Arabic / English / Arabic translation : shifts of cohesive markers in the translation of argumentative texts : a contrastive Arabic-English text-linguistic study

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ARABIC/ENGLISH/ARABIC TRANSLATION: SHIFTS OF COHESIVE MARKERS IN THE TRANSLATION OF ARGUMENTATIVE TEXTS: A CONTRASTIVE ARABIC-ENGLISH TEXT-LINGUISTIC STUDY

By

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DEDICATION

To the soul of my father,

To my mother and my wife,

To my children

I dedicate this study

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ABSTRACT

Few contemporary translation theorists and researchers would dispute the generally held belief that translation between two (or more) different languages would inevitably entail certain patterns of change or 'shifts' as called by the contemporary descriptive translation studies. According to Blum-Kulka (1986), "the process of translation necessarily entails shifts both in textual and discoursal relationships".

The current study is set out to investigate this phenomenon in translating from Arabic into English, and versa vice. More specifically, the aim of the current investigation is to identify the kind of shifts involving the cohesive features in ST-TT text pairs that occurred through translation as well as to examine and justify these shifts with the view to validate Blum-Kulka's hypothesise regarding the inevitability of the occurrence of shifts through translation, the motivating factors as well as the consequences of these shifts on levels of explicitness.

To achieve these goals, a search method for the analysis of shifts in cohesion has been constructed. The method developed consists of two different models: a comparative model and a descriptive model. The former is designed for the identification of shifts of cohesion in ST-TT text pair that occurred through translation by means of comparison. The latter has been compiled to provide the theoretical basis and insights needed for examining and describing the results of the comparative analysis (i.e. the shifts in cohesion identified).

For the purpose of the analysis, the current study uses two different corpuses comprising equal number of translationally-equivalent authentic texts published by various newspapers in both languages. Corpus one consists of two Arabic source texts and their English translations. Similarly, corpus two consists of two English source texts and their translations into Arabic.

The results of the current study can be summarized as follows. The application of the comparative model to the analysis of the various translationally-equivalent text pairs in the two corpuses has shown significant number of shifts in cohesion affected by the translation process. Shifts in cohesion manifest themselves as: change of the types of cohesive ties used in the source texts, establishment of new cohesive relations that are not present in the originals and elimination of existing cohesive relations. The current thesis distinguishes two types of shifts: obligatory cohesion-shifts (motivated by systemic differences between the two languages) and optional cohesion-shifts (motivated by translator's desire to mediate gaps in knowledge between source- and target- readerships and/or to adapt the target text to various norms and expectations prevalent in the target culture).

The current thesis is made up of seven chapters. Chapter one provides an explanation of the aim of the study, focus, etc., and gives a short review of the notion 'translation shifts'. Chapter two addresses the notion 'cohesion' as seen within the framework of text-linguistic approach, and presents a short review of some of the must interesting and pertaining studies and proposed models of cohesion. Chapter three gives a full description of cohesive markers in English language based on Halliday and Hasan 1972's model of cohesion. Similarly, chapter four highlights cohesive markers in Arabic language based on notions and theoretical views from old and contemporary works presented by various grammarians and rhetoricians. Chapter five presents a description of the search methodology adopted for investigating shifts in cohesion. The theoretical bases of the method, main components, etc. have been presented in great detail. Chapter six is devoted to the analysis and interpretation of the results of the comparative analysis (i.e. shifts in cohesion). The two chapters (5 and 6) are the main contribution of the current study. Finally, chapter seven summarizes and explains the results of the study, and provides some suggestions for further research.

ARABIC TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

To facilitate the pronunciation of Arabic words appearing in the Arabic texts, the following Arabic transliteration system has been consistently employed:

Arabic	Transliteration	Arabic	Transliteration
* ء	’ *	* ض	D
ب	b	* ط	T
ت	t	* ظ	Z
ث	th	* ع	‘
ج	j	* غ	gh
* ح	H	ف	f
* خ	kh	* ق	q
د	d	ك	k
* ذ	dh	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	sh	و	w
* ص	S	ي	y

Short Vowels:

Arabic	Transliteration
fatHah	a
kassrah	i
Dammah	u

Long Vowels:

Arabic	Transliteration
ا	a:
ي	i:
و	u:

* Special attention should be given to the symbols marked with stars for they have no equivalents in the English sound system.

TRANSLATION NOTES

The translation employed for the analysed texts has been made as literal as possible to provide a sense of the Arabic structure and to make the understanding of the analysed texts more accessible and easy to follow. There are cases where certain lexical items have been maintained in translation for clarity and exposition reasons. The analysis of these texts has not been made in any way according to the English translation, but rather, it has been made according to the Arabic translated texts.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

It is axiomatic that discrepancies between the systems of the source language (SL) and the target language (TL) bring about the loss of certain functional elements whereas they also give rise to new ones through translation. This can be clearly observed when a target-language text (TLT) is compared with its source-language text (SLT).

The literature in translation studies has generated a lot of discussion on the sources of this phenomenon known as 'translation loss' which has caused heated controversy in the theory of translation. This could be attributed to differences in views held by various theorists regarding the notion 'translating'.[1]

The theorists who attempted to define this concept are, tentatively, included under two main groups. In the first, there are those scholars who are in favour of a linguistic approach to translating. Bell (1991: 20), for instance, defines translating as "the replacement of a representation of a text in one language by a representation of an equivalent text in a second language". According to Jakobson (1959), languages, from a grammatical point of view, may differ from one another to a greater or lesser degree, which means in "interlingual translations there is no full equivalence between code units [**therefore**] translation involves two equivalent messages in two different codes" (Jakobson, 1959: 233).

Another example can be seen in the work of Nida and Taber (1982) who adopt a less extreme position, believing that translating consists of reproducing, in the target language, the nearest equivalent to the message in the source language.

From the preceding quotes it seems that there is consensus among the supporters of the linguistic approach that the main source of translation problems is mismatches between the linguistic systems of the two languages, which exert a direct and crucial influence upon the process of translating at all linguistic levels (e.g. phonological, lexical, syntactic, etc.), and

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[1] I have used the term 'translating' for the activity and reserved the term 'translation' for both the resulting text (i.e. the end product) and the concept of translation.

can hinder the process of transfer. They lay emphasis on the concept 'equivalence' as an important aspect and a method for overcoming translation problems. Jakobson (1959: 234), for example, writes:

> Whenever there is deficiency, terminology may be qualified and amplified by loanwords or lon-translations, neologisms or semantic shifts, and finally, by circumlocutions.

This principle stipulates that when a translator faces the problem of not finding a translation equivalent in the TL for a particular SL word or phrase, then it is up to the translator to chose (i.e. from the above-suggested methods) the most suitable way to render it in the TT. Nida and Taber (1982) propose the notions 'formal' and 'dynamic' equivalents. However, in so far as 'equivalence' is taken as a synonym of 'sameness', the concept runs into serious philosophical objections, which we will not go into here.

Some theorists in the second group denounce the linguistic approach and assert that translating cannot be restricted to language alone. They believe that linguistics is not the only source of translation problems, since translating constitutes other factors such as textual, cultural, and situational aspects that should be taken into consideration when translating.

Culler (1976: 21-22), for instance, argues:

> If language were simply a nomenclature for a set of universal concepts, it would be easy to translate from one language to another. One would simply replace the French name for a concept with the English name. If language were like this the task of learning a new language would also be much easier than it is. But anyone who has attempted either of these tasks has acquired, alas, a vast amount of direct proof that languages are not nomenclatures, that the concepts [...] of one language may differ radically from those of another [....] Each language articulates or organizes the world differently. Languages do not simply name existing categories, they articulate their own.

Some theorists believe that translation is both communicational and cultural, in which language plays a key role". Hatim and Mason (1990) maintain that translating is "an act of communication that attempts to relay, across linguistic and cultural boundaries of languages another act of communication". Hervey and Higgins (1992: 28) maintain that translating

involves not just two languages, but a transfer from one culture to another. In addition, they write:

> The most obvious features which may prove impossible to preserve in a TT are 'cultural' in a very general sense, arising from the simple fact of translating messages from one culture to another- references to the source culture's history, geography, literature, folklore, and so on.

In light of the preceding remarks, it is obvious that theorists in the second group believe that discrepancies between languages on all systems (e.g. linguistic, cultural, social, situational, etc.) are all inevitable sources of translation problems. Moreover, they argue that indispensable notions like 'equivalence' play a key role in overcoming some of translation problems. However, the question is no longer how equivalence might be achieved, but, increasingly, what kind of equivalence can be achieved and in what contexts.

Hatim and Mason (1990), who seem to be influenced by Jakobson's aphorism "languages differ essentially in what they must convey and not in what they can convey" (1959: 236), argue that all 'natural languages' have the capacity to express all of the range of experience of the cultural communities of which they are part; and the resources of particular languages expand to cater for new experience via borrowings, metaphor, neologism, etc; however, "grammatical and lexical structures and categories force language users to convey certain items of meaning and it is here, according to the contrastive/structuralist view, that real translation problems lie" (Hatim and Mason, 1990: 27).

These concerns are also voiced by Hervey and Higgins (1992: 24) who write:

> [Translating is] a process of transfer of meaning from ST to TT [**and this act**] necessarily involves a certain degree of translation loss; that is, a TT will always lack certain culturally relevant features that are present in the ST.

Baker (1992) also seems to be in favour of this view. She maintains that grammatical rules vary across languages and this may pose some problems in finding a direct equivalence in the TL. She asserts that different grammatical structures in the SL and the TL may cause remarkable changes in the way the information or message is carried across. Moreover, these

changes "may induce the translator" either to add or to omit information in the TT because of the lack of particular grammatical devices in the TL itself.

To illustrate how the lack of equivalent words in the TL to convey a concept in the SL text would inevitably effect the translation in one or both directions (i.e. bring about the loss of certain functional elements and/or give rise to new ones), the following examples shall be considered:

Rendering the Arabic concept ['a'war] by the English translationally-equivalent expression 'blind in one eye', is an instance of translation loss, even though the TT is not only literally exact, but also has 'gained' three words and makes explicit reference to both 'blindness' and 'eyes'. Another example that exhibits still more sorts of translation loss is the translation of the Arabic sentence [yastaTi:'-u l-Sa:'id-u 'ila: l-burj 'an yusha:hid manZar-an jami:l][2] by 'On the top of the tower there is a beautiful view'. Here, the English version modifies the structure of the Arabic sentence; the 'animate' subject of the Arabic sentence, the definite article NP: [al-Sa:'id], has been transformed into an 'inanimate' one, i.e. 'tower'. Apparently, this structural transposition might be motivated by the fact that the Arabic expression [al-Sa:'id <i.e. one who climbs up>] is not lexicalised in English. Hence, lack of correspondent or translation equivalent in the TL brings about some loss of information.

In accordance with Hervey and Higgins (1992: 36), the challenge to the translator is not to eliminate translation loss altogether, but to reduce it by deciding which of the relevant features in the ST is most important to preserve, and which can most legitimately be sacrificed in preserving them; the translator is "motivated to reduce translation loss, to minimise difference rather than to maximise sameness".

To sum up, the current study takes into consideration that translating is a communicative activity attempting to relay, across the socio-cultural and linguistic boundaries of the two languages, another act of communication. Moreover, it postulates that the translator- who stands at the centre of this dynamic process- is a decision maker who has

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[2] Quoted with slight modification from P. G. Emery 'Lexical incongruence in Arabic-English translation', *Babel*, 37:3. 129-137.

constantly to make decisions in bridging the gap between the two languages. Among the widely applied strategies and decisions taken by translators, when different codes are involved, is the omission of one (or more) item in the ST, the modification of the ST, the addition of an item in the ST, and/or the retaining of an element omitted in the ST, etc. This act of mediation taken or imposed on the translator necessarily entails certain patterns of change. Such changes on the part of the translated text are known by contemporary translation descriptive studies as 'translation shifts'.

1.1 'Translation shifts' a short review

This section presents a short review of the available studies and models that have touched upon the notion 'translation shifts'.

Catford (1965, quoted in Hatim 2001: 15), perhaps, is the first one to introduce this term "translation shifts" to refer to the "departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from SL to TL" (1965: 73). He identifies two major types of shifts: 'level shift' and 'category shift'.

According to Catford, level shift occur when an SL item has a TL translation equivalent at a different linguistic level from its own (grammatical, lexical, etc.). For example, source text word play achieved at the phonological level may be translated by exploiting the possibilities of the lexical level in the target language.

Category shift is a generic term referring to shifts involving any of the four categories of class, structure, system and unit (e.g. ST adjectival phrase becomes an adverbial phrase in the TT).

For Hatim (2001), shifts in translation are seen as positive consequences. He maintains:

> [**The**] So-called 'shifts' in translation are not considered 'errors', as many a translation critic has called them. Shifts are seen as part of the process which is naturally embedded in two different text worlds, intellectually, aesthetically and from the perspective of culture at large. As the Slovak translation theorist Anton Popovic (1970: 79) put it,

> shifts may simply be seen as all that appears as new with respect to the original, or fails to appear where it might have been expected (Hatim, 2001: 67).

One important source of inspiration for research into shifts of cohesion in translation has been the work led by Blum-Kulka (1986). In her discussion on shifts in cohesion and coherence in translation, she begins from the premise that the process of translation necessarily involves shifts in textual and discursive relationships. Her argument is based on the perception that translation is an act of communication and, as such, differences related to both linguistic and cultural aspects holding between tow languages must be considered (Blum-Kulka 1986: 18).

Reference to a number of studies on cohesion is made in her discussion, indicating that differences in levels of explicitness through translations have been attributed to differences in stylistic preferences fore types of cohesive devices in the tow languages involved in translation. Similarly, Blum-Kulka mentions another study that examined the written work of language learners which found that some cohesive markers tend to be over represented in the learner data.

Blum-Kulka postulates that in translation a trend towards explication, especially in the work of non-professional translators, is to be expected and that the less experienced the apprentice translator the more his or her "process of interpretation" of the SL might be reflected in the TL (Blum-Kulka 1986: 20). She includes a table that illustrates the difference in length between an English source text and the French translations; the result in all cases in an increase in the level of explicitness. A further example is presented in her discussion, in this case an excerpt of a professional translation from French into English. The result is the same: a rise in the level of explicitness. She then concludes that explication is "a universal strategy inherent in the process of language mediation, as practiced by language learners, non-professional translators and professional translators alike" (Blum-Kulka, 1986: 21).

As regards meaning, she argues that if cohesive markers create the semantic unity of the text, then the selection of types of cohesive markers used in a particular text can affect the

texture as well as the style and meaning of the text. In the same way, unnecessary retention of cohesive devices from source to target texts will also affect the texture.

Blum-Kulka's discussion of shifts of cohesion and coherence in translation derives from two basic assumptions: first, translation is a process that operates on texts and hence translation needs to be studied within a framework of discourse analysis; and second, that translation is an act of communication and so it must be studied within the methodological framework of studies in communication (Blum-Kulka, 1986: 32).

The discussion on shifts in coherence has not been included in this review given that the scope of the present study does not encompass coherence.

M. Shlesinger (1995) investigates translation shifts in simultaneous interpreting. She examines the number and type of shifts in cohesive elements of an English-language text undergoing simultaneous interpretation into Hebrew. She finds a regular occurrence of shifts in all types of cohesive devices, "particularly those perceived by the interpreter as nonessential"; the most common shift-type being complete omission. She notes that shifts occurred with higher frequency at the beginning of texts.

Shlesinger (1995) points out that cohesive devices serve a crucial function in text interpretation in that they define links and relationships between primary textual elements, however, "failure to reproduce these links in a translation can significantly alter text reception and meaning". Shlesinger notes that there are three intrinsic constraints have an appreciable impact on an interpreter's ability to convey true meaning: (1) the speed of source-text delivery; (2) text linearity, which forces interpreters to work on smaller, incomplete language units; (3) assumptions by the speaker as to the level of subject knowledge available to the audience and/or the interpreter. Finally, Shlesinger concludes here study by noting that "the rates of shifts in cohesion decreased when interpreters benefited from prior exposure to the source text".

Finally, the last model in this short literature review is the one that has been developed by Van Leuven-Zwart, published originally as a doctoral thesis in Dutch and then, in

abbreviated form, in two articles in *Target* (Van Leuven-Zwart 1989, 1990). Her model is intended for the description of integral translations of fictional texts. Her model comprises two complementary models: a comparative and a descriptive model. The comparative model involves a detailed manual classification of micro-structural shifts (semantic, stylistic and pragmatic, and modulation, modification and mutation) between the ST and the TT. The descriptive model attempts to calculate the effects of the micro-structural shifts on the macro-structural level using the three functions of language from systemic linguistics (interpersonal, ideational and textual functions) and discourse concepts taken from Leech and Short (1981). In Van Leuven-Zwart's analysis (1990: 178), segmentation (i.e. word order change) and cohesion are highlighted as two areas where the effects of micro-structural shifts are visible on the textual and interpersonal functions of language and the discourse level.

1.2 Types of shifts

Shifts on the part of a translation can occur at any levels, can take various forms, and can have different effects. According to Van Leuven-Zwart's (1989) model, shifts may manifest themselves on micro- and macro-structural levels. On the micro-structural level, i.e. the surface constituents of text (e.g. words, phrases, clauses, sentences, etc.), shifts involving semantic, stylistic and pragmatic values take place. On the macro-structural level, which is seen as a logical consequence of the first one, where units of text deep structure are involved, shifts occur with respect to the meaningful components of the text. Van Leuven-Zwart (1989) points out that some theorists (e.g. Vinay and Darbelnet, 1995, Levy, 1979, etc.) have attempted to classify translation shifts into various types (e.g. shifts from general to specific, abstract to concrete, objective to subjective, and vice versa; along with some shifts that can be characterised as explicitation, implicitation, amplification, reduction, intensification, archaisation, etc.). She points out that many of shifts could be theoretically classified under one of the above suggested categories, however, in practice, one would encounter some

difficulties in establishing the exact category of a particular shift. Van Leuven-Zwart (1989: 153) clarifies this by saying:

> [**Because**] the categories were not clearly defined, so that one particular shift might reasonably be considered specification and intensification, for example, all at once. Moreover, the dividing lines between categories such as explicitation, amplification and addition, on the one hand, and implicitation, reduction and deletion, on the other, were vague and imprecise.

Finally, Van Leuven-Zwart (1989) proposes a model for classifying and distinguishing shifts. She believes that shifts can be classified and distinguished by making reference to levels of occurrence (e.g. syntactic, semantic, stylistic, pragmatic, etc.).

1.3 Aims of the current study

The current study has been set out to investigate the phenomenon of shifts in translation. When a translation is compared with its original, however, the analyst would end up with a long list of differences between the pair of texts. This is, natural, as every text is so rich in syntactic and semantic features, and the transfer into another language adds such a large number of phenomena to the list, that is not possible to study all these at the same time. To achieve depth in the analysis, the focus of the current study is limited to the investigation of shifts involving cohesion.

One of the aims of the current study is to identify shifts of cohesion in the ST-TT text pair that occurred through translation of integral Arabic and English argumentative texts, with a view to testing Blum-Kulka's (1986) hypothesis that translation necessarily entails shifts of cohesion.

Another aim of the study is to explain and justify the occurrence of shifts in translation in order to highlight both the translation process which have given rise to these shifts as well as the factors and constraints that have motivated and influenced the translators' decisions.

Finally, the study will attempt to describe the likely consequences of shifts in cohesion that occurred through translation, with a view to validating Blum-Kulka's (1986) hypothesis

that shifts of cohesion would affect levels of explicitation in the translated text (i.e. the general level of the target text's textual explicitness is either higher or lower than that of the source text).

1.4 Statement of procedure

Achieving the above-mentioned objectives would necessarily involve the construction of a method for the analysis of shifts. The developed method consists of two independent, though related, models: a comparative model and a descriptive model. The comparative model is designed for the identification of shifts that occurred through translation. The descriptive model is adopted for the explanation and justification of the occurrence of shifts in translation.

For the purpose of the analysis, the current study uses two different corpuses containing equal numbers of translationally-equivalent authentic texts published by various newspapers in the two languages. The first corpus consists of two Arabic original argumentative texts and their English translations. Similarly, the second one consists of two English original argumentative texts and their translations into Arabic. The selected texts are all intuitively judged as representative of the text-type category called 'argumentation' (see Chapter 5).

1.5 Organisation of the study

This dissertation is made up of seven chapters. This introductory chapter has presented a short review of the concept 'shifts'; has stated the purpose of the current study, the hypotheses to be tested and the organisation of the thesis. In addition, it has presented a brief discussion of the basis on which the sample texts have been selected and a brief account of their nature.

Chapter 2 discusses and highlights the concept 'cohesion' within the framework of the text-linguistics approach. It has three main sections: section 2.1 is devoted to the definition of

the notion 'text' where the work of some prominent linguists on text is highlighted (e.g. Halliday's and Beaugrande and Dressler's). This section is important to the study because it paves the way for the discussion of the contextual properties of text from the point of view of the text-linguistic approach. In order to set the scene for the introduction of the notion 'cohesion', Beaugrande and Dressler's seven standards of textuality are presented with special emphases on cohesion. Section 2.2 presents a full investigation of the notion 'cohesion'; various different definitions of the term being presented. Finally, to give a full account of the notion 'cohesion', several models of cohesion are reviewed in section 2.3. These models have dealt with cohesion from different perspectives. Enkvist (1973), for instance, proposes a linguistic-stylistic model to describe textual cohesion. Gutwinski (1976) proposes a model to root cohesion in a stratificational framework; its focus on the potential stylistic applications of cohesive studies has provided a starting-point for some research studies in stylistics. Finally, there is the procedural/relational model proposed by Beaugrande (1980) and developed further by Beaugrande and Dressler (1981).

Chapter 3 is devoted to the discussion of cohesion in the English language. In this, we will present a full description of the cohesive markers in English as they are presented by Halliday and Hasan (1976), which is the most widely known model of cohesion in English and which builds heavily on Halliday's model of systematic functional grammar and on two earlier works by Hasan, one published in 1968, one published in 1971, which listed and classified the devices available in English for linking sentences to each other. Their proposed five main categories of cohesion are presented under the following sections respectively: section 3.1 reference items, section 3.2 substitution, section 3.3 ellipsis, section 3.4 conjunctions, and section 3.5 lexical cohesion. Section 3.6 presents in abbreviated form Hasan's modification of the category of lexical cohesion.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the discussion of cohesion in Arabic using insights and descriptions from works presented by classical and modern grammarians, linguists and rhetoricians. Section 4.1 gives an account of cohesion in Arabic using Halliday and Hasan's

(1976) listing of the major cohesion categories (e.g. reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunctions, and lexical cohesion). In section 4.2, two prominent works on the study of connectives in Arabic are presented: al-Jurja:ni:'s views and those of al-Suka:ki:. Section 4.3 deals with the notion of 'repetition and parallelism' adopting al-Jubouri's view.

Chapter 5 establishes the theoretical framework of the current study. It gives a full description of the theoretically-based method developed for investigating shifts of cohesion in translations of argumentative texts.

Chapter 6 is devoted to the analysis of examples of shifts of cohesion in the ST-TT text pairs. The aim here is to examine and justify these shifts with a view to validating the above cited hypothesise.

Finally, the conclusion chapter (7) will give a summary of the current study based on the findings with recommendations and proposals for future research.

CHAPTER TWO
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF COHESION

2.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to lay the theoretical cornerstone for what follows, by suggesting that cohesion is a central text property; and that the analysis and the description of cohesive markers in text may not be accurately acquired without reference to other surrounding text features (i.e. linguistic and non-linguistic) which singly or jointly constrain and influence the selection of cohesive features as well as their deployment in text.

After the emergence of the text-linguistic approach, many text analysts readily acknowledge that a particular property of discourse cannot be thoroughly described without attention to other properties. Van Dijk (1977c) acknowledges that textual structure is partially determined by pragmatic, referential, and non-linguistics communicative factors. Halliday and Hasan (1976) admit that although texture is produced primarily by cohesion, particular discourse genres or registers also gain their textuality through structure. Moreover, Hatim (1997a), who regards the notion of text as an ultimate linguistic unit in any activity to do with communicating in language, maintains that "there is hardly a decision taken regarding any element of language in use at whatever level of linguistic organisation, without constant reference being made to the text in which that element is embedded" (Hatim, 1997a: 4).

In order to do this, an attempt will be made first to establish what is meant by 'text' as defined by some linguists (Section 2.1); and secondly to review the work on text of two contemporary linguists (Sections 2.2 and 2.3). The notion "cohesion" is presented in Section 2.4. This is followed by a short review of three well-known models of cohesion (Section 2.5).

2.1 The notion 'text'

A lot of emphasis has been placed on the sentence as a self-contained unit, thus neglecting the ways a sentence may be used in connected stretches of language; hence the

presentation of language as sets of sentences. Nevertheless, many examples of text linguistics demonstrate awareness of the shortcomings, and recognition of the text as an obvious tool of communication has developed. Within this context, Silverstein (1984) says:

> For linguistics in recent years, the sentence has been the hero for the orthodox, where functional and formal autonomy are to be celebrated.

The notion 'text' has helped to extend the system of linguistic levels put forward by modern linguistic theories that are based on the sentence. This extension has facilitated the understanding and explication of a number of textual issues such as cohesion and coherence and their relevance to such problems as text typology. It has also made it possible to shed better light on a number of problems that have suffered certain shortcomings in treatment when based on analyses at the sentence level. These problems include issues related to translation theory and practice, foreign language teaching, etc.

Text is one of the main elements that play a significant role in communication. People communicating in language do not do so simply by means of individual words or fragments of sentences, but by means of texts. We speak text, we read text, we listen to text, we write text, and we even translate text. Text is the basis for any discipline such as law, religion, medicine, science, politics, etc. Each of these is manifested in its own language, i.e. it has its special terminologies. A text is above all a multidimensional unit and as such is not liable to a simple unifying definition. The sum of parameters used to define text differs from linguist to linguist so that the list of definitions could be very long. Bearing this in mind, the following selected definitions shall be considered:

We generally express our needs, feelings, etc. by using text whether orally or in writing. Cultures are transferred to other people via texts. One may agree with Neubert (1992) who says:

> Texts are used as tools and, at the same time, they reveal the tool-user. They communicate something and about someone.

Many attempts have been made by various linguists and rhetoricians to define the notion 'text'. These are quoted as follows:

Werlich (1976: 23) defines text as follows:

> A text is an extended structure of syntactic units [i.e. text as super-sentence] such as words, groups, and clauses and textual units that is marked by both coherence among the elements and completion.... [Whereas] A non-text consists of random sequences of linguistic units such as sentences, paragraphs, or sections in any temporal and/or spatial extension.

For Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 63), the notion 'text' is defined as:

> A naturally occurring manifestation of language, i.e. as a communicative language event in a context. The SURFACE TEXT is the set of expressions actually used; these expressions make some knowledge EXPLICIT, while other knowledge remains IMPLICIT, though still applied during processing.

For Halliday and Hasan (1976: 1-2), the notion 'text' is:

> [A term] used in linguistics to refer to any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole [....] A text is a unit of language in use. It is not a grammatical unit, like a clause or a sentence; and it is not defined by its size [....] A text is best regarded as a SEMANTIC unit; a unit not of form but of meaning. (Quoted in full in Section 2.2 below)

Halliday (1985: 10) defines text as:

> [A] language that is functional. [...] Language that is doing some job in some context, as opposed to isolated words or sentences.... So any instance of living language that is playing some part in a context of situation, we shall call it a text. It may be either spoken or written, or indeed in any other medium of expression that we like to think of.

For Kress (1985a), text is "manifestations of discourses and the meanings of discourses, and the sites of attempts to resolve particular problems".

Fowler (1991: 59) defines text as:

> A different kind of unit from a sentence. A text is made up of sentences, but there exist separate principles of text-construction, beyond the rules for making sentences.

Hatim (1984) defines text as "a stretch of linguistic material which maps on to the surface a set of mutually relevant communicative intentions".

Hatim and Mason (1990) define text as "a set of mutually relevant communicative functions, structured in such a way as to achieve an overall rhetorical purpose".

Although nearly all text linguists are in agreement that the notion 'text' is the natural domain of language, they vary in their views on what constitutes a text. This variance is mainly due to the fact that different linguists have observed this notion from different angles depending on the approaches adopted. This has resulted in the loose definition of the notion and left it to some extent obscure. Nevertheless, these attempts formulate the bases for such studies. Many suggestions have been put forward for the identification of the text such as looking for the properties of the proper text. However, here too, there has been disagreement.

Longacre (1979: 258) suggests:

> The problem we face in trying to define text is that of defining a primitive. The text is the natural unit of language…[and further] essentially then the matter revolves into a conception of texts as being of two sorts: dialogue text and monologue text.

The preceding discussion demonstrates that there has been no consensus among scholars who have tried to define the notion 'text'. This widely differing definition of text is mainly due to the fact that a text is a multidimensional unit and as such it is not liable to a simple unifying definition. The sum of parameters used to define text differs from linguist to linguist so that the list of definitions could be very long. However, the present study identifies two general views of the concept in the current state of art; namely: Halliday and Hasan's (1985) and (1976) work, and Beaugrande and Dressler's (1981) work.

2.2 Halliday and Hasan's approach to text

A very comprehensive study of text is displayed in Halliday and Hasan's (1976) treatment of features of English texts, and Halliday, in Halliday and Hasan (1985).

In their work *Cohesion in English*, Halliday and Hasan (1976: 2; already quoted in section 2.1 above, but repeated here for convenience) define the notion 'text' by saying:

> Text is used in linguistics to refer to any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole [...]. A text is a unit of language in use. It is not a grammatical unit, like a clause or a sentence; and it is not defined by its size. A text is sometimes envisaged to be some kind of super-sentence, a grammatical unit that is larger than a sentence but is related to a sentence in the same way that a sentence is related to a clause, a clause to a group and so on [...]. A text is best regarded as a SEMANTIC unit; a unit not of form but of meaning.

Halliday and Hasan (1985: 10) define text as:

> [A] language that is functional. [...] Language that is doing some job in some context, as opposed to isolated words or sentences [...]. So any instance of living language that is playing some part in a context of situation, we shall call it a text. It may be either spoken or written, or indeed in any other medium of expression that we like to think of.

For Halliday and Hasan, a text is a semantic unit. Halliday stresses the importance of language as an instrument of social interaction among the members of any speech community. He views language as a living entity for the achievement of communication among fellow-communicants in a context of situation. He believes that text cannot be approached without its situational context in which it is embedded. Hence, text is a continued stretch of connected sentences and not an ad hoc accumulation of isolated structures in a non-situational vacuum. The inter-connectedness that exists along a stretch of sentences of utterances constituting a text bestows upon it a unique and distinctive character.

Halliday argues that although text is made of words and sentences, when being written down, "it is really made of meanings" because meanings have to be expressed or coded in words and structures in order to be communicated; "but as a thing in itself, a text is essentially a semantic unit [...]. It is not something that can be defined as being just another kind of sentence, only bigger"(Halliday, 1985:10). Halliday believes that because text is basically a semantic unit a componential analysis of the text must be approached from a semantic perspective. The phonological, lexical, and syntactic structures should be analytically studied

as being functionally contributing to the explication of the text's semantic significance. In this context, Halliday brings in yet another notion, that is, text is both "a product and a process". A text is a product in the sense that it is an output, a palpable manifestation of a mental image that can be studied and recorded, having a certain construction that can be represented in systematic terms. It is a process, on the other hand, in the sense that it is a continuous movement through the network of meaning potential which involves a lot of choices and decision-making.

Halliday believes that text is not only a semantic unit but also an instance of social interaction. In its social-semantic perspective, text is an object of social exchange of meanings. Halliday merges semiotic with both sociology and linguistics. Accordingly, text is a sign representation of a socio-cultural event embedded in a context of situation. Context of situation is the semio-socio-cultural environment in which the text unfolds. Text and context are so intimately related that neither concept can be comprehended in the absence of the other.

Halliday and Hasan (1985: 5) maintain that:

> There is a text and there is other text that accompanies it: text that is 'with', namely the con-text. This notion of what is 'with the text', however, goes beyond what is said and written: it includes other non-verbal signs-on-the total environment in which a text unfolds.

According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (fourth edition), the term 'context', in its simple form, refers to what comes before and after a word, phrase, statement, etc., helping to fix the meaning; or circumstances in which an event occurs. We may sometimes be able to make inferences about the context of situation from certain words in texts. These texts, short or long, spoken or written, will carry with them indications of their contexts. We need to hear or read only a section of them to know where they come from. Given the text, we should be able to place it into the context that is appropriate to it. In other words we construct the situation. Hence, when discussing text, one should initially bear

in mind two important points: context of situation and context of culture. These are highlighted in the following sections:

2.2.1 Text context of situation

According to Halliday and Hasan (1985: 12), texts cannot be approached without reference to the situation as the context "in which texts unfold and in which they are to be interpreted". They distinguish three situational parameters that help communicants make predictions about the kinds of meaning that are being exchanged. These are: field, tenor and mode of discourse.

1. Field of discourse

Field of discourse refers to "what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place: what is it that the participants are engaged in, in which the language figures as some essential component?"

Field of discourse plays a vital role in the context of text. It is one of the three basic elements in the textual internal world and external world. Fields of discourse can be non-technical, as is the case with the general topics that we deal with in the course of our daily life. Or they can be technical or specialist as in linguistics, law, engineering, physics, computer science and many other fields.

In specialist fields lexical mutuality of text, specific structures and certain grammatical patterns belonging to the field of discourse are employed in an appropriate way, for example, terms like plasmodium, anthelmintics, antimalarials and prophylactics in medicine; terms like hydrogen, neutron and molecule in physics; terms like generic, diachronic, phylogentetic and archiphoneme in linguistics.

2. Tenor of discourse

According to Halliday and Hasan, tenor of discourse refers to "who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved?" (Halliday and Hasan, 1985: 12).

Tenor of discourse indicates the relationship between discourse participants (e.g. speaker/writer and hearer/reader) as manifested in language use.

Participants' relationship varies from one group to another. It may be that of a patient and a doctor, a mother and her child, a teacher and a student, etc.

As far as addresser and addressee are different in terms of categories, one would always expect the language used between them to vary from one set or group to another. Language which is used between husband and wife is usually expected to be informal whatever the subject matter, whereas the language which is employed by a politician making a speech in a conference is nearly formal.

3. Mode of discourse

Mode of discourse is a term that refers to "what part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation: the symbolic organisation of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic, and the like" (Halliday and Hasan, 1985: 12).

Mode of discourse is the third basic strand of register. It is the formal strand in which language is used, or to put it in Halliday's terms, it refers to what part the language is playing.

Mode can take spoken as well as written forms, each of which divides into different sub-divisions. Speaking can be non-spontaneous, as in acting or reciting, or spontaneous, as in conversing.

As far as writing is concerned, there are various categories such as material written to be read aloud as in political speeches, material written to be spoken (e.g. in acting), and material written to be read which covers a wide range of writings includes newspapers, books of various sorts, journals, magazines, etc.

2.2.2 Text context of culture

Like context of situation, context of culture is an important element through which one can comprehend texts. Halliday and Hasan (1985: 46) point out that:

> The context of situation, however, is only the immediate environment. There is also a broader background against which the text has to be interpreted: its context of culture. Any actual context of situation, the particular configuration of field, tenor, and mode that has brought a text into being, is not just a random jumble of features but a totality- a package, so to speak, of things that typically go together in the culture. People do these things on these occasions and attach these meanings and values to them; this is what culture is.

2.3 Beaugrande and Dressler's approach to text

The most direct study of the definition of text was carried out by Beaugrande (1980), and Beaugrande and Dressler (1981). In defining the notion 'text', Beaugrande (1980: 11) asserts that:

> The multi-level entity of language must be the TEXT, composed of FRAGMENTS which may or may not be formatted as sentence.

Here, Beaugrande is trying to assert some essential distinctions between text and sentence as a start point. The following quotation represents some of these distinctions:

> The text is an ACTUAL SYSTEM, while sentences are elements of VIRTUAL SYSTEM [...]. The sentence is a purely grammatical entity

> to be defined only on the level of SYNTAX. The text, [on the other hand], must be defined according to the complete standards of TEXTUALITY [...]. A text must be relevant to a SITUATION of OCCURRENCE, in which a constellation of STRATEGIES, EXPECTATIONS, and KNOWLEDGE is active. A text cannot be fully treated as a configuration of morphemes and symbols. It is a manifestation of a human ACTION in which a person INTENDS to create a text and INSTRUCT the text receivers to build relationships of various kinds [...]. Texts also serve to MONITOR, MANAGE, or CHANGE a SITUATION. [Whereas] the sentence is not action, and hence has a limited role in human situations; it is used to instruct people about building syntactic relationships. A text is a PROGRESSION between STATES...the knowledge state, emotional state, social state, etc. of text users are subject to CHANGE by means of the text. SOCIAL CONVENTIONS apply more directly to texts than to sentences. PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS are more relevant to texts than to sentences. (1980: 12-14, emphases added)

According to Beaugrande (1980: 16), the virtual system is "the functional unities of elements whose potential is not yet to use [...] which a particular language offers its users; [whereas the actual system is] a functional unity created through the process of selection among options of virtual system".

Beaugrande believes that the above-mentioned fundamental differences between the text and the sentence have important implications for the evaluation of linguistics of the text.

Beaugrande differentiates between the two notions- text and sentence- as follows: A sentence is either 'grammatical' or 'ungrammatical' in the sense that it conforms to the traditional forms of grammar or departs from them. A text, on the other hand, is either 'acceptable' or 'non-acceptable' according to a complex gradation, not a binary opposition, and contextual motivations are always relevant. It follows that a sentence cannot survive outside its pertinent socio-cultural neighbourhood. Unless motivated by an ad-hoc linguistic situation to demonstrate and exemplify a specific grammatical rule, the sentence restrictively functions as a purely grammatical pattern definable at the level of syntax; the ultimate goal of the sentence being to instruct its recipients on how to construct syntactic relationships between its constituent elements. The text, by contrast, cannot exist or survive in a socio-cultural vacuum. It is motivated, and hence inextricably related to, a situation of occurrence,

which is called its 'context'. Unlike the sentence, the text is not an abstract, decontextualized entity definable only at the level of syntax; on the contrary, its viability derives from its close affinity with its pertinent situational context wherein it is only interpretable. In addition, the text is conceived and actualised within a 'co-text', which Halliday (1985: 5) describes as "the non-verbal goings-on--The total environment in which the text unfolds." While the sentence is used to instruct its recipients about building syntactic relationships and hence has a limited role in human situations, the text motivates its consumers to control, manage, and eventually change human situations.

Another distinction between the text and the sentence ushers in the psychological factor. Sentence formation is easily manageable once syntactic relationships between the constituent elements of the sentence pattern are fully established. A theory of sentences is justified in considering as 'irrelevant' such factors as "memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and so on" (Beaugrande, 1980: 14). These psychological factors are by contrast highly relevant to the text if we view the text, basically, as a linguistic manifestation of a pre-conceived picture of reality conditioned by the author's state or states of mind at the time of actualisation. The psychological factors are fully operative and more easily discernible in the text because it entails an unlimited scope for text processing. Along with this, the text is basically motivated by a specific human situation that is inherently subject to change. In addition, the mental processes involved in text production and text consumption, despite their intense complexities, are susceptible to constant modifications inspired by varied psychological states. This, inevitably, accounts for the wide divergences detectable in the translations of a specific text by various translators. By contrast, the sentence, being a verbal manifestation of a grammatical structure, does not stimulate or anticipate heterogeneous interpretations.

The drawing of distinctions between text and sentence has brought the notion of context into full prominence. While Halliday (1985: 12) refers to 'context of situation',

Beaugrande defines context as "a situation of occurrence in which a constellation of strategies, expectations, and knowledge are active". The two definitions are not significantly different; in fact they are almost identical except that Beaugrande's may seem a bit more empirical. Thus, the text and its relevant context are intimately indissoluble. Functionally, the text is interpretable in the light of, and with reference to, its relevant context. Since the text is originally motivated by the situational context to which it relates, it follows that the context, in spatio-temporal terms, is prior to its subsequent text. This is obviously logical; for in real-life situations stimuli precede and motivate responses.

In addition, Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) give thought to the notion text. They try to determine what makes the text a unified meaningful whole rather than a mere string of unrelated words and sentences. In this particular work they set up seven standards of textuality. A text cannot be considered a text unless it meets these seven standards. They believe that these standards of textuality enable text analysis to be applicable to a wide variety of areas of practical concern: the textuality of the text depends on the communicative features it contains. These are cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality, and intertextuality. These features are highlighted as follows:

2.3.1 Cohesion

The term 'cohesion' refers to the surface links in text. Cohesion has a vital role in creating the unity of text. A non-cohesive text may result in the reader or listener losing their concentration. The recipient will not be able to obtain the message intended if the information conveyed to him/her is not linked together. This in turn will lead to a lack of communication. Cohesion carries the receiver forward.

A text may attain cohesiveness by means of the combination of different syntactical elements, phrases, clauses and sentences. It may also do so by means of various devices, such

as lexical recurrence, parallelism, lexical or structural repetition, paraphrase, pro-forms, ellipsis, contra junctions, reference (for example, anaphora and exophora), and substitution.

2.3.2 Coherence

Coherence refers to links beyond the text. If a text is not coherent, it does not yield any sense. Hence, it is a "non-sense" text. Continuity, which gives sense to text, is the foundation for text coherence.

