**omission**
The butt end of a spear fell on his back as he **blundered** among them (p. 142)	كانت أعقاب الرماح تهوي على مؤخرته بينما هو **يتعثر** بينهم (p. 169)	**stumble** [–content]/less expressive manner verb

He **blundered out** of the triangle toward the drop to the white sand (p. 158)	**وخرج** من بين المثلث إلى حيث المهبط المؤدي إلى رمال الشاطئ البيضاء(p. 190)	**exit** [–content]/no-manner verb
The littluns screamed and **blundered about**, fleeing from the edge of the forest (p. 188)	راح الأولاد الصغار يصرخون **ويتبعثرون** هاربين من طرف الغابة (p. 228)	**scatter** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
A nearer cry stood him on his feet and immediately he was away again, running fast among thorns and brambles. Suddenly he **blundered into** the open, found himself again in that open space (p. 242)	وأدى صراخ أقرب إلى جعله يقفز واقفا على قدميه. وفي الحال انطلق يركض ثانية بين الأشواك والعليق. فجأة وجد نفسه **يندفع** إلى أرض مكشوفة(p. 294)	**dash** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
Together, joined in an effort by the burden, they **staggered** up the last steep of the mountain (p. 51)	وهكذا تضافرت جهود الاثنين حتى أوصلاها إلى القمة. (p. 54)	**Not translated** [–content]/**omission**
They were chanting something and littluns that had had enough were **staggering** away, howling (p. 115)	أما الأولاد الصغار الذين بدا أنهم اكتفوا بما اصابهم من غناء ودورانفراحوا **يتهادون** مبتعدين وهم يزعقون (p. 133)	**shamble** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
The sow gave a gasping squeal and **staggered** up, with two spears sticking in her fat flank (p. 166)	أما الخنزيرة الأم فأطلقت صراخا لاهثا و**اندفعت مترنحة** مع وجود رمحين ملتصقين بخاصرتها البدينة المشحمة (p. 200)	**dash staggering** [=content]/unpacking
the sow **staggered** her way ahead of them, bleeding and mad (p. 167)	وكانت الخنزيرة **تشق طريقها** بجنون والدم ينزف منها (p. 201)	**make one's way** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
They were just behind her when she **staggered** into an open space (p. 167)	كانوا قد أصبحوا وراءها مباشرة حينما **اندفعت** نحو مكان مكشوف (p. 201)	**dash** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
Presently the heap broke up and figures **staggered away** (p. 189)	تفرقت الكومة وراحت الأشكال **تبتعد مترنحة**(p. 229)	**walk away staggering** [=content]/unpacking
Roger became the pig, grunting and **charging**	وأخذ روجر دور الخنزير مقلدا صوته، **ومهاجما** جاك الذي تنحى جانبا	**attack**