Unlike cohesion, coherence is concerned with what is beyond the surface text. In other words, it looks at the internal textual world.

In so far as coherence has to do with what is beyond the text, the cognitive processes will have a vital role in taking in the information given. Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) handle the discussion of this concept from an appropriate psychological and philosophical viewpoint.

The role of the language receiver in building up the internal textual world plays a vital role. There are various factors participating in this process, among which are:

1. Text interaction, i.e. interaction of more than one piece of information in one text.

2. Text and text interaction, i.e. one text may depend totally or partially on the previous text.

3. Text and receiver interaction; that is how he/she interprets text according to his/her background, previous knowledge of the theme of discussion, psychological status at the time of dealing with the text, target in tackling the text, hypothesis about what the text topic is, etc.

2.3.3 Intentionality

Intentionality and acceptability relate to the attitude of the text users: the producer and the recipient respectively, during the process of actualising the text. Intentionality subsumes the text producer's attitude that the presented configuration is to be considered not only as a

cohesive and coherent entity but also as manifesting relevance to the plans and goals of the producer. By relevance is meant the capability of the text of affecting the chances of the plans and goals. "Plan" is here employed in the sense of a set of steps configured with the intention of leading to a specific goal. "Goal" is definable as a future state of the world whose attainment is envisaged and intended to be brought about by the actualisation of the text.

It should be noted that intentionality possesses a range of "tolerance" such that it remains in effect even when the principles of cohesion and coherence are not fully satisfied, and when the plan does not lead to or attain the envisaged goal.

2.3.4 Acceptability

Acceptability subsumes the text recipient's attitude to regard the presented configuration as a cohesive and coherent entity having some relevance to the recipient, e.g. to acquire knowledge or provide cooperation in a plan. This attitude is affected by such factors as text-type, social or cultural setting and the desirability of goals.

Acceptability also possesses a tolerance range, such that it remains operational even when the context brings disturbances, or where the recipient does not share the producer's envisioned goal.

2.3.5 Situationality

This standard of textuality refers to factors that render text relevant to a current situation.

It goes without saying that both 'situation monitoring' and 'situation managing' have an essential role in text production. By situation monitoring is meant that the text producer steers the situation in order to provide mediation, while in situation managing he steers the situation towards the participant's goal.

2.3.6 Intertextuality

Intertextuality refers to the ways in which the text presupposes knowledge of other texts. According to Beaugrande (1980: 20), "Intertextuality subsumes the relationships between a given text and other relevant texts encountered in prior experience". He maintains that intertextuality is the major factor in the establishment of text types, where expectations are formed for whole classes of language occurrences.

2.3.7 Informativity

The seventh principle of textuality is informativity. Informativity concerns the extent to which text events are uncertain, new, known, or surprising. In cybernetic terms, informativity is the extent to which an event disturbs the stability of a textual system and requires regulation. Considered from an operational perspective, informativity can be subdivided into "familiarity", i.e. the degree to which an event or operation has been encountered by the processor, and "unfamiliarity", i.e. the degree to which any portion of the text is unpredictable in view of the whole.

The preceding two sections have demonstrated that connectivity between various constituents of a text, which provides textuality, is the major concern of both Halliday, and Beaugrande and Dressler, as apparent from their views. In other words, text linguists are interested to know what are the determiners of cohesion and coherence of a text. The standard 'cohesion' will be highlighted in the following section.

2.4 The notion 'cohesion'

As with many other discourse terms, although cohesion and coherence have received considerable attention from discourse practitioners, they are not yet clearly defined.

The two notions cohesion and coherence, in modern grammar, are associated with features of linkage between co-occurring sentences. However, the use of these two terms has

become rather loose in works on text-linguistics. Textual coherence has been the focus of interest of many modern stylisticians and sociolinguists such as Enkvist (1973), Fowler (1977), and Halliday (1977). Whatever the definitions given to these notions, their main concern is the characterisation of the unity of the text. Although the terms seem self-explanatory, they manifest themselves differently depending on the systems (or languages) they are operating in. That is, the cohesive devices of Arabic are not exactly the same, though there might be some similarities, as cohesive devices in other languages. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that cohesion/coherence are realised through lexis and grammar.

Despite the fact that the two terms cohesion and coherence both refer to connectivity between text parts; they are always treated as two distinct realisations. That is, they are distinguished from each other in terms of levels and means used to show the relationship. To put it more simply, cohesion is said to belong to surface structure and refers to the use in a text of devices showing the relations between clauses/sentences, whereas coherence pertains to the underlying semantic and pragmatic relations existing in a text.

The following are quotations representing different definitions given to these two concepts exhibiting them as major devices of text analysis:

Van Dijk (1977c: 39) defines coherence as:

> Intuitively, coherence is a semantic property of discourse, based on the interpretation of each individual sentence relative to the interpretation of other sentences.

Enkvist (1973: 126) says:

> If a text is to be well-formed it must have semantic coherence as well as sufficient signals of surface cohesion to enable the receiver to capture the coherence.

Beaugrande (1980: 19) writes:

> Coherence deals with the procedures by which elements of knowledge are activated such that their conceptual connectivity is maintained and made recoverable. [Whereas] cohesion subsumes the procedure whereby surface elements appear as progressive occurrences such that their sequential connectivity is maintained and made recoverable.

Like Beaugrande, Ostman (1978: 102) explicitly distinguishes between cohesion and coherence in his work. He says:

> Cohesion is the term few use only for denoting the kind of textual tightness which is manifested by morpho-syntactic, lexical similarities and/or metrical means. [Whereas] coherence is the property which stands for all kinds of semantico-functional phenomena which collaborate to give as output a functionally acceptable and adequate text.

Halliday and Hasan (1976:4)- whose work is the most comprehensive study carried out in this area- define cohesion as follows:

> The concept of cohesion is a semantic one; it refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text.

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 18) also say:

> Cohesion defines the set of possibilities that exist in the language for making text hang together: the potential that the speaker or writer has at his disposal.

Baker (1992: 180) defines cohesion as:

> [Cohesion] is the network of lexical, grammatical, and other relations which provide links between various parts of a text, for instance by requiring the reader to interpret words, and expressions by reference to other words and expressions in the surrounding sentences and paragraphs. Cohesion is a surface relation; it connects together the actual words or expressions that we can see or hear.

There are of course some linguists who sharply differentiate between these two notions. Brown and Yule (1983: 198), for example, point out that:

> It is critically important to distinguish between the 'underlying semantic relation' … and those formal realisations which are available to, but not necessarily utilised by the speaker/writer in constructing what he wants to say.

For Leech (1983: 244), textual cohesion is represented in the continuity of referential senses in a coherent text. Cohesion, therefore, refers to the semantic network of explicit cohesive ties in a text. Cohesion is reflected in the intersentential 'linear connectivity' of the

'meaning reference' units of a text. Cohesion does not concern itself primarily with the coherence of a text, since coherence has to do with how "ideas" are related in the real world. Cohesion is not a hierarchical structure in the language, but it is a liner relation. It is 'one of the linear threads of discourse that weaves it together' (Leech, 1983: 243).

Since the main focus of the study is on cohesion, the discussion of the differences between these two concepts, cohesion and coherence, is not of central importance here.

Although the notion of cohesion is not well defined, it has been proposed as a crucial concept by discourse analysts. Linguists suggest that the study of cohesion in terms of discourse markers is important for linguistics and language teaching. Halliday and Hasan (1976: 10), for example, believe that cohesive relationships between and within sentences are the primary determination of the creation of text. They say:

> We have to show how sentences, which are structurally independent of one another, may be linked together through particular features of their interpretation; and it is for this that the concept of cohesion is required.

Within this context, Fowler (1977: 72) writes:

> It [cohesion] refers to linguistic patterning which contributes to the impression that a text 'hangs together'; that it is a single text and not an arbitrary concatenation of distinct sentences.

The notion of cohesion has, as our survey has shown, been defined from a number of perspectives. This is due partly to the intractability of the notion itself, but mainly to the differences in the analysts' persuasion, the analytical objectives, and the material subjected to the analysis. Yet the notion of cohesion is regarded as a crucial element in the analysis of texts. This is clearly manifested in the necessity of interpreting a sequence of speech that is well formed but not yet fully understood (Brown and Yule 1983: 2). That is, sometimes we need devices by which the missing information, which is necessary for understanding a text, can be readily recovered. Those devices are said to be the cohesive devices of text. They vary considerably with language typology, i.e. each language system creates its own devices that fit

that language. In other words, these devices are features that mark the structure of the language besides having a function as a means of stylistic and semantic embellishment.

2.5 Models of cohesion

Cohesive devices or features have become over the past ten years a major growth industry in modern language study, and several books and studies are published on the subject every year.

In the early seventies a number of important models were published that dealt with the subject of cohesion. These models dealt with cohesion from different perspectives. Enkvist (1973) proposes a linguistic-stylistic model to describe textual cohesion (Section 2.5.1); Gutwinski (1976) proposes a model of cohesion within a stratificational framework; its focus on the potential stylistic applications of cohesive studies has provided a starting-point for some research studies in stylistics (Section 2.5.2). The third model is the procedural/relational model proposed by Beaugrande (1980) and developed further by Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) (Section 2.5.3). Finally, there is Halliday and Hasan's (1976) model, which is the most widely known model of cohesion. This model builds heavily upon on Halliday's model of systematic functional grammar and on two earlier works by Hasan (1968 and 1981). This model will be discussed at length in Chapter 3.

The reason for including these models of cohesion in the current study is to shed light on the diversity of emphasis and scope of these models.

2.5.1 Enkvist's model

Enkvist proposes a model of textual cohesion. Textual cohesion, according to this model, is seen from a linguistic-stylistic perspective, with potential application to the analysis of literary texts.

Unlike other style theorists and stylistic scholars, Enkvist believes that style should not be restricted only to the sentence or to linguistics of units larger than the sentence. Within this context Enkvist (1973: 110) writes:

> [...] single sentences have style, and stylistic incongruities such as the use of a colloquial word in an otherwise solemn, high-style frame may occur within the bounds of one sentence. And the other way round: quite a few features of textual cohesion between sentences can be regarded as grammatical rather than as stylistic. Pronominal reference, concord, and certain other grammatical phenomena do not stop at sentence borders.

Enkvist also asserts that the manner in which sentences are strung together into texts can also function as a style marker, particularly in contexts characterised by the use of textually deviant sentence strings. Patterning of sentence sequences is an essential stylistic aspect. He says:

> If certain patterns of sentence sequence are significantly more frequent in a given text than in a norm chosen for its contextual relationship with that text, they qualify as style markers precisely like any other linguistic features. (Enkvist, 1973: 115)

Enkvist distinguishes two major categories of textual style markers: theme dynamics and cohesive devices between structural and textual units.

1. Theme dynamics

Enkvist's development of theme dynamics, as an apparatus for the description of patterns of sentence sequence, is based on syntax and draws on studies of theme as elaborated by the Prague School linguists and others. Enkvist notes that within intersentence grammar and text linguistics, the investigator should not be satisfied with an apparatus capable only of discussing the statics of theme and rheme. There is therefore a need for theme dynamics expressly designed for description of thematic cohesion in strings of sentences. These dynamics chart "the patterns by which themes recur in a text and by which they run through a

text, weaving their way from clause to clause and from sentence to sentence." (Enkvist, 1973: 116)

Enkvist points out that theme dynamics must consist of three parts. These are:

i. Theme statics, that is, a theory of theme in a clause and sentence. He asserts that this does not need to be discussed here, as theories of this type are already available.

ii. A theory and method of thematic identification, which facilitates the comparison of thematically definable parts of different sentences and the decision whether to regard them as the same or different, irrespective of whether they are expressed with the same words or not. At present, lack of a sufficiently rigorous semantic theory of synonymy leads to maintaining some very rough-and-ready systems of theme identification. Enkvist believes that themes may be regarded as the same if they fit into one of certain patterns of semantic relationship such as:

a. Repetition, as in:

> The process of charging a capacitor consists of transferring.... The charging process therefore requires....

b. Reference, as in:

> On the station platform were Negro soldiers. They wore brown uniforms and were tall and their faces shone.

c. Synonymy, as in:

> Rome was still the capital of the Pope. As if she knew that her doom was upon her, the Eternal City arrayed ...

d. Antonymy, as in:

> Wise men should speak. Fools are much less interesting to listen to.

e. Comparison, as in:

> John was hurt by all these accusations. Even more painful were the suspicions of his wife.

f. Contracting hyponymy, as in:

> People got on and off. At the news-stand Frenchmen, returning to Paris....

g. Expanding hyponymy, as in:

> Tulips are cheap even in January. But then flowers seem to be necessary to....

h. Co-membership of the same word field, as in:

Tulips are cheap. Roses are expensive.

i. Sustained metaphor, as in:

The sun sagged yellow over the grass plots and bruised itself on the clotted cotton fields. The fertile countryside that grew things in other seasons spread flat from the roads and lay prone in ribbed fans of broken discouragement.

(Enkvist, 1973: 117-18)

Enkvist believes that sentences can often be linked thematically by the simultaneous use of more than one device of thematic identification; the categories listed above can further be subdivided for greater delicacy. For instance, a subclass of the category (h) can be assigned the label "indexical", a semiotic term, to indicate a special word-field relationship as in, for example, 'sun' and 'shadows'.

Enkvist emphasizes that a taxonomy of patterns of theme movement through the successive sentences of a text is needed. He notes that despite the various difficulties that a theoretical conception of the terms 'theme' and 'rheme' causes, one can operationally and strictly discuss thematic movement in terms of two positions, I (initial) and N (non-initial). Enkvist believes that there are four patterns of thematic movement:

i. I to I, as in:

The fields outside the village were full of vines. The fields were brown.

ii. I to N, as in:

A lady stood in the midst of the hail…. It was obviously impossible to frighten her.

iii. N to I, as in:

The ratio of the …called the index of refraction…. The index of refraction will be….

ιω. N το N, ασ ιν:

That afternoon Jack came to London. Peter was also there.
(Enkvist, 1973: 119)

Enkvist indicates that there are various possible principles for classifying thematic movement. One criterion is syntactic function: a theme may move from the subject of one sentence to the subject of another, from subject to object, from object to subject, and so on. Another is syntactic structure: thematic features may move from a noun phrase to a verb phrase, and so on. According to Enkvist, one principle of classification is based on the distance of sentences with related themes. For instance, "Some texts make frequent use of thematic movements from one sentence to the next, that is from sentence n to sentence n + 1, whereas in other texts, movements from sentence n to n + 2, n + 3, and so on may be comparatively common." (Enkvist, 1973: 120)

2. Cohesive devices

Enkvist believes that in addition to anaphoric and cataphoric reference, pronominalisation, the use of referential 'do' or 'one', and other cohesion devices traditionally discussed in sentence grammar, there are other cohesion features. According to Enkvist, these cohesion features can be used in the analysis and the description of texts. Enkvist (1973) proposes the following four types of cohesion features. These will be presented under the following headings respectively: contextual cohesion, lexical cohesion, clausal linkage, and iconic linkage.

i. Contextual cohesion

It is believed that contextual cohesion "keeps together passages occurring in the same matrix of contextual features" (Enkvist, 1973: 122). For example, in a novel, a dialogue has a contextual matrix different from a descriptive passage in the same novel. Similarly, in a play, stage directions are under the contextual constraints of a matrix different from that of the dialogue in the play. Each verbal strand displays typical and distinct cohesive patterns.

ii. Lexical cohesion

According to Enkvist, lexical cohesion is a term suggesting, "coherent texts often have a homogeneous vocabulary, which contributes to their unity" (Enkvist, 1973: 122). Enkvist believes that homogeneity of vocabulary may be affected by a number of factors. One factor is the subject matter of the text; for instance, an article on nuclear physics is likely to contain a high density of terms related to nuclear physics. Other factors comprise various contextual features, including style: a colloquial text is likely to use a stylistically homogeneous, colloquial vocabulary.

iii. Clausal linkage

According to Enkvist, clausal linkage provides an arsenal of formal means marking the ways in which clauses cohere within sentences and sentences within texts. Enkvist observes that grammarians have traditionally paid attention to the ways in which clauses join into sentences, but though many of the devices of intersentence linkage are much the same as these of clausal linkage within the sentence, ways of linking sentences into texts still deserve special study. In this category, Enkvist identifies eight types of logical relations between sentences. These are:

a. Additive, a proposition that has no organic relation with its predecessor 'and'.

b. Initial, the first sentence of a paragraph.

c. Adversative, a proposition which changes the direction of the argument 'but'.

d. Alternative, a proposition which may be substituted for the previous one 'or'.

e. Explanatory, a restatement, definition or expansion of the previous proposition 'that is'.

f. Illustrative, an instance or illustration 'for example'.

g. Illative, a conclusion 'therefore'.

h. Causal, the cause for a preceding conclusion 'for'.

Enkvist notes that the density patterns of types of sentence linkage may offer a battery of additional style markers.

iv. Iconic linkage

According to Enkvist, iconic linkage is a term borrowed from semantics. It is implemented here to denote "situations in which two or more sentences cohere because they are, at some level of abstraction, isomorphic (or, more popularly, "pictures of each other")" (Enkvist, 1973: 123). In order to clarify this notion, Enkvist points out that one line of Pope, for example, is highly likely to be metrically isomorphic with another line of Pope. In identifying iconic linkage, one is compelled to determine the level of abstraction at which the isomorphism is significant as an iconic link. As a rule such isomorphisms have to be realised at, or close to, the surface. Instances of iconic linkage include rhythmic and metrical regularities, rhyme, alliteration and assonance. Furthermore, iconic links may also be syntactic, linking, for instance, "The old gentleman elegantly kissed the young lady" with "The striped tiger cruelly bit the innocent lamb".

Other cohesive features that Enkvist proposes are the consistent use of certain tenses and the consistent use of such aspects of point of view as can be linguistically defined.

According to Enkvist, the significance of all these patterns of intersentence grammar and text linguistics for stylistic analysis is twofold:

First, they reveal the kinds of conceptual frames employed if agreement is reached that style is not merely a quality of sentences but also of texts. In this case, means for describing style must be devised, "which reckon with textual, intersentential features and not only with terms that refer to phenomena within the confines of single sentences." (Enkvist, 1973: 125)

Second, patterns of textual cohesion provide the investigator with "a vast arsenal of additional style markers". Accordingly, stylistic differentials between text and norm can be expressed with the aid of densities of cohesion devices. For instance, one can test a hypothesis such as "X's scientific style is characterised by a comparatively high density of thematic

movements from rheme in sentence n to theme in sentence n + 1". Furthermore, Enkvist suggests that observations of textual cohesion patterns and of devices of theme dynamics "may also yield material for practical tasks such as the teaching of composition and normative stylistics." (Enkvist, 1973: 126)

2.5.2 Gutwinski's model

Gutwinski (1976) proposes a linguistic framework for the study of cohesion in literary texts based on the stratificational theory of linguistics. [1]Although he acknowledges Halliday's systemic grammar and his conception of cohesion, he departs from the Hallidayan model because of what he believes is a lack of explicitness in developing "a semology or even a fully worked-out tactic for its upper stratum (lexical hierarchy) or lexis" (Gutwinski, 1976: 23), a problem he also associates with tagmemics. According to Gutwinski, a model of semologic structure has to underlie any serious attempt to handle connected discourse. He believes that a stratificational theory is adopted as the theoretical framework because of its capability of recognising and developing strata, one of which is semology, the others being phonology and grammar. Although cohesion as a linguistic phenomenon belongs to the grammatical stratum, a truly comprehensive description can only be made by stating it in terms of the units of, and the relations obtaining on, the semologic stratum.

Gutwinski admits that the structure of the semological stratum "is not directly observable since it is not represented directly in the grammar and even less so in the phonology of the language" (Gutwinski, 1976: 25). But then he asserts that semologic

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[1] According to Gutwinski, the stratificational theory, as developed by Gleason, Lamb, etc., views language as consisting of several systems, called stratal systems, each of which is said to be associated with a stratum of linguistic structure. The number of strata has been postulated differently at the different stages of the development of the theory from three to six. Lamb, for instance, suggests that all natural languages have at least four and some may have up to six strata. The two important characteristics of the stratal systems are: a. each stratum has its own units (inventory) and its own syntax (tactics) specifying how these units can be arranged in structures. In this sense each stratum is independent of every other stratum. b. The relationship between strata is one of realization or manifestation. Units and structures of one stratum are not composed of those of the lower stratum but only realized by them. (For more details see Gutwinski 1976: 36-53).

structure "finds its manifestation in the relatively shallower structure of the grammar and is still recoverable from it".

Accordingly, cohesion as a term is employed for the relations that exist among the sentences and clauses of a text. These relations occurring on the grammatical stratum are signalled by certain grammatical and lexical features reflecting discourse structure on a higher semologic stratum. These features account for textual connectivity of sentences and clauses. "They do not by themselves constitute cohesion but mark which clauses and sentences are related and in what manner" (Gutwinski, 1976: 26). It is this relatedness of clauses and sentences that constitutes the internal cohesion of a text.

Gutwinski believes that a good understanding of cohesive relations in a text will help us in reconstructing the text's discourse structure. Since cohesion is established as a manifestation of discourse structure, it follows that a text, which is envisaged as a continuous discourse having structure, will display cohesion. He asserts that this cohesion "may differ in kind and degree depending on how it is structured on the semologic stratum and what options have been chosen while realising the semologic structure on the grammatic structure". Accordingly, he concludes, texts may exhibit strong or weak cohesion, but there will be no text that does not manifest cohesion.

Before he proposes his typology of cohesive features, Gutwinski makes a note of what he calls "a cohesive factor", that is the order in which sentences follow one another in a text. According to him, the importance of this factor is represented by the imposition of an interpretation on a conglomeration of sentences by virtue of their appearing in a certain order together. If no interpretation is feasible, that sequence of sentences is not a text. "Order" is then a cohesive factor that, either by itself or in combination with other factors, indicates the kind of cohesive relations that obtain between sentences and clauses.

The cohesive features that Gutwinski proposes, and later investigates in literary samples from Henry James and Hemingway, are categorised into two main classes:

grammatical and lexical. However, his listing differs from that of Halliday in the manner of classification and presentation, and in some detail. Gutwinski gives two reasons to justify these differences. First, his present listing "will achieve a greater consistency with the theory of cohesion presented". Secondly, it will "provide a workable descriptive framework for the examination of texts for the purpose of establishing their cohesive features." Gutwinski: 59) proposes the following listing of the main cohesive features:

1. Grammatical Cohesion:

i) Anaphora and cataphora:

a. Pronouns:

i. Personal pronouns, e.g. he, him, she, it, they, etc.

ii. Demonstrative pronouns, e.g. this, these, that, those, etc.

iii. Relative pronouns: who, which, that, whom, whose, etc.

iv. Determiners: the, this, these, that, those, etc.

v. Personal possessives, e.g. his, its, their, etc.

b. Substitutes:

i. Verbal (do)

ii. Nominal (one)

iii. Partial

iv. Adverbs, e.g. there, then

v. Submodifiers, e.g. such, so

c. Coordination and subordination:

i. Connectors

ii. Enation and agnation

iii. Enate sentences

iv. Agnate sentences

ii) Lexical cohesion:

i. Repetition of item

ii. Occurrence of synonym or item formed on same root

iii. Occurrence of items from the same lexical set (co-occurrence group)

Unlike Halliday and Hasan (1976), Gutwinski does not differentiate between structural and non-structural categories of cohesion; "relations between clauses of a sentence are not studied here unless they are also signalled by connectors" (op. cit.). Enation and agnation are not covered by structural cohesion since they refer to inter-sentence relations.

The following is an explanatory note on some of Gutwinski's cohesive features. Anaphora, according to the above classification, has been broadened to include not only cataphora but also substitution as well, a point of departure from the Hallidayan model. The inclusion of substitution is justified on the ground that it represents essentially the same cohesive relation as anaphora. Substitution is classified into three parts: verbal (through the use of 'do' and its inflections), nominal (through the use of one, ones), and partial that subsume the phenomenon of ellipsis and its various manifestations. Thus the category of anaphora has a wide coverage.

The notions of enation and agnation were originally introduced by Gleason (1955). Enation obtains when two sentences have identical structures; that is, "if the elements (say, words) at equivalent places in the sentences are of the same classes, and if constructions in which they occur are the same" (Gleason, 1955: 199). According to Gutwinski, enation often functions cohesively in conjunction with lexical cohesion and may be reinforced by other features of grammatical cohesion. Gutwinski notes that enation does not require a complete identify of grammatical structure, i.e. sometimes it is partial. Agnation, in the other hand, is used for relations that are opposite and complementary to enation. Gleason defines agnation as "Pairs of sentences with the same major vocabulary items, but with different structure" (Gleason, 1955: 202). The use of an agnate structure is considered as a cohesive factor in a certain stretch of text since it is dictated by the previous structures in that stretch for achieving a particular function: linking, summarising or resumptive.

According to Gutwinski, the two terms "coordination and subordination" are used in his research to describe the cohesive relations that obtain between clauses as well as sentences

of a text that are indicated by connectors. He points out that these two terms, coordination and subordination, do not subsume the same range of grammatical phenomena for which they have traditionally been used. He justifies this by saying:

> The connectivity of two or more sentences due to the presence of connectors whose function is to link these sentences into a morphologic construction larger than a single sentence is essentially of the same kind as the grammatical connectivity marked also by connectors, of clauses within a sentence. (Gutwinski, 1976: 73)

Gutwinski distinguishes the following subcategories of coordination and subordination:

c. Coordinating connectives:

i. Cumulative or Additive: and, likewise, moreover, in addition, furthermore

ii. Disjunctive: or, nor, else, otherwise, alternatively

iii. Adversative: but, however, nevertheless, on the contrary, on the other hand

iv. Illative: therefore, so, for this reason, then

d. Subordinating connectives:

i. Causal: because, since, as, for the reason that

ii. Purposive: that, in order that, so that, lest, for the purpose of

iii. Conditional: if, unless, provided that, whether

iv. Concessional: though, although, in spite of the fact that, notwithstanding that

v. Comparative: as, than

vi. Temporal: as, as soon as, while, before, until, since, when

According to Gutwinski, lexical cohesion includes repetition across sentence boundaries, which helps relate various sentences in a text. He believes that "occurrence of the same lexical item or of synonyms or other members of the same co-occurrence class (lexical sets) in two or more adjacent or not too distant sentences can be cohesive under certain circumstances" (Gutwinski, 1976: 80). He points out that not every lexical item when repeated may be considered cohesive. One has to differentiate between "high-frequency" items, e.g. 'get', 'put', or 'say', which have to be excluded unless they are reinforced by some other

cohesive factors, and "low-frequency" items, e.g. 'ice-rink', 'excavate', 'prisoner', etc., which can be considered as cohesive factors when repeated.

Gutwinski, in concluding his discussion of cohesive features, points out that there are other linguistic phenomena that ought to be considered in a full study of cohesion. These include modality, sequence of tenses, and use of certain adjectives, comparatives and adverbial, repetition of whole clauses or parts of them and of entire paragraphs.

2.5.3 Beaugrande and Dressler's model

Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) have developed their own theory of the science of text. They present seven standards of textuality. In their treatment of the notion cohesion, or "sticking together", they start with an assumption concerning the function of the language system of syntax. They believe that the most obvious illustration of this function is the imposition of organisational patterns of various size and complexity upon the surface text defined as the presented configuration of words. According to them, the major units of syntax are patterns of well-marked dependencies: the phrase (a head with at least one dependent element), the clause (a unit with at least one noun or noun-phrase and an agreeing verb or verb-phrase), and the sentence (a bounded unit with at least one non-dependent clause); all capable of being utilised in a short as well as long span of time and processing resources. Accordingly, cohesion has to be procedurally postulated within two perspectives: the first views cohesion as sequential connectivity between elements within phrases, clauses and sentences; the second concerns connectivity within stretches of text of longer range. These two perspectives, according to them, are closely related to each other, "each occurrence is instrumental in ACCESSING at least some other occurrences" (Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981: 48). This assumption is the core of the concept of cohesion and the two perspectives point to the mechanisms by which it is elaborated. These are outlined as follows:

1. Short-range cohesion

Beaugrande and Dressler believe that although cohesion within a phrase, a clause, or a sentence is more direct and obvious than that occurring between large units, the issue of how these closely-knit units are built during the actual use of a text is worth consideration. To show how and in what order the basic phrases and clauses of English- considered as configurations of links between pairs of elements- some of them having further linkage-

Beaugrande and Dressler adopt a model of syntax for language processing on computers "the Augmented Transition Network". The discussion which follows is an attempt to show how the proposed method works.

Beaugrande and Dressler believe that this type of syntax relies heavily on the recognition and enumeration of grammatical dependencies that obtain between various elements in phrases, clauses or sentences. The network, according to them, is a configuration of "nodes"; grammatical states connected by "links", in this case, grammatical dependencies. The processor traverses the links to access the nodes, making the data at the nodes active and current. This operation is identical to a process of problem solving, whereby a hypothesis is tested concerning the typology of dependency between the nodes. The data at the nodes can determine, and therefore should be treated as an "instruction" about, the preferential or probable links that can be tested next. Thus the types of links are limited through avoidance of blocked pathways where the probability for a failure in traversing the next node is higher than that of success. It is a simple form of means-end analysis where the processor focuses on the main differences between the first point (the initial state) and the final point (the goal state).

To demonstrate the working of the network, Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 51) present the following example:

A great black and yellow rocket stood in the desert.

Beaugrande and Dressler then outline the idealised sequence of operation when the systemic processor advances from one state to another. On registering the first micro-state, in

this instance the determiner (a), the processor is able to recognise the macro-state of noun phrase. Each macro-state is capable of limiting the number and typology of the full range of probable occurrences. The macro-state has a "control centre" (for instance, the head in a noun-phrase or the verb in a verb-phrase, etc.), which manifests the heaviest linkage to other states. Accordingly, the highest priority of the processor, upon entering the noun phrase macro-state in the example above, is to discover the head. When this hypothesis fails, the processor revises it in favour of the next hypothesis in the priority list, that of modifier. The hypothesis succeeds and the processor then postulates the next state (S3) to be the head, and so on. When the junctive 'and' is encountered, the processor predicts that (a) the next state (S4) is most probably of the same type as the previous one (S3), and (b) it is, in addition, probably the last modifier before the head. Hence, a simple "recursion" of the micro-state "modifier" is performed. The processor then succeeds in finding the head (S5) "rocket", which is the control centre of this macro-state.

In order to understand the procedural ordering of the operations that the processor performs, Beaugrande and Dressler view processing in another perspective, summarised in terms of "stacking". This implies that each element is picked up and placed on top of a "hold stack". This refers to the active list of working elements to be integrated into a connected structure. In a "pushdown stack" each entry goes to the top of the stack and pushes the rest one notch down. When the control centre, the head in the example above, reaches the top of the stack, the stack is cleared in reverse order. This means that the last link is established first in the network and so on until the first link is set up. As a result, a network is built that shows the grammatical dependencies of the macro-state "noun phrase".

The rest of the sample is processed in the same manner. The processor will construct the verb phrase network. This macro-state is registered upon encountering the verb "stood". Since this is already the head, the processor will then search for a modifier. The search is augmented by anticipating not one class but subclasses of modifiers, e.g. adverb vs.

prepositional phrases. If the adverb is hypothesised as the current preference, the processor will advance to test this hypothesis. Failure to establish this link causes the processor to retract and test the hypothesis of a prepositional phrase, a macro-state within the overall verb-phrase macro-state. The sub-goal that is set up is to find the head of the phrase ("desert"), which is identified after the determiner (a).

The cohesion within this sentence is expressed in terms of a labelled transition network where the nodes are the grammatical states and the links are the dependencies. The network, as has been demonstrated, is constructed in real time by making "transitions" from one node to the next, an operation that requires specifying or discovering the relation between the current node and its successor.

2. Long-range cohesion

Unlike short-range cohesion, in which cohesion in closely-knit units such as phrases, clauses, and sentences is sustained by fitting elements into short-range grammatical dependencies, long-range cohesion concerns the connectivity of stretches of text. According to Beaugrande and Dressler, in this category there are devices for exhibiting how already used structures and patterns can be re-used, modified, or compacted. They suggest the following listing of cohesive devices:

i. Recurrence
ii. Parallelism
iii. Paraphrase
iv. Use of Pro-forms
v. Ellipsis
vi. Tense and Aspect
vii. Junction
viii. Intonation

Beaugrande and Dressler raise the following two points concerning the function of the above devices:

i. These devices sustain cohesion by achieving repetition, substitution, omission and signalling relationships.

ii. The devices in performing their cohesive role are less obligatory than those serving for closely-knit units. Missing elements in the latter case create a more noticeable disturbance within, or in the vicinity of, the units (phrases, clauses, or sentences). Thus long-range cohesive devices contribute to efficiency rather than satisfy grammatical obligations.

According to Beaugrande and Dressler, recurrence is a direct repetition of elements. The most obvious type of recurrence is that of lexical element, i.e. repetition of the same words or expressions. As a cohesive device, it is usually kept within limits since unduly frequent recurrence of items tends to lower informativity. They believe that recurrence is prominently used to:

a. Assert or affirm one's viewpoint.
b. Convey surprise at occurrences that seem to conflict with one's viewpoint.
c. Express repudiation, i.e. reject some material stated or implied in the previous discourse.
d. Express the need to overcome irrelevant interruptions and get on with a statement.
e. Express instances of iconicity, i.e. an outward resemblance between surface expressions and their content, particularly in poetic texts.

Beaugrande and Dressler maintain that other forms of recurrence exist, which are called 'partial recurrence', 'parallelism' and 'paraphrase'. Partial recurrence refers to using the same basic word-components but in a different word class. Parallelism entails re-using surface formats but filling them with different content, while paraphrase, on the other hand, is repetition of content with a change of expression.

According to Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), one of the other cohesive devices, which are used to compact (i.e. shorten and simplify) the surface text (even though there is a relative loss of determinacy), is the use of pro-forms. Pro-forms for them are "economical, short words empty of their own particular content, which can stand in the surface text in place

of more determinate, content-activating expressions" (Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981: 60). The best-known pro-forms are the pronouns that function as co-referents (i.e. they share reference) to nouns or noun-phrases. Co-reference is achieved either through the use of anaphora or cataphora.

Beaugrande and Dressler point out that there exist other elements (besides pronouns) that correlate with pro-forms. These include "pro-verbs" and "pro-modifiers". The function of a "pro-verb is performed by the verb 'do' to "keep current the content of a more determinate verb or verb phrase" (Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981: 62). In this function, the verb 'do' can co-refer with a considerable block of content.

The function of a "pro-modifier" is achieved by 'so' and 'such'. These can stand for whatever modifiers connected to the verb in the original verb phrase. 'So' can even stand for a whole clause (achieving "clausal substitution" in Halliday and Hasan 1976), thus signalling that the content of the clause is to be kept active and current.

According to Beaugrande and Dressler, textual compactness is also achieved by ellipsis. They believe that "ellipsis is present only when text processing involves a perceptible discontinuity of the surface text" (Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981: 67). Typically, ellipsis operates through a sharing of structural components among clauses of the surface text. This is usually performed via an anaphoric function: the complete structures occur before the elliptical one. They note that the distance between the elements must be kept within limits, otherwise the elided structure will be hard to recover or determine, and savings are lost on search and matching operations.

Cohesion is further supported by tense and aspect. These two categories are realised differently in various languages. Each language has its own means of distinguishing (a) past, present and future time, (b) continuity vs. single points, (c) antecedent vs. subsequent, (d) finished vs. unfinished.

The variety of means available in languages for expressing tense and aspect is a strong indication of the complexity and subjectivity involved in the organisation of time in the textual world. Even within the same language, an event can be expressed in different perspectives, for instance whether the event is seen as a closed unit at a single point in time, a multi-part unit extending over an unbounded expanse of time or a multi-part unit with defined time boundaries. Cohesion is sustained through viewing text-world events and situations as related. Where there are gaps, a process of updating is employed to indicate how the text-world is evolving.

A special aspect of cohesion that represents "an interaction between syntax, informativity and communicative settings" is exhibited in functional sentence perspective (FSP). According to Beaugrande and Dressler, FSP refers to the correlation between priorities of knowledge or informativity and the arrangements of words in clauses and sentences. In other words, the positions in which content materials are placed within stretches of clauses and sentences are suggestive of organisation according to priorities and degrees of informativity. A text producer tends to create a point of orientation before presenting new or more specific content material; a tactic that leads to a focus on crucial elements. Accordingly, informativity tends to rise towards the end of a clause or sentence. The cohesive effect of this aspect results when the sequencing of surface text gives signals about the shared knowledge to be manipulated during a given stage of the communicative interaction. For example, "due to the strategic usefulness of presenting known material first, the subjects of English sentences are often, though certainly not always, expressions (re)-activating established or predictable content [....] The latter stretch of the predicate is, in turn, especially serviceable for creating focus" (Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981: 76).

The last category of cohesion proposed by Beaugrande and Dressler's (1981) listing (i.e. 'intonation'), will not be presented here as it does not contribute to textual cohesion which is the main focus of this study.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has laid the general outlines of the text-linguistic approach within which the study of cohesion is presented as a central text property. An attempt was made to define the notion of text by briefly summarising the scope of text-linguistic interests in what constitute a text or text proprieties, outlying some assumptions and describing several properties of text. This was followed by a presentation of two prominent works of linguists who dealt with the concept of text. Finally, cohesion has been highlighted and a short review of some cohesion models has been presented. In the next chapter, a full account of the cohesive features in English will be presented using insights from the work of Halliday and Hasan (1976).

CHAPTER THREE
COHESION IN ENGLISH

3.0 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the discussion of cohesion in the English language. In this, a full description of cohesive devices/ties in English is presented. The main cohesive categories to be discussed are those identified by Halliday and Hasan (1976) in their work *Cohesion in English*, which is the most widely known model of cohesion. This model builds heavily on Halliday's model of systematic functional grammar and on two earlier works by Hasan, one published in 1968, one published in 1971, which listed and classified the devices available in English for linking sentences to each other. The proposed five major and minor categories of cohesion are presented under the following sections respectively: section 3.1 reference items, section 3.2 substitution, section 3.3 ellipsis, section 3.4 conjunctions, and section 3.5 lexical cohesion. Section 3.6 presents in abbreviated form Hasan's modification of the category of lexical cohesion.

Cohesion is the network of lexical, grammatical, and other relations that provide links between various parts of a text. These relations or ties organise a text by requiring the reader to interpret words and expressions by reference to other words and expressions in the surrounding sentences and paragraphs. Moreover, cohesion is seen as a non-structural semantic relation, as for example, between a pronoun and its antecedent in a preceding sentence, expressing at each stage in the discourse the point of context with what has gone before. A cohesive device is the interpretative link between, for example, a pronoun and its antecedent, or two lexically linked NPs, and a series of such ties (having the same referent) is referred to as a 'cohesive chain'.

In clarifying the notion of 'cohesion' and 'cohesive device', Halliday and Hasan (1976: 1) present the following example:

[3:1]

> Wash and core six cooking apples. Put them into a fireproof dish.

In the two sentences, the pronoun 'them' in the second sentence refers back to the noun phrase 'six cooking apples' expressed in the first one. This referential function of 'them' establishes a cohesive link between the two sentences and therefore gives cohesion to the text, so the reader would be able to interpret these two sentences as a unified whole. The two sentences may form a text or part of a text that may follow. However, the cohesive tie between 'them' and 'six cooking apples' lies in the fact that they refer to the same thing. Thus, the two items are identified through 'reference'; they are co-referential.

In their approach to cohesion, Halliday and Hasan focus on the study of those cohesive devices which contribute, in a significant way, to the creation and interpretation of a connected stretch of language as opposed to a non-cohesive stretch of language, or a random collection of sentences.

Halliday and Hasan believe that language must be approached as a unified and systematised whole; it cannot be looked at in terms of scattered words or sentences. To Halliday and Hasan, a text is any piece of language, spoken or written, that forms a unified whole; it is a semantic unit, and its creation is the actualisation of meaning potential influenced by the situational parameters of 'field', 'mode', and 'tenor'. They argue that since native speakers are capable of deciding whether a stretch of language constitutes a text or not, there must be objective linguistic characteristics that differentiate between a 'text' and a 'non-text'. It is these objective linguistic characteristics that Halliday and Hasan set out to describe. These characteristics will help us analysing original Arabic and English texts as well as their translations into both directions.

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 4), cohesion:

> occurs where the interpretation of some elements in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one presupposes the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it.

Cohesion is not concerned primarily with the subject matter of a particular text, for example, or only with the message of that text. Cohesion is mainly concerned with the organisation of the message, and because of that, it forms part of the textual component of the semantic system. However, unlike other textual resources cohesion is regarded as a non-structural relation, that is, cohesive ties are not properties of any structural unit such as the clause or the sentence, but can occur either within or between sentences.

Within this approach to cohesion, it is worth noting that the examples that have been used in this work are almost all of inter-sentential cohesion, because, as Halliday and Hasan (1976: 9) maintain:

> Cohesive ties between sentences stand out more clearly because they are the ONLY source of texture, whereas within the sentence there are the structural relations as well.

Halliday and Hasan propose five main categories of cohesion. These categories and their sub-categories will be fully discussed under the following headings, respectively:

1. Reference
2. Substitution
3. Ellipsis
4. Conjunction
5. Lexical cohesion

3.1 Reference

Reference, according to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 31), is a term used to refer to certain items which are not interpreted semantically in their own right but rather "make reference to something else for their interpretation"; by this they distinguish between semantic reference, i.e. the relationship between a word and what it points to in the real world, and reference as the relationship of identity which holds between two linguistic expressions.

Reference, in this sense, is a cohesive device that allows the reader/hearer to trace participants, events, entities, etc. in texts. In English, according to Halliday and Hasan, there are certain items that occur in the Nominal Group (NG) and have the property of reference. The structure of the nominal group is one of modification; it consists of a Head, with optional

modifier. The modifying elements include some which precede the Head, known as 'premodifiers', and some which follow it, known as 'postmodifiers', as in:

[3:2]
The two high stone walls along the roadside...
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 31)

The Head of the nominal group, in the above example, is the word 'walls'; within the modifier, 'the' has the function of deictic, 'two' numerative, 'high' epithet, and 'stone' classifier, while 'along the roadside' is said to be a qualifier.

Halliday and Hasan believe that there are certain items in all languages that have the property of reference. In the English language, for example, these items are: personal, demonstrative, and comparative. These are presented as follows:

[3:3]
a. Three blind mice, three blind mice, see how they run!
See how they run.

b. Doctor Foster went to Gloucester in a shower of rain.
He stepped in the puddle right up to his middle and
never went there again.

c. There were two wrens upon a tree. Another came, and
there were three.

d. This is how to get the best result. You let the berries dry
in the sun till all the moisture has gone out of them.
Then you gather them up and chop them very fine.

e. For he's a jolly good fellow. And so say all of us.
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 17-32)

In (a), the pronoun 'they' refers back to the noun phrase 'three blind mice'; in (b) the third person pronoun 'he' and the demonstrative pronoun 'there', in the second sentence, refer back respectively to the noun phrase 'Dr. Foster' and the noun 'Gloucester' in the first sentence of the same example. In (c), the term 'another', in the second sentence refers back to the noun 'wrens' expressed in the first one. In example (d), the demonstrative pronoun 'this' points forward to the whole description that follows it. In example (e), the pronoun 'he' does

not refer to any identity in the text, it refers only to an identity that is in the context of the situation. Although the text does not make it clear who the pronoun 'he' refers to, the participants in the speech occasion are able to identify the referent by the context in which the speech situation occurs. This type of reference is exophoric.

This kind of reference which has to be retrieved for full interpretation in this type of cohesion, is referred to as 'referential meaning', i.e. the identity of the particular thing or class of things that is being referred to. When the source of the necessary information is an item in the text itself, one is dealing with what is called endophora or 'endophoric reference'. When the source of addition information is outside the text, in the context of situation, one is dealing with 'exophoric reference'. Endophoric reference is divided into two types: first, anaphoric - when the information needed for the interpretation is in the preceding portion of the text. Second, cataphoric - when the information needed for the interpretation is to be found in the part of the text that follows. Examples 3:3a and 3:3d above represent the two types of the endophoric reference whereas example 3:3e the exophoric one.

Diagrammatically, the above-suggested types of reference can be related as in Figure 3.1.

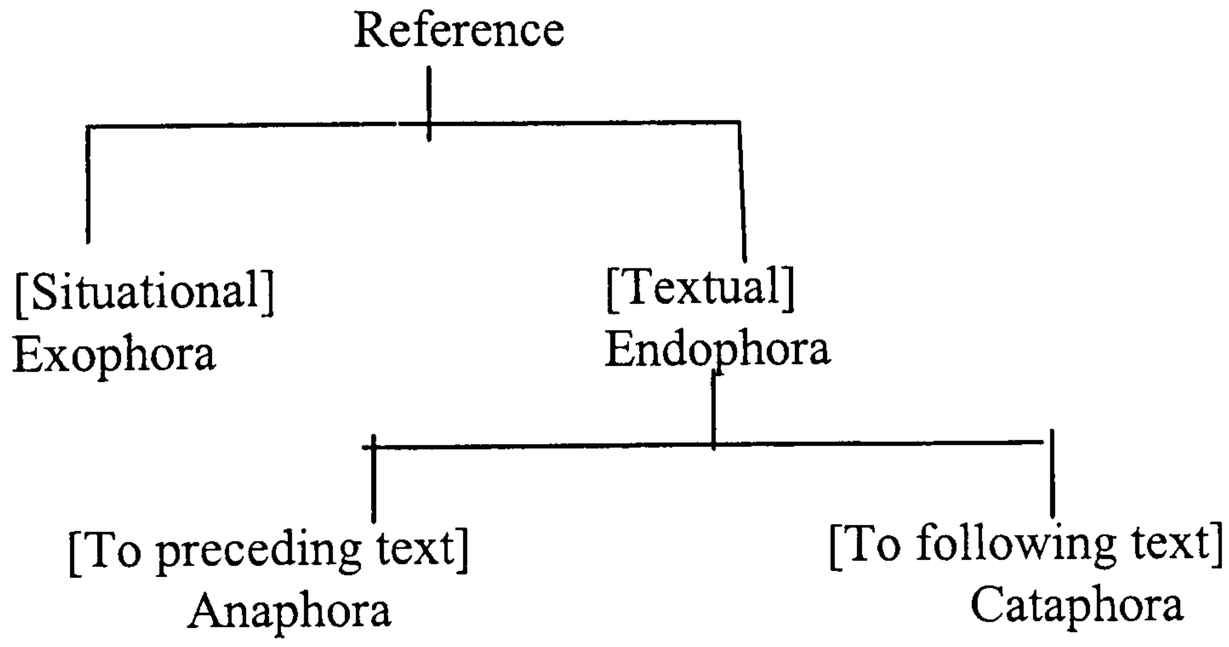

Figure 3.1 Types of Reference[1]

[1] Figure 3.1 Types of Reference (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 32)

3.1.1 Personal reference

Personal reference items are those items which refer to their referents by specifying their function in the speech situation, recognising speaker 'first person', addressee 'second person' and other participant 'third person'. This can be spelt out as follows:

- Speaker only:	I, me, my, mine
- Addressee(s):	you, your, yours
- One other person:	
(Male)	he, him, his
(Female)	she, her, hers
- Speaker and other person	we, us, our, ours
- Other person or object	they, them, their, theirs
- One object or piece of text:	it, it, its
- Generalised person	one, one's

Diagram 3.1 Personal Reference Expressions[2]

These pronouns can be further sub-classified in view of their function in the nominal group as follows:

(i) Personal pronouns as head:	I/me, you, he/him, she/her, it, we/us, they/them.
(ii) Possessive pronouns as head:	mine, yours, his, hers, its, ours, theirs.
(iii) Possessive determiners as deictic:	my, your, his, her, its, our, their.

The significant of the above pronouns, called by Halliday and Hasan the person system, is that "it is the means of referring to relevant persons and objects, making use of a small set of options centring around the particular nature of their relevance to the speech situation".

Halliday and Hasan make a distinction between the above personal pronouns by differentiating the roles of persons in the communication process and all other entities. They call the former 'speech roles', speaker and addressee (I-me-my-mine, you-your-yours, we-us-our-ours), and the later 'other roles', third person forms. They believe that each of the above mentioned personal forms enter into the structure either as (a) participant in some process or (b) possessor of some entity. They explain that if the personal form is a participant, it falls into the class 'noun', subclass 'pronoun', and functions as head in the nominal group. Then, it has

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[2] Diagram 3.1 Personal Reference Expressions (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 40)

one form when that nominal group is the subject (I, you, we, etc.), but when the nominal group is not the subject it has a different forms, i.e. (me, you, us, etc.). Respectively, when the personal form is a possessor of some entity, it falls into the class of determiner and functions either as head (mine, yours, ours, etc.) or as modifier (my, your, our, etc.), as in:

[3:4]:

a.	I had a cat.	'I': Participant; Subject	Pronoun; Head
b.	The cat pleased me.	'me': Participant; Non-subject	Pronoun; Head
c.	Take mine.	'mine': Possessor	Determiner; Head
d.	My plate's empty.	'my': Possessor	Determiner; Modifier

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 45-46)

Halliday and Hasan note that 'one' and 'its' never occur as possessor functioning as Head although they can occur as possessors functioning as modifiers.

Halliday and Hasan make a further distinction between 'speech roles' (first and second person forms), and the 'other roles' (third person form). They believe that the third person form is the only form that has a cohesive function by referring anaphorically or cataphorically to either a preceding or succeeding item in the text. The first and second person forms, on the other hand, do not normally refer to the text at all, i.e. their referents are defined by the speech roles of speaker and hearer, and hence they are normally interpreted exophorically, by reference to the situation.

They confirm that the first and second person forms in written language are anaphoric when they occur in quoted direct speech. Conversely, a third person form, while typically anaphoric, may refer exophorically to some person or thing that is present in the context of situation. These are presented as follows:

[3:5]:

There was a brief note from Susan. She just said, 'I am not coming home this weekend.'

[3:6]:

Oh, he's already been? - Yes, he went by about five minutes ago.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 49)

In the above examples, it can be seen that the pronoun 'I' in the quoted clause, while is a first person form, refers back, like the preceding third person pronoun form 'she', to Susan in first instance. Whereas, the pronoun 'he', which is a third person form and typically anaphoric, refers exophorically to a person present only in the context of situation.

Halliday and Hasan emphasise that a person who is present in the context of situation does not necessary mean physically present in interactant's field of perception; it merely means that the context of situation permits the identification to be made.

Halliday and Hasan point out the generalised exophoric use of the personal pronouns (one, we, you, they, and it) in which the referent is treated as being as it were immanent in all contexts of situation. Since the focus of this study is mainly on endophoric or textual cohesive reference, this exophoric reference will not be discussed here, as it makes no contribution to the cohesiveness of a text.

3.1.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives, unlike the personal reference items that refer to their referents by specifying their function in the speech situation, are those items that refer to their referents by specifying their location on a scale of proximity. This proximity may sometimes be metaphorical (i.e. it relates to an abstract object rather than a physical object).

Halliday and Hasan recognise two types of demonstratives: the adverbial demonstratives and the selective nominal demonstratives. These are shown in Diagram 3.2.

Semantic category	Selective		Non-selective
Grammatical function	Modifier/Head	Adjunct	Modifier
Class	Determiner	Adverb	Determiner
Proximity:			
Near	this, these	here, [now]	
Far	that, those	there, then	
Neutral			the

Diagram 3.2 Types of Demonstratives[3]

[3] Diagram 3.2 Types of Demonstratives (Halliday & Hasan, 1976: 57)

The adverbial demonstratives 'here', 'there', 'now', and 'then', according to Halliday and Hasan, refer to the location of a process in space or time. They normally do so directly regardless of the location of person or object that is participating in the process. Adverbial demonstratives usually function as adjuncts in the clause. They never act as elements within the nominal group. They have a secondary function as qualifier (e.g. 'that man there').

The selective nominal demonstratives 'this', 'these', 'that', and 'those' along with the definite article 'the', on the other hand, refer to the location of a person or an object participating in the process. They occur as elements within the nominal group. The demonstratives function in the nominal group either as head or modifier with the exception of the definite article which is always a modifier and never a head. Arguably, the equivalents to 'the' as heads are 'he' (him), 'she' (her), 'they' (them) and possibly also 'I' (me), 'you' and 'we' (us), as in:

[3:7]:

a. That garden seems longer.

b. That seems longer.

c. The garden seems longer.

The demonstrative 'that', in (a) is a diectic functioning as a modifier to the head 'garden', whereas in (b) it is assuming the function of the head of the nominal group. In (c), the definite article 'the' is a modifier to the head 'garden'.

Like the third person pronouns, the demonstratives are often used exophorically, referring to something in the context of situation. As always, exophoric reference is associated with certain types of situation, as in:

[3:8]:

a. Pick these up!

b. Leave that there and come here!

c. Look at the flowers!

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 58)

The demonstratives 'this' and 'these' imply proximity to the speaker, whereas 'that' and 'those' imply proximity to the addressee or distance from both. The definite article 'the' is also used exophorically; the situation makes it clear what referent is intended so that there is no need to specify further. While exophoric references lexical do exist in both languages, English and Arabic, they are excluded in this study because they not contribute to the cohesiveness of the text.

Halliday and Hasan believe that the selective nominal demonstratives that occur extensively with anaphoric function in all varieties of English embody within themselves several systematic distinctions.

In dialogue, 'this' and 'that' regularly refer anaphorically to something that has been said before; a speaker uses 'this' to refer to something he himself has said and 'that' to refer to something said by his interlocutor. The distinction is believed to be related to that of 'near (the speaker)' versus 'not near'; the meaning is 'what I have just mentioned', which is, textually speaking, 'near me' whereas 'what you have just mentioned' is not. These are presented as follows:

[3:9]:

a. There seems to have been a great deal of sheer carelessness. <u>This</u> is what I can't understand.

b. There seems to have been a great deal of sheer carelessness. Yes, that is what I can't understand.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 60)

Halliday and Hasan make a further distinction whereby proximity is interpreted in terms of time. The demonstrative 'that' tends to be associated with a past-time referent and 'this' for one in the present or future, as in:

[3:10]:

a. We went to the opera last night. <u>That</u> was our first outing for months.

b. We're going to the opera tonight. <u>This</u>'ll be our first outing for months.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 60)

A demonstrative functioning as a modifier may refer without restriction to any class of noun. A demonstrative functioning as a head, on the other hand, while it can refer freely to non-humans, is highly restricted in its reference to human nouns, as in:

[3:11]:

a. Now the cleverest thing I ever did, the knight went on after a pause, 'was inventing a new pudding during the meat-course… I don't believe <u>that pudding</u> ever was cooked'

b. I must introduce you to the surgeon who looked after me when I was in hospital. That surgeon really did a fine job…

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 62-63)

In (a), it would be possible to omit the second non-human noun 'pudding' and say 'I don't believe that ever was cooked'. On the other hand, in example (b), it would not be possible to replace the second human noun 'surgeon' by the demonstrative 'that'.

Halliday and Hasan believe that the only instance where demonstratives can refer pronominally to human referents, whether anaphorically or exophorically, is in relational clauses of equative type where one element is supplying the identification of the others, as in:

[3:12]:

Do you want to know the woman who designed it? <u>That</u> was Mary Smith.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 63)

When a demonstrative is used with a noun the meaning is always identical with that of the presupposed item. This normally holds true even if the noun following the demonstrative is not identical with the presupposed item, as in:

[3:13]:

I've ordered two turkeys, a leg of lamb, some… Whatever are you going to do with all that <u>food</u>?

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 62)

Although the noun 'food', which occurred after the demonstrative 'that' in the second sentence, is not identical with the presupposed items 'two turkeys, a leg of lamb, etc.' in the first sentence, the meaning can still be seen as identical. This is due to the nature of the relationships existing between the lexical items, the noun 'food' which is a superordinate lexical item and the more specific lexical items 'two turkeys' and 'a leg of lamb'.

When the demonstrative, on the other hand, is used alone, without a following noun, the reference may still be identical; but it may be broader, referring to the general class denoted by the noun, including but not limited to the particular member or members of that class being referred to in the presupposed item, as in:

> [3:14]:
> There are two cats trying to get in. Those have to be kept out.
> (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 64)

The demonstrative 'those', without a following noun, refers not just to the presupposed item 'two cats' in the first sentence but also to the general class 'cats'.

Halliday and Hasan believe that a demonstrative functioning anaphorically requires the explicit repetition of the noun or some form of synonym, if it is to signal exact identity of specific reference; that is, to refer unambiguously to the presupposed item at the identical degree of particularisation. A demonstrative without a following noun may refer to a more general class that includes the presupposed items; and this also applies under certain conditions to a demonstrative with a following noun-namely if the context is such that the noun can be interpreted more generally. This is restricted to spoken discourse which is beyond the scope of this study.

Halliday and Hasan also maintain that there is a distinction between the particular use of a demonstrative, having exact identity or reference with the presupposed item, and the generalised use related to that between defining and non-defining modifiers. This distinction

does not affect the textual function of demonstratives since both uses are equally associated with anaphoric reference and hence contribute to cohesion within the text.

Halliday and Hasan believe that all the above-mentioned distinctions have some relevance to cohesion as they partially determine the use of these items in endophoric (textual) reference.

Halliday and Hasan classify the definite article 'the' with the determiners in general and with the specific determiners -the class that includes the demonstratives and the possessives- in particular. This classification is due to the uniqueness of the definite article 'the', i.e. there is no other item in English that behaves exactly like it. But, unlike the demonstratives which can function as head, the definite article functions only as a modifier to the head of the nominal group.

Unlike the other specific determiners, which contain within themselves some referential element in terms of which the item in question is to be identified, the definite article 'the' identifies a particular individual or subclass within the class designated by the noun through dependence on something else, i.e. it merely indicates that the item in question is specific and identifiable; that somewhere the information necessary for identifying it is recoverable. This information is exophoric- in the situation- or endophoric- in the text. If it is exophoric, the item is identifiable in one of two ways.

1. A particular individual or subclass is being referred to, and that individual or subclass is identifiable in the specific situation, as in:

[3:15]
Don't go; the train's coming.
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 71)

The noun phrase 'the train' is interpreted as 'the train we're both expecting'.

2. The reference is identifiable on extra-linguistic grounds regardless of the situation, either because there is only one member of the class of objects referred to (e.g. 'the sun'), or because the referent is the whole class (e.g. 'the stars'); or considered as a representative of the whole class like 'the child' in the following example:

[3:16]:

As the child grows, he learns to be independent.
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 71)

Alternatively, the source of identification may lie in the text, i.e. endophoric. In this case it may refer forward (cataphorically) or backward (anaphorically). Cataphoric reference with the definite article 'the' is limited to the structural type; unlike the selective demonstratives, 'the' can never refer forward across a sentence boundary cohesively. It can only refer to a modifying element within the same nominal group as itself (e.g.: the party in power). Anaphoric reference, on the other hand, takes place when the information needed to identify an item is to be recovered from the preceding text, as in:

[3:17]:

She found herself in a long, low hall.... There were doors all round the hall....
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 72)

3.1.3 Comparative reference

In this category, Halliday and Hasan recognise two types: general comparison and particular comparison. These two types can be spelt out as in Diagram 3.3 below.

Grammatical function	Modifier: Deictic/Epithet	Submodifier/Adjunct
Class	Adjective	Adverb
General comparison: Identity General similarity: Difference	same identical equal similar additional other different else	identically similarly likewise so such differently otherwise
Particular comparison:	better, more etc.	so more less equally

Diagram 3.3 Comparative Reference[4]

3.1.3.1 General comparison

Halliday and Hasan define general comparison as a comparison in terms of 'likeness' and 'unlikeness' where two things, for example, are said to be the 'same/similar' or

[4] Diagram 3.3 Comparative Reference (Halliday & Hasan, 1976: 39)

'different'. This type of comparison is expressed by a certain class of adjectives and adverbs. The adjectives function in the nominal group either as deictic or epithet. The adverbs function in the clause as adjunct, as in:

[3:18]:
a. The identical two cards.

b. Two identical cards.

c. The others performed identically.
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 78)

The comparative 'identical' in example (a) is an adjective functioning as a deictic to the head of the nominal group 'cards', whereas in example (b), it functions as an epithet. In example (c), the adverb 'identically' functions as an adjunct in the clause.

Halliday and Hasan believe that the likeness between things which is expressed by the general comparison may take one of the following three forms:

1. Identity, where 'two things' are the same thing, as in:

[3:19]:
It's the same cat as the one we saw yesterday.

2. Similarity, where 'two things' are like each other, as in:

[3:20]:
It's a similar cat to the one we saw yesterday.

3. Difference (non-likeness), which is a combination of the two previous forms, as in:

[3:21]:
It's a different cat from the one we saw yesterday.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 76)

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 78) argue "since likeness is a referential prosperity...(and) a thing cannot just be 'like'; it must be 'like something'. Hence comparison is a form of reference". As always the case with references, the referent of the comparison may be in the

situation (exophoric) or in the text (endophoric). If it is endophoric, the reference may be backwards (anaphoric) or forwards (cataphoric), and it may be structural or nonstructural (cohesive). In comparison, it is possible for the comparison to be internal, i.e. the likeness is expressed as a mutual likeness without a referent appearing as a distinct entity. In this case the referent is fully determined by the structure and therefore has no cohesive function. Hence the structural and exophoric references are exempted from this study. This is illustrated as follows:

[3:22]:

a. Jennings is here to see you.
- I was expecting someone different.

b. The other squirrels hunted up and down the nut bushes; but Nutkin gathered robin's pincushions off a briar bush....
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 78)

The comparative adjective 'different' in the second sentence of example (a) refers back to the noun 'Jennings' in the first sentence, whereas in example (b), the comparative adjective 'other' in the first clause refers forward (cataphorically) to the noun 'Nutkin' in the second clause of the same example.

3.1.3.2 Particular comparison

Unlike the preceding type 'general comparison' that expresses likeness between things, particular comparison means "comparison that is in respect of quantity and quality" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 77). It is also expressed by means of ordinary adjectives or adverbs. The adjectives function in the nominal group either as numerative (e.g. 'more' as in '<u>more</u> cards') or as epithet (e.g. 'better' as in 'better cards'). The adverbs function in either of two ways: either as adjunct in the clause (e.g. 'better' as in 'the others performed better') or as submodifier, in which case they occur within an epithet (e.g. 'such' as in 'such good cards') or a numerative (e.g. 'so' as in 'so many words'), or within an adjunct (e.g. 'equally' as in 'the others performed equally badly').

Halliday and Hasan believe that the meaning and function of the comparative adjective or adverb are not affected when they are inflected (e.g. slower, slowlier) or compounded (e.g. more lengthy, more lengthily).

Particular comparison, like general comparison, is also referential. According to Halliday and Hasan in particular comparison there must be a standard of reference by which one thing is said to be 'superior', 'equal', or 'inferior' in quality or quantity. The reference is either exophoric or endophoric. If it is endophoric, the reference is either cataphoric or anaphoric.

3.2 Substitution

Substitution, unlike the main cohesive category 'reference', which is a relation between meanings, is a relation between linguistic items such as words or phrases. Reference is a semantic phenomenon; substitution, including ellipsis, is grammatical.

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 90) believe that "since substitution is a grammatical relation [...] the substitute may function as a noun, as a verb, or as a clause". Hence they distinguish three types of substitution: nominal, verbal, and clausal.

3.2.1 Nominal substitution

According to Halliday and Hasan the substitute 'one', including its plural form 'ones', always functions as head in the nominal group, and can substitute only for an item which is itself head of a nominal group, as in:

[3:23]:

My axe is too blunt. I must get a sharper <u>one</u>.
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 89)

The substitute 'one' in the second sentence substitutes for the noun 'axe' in the first sentence. It would be possible to repeat the noun 'axe' in the second sentence to read 'I must

get a sharper axe'. Moreover, the substitute 'one' assumes the function of the presupposed item.

Halliday and Hasan assert that it is not necessary for the two nominal groups themselves- the one containing the presupposed item and that of the substitute- to have the same function in the clause. This can be clearly seen in the following example:

[3:24]:
I shoot the hippopotamus with bullets made of platinum.
Because if I use leaden ones his hide is sure to flatten them.
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 91)

Here, both nominal groups: the one containing the presupposed item, 'bullets made of platinum' in the first clause, and the other containing the presupposing item, i.e. the substitute 'leaden ones' in the second clause, have different functions in the two clauses. The former, 'bullets made of platinum', is made up of a head with a defining element (qualifier), whereas the later, 'leaden ones', is made up of a head, i.e. the substitute 'ones', plus its own defining element, i.e. the (classifier) 'leaden' which repudiates the defining element of the presupposed item. Hence the structural function of the defining element in the nominal group is different from that which it repudiates.

Moreover, the substitute may differ from the presupposed in number, as in:

[3:25]:
Cherry ripe, Cherry ripe, ripe I cry. Full and fair ones -
come and buy.
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 91)

The presupposed item, 'cherry', in the first sentence is a singular noun, whereas the substitute, 'ones', in the second sentence is plural.

Halliday and Hasan believe that substitution always takes place when the noun that is presupposed is a count noun; i.e. there is no substitute for mass (un-countable) nouns, as in:

[3:26]:
This bread's stale. - Get some fresh.

In the above example, it is not possible to substitute the mass noun 'bread' in the first sentence with the nominal substitute 'one/ones'. But, the only possible form of substitution is substitution by zero. Substitution by zero (ellipsis) is the focus of the next section.

According to Halliday and Hasan substitution - as an anaphoric context- means that something is carried over from a previous instance. Sometimes the substitute carries over not only the presupposed item but also all the accompanied defining elements. When the substitute carries over only the presupposed item the remaining elements shall be repudiated by some element. It follows that the repudiated element may take the form of one of the following:

a. The repudiated element is a different subset, as in:

[3:27]:
We have no coal fires; only wood ones.

b. The repudiated element is a subset noun specified where noun Head been specified before, as in:

[3: 28]:
Did you light fires? - Only wood ones.

c. The repudiated element is a new aspect of or angle on what was there before, as in:

[3:29]:
Do you remember that thunderstorm we had the last time
we were here? - That was a terrifying one!

In the above examples, according to Halliday and Hasan, the repudiated element in example 3:28 is explicit, whereas in the other two examples it is implicit.

It is worth mentioning here, that 'one' has other structural functions. These functions are not cohesive. According to Halliday and Hasan 'one' can function as: a personal pronoun, a cardinal numeral, an indefinite article, and a pro-noun. These are discussed under the following headings:

1. Personal pronoun

[3:30]:

One never knows what might happen.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 98)

In the above example, 'one', in this instance, is not a substitute; and has no cohesive force and is never used anaphorically. This is due to the fact that this 'one' always occurs alone whereas the substitute 'one' is always modified.

2. Cardinal number

[2:31]:

He made one very good point.

In the above example, the item 'one' is functioning in the nominal group as modifier 'one very good' for the head 'point' whereas the substitute 'one' always functions as head of the nominal group.

3. Indefinite article

[3:32]:

I'd like a cup of coffee. - Then pour yourself one.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 101)

According to Halliday and Hasan the item 'one' in the above example is an indefinite article; and it is the equivalent form of the indefinite article 'some' that presupposes a count singular noun. Moreover it cannot be considered as a nominal substitute because it does not have the plural form 'ones'; and occurs without a modifier.

4. Pro-noun

[3:33]:

If such a one be fit to govern, speak.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 102)

According to Halliday and Hasan, 'one' in the above example is not a substitute. They believe that substitute 'one' is always anaphoric- there is no presupposition of an earlier

occurrence of 'word', 'person' or 'any similar one'. Accordingly it has no cohesive force. The pro-noun 'one' is restricted to human referents, whereas the substitute 'one' is not.

Halliday and Hasan believe that the item 'same' has two cohesive uses; it occurs as a cohesive element of the comparative type (cf. Section 3.1.3.1 above), and occurs as a nominal substitute accompanied by 'the'. Unlike the substitute 'one', which presupposes only the noun head, 'the same' presupposes an entire nominal group including any modifying elements, as in:

[3:34]
A: I'll have two poached eggs on toast, please.
B: I'll have the same.
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 105)

In the above example, the substitute 'the same' in the second sentence substitutes not only the head 'eggs' in the first sentence but also all the modifying elements accompanying it 'two poached ... on toast'.

Unlike the substitute 'one', 'the same' does not bring over its own modifying element but it is possible to add a reservation to it. This additional information takes the form of a qualifier that is normally introduced by 'but' and often starts with the word 'with' (adding a modification) or 'without' (deleting a modification), as in:

[3:35]:
A: I'll have two poached eggs on toast, please.
B: I'll have the same but fried. Or
I'll have the same but without the toast.

3.2.2 Verbal substitution

Unlike the nominal substitute 'one', which always operates on the nominal group, the verbal substitution operates on the verbal group. It functions as the head of the verbal group, in the place that is occupied by the lexical verb; and its position is always final in the group. According to Halliday and Hasan, verbal substitution in English language is made by using the verb 'do', as in:

[3:36]:

A: You think Joan already knows?
B: I think everybody *does*.
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 89)

The verbal substitute 'does', in the second sentence, substitutes for the verb 'knows' in the first sentence, and so serves to link the two sentences anaphorically. It will be possible if we maintain the verb 'knows' in the second sentence to read: 'I think everybody knows'.

Moreover, the verbal substitute 'do' can also substitute for a verb plus certain other elements in the clause, as in:

[3:37]:

He never really succeeded in his ambitions. He might have done, one felt, had it not been for the restlessness of his nature.
(Halliday and Hasan: 113)

The verbal substitute 'done' in the second sentence substitutes not only for the verb 'succeeded' in the first sentence but also all the other elements accompanying the verb in the clause 'succeeded in his ambitions'.

According to Halliday and Hasan the elements accompanying the verb in the clause, called the predicate, may be repudiated in the process of substitution, as in:

[3:38]:

Does Granny look after you everyday? - She can't do at weekends, because she has to go to her own house.
(Halliday and Hasan: 114)

The verbal substitute 'do', in the second sentence, substitutes only for the verb 'look after', in the first sentence, but the elements accompanying the presupposed verb in the first sentence 'everyday' are repudiated by 'at weekends'.

Halliday and Hasan believe that any element in the clause can be repudiated except the attribute, as in the following examples:

[3:39]:

a. Can lions climb trees? - No, but leopards can (do).

b. Can lions kill elephants? - No, but they can (do) giraffes.

c. Have they given the lions their meat? - No, but they have (done) the cheetahs.

d. Can lions kill with their tails? - No, but they can (do) with their paws.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 114)

In example (a), the subject 'lions' is repudiated by 'leopards'; in (b), the direct object 'elephants' is repudiated by 'giraffes'; in (c), the indirect object 'lions' is repudiated by 'cheetahs'; and in (d), the adjunct 'tails' is repudiated by 'paws'.

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 120) also believe that in certain contexts the repudiation of a particular element in the clause, regardless of its function, is restricted. "It is not possible to presuppose the verb without this other element also falling within the domain of the presupposition". This is presented in the following example:

[3:40]:

She's never lived in England. She has done in France.

(Halliday and Hasan: 120)

In the above example, the clause containing the verbal substitute is not acceptable. The reason might be that there is no expectancy binding the repudiated element to the one that is presupposed by the substitute.

Like the nominal substitute 'one', the verbal substitute 'do' is associated with contrast, i.e. the presupposing clause has an element that contrasts with an element in the presupposed clause. The two clauses, the presupposing and the presupposed, are believed to be related by comparison, as in:

[3:41]:

John is smoking more now than Mary is doing.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 115)

Halliday and Hasan believe that the presence of the verbal substitute 'do' in the above example is not needed as the cohesive factor since the two clauses are structurally related.

3.2.3 Clausal substitution

Unlike the two preceding substitution types, nominal substitute 'one'- which always operates on the nominal group, and verbal substitute 'do'- which always operates on the verbal group, clausal substitute 'so' and the negative form 'not' operate on the entire clause, i.e. they do not presuppose a noun or a verb but the entire clause, as in:

[3:42]:

a. Is there going to be an earthquake? - It says so.

b. Has everyone gone home? - I hope not.
(Halliday and Hasan: 130)

In the above examples, it can be seen that the clausal substitute 'so' in the second sentence of example (a) presupposes the whole of the clause 'there's going to be an earthquake', and in (b) the negative form 'not' in the second example presupposes the whole of the clause 'everyone gone home'.

According to Halliday and Hasan there are three contexts for clausal substitute 'so' and the negative form 'not' to take place. These are: report, condition, and modality.

3.2.3.1 Substitution of reported clauses

Reported structures are contexts for clausal substitute 'so' and the negative form 'not'. Halliday and Hasan believe that for clausal substitution with 'so' and 'not' to take place, the reported clause should be declarative, whatever the mood of the presupposed clause. It follows that there is no clausal substitution for interrogative or imperative clauses. The following is an example of the substitution of reported clause:

[3:43]:

'… if you've seen them so often, of course you know what they're like'. 'I believe so,' Alice replied.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 131)

The clausal substitute 'so' in the second sentence substitutes for the reported declarative clause in the first sentence (that) 'I know what they're like'.

Halliday and Hasan believe that the use of clausal substitute 'so' and 'not' in a context of expressions of certainty is restricted. It is not possible, for example, to say 'I am sure so'.

3.2.3.2 Substitution of conditional clauses

Conditional structures are another context for clausal substitution. Conditional clauses are frequently substituted by 'so' and 'not', especially following the conditional 'if'. These are expressed in the following examples:

[3:44]:

a. Every one seems to think he's guilty. If so, no doubt he'll offer to resign.

b. We should recognise the place when we come to it.
-Yes, but supposing not: then what do we do?

(Halliday and Hasan: 134)

In the above examples, the clausal substitute 'so' in second sentence of (a) substitutes for the clause 'he's guilty', and in (b) the clausal substitute 'not' in the second sentence substitutes for the clause 'we don't recognise the place when we come to it'.

3.2.3.3 Substitution of modalized clauses

Clauses expressing modality are another context for clausal substitution. Halliday and Hasan (1976: 135) define modality as:

> The speaker's assessment of the probabilities inherent in the situation … or in a derived sense, of the rights and duties …. These may be expressed either by modal forms of the verb (will, would, can, could, may, might, must, should, is to, and ought to), or by modal adverbs such as perhaps, possibly, probably, certainly, surely; the latter are

> frequently followed by a clausal substitute … those expressing certainty do not accept substitution in the positive, though they do in the negative.

The following examples show the substitution of modalized clauses:

> [3:45]:
>
> a. Would you like cats if you were me? 'Well, perhaps not' said Alice ….
>
> b. 'May I give you a slice?', she said…. 'Certainly not', the Red Queen said …
>
> (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 134-35)

The negative clausal substitute 'not' in example (a) substitutes for the clause 'I would not like cats if I were you', and in (b) it substitutes for 'Do not give me a slice'.

3.3 Ellipsis

Like substitution, ellipsis is a grammatical rather than semantic relationship, i.e. it expresses the grammatical relation between words, phrases or clauses in a text. Ellipsis is said to be a special case of 'substitution', in which an item (or items) is substituted by zero (Ø-item).

Halliday and Hasan believe that although the two cohesive categories, substitution and ellipsis, both express the same relation between parts of a text, they should be treated separately because "they are two different kinds of structural mechanism, and hence show rather different patterns" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 142).

For them, the notion 'ellipsis' is:

> […] something 'left unsaid'. There is no implication here that what is unsaid is not understood; on the contrary, 'unsaid' implies 'but understood nevertheless', and another way of referring to ellipsis is in fact as SOMETHING UNDERSTOOD, where *understood* is used in the special sense of 'going without saying'…. . (Halliday and Hasan: 142, emphasis added)

Halliday and Hasan argue that since language does not function in isolation, i.e. it functions, as text in actual situation of use, there are always some sources available for the

hearer/reader to interpret a sentence that is contained in the sentence itself. These sources, which are needed to supplement 'what is left unsaid', are two different kinds: only one of these is associated with ellipsis; i.e. where there is some presupposition in the structure of what is to be supplied.

The following examples express this:

[3:46]:

a. Hardly anyone left the country before the war.

b. Joan brought some carnations, and Catherine ø some sweet peas.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 142-143)

According to Halliday and Hasan, in sentence (a) there is information left unsaid. In order to interpret it, we should probably want to know whether 'country' meant 'rural areas' or 'national unit'; if the latter, which country was referred to, and whether 'left' meant 'emigrated' or 'went abroad on holiday'; which war; whether 'hardly anyone' referred to the whole population, or a given social or family group; and so on. All this is relevant information if we want to understand this sentence. But there is nothing in the structure of the sentence to suggest that it has been left out. The structure is not such as to presuppose any preceding text. In example (b), on the other hand, the structure of the second clause is subject and complement. This structure normally appears only in clauses in which at least one element, the predicator, is presupposed, to be supplied from the preceding clause. Then the two clauses are structurally related; the second is branched. Here the structure of the sentence suggests that something has been left out, i.e. 'unsaid'.

From this, it follows that the notion of ellipsis is not used to refer to any and every instance in which there is some information that the speaker/writer has to supply from his own evidence, but rather to sentences, clauses, etc. whose structure is such as to presuppose some preceding item, which then serves as the source of the missing information. That is, the elliptical part of the utterance is structurally incomplete.

Like substitution, ellipsis is a relation within the text, and in many instances the presupposed item is present in the preceding text, i.e. ellipsis is normally an anaphoric relation. Occasionally the presupposition in an elliptical structure may be exophoric, i.e. in the context of situation. As is the case with the other exophoric cohesive types, the present study will not give an account of the exophoric elements.

Halliday and Hasan distinguish three types of ellipsis: nominal, verbal, and clausal.

3.3.1 Nominal ellipsis

Halliday and Hasan define nominal ellipsis as the one which operates on the nominal group. The structure of the nominal group consists of a head with optional modifier. The modifying elements include some which precede the head, known as 'premodifiers', and some which follow it, known as 'postmodifiers'. The former usually consist of a deictic, numerative, epithet, or a classifier, whereas the latter consist of only a qualifier, as in:

[3:47]:

These two fast electric trains with pantographs...
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 147)

The Head of the nominal group is the noun 'trains'. Within the modifier, 'these' has the function of deictic, 'two' numerative, 'fast' epithet, and 'electric' classifier, while 'with pantographs' is a qualifier.

According to Halliday and Hasan, nominal ellipsis takes place when the head of the nominal group is omitted and its function is taken one by one of the other elements (deictic, numerative, epithet, or classifier), as in:

[3:48]:

Would you like to hear another verse? I know twelve Ø more.
(Halliday and Hasan: 143)

In the above example, the second sentence has an elliptical structure. It contains a nominal group 'twelve more', consisting of a numerative only 'twelve'. This numerative

functions as head of the nominal group following the omission of the head 'verses' presupposed from the preceding sentence.

Halliday and Hasan believe that it is possible for any of the other elements (deictic, numerative, epithet, or classifier) to assume the function of the head of the nominal group except the qualifier. This is because the qualifier is usually a noun, and when "it functions as head it would be liable itself to be interpreted as the Thing (so, for example, we cannot replace 'a tall brick chimney' by 'a tall brick')" (Halliday and Hasan: 148).

3.3.2 Verbal ellipsis

Unlike nominal ellipsis, which always operates on the nominal group, verbal ellipsis, as the name implies, operates on the verbal group. The structure of the verbal group usually expresses its systemic features, i.e. the choices that are being made within the verbal group system, such as:

1. Finiteness: finite or non-finite:
   - If finite: indicative or imperative
   - If indicative: modal or non-modal

2. Polarity: positive or negative

3. Voice: active or passive

4. Tense: past or present or future

(Halliday and Hasan: 167)

Halliday and Hasan believe that an elliptical verbal group is one whose structure does not fully express its systemic features; they have to be recovered by presupposition, as in:

[3:49]:

What you have been doing? - Ø Swimming

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 167)

In the elliptical verbal group 'swimming', there is only one lexical element, and that is the verb itself 'swim'. The presupposition 'have been swimming' express all the features of the verbal group that is presupposed by the elliptical verbal group: finite, indicative, non-modal, positive, active and 'present in past in present'.

It is worth mentioning here that there is no direct correspondence between the words and the systemic features, as the selections are expressed as a whole by the words that are used and by their arrangement in a particular structure.

Halliday and Hasan believe that an elliptical verbal group, as is the case in the above example, presupposes one or more words from a previous verbal group.

Halliday and Hasan emphasise that it is not possible to tell whether a verbal group is elliptical or not by merely looking at it. This is because the structure of the verbal group does not represent its meaning in a direct and obvious way. Although all verbal groups express tense, voice, etc. we cannot identify each of these with a particular element in the structure of the verbal group.

Halliday and Hasan note that the only way to tell whether a verbal group is elliptical or not is by consulting the co-text, i.e. its textual environment.

Halliday and Hasan distinguish two types of verbal ellipsis: lexical ellipsis and operator ellipsis.

3.3.2.1 Lexical ellipsis

Lexical ellipsis is a helpful means to determine whether a verbal group is elliptical or not by inspecting its form.

Halliday and Hasan believe that any verbal group not containing a lexical verb is elliptical, as in:

[3:50]:

Is John going to come? - He might ø. He was to ø, but he may not ø. He should ø, if he wants his name to be considered.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 170)

In the above example, it can be seen that the verbal items 'might', 'was to', 'may not', and 'should' in the second sentence are elliptical groups because at least one word must be added following each one of them in order to fill out the verbal group. This word is the lexical verb 'come' supplied by the presupposition.

Halliday and Hasan believe that modal operators (can, could, will, would, shall, should, may, might, must, ought to, and is to) are alike in that none of them can function as a lexical verb.

3.3.2.2 Operator ellipsis

Unlike lexical ellipsis, which involves only the omission of a lexical verb, operator ellipsis involves the omission of operators, as in:

[3:51]:

What have you been doing? - ø Swimming.

(Halliday and Hasan: 167)

In the above example, the verbal group 'swimming', in the answer to the question, contains only the lexical verb 'swim', i.e. the operator which can be recovered by supposition is omitted.

According to Halliday and Hasan, operator ellipsis, when occurs across sentences, is found mainly in very closely bonded sequences such as question and answer, in which the lexical verb either supplies the answer, as in [2: 50] above, or repudiates the verb in the question, as in the following example:

[3:52]:

Has she been crying? - No, ø laughing.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 175)

3.3.3 Clausal ellipsis

Clausal ellipsis is a very complicated relation; there is no clear-cut distinction between verbal ellipsis and clausal ellipsis. The former with its two sub-types, lexical and operator ellipsis, involve the omission of other elements in the structure of the clause besides verbal ones. Within this context, Halliday and Hasan (1976: 194) write:

> Verbal ellipsis is always accompanied by the omission of the related clause elements, these that are in the same part of the clause as the relevant portion of the verbal group. So in operator ellipsis, where there is omission of the finite part of the verbal group, the subject is also omitted; in lexical ellipsis, where there is omission of the non-finite part of the verbal group, all complements and adjuncts are also omitted.