at Jack, who side-stepped (p. 187)	(p. 117)	[=content]/Direct rendering
"You're a beast and a swine and a bloody, bloody thief!" He **charged**. (p. 220)	"انت وحش وخنزير ولص حقير ودموي" ثم قام **بهجوم** عليه (p. 269)	**attack** [=content]/Direct rendering
Jack, knowing this was the crisis, **charged** too. They met with a jolt and bounced apart (p. 220)	لما أدرك جاك بأن حالة التأزم المعهودة انتابت رالف، قام **بالهجوم** هو الآخر. (p. 269)	**attack** [=content]/Direct rendering
If necessary, when the chase came too close, he could **charge** the cordon while it was still thin, burst through, and run back	وإذا ما دعت الحاجة فبمقدوره هو أيضا حينما يقترب المطاردون كثيرا **مهاجمة** الصف وهو بعد ضعيفا غير مزدحم **ليخترقه** ويهرب عائدا (p. 293)	**attack** [=content]/Direct rendering
He tried to be offhand and not too obviously uninterested, but the fat boy **hurried** after him (p. 12)	محاولا أن يبدي عدم اهتمام بما يقوله الآخر، غير أن الصبي السمين **هرع** خلفه (p. 6)	**hurry** [=content]/Direct rendering
In a few seconds the fat boy's grunts were behind him and he was **hurrying** toward the screen that still lay between him and the lagoon (p. 14)	وفي غضون ثوان قليلة أخذ شخير الصبي السمين ينأى عنه. وراح **يسرع** باتجاه الحاجزالأخضر الذي يفصل بينه وبين البحيرة الشاطئية (p. 9)	**hurry** [=content]/Direct rendering
Only Percival began to whimper with an eyeful of sand and Maurice **hurried** away (p. 76)	ولما بدأ برسيفال بالبكاء **سارع** موريس إلى الهرب (p. 86)	**hasten** [=content]/Direct rendering
Then they tried to **hurry** along the rocks (p. 144)	بعدها حاولوا **الإسراع** فوق الصور (p. 173)	**hurry** [=content]/Direct rendering
He turned and **raced** after the other two (p. 33)	واستدار رالف ثم **حث الخطى** وراء الصبين الآخرين (p. 32)	**speeded steps** [=content]/Rewording
They found another pig-run parallel to the first and Jack **raced** away (p. 140)	لكنهم وجدوا درب خنزير آخر مواز للأول، **فراح** جاك **يركض** محاولا اللحاق بالخنزير عبر هذا الدرب (p. 167)	**start running** [=content]/Rewording
They **raced** along the pig-track (p. 166)	**وانطلق** الصبية عبر درب الخنازير (p. 200)	**rush** [=content]/Rewording
they grabbed half-burnt branches and **raced**	لكنهما قاما بانتزاع أغصان نصف محترقة **وهرولا** بعيدا على الشاطئ	**trot**

away along the beach (p. 173)	(p. 209)	[–content]/less expressive manner verb
Maurice flashed a smile at Ralph who **slid** easily into the water (p. 82)	هنا ابتسم موريس لرالف الذي **انساب** بسهولة إلى داخل الماء (p. 93)	**slide** [=content]/Direct rendering
Jack **slid** away from him (p. 152)	زحف جاك مبتعدا عن روجر(p. 183)	**crawl** [–content]/less expressive manner verb: **omission**
Then the creature **stepped** from mirage on to clear sand (p. 26)	**خطا** المخلوق الغريب من السراب المتراقص على الرمل(p. 24)	**step** [=content]/Direct rendering
Then they **stepped back**, laughing with triumphant pleasure (p. 51)	ومن ثم **تراجعا** وهما يضحكان مأخوذين بلذة الانتصار (p. 54)	**draw back** [=content]/Rewording
He **stepped aside** and looked back (p. 128)	انتحى سايمون جانبا وتطلع إلى الخلف (p. 151)	**draw back** [=content]/Rewording
Piggy took off his glasses, **stepped** primly into the water (p. 182)	ونزع بيغي نظارتيه و**نزل** متمهلا إلى الماء(p. 220)	**descend** [-content]/no-manner
Roger became the pig, grunting and charging at Jack, who **side-stepped** (p. 187)	وأخذ روجر دور الخنزير مقلدا صوته، ومهاجما جاك الذي **انتحى جانبا**(p. 227)	**step aside** [=content]/Rewording
He **stepped** through the screen of grass on to the little open space that led to the narrow neck (p. 214)	**وخطا** رالف عبر بقعة العشب إلى المنطقة المكشوفة المؤدية إلى الممر الضيق (p. 261)	**step** [=content]/Direct rendering
"--and them little 'uns was **wandering** about down there where the fire is (p. 61)	وكان أولائك الأولاد الصغار **يطوفون** هناك في البقعة المشجرة حيث النار (p. 64)	**wander** [=content]/Direct rendering **2 other similar instances**
When Henry tired of his play and **wandered** off along the beach, Roger followed him (p. 76)	حينما تعب هنري من اللعب، راح **يتمشى** على الشاطىء، فتبعه روجر **(p. 86)**	**talk a walk** **[=content]/Rewording** **1 other similar instance**
Then Henry lost interest in stones and **wandered** off (p. 78)	وهنا فقد هنري اهتمامه بالحصى وراح **يبحث** صارخا (p. 89)	**search** [–content]/no-motion