The following examples show this:

[3:53]:

The cat won't catch mice in winter.
a. Or ø chase birds.
b. Won't it ø?
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 195)

In (a), which is an instance of operator ellipsis, the subject 'cat' is omitted along with the operator 'won't', whereas in (b), which is an instance of lexical ellipsis, the complement 'mice' and the adjunct 'in winter' are omitted along with the lexical verb 'catch'.

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 195), the other elements in the structure of the clause are either omitted or explicitly repudiated, as in:

[3:54]:

The cat won't catch mice in winter.

a. [Operator ellipsis; Subject repudiated: 'nor will the dog chase rabbits in winter']
- Nor the dog chase rabbits.

b. [Lexical ellipsis; Complement repudiated: 'it will catch birds in winter']
- It will birds.

c. [Lexical ellipsis; Adjunct repudiated: 'it will catch
mice in summer'
- It will in summer.
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 195)

In (a), which is an instance of operator ellipsis, the complement noun 'mice' is repudiated by the noun 'birds', and in (d), which is also an instance of lexical ellipsis, the adjunct 'in winter' is repudiated by 'in summer'. In (b), the subject 'cat' is repudiated by the noun 'dog'; in (b), which is an instance of lexical ellipsis.

According to Halliday and Hasan, the clause in English language has a two- part structure consisting of modal element and propositional element. The modal element, which embodies the speech function of the clause (e.g. statement, question, response, etc.) consists of the subject plus the finite element in the verbal group. The propositional element, on the other hand, consists of the reminder of the verbal group and any complements or adjuncts that may be present, as in:

[3:55]:
The Duke was going to plant a row of poplars in the park.
(Halliday and Hasan: 1976)

In the above example, the clause has two parts: the first one, 'the Duke was', is the modal element, it consists of the subject 'Duke' and the finite element in the verbal group 'was'; the second one is the propositional element; this consists of the remainder of the verbal group 'going to plant' and the complement 'a row of poplars' and the adjunct 'in the park'.

The difference between a complement and an adjunct is that the complement could become a subject if the clause was turned round (e.g. 'a row of poplars was going to be planted by the Duke in the park'), whereas the adjunct could not.

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 197), clause structure is not subject to a certain order, as the propositional element, in some instances, may precede the modal element, as in:

[3:56]:

a. In the park the Duke was going to plant a row of poplars.

b. A row of poplars the Duke was going to plant in the park.

The two types of verbal ellipsis (i.e. operator and lexical) are derivable from the two major divisions of the clause, propositional element and modal element. Under certain conditions there is ellipsis of the modal element accompanied by operator ellipsis; this is called modal/operator ellipsis. It is also possible to have propositional ellipsis accompanied by lexical ellipsis; this is called propositional/lexical ellipsis. This can be seen in the following examples:

[3:57]:

a. What was the Duke going to do?
- Ø plant a row of poplars in the park.

b. Who was going to plant a row of poplars in the park?
- The Duke was Ø.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 197-98)

In answer (a), the modal element is omitted: the subject 'the Duke' and, within the verbal group, the finite operator 'was'. Hence there is operator ellipsis in the verbal group. In (b), there is omission of the complement and the adjunct, and, within the verbal group, of the lexical verb 'plant': so we have lexical ellipsis in the verbal group.

According to Halliday and Hasan, there are some instances where modal ellipsis takes place without involving operator ellipsis. This takes place when the verb is in simple past or present tense. Propositional ellipsis, on the other hand, takes place without involving lexical ellipsis on several occasions. The general one occurs when the speaker/writer uses substitute 'do' rather than the elliptical form of the verb group.

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 202), there is a very general restriction on clausal ellipsis, whereby it is not possible to omit single elements from the structure of the clause. They note that if a single element of clause structure is to be presupposed, for purposes of cohesion, it must be expressed by a reference item, as in:

[3:58]:

Has she taken her medicine?
-She has taken.

Here, the answer to the above question 'she has taken' is not possible in English, i.e. it is an unacceptable clause structure. In the above example, there a single structural element omitted, 'her medicine', which is the complement of the clause. There is no type of clausal ellipsis that takes the form of the omission of single elements of clause structure. They believe that the answer to the question must be one of the following possibilities:

a. She has taken her medicine. b. She has taken it.
c. She has. d. She has done.

Here, answer (a) is a non-elliptical clause and there is no presupposition; (b) is a non-elliptical clause, but there is a presupposition of complement by reference 'it'; (c) is an elliptical clause, and there is a presupposition by verbal ellipsis; and in (d) there is an instance of clausal ellipsis plus substitution, the use of the substitute 'do'.

3.3.3.1 Ellipsis in question-answer and other rejoinder sequences

The typical context for clausal ellipsis is question-response and other types of rejoinder. Halliday and Hasan (1976: 206) define it as:

> Any observation by one speaker, whether it is a question or not, may be followed by an observation by another speaker that is related to it by some cohesive tie. This category of sequel is referred to as a rejoinder. A rejoinder is any utterance which immediately follows an utterance by a different speaker and is cohesively related to it.

This relation is summarised in Figure 3.2 below.

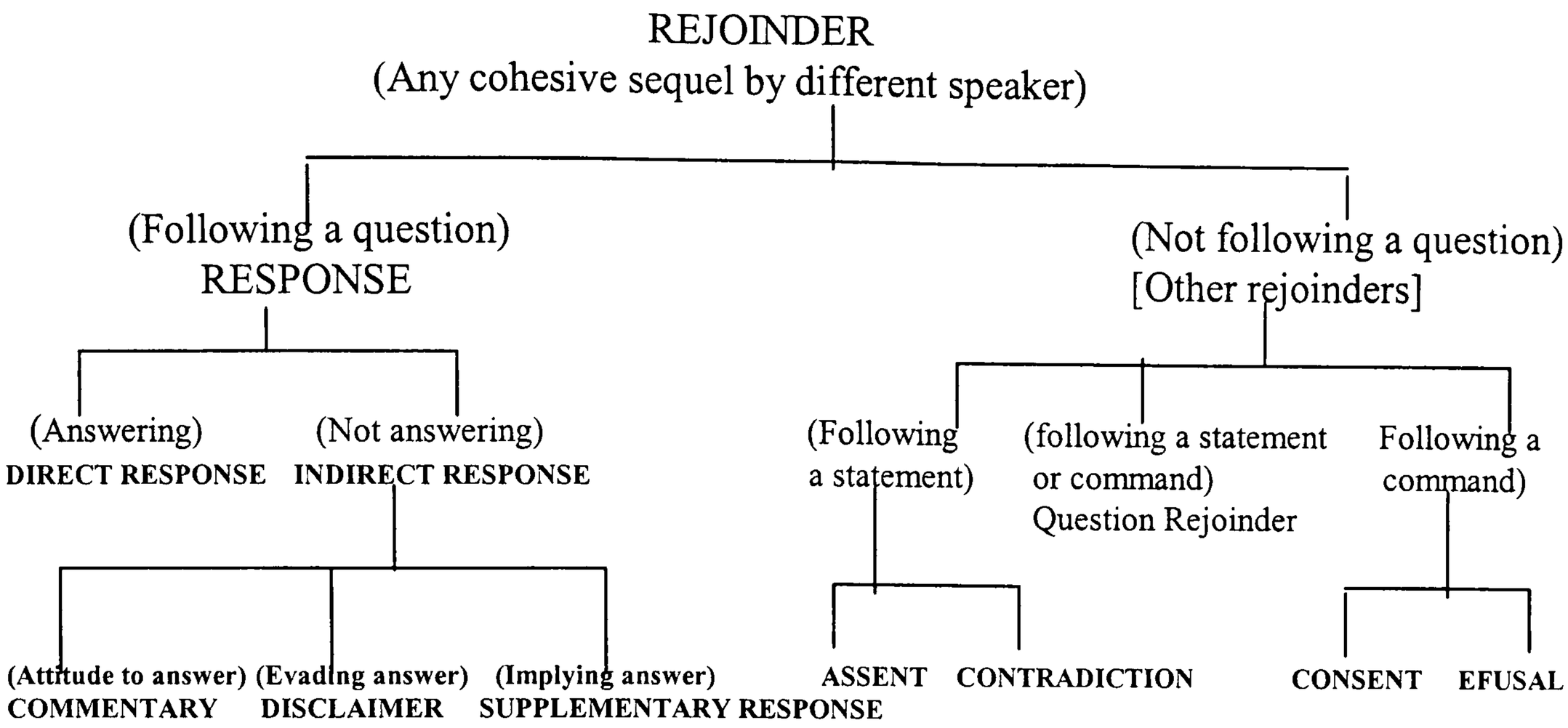

Figure 3.2 Ellipsis in question-answer and other rejoinder sequences[5]

According to Halliday and Hasan, there are two major categories of rejoinder: response and other rejoinders.

1. Response

The response is a rejoinder that follows a question. Halliday and Hasan distinguish two types: (1) direct and (2) indirect response. A response is direct when it is an answer to a yes/no question or a WH-question. It is indirect, on the other hand, when it is not an answer but rather a comment on the question, or a denial of its relevance, or involves supplementary information.

i. Direct responses

In this category, Halliday and Hasan distinguish two types of questions: (i) yes/no questions and (ii) WH-questions.

a. Yes/no question

According to Halliday and Hasan, the words 'yes' and 'no' express a feature of polarity in answering yes/no questions. They mean 'the answer is positive' and 'the answer is negative'. Their meaning is unaffected by the polarity of the question.

---

[5] Figure 3.2 Ellipsis in question-answer (Halliday & Hasan, 1976: 207)

Both 'yes' and 'no' have two functions: when they occur after a yes/no questions they are considered to be answers to the questions. When they occur after statements, on the other hand, they are considered rejoinders to statements, whose function is to keep the channel of communication open and the choice of one or the other simply follows the polarity of the preceding statement. Halliday and Hasan present the following examples:

[3:59]:

a. Are you coming? - Yes.

b. The car's running very well. - Yes, I had it serviced recently.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 209)

In (a) the word 'yes' is an answer to the yes/no question, whereas in (b) it is not an answer to a question but rather a rejoinder whose function is to keep the channel of communication open as to signal 'I agree', etc.

[3:60]:

a. Are you coming? - Yes Ø.

According to Halliday and Hasan, the answer to the above question 'yes' is the realisation of a single clause feature, that of polarity, which is being expressed on its own instead of in association with the verbal group; and the fact that it is expressed on its own means that the whole of the reminder of the clause 'I am coming' is presupposed by clausal ellipsis.

Halliday and Hasan believe that there are also complex expressions, some meaning either 'yes' or 'no', e.g.: 'maybe', 'perhaps', and some meaning both 'yes' and 'no', e.g.: 'sometimes', 'usually'. All these are appropriate answers to yes/no questions; and they are also cohesive, since they presuppose all the remaining features of the clause other than polarity.

ii. WH-questions

Unlike the yes/no question, the WH-question requires the specification of a particular item which is as it were missing from the clause. The respondent knows what the function of this item is in the clause structure, and has to fill in the blank.

According to Halliday and Hasan, the WH-expression itself indicates whether the missing item is a participant or circumstance: if it is a circumstance, whether it is time, place, cause, manner, etc.; if it is a participant, whether human or non-human. Accordingly, the answer of the question, in its simplest form, fills in the blank by a subject or complement or adjunct, as in:

[3:61]:

a. What did I hit? - ø A root.

b. What did you draw it with? - ø A pencil.

c. Who killed Cock Robin? - The sparrow ø.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 210)

The speaker, in each case, when giving a direct response in its simplest form, makes the information that the question calls for explicit and leaves all the rest to be presupposed by ellipsis.

2. Indirect responses

Unlike the preceding direct responses, where the respondent fills in the blank with the missing information, in this type, indirect responses, there is a response that cannot be considered an answer in the defined sense. The response is a commentary, a disclaimer, or a supplementary, as in:

[3:62]:

a. Is it Tuesday today? - I don't know ø.

b. When did they cancel the booking? - Did they ø?

c. Did you get the application form? - ø It's on my desk.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 212-213)

In the above examples, which are all instances of clausal ellipsis, it can be seen that in each case the respondent does not answer the question in a direct way: (a) is a commentary which is a statement about the speaker's attitude to the question, (b) is a disclaimer which side-steps the question by disputing its relevance. Example (c) is a supplementary that gives information other than that which is asked for but answers the question by implication.

3. Other rejoinders

Unlike the preceding rejoinder 'responses', which always follow question, a member of the group called 'other rejoinders', is any utterance uttered by a second speaker which presupposes that of the first speaker whether it was a question or not. The other rejoinders usually follow a statement or a command. If a rejoinder follows a statement, it is either an assent or a contradiction. When it follows a command, it is either consent or a refusal. Halliday and Hasan in this category distinguish two types: question rejoinders and other rejoinders.

According to Halliday and Hasan, question rejoinders have the function of querying a preceding statement or command, or eliciting supplementary information about it. These include three sub-types: one type is that which presupposes the entire preceding clause and seeks confirmation of it as a whole. These are yes/no questions and always have the form of interrogative clause with propositional ellipsis. This can be seen in the following examples:

[3:63]:
Peter is here. - Is he ø?

[3:64]:
Open the parcel. Shall I ø?
(Halliday & Hasan: 215)

In another type the speaker identifies one item as requiring confirmation; the reminder of the clause is omitted but this item is queried explicitly, as in:

[3:65]:

John's coming to dinner. - John ø?

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 215)

In the above example, there is an elliptical form; only one element in the clause is present in the structure, the remainder being presupposed by ellipsis.

Finally the speaker may similarly focus on one item in the clause but query it in the form of a WH-question, as in:

[3:66]:

John's coming to dinner. - Who ø?

(Halliday & Hasan: 215)

Halliday and Hasan believe that the other types of rejoinders to a statement or command usually take the form of an elliptical clause consisting of the modal constituent only (propositional ellipsis) with pronoun subject, but in the declarative form. It may take one of the following forms: assent, contradiction, consent, or refusal. The following example is an illustration of the first form:

[3:67]:

'Everything's just as it was!'

'Of course it is,' said the Queen.

(Halliday & Hasan:. 216)

3.3.3.2 Ellipsis in 'reporting-reported' sequences

Halliday and Hasan believe that reported speech is a further context for clausal ellipsis. The feature 'reported', which is present in indirect speech, may take the form of one of the following: indirect statement, yes/no questions, or WH-questions.

1. Indirect statement

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 219) believe that there is no equivalent elliptical form containing the marker of the feature 'statement' for an indirect statement. The cohesive form of the reported clause is the substitute 'so' or its negative 'not', as in:

[3:68]:

I thought Mary was leaving today. - She has not said so.

2. Indirect yes/no questions

If the reported clause is a yes/no question, the most usual elliptical form of it is simply Zero:

[3:69]:

Was that an earthquake? - I don't know ∅.

(Halliday and Hasan: 219)

3. Indirect WH-questions

According to Halliday and Hasan, if the reported clause is an indirect WH-question it can be elliptical, as in:

[3:70]:

Who could have broken these tiles? - I can't think who ∅.

(Halliday & Hasan: 220)

In the above example, the target of presupposition is not the immediate preceding clause, which would be the reporting one, but the preceding sentence; 'who' presupposes 'could have broken these tiles' and not 'I cannot think'.

3.4 Conjunction

The main cohesive category 'conjunction' involves the use of formal markers to relate sentences, clauses and paragraphs to each other. Conjunction signals the way the writer wants the reader to relate what is about to be said to what has been said before.

This kind of cohesive relation is different in nature from the other cohesive relations; i.e. reference, substitution, and ellipsis. In this context, Halliday and Hasan (1976: 226) say:

> Conjunctive elements are cohesive not in themselves but indirectly, by virtue of their specific meanings; they are not primary devices for reaching out into the preceding (or following) text, but they express certain meanings which presuppose the presence of other components in the discourse.

To show the differences between conjunction and the previous cohesive relations, Halliday and Hassan present the following examples:

[3:71]:

a. Wash and core six cooking apples. Put <u>them</u> into a fireproof dish.

b. My axe is blunt. I have to get a sharper <u>one</u>.

c. Did you see John? - Yes ø.

d. They fought a battle. <u>Afterwards</u>, it snowed.

Here, the two sentences, in each example, are linked to each other by a cohesive link; in each instance a different cohesive item is implemented. In example (a), the two sentences are linked by the pronoun 'them', in the second sentence, which refers anaphorically to the noun phrase 'six cooking apples', in the first sentence. Hence this referential function of 'them' establishes a cohesive link between the two sentences. In (b) this relation is established by the presence of the substitute 'one' in the second sentence, which is a counter of the noun 'axe' in the first sentence of the same example; in (c) the cohesive relation is achieved by the omission of some element in the second sentence that presupposes the first sentence. In example (d) none of the above relations exist; the conjunction or conjunctive adjunct 'afterwards' is not an anaphoric relation like the previous ones; it does not instruct the reader to search for the meaning of the element to interpret it as in reference, or the replacement of some linguistic element by a counter or by a blank, as are substitution and ellipsis, "but a specification of the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 227).

Several attempts have been made to set up a classification of the conjunctions in English. But all them faced the same difficulty; each classification highlighted only different aspects of the facts. This is due to the broadness of the conjunction relations. Halliday and Hasan, in their model, have based their classification of the conjunctions in terms of their cohesive relations in discourse, which they claim are capable of handling all the possible sub-

categories. They believe that a conjunction in discourse is additive, adversative, causal, or temporal. Halliday and Hasan (1976: 239) defend this framework by saying:

> Our reason for preferring this framework is just that: it seems to have the right priorities, making it possible to handle a text without unnecessary complication. A detailed systematisation of all the possible subclasses would be more complex than is needed for the understanding and analysis of cohesion; moreover, they are quite indeterminate, so that it would be difficult to select one version in preference to another. We shall introduce some sub-classification under each of the four headings, but not of any very rigid kind.

Halliday and Hasan believe that there is a very general distinction, common to all four types- additive, adversative, causal, and temporal which it will be helpful to make at the outset. This is shown by the following examples:

[3:72]:

a. Next he inserted the key into the lock.

b. Next, he was incapable of inserting the key into the lock.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 239)

According to Halliday and Hasan, each of the above sentences can be seen, by virtue of the word 'next', to presuppose some preceding sentence. Moreover in each case there is a relation of temporal sequence between the presupposed and the presupposing sentences; both examples, (a) and (b), express a relation that is in some sense 'next in time'. They are both classified as temporal. But the 'nextness' is different in the two instances; in (a), it is a relation between events: the presupposed sentence might be 'First he switched on the light', first thing happens, then another. The time sequence, in this instance, is in the content of what is being said. In (b), on the other hand, the presupposed sentence might be 'First, he was unable to stand upright'; here there are no events; or rather, there are only linguistic events, and the time sequence is in the speaker's organisation of his discourse. It can be said that the time sequence is in the argument; "the two sentences are related as steps in an argument, and

the meaning is rather- first one move in the speech game is enacted, then another" (Halliday & Hasan, 1976: 240).

Halliday and Hasan believe that the distinction between the above two examples relates to the basic functional components in the organisation of language. In (a) the cohesive has to be interpreted in terms of the experiential function of language; it is a relation between meanings in the sense of representations of 'content', (our experience of) external reality. In (b), on the other hand, the cohesive device has to be interpreted in terms of the interpersonal function of language; it is a relation between meanings in the sense of representations of speaker's own 'stamp' on the situation- his choice of speech role and rhetorical channel, his attitudes, his judgement and the like.

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 241) believe that the value of this distinction is:

> […] general to all the different relations that enter into conjunction. When we use conjunction as a means of creating text, we may exploit either the (external) relations that are inherent in the phenomena that language is used to talk about, or those (internal) that are inherent in the communication process, in terms of interaction between speaker and hearer; and these two possibilities are the same whatever the type of conjunctive relation, whether additive, adversative, causal, or temporal.

3.4.1 Additive

Under this heading 'additive', Halliday and Hasan group the words 'and', 'or' and 'nor'. They believe that these words are all used cohesively, as conjunctions; and all of them are classified as additive.

Halliday and Hasan believe that the correlative pairs 'both ...and', 'either ...or', and 'neither… nor' do not in general occur with cohesive function, they are restricted to structural co-ordination within the sentence. This is because a co-ordinate pair functions as a single unit and so can be delineated as a constituent, whereas a cohesive 'pair' is not a pair at all, but a succession of two independent elements the second of which happens to be tied on to the first.

All three, 'and', 'or', and 'nor', may express either the external or the internal type of conjunctive relation. In the additive context there may be no very clear difference between the two; but when 'and' is used alone as a cohesive item, as distinct from 'and then', etc., it often seems to have the sense of 'there is something more to be said', which is clearly internal, as in:

[3:73]:
I was very nearly opening the window, and putting you out into the snow! And you had have deserved it.
(Halliday & Hasan: 245)

The internal 'and' is of a different kind. It is used to link a series of questions, as in:

[3:74]:
Was she in a shop? And was that really- was it really a sheep that was sitting on the other side of the counter?
(Halliday & Hasan: 245)

or to link dialogue and narrative, as in:

[3:75]:
'…Who in the world am I? Ah, that's the great puzzle!' And she began thinking over all the children she knew that were of the same age as herself, to see if she could have been changed for any of them.

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 235) believe that the typical context for the conjunctive 'and' is one in which there is a total or almost total shift in the participants from one sentence to the next, and yet the two sentences are very definitely part of a text, as in:

[3:76]:
He heaved the rock aside with all his strength. And there in the recesses of a deep hollow lay a glittering heap of treasure.
(Halliday & Hasan: 235)

According to Halliday and Hasan, 'and' in example [3:76] is perhaps on the border line; it does link two different facts, which makes it external, but at the same time it may serve to convey the speaker's intention that they should be regarded as connected in some way.

The negative form of the additive relation is expressed simply as 'nor', as in 'nor can I'. Halliday and Hasan believe that besides 'nor' there are various other composite expressions with more or less the same meaning 'or else' as expansion of 'or', as in 3:78, 'and … not … either', as in 3:79 below:

[3:77]:

> Perhaps she missed her train. Or else she's changed her mind and isn't coming.

[3:78]:

> I couldn't send all the horses, you know, because two of them are wanted in the game. And I haven't sent the two messengers either.
>
> (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 246-247)

According to Halliday and Hasan, the expanded forms with 'either' have an additional element of explicitness in them, a sense of 'and what is more'. This is considered internal because the speaker is using an expression to express his attitude to or evaluation of what he is saying.

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 246) believe that there are specifically some forms of the 'and' relation occurring only in an internal sense, for instance, that of 'there is yet another point to be taken in connection with the previous one'. There are a large number of conjunctive expressions that have just this meaning, e.g.: further, furthermore, again, also, moreover, what is more, etc. These expressions are said to give rhetorical flavour, as in:

[3:79]:

> My client says he does not know this witness. Further, he denies ever having seen her or spoken to her.

In the above example, it can be seen that the speaker links the two sentences by the conjunctive expression 'further' because he wants the two sentences to be as it were added together and reacted to in their totality.

According to Halliday and Hasan, the distinction between the external and internal planes, with the 'or' relation, is perhaps more clear-cut. The basic meaning of the conjunctive

'or' relation is alternative. In its external sense, the offering of a range of objective alternatives, 'or', together with its expansion 'or else', is largely confined to questions, requests, permissions and predictions (realised in the grammar as interrogative, imperative, and modalised clauses), as in:

[3:80]:

> 'Shall we try another figure of the Lobster Quadrille?', the Gryphon went on. 'Or would you like the Mock Turtle to sing you a song?'
>
> (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 246)

According to Halliday and Hasan, if 'or' is associated with statements, it takes on the internal sense of 'an alternative interpretation', 'another possible opinion', 'explanation', etc. in place of the one just given, as in:

[3:81]:

> Perhaps she missed her train. Or else she's changed her mind and isn't coming.
>
> (Halliday & Hasan: 247)

Under this heading, additive, Halliday and Hasan include forms such as 'similarly', 'likewise', and 'in the same way'. They believe that these forms are related to the additive because of their semantic similarity; the source of cohesion is the comparison of what is being said with what has gone before. These forms are used by the speaker to assert that a point is being reinforced or a new one added to the same effect; the relevance of the presupposing sentence is its similarity of import to the presupposed one. This can be seen in the following example:

[3:82]:

> Treating people as responsible citizens brings out the best in them; they behave as such. In the same way if you treat them as criminals they will soon begin to act like criminals.
>
> (Halliday & Hasan: 247)

According to Halliday and Hasan, corresponding to 'similarly' is the negative comparison where the meaning is dissimilarity. This is frequently expressed by phrases such

as 'on the other hand', 'by contrast', 'as opposed to this', and so on. This is illustrated as follows:

[3:83]:

> Our garden didn't do very well this year. By contrast, the orchard is looking very healthy.
>
> (Halliday & Hasan: 247)

Halliday and Hasan distinguish two other types of relation that can be classified as a sub-category of the additive. They believe that both of them are relations on the internal plane. The first is that of exposition or exemplification. Among the items which occur frequently in this function are, in the expository sense: 'I mean', 'that is', 'that is to say', or 'in other words', 'to put it another way', etc., in the exemplificatory sense: 'for instance', 'for example', and 'thus'.

[3:84]:

> a. I wonder whether that statement can be backed up by adequate evidence. - In other words, you don't believe me.
>
> b. 'What sort of things do you remember best?' Alice ventured to ask. 'Oh, things that happened the week after next', the Queen replied in a careless tone. 'For instance, now', she went on…'there's the King's Messenger…
>
> (Halliday & Hasan: 248)

Finally, there is a small set of items such as 'incidentally', 'by the way', which combine the sense of additive with that of afterthought. They are perhaps on the borderline of cohesion; they may often hardly presuppose any preceding discourse, although in principle one sentence can be incidental only by reference to a previous one.

[3:85]:

> 'You'll see me there', said the Cat, and vanished… While she was looking at the place where it had been, it suddenly appeared again: By-the-bye, what became of the baby?' said the Cat, 'I'd nearly forgotten to ask.'
>
> (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 249)

3.4.2 Adversative

Halliday and Hasan believe that the basic meaning of the adversative relation is 'contrary to expectation'. The source of expectation is either the content of what is being said, or the communication process, the speaker-hearer situation. If it is the former, the cohesion is on the external plane; and if it is on the latter, the cohesion is on the internal plane.

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 50), an external adversative relation is expressed in its simple form by the words 'yet', as in:

[3:86]:

> All the figures were correct; they have been checked. Yet the total came out wrong.

In English, 'but', 'however', and 'though' are very similar to 'yet'. 'But' differs from 'yet', in that 'but' contains the element 'and' as one of its components, whereas 'yet' does not. For this reason it is not unusual to find sentences beginning 'and yet', but never 'and but'.

The word 'however' is different; unlike 'yet' and 'but', 'however' can occur non-initially in the sentence.

According to Halliday and Hasan, in some instances the adversative relation between two sentences appears as it were with the sequence reversed, where the second sentence and not the first would correspond to the 'although clause' in a hypotactic structure, here the normal cohesive form is 'yet'; we also find 'and' in adversative use in this sense, as in the following examples:

[3:87]:

a. The total came out wrong. Yet all the figures were correct; they have been checked.

b. 'Dear, dear! How queer everything is today! And yesterday things went on just as usual'.
(Halliday & Hasan: 253)

At the same time, 'but' and 'however' occur in a related though somewhat different sense, which we might call contrastive. This they share with 'on the other hand', as in:

[3:88]:

a. She failed. However she's tried her best.

b. He's not exactly good-looking. But he's got brains.

c. 'I see you're admiring my little box', the knight said in a friendly tone. '…You see I carry it upside-down, so that the rain can't get in.' 'But the thing can get out,' Alice gently remarked.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 252)

According to Halliday and Hasan, the words 'however' and 'but' in the above examples are used to convey a different sense; to mean not 'despite' but 'as against' and 'to be set against'.

Halliday and Hasan note that if 'yet' replaces 'however' in (a), the meaning is quite different; it means 'in spite of the fact that she'd tried her best, she still failed'. The two meanings 'in spite of' and 'as against' can be paralleled within the sentence, in the 'although' (concessive) type of dependent clause. This is normally a true adversative, and it can have only this sense if the 'although' clause precedes the main clause. But when the 'although' clause follows the main clause, it can express either the meaning 'in spite' or the meaning 'as against'. Thus we could have 'She failed, although she'd tried her best', meaning either 'in spite of the fact that …' parallel to example (a), or 'as against the fact that …', parallel to (c); or 'although she'd tried her best, she failed', meaning only 'in spite of the fact that …', parallel to (b). The latter cannot mean 'as against', which is why 'although he's got brains, he's not exactly good-looking', is logically nonsense.

Like the other cohesive relations, the adversative relation also has its internal aspect. Here again the basic meaning is still 'contrary to expectation'; but the source of expectation is to be found not in what the presupposed sentence is about but in the speaker-hearer situation, the point reached in the communication process, as in:

[3:89]:

a. '… You'll find yourself in the Fourth Square in no time. Well, that square belongs to Tweedledum and Tweedledee- the Fifth is mostly water- the Sixth belongs to Humpty Dumpty- But you make no remark?'

b. '… You might catch a bat, and that's very like a mouse,
you know. But do cats eat bats, I wonder?'
(Halliday & Hasan: 253)

According to Halliday and Hasan, in (a) the Red Queen's reasoning is 'I am giving you information, for which you ought to be grateful; and yet you don't show it': that is, contrary to the expectation rose by the communication situation between us. Similarly in (b), Alice recognises that, although her suggestion is made with the intention of being helpful, it may not in fact be any use.

Halliday and Hasan believe that there are three other forms of the adversative relation. The first is regarded as being the internal equivalent of the contrastive sense, that of 'as against'. It is expressed by a number of very frequent items such as 'in fact', 'as a matter of fact', 'actually', and 'to tell (you) the truth'. The meaning is something like 'as against what the current state of communication process would lead us to expect, the fact of the matter is…'. The second form is called 'correction'. The meaning of this cohesive relation is believed to be internal although the context of its use in any particular instance may be found in the content of the presupposed and presupposing sentences. The general meaning is still 'contrary to expectation', but here the special sense is 'as against what has just been said'. In this relation, the contrast may be between two alternative phenomena, as in:

[3:90]:
a. He showed no pleasure at hearing the news. Instead he looked even gloomier.

b. I don't think she minds the cold. It's the damp she objects to, rather.
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 254)

The last form is called a generalised form of the adversative relation. The meaning is 'no matter (whether …or not; which …), still …'. This presupposes that some circumstances have been referred to which are then dismissed or irrelevant- either because it does not matter whether they obtain or not, or because it does not matter which of the given set of circumstances obtains, as in:

[2:91]:

a. We may be back tonight; I'm not sure. Either way, just make yourselves at home.

b. Your partner may support you or may change to another suit. In either case you should respond.
(Halliday & Hasan: 254)

3.4.3 Causal

According to Halliday and Hasan, the simple form of causal relation is expressed by the words 'so', 'thus', 'hence', 'therefore', 'consequently', and a number of expressions like 'as a result (of that)', 'because of that', 'in consequence (of that)'. All these words and expressions regularly combine with initial 'and'.

Under the heading of causal relations, Halliday and Hasan include the specific ones of result, reason and purpose. These are not distinguished in the simplest form of expression; 'so', for example, means 'as a result of this', 'for this reason', and 'for this purpose'. When expressed as prepositional phrases, on the other hand, they tend to be distinct.

Halliday and Hasan believe that the distinction between the external and internal types of cohesion tends to be a little less clear-cut in the context of causal relations than it is in the other contexts, because the notion of cause already involves some degree of interpretation by the speaker. The simple forms 'thus', 'hence', and 'therefore' all occur regularly in an internal sense, implying some kind of reasoning or argument from a premise; in the same meaning we find expressions like 'arising out of this', 'following from this', 'it follows that', 'from this it appears that'.

According to Halliday and Hasan, the reversed form of the causal relation, in which the presupposing sentence expresses the cause, is less usual as a form of cohesion. Within the sentence, it is natural to find the structural expression of cause going in either direction.

Under the general heading of causal, Halliday and Hasan include another type of conjunctive relation. It is called the conditional type. The causal and the conditional type are believed to be closely related, linguistically; "where the causal means 'a, therefore b', the

conditional means 'possibly a; if so, then b', and although the 'then' and the 'therefore' are not logically equivalent - a may entail b without being its cause- they are largely interchangeable as cohesive forms" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 258).

According to Halliday and Hasan, the simple form of expression of the conditional relation, meaning 'under the circumstances', is the word 'then', as in:

[3:92]:

> 'Have some wine', the March Hare said in an encouraging tone. Alice looked all round the table, but there was nothing on it but tea. 'I don't see any wine', she remarked. 'There isn't any', said the March Hare. 'Then it wasn't very civil of you to offer it', said Alice angrily.

According to Halliday and Hasan, the above example illustrates the overlap of causal and conditional; the meaning is 'if, as is the case …, then …'. Here the equivalent relation in sentence structure could be expressed by either 'if' or 'since', as, seeing that: if/since there isn't any, (then) it wasn't very civil of you to offer it.

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 259) believe that the negative form of the conditional, 'under other circumstances', is expressed cohesively by 'otherwise', as in:

[3:93]:

> It's the way I like to go to work. One person and one line of inquiry at a time. Otherwise, there's a muddle.

In the conditional relations, Halliday and Hasan believe that the distinction between the external and internal types of cohesion is not at all obvious.

3.4.4 Temporal

According to Halliday and Hasan, the relation between the theses of two successive sentences may be simply one of sequence in time: the one is subsequent to the other. This temporal relation is expressed by words such as 'then', 'and then', 'next', 'afterwards', 'after that', 'sequentially' and a number of other expressions. The following example illustrates this:

[3:94]:

> (Alice) began by taking the little golden key and unlocking the door that led into the garden. Then she set to work nibbling at the mushroom…till she was about a foot high: then she walked down the little passage: and then- she found herself at last in the beautiful garden.
>
> (Halliday and Hasan: 261)

Halliday and Hasan believe that the temporal relation may be made more specific by the presence of an additional component in the meaning, as well as that of succession in time. So, for example, we may have 'then + immediately' (at once, thereupon, on which); 'then + after an interval' (soon, presently, later, after a time); 'then + repetition' (next time, on other occasion); 'then + a specific time interval' (next day, five minutes later) and so on. Halliday and Hasan present the following examples:

[3:95]:

> a. 'Tickets, please!', said the Guard, putting his head in at the window. In a moment everybody was holding out a ticket.
>
> b. 'You alarm me!' said the King. 'I feel faint- Give me a ham-sandwich!' On which the Messenger, to Alice's great amusement, opened a bag that hung round his neck, and handed a sandwich to the King, who devoured it greedily.
>
> (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 262)

According to Halliday and Hasan, in all these instances the external temporal relation is paralleled by the sequence of the sentences themselves: the second sentence refers to a later event. But this is not necessarily the case; the second sentence may be related to the first, still by means of temporal cohesion, through an indication that it is simultaneous in time, or even previous. In the sense of simultaneous we have '(just) then', 'at the same time', 'simultaneously'; and here too the simple time relation may be accompanied by some other component, e.g. 'then + in the interval' (meanwhile, all this time), 'then + repetition' (on this occasion, this time), 'then + moment of time' (at this point/ moment), 'then + termination' (by this time), and so on, as in:

[3:96]:

> '…. That will be a queer thing, to be sure! However, everything is queer today'.
>
> (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 262)

Halliday and Hasan believe that the presupposing sentence may be temporally cohesive not because it stands in some particular time relation to the presupposed sentence but because it marks the end of some process or series of processes. This conclusive sense is expressed by items such as 'finally', 'at last', 'in the end', 'eventually'. This can be illustrated in the following example:

[3:97]:

> All this time the Guard was looking at her, first through a telescope, then through a microscope, and then through an opera glass. At last he said 'You're travelling the wrong way', and shut up the window and went away.
>
> (Halliday & Hasan: 263)

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 264), the distinction between the external and internal types of conjunctive relations is very clear in temporal cohesion. In the internal type the succession is not in the events being talked about but rather in the communication process itself. The meaning 'next in course of discussion' is typically expressed by the words 'next' or 'then', or by 'secondly, thirdly, etc. and the culmination of discussion is indicated by expressions such as 'finally', 'as a final point', 'in conclusion', as in:

[3:98]:

> Finally we should record that the influence of the humanists contributed a good deal towards the final decay of the plainsong tradition.

3.5 Lexical cohesion

Unlike the four preceding cohesive relations: reference, substitution and ellipsis, and conjunction, which are grammatical, lexical cohesion is "the cohesive effect achieved by the selection of vocabulary" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 274).

Halliday and Hasan believe that on the border line between grammatical and lexical cohesion is the cohesive function of the class of general nouns. The class of general nouns are a small set of nouns having generalised reference within the major noun class such as 'human nouns', 'place nouns', 'fact nouns', etc.

According to Halliday and Hasan general nouns are very general in meaning. They are often interpretable only by reference to some element other than themselves, i.e. they require recourse to another item located earlier within the text so they play a significant role in making a text hang together. Halliday and Hasan present the following example:

[3:99]:

> Didn't everyone make it clear they expected the minister to resign? - They did. But it seems to have made no impression on the man.
>
> (Halliday and Hasan: 274)

In the above example, it can be seen that the general noun 'man' along with the determiner 'the' in the second sentence refers anaphorically to the noun 'minister' in the first sentence. It can be seen also that the anaphoric 'the' plus the general noun 'man' functions like an anaphoric reference item.

According to Halliday and Hasan, the class of general nouns are lexico-grammatical relation; that is, a general noun, from the lexical point of view, operates anaphorically as a kind of synonym. From the grammatical point of view, however, the combination of general noun plus a specific determiner is very similar to a reference item. For illustration, see example 3:93 above.

Halliday and Hasan distinguish between the use of a general noun along with a specific determiner and the use of a personal pronoun. They believe that the form with general noun, 'the man', for instance in example 3:93 above, introduces an interpersonal element into the meaning. If we replace the general noun with the personal pronoun 'him', for instance, this interpersonal element will not be achieved.

Halliday and Hasan believe that the expression of interpersonal meaning is an important function of the general nouns because it conveys a particular attitude on the part of the speaker/writer. This conveyed attitude is one of familiarity, as opposed to distance, in which the speaker/writer assumes the right to represent the thing he is referring to as it impinges on him personally.

According to Halliday and Hasan, a general noun in cohesive function can always be accompanied by an attitudinal modifier. To illustrate this, they present the following example:

[3:100]:

I've to see my greataunt. The poor old girl's getting very forgetful these days.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 274)

In the above example, it can be seen that the general noun 'girl' in the second sentence which has a cohesive function, refers anaphorically to the noun group 'my great-aunt' in the first sentence, and is modified by the adjectives 'poor' and 'old' which have attitudinal meaning.

Halliday and Hasan believe that general nouns, like reference items, refer either to the situation 'exophorically' or to the preceding text 'endophorically'.

Under the heading of lexical cohesion, Halliday and Hasan distinguish two categories: reiteration and collocation.

3.5.1 Reiteration

Halliday and Hasan define reiteration as a form of lexical cohesion by which a reiterated lexical item is either: a repetition, a general word, a synonym, nearsynonym, or a superordinate. In most cases it is accompanied by a reference item, typically 'the', as in:

[3:101]:

"There is a boy climbing the tree"

a. The boy's going to fall if he does not take care.

b. The lad's going to fall if he does not take care.

c. The child's going to fall if he does not take care.

d. The idiot's going to fall if he does not take care.
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 279-280)

In example (a), there is a repetition of the same lexical item: 'boy', in (b), the reiteration takes the form of a synonym or nearsynonym 'lad'; in (c), of the superordinate the term 'child'; and in (d), of a general word 'idiot'.

All these instances have in common the fact that one lexical item refers back to another, to which it is related by having a common referent.

3.5.2 Collocation

According to Halliday and Hasan, collocation is the most problematical part of lexical cohesion.

Unlike lexical reiteration, which takes place through repetition of an identical lexical item and through occurrence of a different lexical item that is systematically related to the first one, as a synonym or superordinate of it, collocation is achieved through the association of lexical items that regularly co-occur irrespective of whether or not there is identity of reference.

Halliday and Hasan believe that in collocation the basis of the lexical relationship that features as a cohesive force is extended to include not only the reiteration categories (synonyms, nearsynonyms, etc.) but also the following categories:

i. Pairs of opposites of various kinds:

a. Complementaries such as [boy ← girl] and [stand up ← sit down],

b. Antonyms such as [like ← hate] and [wet ← dry].

ii. Pairs of words drawn from the same ordered series such as [Tuesday ← Thursday], [dollar ← cent], [north ← south].

iii. Any pairs drawn from unordered lexical sets, like [basement ← roof], [road ← rail], [red ← green]. The members of such sets often stand in some recognisable semantic relation to one another; they may be related:

a. As part to whole, like [car ← brake], [box ← lid], or

b. As part to part, like [mouth← chin], [verse← chorus];

c. They may be co-hyponyms of the same superordinate term, i.e. both members of the same more general class, such as [chair ← table (both hyponyms of furniture)], [walk ← drive (both hyponyms of go)]; and so on.