		realisation: **omission**
As they **pushed** forward the squeaking increased till it became a frenzy (p. 40)	ومع **تقدمهم** باتجاه الصوت زاد الزعيق حتى أصبح اهتياجا(p. 41)	**advance** [–content]/no-manner realisation
he turned off the trail and **pushed his way** through until the forest opened a little (p. 63)	**وشق طريقه** إلى الأمام حتى انفتحت أمامه الغابة قليلا (p. 69)	**pick one's way** [=content]/Direct rendering
Ralph **pushed** between them and got a thump on the chest	**ودفع** رالف **نفسه** بينهما، فتلقى ضربة على صدره (p. 130)	**pushed himself** [=content]/Direct rendering
Simon **pushed his way** to Ralph's elbow (p. 146)	هنا **أفسح** سيمون لنفسه **طريقا** حتى بلغ جانب رالف(p. 174)	**make his way** [=content]/Rewording
He **pushed** on, staggering sometimes with his weariness (p. 180)	وراح **يدفع بنفسه** مترنحا تحت وطأة تعبه (p. 218)	**push himself** [=content]/Direct rendering
He **pushed** himself forward and the wind came again, stronger now (p. 180)	**دفع** سيمون **بنفسه** إلى الأمام، وعادت الريح ثانية بشكل أقوى (p. 218)	**push himself** [=content]/Direct rendering
He **jumped** down from the terrace (p. 10)	**قفز** رالف من على مرتفع النخيل إلى الشاطئ (p. 10)	**jump** [=content]/Direct rendering
He turned neatly on to his feet, **jumped** down to the beach (p. 10)	عاد إلى الانتصاب بمهارة على قدميه، **وقفز** من مرتفع النخيل إلى رمل الشاطئ (p. 10)	**jump** [=content]/Direct rendering
He **jumped** off the palm terrace into the sand (p. 24)	**وقفز** الصبي من المرتفع النخيلي إلى رمل الشاطئ(p. 21)	**jump** [=content]/Direct rendering
		4 other [=content] direct renderings
Then he **leapt** back on the terrace (p. 10)	ثم عاد **وقفز** مجددا إلى مرتفع النخيل (p. 10)	**jump** [=content]/Rewording
He held on and **leapt** on the trunk (p. 101)	أمسك به جيدا **وقفز** إلى فوق القرمة الخشبية (p. 117)	**jump** [=content]/Rewording
Jack **leapt** on to the sand (p. 187)	**وثب** جاك على الرمل (p. 226)	**leap** [=content]/Direct rendering

leapt	**قفز**	**3 other =[content] rewording**
Then he raised his spear and **sneaked** forward (p. 62)	رفع رمحه **وأخذ يتسلل** إلى الأمام (p. 68)	**went sneaking** [=content]/Rewording
We'll put on paint and **sneak** up (p. 169)	سنطلي وجوهنا **ونتسلل**(p. 203)	**sneak** [=content]/Direct rendering
sneak	**تسلل**	**5 other =[content] direct renderings**
he **stole** forward five yards and stopped (p. 61)	**خطا** إلى الأمام ثم توقف (p. 67)	**step** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
Ralph disentangled himself cautiously and **stole** away through the branches (p. 14)	**تسلل** رالف بحذر مبتعدا عن الأغصان (p. 9)	**sneak** [=content]/Direct rendering
steal	تسلل، انسل	**7 other =[content] direct renderings**
The littlun Percival had early **crawled** into a shelter (p. 74)	وقد **أوى** أحد الأولاد الصغار ويدعى برسيفال في أحد الأكواخ **(p. 84)**	**take shelter** [–content]/no-motion realisation
he swam with steady strokes under Simon and **crawled** out of the other side of the pool to lie there (p. 82)	راح يسبح بضربات منتظمة مارا بسيمون حتى وصل إلى الطرف الآخر من البركة **فصعد** ليستلقي(p. 93)	**ascend** [–content]/no-manner verb: **omission**
Or if they climbed on, supposing the fire was all out, and they had to watch Piggy **crawling** nearer and the ship sinking under the horizon (p. 85)	وكان عليهم انتظار بيغي وهو **يتسلق ببطء** والسفينة تغوص وراء الأفق(p. 96)	**climb slowly** [+content]/ unpacking + more manner
Simon felt his knees smack the rock. He **crawled** forward and soon he understood (p. 181)	أحس سيمون بركبتيه تصطدمان بالصخرة، **وتقدم ببطء** إلى الأمام نحو الشكل وسرعان ما فهم كنه الأمر(p. 219)	**advance slowly** [–content]/incomplete unpacking

Simon turned away from the open space and **crawled** through the creepers (p. 180)	فانصرف مبتعدا عن المكان المكشوف **وتدبر أمره** عبر النباتات المتشابكة **(**218 .p)	**manage** [–content]/no-motion realisation: **<u>omission</u>**
Coming in the dark--he hadn't no business **crawling** like that out of the dark (p. 193)	لقد أتى في الظلام. لم يكن يجدر به أن **يحبو متسللا ببطء** وسط الظلام (p. 234)	**crawl sneaking slowly** [+content]/ unpacking + insertion
"--and then, the beast might try to come in. You remember how he **crawled**--" (p. 197)	ومن الممكن أن يحاول الوحش المجيء. تتذكرون بالطبع كيف **تسلل**(239 .p)	**sneak** [+content]/more expressive manner verb
crawl	زحف، يحبو	**4 =[content] direct renderings**
creep (1) = sneak Let's **creep** forward on hands and knees (p. 151)	دعونا **نزحف** إلى الأمام على ايدينا وأرجلنا (182 .p)	**crawl** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
creep (1) = sneak At first light he would **creep** into the thicket (p. 235)	ومع أول شعاع في الصباح **سيزحف** إلى داخل الأجمة (287 .p)	**crawl** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
creep (1) = sneak Find the deepest thicket, the darkest hole on the island, and **creep** in (p. 243)	عليك إيجاد الأجمة الأكثر عمقا، بل الحجر الأكثؤ ظلمة على الجزيرة **والزحف** إلى داخله (295 .p)	**crawl** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
creep (1) = sneak We spread round. I **crept**, on hands and knees (p. 94)	انتشرنا حوله على شكل حلقة. من جهتي **زحفت** على يدي ورجلي .p) (107	**crawl** [–content]/less expressive manner verb
creep (2) = move slowly They **crept** forward, Roger lagging a little (p. 151)	**وزحف** الاثنان إلى الأمام (182 .p)	**crawl** [=content]/Direct rendering
creep (2) = move slowly Jack went on blowing till the shelters were	راح جاك ينفخ حتى دبت الحركة في الأكواخ، **زحف** الصيادون إلى المنصة (187 .p)	**crawl** [=content]/Direct rendering

astir and the hunters **crept** to the platform (p. 155)		
creep (2) = move slowly He **crept** down a slope to rocks and scattered trees by the sea (p. 165)	**زحف** نزولا عبر منحدر يؤدي نحو صخور وأشجار مبعثرة قرب البحر(p. 199)	**crawl** [=content]/Direct rendering
creep (2) = move slowly The four biguns **crept** into the shelter and burrowed under the leaves (p. 202)	قام الصبية الأربعة الكبار **بالانسياب** إلى داخل الكوخ الأول ودسوا أنفسهم تحت قسم من الأوراق (p. 245)	**slide** [–content]/ less expressive manner verb
creep (1) = sneak Come on! I'll **creep** up and stab (p. 80)	**سأزحف متخفيا** ثم أطعن (p. 91)	**creep furtively** [+content]/insertion
rush–11 instances	**اندفع**	**rush** **11 similar instances** [=content]/Direct rendering
rush - 3 instances	**اسرع، هرع، هجم**	hurry, hasten, charge 3 instances [=content]/Rewording
and then had **rushed** back to the sunny rock as if terrified of the darkness under the leaves (p. 225)	**وليعودوا** من ثم إلى القلعة المشمسة وكأنهم يخافون ظلمة ما تحت الأشجار وأوراقها الكثيفة(p. 275)	go back [–content]/no-manner verb
He hastened back into the forest. Ralph stood up and **trotted** along to the right (p. 17)	ثم أسرع عائدا باتجاه الغابة. نهض رالف و**سار** نحو اليمين (p. 13)	**walk** **6 more similar instances** [–content]/ less expressive manner verb: **7 omissions**
Far off along the bowstave of beach, three figures **trotted** toward the Castle Rock (p. 207)	بعيدا عن منعطف الشاطئ، كان ثلاثة أشخاص **يهرولون** باتجاه القلعة الصخرية(p. 251)	**trot** **3 more similar instances** [=content]/Direct rendering
The pink granite of the next cliff was further back from the creepers and trees so that they	كان جسم الصخرة التالية متراجعا عن النباتات المعرشة والأشجار مما سمح للثلاثة **بالصعود** عبر الدرب (p. 36)	**ascend/ go up** **1 more similar instance**