3.6 Hasan's modification of 1976 model

Hasan (1983) finds the analysis of the category of lexical cohesion in terms of the 1976 model is vague and problematic and sometimes leads to confusion. She had to modify the category of lexical cohesion when she was involved in a piece of research aimed at finding out if there was any correlation between certain social factors and the degree of coherence perceived in the texts produced by children from different social backgrounds. In her justification of the modification, Hasan (1983: 194) writes:

> The triumphs of modern linguistics are more noticeable in the realms of grammar and phonology; by comparison, lexis is a neglected area. Despite suggestive leads from different approaches [...], the categories for the description of lexis are no more than a shot in the dark. This has the consequence of creating problems of decision-making at every step in the analysis. For example, can it be assumed that word and lexical token are coextensive? If so, how do 'sit', 'sit down' and 'sit up' relate to each other? Is 'up' in 'sit up' and 'stand up' a realization of the same lexical category? Indeed, is it valid to use the term lexical category in relation to the traditionally "empty" words, 'up', 'down', 'in', 'out', 'on' and 'at'? And most basic of all, what are the ways in which a lexical category may be realized? Are 'bachelor' and 'unmarried human adult male' alternative realizations of the same lexical category?

Similarly, the analysis of Arabic according to the category of lexical cohesion proposed by Halliday and Hasan's (1976) listings poses problems. It seems difficult to relate

items like [kasar-a] 'to break' and [kassar-a] 'to smash' to each other. It is also difficult to judge whether [qa'ad-a] 'sit up', [jalas-a] 'sit down' and [waqaf-a] 'stand up', [waqaf-a] 'stop' are the realization of the same lexical category or not.

Since in Hasan's approach to the study of cohesion, the orientation was primarily qualitative, the question of the identity of a tie became doubly important. However, the counting of ties posed a problem in lexical cohesion. For example, repetition leads to the creation of a tie; so does collocation. But when examining one of her samples, she could not make her mind up about the number of ties, as in:

[3:102]:

1. Once upon a time there was a little girl and a boy.
2. and they went aboard a ship.
3. and the sailor said to them to go and find a carriage
4. don't go on the ship here because I'm trying to dive
5. but the dog came along
6. and threw himself in the sea
7. and then he came back
8. and they all went home
9. and had a party
10. and they lived happily ever after.

(Hasan, 1983: 189-190)

After drawing her lexical chains, Hasan set to count the number of ties. The problem she encountered can be exemplified by the difficulty in deciding if there are five or four ties in the following chain:

go 2; go 4; go 8; come 5; come 7

So, we either have five lexical items and four ties or there are three ties of repetition:

go 2 ←→go 4

go 4 ←→go 8

come 5 ←→come 7

Hasan notes that there are also two ties of collocation between 'come' and 'go'

come 5 ←→go 4

come 7 ←→go 8

According to Hasan, this problem arisess from the fact that reiteration and collocation belong to two distinct dimensions. In this context, she writes:

> Tokens may enter into these relations at one and the same time; so that it is possible, if one wishes to count them as constituting ties both through the relation of reiteration and that of collocations. (Hasan, 1983: 195)

According to Hasan, the notion of collocation poses many problems. One of the problems collocation poses is the problem of intersubjective reliability. If someone, for instance, felt that there is a collocation tie between 'dive' and 'sea' in Hasan's example, then the question to be answered is: on what grounds could we reject or accept such a statement?

In addition to this problem, the existing categories of lexical cohesion failed to take into account certain semantic bonds. Hasan proposes the following criteria for the modification of the lexical cohesive categories in 1976's model:

i. The introduction of new categories
ii. The elaboration of the existing ones
iii. The exclusion of collocation

According to Hasan, lexical cohesion belongs to two primary types: that mediated through "general" lexical relations, i.e. text-independent, and that mediated through "instantial" ones, i.e. text-dependent.

Hasan notes that the categories of general lexical cohesive devices, discussed in the 1976 model, are based upon semantic bonds that are supratextual. The two lexical items 'write' and 'scrawl', for instance, cohere with each other. The semantic bond between them is that of the identity of their experiential meaning. However, this identity of experiential meaning between these two lexical items is a fact of the system of English. By contrast,

instantial lexical relations, which is a significant resource for textual unity, are text-bound, i.e. their validity is an artefact of the text itself, and does not extend to the system. In this category, the relation between two lexical items, for instance, attains its validity only through the linguistic context of the utterance.

Hasan proposes the following listing of the main categories of lexical cohesion:

1. General:

   i. Repetition, e.g. 'leave' vs. 'leaving/left'

   ii. Synonymy, e.g. 'leave' vs. 'depart'

   iii. Antonymy, e.g. 'leave' vs. 'arrive'

   iv. Hyponymy, e.g. 'travel' vs. 'leave'

   v. Co-hyponym, e.g. 'leave' vs. 'arrive'

   vi. Meronymy, e.g. 'hand' vs. 'finger'

   vii. Co-meronymy, e.g. 'finger' vs. 'thumb'

2. Instantial:

   i. Equivalence, e.g. 'the sailor was their daddy'

   ii. Naming, e.g. 'they named the dog Fluffy'

   iii. Semblance, e.g. 'the deck was like a pool'

According to Hasan, the basic difference between the two listings of cohesion (i.e. the 1976's listings and Hasan's), is that the latter explicates the differences between 'similarity' and 'difference', and 'including' and 'included' which are subsumed respectively under 'synonymy' and 'superordinate' in the former one. In addition, the category 'collocation' is dropped because of its vagueness.

In this, Hasan suggests that 'pay' is a meronym of 'buy', just as 'finger' is of 'hand'. If this is accepted, then the way is open to include frames and schemas with the slots they provide regarded as the parts. The elaboration of such frames and schemas can be constrained by presuming that the reader/hearer will not make a tighter interpretation of attributes than is required by the text he is reading. Thus the frame 'house' will trigger 'roof' but not the material of which the roof is made. Again, the frame 'house' will trigger only the minimum of

attributes to distinguish it from other lexical items in the same semantic area. It is of course true that the context of situation may cause other information to be triggered, but this is not due to the basic frame.

Another addition to the (1976)'s listings is the study of chain formation. Hasan (1979 and 1980) recognizes two major categories of chain. These categories are presented under the following headings: identity chains (IC) and similarity chains (SC).

3.6.1 Identity chains (IC)

According to Hasan, the members of an identity chain are held together by the semantic bond of co-referentiality. The relation between the items is realized either through pronominal cohesion as in [a girl and a boy ← their (clauses (1) and (2): example [3:102] above)], or through simple equivalence as in [sailor ← daddy] clause (2), or through simple lexical repetition if entities in question are generic, or through a combined operation of grammatical and lexical cohesion as in [a girl and a boy ← the children] through the mediation of other intermediate pronominals, clauses (1) and (9).

Hasan believes that the categories of English capable of realizing co-referentiality and the general conditions for the interpretation of these categories are facts of the system of language, but the specific content of the categories is determined by the text's status as language operative in a context of situation. This amounts to saying that the specifics of co-referentiality are situationally-and to that extent text-specifically-determined. In this sense the identity chain is always text bound. The IC is a requirement for the construction of the text because the entities, events, and circumstances that one is talking about needs to be made specific if there is to be repeated mention of the same.

3.6.2 Similarity chains (SC)

Unlike identity chains (IC), similarity chains (SC) are not text-bound. The semantic bond between the members of such chain is either that of co classification or of coextension.

Co-classification may be realized either by substitutive or elliptical cohesion or under certain conditions by simple lexical repetition, while coextension is realized only through lexical cohesive categories of the type listed under the first main category of cohesion (i.e. general i – viii) above.

Hasan believes that the shape of a SC varies from one text to another; however, both general conditions of its formation and the specific content of each of its terms are facts of the system of the language. Since the SCs are a realization of particular portions of semantic fields, they have a dual function in the economy of the text, i.e. they reflect the generic status of the text and they also contribute to its individuality.

According to Hasan, the presence of both types of chains (i.e. IC and SC) in a normal lengthy text is necessary for the text not be 'brittle' or short sighted.

Another useful measure suggested is the degree of interaction of chains, as measured by examining cases where IC and SC are in a constant semantic relationship with each other on two or more occasions. Tokens that comprise IC or SC are called relevant tokens (RT) as opposed to those that do not comprise these elements, which are called peripheral tokens (PT). That sub-set of the RT which take part in 'interaction'; that is, are in a constant logical or experiential relationship with one another in two or more sentences- are called central tokens (CT).

Hasan (1983: 216-217) suggests:

> The CTs of a text are directly relevant to the coherent development of the topic in the text. Cohesive harmony consists not only in the formation of ICs and SCs but also in the creation of that additional source of unity that is provided by chain interaction [....] The degree of chain interaction is in direct correlation with the degree of coherence in a text, so that it can be claimed that the greater the cohesive harmony in a text, the greater the text's coherence. We can express degrees of cohesive harmony by inquiring what percentage of total tokens acts as central tokens in the text. It would appear also that the ratio of peripheral to central tokens may be a significant factor, so that the higher the ratio of CT to PT, the more coherent the text would be.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a lengthy description and discussion of cohesion in English language. We based mainly on the insights and assumptions found in Halliday and Hasan's (1976) model of cohesion. The five major cohesive categories and their sub-categories proposed by Halliday and Hasan have been highlighted. Moreover, Hasan's (1983) modification of the category of lexical cohesion has been presented.

As the focus of the current study is to investigate the types of shifts involving cohesive markers in the ST-TT pair of texts through translating from Arabic into English and vice versa, a similar discussion of cohesive markers in Arabic will be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR
COHESION IN ARABIC

4.0 Introduction

The preceding chapter has presented a full description of the cohesive categories in English as prescribed by Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Hasan (1983). As the current study sets out to investigate instances of translation shifts in the translations of Arabic and English in terms of their cohesive features, it is the aim of this chapter to give a full account of the cohesive features in Arabic language as the two languages differ significantly in their available sources of cohesion.

In any contrastive investigation, when cohesive features in a pair of texts (i.e. a ST and TT) in two different languages are to be compared, there arises the problem of finding a unified descriptive framework to use. It is rather rare to find several languages extensively described within the same framework. Thus, it seems quite improper to describe the cohesive markers of Arabic using the same descriptive framework as that which has been utilised for English in the present study.

The cohesive features in Arabic are categorised, following Halliday and Hasan (1976), into main classes: reference (section 4.1), substitution (section 4.2), ellipses (section 4.3), connectives (section 4.4), and lexical cohesion (section 4.5). However, this listing differs from that of Halliday and Hasan in the manner of classification and presentation, and in some detail.

4.1 Reference

Halliday and Hasan distinguish three types of reference that are potentially capable of performing a co-referential function in discourse: personal, demonstrative, and comparative. These are discussed separately under the following three headings:

4.1.1 Personal reference

Arabic classical grammarians and linguists distinguish two types of pronouns: explicit and implicit.

1. Explicit pronouns[1]

Explicit pronouns are, as the name implies, overtly expressed entities which appear in discourse either as (munfaSil) or (muttaSil), i.e. respectively, 'free' and 'bound'. These are discussed further under the following two headings:

i. Free pronouns

Free pronouns, which are sometimes called independent pronouns, can stand by themselves as separate elements. According to Holes (1995: 145), free pronouns are "a set of free morphemes [...] written as separate words and which occur in the position of grammatical subject". Free pronouns can occur initially in the sentence as its subject, as in:

[4:1]:
'ana: Ta:lib-un
[I am a student.]

It is quite possible for a free pronoun to follow the noun it refers back to, as in:

[4:2]:
aHmad (huwa) Ta:lib-un mujtahid-un
[Ahmad is a hard working student.]

Free pronouns can also occupy final positions like the English reflexive pronouns 'myself', 'yourself', etc., as in:

[4:3]:
sha:hadtuhu 'ana:
[I saw him myself.]

ii. Bound pronouns

Bound pronouns, which are also called by some modern linguists enclitics, on the other hand, cannot stand by themselves as independent entities. Instead, they are always

---

[1] In classical Arabic grammar books, explicit pronouns are called [*Dama:'ir ba:riza*] 'visible pronouns', whereas the implicit ones are called [*Dama:'ir mustatira*] 'concealed pronouns'.

affixed to other words. The part of speech of the word to which a bound pronoun is attached determines its function. If a bound pronoun is attached to a verb, for instance, it is either the subject or the object of the verb, as in:

[4:4]:

a. ra'ayna: rajul-an
[We saw a man.]

b. ra'a:ha: rajul-un
[A man saw her.]

Bound pronouns are divided into three types:

a. Independent pronouns (e.g. the [tu] 'I' as in: [qumtu] 'I stood').

b. Dependent pronouns (e.g. the [ka] 'you' as in: ['ukrimuka] 'I honour you').

c. Oblique pronouns (e.g. the [hu] 'his' as in: [ghula:mahu] 'his boy').

2. Implicit pronouns

The second type is called 'implicit' pronouns. They are called so because they have no outward form but are merely understood, i.e. they are not exhibited as separate words in the discourse, but rather incorporated into the verb. The verb inflects to show gender distinctions by having a morpheme that helps listeners/readers locate the adequate referent. Therefore, a native speaker of Arabic can intuitively recognise any implied pronoun and its antecedent. The speaker can, for example, recognise and distinguish the implied pronoun in phrases such as [kataba] 'he wrote' and [katabat] 'she wrote' by means of the [t] marker that is called [ta: t-ta'ni:th] 'feminine marker'. In Arabic, there are other markers that perform similar functions. (Cf. Ibn Hisham Al-AnSari, 1963: 120)

Classical Arab grammarians and linguists distinguished two types of the implicit/concealed pronouns, namely: compulsorily concealed and optionally concealed pronouns. Compulsorily concealed pronouns are those which must remain unchangeable, i.e. [muqaddar wuju:b-an] 'necessarily implicit', being irreplaceable by any explicit noun or free

pronoun. Moreover, compulsorily concealed pronouns can occur in various positions and can be made independent when used in certain constructions such as:

a. By an imperfect tense verb beginning with [na] such as [*na*qu:m-u] 'we stand',

b. By an imperfect tense verb beginning with [hamza] such as [*'a*qu:m-u] 'I stand'.

c. By a masculine singular imperative verb such as [qum] 'stand'.

Optionally concealed pronouns, on the other hand, are those whose concealment is permitted, being replaceable by an explicit noun or a free pronoun. These are the pronouns made independent in the following instances:

i. By the third person masculine singular verb such as [zayd-un qa:ma] 'Zayd, he stood',

ii. The third person feminine singular verb such as [hind-un qa:mat] 'Hind, she stood', and

iii. The agent noun such as [zayd-un muDrib-un] 'Zayd is on strike'.

In the above instances, the pronouns are optionally concealed, but when they become visible they would take the form of free ones, as in:

[4:5]:
zayd-un ma: qa:m-a 'illa: huwa
[None stood but Zayd]

It is worth mentioning here that there are many striking differences between English and Arabic regarding their use of pronouns. Arabic, for example, does not have the category of possessive pronouns such as 'mine', 'his', 'yours', etc. In English only the third person singular pronoun (i.e. he/she) shows gender distinctions, whereas in Arabic the two types (explicit and implicit pronouns) show number and gender distinctions, except those for the first person speaker. There are other instances of differentiation between the two linguistic systems, but it is beyond the scope of this study to provide a detailed contrastive description.

Arabic explicit pronouns are spelt out in Diagram 4.1.

Speech Roles			Other Roles	
	Speaker(s)	Addressee(s)	Other Entities	
			Human	Non-human
Singular	'ana:, -ni:,-i:	**Masc.** 'anta, -ka **Fem.** 'anti,-ki	**Masc.** huwa,-hu **Fem.** hiya, ha:	
Plural	naHnu,-na:	**Masc.** 'antum, -kum **Fem.** 'antunna,-kunna	**Masc.** hum,-hum **Fem.** hunna,-hunna	
Dual		'antuma:, kuma:	huma:, huma:	

Diagram 4.1 Arabic Explicit Pronouns[2]

As far as the cohesive role played by personal reference in Arabic is concerned, it is typically anaphoric. Beeston (1970: 41) suggests such a function when he remarks, "a pronoun always refers to a previously mentioned covert entity". Despite this rather broad generalization, Beeston recognizes the 'non-specific' reference of the third person plural 'they' when used to refer to 'people in general' as in 'they (i.e. people) say it will rain tomorrow'. In addition, the third person singular pronoun can allude to 'some fact or idea that has been mentioned', as in 'he isn't coming today, and it is a great pity' (Beeston, 1970: 41).

Although Beeston does not use the term 'anaphoric' and 'cataphoric' he recognises these categories. He recognises, for example, the cataphoric function that can be brought into play by the use of the same pronoun "to foreshadow any entity term occurring later in the sentence, as in 'it's a great pity that he isn't coming today".

Like most Arabic linguists, Beeston has not looked into the cohesive function of pronouns across sentence boundaries. Despite the fact that Beeston's generalization concerning the anaphoric function of Arabic pronouns does not adequately indicate whether the 'previously mentioned overt entity' resides in a preceding clause or sentence, it, nevertheless, holds true of third person reference. The following example displays such an anaphoric function:

[4:6]:

ja:'a rajul-un. 'innahu ya'ti: mubakkir-an da:'im-an
[A man has come. He always comes early]

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[2] Diagram 4.1 Arabic explicit pronouns based on Beeston (1970: 40). The only differences are assigning semantic roles to the different entities and using the terms 'human' and 'non-human' instead of Beeston's 'person' and 'non-person' respectively. The term 'addressee(s)' is also used instead of his 'person(s) addressed'.

The third person can also function cataphorically pointing to a forward portion of the text, although this does not frequently occur, as in:

[4:7]:
fi: khiTa:bihi: qa:l-a l-malik-u…
[In his speech, the King said…]

Arabic implicit pronouns can also perform a cohesive function by making the hearer/reader retrieve their antecedents somewhere in the text. Again, the relevant information may lie in a preceding or a following portion of the text. In other words, implicit pronouns can function endophorically, i.e. anaphorically and cataphorically. They can also occur exophorically, especially when their antecedents lie in the context of situation, as in:

[4:8]:
a. *dhahab*-a l-walad-u ila: l-dukka:n-i laqad i-*shtara*:
ba'D-a l-Halwa:
[The boy went to the shop. He bought some candy]
(Anaphoric)

b. *qadim*-a yarkuD-u musri'-an ka:na l-walad-u kha:'if-an
[He came running fast; the boy was scared.]
(Cataphoric)

c. (Pointing to someone) *sayaStadim*-u bi-l-Ha:'iT-i.
[He'll hit the wall]
(Exophoric)

In the above examples, each italicised verb constitutes an implicit pronoun referring anaphorically or cataphorically to its referent, which is either textual (i.e. in the surrounding text) or situational (i.e. in the context of situation).

4.1.2 Demonstrative reference

Holes (1995) classifies Arabic demonstratives in terms of proximity into two sets corresponding to the English 'near' and 'far' from the speaker categorised by Halliday and Hasan's (1976) listings. Diagram 4.2 displays Arabic demonstratives.

		Proximal	Distal
Singular	**Masc.**	ha:dha:	dha:lika (or dha:ka)
	Fem.	ha:dhihi (or ha:dhi)	tilka
Plural	**Masc.** & **Fem.**	ha:'u:la:'i	'ula:'ika
Dual	**Masc.**	**nom.** ha: dha:ni	dha:nika
		acc./gen. ha: dhayni	dhaynika
	Fem.	**nom.** ha:ta:ni	ta:nika
		acc./gen. ha:tayni	taynika

Diagram 4.2 Arabic Demonstratives[3]

Some of the demonstratives displayed in the above table may assume other forms but only the commonest ones are included here.

There are major distinctions between demonstratives in Arabic and English. For example, Arabic demonstratives show gender distinctions. While 'this' and 'that' in English are used to refer to masculine and feminine entities without any gender distinctions, Arabic employs two different demonstratives to fulfil this role. (Cf. Table 4.2 above). Furthermore, a specific category is used to refer to two entities (dual).

As for the behaviour of demonstratives in discourse, Beeston (1970: 42) suggests that they "resemble ... pronouns in being allusive, and requiring a context to make the allusion understandable". By context, Beeston means 'co-text' rather than the context of situation. That is because he also recognises their 'generalized' reference when they refer to some 'fact or idea that has been mentioned, and not to an overt entity'.

Like their English counterparts, Arabic demonstratives are typically anaphoric; they point back in the text, as in:

[4:9]:

yu:jad-u kita:b-un 'ala: l-raff-i dha:lik-a l-kita:b-u li:

[There is a book on the shelf. That book is mine.]

As for the cataphoric reference of demonstratives, this is restricted to 'this' in English. 'That' is, on the other hand, always anaphoric (cf. Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 68). Similarly cataphoric reference is typical of [ha:dha:] 'this' in Arabic, whereas [dha:lika] 'that' is

[3] Diagram 4.2 Demonstrative Reference Items in Arabic (Hole, 1995: 151)

essentially anaphoric as in the above example. The following example is an instance of cataphoric reference:

[4:10]:
yajib-u 'an yaltazim-a kull-un minna: biha:dha:
[Each one of us should abide by this: (followed by what should be abided by)]

Although this function has already been mentioned, a hearer/reader expects [ha:dha:] 'this' to refer to something which is forward, i.e. to function anaphorically. However, this cataphoric function of [ha:dha:] 'this' is only plausible in such a context. This is also true of the English 'this'.

Beeston (1970: 43) argues that the Arabic demonstrative [dha:lika] 'that' can refer to "an entity already known to the hearer" as in 'that is false'. In fact, 'that' in this context maintains an exophoric relation, which is cohesive.

Demonstrative reference in Arabic can be doubly anaphoric, that is by reference and by ellipsis. Here is an example:

[4:11]:
yu:jad-u kita:b-un 'ala: l-raff-i dha:lika l-kita:b-u li:
[There is a book on the shelf. That book is mine.]

In English, the cohesive function of 'these' and 'those' corresponds to that of 'this' and 'that' respectively. In other words, while 'these' can function anaphorically and cataphorically, 'those' is always anaphoric. This is not the case in Arabic, that is [ha:'ula:'i] 'these' and ['ula:'ika] 'those' are typically anaphoric. This is illustrated as follows:

[4:12]:
yajib-u 'an yaltazim-a kull-un minna: bi-ha:dha:
[Each one of us should abide by this: (followed by what should be abided by)]

In the above example, the demonstrative pronoun [ha:dhih-i] 'these' cannot replace [ha:dha:] 'this' because it requires a noun to modify such as [ha:dhih-i l-ta'li:ma:t] 'these instructions'. The other plural demonstrative, [ha:'ula:'i] 'these', cannot be used in that

context. The following examples demonstrate how [ha:'ula:'i] 'these' and ['ula:'ika] 'those' behave in discourse:

[4:13]:

a. yadhhab-u l-'awla:d-u 'ila: l-madrasa mubakkiri:n ha:'ula:'i 'awla:d-un mujtahidu:n
[The boys go to school early. These boys are hard-working]
(Anaphoric)

b. ka:na l-fara:'ina aqwiya:'a 'ula:'ika rija:lun 'iZa:m
[The Pharaohs were powerful. Those men were great.]
(Anaphoric)

c. li-man ha:dhihi (tilka) al-kutub-u ha:dhihi (tilka) ∅ li:
[Whose are these (those) books? These (those) ∅ are mine.]
(Anaphoric by reference and ellipsis)

Thus, the plural demonstratives are essentially anaphoric. Like their singular counterparts, they can be doubly anaphoric as in (b).

The dual demonstratives are also primarily anaphoric, as in the following example:

[4:14]:

ja:'a l-walada:n-i. hadha:n-i l-walada:n la-Ti:fa:n-i
[The two boys have come. These (two) boys are nice]

It can be seen in the above example that the noun [al-walada:n] 'the two boys' can be omitted, and hence the dual pronoun is doubly anaphoric as in the previous example (b) in [4:13].

All the previous pronouns can perform an exophoric function indicating an entity in the context of situation as in:

[4:15]:

a. ha:dha yawm-un la-Ti:yff-un
[This is a nice day]

b. ha:dhih-i Suwar-un jami:lat-un
[(Pointing to some pictures) these are beautiful pictures]

c. ha:dha:n-i walada:n-i musha:ghiba:-ni
[(Two boys passing by) these (two) boys are naughty]

The Arabic demonstrative adverbs [huna:] 'here' and [huna:lika] 'there' can exhibit an anaphoric relation when they refer to an entity mentioned previously in the text, as in the following examples:

[4:16]

a. 'innani: fi: l-qara:j-i sa-'antaZiruk-a *huna:*
[I'm in the garage. I'll wait you here]

b. sa-yataqa:bal-u l-fari:qa:ni: fi: l-'ista:d-i - sa-'ara:ka huna:ka 'idhan
[The two teams will meet in the stadium. I'll see you there, then]

These demonstratives can indicate exophoric reference as well, as in the following example:

[4:17]

ta'a:la *huna:*! qif *huna:ka*!
[come here! Stand there!]

Despite the fact that the temporal demonstratives 'now' and 'then' are not treated as demonstratives in Arabic but rather as adverbs of time, they correspond to their English counterparts in their textual function. They can be anaphoric, as in the following examples:

[4:18]

a. laqad habaTat T-Ta:'ira. 'al'a:na yumkinuna: l-tanaffus-u bi-Hurri:ya.
[The plane has just landed. Now, we can breath freely][4]

b. ka:na ya'bath-u bi-kull-i shay' wa huwa Saghi:r lam yakun ya'rifu qi:mat al-'ashya' 'inda *'idhin*
[He was careless about everything when he was young. he didn't know the value of things then]

However, the anaphoric reference of these temporal entities occurs in quite restricted contexts in both languages. Moreover, this anaphoric reference may be conflated with the conjunctive function of 'now' and 'then'.

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4 This example is slightly adapted from Halliday and Hasan (1976: 75)

The last demonstrative, according to Halliday and Hasan's taxonomy, is the definite article. The definite article [al] 'the' occurs in contexts that its English counterpart does not tolerate. For example, [al] can modify not only nouns but adjectives and gerunds as well. These three linguistic entities are spelt out in the following example:

[4:19]
la:targhabu l-bint-u l-jami:la fi: l-dhaiha:b-i 'ila: l-masraH-i
[The beautiful girl doesn't feel like going to the theatre]

In the above example, it can be seen that the demonstrative article [al] 'the' appears with the nouns [bint] 'girl' and [masraH] 'theatre', the adjective [jami:la] 'beautiful' and the gerund [dhaha:b] 'going'. Despite this broad application of [al] 'the', only the instances of this article with nouns that refer to entities mentioned in the text or situation are considered cohesive here. Its occurrence with adjectives and gerunds is, on the other hand, confined to the boundary of the single clause. Thus it is not cohesive.

As far as the textual function of [al] 'the' is concerned, it can occur anaphorically, as in the following example:

[4:20]
ja:'a rajul-un 'ila: l-maHaTTa. 'istaqall-a l-rajul-u 'awwal-
a qiTa:r-in
[A man came to the station. the man took the first train]

The definite article [al] also performs an exophoric relation, which is cohesive. However, this is only possible when the referent is present in the situation as in the following example:

[4:21]
dhahab-a 'ila: l-madrasa
[He went to the school]

In the above example, it can be seen that there is a specific school in the interlocutor's minds. It can also be exophoric if the entity can be identified on 'extralinguistic grounds' (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976: 71). In this case, it can modify entities which have only one

member in their class as in [al-qamar] 'the moon'; or it can occur with entities that are generic of their class as in [al-mar'a] 'the woman', as in the following example:

[4:22]
al-mar'a-tu akthar-u taHammul-an min ar-rajul-i
[(the) woman can bear more than the man can]

The linguistic system of Arabic allows the occurrence of the definite article together with a demonstrative, as in the following example:

[4:23]
'innaha: sayya:rat-un jami:lat-un. 'uri:d-u 'an ashtariya
ha:dhihi s-sayya:ra
[It is beautiful car. I want to buy this (the) car]

Thus, Arabic has the potentiality for enhancing the number of cohesive devices in discourse, a feature that is not possible in English.

4.1.3 Comparative reference

Halliday and Hasan recognise two types of comparative reference: general and particular. The first denotes likeness or unlikeness of objects. Consequently, two things may be the same, similar of different. This type of comparison is expressed by a set of adjectives and adverbs which Halliday and Hasan (1976: 77) term 'adjectives of comparison' and 'adverbs of comparison' respectively.

Particular comparative reference, on the other hand, means comparison in terms of quantity and quality. Therefore, one object must be bigger or smaller, better or worse than another. Particular comparison is embodied through a class of "ordinary adjectives and adverbs of some comparative form".

The only type of comparison in Arabic conforms to Halliday and Hasan's particular comparative reference. This is realised by a form that can be derived from any dynamic verb. The comparative form takes the pattern of the word ['af'al], e.g. ['afDal] 'better', ['akbar] 'bigger', etc. This type is typically followed by the particle [min] 'than', as in:

[4:24]

sa:mi: 'aTwal-u min sulTa:n
[Sami is taller than Sultan]

This type does not display gender or number distinction. In fact, Arabic has another type of comparison that corresponds to the English superlative degree, but this is excluded from Halliday and Hasan's taxonomy. It will not be tackled here either.

General comparative references as dealt with by Halliday and Hasan do not exist in Arabic. In fact, Arabic does not have a definite set of adjectives and adverbs that are capable of expressing this form of comparison. Nevertheless, Arabic has other resources that can accommodate this type of comparison. For example, all the adjectives and adverbs that show identity of objects can be realized in Arabic by the words [nafs] and [muTa:biq] 'same'; those used for similarity can expressed as [mithl] and [musha:bih], respectively 'such' and 'similar'; whereas ones which indicate difference have the Arabic equivalent [a:khar] and [mukhtalif] 'other' and 'different'. Some of the English comparative adverbs have only one-word form equivalent in Arabic, e.g. [bi-ttama:thul] 'identically', while some have a phrase as an equivalent, e.g. [bi-Tari:qat-in muma:thila] 'likewise'.

For the purpose of the analysis of cohesion, those Arabic words or phrases, which are not considered as expressions of comparison, would be considered so when occurring in a context similar to their English counterparts. That is, they would function cohesively in discourse.

The meaning of an instance of comparison can be retrieved either from a previous or a succeeding portion of text. Thus, comparative reference items can function either anaphorically or cataphorically. This can be demonstrated in the following examples:

[4:25]

a. la: 'uri:d-u ha:dhih-i s-sayya:ra 'abHath-u 'an wa:Hida
'akbar-a
[I do not want this car. I'm looking for a bigger one]
(Anaphoric)

b. as-sayya:ra *l-'ukhra* muna:siba la:kin ha:dhih-i s-sayya:ra Saghi:ra
[The other car is suitable, but this car is small]
(Cataphoric)

Comparative reference can also refer exophorically, as in:

[4:26]
(Context: someone has just received a letter):
kunt-u atawaqqa'-u risa:la *mukhtalifa*
[I've been expecting a different letter]

It seems that almost all the above examples that indicate the cohesive function of the different entities involved are instances of intersentential cohesion. However, any pair of sentences can be collapsed into one compound or complex sentence, hence providing an instance of intersentential cohesion. In other words, what has been said so far holds true on both levels of analyses, i.e. intra- and intersentential cohesion. An example will be sufficient to illustrate this:

[4:27]
la: 'uri:d-u ha:dhih-i: s-sayya:ra, li-'annaha: Saghi:ra.
[I don't want this car because it's small]

This is an instance of personal reference [ha:] 'it' which has to be interpreted in the light of its coreferent 'the car' that lies in the previous clause. Thus a cohesive anaphoric relation obtains intra-sententially.

4.2 Substitution

Halliday and Hasan (1976) distinguish three types of substitution that are potentially capable of performing a cohesive link. These are: nominal, verbal, and clausal.

4.2.1 Nominal substitution

Despite the fact that substitution has not been treated as a textual phenomenon in Arabic, this does not rule out its existence. Arabic has the resources to accommodate this

phenomenon. For example, the English nominal substitution 'one' has the Arabic equivalent [wa:H id] which can occur in similar contexts. The following example demonstrates how this substitute element functions cohesively in Arabic:

[4:28]
ha:dha: mitha:l-un ghayr-u jayyid-in a'Tini: wa:Hid-an 'a:khar
[This example is not good. Give me another one]

In the above example, it can be seen that the word [wa:H id] 'one' in the second clause substitutes the noun [mitha:l] 'example' in the first one, thus it creates an anaphoric cohesive relation which links the two clauses in the text. The defining elements accompanying the presupposed item 'not good' are also repudiated by ['a:khar] 'another'. Thus, the Arabic word [wa:H id] can function cohesively in a way similar to that of its English counterpart, 'one'.

The variant substitute 'ones' is completely absent from Arabic. Instead, the whole nominal group has to be repeated. Therefore, an English sentence like:

[4:29]
These examples are wrong. Give some new ones.

is impossible in Arabic. That is, the plural form of 'one' has no equivalent in Arabic because [wa:Hid] (one) cannot be pluralized. Therefore, the only possible way for conveying the meaning of 'Give some new ones' in Arabic would be;

[4:30]
a'Tini: ba'D-a l-'amthila l-jadi:da
[Give me some new examples]

The above example displays how repetition of the whole nominal group is unavoidable. Moreover, it shows the only context in which the nominal substitute [wa:Hid] 'one' can occur in Arabic.

It is worth mentioning here that the Arabic [wa:Hid] can have other structural functions like those of its English counterpart 'one/ones'. These functions are not virtually

cohesive ones. According to Halliday and Hasan (1976), the substitute 'one' can function as: personal pronoun, cardinal numeral, indefinite article and pro-noun.

1. Functions as a personal pronoun, as in:

[4:31]
la: ya'rif-u al-wa:Hid-u minna: mata: sa-yamu:t-u
[One never knows when he'll die]

2. Functions as a cardinal numeral, as in:

[4:32]
'inTalaq-a 'asharat-un wa-la:kin 'a:d-a wa:Hid-un
[Ten set out, but only one came back]

3. Functions as an indefinite article, as in:

[4:33]
A: 'uri:d-u finja:n-an min l-qahwat-i
[I would like a cup of coffee]

B: 'idhan 'uskub li-nafsik *wa:Hid-an*
[Then pour yourself one]

4. Function as a pro-noun, as in:

[4:34]
'idha: ka:na *wa:Hid-un* mithla ha:dha: muna:sib-an li-'an yaHkuma...
[If such a one be fit to govern...]

The last example resembles the usage of 'one' as a general noun. In example 4:33, it is equally likely for an Arabic native speaker to repeat the word [finja:n] 'cup' rather than using 'one'. In fact, this is also applicable to the instances where [wa:Hid] 'one' is used as a cohesive device. Repetition of the same entity is always equally possible.

The English item 'same' has two cohesive uses; it occurs as a cohesive element of the comparative type, and occurs as a nominal substitute. In Arabic, the former occurs but the later does not, i.e. as stated earlier, the word [nafs] which means 'same' can be used as a comparative reference item, as in:

[4:35]

A: I'd like a hamburger.

B: I'll have the same.

The following is the only likely equivalent in Arabic:

[4:36]

'uri:d-u nafs-a sh-shay'-i
[I'll have the same thing]

The word [shay'] 'thing' has substituted 'hamburger' and hence [nafs] 'same' is an instance of comparative reference, and not a nominal substitute.

4.2.2 Verbal substitution

Verbal substitution which is not dealt with in Arabic in the Hallidayan sense is much more restricted. The occurrence of the verbal substitute 'do' is only possible in yes/no answers as in the following example:

[4:37]

A: hal katabt-a d-dars-a
[Have you written the lesson?]

B: na'am la-qad *fa-'alt-u*
Or: na'am *katabt-u* d-dars-a
[Yes, I have done/written the lesson]

In the above example, it can be seen that speaker (B) has two options: either to repeat the same verb [kataba] 'written' or to use another form like [fa'alt-u] 'done'. But there are other contexts where the verbal substitute 'do' is quite adequate in English, but is not so in Arabic. The following expression, for example, has no, textually speaking, adequate equivalent in Arabic:

[4:38]

A: Have they removed the furniture?

B: They have done the desks, but that's all.

If the above example has to be translated into Arabic, the lexical verb, 'remove' must be repeated in the second sentence.

Like the nominal substitute (i.e. 'one' and 'do'), verbal substitutes have other structural functions that should not be confused with their cohesive function. Halliday and Hasan categorise these structural functions as lexical verb, general verb, verbal operator and pro-verb. The function that can occur in Arabic will be illustrated below so that confusion does not arise.

1. General verb

[4:39]
rubbama: yafʿal-u ha:dha l-dawa:'-u l-'ajab-a maʿahu
[This medicine might do wonders for him]

2. Pro-verb

[4:40]
ma:dh-a ka:nat tafʿal-u lam takun tafʿal-u 'ayy-a shay'in
[What was she doing? She wasn't doing anything]

The other categories (lexical verb, and verbal operator) do not exist in Arabic. In fact, the verb [yaf 'al] 'do' is not used to form questions in Arabic.

4.2.3 Clausal substitution

As for clausal substitution, the demonstrative reference item [dha:lika] 'that' can be used in Arabic as an equivalent to the English clausal substitute 'so'. What determines which function [dha:lika] 'that', 'so' is meant to perform is the context. The following is an instance of clausal substitution:

[4:41]
a'taqid-u annah-u sa-yanjaH-u ha:dhih-i l-marra -'a:mal-u *dha:lika*
[I think he'll pass this time - I hope *so*]

The only other plausible environments for clausal substitution in Arabic are in such expressions as: ['aZunn-u dha:lika] ' I believe so', and [yaf'al dha:lika] 'do so'. The following examples show this:

[4:42]

a. Tab'an ta'rif-u T-Tari:q-a 'aZunn-u dha:lika
[of course you know the way? I believe so]

b. hal aT'amt-a l-Tifl-a -'aHaduhum fa'al-a dha:lika
[Have you fed the baby? -Someone did so]

Negative clausal substitution is even more restricted in Arabic. This is only possible in expressions like: [rubbama: la:] 'perhaps not', [bi-tta'ki:d la:] 'certainly not', as in the following example:

[4:43]

hal tusa:'iduh-u law kunt-a maka:ni: -rubbama: la: (bi-tta'ki:d la:)
[Would you help him if you were me? -Perhaps not] (certainly not)'

But a straight equivalent of the truncated expression 'I hope not' does not exist in Arabic. The above examples demonstrate the anaphoric function of these substitute elements. In fact, this is the only function since they should substitute for items mentioned previously in the text.

I should like to reiterate that the previous instances are not treated as substitution elements in Arabic. The primary concern here is to highlight the resources this language has to mark the major cohesive functions designated by Halliday and Hasan. However, as stated earlier, Arabic native speakers normally opt for repeating the same entity when a substitution element can be used. This also holds true of ellipsis, which will be discussed in the following section.

4.3 Ellipsis

The notion of ellipsis has not been treated by Arab grammarians and linguists in the Hallidayan sense, i.e. they investigated this phenomenon within the sentence boundary; e.g. the deletion of one element of the sentence (subject, verb, object, adjective, etc.). Arab grammarians and linguists believe that elements that can be easily understood from the preceding text may be omitted. This is illustrated as follows:

[4:44]

ya'khudh-u kull-a safinat-in ø ghaSb-an
[He takes every (ø= sound) ship by force]

In the above example, it can be seen that there is an ellipted item, and the co-text enables us to interpret the elliptic item as the adjective [Sa:liHat-in] 'sound', which comes after the [safi:nat-in] 'ship'. Since the elliptic item falls in one clause and does not refer to something that has been said earlier, this instance of ellipsis cannot be seen as a cohesive one. However, Arabic has the potentiality for expressing the relation presented by Halliday and Hasan, i.e. the same steps of Halliday and Hasan's (1976) classification will be implemented in Arabic. This implementation is necessary for establishing common ground for the analysis of the cohesive devices in both languages (an idea alluded to the previous sections).

Halliday and Hasan (1976) treat the notion of ellipsis under the following three headings: nominal, verbal, and clausal.

4.3.1 Nominal ellipsis

Halliday and Hasan define this type as ellipsis in the nominal group (NP). They believe that the elliptical item may be deictic (D), numerative (N), epithet (E), classifier (C) and qualifier (Q). The elliptical item is capable of assuming the function of the elliptic head in the nominal group.

In the following examples, Halliday and Hasan's examples will be used to ascertain whether or not Arabic has the same potentiality for expressing this relation as English does:

When the head of a nominal group is an "epithet" it may be elliptical in Arabic, as in:

[4:45]
man yadu:mu zaman-an aTwal, al-quDba:nu l-munHaniya
'aw l-quDba:nu l-mustaqi:mat-u ø al-mustaqi:mat-u la:
tankasir-u bi-suhu:lat-in

[Which last longer, the curved rods or the straight rods? -
The straight ø are less likely to break]

The epithet [al-mustaqi:mat-u] 'straight' in the second sentence is elliptical. The noun 'rods' is elated.

It should be noted that the elated item precedes the elliptical element (i.e. deictic, numerative, epithet and classifier) in Arabic. It is quite the opposite in English. If the head is a numerative ellipsis can take place, as in:

[4:46]
arba'at-u maHa:ra:t-in 'ukhra: tabi'athum-u wa arba'at-un 'ukhra:
[Four other oysters followed them, and yet another four]

In the above example, the second occurrence of [arba'at] 'four' is the elliptical numerative. The noun 'oyster' is elided.

The noun cannot be deleted after a deictic in Arabic. The typical English instance in the following example does not occur in Arabic:

[4:47]
They haven't got my usual morning paper. Can I borrow
yoursø?

The elated noun 'paper' must be repeated in rendering the question in Arabic, as in:

[4:48]
hal bi-'imka:ni: 'an 'asta'i:r-a *SaHi:fatak-a*
[Can I borrow your newspaper?]

The classifier "is very rarely left to function as Head" (Ibid. 153). Thus this category is quite restricted in English. However, the corresponding adjective can occur in certain contexts in Arabic. This can be illustrated in the following example:

[4:49]

ha:dhih-i rabTat-u l-'unuq-i l-Hari:ri:yat-u l-lati: ladayya
'am 'innak-a tufaDil-u ø al-quTni:ya
[This is the silk tie I've got. Or would you like the cotton?]

In the above example, the noun [rabTat-u] 'tie' is deleted from the question. On the other hand, 'one' in the following instance does not have the same function in both languages:

[4:50]

ha:dhih-i rabTat-u l-'unuq-i l-Hari:ri:yat-u l-lati: ladayya
astaTi:'-u an uqriDak-a wa:Hidat-an 'in aHbabt-a
[This is the silk tie I've got. I can lend you one if you like?]

While 'one' in the English example is elliptical (it presupposes 'one' silk tie') it is an instance of nominal substitution in Arabic. If [rabTa] 'tie', which is supposed to be elided, is used in the second sentence, the meaning will be completely different. It will mean 'I can lend you one and only one tie'. Therefore it is not elliptical in Arabic, because it cannot be followed by [rabTa Hari:ri:ya] 'a silk tie'.

Some types of English ellipsis do not occur in Arabic. For example, Arabic does not have an equivalent for:

[4:51]

I hope no bones are broken? - None to speak of.

Instead, the nominal substitute has to be employed in Arabic. The result is [wala: wa:Hidah] 'not any one'. Repeating the noun 'bone' is even more likely in Arabic.

4.3.2 Verbal ellipsis

Verbal ellipsis is more restricted in Arabic. Direct equivalents of certain English elliptical instances do not exist in Arabic. For instance, the following type does not occur in Arabic:

[4:52]

Have you done the homework? - Yes, I have.

An Arabic speaker would tend to either use the verbal substitute, as in example [4:53 a], or repeat the whole clause as in (b):

[4:53]

a. na‘am laqad fa‘alt
[Yes, I have done]

b. na‘am laqad ‘amaltuh (‘amaltu l-wa:jib)
[Yes, I have done it] (I have done the homework)

This is due to the fact that no verb ‘have’ occurs as an auxiliary in Arabic. Nevertheless, verbal ellipsis is possible in certain contexts in Arabic, as in:

[4:54]

ma:dha: kunta taktub-u – ad-dars-a
[What have you been writing? –The lesson]

It is more normal to repeat [aktubu d-dars-a] ‘write the lesson’ rather than using ellipsis in this context. Moreover, operator ellipsis is not feasible in Arabic since Arabic does not have this category. Consequently, the following instance is not possible in Arabic:

[4:55]

Is John going to come? He might. He was to ⌀, but he may not ⌀ ....
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 170)

In the above example, the lexical verb ‘come’ should be repeated in rendering the sentence in Arabic. The above example would, then, read as follows:

[4:56]

hal *sa-ya’ti:* ’aHamad-u – rubbama ka:na *sa-ya’t*i: la:kin rubbama: la: *ya’ti:*
[Is Ahmad going to come? -Maybe, He was to come, but maybe not (he may not)]

Similarly, “lexical verbal ellipsis” does not occur in Arabic. Accordingly, the following structure that is adequate in English has no equivalent in Arabic:

[4:57]

- Has he sold his collection yet?

- He has some of the paintings.
(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 170)

In Arabic, repeating the lexical verb [ba:'a] 'sold' is mandatory.

4.3.3 Clausal ellipsis

Clausal ellipsis is only plausible in yes/no answers in Arabic. For example;

[4:58]
(Question): hal katabt-a d-dars-a
(Answer): na'am

[na'am] 'yes' in the answer of the question presupposes the clause 'I have written the lesson'. Clausal ellipsis assumes two forms in English: "modal" and "prepositional". The following example demonstrates which of these occurs in Arabic:

[4:59]
a. ma:dha: ka:n-a T-Ta:lib-u sa-yaf'al-u? – yaktub-u d-dars-a
[What was the student going to do?] – [write the lesson]

b. man ka:na sa-yaktub-u d-dars-a – at-Ta:lib-u
[Who was going to write the lesson?] – [The student]

In example (a), the modal element (the subject and the operator) is deleted, hence an instance of "modal ellipsis" maintains. But "prepositional ellipsis" which demands omitting the 'complement', the 'adjunct' and the 'lexical verb' is quite unacceptable in Arabic. Therefore, example (b) [at-Ta:lib-u ka:nn-a] 'the student was' is inappropriate in Arabic.

Consequently, the only plausible environment for verbal and clausal ellipsis in Arabic is yes/no and WH-questions. Yet they do not even occur in this environment as freely as they do in English. For example, 'yes it has' as a response to 'has the plane landed?' is not possible in Arabic. It is more likely to respond to that question in Arabic as either [na'am] 'yes' or [na'am laqad habaTat] 'yes it has landed'.

To recapitulate, substitution and ellipsis apparently occur in quite restricted contexts in Arabic, and the repetition of the entity in question is the norm. However, when they occur,

they always maintain an anaphoric relation. Their occurrence is more typical of spoken discourse in both languages. The figures, which will be spelt out in Chapter Five, would verify this conclusion.

4.4 Connectives

The term connective as employed in this study refers to any element in a text that indicates a linking between words, phrases, clauses/sentences, sequences of sentences, paragraphs, and larger units of discourse, exclusive of the other cohesive devices. The term 'connective' as used here is analogous to the term 'conjunction' suggested by Halliday and Hasan (1967), which deals, among other things, with the cohesive and contextual role of English conjunctions. (Cf. Section 3.4)

Before the connectives and their functions in Arabic are presented, the works of two classical Arab grammarians and rhetoricians, who investigated the issue of discourse connectedness under the notion of [al-faSl wa l-waSl] (respectively, disjunction and adjunction) from different perspectives, will be presented.

The subject of [al-faSl wa l-waSl] 'disjunction and adjunction' has attracted the attention of most classical Arab grammarians and rhetoricians. It is considered to be the underlying principle of ['ilm al-bala:gha] 'rhetoric'. According to Khatabi (1991:100, my translation), when al-Jurja:ni: was asked about [al-faSl wa l-waSl], he replied:

> You should know that there is nothing much more difficult, ambiguous, and sensitive than the subject of "*al-faSl wa l-waSl*", in the entire field of *'ilm l-bala:gha*.

Among classical Arab grammarians and rhetoricians, who were interested in the notion of [al-faSl wa l-waSl], were al-Jurja:ni: and al-Suka:ki:. These are presented under the following headings:

4.4.1 [al-faSl wa l-waSl]: Al-Jurja:ni:'s work

In his work *dala:'il l-'i 'ja:z* , al-Jurja:ni: (1987) investigates the phenomenon of [al-faSl wa l-waSl]. This work was based mainly on syntactic rules, put forward by old Arab grammarians, regulating the connectedness of various discourse units (e.g. phrases, clauses, paragraphs or larger units). That is, the syntactic rules prescribed by old Arab grammarians regarding the presentation of these units either connected using an explicit connective to link them, called [al-faSl] 'disjunction'; or without a connective called [al-waSl] 'adjunction'. This distinction corresponds, respectively, to the distinction between what is called 'asyndetic' and 'syndetic' coordination (Quirk et al, 1985: 918). This distinction is labelled in Arabic grammar as ['aTf-u-l-baya:n] 'explicative coordination' and ['aTf-u-l-nasaq] 'sequential' or 'symmetrical coordination'. Al-Jurja:ni: distinguishes between these two types of linkage. However, since our concern in the present study is with the second type, i.e. sequential coordination, examples illustrating this type only will be presented.

Al-Jurja:ni: approaches the notion of [al-faSl wa l-waSl] from three different perspectives: syntax, semantics, and pragmatics.

1. Syntactic perspective

Under the notion of [al-faSl] 'disjunction', al-Jurja:ni: distinguishes two things: ['aTf l-mufrad 'ala: l-mufrad], i.e. the connectedness of two singular nouns in a given discourse unit; and ['aTf jumla 'ala: jumla], i.e. the connectedness of two units (e.g. clauses, sentences or sequences of sentences). In the former, al-Jurja:ni: indicates that the reason behind the use of an explicit connective like [wa] 'and', for example, to relate a singular noun to another in a given [jumla] 'clause', is to extend the case or mood of the first noun to the second one. That is, the second singular noun will match the case endings of the first one in all instances, as in:

i. The first singular noun is in the [marfu:'] 'nominative' case:

[4:60]

ja:'a zayd-*un* wa 'amr-*un*

came Zayd-**(nom.)** and Amr-**(nom.)**

[Zayd and Amr came.]

ii. The first singular noun is in the [mansu:b] 'accusative' case:

[4:61]
Darabt-u zayd-*an* wa 'ali:y-*an*
hit- (I)$_{\textbf{(nom.)}}$ zayd-$_{\textbf{(accus.)}}$ and Ali-$_{\textbf{(accus.)}}$
[I hit Zayd and Ali.]

iii. The first singular noun is in the [jarr] 'genitive' case:

[4:62]
marart-u bi-zayd-*in* wa 'ali:y-*in*
passed-(I)$_{\textbf{(nom.)}}$ by Zayd$_{\textbf{(geni.)}}$ and Ali$_{\textbf{(geni.)}}$
[I passed by Zayd and Ali.]

Here, the second singular noun which immediately follows the verb is related to the preceding singular noun by the explicit connective [wa] 'and', which extends the case ending of the first singular noun to the second one, in all the above three examples.

As for the second type (i.e. the connectedness of two units), al-Jurja:ni: makes a distinction between the use of a connective to relate a unit to a preceding unit which is in a parsing position (i.e. it is subject, object or in a genitive case), on the one hand; and the use of a connective to relate a unit to a preceding unit which is not in a parsing position, on the other.

Al-Jurja:ni: stipulates that, "in the case that the first clause of a pair of clauses in a given sentence is in a parsing position, it is possible to use an explicit connective to relate the two units to one another, but if it is not (i.e. not in a parsing position), an explicit connective shall not be used. These are demonstrated as follows:

[4:63]
marart-u bi-rajul-in [khuluquhu hasan-*un*] wa [khalquhu qabi:H-*un*]
(I passed by a man whose [behaviour was good] but [his physical form was bad])

In the above sentence, the two coordinated adjacent units are in parsing case, i.e. in the first noun phrase [khuluqahuw hasan-*un*], the adjective [hasan-*un*] is in the nominative case as well as that in the second noun phrase [khalquhu qabi:H-*un*], the adjective [qabi:H-*un*], is in

the nominative case too. That is, the parsing case of the first noun phrase is extended to that of the second one through the coordination of the two noun phrases.

Here, al-Jurja:ni: notes that the extension of the parsing case of the first unit to the second unit is realised by the coordination of the two units by the explicit coordinating conjunction [wa] 'and'.

Al-Jurja:ni: also notes that a given discourse unit (e.g. clause, sentence, etc.) can be linked to another discourse even if the second unit does not immediately follow the first one (i.e. non adjacent units). Here, two clauses are related to one another by a connective though they are not in a successive relation, as in:

[4:64]

(1)\'indama: taqu:m-u l-Harb-u/(2)\fa-sataku:-nu mudammira/(3)\kama: Hadath-a fi: fitnam-i/(4)'indama: ha:jamat al-qu:wat-u l-amri:ki:ya-tu 'ala l-qu:wat-i l-fitnami:yat-i wa dammarratha:/(5)*wa* sa-takun ha:dhihi l-marra Ha:simat-an/

[Literally: (1)\When the war erupts,/(2)\ it will be destructive,/(3)\as happened in Vietnam/(4)\when the American forces attacked the Vietnamese' and destroyed them;/(5)*and* it will be decisive this time./]

Here, clause (5) is related to clause (1) by the connective [wa] 'and' although the two clauses are not in a successive relation, i.e. they are separated by clauses (2) to (4) that include both main and subordinate clauses.

Under the notion of [al-waSl] 'adjunction', al-Jurja:ni: distinguishes: the disconnectedness of two singular nouns in a given unit of discourse, on the one hand; and the disconnectedness of two independent units, on the other. He asserts that various units (e.g. nouns, noun phrases, clauses, etc) in discourse must not be related to one another by an explicit connective (e.g. [wa] 'and') in the following cases:

1. Nouns: in a discourse unit must not be related to one another by an explicit connective like [wa], for example, as in the following cases:

[4:65]

1. ja:' al-rajul-u *l-'ami:n-u*
   came the man- honest-he
   (nom.) **(adj.)**
   [The *honest* man came]

2. ja:'ani: l-qaum-u *kulluhum-u*
   came (to me) the people *all*
   (accus.) **(nom.)** **(emph. noun)**
   [*All* the people came to me]

According to al-Jurja:ni:, the lexical items: [al-'ami:n] 'honest' in example (a) and [kulluhum] 'all' in (b), are both attributed to [al-rajul] 'the man' and [al-qaum] 'the people', respectively. The first lexical item, [al-'ami:n], is an adjectival noun phrase modifies the noun 'the man', whereas the second one, [kulluhum], is an emphatic noun which refers anaphorically to 'the people'. Here, al-Jurja:ni: asserts that, from a syntactic point of view, it is not acceptable to use the explicit connective [wa] to relate the pair of words to one another- [al-'ami:n-u] to [al-rajul], in example (a), and [kulluhum] to [al-qaum], in (b). He points out that the reason for this is "the second lexical item in each pair refers anaphorically to one single identity (i.e.[al-rajul] and [al-qaum])." (Al-Jurja:ni:, 1987: 101, my translation)

2. Units in discourse

Regarding the use of a connective to relate two units/clauses to one another, al-Jurja:ni asserts that units must not be linked to one another by an explicit connective if the second unit is a restating or an emphasis of the first unit, as in:

[4:66]

(1)\'alif la:m mi:m dha:lika al-kita:b-u/(2)\Ø la: rayb-a fi:h-i/

[Semantically: there is no doubt about [our revealed] book]

According to al-Jurja:ni: (1987: 173), the two adjacent clauses in the above verse are related to one another by an implicit connective. He notes that clause (2), 'no doubt about it', is an emphatic description of clause (1), 'that book', which can be paraphrased as 'it is that book, it is that book', i.e. it is equivalent to emphatic repetition of the phrase [dha:lika l-kita:b-u]. The reason behind not using an explicit connective to link the two clauses,

according to al-Jurja:ni, is "since there is only one reference [the noun phrase] in the verses, there is no need to use a connective as the adjectival phrase modifies only that noun". (Al-Jurja:ni: (1987: 173)

2. Semantic perspective

In the preceding discussion, al-Jurja:ni:'s view of the notion of [al-faSl wa l-waSl] from a syntactic perspective has been highlighted. Now, the issue will be discussed from a different perspective, i.e. semantics. That is, when there is a violation of the syntactic rules regulating the two notions of [al-faSl wa l-waSl], al-Jurja:ni: bases his argument and justification on a semantic perspective.

Under the notion of [al-waSl] 'adjunction', al-Jurja:ni: proposes a semantic criterion to justify the violation of syntactic rules. He calls it [ma'na: l-jam'] 'the meaning of plurality'. To explain this concept, al-Jurja:ni: presents the following example:

[4:67]

(1)\zayd-un qa'i:m-un/(2)*wa* 'amr-un qa:'id-un/

[(1)\Zayd is standing up/(2)*and* Amr is sitting down/]

Syntactically, the use of the connective [wa] to relate the clauses to one another is considered to be a violation of the above-mentioned syntactic rules. However, for al-Jurja:ni:, the connectedness of these two clauses by an explicit connective is still acceptable. He maintains that this can be "justified only when the issue is looked upon from a semantic perspective". That is, the connectedness of the two clauses is acceptable when the hearer/reader's assumption is taking into consideration; that 'the citing of 'Zayd' is instigated by the citing of 'Amr'. Al-Jurja:ni: notes that "the speaker assumes that the two participants are considered by the hearer not as isolated individuals, but, rather as one entity; whenever the name of either one is being mentioned, the name of the other would always be anticipated by the hearer". (Al-Jurja:ni:, 1987: 176, my translation)

As for the violation of the syntactic rules regulating the notion of [al-faSl] 'disjunction', i.e. the use of an explicit connective to relate units to one another, al-Jurja:ni bases his argument and justification on the following semantic criterion:

1. [al-ta'ki:d] 'Emphatic'

[4:68]
(1)\wa 'idha: tutla: 'alayh-i 'a:ya:tuna: walla: mustakbir-an/(2)\ka'an lam yasma'ah:/(3)\Ø ka'anna fi: 'udhnayh-i waqra-an/

[Semantically: (1)\Once our verses been recited, he leaves arrogantly/(2)\as if he did not her them/(3)\Ø as if there were wax in his ears/]

In the above example, clauses (2) and (3) are not related to one another by the connective [wa], which from a syntactic point of view violates the rules regulating the notion of [al-faSl], which stipulates that the two adjacent clauses must have been related to one another by an explicit connective. However, this violation is semantically acceptable. Al-Jurja:ni: notes that clause (3), which is a modifying clause, is not related to the preceding one by an explicit connective because its propositional meaning, "as if there was wax in his ear", is similar to that of clause (2), "as if he did not hear them". That is clause (3), which is a modifying clause, has been induced here not as an independent unit but rather as a support one with an emphatic function. And, hence, the explicit conjunction [wa] cannot be used in this context to relate the two clauses to one another.

2. [Si:ghat l-khiTa:b] 'Discourse Figure of Speech'

Here, al-Jurja:ni: points out that two adjacent discourse units (e.g. clauses, sentences, etc.) must not be related to one another by the explicit connective [wa] regardless of the syntactic rules when the focus of discourse is shifted, as in:

[4:69]
(1)\wa 'idha laqau: l-ladhi:na 'a:manu: qa:lu: 'a:manna:/(2)\wa 'idha: khalaw 'ila: shayaTi:ynhim-u qa:lu: 'inna: ma'akum/ (3)\'innama: naHnu mustahzi'u:n/(4)**Ø** Allah yastahzi'-u bi-him/

[Semantically: (1)\When they meet *the believers* they say we are with you/(2)\and when they are alone with their devils they say we are with you [i.e. we do not believe in their religion];/(3)\we are only mocking *them*/(4)\Ø Allah is mocking them./]

In the above verses, clauses (3) and (4) are not related to one another by the explicit connective [wa]. According to al-Jurja:ni, the reason for violating the syntactic rules regulating [al-faSl] in this instance is the shifting of discourse focus. That is, clause (3), "we are only mocking them", is direct speech, i.e. the actual words spoken by the speaker are quoted directly; whereas, clause (4), "Allah is mocking them", is a reported one, i.e. it refers to something which was said by 'Allah' about them. Hence, the two clauses differ in terms of speech figures; hence, the connective [wa] must not be used to relate the two clauses to one another".

Khatabi (1991: 108) notes that if [wa], for instance, were used to relate the two clauses to one another, the verses would then read as: [(3)\we are only mocking them/(4)\ *and* Allah is mocking *them* too/]. In this case, the pronoun 'them' in clause (4) would refer anaphorically to the entity established earlier in the preceding clause (i.e. 'them = believers') instead of the intended one (i.e. 'them'= disbelievers', the subject of the clause). And, the meaning of the verses, accordingly, would be completely altered. So, al-Jurja:ni: believes that the juxtaposing of the two units in discourse is a necessity caused by the shift of discourse figure of speech, i.e. from direct speech to a reported one.

3. Pragmatic perspective

The above discussion presents al-Jurja:ni:'s view on the acceptability of violating syntactic rules regulating the notions of [al-faSl wa l-waSl] from a semantic point of view. Here, this issue is addressed from a different point of view, i.e. pragmatics.

In this al-Jurja:ni: bases his assumption of discourse organisation on pragmatic notions. That is, he takes into consideration extra-linguistic factors: speaker and discourse, on the one hand, and speaker and hearer, on the other one. He believes that the acceptability of

the presentation of discourse units as being connected and/or disconnected is to be seen not only from syntactic and/or semantic perspectives but also from a pragmatic one.

Al-Jurja:ni: deals with the notions of [al-faSl wa l-waSl] from a pragmatic perspective under the following headings:

1. [al-faSl] 'Disjunction'

According to Khatabi (Ibid. 105), al-Jurja:ni: presents the notion of [al-taDa:mm-u- l-nafsi:] 'psychological collocation' to justify the violation of syntactic rules regulating [al-faSl], i.e. the misuse of [wa] in linking discourse units. In this, al-Jurja:ni: believes that the relationship between discourse participants (i.e. speaker and hearer) is the means of measuring the acceptability of the coordination of units in discourse (e.g. phrases, clauses, sentences, etc.) by the connective [wa]. So, the acceptability of the connectedness of discourse, in this case, is not due to a semantic factor but rather to a pragmatic one. To illustrate this, Khatabi presents the following example:

[4:70]

(1)\zayd-un qa:'im-un/(2)*wa* 'amr-un qa:'id-un/

[(1)\Zayd is standing up/(2)*and* Amr is sitting down]

Here, the use of the connective [wa] in the above example to relate the two clauses to one another violates the syntactic rules regulating the principle of [al-waSl]. However, this in al-Jurjani's view is acceptable. He points out that "this is possible and acceptable only when it is seen that the two persons (i.e. 'Zayd' and Amr'), in the above example, always co-exist in the addressee's mind as not being separate objects but rather as a single entity; whenever the name of either one has been mentioned in front of the addressee; the addressee would certainly expect to hear about the second one. However, al-Jurja:ni: believes that this principle is a relative one; the co-existence of people or things in minds differs significantly from one person to another.

2. [al-waSl] ‘Adjunction’

As for the violation of syntactic rules regulating [al-faSl], al-Jurja:ni bases his justification on the following pragmatic criteria:

a. [al-su’a:l-u- l-muqaddar] ‘Rhetorical/Presupposed Questions)

Al-Jurja:ni: introduces the notion of [al-su’a:l-u- l-muqaddar] ‘rhetorical/presupposed question’ to justify the violation of syntactic rules regulating the notion of [al-faSl], i.e. the juxtaposing of clauses without linking them by the connective [wa] to relate to one another in discourse. Al-Jurja:ni: believes that when a clause constitutes a presupposed/embedded question, the two clauses (i.e. the containing one and the second one) shall be presented unconnectedly, i.e. the two clauses shall be related to one another by an implicit connective, as in:

[4:71]
(1)\‘indama: lam tastaTi‘ ’ida:rat-a l-Huku:ma/(2)\Ø qa:mat bi-l-tana:zul…/
[Literary: (1)\When she was unable to run the government/(2)\Ø she abdicated…./]

In the above example, clause (2) is not related to the preceding clause by an explicit connective (e.g. [wa], [fa], etc.), which from a syntactic point of view is not acceptable. However, pragmatically, this violation is acceptable. According to al-Jurja:ni’s notion of the presupposed question, the reason behind the juxtaposing of the above two clauses without linking the two clauses by an explicit connective is due to the writer’s presupposition. That is, the speaker predicts that the hearer would raise a question after reading clause (1), ‘when she was not able to run the government’. Thus, he immediately introduces clause (2), ‘she abdicated’, to avoid interruption by the hearer’s presupposed question (e.g. ‘what did she do then’) and to be seen as an immediate answer to such a question. Thus, the speaker has to present the clauses unconnectedly.

4.4.2 [al-faSl wa al-waSl]: Al-Suka:ki:'s Work

Just like al-Jurja:ni:, al-Suka:ki: has addressed the phenomenon of [al-faSl wa l-waSl] from three interrelated perspectives: syntax, semantics and pragmatics. As al-Suka:ki:'s work at the syntactic level is similar to that of al-Jurja:ni:, we will only present the last two levels, namely: semantics and pragmatics.

In his well known book *mufta:H- l-'ulu:m*, according to Khatabi (1991: 111), al-Suka:ki: has based his argument concerning the notions of [al-faSl wa al-waSl] on a general assumption. Al-Suka:ki: believes that discourse units (e.g. phrases, clauses, sentences, etc.) must be juxtaposed in discourse asyndetically (i.e. without using of an explicit connective to relate to one another) when there is no association between their constituents. He identifies three types of association:

1. [al-ja:mi'-u- l-'aqli:] 'Logical Association'

Under this notion, al-Suka:ki: asserts that discourse units have to be related to one another by an explicit connective if there is a logical association between the constituents of the two units. Under the category of [al-ja:mi'-u- l-'aqli:], al-Suka:ki: identifies the following sub-types:

i. [al-ittiH:ad] 'Identical Reference'

In this, an explicit connective can be used to link clauses that have a unified subject or event, i.e. both clauses to be connected are describing one entity or narrating one event, as in:

[4:72]

(1)\nazal-a aHmad-u min s-sayya:ra/(2)*wa* 'aghlaq-a l-ba:b-a/

[(1)\Ahmad got out of the car/(2)*and* (he) closed the door./]

Here, clause (2), '(he) closed the door', is related to the preceding one, (1), 'Ahmad got out of the care', by the connective [wa] 'and'. Here, al-Suka:ki: notes that clause (2) is related to the preceding one by the connective [wa] due to the presence of the concealed

pronoun [*huwa*] 'he' which is suffixed to the verb ['aghlaq-a] in clause (2), which refers anaphorically to the antecedent noun 'Ahmad' in clause (1).

ii. [al-taDa:yuf] 'Cause-effect Relationship'

Here, an explicit connective might be used to link clauses that have a [*taZa:yuf*] association between their constituents. Al-Suka:ki notes that such an association may take the form of a cause-effect relationship, as in:

[4:73]

(1)\sharibat zaynab-u s-summa/(2)*wa* ma:tat/

[(1)\Zaynab took arsenic/(2)*and* died/]

Here, clause (2) is related to the preceding one by [wa]. The linking of the two clauses by an explicit connective, according to al-Suka:ki, is prompted by the propositional relationship that exist between the two clauses (i.e. cause-effect relationship).

2. [al-ja:mi'-u- l-wahmi:] 'Illusive Association'

Here, al-Suka:ki:'s assumption is that an explicit connective might be used to relate discourse units to one another when there is an 'illusive association' between the constituents of the two units. Such association may take one of the following manners:

i. [shibh-u- t-tama:thul] 'Near-synonymy'

Here, al-Suka:ki: believes that when there is a degree of similarity (near-synonymy) between the constituents of two adjacent discourse units, an explicit connective might be used to relate the units to one another. If the colour of the subject of a clause is 'yellow', for example, and that of the preceding one is 'white', it is acceptable to relate the two clauses to one another using an explicit connective to signal this relationship.

ii. [al-taDa:dd] 'Antonymy'

When there is a relation of oppositeness (antonym relationship) between the constituents of two adjacent discourse units, an explicit connective might be used to signal this relation. If the colour of the subject of a clause is 'black' and that of the preceding one is 'white', the two clauses can be related to one another by an explicit connective to signal this oppositeness relationship.

iii. [shibh-u- l- taDa:dd] 'Virtual-antonymy'

By this, al-Suka:ki: means that wherever there is a relationship of [shibh-u- t- taDa:dd] 'virtual-antonymy' between the constituents of two adjacent discourse units, an explicit connective can be used to relate these units to one another.

3. [al-ja:mi'-u- l-khaya:li] 'Imaginative association'

Unlike the two preceding types of association, the 'logical' and 'illusive' associations, which are semantically oriented, the 'imaginative association' is a pragmatic one. Al-Suka:ki: believes that the acceptability of the use of an explicit connective to link two adjacent discourse units is constrained by a discourse addressee's perception. Al-Suka:ki: (as quoted in Khatabi, 1991: 120, my translation) defines this principle by:

> [Imaginative association] is [such that] there must be an imaginative association between their [things/objects'] images, this association should be a result of an incident [knowledge of the world]....
> whenever an image is stored in one's memory, the mind retrieves this stored image from memory....[and] whenever one encounters discourse having this image, the mind will retrieve the stored image and relate it to this.... Since our experiences of the world differ from one to another, these images differ in memories too [i.e. the way we use stored images is in some way determined by how we come to have that knowledge].

In order to illustrate this, al-Suka:ki: presents the following:

[4:74]

(1)\'a-fa-la: yanZuru:n-a 'ila: l-'ibil-i kayf-a khu:liqat/(2)*wa* 'ila: s-sama:'i kayf-a ru:fi'at/(3)*wa* 'ila: l-jiba:l-i kayf-a nuSibat/(4)*wa* 'ila: l-'arD-i kayf-a suTiHat/

[Semantically: (1)\Do not they think how the camels were created,/(2)*and* how the sky was raised,/(3)*and* how the mountains were set down,/(4)*and* how the earth was made flat./]

In the above verses, the last three clauses are all, respectively, related to one another by [wa] 'and'. According to al-Suka:ki:, however, the connectedness of the clauses might seem not acceptable. That is, one, at first glance, might not perceive the propositional association between the constituents of the clauses: the lexical items 'camels', 'sky', 'mountains' and 'land', as these lexical items represent different semantic fields. However, for al-Suka:ki:, there is a semantic association between these four different concepts. This association can only be perceived when the discourse addressee's "background" is taken into consideration. That is, the social institutions "environment", which the hearer/reader belongs to as well as his experiences and knowledge of the real world is a precondition for the acceptability of the connectedness of these elements.

Al-Suka:ki: argues that if this verse is recited, in front of two different people belonging to two different social institutions/environments, one a Bedouin who lives in desert and one from city, it would not be surprising to find that the judgments made by the two people regarding the acceptability of the clauses would differ significantly: it is not acceptable for the one from the city as he would not be able to envisage any association between the four concepts, on the one hand; where it is acceptable for the one from the desert (i.e. the Bedouin). Here, al-Suka:ki: attributes these differing views to differences in assumptions and beliefs associated to the different environments (social institutions).

Al-Suka:ki: points out that people who live in desert, depend heavily on cattle for their food, clothing, etc. So, they are interested in raising camels that are considered to be the most valuable animals for them. Moreover, they depend on rains for feeding and watering their cattle. When they fall into danger they flee to the nearby mountains seeking shelter.

When it is drought and their water supplies dry up, they keep travelling from one area to another looking for water and grass. Thus, a Bedouin would see no contradiction in the connectedness of these elements which seem to him relevant because the images of 'camels', 'sky', 'mountains' and 'land' co-exist in his imagination (mind), on the one hand; whereas for the other person these images do not exist in his imagination and they are irrelevant because he has never lived in the desert where he could have such an experience.

4.4.3 Connectives and their functions

In the preceding sections the phenomenon of [al-faSl wa al-waSl] 'disjunction and adjunction' has been presented using insights from the works of two prominent classical Arab grammarians and rhetoricians (al-Jurja:ni: and al-Suka:ki:). It is the purpose of this section to highlight the cohesive category of connectives and their functions in Arabic. Arab grammarians usually refer to the connectives- according to their different significance- as ['adawa:t-u- l-rabT]or [Hu:ru:f-u- l-'aTf], i.e. connective particles. Sometimes they are treated under the headings of ['aTf nasaq] 'conjunction of sequence' and ['aTf baya:n] 'explicative apposition'. For most of the Arab grammarians, connectives are treated as linking devices, and their function is mainly to coordinate units such as words, phrases, clauses, sentences, etc. Old classical Arab grammarians were mainly interested only in [al-'i'ra:b], i.e. case or mood inflection, in their descriptions of the connectives. That is, the textual function fulfilled by the connectives in discourse has been completely neglected or overlooked. However, recently, the textual function of connectives in Arabic has attracted the attentions of many discourse analysts (e.g. Beeston 1968, Wright 1974, Cantarino 1975, Al-Jubouri 1983, Williams 1989 and Holes 1995, etc.). In his book The Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose published in (1975), Cantarino puts forward a full account and detailed analysis and description of the syntactic and semantic features of the cohesive category 'connectives' in Arabic. He investigates the different functions a single connective may perform in different contexts. The most commonly

used connective particles in Arabic are: [wa] 'and', [fa] 'and/then', [thumma] 'then', ['am] 'or', ['aw] 'or', [la:kinna] and [la:kin] 'but'. These are presented under the following major headings:

4.4.3.1 [*wa*] 'And'

The conjunctive particle [wa] 'and' is the most generally used particle in Arabic. Clives Holes (1995: 217) notes that:

> [wa] is the primitive conjunctive particle: it is the most commonly encountered sentence connective and has the widest variety of uses, analogous in these aspects to English 'and'. Unlike English 'and', however, [wa] regularly functions as a textual, as well as a sentence-connective.

Regarding the use of [wa] and [fa], Wright (1974: 330) asserts that:

> The Arabs, as well as other Semites, often connect single verbs and entire sentences with one another merely by means of the particles [wa] and [fa]… They use [wa]… where we would prefer a disjunctive or adversative particle; as [Allah-u ya'lam-u *wa* 'antum la: ta'lamu:n] 'Allah knows, *but* you do not know'. In such cases, however, [wa] has in reality only a copulative force; the adversative relation lies in the nature of the two clauses themselves.

Wright also notes that "[wa] in Arabic, like its equivalent in other Semitic languages, often serves to connect two clauses, the second of which describes either the state or condition of an element (i.e. the subject or one of its complements) in the preceding one, or else of a new subject" (Wright, 1974: 332).

Another type of [wa] exists in Arabic called by Arab grammarians [wa:w l-ma'i:ya] or sometimes called [wa:w l-muSa:Haba], both of which mean the [wa:w] of simultaneousness actions. This type of wa is used according to Wright " when the governed verb expresses an act subordinate to, but simultaneous with, the act expressed by the previous clause"; as in:

[4:75]

la: tanha: 'an khuluq-in *wa* ta'ti: mithlahu
[do not restrain (the others) from any habit, whilst you (yourself) practice one like it]
(Wright, 1974: 32)

The conjunctive particle [wa] is also used to connect two nouns in such a way that the second is subordinate to, and not coordinate with the first, as in:

[4:76]

sa:ra zayd-un *wa* t-tari:q
[zayd went along the road]
(Wright, 1974: 83)

Another usage of the conjunctive particle [wa] identical to the above is when it is used to connect two nouns; in this case it is known as [wa:w al-luzu:wm], i.e. [wa:w] of adherence, if the two nouns belong necessarily together, as in:

[4:77]

a. kullu shay'in *wa* thamanah-u
[Each thing has its won price]

b. kullu 'insa:n-in *wa* hammah-u
[Every man has his own care]
(Wright, 1974: 84)

However, [wa] in the above instances and in similar instances is not regarded here as cohesive device because it is used to link phrases in a structural sense similar to the structural 'and' in English (cf. Halliday and Hasan for complete reference on the structural 'and'). Unlike the English structural 'and' however this use of the conjunctive particle [wa] has no additive function either. Rather, the function may be rhetorical.

In terms of functions, the conjunctive particle [wa] has subtle and varied functions; it may express one of the following relations:

1. to signal the beginning of a chunk of information

In simple narrative, the conjunctive particle [wa] is sometimes used to signal the beginning of every paragraph except the first. Its function in such texts is simply to mark the beginning of the next episode in the report, as in:

[4:78]
wa there were a few women, some of them revealing dainty arms which carried handbags resembling shoe- or jewel-boxes. *wa* there was not a single peasant woman among them.
(Holes, 1995: 217)

Here, Holes notes:

> These two sentences [....] form the second half of a descriptive paragraph, and follow a full stop. It is typical that *wa*, the indigenous device for sentence concatenation, continues to be used alongside the full stop, which here is performing the same function of marking the end of one sentence and the beginning of another.

2. to express additive relations (X and Y)

The conjunctive particle [wa], can be used to express additive relations between clauses that are intended as equally important in the exposition or the narratives, as in:

[4:79]
wa there were a few women, some of them revealing dainty arms... *wa* there was not a single peasant woman among them.
(Holes, 1995: 217)

3. to express temporal relations (X then Y)

The conjunctive particle [wa] can also be used to express temporal relations between the clauses that it connects, i.e. it links successive episodes in a narrative, as in:

[4:80]
They brought out the pot *wa* took the mashed dates *wa* threw them into the middle of the pot *wa* mashed them...
(Holes, 1995: 218)

Here, the conjunctive particle [wa] is used to signal the successive relationship between the four clauses.

4. to express simultaneous action (X at the same time as Y)

The conjunctive particle [wa] can be also used in Arabic to express simultaneous action without giving particular topical prominence, as in:

[4:81]
I watered the crops *wa* ate
(Holes, 1995: 218)

The conjunctive particle [wa], in the above example, connects the two clauses, however, it does not particular topical prominence, i.e. it does not explicitly indicate which happens first 'the watering or the eating'.

5. to express circumstantial relations (X in circumstance Y)

According to Holes (1995), the conjunctive particle [wa] can also be used to signal circumstantial relations between clauses in discourse, as in:

[4:82]
[He abandoned them *wa* they were small]
(Holes, 1995: 219)

Here, the conjunctive particle [wa] is used to connect the two clauses to indicate the surrounding circumstances in which the main action 'abandoned' occurred. In this context, it must be pointed out that this last usage is another usage of [wa] in Arabic called [*wa:w al-Ha:l*] 'when/while' which is a circumstantial [wa]. As the name implies, [wa:w al-Ha:l] introduces a circumstantial clause that " has the function of describing a situation which is represented as simply an attendant circumstance to the main statement, or an intention present at that time" (Beeston, 1968:81). Wright has also noticed "the 'wa', which introduces a circumstantial clause, is called by the Arab grammarians [either *waw* l-Ha:l], the *wa:w* of the state, condition or circumstance … [or wa:w al-ibtida:'], the *wa:w* of the commencement " (Beeston, 1968: 332-3).

In his description of circumstantial clauses in Arabic, and the use of [wa] to introduce a circumstantial clause, Beeston (1970: 89-90) writes:

> The circumstantial clause may be purely temporal, or adversative [...] or explanatory [...] But there is an unsophisticated lack of overt marks of the logical intention. One structure of this kind has a clause form preceded by a functional *wa*, which must have been originally the ordinary coordinating functional 'and'; just as in English we find 'he has behaved disgracefully to me, and he calls himself my friend', where the implied logical relationship is adversative, i.e. 'and ' is replaceable by 'although' [...] But in medieval and SA (Standard Arabic), the circumstantial wa has to be felt as having its own clearly defined functional value, although still logically ambiguous to the extent of admitting temporal 'while', adversative 'although' and causal 'in as much as' interpretations.

Regarding the use of [wa] to introduce a circumstantial clause Beeston (1967: 47) notes:

> The position of a circumstantial complement may be filled by a clause usually introduced by /wa-/ 'and', which here acts as a subordinating particle (sometimes accompanied by other markers, especially /qad/ for the perfect), translated 'while', 'when', 'although', 'but', ... which requires the tense of the verbs it governs be interpreted in relation to the main clause; /kataba maktu:b-an wa huwa malik-un/ 'he wrote a letter while (or although) he was a king.

Another point of view is upheld by Cantarino who considers the conjunctive particle [wa] which introduces circumstantial clauses as a coordinating conjunction, despite the fact that it always introduces circumstantial clauses, i.e. subordinate clauses.

6. to express adversative relations (X but Y)

The conjunctive particle [wa] is used also in Arabic to express an adversative relation between the clauses it connects. Holes (1995:219) notes:

> Without any adverbial support, wa may link two sentences which are overtly or implicitly mutually inconsistent or when the second implies a restriction or concession of some kind on the first.

A similar point of view is upheld by Cantarino (1975), who writes:

> The two sentences connected by the conjunctive [wa] may be, and in fact frequently are, in an adversative relationship, such as 'but', 'yet' especially when one of the statements is negative….

This is presented as follows:

[4:83]

a. ka-'annaha: fi: l-madi:na *wa* laysat minha:
[As if (she) was in the city, *yet* out of it]

b. 'innaki: l-yawma tajhali:n-a *wa* ghad-an ta'lami:n
[You do not know today, *but* you will tomorrow]

(Cantarino, 1975: 18)

In this regard, Beeston (1968: 56) also notes that "[*wa*] will often be found in contexts where English would use a non-emphatic 'but' or 'or'."

4.4.3.2 [*fa*] 'So'

The conjunctive particle [fa], according to some linguists is called the 'particle of classification'. It indicates coordination together with the idea of development in the narrative. For Holes (1995), [fa] usually betokens a relationship between two clauses or between two paragraphs of a text such that the second clause describes a state or an action which occurs as a consequence of the first one. In order to illustrate this, Holes presents the following examples:

[4:84]

a. I discovered from the first puff that smoke was escaping from lots of holes '*fa*' I stubbed it out in the ashtray.

b. One day I heard a boy selling books who kept calling out 'Diary of a Tough-Guy' 'fa' I called him over and bought a copy.

c. The plane got lost 'fa' crashed in the desert.

In terms of functions, the conjunctive particle [fa], like [wa], has varied functions. It may express one of the following relations:

1. to express result and causal relations:

The conjunctive particle [fa] is regarded by Arab grammarians as a signal of causality between clauses where the first clause implies a reason and the second a result. Sometimes also 'fa' marks a conclusion. The function of [fa] as a signal of causal and relationship is highlighted by Cantarino (1975: 23-24) who notes:

> [*fa*] implies an internal- and logical - relationship between the two coordinate sentences … It may refer back to the preceding statement as a necessary premise for the action of the second. … It may also unite two sentences that have a causal relationship pointing toward the effect, or fact, and its consequences.