could **trot up** the path (p. 36)		[–content]/ no-manner verb
When the other two had **trotted** down the beach to look back at the mountain he had followed them (p. 70)	كان سيمون قد لحق برالف وجاك حينما **تمشيا** على الشاطئ	**take a walk** **1 more similar instance** [–content]/ less expressive manner verb
walk–26 instances	**مشى**	walk [=content]/Direct rendering
Simon allowed his pace to slacken until he was **walking** side by side with Ralph (p. 128)	تباطأ سيمون إلى أن **أصبح بمحاذاة** رالف(p. 152)	not translated [–content]/no-motion realisation
He turned then and **walked** back toward the platform with the sun in his face (p. 95)	استدار بعدها **عائدا** باتجاه المنصة والشمس في عينيه(p. 109)	going back [–content]/no-manner realisation
Climb–30 instances	**تسلق**	climb [=content]/ Direct rendering
At length the guard **climbed** down (p. 229)	أخيرا **غادر** الحارس الذي انتهت نوبته(p. 280)	**leave** **3 other similar instances** [–content]/no-manner verb
Those littluns who had **climbed** back on the twister fell off again and did not mind (p. 111)	وقع الأولاد الصغار **الجالسون** على القرمة الملتوية إلى الوراء غير مبالين(p. 129)	sitting [–content]/no-motion realisation: **omission**
run	**يركض، يعدو، راح يركض، هرع**	run, go/start running, race 33 instances [=content]/ Direct rendering and rewording
Ralph jumped up, **ran** swiftly round the fire and stood by Piggy (p. 162)	وقفز رالف واقفا ثم **دار** حول النار حتى بلغ بيغي(p. 195)	**circle** **1 more similar instance**

		[–content]/no-manner verb
they ducked, **running** to the shade and lying there, perhaps even sleeping (p. 73)	**يهرولون** إلى الظلال للاستلقاء وربما للنوم ايضا(p. 83)	–content]/ less expressive manner verb

Table 5C manifestations of renderings in terms of manner of motion content

		[=content]				[+content]		[–content]			
Manner of motion verbs		Direct rendering	Rewording	Unpacking	Packing	insertion/ addition	+delicacy	no-manner verb	less-expressive verb	no-motion	total
Zero-equivalent verbs	inch			1		1					2
	march			1					1		2
	scurry			2							2
	tiptoe			2							2
	toil								1	1	2
	scramble								5		5
	clamber			2					3	1	6
	edge			1				3	1		5
	worm								7		7
	wriggle								1	1	2
	limp			2							2
	stumble			1						1	2
	blunder							1	3	2	6
	stagger			2					3	1	6
sub-total		0	0	14	0	1	0	4	25	7	51
					14 (27%)		1 (2%)			36 (71%)	
Verbs with equivalents	bound	1							1		2
	charge	4									4
	hurry	4									4
	race		3						1		4

	slide	1							1		2
	step	2	3					1			6
	wander	3	2							1	6
	push	4	1					1			6
	jump	7									7
	leap	1	5								6
	sneak	6	1								7
	steal	8							1		9
	crawl	5				2	1		1	2	11
	creep (1)					1			4		5
	creep (2)	3							1		4
	rush	11	3					1			15
	trot	4						2	9		15
	walk	26						1		1	28
	climb	30						4		1	35
	run	14	19			1		2			36
		134	37		0	4	1	13	19	5	212
sub-total		171 (81%)				5 (2%)		36 (17%)			
		134	37	14	0	5	1	17	44	12	263
Total		185 (71%)				6 (2%)		72 (27%)			263