In another context, Cantarino (1975: 33) points out:

> [*fa*] may also be used to introduce an action which is intended as the aim of a previous action, or which is the logical result of an action designed to achieve such a consequence.

A similar point of view is upheld by Beeston (1968: 56) who writes:

> [*fa*] can be a signal of logical sequence of the train of thought […] the mind can proceed from a cause to a consideration of its effect, and in this case [fa] corresponds to English 'so' as in:
>
> [4:85]
> qad adlayta bi-Hujjat-in qa:Ti'at-in li-ha:dha: *fa*-a'taqidah-u
> [You have adduced a decisive argument for this, so I will believe it]
> (Beeston, 1968: 56)

Alternatively, [fa] may signal the reverse of the above, i.e. "the mind can proceed from a phenomenon to a consideration of its cause or justificatory generalization, and in this case [fa] corresponds to English 'for'" (Beeston, 1968: 56). To illustrate this, Beeston presents the following example:

> [4:86]
> qad akhTa'ta *fa*-lkhaTa' 'insa:ni:
> [You have erred, for to err is human]
> (Beeston, 1968: 56)

2. to express adversative relations

The conjunctive particle [fa], like the conjunctive particle [wa], may express an

adversative relationship existing between the two clauses/sentences it connects. Within this context, Cantarino writes:

> fa, like the conjunction 'wa', may also connect two sentences that are in an adversative relationship; in such cases, one statement is usually affirmative while the other is negative.

To demonstrate this, Cantarino presents the following examples:

[4:87]

a. 'ufattish-u 'an kalimat-in 'aqu:luha: *fa*-ma: 'ajiduha:
[I search for a word to say, but I could not find any]

b. sami'-a l-sha:bb-u l-kala:m-a *fa*-lam yuSaddiq
[The young man heard it but did not believe]
(Cantarino, 1975: 39)

3. to express sequential/temporal relations

The conjunctive particle [fa], like [wa], may be used to express sequential and temporal relations. Beeston notes that, unlike [wa] which coordinates two phrases, clauses and sentences without implication as to the priority of one over the other, "*fa* implies what precedes it has some sort of priority over what follows it". When the priority intended is one of time, [fa] makes the independent stages in a sequence of events, as in:

[4:88]

qa:m-a l-wazi:r-u 'an majlisih *fa*-nSaraf-a
[The minister rose from his seat, and departed]
(Beeston, 1968: 56)

In this context, Cantarino (1975: 32) notes that [fa] is "also frequently used to introduce a main clause after statements intended as modifications (temporal, modal, etc.) of the main clause."

As there is an overlapping between the functions of the two conjunctive particles, [wa] and [fa], it is important to differentiate between them. Cantarino (1975: 20-21) highlights this by saying:

> The main difference between [fa] and the connective particle [wa] is that the latter only joins equally important sentences, stating their

> simultaneous validity, but without any attempt at internal arrangement or logical classification, [fa], however, implies an arrangement in the narrative. As a consequence of this and in order to indicate fully its actual meaning and function, [fa] should almost always be translated with the connective conjunction "and" plus any of the English adverbs used to express a similar progression and arrangement in sequence, e.g., "so," "then," "thus", etc.

The same point of view is upheld by Beeston (1968: 56) who writes:

> [....] and whereas [wa] simply links two items [sentences/clauses] without implication as to the priority of one over the other, [fa] implies that what precedes it has some sort of priority over what follows it.

4.4.3.3 [*thumma*] 'Then'

The conjunctive particle [thumma] is one of the commonly used particles in Arabic. Like [wa], [thumma] can signal sequential action. The difference between the two particles is highlighted by Holes (1995: 220-21) as follows:

> The difference between the two [...] is that *thumma* marks a new development, event, or change of direction in the action described in the narrative [...] *thumma* acts as a superordinate staging marker for the narrative as a whole; *wa* adds information within each of the narrative frames thus created without taking the narrative forward....

The difference between the conjunctive particles, [fa] and [thumma], is highlighted by Cantarino (1975: 35):

> The conjunctive particle *thumma* emphasizes the sequence existing between two structurally independent statements as an interval, contrary to [*fa*], which stresses the connected series; thus, before [*thumma*], a pause or an interval in the narrative to be understood.

In terms of functions, unlike the preceding two conjunctive particles [wa] and [fa], [thumma] has only one function. It is used to signal a temporal relation. This is highlighted by Cantarino (1975: 36) who writes:

> As a consequence of its temporal meaning, 'thumma' usually implies that the action of the preceding sentence has been completed, thus introducing a new event or situation.

Moreover, Cantarino also believes that [thumma] 'then' may introduce a logical sequence; in this case, it always has an emphatic character. [thumma], according to Cantarino, has another function; it is sometimes used to introduce "development in the narrative, it will precede the dependent clause when this precedes the main clause" (Cantarino, 1975: 38). The following example would demonstrate this:

> [4:89]
> 'ishtaryt-u l-kita:b-a bi-thaman-in gha:li-n *thumma* dhahabtu naHiyat-a rukn-in fi: qahwat-in
>
> [I bought the book at a high price, *and then* I went to a corner at a coffee house]

4.4.3.4 [*la:kinna*] and [*la:kin*] 'But'

The prototypical adversative conjunction in Arabic is [la:kinna]. Both [la:kinna] and [la:kin], which is another version of [la:kinna], are said to denote the general meaning of what is called by Arab grammarians ['istidra:k] 'concessive', i.e. particles that signal an adversative meaning.

The difference between the two particles [la:kinna] and [la:kin] is highlighted by various linguists. Cantarino, for example, notes that Arab grammarians consider the particle [la:kinna] as the basic form, whereas [la:kin] is seen to be the lightened form derived from it. Arab grammarians do not go into detail in discussing the differences between the two particles in terms of scope and functions, however, when reading unvocalized text, Cantarino (1975: 39-40) asserts that:

> It is not always possible to determine which is meant, and while only [*la:kin*] may be used immediately preceding a verb, it cannot be stated that the opposite is the rule, that is to say, that only [*la:kinna]* should be used preceding a noun.

Some linguists like Cantarino (1975) and others do not consider the adversative particles [la:kinna] and its lighter form [la:kin] as conjunctive particles, like the preceding

ones, as they cannot stand by themselves, i.e. they require one of the properly conjunctive particles [wa] or [fa] to precede them. In this context, Cantarino (1975: 45) writes:

> [*la:kinna*] actually precedes the sentence without having any ties which might structurally connect the particle with the sentence. Hence, Arabic may use this particle to introduce clauses in adversative relationship to the preceding situation or statement, even in cases when the subordinate precedes the main clause. In the instance, the main clause is introduced by the conjunctive [*fa*] or, at times, also by [*wa*].

In terms of functions, the two conjunctive particles- [la:kinna] 'but' and its derived form [la:kin]- are very frequently used to express an adversative relationship to a preceding statement or situation. Cantarino (1975: 41) asserts that:

> "[la:kin] presents a statement in adversative coordination to one which is precedent. [la:kinna], on the other hand, stresses the function of one part within a sentence in an adversative relationship to another sentence."

Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that the adversative relationship is sometimes obscured by the use of the additive particle [wa] in place of an adversative particle. A case in point is a suggestion put forward by Cantarino (1975: 39) who notes:

> Adversative constructions are very frequently coordinated by the conjunctive particle [wa]; only the adversative meaning of the two propositions will reveal the actual nature of the construction.

4.4.3.5 [*'aw*] and [*'am*] 'Or'

The disjunctive particle ['aw] 'or' is the prototype of disjunctive conjunctions whereas ['am] 'or' is the prototype of alternative conjunctions in Arabic. One of its basic functions is described by Beeston (1968: 57) as follows:

> ['*aw*] is a connective linking two items which are mutually exclusive possibilities, of such a nature that they could be marked in English by [the correlative conjunction] 'either … or alternatively …': [e.g. 'qad taSduq-u qiSSatuh-u *'aw* tazi:f-u] 'his story may be true or false'.

> Modern usage, however, tends to extend the use of [*'aw*] to all contexts where English uses 'or'. And just as in English 'or' can be reinforced by a preceding 'either', this can be represented in Arabic by [*'imma:*].

To illustrate this, Beeston presents the following example:

> [4:90]
> …'imma: fi: miSr 'aw fi:-l-sha:m
> […either in Egypt or in Syria]
> (Beeston, 1968: 57)

Cantarino (1975: 49) emphasizes that:

> [*'aw*] is the general and most frequently used disjunctive conjunction. It can be found in any position when a disjunctive is to be expressed; however, it can only be used in affirmative or interrogative sentences [….] [*'aw*] may also connect a sequence of two or more dependent clauses with a disjunctive meaning.

The prototype of alternative conjunctions is ['am]. The function of ['am] is summed up well by Cantarino (1975: 50) who suggest that ['am] "generally introduces the second of two interrogative sentences presenting an alternative. Contrary to ['aw], ['am] frequently implies a condition of exclusion in one of the two sentences."

4.5 Lexical cohesion

The phenomenon of repetition in Arabic has become the focus of many studies and pieces of research. Lexical relations in discourse have been touched upon by many classical Arab grammarians and rhetoricians, however, it has not been addressed by these rhetoricians in a manner similar to modern linguistic trends. The classical Arab rhetoricians were interested in some aspects of lexis in discourse. They classified some of these aspects under the heading of what became known in Arabic literature as ['ilm-u- l-badi:'] 'aesthetic elements in discourse'. They called them [muHasina:t badi:'i:ya] 'aesthetic devices'. As the name may denote, the function of these is to add a poetic flavour to discourse. To this effect, Holes (1995: 269) notes that:

> Until relatively recently, serious prose writing in Arabic was characterized by recurrent patterns of language which to the western eye (and ear) have a rather 'poetical' feel to them. Assonance, rhyme, paronomasia (i.e. root-pattern echo and repetition) are intricately interwoven to produce balanced juxtapositions of sounds, words, phrases and sentences. These surface structural effects are counterbalanced by semantic patterning of various degrees of synonymy and antonymy ….

To cite an example of the works of classical Arab rhetoricians on lexical relations in Arabic, a quick review of al-Sijilma:si:'s (1980) approach in the concept of [muHasina:t badi:'i:ya] is presented in the following section. According to Khatabi, al-Sijilma:si: in his book [*al-manza' l-badi:' fi: tajani:s 'asali:b l-badi:* '] treated lexis in Arabic under many categories. Since this study sets out to analysis the cohesive patterns in both English and Arabic using the taxonomy of cohesive devices presented by Halliday and Hasan, two categories will be presented: [al-muTa:baqa] 'antonymy' and [al-tikra:r] 'repetition'.

4.5.1 [al-muTa:baqa] 'Antonymy'

According to al-Sijilma:si:, [al-muTa:baqa] 'antonymy' is the assembling of a lexical item and its antonym in discourse, as in:

> [4:91]
> 'innakum la-*takthuru:na* 'inda *l-faza'-i* wa *taqullu:na* 'inda *l-Tama'-i*
>
> [Semantically: you are many at the time of hardships, and few at the time of ease]
> (Al-Sijilma:si:, 1980: 370)

Here, the speaker has used the following expressions: [*takthuru:n*, *l-faza'*], in the first part of the sentence, and their antonyms [*taqullu:n*, *l-Tama'*], in the second one. The relationship between the pairs of the lexical items supplies the cohesiveness of the two units, and thus contributes to the coherence of discourse.

4.5.2 [al-tikra:r] 'Repetition'

Under this relation, al-Sijilma:si: (1980) distinguishes two types of repetition: [al-bina:] 'construction', i.e. the repetition of the same lexical item, and [al-muna:saba] 'relevancy', i.e. repetition of the substance. These are presented as follows:

1. Construction

Al-Sijilma:si: defines this notion 'construction' as "the reiteration of the same word with the same meaning"; i.e. to repeat the same lexical item with the same meaning several times in discourse. In this, al-Sijilma:si: makes a further distinction: [al-Su:ra l-juz'i:ya] 'the partial image' and [al-'ijma:l wa l-tafSi:l] 'mentioning a general item after specific ones'.

Repetition of the same lexical item may involve nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. The repeated lexical item might be used for intensification or emphasis, as in:

[4:92]
(1)\'*innakum* 'idha: muttum…/(2)\'*innakum* mukhraju:n/
[Literally: Does he give *you* a promise that when you are dead…. *You* will be raised to life again?]
(Al-Sijilma:si:, 1980: 476)

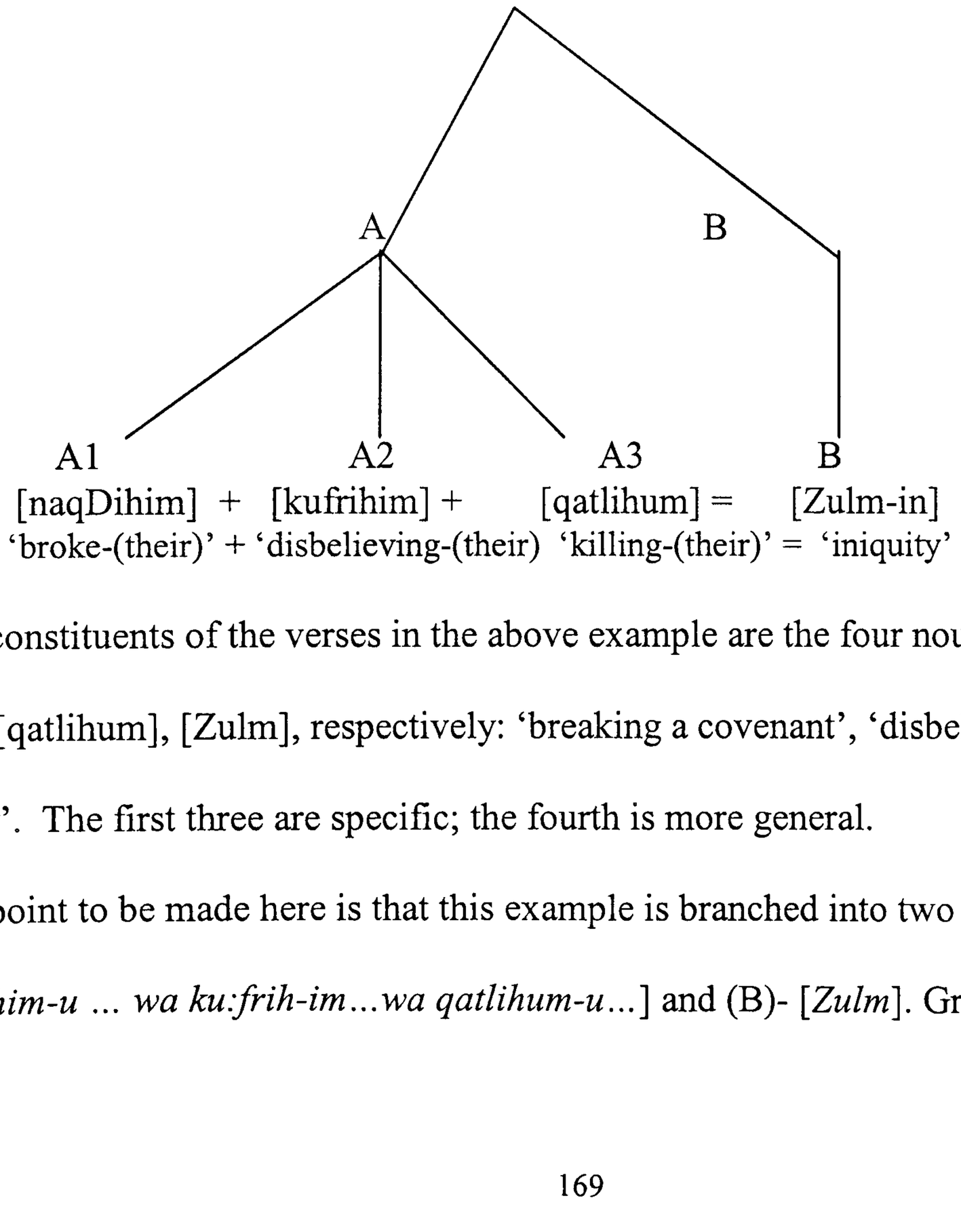
The word ['innakum] in clause (1) is repeated in clause (2) with the same form and meaning. Here, the reason behind the repetition of the same lexical item with the same meaning is said to be emphatic. This repetition according to al-Sijilma:si: has another function. Its function is to remind the hearer/reader of the previous lexical item (i.e. the one which was mentioned at the beginning of the discourse).

As for the second type, i.e. the mentioning of a general item after a specific one, al-Sijilma:si: believes that the reason behind the mentioning of a general item after a specific one is to remind the hearer about what has been mentioned earlier. He stresses that when a discourse is large, it is advisable to repeat some items. That is, the function of the superordinate item is to summarize the meaning of the more specific items. The constituents share a common meaning to a certain extent; they differ in that one is more particular while

the other is more general. The relation is, therefore, specific-generic or part whole. Indeed, the distinction between general and specific items has to do with the treatment of qualities. General items may refer to ideas, qualities, and characteristics, while items naming classes of objects and actions are usually specific. These relations are exhibited in the following example:

> [4:93]
> [wa-bi *naqDihim* mi:<u>th</u>a:qah-um wa *kufrih-i*m…wa *qatlihum*-u…fa-bi *Zulm-in* min al-lad<u>h</u>i:na….]
>
> [Literally: '… in that they broke their covenant; that they rejected (the signs of Allah); that they slew (the messengers…); for the iniquity of the….]
> (Al-Sijilma:si:, 1980: 478)

The phrase [fa-bi Zulm-in] has not been introduced in the first clause; however, it stands as a summarization of what has been said in the first clauses. This can be diagrammatically presented as follows:



The constituents of the verses in the above example are the four nouns: [naqDihim], [ku:frihim], [qatlihum], [Zulm], respectively: 'breaking a covenant', 'disbelieving', 'killing', and 'iniquity'. The first three are specific; the fourth is more general.

The point to be made here is that this example is branched into two groups, i.e. group (A)- [*naqDihim-u … wa ku:frih-im…wa qatlihum-u…*] and (B)- [*Zulm*]. Group (A) is also

sub-branched into (A1) [*naqDihim*], (A2) [*kufrihim*], and (A3) [*qatlihum*]. These four lexical items express a general concept, i.e. 'the involvement in doing acts of iniquity'.

2. [al-muna:saba] Relevancy

This notion [al-muna:saba] 'relevancy', according to al-Sijilma:si: (1980), involves the use of different lexical items in discourse that are semantically associated. In this, al-Sijilma:si: distinguishes the following three type of associations:

1. The use of a lexical item and its synonym, as in: [al-shams wa l-qamar] 'the sun' and 'the moon', etc.

2. The use of a lexical item and its antonym, as in: [al-layl wa l-naha:r] 'the night' and 'the day', etc.

3. The use of a lexical item and a thing that is always associated with it, as in: [al-qau:s wa l-sahm], i.e. 'the arrow' and 'the bow', etc.

4.5.3 Repetition and parallelism in modern studies

Many modern researchers have studied the phenomenon of repetition and parallelism in Arabic (e.g. Holes 1995, Beeston 1968, Kaplan 1966, Koch 1981, Williams 1982, Al-Jubouri 1983, etc.). Al-Jubouri was among the first contemporary scholars to investigate this phenomenon in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Al-Jubouri (1983) investigates the role of repetition in Arabic argumentative discourse and identifies three levels of repetition: morphological level, word level, and the chunk level. The term 'chunk' is used by Al-Jubouri to refer to the Arabic grammatical notions [jumla] and [shibh jumla] which do not always correspond exactly to the English concepts of 'phrase', 'clause' and 'sentence'. These are presented as follows:

1. Repetition at morphological level

According to Al-Jubouri, Arabic, being a Semitic language, is characterized by its root system referred to by modern linguists as [al-judhu:r] and patterns of the derived form of [al-awza:n]. Al-Jubouri (1983: 100) notes that:

> Arabic roots are ordered sets of usually three, but occasionally four consonants. Each root has a general meaning which is the common denominator of the meanings of all the forms in which it is realized: e.g., [*k-t-b*] has to do with writing and [*s-m-ʔ*] has to do with hearing [….] Morphological repetition is enhanced in words that lie in close syntactic proximity, and is manifested in their root or pattern similarity.

Al-Jubouri distinguishes two types of repetition at the morphological level: pattern repetition and root repetition. The former, according to Al-Jubouri, involves "using words that have an identical or similar morphological pattern." This is exhibited in the following example:

[4:94]:
al-munHanaya:t-u l-lati: ta'arrajat da:khilaha: *hubu:T-an*
wa *Su'u:d-an*

Here, both words [hubu:T] and [Su'u:d] are on the [fu'u:l] pattern, and display final ['alif] because of the adverbial [Ha:l] 'circumstantial' role in the sentence.

As for root repetition, Al-Jubouri notes that this type of repetition is common in Arabic. It is used here to refer to lexical items derived from one root and repeated in one sentence. The most common example of this phenomenon might be the device known as [maf'u:l muTlaq], i.e. the absolute accusative. The absolute accusative is the abstract noun derived from the verb it follows. One of Koch's (1981) examples can be quoted here for illustration: [tajruf-u] 'sweeps' [jarfa-n] 'a-sweeping', where the abstract noun [jarf] and the verb [tajruf-u] are derived from the same root [j-r-f].

In his analysis of root repetition, Al-Mahmoud (1989) notes that repetition of roots may involve several types of structures. He presents the following types:

i. A construction involving repetition of roots consisting of a verb together with the corresponding noun of place, as in:

[4:95]:

a. wa *yaqif-u* minna: *mauqif* l-'ida:'a
[And *stands* from us a hostile *standing*]

b. thumma yuha:jir-u li-yastauTin 'arD-a sha'bbi-n wa *yaHill-u maHallah-u* bil-quwat-i
[Then emigrates to settle on other people's land and take place of its place by force]

In the above examples, there is a repetition involving verb-noun of place idioms, i.e. frozen linguistic units involving root repetition [yaqif-u] and [mauqif], on the one hand, and [yaHill-u] and [maHallah-u].

ii. Different collocational pressures

This category of repetition is subject to some collocational pressures, i.e. the sequences of verbs and their verbal nouns which habitually co-occur and whose constituents are semantically cohesive, as in:

[4:96]:

a. la: *tarbiTuhum*-u *rawa:biT*-an qaumi:ya …
[are not linked by links national and ….]

b. la-qad *Ha:n*-a *l-'awa:n*-u li-taSHi:H-i l-'akhTa:'-i
[(the) time is timed to redress the wrongs]

2. Repetition at word level

At this level, repetition is realized by two types: word repetition and word strings.

i. Word repetition

This type of repetition involves the use of the same lexical item (with the same referent) several times within a given paragraph. Beeston (1970: 113) writes:

> […] if the thought demands the repetition of a concept, Arabic will usually try to avoid repetition of the word by using some synonym.

On the other hand when structural considerations demand the repetition of a word it can be repeated without hesitation.

ii. Word strings

This type of repetition is realized through the use of 'word strings'. 'Word strings' is a term referring to the use of two or more different lexical items strung together to form one group, roughly sharing the same meaning.[5] These lexical items are of the same syntactic category. The use of word strings may create semantic elaboration through the use of:

(a) Nouns, as in [Huru:b wa muna:za'a:t] 'wars and conflicts'

(b) Verbs, as in [na:qash wa baHath] 'debated and discussed'

(c) Adjectives, as in [wa:DiH wa qa:Ti'] 'clear and decisive'

(d) Adverbs, as [sakhiT-an wa Ha:qid-an] 'grudgingly and maliciously'

Since the term 'word strings' is used in the sense that its constituents share a similar semantic spectrum, this would lead us to consider Al-Jubouri's categories. Al-Jubouri identifies eight groups of word strings:

a. Group one: In this group, the constituents of the string are synonymous, commutative and interchangeable in that particular context, as in:

[4:97]:
taDHiyat-un wa badhl-un wa fida:'-un
[Sacrifice and sacrifice and sacrifice]

b. Group two: This group is similar to the previous one. The elements are near-synonyms in that particular context; but they have a further function: they help to offer two slightly different angles for viewing the referent, as in:

[4:98]:
al-Sawa:'iq-u wa l-Daraba:t-u
[the-thunderbolts and the-blows]

c. Group three: In this group, there is a relation of implication between the constituents. The former constituent can lead to the latter or vice versa, as in:

---

5 Not all sub-categories of word strings are so similar as to be synonyms. However, synonymy is a very interesting sub-group of word strings.

[4:99]:

’istiqla:l-an wa maka:sib
[Exploitation and gains]

d. Group four: In this group, though the constituents share a common meaning to a certain extent, they differ in that the first is more particular while the other is more general, as in:

[4:100]:

al-Hurri:yat-i wa Huqu:q-i l-’insa:n
[the-liberty and rights the-man]

e. Group five: In this group, one of the constituents, usually the second, though it can be the first, modifies the meaning of the other, as in:

[4:101]:

al-’iqna:‘-i wa l-Hujjat-i wa d-dali:l
[the-persuasion and the-proof and the-evidence]

f. Group six: The constituents in this group imply gradation of meaning and tend to form a semantic scale as in:

[4:102]:

al-‘umda wa shaykh–u- l-ghafar-i wa l-muHa:fiz
[the-mayor and chief the-guards and the governor]

g. Group seven: The constituents in this group are antonyms or near-antonyms, as in:

[4:103]:

Hakamat thumma Hukimat
[Ruled then got-ruled]

h. Group eight: The word strings in this group are freezes, or near-freezes, as in:

[4:104]:

al-yawma wa kulla yawm
[Today and every day]
(Al-Jubouri, 1983: 102)

Finally, Al-Jubouri notes that the rhetorical effect of word strings have a specific discoursal role. When word strings reiterated through an argument, for example, they tend to create an immediate emotional impact. He notes, “this is largely achieved through a

passionate and forceful concentration of ideas, and is aimed directly at exercising an irresistible influence over the minds of the recipients (hearer/reader)" (Al-Jubouri, 1983: 103).

3. Repetition at chunk level

Repetition at the chunk level is manifested through two major processes: parallelism and paraphrase. The former refers to repetition of form, whereas the latter refers to the repetition of substance. These two types are presented as follows:

i. Parallelism

According to Al-Jubouri (1983), parallelism is a rhetorical as well as text-building device. It keeps the discourse recipient (hearer/reader) to a definite viewpoint while at the same time attracting new material to it. Halliday and Hasan's (1976) listings of cohesive devices excludes parallelism; however, its role in creating textual semantic unity, which is what cohesion is all about, has been commented on by many linguists (e.g. Holes: 1995, Beeston: 1966, Kaplan: 1966, Koch: 1981 and Williams: 1982, etc.).

Al-Jubouri identifies two types of parallelism: complete parallelism and incomplete parallelism. These two types are discussed under the following headings:

a. Complete parallelism

Al-Jubouri (1983: 105) defines complete parallelism as occurring when "there is total, or almost total, coincidence between parallel forms". This is exhibited in the following example:

[4:105]:

(1)\wa kam min aHza:b-in Hakamat thumma Hukimat,/(2)\wa tawallat thumma ndatharat,/(3)\wa rtafa'at thumma saqaTat./

[(1)\and how many parties ruled then got-ruled,/(2)\and took power then perished,/(3)\ and rose then fell./]

(Al-Jubouri, 1983: 107)

In his commentary on the above example, Al-Jubouri (1983: 107) notes:

> [...] a structural repetition runs horizontally: three parallel word strings are connected to each other with '*wa*', and each word string is made up of two constituents connected with 'thumma'. The constituents are both verbs in the past tense and end with '*t*', a feminine gender marker. Repetition is also realized vertically: the first constituents in the three strings share similar semantic sense, i.e. a positive sense, that of strength or power: [*Hakamat*] (= ruled), [*tawallat*] (= took-power), and [*irtafa'at*] (= rose); the second constituents share a negative sense, that of weakness: [*Hukimat*] (= got-ruled), [*indatharat*] (= perished), and [*saqaTat*] (= fell).

b. Incomplete parallelism

According to Al-Jubouri, incomplete parallelism takes place when "there is a partial coincidence between parallelistic forms". He notes that both complete and incomplete parallelism, give the effect of commutation of claims which makes the argument more persuasive. This is exhibited in the following example:

[4:106]:

(1)\'idha: da:fa'-a 'an qaDi:yat-i l-Hurri:yat-i wa Huqu:q-i l-'insa:n-i,/
[if defended issue the-liberty and rights the-man,]

(2)\'idha: iHtaDan-a kulla maZlu:m,/
[if embraced every unjustly-treated,]

(3)\'idha: qa:wam-a l-fasa:d-a,/
[if resisted the-corruption,]

(4)\'idha: Darab-a l-'amthilat-a fi: l-qadwat-i S-Sa:liHat-i,
[if gave the-examples in the-exemplification the-good,
(Al-Jubouri, 1983: 108)

Commenting on the above example, Al- Jubouri (1983: 109) says:

> There are four instances of the conditional construction reiterated. Each begins with ['idha:] (if), followed by a verb in the past tense with no explicitly mentioned subject; the subject is implicit, and refers to the subject of the main clause mentioned earlier in the 'chunk'. The repetition begins with a relatively long conditional clause [...] It is followed by two short clauses and two longer ones, the last being composed of two parallelistic phrases combined with 'wa'.

ii. Paraphrase

Here, Al-Jubouri (1983: 110) notes, "While parallelism [...] is repetition of form, paraphrase refers to a repetition of substance. It involves a restatement of a certain point or argument a number of times". He asserts that the objective of this type of repetition is a reflection of a tendency the writers have towards forceful assertion. In this category, Al-Jubouri distinguishes the following two types:

a. Paraphrase type one

Al-Jubouri (1983: 110) defines this type as "an action or event which is described a number of times from one perspective. It is similar to a rephrasing of a statement." To illustrate this, Al-Jubouri presents the following example:

[4:107]:
al-kalima:t-i 'ila: 'af‘a:l-in wa l-wu‘u:d-a 'ila: Haqa:'aq
[The-words into actions and the-promises into realities]

b. Paraphrase type two

Al-Jubouri defines this type as "an action or event which is described from two opposite perspective." The following example is presented by Al-Jubouri to illustrate this type:

[4:108]:
(1)\la: *qi:mat-a* li-Hizb-in wa huw-a fawq-a l-kara:s-i,/(2)\wa 'amma: *qi:matu-hu* l-Haqi:qi:yat-u fa-taZhar-u 'indama: yanqud-u l-sulTa:n-a/

[(1)\no value to-party as it in the-power-seats,/(2)\and as-for value-his, the-true appears when criticizes the-ruler/]
(Al-Jubouri, 1983: 110)

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has operationally highlighted the potential resources of cohesion in Arabic. The cohesive features in Arabic are described under the major headings of Halliday and Hasan's (1976) listing: reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion

using a different descriptive framework. Moreover, two significant aspects of cohesion that are not included in the 1976's taxonomy have been added. These are the categories of Parallelism and Paraphrase.

The methodology to be used in the search of translation shifts involving cohesive markers in the various ST-TT pair of texts that occur through translation from Arabic into English and vice versa will be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE
METHODOLOGY

5.0 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to describe in abbreviated form the method to be used in investigating the phenomenon of 'shifts' in integral translation of Arabic and English argumentative texts.

This chapter is made up of three sections. Section 5.1 highlights the method and its major components. Section 5.2 presents a detailed description of the comparative model, explaining its main features. Section 5.3 highlights the various components of the descriptive model. Finally, a conclusion of the chapter with a short commentary on the proposed method is presented.

5.1 The method

The aim of the method to be developed in the current study is threefold: to identify shifts of cohesion in the ST-TT text pairs that occurred through translation, to explain and justify the occurrence of shifts in translation, and, finally, to describe the likely consequences of shifts on the levels of explicitness in the ST-TT texts pair.

To achieve these objectives, the proposed method is made up of two different, though integrated, models developed independently for different purposes, namely, a comparative and a descriptive model. The comparative model is to be complementary to the descriptive model. While the latter is developed for the identification of shifts of cohesion that occurred in the process of translation, the former has been adopted to provide the theoretical framework needed for the explanation and justification of the occurrence of shifts in translation. It is hoped, with the aid of this method, that shifts of cohesive markers in translation and their effects can be adequately determined and described.

An explanation of the main principles of the above mentioned two models will now be presented.

5.2 The comparative model (CM)

In this section, an attempt will be made to portray the model to be used for the identification of shifts of cohesion in the various ST-TT pair of texts that occurred through translation, i.e. the comparative model, henceforth referred to as (CM) for short.

It is widely believed that the search to disclose the way in which a translation (TT) differs from its original (ST) and to determine the extent of these differences, can be only achieved by a means of 'comparison', i.e. a TT must be somehow compared with its ST.

Unfortunately, there exists in the available translation literature no formalised theory of comparison that is capable of investigating differences between two texts written in two different languages (in terms of their textual features) that would allow us to judge whether their textual features fulfil the same functions or not.

For this reason, an attempt will be made to build up, along the basic assumptions of the general theory of 'comparison', a model that is able to serve the exact objectives of the current study.

An explanation of the main characteristics of the compiled model will now be presented.

5.2.1 Principles of the CM

Following Tory (1980: 112-113), a prerequisite for any search to identify the way in which a translation differs from its original, and to determine the extent of these shifts, is the development of a theoretically-based explicit method for the comparison of a given pair of texts (i.e. TT and its ST) along the basic assumptions of the general theory of "comparison".

Accordingly, the comparative model, to be proposed in this study, is projected along the basic principles and guidelines of the general theory of "comparison", in the following respects: first, it is designed to compare two observational objects (e.g. a TT and its ST), in which "certain aspects can be perceived and regarded as common to them" (i.e. their textual features). Secondly, the comparison is carried out within the general framework of text-linguistic approach, i.e. the textual model for the analysis and description of cohesive features

in argumentative texts; this underlies the method applied to the comparison of the pair of texts. Thirdly, the "aspects of the observational objects" to be compared, i.e. the textual function fulfilled by the cohesive features in the pair of texts (i.e. TT and ST), is incorporated in the extended model of cohesion. Fourthly, the two texts are compared at certain units of comparison. Finally, in terms of objectives, the comparative model has two aims: to investigate differences between the pair of texts in terms of their cohesive features as well as to establish the sources of these shifts.

It is worth noting here that the proposed comparative model in this study is by no means an exception to the general rules of comparison posited in the preceding paragraph. However, as Tory (1980) pointed out, this type of comparison does belong to a special sub-group of comparison by virtue of the following properties:

First, in any other comparison, the question to be asked is "whether the objects compared show any equivalence from aspect X or Y"; here, the existence of equivalence is out of the question. This is because this comparative model is based on the general assumption that "every actual translation stands in some equivalence to its original" (cf. Tory, 1980: 113). That is, the question is not whether equivalence has been achieved in the TT, but rather "what degree of equivalence do the textual functions of the aspects of the texts compared show?"

Second, whereas a regular comparison involves the investigation of the entire types of differences between the two texts at various linguistic levels, in this study, the investigation is limited to the investigation of differences involving cohesive features operating at certain levels.

Finally, as for the difference in status between the compared objects (i.e. texts-ST and TT), a regular comparison usually involves objects of the same ontological status; in the current study, however, one of the two objects has a primary status and the other a secondary one. That is, the status of the ST in any pair of texts is primary, both chronologically (priority on the temporal dimension) and logically (independent vs. dependent, original vs. derived texts), and this difference should by no means be neglected. As a result, whereas an ordinary

comparison could (or even should) be looked upon as a bilateral operation establishing mutual relationships (i.e. X1 equals X2 from respect Y in as much as X2 equals X1 from the same respect Y), the comparison of a TT and a ST is unilateral and irreversible. Hence, the comparison of the pair of texts is ST-based.

5.2.2 Units of comparison

An indispensable prerequisite for any comparison of two objects to be systematically and adequately carried out is the establishment of unified units of comparison. This area proves to be the most challenging issue in the current study.

Although the obvious and most direct unit might be the orthographic sentence, bound by full stops, this unit seems to be unsuitable for this study. This is mainly attributed to the difficulties in formally defining the written sentence in Arabic. As a structural unit, the sentence in English has more clear-cut boundaries than that in Arabic. At least the beginning and the end of the English sentence are demarcated by a capital letter and a period, a question mark, or an exclamation mark. In Arabic, on the other hand, sentence boundaries are most often far from being definite. A similar set of punctuation marks theoretically exists in Arabic but in practice, punctuation is often miss-applied. Holes (1983), for instance, argues that despite the introduction of the full-stop and the comma into Arabic, Arab writers still 'pile up' clauses loosely connected by [wa] 'and' and [fa] 'so'. It was suggested in (Section 4.4.3.1) that these two particles, especially [wa], are sometimes used as punctuation marks to signal the beginning of every paragraph accept the first. (Cf. S. Ostler 1987: 169-85)

The literature of Arabic is full of attempts made by groups of new Arab grammarians, analysts, and rhetoricians to solve the problem of the misguided punctuation system of Arabic; however, these attempts proved to be valuable only in applied disciplines such as language teaching. In other words, the proposed solutions cannot be applied on connected strings of sentences in text; as they have only defined and emphasised the boundaries of a single sentence; thus neglecting the ways a sentence may be used in connected stretches of language (i.e. discourse/text).

Despite all efforts, even in English, there is no agreement as to what is the best way of defining a sentence. All that has been done so far is to define the sentence through different procedures. Some (e.g. Lyons 1968) define it in semantic terms, some (e.g. Chomsky 1957) define it in syntactic terms, and others (e.g. Winter 1982) define it in terms of the punctuation system. This shows that the notion 'sentence' has been interpreted in many different ways. Therefore, one can confidently claim that if the sentence in English has not yet been delimited, no wonder that the delimitation and demarcation of the sentence in Arabic is far from being decided.

Consequently, in the absence or near-absence of a distinct set of punctuation conventions, the determination of sentence boundaries in Arabic becomes one of the most problematic issues facing a discourse analyst.

Lately, a number of attempts have been made by some text analysts to work out an adequate unified tool for segmenting texts in both Arabic and English to overcome this prolonged problem. However, all attempts have been disputed; and the problem has always proved a continued challenge facing discourse analysts. Williams (1982 and 1989), for example, when faced with this problem tried to segment Arabic and English texts by applying a method referred to as 'the pause procedural technique'. In this, he used the following procedures: (1) a native Arabic speaker, with a good reading voice, read the texts slowly and with expressions as if addressing a large audience; (2) the readings were recorded; (3) by making use of the prosodic features of intonation, Williams maintains that the boundaries of clauses and clause complexes in texts were established.

Despite the fact that this method may at first glance give the impression that it could be applicable and could be generalised, when it was adopted in this study it fell short. That is, when this method was attempted on an authentic Arabic argumentative text, it did not fit. This is because argumentative texts, unlike other text types, such as exposition, for instance, have typical features. These evaluative texts are always characterised by the use of a significant number of subordinated and coordinated clauses, clause complexes, relative clauses, parenthesis, etc. Moreover, Halliday and Hasan believe that the 'mood' of such an evaluative

discourse, unlike a political speech, which is a text written to be spoken, is written to be read in silence.

In what follows, we shall propose a theoretically based method for segmenting the texts in both languages into some mutually recognisable units, taking into consideration both the typical characteristics of this 'argumentation' text-type as well as the individual properties of each language. It is hoped that this method could be- with some modification- adopted in the analysis of all texts belonging to different text-type membership in all languages.

The segmentation method is based on insights from some theoretical notions developed by Hatim (199o, 1997a, 1997b, and elsewhere). The notion 'text structure' will be the backbone of this analytical tool.

The notion 'text structure' is a term used in linguistic studies to refer to the variety of aspects of textuality. Hatim maintains that receivers of all text types would expect what they hear or read to be structured in some way. Moreover, all texts of various types would display structure formats corresponding to their types: "different text types exhibit different structure formats" (cf. Section 5.3.3 below).

Consequently, a counter-argumentative text, for example, is always expected to display certain structure formats that vary from the structure formats of an exposition. The configuration of the structure formats of the above-mentioned two text types can be diagrammatically presented as follows:

Counter-argumentative text	**Expository text**
(i) Cited -thesis (to be opposed)	(i) Scene-setter
(ii) Counter-claim (opposition)	(ii) Aspect I of the scene set
(iii) Substantiation of counter-claim	(iii) Aspect II of the scene set
(vi) Conclusion	(iv) Aspect III, etc.
	(v) Conclusion/Summation

Diagram 5.1 Counter-argumentation & Exposition[1]

For Hatim, these structure formats are realised by different units of text organisation, which collectively make up the unit 'text'. Here, Hatim distinguishes two basic units of organisation, namely: elements and sequences of elements.

[1] Diagram 5.1 Counter-argumentation & Exposition (Hatim, 1997a: 40-66)

1. Element

The first unit of text organisation is called 'element'. According to Hatim, an element is one of the constituents of text structure. He asserts that an element is not a grammatical unit (i.e. phrase, clause, clause complex, etc.) but rather "the smallest lexico-grammatical category that can fulfil some rhetorical function, significantly contributing to the overall rhetorical purpose of the text" (Hatim, 1990: 165). In other words, each element in a text has a rhetorical function to fulfil. The rhetorical function of a 'cited-thesis', which is a proposition put forward as a claim to represent the point of view of the absent protagonist, for example, is "to steer text receiver/s in a particular direction" (Hatim, 1997a: 25). Moreover, each element marks a stage in the progression of a text. Hatim notes that the text type determines the value that an element takes on in a text. The various elements in a given larger unit enter into a 'discourse relation' with each other (i.e. the preceding and/or the subsequent) in the text to form a larger structure unit called 'sequence of elements'. He points out that these discourse relations "enable us to identify sequences of elements which ultimately make up the unit text" (ibid.). Hatim asserts that 'element' is the 'minimal unit of text analysis'; it can be realised in text by a single clause.