Table 6A Tokens of cause markers in the TT

Relator type	Cause marker	# of tokens	Total
Cohesive conjunctives	Thus	73	157
	Therefore	27	
	As a result	9	
	Hence	4	
	For this reason/these reasons; It + be for this reason/these reasons; this is why; The reason for this; This is because; The result is/was/ has been	44	
Logical conjunctions	Because	12	136
	for	28	
	Since	5	
	In order to/for/that; So that/ so as to	66	
	With the result that; for the reason that	8	
	And thus/ and therefore	14	
	Thus + -ing verb	3	
Experiential markers	As a result of, due to, owing to	28	73
	Result in/from; lead to	30	
	Cause (V. & N.)	15	
Total number of cause markers cited in the TT			366

Table 6B Frequency of cause shifts cited for cohesive cause markers

Domain	Type of marker	Marker	Non-Exp.	Exp.	Imp.	Total
cohesive sequences	Simple conjunctives	Thus	18	55	0	73
		Therefore	14	13	0	27
		As a result	2	7	0	9
		Hence	4	0	0	4
	subtotal		**38**	**75**	**0**	**113**
	Complex conjunctives	For this reason/these reasons; It + be for this reason/these reasons; This is why; The result is/was/ has been; The reason for this; This is because	**19**	**25**	**0**	**44**
Total			**57 (36%)**	**100 (64%)**	**0**	**157**

Table 6C Tokens of cause markers in the corpus and TT

Domain	Cause marker		Search expression	Total returns per group	TT results
Cohesive sequences	Simple conjunctives	Thus	<s> thus (1953)	5702	110
		Therefore	<s> therefore (268) Therefore (backgrounded) 3496–1001 = (2495)		
		Consequently	<s> consequently (257) <s> as a consequence (62) <s> in consequence (36)		
		Accordingly	<s> accordingly (105)		
		As a result	<s> as a result (Minus the hits of *as a result of*) (260)		
		Hence	<s> hence (364)		
	Complex conjunctives	For this reason; For these reasons; It + be for this reason/these reasons	<s> for this reason (82) <s> for these reasons (28) <s> it * for this reason (20) <s> it * for these reasons (1)	528	44
		With this in view	<s> with this in mind (12)		
		On account of this	<s> on account of this (0)		
		This is why	<s> this * why (70) <s> that * why (49)		
		The result is/was	The >>3>> {result} of this (45) The >>2>> result is (97) The >>3>> {result} _VBD (57) The >>3>> {result} _VBB (21)		
		The reason for this	The >>3>> reason for this (51) of the reason for this (10) The >>3>> reason _VBD (9) The >>3>> reason is (25)		
Clause complex	Structural conjunctions	for	{for/CONJ} 1326	8295	99
		since	{since/CONJ} 2700		
		in order to/that/for so as to/ so that	(case insensitive for all) in order to (1983) in order that (61) in order for (39) so as to (199) so that (1987)		

	Semi-lexical conjunctions	because	because 7441	9763	37
		with the result that for the reason that	(case sensitive/lowercase) with the result that (86) for the reason that (3)		
		And thus And therefore	and >>3>> thus (665) and >>3>> therefore (1001) and >>2>> consequently (140) and >>1>> accordingly (12) and as a result (43) and >>3>> for this reason (29) and >>2>> the result is (11) and >>2>> the result was (7) and >>2>> the result has been (0) and >>2>> this is why (12)		
		Thus + v-ing	Thus*VVG (313)		
clause simplex		{cause/V}	1686	16879	16879
		{result/V}	1353		
		{cause/N}	1412		
		{result/N}	4282		
		{reason/N}	3387		
		due to	963		
		because of	2003		
		as a result of	688		
		with the aim of	42		
		owing to	78		
		on account of	34		
		for the purpose of	91		
		with the intention of	39		
		for fear of	30		
		for the sake of	66		
		by reason of	21		
		Attributable to attributed to ascribed to	74 184 45		
		thanks to	69		
		{explain/} <<3>>why	232		
		as a consequence of; in consequence of	95 5		

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