2. Sequence of elements

The second largest unit of text organisation is called 'sequence of elements'. A sequence of elements, according to Hatim, normally consists of more than one element, i.e. various elements are grouped in sequences according to their functions. Hatim believes that a sequence of elements serves "a higher order rhetorical function than that of the individual elements in question" (Hatim, 1997a: 174). He notes that a sequence of elements, which normally contains more than one element, may in some instances also contain a number of other elements that are frequently needed to elaborate a given function within a sequence. He called these additional elements 'enhancers'. This is illustrated as follows:

[5:1]

	E1	Much credit flows to the State of Israel for the vigour of the Kahan commission's enquiry and the rigour of its conclusions.
	E2	There is not another country in the Middle East, [...] where the rulers could be subjected to questioning of such a kind.
SEI	E3	[and not too many beyond]
	E4	And in Lebanon, [...], the parallel enquiry has turned into a charade.
	E5	[at whose citizens' hands the massacres were committed]

(Hatim, 1990: 176)

In the above text segment, which represents a cited-thesis in a counter-argumentative text, the sequence of elements (SE), which is identified by a Roman numeral 'SEI', contains five elements (E1-E5). E1 represents the main thesis, whereas E2-E5- called enhancers- are used to support the main thesis. Moreover, E1 and the other four additional elements are used to elaborate the function of sequence 'SEI'.

Hatim argues that although there is no pre-determined limit on the boundaries of a sequence of elements (i.e. rules to regulate when a sequence is complete and the next sequence can be embarked upon), text producers 'instinctively' know when the rhetorical purpose of a sequence has been fulfilled. In other words, text producers usually avoid going on too long (being redundant) or stopping before they have made their point (being incomplete). He asserts, "a sequence is as long as it needs to be in order to achieve its function".

The above-mentioned configuration (i.e. the element and the sequence of elements) can be represented as follows:

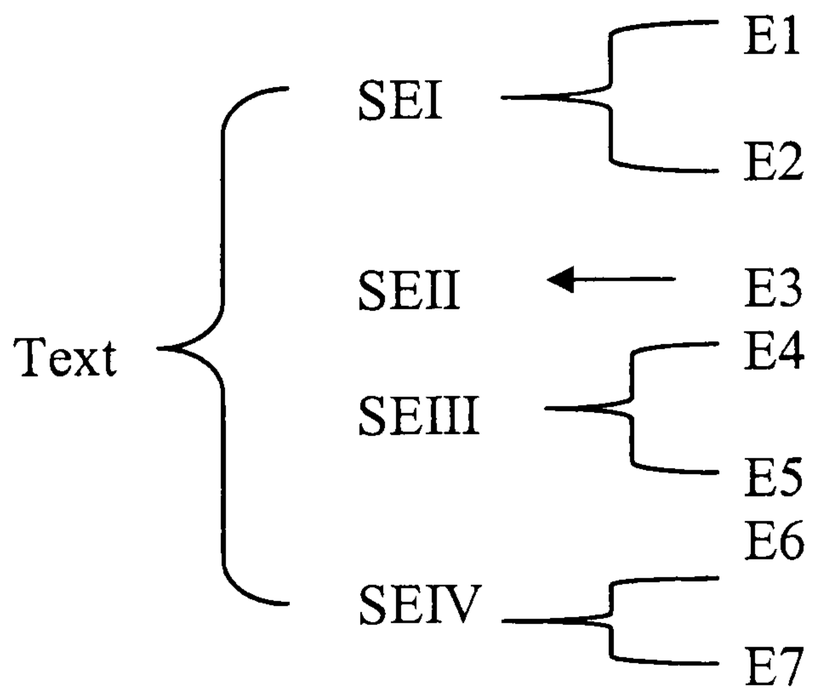


Figure 5.1 Elements and Sequences in text[2]

2. Figure 5.1 Elements & Sequences in text (Hatim, 1990: 166).

In the above figure, the Arabic numerals (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7) represent the elements, whereas, the Roman numerals (I, II, III, and IV) represent sequences of elements which make up the unit text.

It is worth noting that the element may be realised by one clause only; similarly, a sequence of elements may be realised by one element only.

For the purpose of the present investigation, the pair of texts (i.e. Arabic and English argumentative texts and their translations into both directions) will be compared in terms of their cohesive markers occurring at the following three different levels:

1. Level 1- to be referred to as (L1)- is the smallest level of comparison whereby cohesive relations (e.g. conceptual as well as conjunctive relations) between the constituent elements of two (or more) independent clauses in a given element in the ST would be compared with that of TT equivalent units occurring at a corresponding level.

2. Level 2- to be referred to as (L2)- is the mediate level of comparison whereby cohesive relations between the constituents of two (or more) elements in a given sequence of elements (i.e. the cohesive relation between an element with the preceding one as well as with the following one, consecutively) in the ST would be compared with cohesive relations of an equivalent unit occurring at a corresponding level.

3. Level 3- or (L3)- is the largest unit of comparison. At this unit, cohesive relations between the constituents of two adjacent sequences of elements (i.e. the cohesive relation between a sequence of elements with the preceding one as well as with the following one, consecutively) in the ST would be compared with cohesive relations of an equivalent unit occurring at a corresponding level.

5.2.3 Equivalence

The basic principle of the comparative model is based on the general assumption that the comparison of texts in different languages inevitably involves a theory of 'equivalence'. Equivalence has been the central issue in translation although its definition, relevance, and applicability within the field of translation theory have caused heated controversy, and many different theories of the concept 'equivalence' have been elaborated within this field in the past fifty years.

The literature on translation studies has generated a lot of discussion on the principle of equivalence. Briefly, this principle of 'equivalence' as interpreted by some of the most innovative theorists in this field, such as Vinay and Darbelnet, Jakobson, Nida and Taber, Catford, House, Newmark, and Baker, among others, stipulates that two objects or entities are related when they have both similar and dissimilar aspects. In this view, the existence of similarity is considered a precondition for the existence of a dissimilarity that is being reinterpreted in terms of similarity, that is, as a certain deviance or as "similarity-minus". Within this context, Halverson (1997: 207) maintains, "Equivalence can be defined as a relationship existing between two (or more) entities, and the relationship is described as one of likeness/sameness/similarity/equality in terms of any of a number of potential qualities." Lyons (1977: 286) notes that before one can discover the differences one must be aware of the features in common:

> When we compare and contrast two objects with respect to their possession or lack of one or more properties, we do so generally on the basis of their similarity in other respects… Oppositions are drawn along some dimension of similarity.

5.2.4 Method of identifying shifts

For the purpose of the analysis (i.e. identification of shifts in the various ST-TT pair of texts), the following procedures have been systematically carried-out:

1. Segmentation

The selected ST-TT pair of texts has been all independently segmented into various constituents perceived as units of comparison. To achieve a comprehensive analysis of shifts involving all types of cohesive relations in texts, three different units of text organization have been distinguished. The following procedures have been systematically carried out:

i. Text surface structural units (i.e. words, word groups, phrases, and phrase-like embedded elements) were all grouped into small structural units in accordance with both their semantic and structural relations (i.e. independent main and subordinate clauses). The structural unit 'clause' is the smallest unit of analysis.

ii. Then, these various independent clauses, in turn, were all grouped and distributed into and within various discoursal units called elements. An E is the intermediate unit of analysis.

iii. Finally, the various elements themselves were all linked to one another and distributed into and within super-large text units called sequences of elements. The unit (SE) is the largest unit of analysis.

In addition to the technique adopted in segmenting the texts, special attention has been paid to the following constructions:

a. A distinction was made between two types of subordinate clauses: i) subordinate clauses functioning as a structural element within their constituting units (e.g. nominal, adverbial, etc. clauses functioning as subject, object, complements, etc.), and 2) subordinate clauses that have semantic relations with other clauses (e.g. main and/or non-embedded subordinate clauses). The current analysis recognises only these constructions as separate units whereas the embedded ones are not.

b. It is possible for an element to be realised by a single clause. The same holds true to the unit referred to as SE, which can be utilized by a single E.

For ease of reference and identification, the various units of the segmented texts- i.e. Sequence of elements (SE), Element (E), and Clause - were all numbered. Roman numerals (I, II, III, etc) were used to indicate sequences of elements, Arabic numerals (e.g. 1, 2, 3, etc.) to indicate elements, and, finally, each clause- main or independent- was placed on a separate line and given a number (the parenthesised number).

Finally, figures displaying the segmented pair of texts are given in Appendices C and D at the end of the current study: respectively, Arabic source texts along with their English translations in Appendix C, and English source texts along with their Arabic translations in Appendix D. The figure of the source text is given first, then, that of the translation is immediately given.

2. Cohesion analysis

The texts in Appendices A and B have been all analysed in terms of their cohesive features bonding their various units. This has been achieved by using Halliday and Hasan's 1976 method of analysis with some modifications to incorporate the sort of cohesive features in Arabic that have not been included in their listing. In order to account for all types of cohesive relations in the texts, three modes of analysis have been distinguished. The

following procedures have been systematically carried out in the analysis of cohesive relations in the individual texts:

i. The first mode of analysis involves the analysis of cohesive features joining structural units. At this level of analysis, any grammatical and lexical feature signalling a cohesive relation between two independent clauses in a given element is analysed.

ii. The second mode of analysis involves the analysis of cohesive features joining units, which take place at levels higher than pairs of structurally related group of clauses. That is, cohesive features to be analysed at this level are those used to relate to one another two discourse units (i.e. elements) in a given Sequence of elements.

iii. Finally, the third mode of analysis involves the analysis of cohesive markers binding two units larger than the two previously mentioned units. That is, grammatical and lexical features signalling cohesive relations between two sequences of elements are attested in this mode of analysis.

The main cohesive categories and their subcategories to be investigated in the above-mentioned three modes of analysis are given in Diagram 5.2. Moreover, for ease of reference, the type of cohesive relation signalled by each cohesive tie is allocated in front of it; and each cohesive relation has been given a special code. The following coding system is adopted:

Cohesive Features	Code
A. Reference	**R**
i. Possessive Proper Name/Title NP	R1
ii. Possessive Personal Pronouns NP	R2
iii. Demonstrative Pronouns NP	R3
iv. Definite Article NP	R4
v. Personal Pronouns	R5
vi. Comparative Words	R6
B. Substitution:	**S**
i. Nominal Substitution	S1
ii. Verbal Substitution	S2
iii. Clausal Substitution	S3
C. Ellipsis:	**E**
i. Nominal Ellipsis	E1
ii. Verbal Ellipsis	E2
iii. Clausal Ellipsis	E3
E. Lexical Relations:	**L**
i. Repetition of the same lexical item	L1
ii. Repetition using a Synonym or Near-Synonym lexical item	L2
iii. The use of an Antonym	L3
iv. Repetition using a Superordinate item	L4
v. Repetition using a General Item	L5
vi. Repetition using a Hyponym or a Co-hyponym	L6

vii. Repetition using a Meronym or a Co-meronym	L7
viii. Paraphrase: (repetition of semantic content)	L8
ix. Parallelism: (repetition of structural form)	L9
F. Conjunctions:	**C**
i. Additive: including Alternative	C1
ii. Adversative: including Concessive	C2
iii. Causal: including Purpose, Reason, Result, Manner, and Conditional	C3
iv. Temporal	C4

Diagram 5.2 Coding scheme of cohesive markers

It is worth noting here that a ST and its TT were analysed separately, as if each were an independent and original text, and so regardless as far as possible of any particular interpretation that knowledge of the other text might favour.

Since units in texts are arranged in line order, one following another, the second unit in any given pair is examined for the cohesive feature, which accounts for the connectedness of the second unit with the preceding one. These elements are counted as ties between that and the preceding element.

In addition to the technique adopted in the analysis of cohesive relations in the texts, a number of points need to be borne in mind here:

a. When the referent (i.e. the presupposed item) occurs in the phrase immediately following its reference (i.e. the presupposing item) (within the same nominal group in the clause) i.e. not in a separate clause, it will not be counted as a tie in the current analysis.

b. In the Arabic texts, a pronominal co-reference item is not counted when a lexical item expresses its referent within the same ideational role in the same clause. In this way, the treatment of both Arabic and English pronominal co-reference ties is made exactly comparable. In addition, in the case of both Arabic and English, when more than one pronoun in one unit refers to the same entity expressed in the preceding one, one tie is counted regardless of how many times the pronoun is repeated.

c. Definite Article, Demonstratives and Deictics: definiteness is expressed in Arabic before every noun and adjective in a nominal group except when the noun or adjective is the 'possessive' element in a 'construct' or ['iDafa]" construction, in which case it is considered to be defined by the possessive element. However, in English it is only expressed once in each nominal group. Therefore, only one indicator of definiteness is permitted to count as a tie in each Arabic group. Thus, in the case of the nominal group [al-Hizb l-Ha:kim <the ruling party>], only one [al] is counted as forming a tie, not two.

It is worth noting that despite suggestive leads for different approaches (e.g. Halliday, 1985, Halliday and Hasan: 1976, Hasan: 1985, etc.) the boundary lines between the main

cohesive categories are not clear-cut. This has the consequence of creating problems of decision-making at every step in the analysis. However, the fuzziness of the boundaries and the technical differences between the main categories of cohesion need not concern us here.

In actual texts, there exist some expressions called 'discourse adjuncts' (e.g. 'in that/this case', 'that/this being so', 'after all/that', 'at that/this moment', etc.) occurring typically at the beginning of a clause. In the current analysis, we are treating these as conjunctions. The principle is that any semantic relation which is itself conjunction in all its realisation whether or not there is a demonstrative element or other reference items present in its expression would be considered as a conjunction. Within this context, Halliday and Hasan (1976: 75) maintain:

> In fact there is overlap between conjunction and reference at this point, and there would be no need in principle to force a classification in terms of the first one or the other. But one of the purposes of the present study is to make it easy to analyse and compare texts in respect of their cohesive properties; and for this reason, in all instances of indeterminacy we have taken a decision one way or another. As far as possible, the decision has followed the line of semantic consistency, at the same time with an eye to applicability in practice.

In this study, and for the purposes of the analysis, it makes more sense to take a broader view of cohesion and to consider any element cohesive as long as it signals a conjunctive-type relation between parts of a text, whether these parts are sentences, clauses (dependent or independent), or paragraphs. To reiterate, subtleties of technical definition are not the main issue here and are not likely to prove directly relevant in the current analysis.

Finally, it is worth noting that this analysis of cohesion is considered as a preparatory phase- as a preliminary step preceding the comparison of texts to anticipate for technical problems of the sort of the above-mentioned ones and to ensure that a unified method of analysis was systematically applied to the texts in both languages.

3. The comparative analysis

The aim of the comparative analysis is to identify shifts of cohesion in the ST-TT texts pair that occurred through translation by means of comparison. That is, the translation (TT) in a given pair of texts is to be compared with its original (ST) along with their cohesive properties. For the purpose of a comprehensive analysis of the various cohesive relations binding various units in texts, a multi-level model of comparison has been adopted. The following processes have been systematically applied to the comparison of the pairs of texts- in Appendices A and B- in terms of their cohesive relations:

i. A ST cohesive relation binding two adjacent clauses in a given element is to be compared with that of equivalent TT clauses occurring at a corresponding level. The comparison at this level would be referred to as [L1].

ii. In L2, a ST cohesive relation binding two adjacent Elements [Es], in a given Sequence of elements [SE], was compared with that of equivalent TT Es occurring at a corresponding level.

iii. Finally, in L3, a ST cohesive relation binding two adjacent Sequences of elements was compared with that of equivalent Sequences of elements in the TT.

The aim of the comparative analysis is to see how a given cohesive relation between a pair of units in a source text (ST)- signalled by a given cohesive item- is attained in the translation (TT). The underlying assumption here is that the presence of an equivalent cohesive item in the TT would not necessarily be a sufficient condition for the two pairs to be considered having/upholding equivalent relations among their units. Equally, the absence of an equivalent cohesive item in the TT is not an indication that a translation shift has occurred on the part of the translation; languages differ significantly in terms of their available textual recourses. What is investigated by the comparative analysis is to find out whether the ST cohesive relation has been perceived in the TT or not; if not, then a translation shift has occurred on the part of the translation.

The method of analysis adopted in the comparison of the pair of texts- in terms of their cohesive relations- was to take the ST in each pair of texts as the starting point, i.e. ST-oriented comparison; and, then, see what changes in cohesive relations, if any, have been taken place in the TT.

5.2.5 Data used

For the purpose of the current analysis, two different sets of corpuses comprising equal numbers of translationally equivalent texts have been chosen: corpus one consists of two Arabic source texts and their English translations, and, corpus two consists of two English source texts and their Arabic translations. The selected texts in both corpuses are all intuitively judged as representative of the text-type category called 'argumentation'.

For ease of reference, each text was accorded a code and a serial number. Thus a reference such as [AST1], for example, respectively, would read: the first letter 'A' stands

for Arabic texts; 'ST' indicates source text; and the serial number of the text in the Arabic corpus is (1). The same conventions apply to the English source texts; only the initial letter is changed, e.g. 'E' for English.

For the translated texts, the coding is [ETT1], English translation of the first Arabic source text [AST1], and [ATT1], for the Arabic translation of the first English source text [EST1].

The Arabic source texts and their English translations are given in Appendix A. They will be referred to as AST1, AST2, ETT1, and ETT2, respectively. Text AST1 is A. El-Houni's article [al-wilaya:t l-muttaHida wa 'isra:'i:l man huwa l-'adu: l-Haqi:qi: lil-filisTi:niyyn?] "United States and Israel, which is the Palestinians' real enemy?" published by *al-Arab* newspaper, April 2001. The English version (i.e. ETT1) was translated and published by *al-Arab* newspaper. Text AST2 is A. El-Houni's article [Hakkimu: l-'aql-a.. l-'irha:b la:'umma lahu] "Resort to Common Sense: Terrorism is not exclusive to any nation>, published by *al-Arab* newspaper, September 2001. The English version (i.e. ETT2) was translated and published by *al-Watan* newspaper.

The English source texts and their Arabic translations are given in Appendix B, and are referred to as EST1, EST2, ATT1, and ATT2 respectively. These texts will be used for both the analysis of cohesion and the comparison procedures. Text EST1 is S. Edward's article "Defiance, dignity, and the rule of dogma", published by *al-Quds* newspaper in May 2001. The Arabic version (i.e. ATT1) was translated and published by *al-Watan* newspaper. Text EST2 is Y. Alibhai-Brown's article "Storm clouds gather over the Atlantic", published by *The Telegraph* newspaper, September 2000. The Arabic version (i.e. ATT2) was translated and published by *al-Watan* newspaper.

It should be noted that the translations of the Arabic source texts into English are not perfect; however, due to the unavailability of ideal ones (i.e. no translations of Arabic news materials are published in English newspapers) they have been used in the current study, as it was belt that their inaccuracies did not corrupt the issue of shifts in cohesion.

5.3 The descriptive model (DM)

The descriptive model (DM) is to be considered complementary to the comparative model: while the latter is designed for the identification of shifts of cohesion in the ST-TT text pairs that occurred through translation, the former highlights some areas of difference between the systems of the two languages involved needed for explaining and justifying the occurrence of these shifts. That is, with the aid of this model, shifts in cohesion motivated by differences between the two languages (e.g. stylistic, semantic, rhetorical, generic, etc.) can be explained and justified.

Moreover, the underlying assumption here is that differences between languages in terms of linguistic, stylistic, semantic, generic, rhetoric, etc. categories would inevitably lead to the occurrence of shifts through translation.

The descriptive model has three different components. These are presented in the following three sub-sections.

5.3.1 The textual component

To be described as such, a text should exhibit two kinds of cohesion: semantic and structural relations. The first type of textual relation is what Halliday calls 'semantic cohesion', which has been extensively presented in the preceding chapters (i.e. chapters 3 and 4). The second type of textual relation is called 'structural cohesion', a term used in the current study to refer to cohesive relations between clauses. Before, any further explanation is given, however, it is highly recommended at this stage to present a brief discussion of the notion 'clause'. Such a presentation, which is a supplementary one, is needed because the cohesive devices/ties to be discussed in this section are those existing on what Halliday calls the 'inter-sentential' level. In other word, the series of the units we see in a text (i.e. words, phrases, clauses, etc.) are normally fused together in larger semantically independent units (i.e. clauses and clause complexes, etc.). These semantically independent units are fourthly put together in various individual elements, which itself form part of the various sequences of elements in the text, according to their functions. Moreover, these syntactic units in an

element are related syntactically through coordination or subordination. It follows that a clause, according to The *Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar* (1994: 63), is:

> a grammatical unit operating at a level lower than a sentence but higher than a phrase [....] Some modern grammar uses the clause, rather than the sentence, as the basis of structural analysis, so that in some instances clause and sentence are coterminous. More importantly, a clause based analysis allows a more straightforward functional analysis into five possible elements of English [and Arabic] clause structure....

For Halliday (1985), the notion 'clause' is a term used in linguistic studies to refer to any number of word groups combining to express a 'process', relating either explicitly or implicitly, an 'agent', and an 'affected'."

Following the method adopted by some linguists (e.g. Cantarino: 1979, Young: 1980, etc.), for example, the analysis of English and Arabic clauses is based on a grammatical model in which an attempt is made to incorporate the relevant syntactic features of the two languages.

According to this model, English clauses and Arabic verbal clauses consist of the following functional elements:

1. Subject
2. Predicator
3. In/Direct objects (optional)
4. Object Complement (optional)
5. Adjunct (optional)

These functional elements are usually realised by phrasal elements (e.g. noun phrase, verb phrase, and prepositional phrase) but the subject, object, and complement may also be realised by embedded subordinate clauses. The following translationally equivalent examples exhibit this:

[5:2]:

Arabic: 'a'Ta: l-mu'allim l-tilmi:dh kita:b-an
P S IO DO

English: The teacher gave the pupil a book.
S P IO DO

[5:3]:

Arabic: 'intakhaba l-'amri:ki:yu:n ki:lintu:n ra'i:s-an fi: nu:fammbar
P S DO OC A

English: The Americans elected Clinton president in November.
S P DO OC A

English clauses may also contain subject complements realised either by a noun phrase and adjective phrase, or an embedded subordinate clause (as in examples 5:4, 5:5, and 5:6, respectively) or adjective complements, commonly realised by an embedded 'that clause' (as in example 5:7 below).

[5:4]:
John is a doctor. (Equative)
S P SC

[5:5]
John is very clever. (Attributive)
S P SC

[5:6]:
This is [what I don't like]. (Equative)
S P SC

[5:7]:
I am confident [that he will succeed].
S P SC (Adj. C)

In addition to verbal clauses, Arabic also has nominal clauses (clauses that begin with a nominal). Arabic nominal clauses consist of an 'argument'- referred to by Arab grammarians as [al-mubtada] and a predicate-referred to as [al-khabar]. The argument is realised by a noun phrase (having a noun or pronoun as head) or an embedded noun clause. The predicate may be realised by a noun phrase, an adjectival phrase, a prepositional phrase, or a verbal clause. Arabic nominal clauses resemble in many ways English clauses having the verb 'to be' as predicator. The main difference between the two types of clauses is that Arabic nominal clauses are verbless except when the predicate is a verbal clause. The examples below illustrate some of the most basic structures of Arabic nominal clauses:

[5:8]:
Arabic: al-rajul-u Sadi:qi:
Argument + Predicator (NP)

English: The man is my friend.
S P SC (NP)

[5:9]:
Arabic: al-rajul-u fi: l-Hadi:qa
Argument + Predicator (PP)

English: The man is in the garden.
S P A (PP)

[4:10]:

Arabic: al-rajul-u Tawi:l-un
Argument + Predicate (Adj. P)

English: The man is tall.
S P SC (Adj. P)

The pair of clauses in example 5:8 has an equative structure (NP1/NP2); those in example 5:9 have a locative structure (NP/PP of place), while those in example 5:10 have an attributive structure (NP/Adj. P).

In English there are two types of clauses: coordinate/main/independent clause (equivalent to [jumla kubra:/ jumla mustaqilla] in Arabic) and subordinate/dependent clause (equivalent to [jumla sughra:/ ghayr mustaqilla] in Arabic).

5.3.1.1 Coordination

Coordination is a syntactic relation holding between grammatical elements that have equal syntactic and semantic status. Thus, for instance, coordination at the clause level may hold between main clauses (clauses capable of forming separate simple sentences) or between subordinate clauses (clauses which cannot stand independently as separate sentences). The following examples illustrate both coordination between main and subordinate clauses:

[5:11]:

Zalat ‘ayna:ya fi: ‘aynayh-i laHDat-an wa ibtasamt-u
[My eyes stared into his for a time, and I smiled.]
M + M

[5:12]:

kullama: ghalabani: l-futu:r-u ’aw ista‘Sa: ‘alayya l-
’ilha:m-u lakamani: muda:‘ib-an fi: Sadri:
[Whenever I was overcome by weariness or my inspiration
failed me he would punch me playfully on my chest.]
S + S ...

According to Quirk and Geenbaum (1972), coordination can be divided into sub-components based on two criteria: type and rank.

In terms of type, coordination is either 'syndetic' (equivalent to [*al-faSl*] in Arabic) when coordinating conjunctions between clauses or elements within the same clause are present or 'asyndetic' (equivalent to [*al-waSl*] in Arabic) when coordinating conjunctions are not present as in the following examples:

[5:13]:
Arabic: 'udkhul 'ayyuha: l-walad, tana:wal al-faTu:r
[Come in O child, have some breakfast]
English: I rose to my feet, shook hands and left the room.

In the above examples, it can be seen that, in both, the second clauses are asyndetically coordinated to the first ones.

In terms of rank, coordination is sentential (between sentences as in examples [5:14] below), clausal (between clauses as in examples 5:11-13 above), or phrasal (between phrases, as in examples 5:15 below):

[5:14]:
Arabic: lam yakun li: dali:l-un wa hal li-lHubb-i dali:l?
[I didn't have any proof. And does love have any proof?]

English: "You are seventeen years old and the gun you are carrying is heavy. And the way is long and fierce."

[5:15]:
Arabic: ishtar-a l-tilmi:dh-u qalam-an wa muSTarat-an wa kita:b
[The pupil bought a pen and a ruler and a book]

English: The pupil bought a pen, a ruler, and a book.

English and Arabic have several coordinators. In English, there are three principal coordinators ('and', 'or', and 'but'). In contrast, Arabic has at least six main coordinators. In addition to [wa] 'and', ['aw] and ['am] 'or', and [la:kin] 'but', Arabic also has [fa] 'and then' and [thumma], which is similar in meaning to [fa] except that a greater time gap separate the occurrence of two actions when [thumma] is used (cf. 4.6.1). The difference in meaning between [wa], [fa], and [thumma] can best be explained with reference to the following examples of phrasal coordination:

[5:16]
ja:'a muHammad-un *wa* 'ali:y
[Mohammed *and* Ali came]

[5:17]
ja:'a muHammad-un *fa* 'ali:y
[Mohammed came *and then* Ali]

[5:18]
ja:'a muHammad-un *thumma* 'ali:y
[Mohammed came + (greater time interval than in 5:17)
and then Ali.]

The coordinator [wa] is not marked for any specific temporal sequence. Thus, in [5:16], [muHammad] could have come before or after ['ali:y] or they could have come at the same time. In contrast, [fa] in 5:17 explicitly signals that ['ali:y] came after [muHammad]. The same holds true for [thumma] in example 5:18, except that the time interval between [muHammad] and ['ali:y]'s coming is greater than that in example 5.17.

5.3.1.2 Subordination

The second type of syntactic cohesion is subordination. Unlike coordination, which is a syntactic relation between grammatical elements that have equal syntactic and semantic status, subordination is a syntactic relation between clauses that have unequal status (i.e. a subordinate and a main clause). Inequality of status is interpreted here in both propositional and syntactic terms. From a propositional point of view, the function of the proposition expressed by the subordinate clause is that it either amplifies, modifies, or forms part of the dominant proposition expressed by the main clause. From a syntactic point of view, on the other hand, a subordinate clause usually contains a subordinating particle (also referred to as a binding particle) which renders it incapable of standing as a separate sentence in its own right.

English and Arabic subordinate clauses can be divided into subcomponents based on the two criteria: type and rank.

In terms of type, English and Arabic subordinate clauses can be divided into several types according to the semantic and/or the syntactic features of subordinating particles. Subordinate clauses in the two languages include the following main types (in each case

Arabic subordinating particles and their English counterparts are provided. Each clause type is illustrated with examples from the two languages):

1. Time

The typical subordinating particles signalling this function include:

a. [Hatta:]: 'until' b. [mundhu]: 'since'
c. [qabla]: 'before' d. [baynama:], [fi:yma:], ['ala: Hi:yni]: 'while'
e. [ba'da:]: 'after' f. [Halama]: 'as soon as'
g. [Hi:yna], [Hi:ynama], [lamma:], ['indama:]: 'when'

Some of the above mentioned particles are illustrated in the following examples:

[5:19]:
Arabic: 'intaZirni: Hatta: 'antahi: min kita:bat i-r-risa:la
[Wait for me until I finish writing the letter]

English: He worked all night until he finished the essay.

[5:20]:
Arabic: 'indama: waqafa l-qiTa:r harwaltu fi: ittija:h i-l-manaSSa
[When the train stopped, I ran toward the platform.]

English: When the results were announced, he emerged the winner.

[5:21]:
Arabic: ba'da 'an najaHa fi: l-'imtiHa:n sa:fara ila: faransa: fi: 'ija:za
[After he passed his examination, he travelled to France on a holiday.]

English: After her husband died, she rarely went out of her house.

2. Place

The only subordinating particle that signals this function is:

[Haythu]: 'where'

[5:22]:
Arabic: dhahabna: 'ila: l-maT'am-i S-Si:ni: *Haythu* akalna: wajba shahi:ya
[We went to the Chinese restaurant *where* we ate a delicious meal]

English: He went to visit Egypt *where* he was born more than 50 years ago.

3. Conditional

The subordinating particles in this type are:

a. ['idha:], ['in], [law]: 'if' b. ['inlam], [lawla:]: ' if not', 'unless'

[5:23]:

Arabic: *'idha:* lam taHDur fi: l-maw'id fa-sawfa lan tajidani:
[*If* you do not come on time, you will not find me]

English: *If* you are not busy, please come and help me with the house.

4. Concession

The subordinating particles in this type are:

a. [bi-l-raghmi min]: 'although' b. [ma'a 'anna]: 'even though'

[5:24]:

Arabic: *ma'a* 'annahu Sadi:yqy fa 'innani:y arfuDu 'an 'usallifahu nu:qu:wd
[*Even though* he is my friend, I refuse to lend him some money.]

English: *Even though* it is raining, the children are unwilling to come inside.

5. Reason

The subordinating particles in this category are:

a. [li:]: 'because' b. ['idh]: 'since'

[5:25]:

Arabic: lam yaHDur i-l-ijtima:'a *li:*-'annahu ka:na kha:rij al-bila:d
[He did not attend the meeting *because* he was outside the country]

English: I cannot buy this car *because* I have no money.

6. Purpose

The subordinating particles in this type are:

[kay], [li-kay], [li-]: 'so that', 'in order that'

[5:26]:

Arabic: dhahabtu 'ila: s-su:q *kay* 'ashtariy-a qami:S
[I went to the market *in order* to buy a shirt.]

English: He sent the children to their grandparents *so that* he could finish writing the book.

7. Manner

The subordinating particles in this type are:

[kama:], [mithlama:]: 'as'

[5:27]:

Arabic: darasa l-qa:nu:n *kama:* fa'ala 'abu:hu
[He studied the law, *as* did his father]

English: She cooks a turkey exactly *as* her mother used to do.

8. Relative clauses

English relative clauses are marked by relative pronouns such as 'who', 'whose', 'whom', 'which', and 'that'. Arabic, in contrast, has three conjunctive names: [al-ladhi:], and its variants, [man], and [ma:]. The difference between the three is presented as follows:

i. [al-ladhi:] and its variants are definite with a definite antecedent. [man] and [ma:]. are indeterminately definite or indefinite depending on context, and they do not have an antecedent. Abdulaziz Al-Aqil (1990) suggests that these two relative pronouns serve simultaneously as antecedent and relative pronoun.

ii. Both [man] and [ma:] have single forms. In contrast, [al-ladhi:] has eight forms, depending on whether the antecedent is feminine or masculine, and whether it is singular, dual, or plural. The dual forms vary as to whether the case is nominative or whether it is accusative/genitive.

Examples 5:28 and 5:29 below illustrate English relative clauses while Arabic relative clauses are exemplified in 5:30, 5:31, and 5:32:

[5:28]:

Nuclear weapons, *which* can destroy the earth several times over, should be banned.

[5:29]:

The woman *who* lives next door is an old friend of mine.

[5:30]:

'inna naji:b maHfu:Z, *al-ladhi:* Ha:za 'ala: ja:'izat nu:bal lil-'adab-i, ka:tib-un miSri:-un ma'ru:f-un
[(Truly) Nagib Mahfouz, *who* won the Nobel Prize for literature is a well-known Egyptian writer.]

[5:31]:

'inna l-kita:b *al-ladhi:* 'a'Taytani: 'iyya:hu mufi:d-un jidd-an
[(Verily) the book *that* you gave me was very useful]

[5:32]:

man jadd-a wajad-a
[*He who* works hard succeeds.]

English relative clauses and Arabic clauses marked by the name [al-ladhi:] or one of its variants can be divided into two types: restrictive (as in examples 5:29 and 5:31 above) and non-restrictive (as in examples 5:28 and 5:30). The two types of clauses differ from each other syntactically, semantically, phonologically, and in punctuation. Syntactically, restrictive clauses typically function as elements within a phrase. Semantically, restrictive clauses provide a necessary definition of their antecedents, while non-restrictive clauses provide extra incidental information (which can be omitted) about their antecedents. Finally, non-restrictive clauses, unlike restrictive ones, are separated by a comma from their antecedents or placed between two commas when interrupting the main clause. (For further description, see Abdulaziz Al-Aqil, 1990: 75-83)

9. Wh-ever marked clauses

English wh-ever words and their Arabic equivalents that mark a clause as subordinate include:

a. [kullama:]: 'whenever' b. [mahma:]: 'whatever'
c. ['aynama:]: 'wherever'

[5:33]:
Arabic: *'aynama* dhahabtu 'istaqbalani: l-na:s bi-Hafa:wat-in ba:lighat-in
[*Wherever* I went people welcomed me very warmly]

English: The bodyguards follow the president *wherever* he goes.

[5:34]:
Arabic: *mahma:* fa'alta fa-sawfa lan tanjaH
[*Whatever* you do, you will not succeed]

English: *Whatever* you do, I will remain true.

10. ['inna] and ['anna] 'that' marked clauses

['inna] and ['anna], both translated into English as complementizer 'that', commonly mark clauses as subordinate in Arabic, especially after verbs expressing verbal acts (just as in English). The following examples illustrate this type of subordinate clause:

[5:35]:
Arabic: qa:la ('*inna*-hu sawfa yaHDuru ghadan)
[He said (*that* he would come tomorrow)]

English: They told me [*that* I should have come earlier].

In addition to these various clause types, English also has non-finite subordinate clauses marked by non-finite verbs: the '-ing' form, the past participle, and the infinitive, as in:

[5:36]:

a. *Leaving by a side door*, the president came face to face with hostile demonstrators.

b. *Saddened by what he saw on TV last night*, the president vowed to send more relief supplies to Somalia.

c. *To stimulate growth*, the Chancellor must come out with an alternative policy.

Arabic also has three more types of subordinate clauses that seem to differ not only from English subordinate clauses but also from the other Arabic subordinate clauses. These types of Arabic subordinate clauses are described as follows:

1. Circumstantial clauses [jumlat-u- l-Ha:l]

Semantically, circumstantial clauses in the Arabic language- referred to by Arab grammarians as [jumla Ha:li:ya], describe the 'condition' or 'status' of any entity in a preceding main clause. Syntactically, a circumstantial clause typically contains [wa] 'and' referred to by Arab grammarians as [wa:w-u- l-Ha:l]', a coreferential independent pronoun (referring back to the entity mentioned in the main clause), and an imperfect verb together with a variety of other optional clause elements. Another important feature of the circumstantial clause is that it can stand alone as an independent simple sentence, as in:

[5:37]

kharajat 'ila: sh-sha:ri' *wa hiya tarfa'u wajhaha: li-nismat al-fajr al-ba:rid l-raTibba*
[She went to the street (*and she raising her face) to the cold moist dawn breeze.*]

Another version of the circumstantial clause becoming more common nowadays is to omit the [wa] and the coreferential pronoun as in the following example:

[5:38]

kharajat 'ila: sh-sha:ri‘ tarfa‘u wajhaha: li-nismat al-fajr al-ba:rid l-raTibba

[She went to the street raising her face to the cold moist dawn breeze.]

It is worth noting here that even though the independent pronoun is omitted in example 5:38, the clause still contains the 'masked' subject feminine pronoun [hiya] 'she' signalled by the feminine particle [*ta*] at the beginning of the verb [tarfa‘-u]. Thus, even when the explicit pronoun is omitted, the clause still contains a subject pronoun in addition to the verb. In this way, the clause would still be able to function as an independent sentence.

ii. Explanatory clause [al-jumla l-tafsi:ri:ya]

In semantic terms, a proposition expressed in Arabic by an explanatory clause- referred to by Arab grammarians as [jumla tafsi:ri:ya]- provides more explanation or exemplification of the proposition expressed by the main clause. Syntactically, however, the explanatory clause, just like the circumstantial clause, contains all the clause elements enabling it to stand as an independent sentence in its own right, as in:

[5:39]

Arabic: ha:dha: l-kha:lu l-ghari:bu l-ladhi: yuTliq-u 'asma:' 'ukhra: ‘ala: l-'ashya:', *yaqu:lu lahu waladd badal 'an yuna:diyahu bi-ismih-i wa yussammi: l-bunduqi:ya l-qadi:ma midfa‘*

[This strange uncle who gives different names to things, *he calls him a child instead of calling him by his name, and he calls the old rifle a cannon*]

English: What a strange uncle this is who gives things all different names, *who says 'child' to him instead of calling him by his own name, and who refers to the old rifle as a 'cannon'.*

It is interesting to observe that in the above example, the English version renders the Arabic explanatory clauses as relative clauses (marked by who), thus, explicitly marking them as syntactically subordinate.

iii. Relative clauses (with no relative pronouns)

In addition to relative clauses marked by the relative pronouns [al-ladhi:], [man], or [ma:], Arabic has also another type of relative clause characterised by the absence of a relative pronoun. The antecedent of such clauses is always indefinite. Further, such relative clauses are also typically capable syntactically of acting as separate sentences, as in:

[5:40]
'ash-sha:bbi: sha:'ir 'arabi: ta'aththara kathi:r-an bi-l shu'ara:' l-ru:mansiyi:n l-'inqili:z.

[Al-Shabi is an Arab poet he was very much influenced by the English romantic poets.]

Again, an English translation of the above Arabic clause would render it as syntactically subordinate by the use of a relative pronoun (i.e. 'who was very much influenced by the English romantic poets').

In terms of rank, English and Arabic subordinate clauses, within the rank system of the grammatical categories in systemic grammar, normally function as elements of sentences (immediate constituent of sentences). In this case, subordinate clauses are said to be non-embedded as in the following examples:

[5:41]
Arabic: sawfa 'azu:ruka *'indama: 'aHDur-u ila: landan*
[I will visit you when I come to London]

English: *If it rains*, we will not be able to play tennis.

In both languages, sentences which have more than one clause often constitute both coordination and subordination. The clearest cases of such combinations are listed below (subordination is indicated by an arrow pointing towards the main clause/s):

i. **(S + S) → M**

In this pattern, two or more coordinated subordinate clauses are jointly subordinated to a main clause:

[5:42]
(1)\'idha: 'ata: mubakkir-an/(2)\wa 'idha: 'aHDar-a kulla l-mablagh/(3)\fa-sa'abi:' lahu s-sai:ya:ra./

[(1)\If he comes early/(2)\and if he brings all the money,/(3)\I will sell him the car./]

ii. **(M + M) ←S**

In this pattern, two or more coordinated main clauses jointly dominate a subordinated clause:

[5:43]
(1)\ghaDiba l-'usta:dh\(2)\wa kharaja min al-faSl/(3)\li-'anna t-tala:midh ka:nu: yuSdiru:n 'aSwa:t muz'ija

[(1)\The teacher became angry/(2)\and left the classroom/ (3)\because the pupils were making a lot of noise./]

iii. **(S → M)** **+ (S → M)**

This pattern contains two subordinations and one coordination:

[5:44]
(1)\'indama: 'adhhabu ila: ba:ri:s/(2)\'aqDi: mu'Zam 'awqa:ti: fi: t-tasawuq/(3)\wa-la:kin 'indama: 'adhhabu ila: landan/(4)\'aqDi: mu'Zam-a 'awqa:ti: fi: l-masraH./

[(1)\When I go to Paris,/(2)\I spend most of my time shopping,/(3)\but when I go to London,/(4)\I spend most of my time in the theatre./]

iv. **M + (M ← S)**

The first and second main clauses are coordinated and the subordinate clause is subordinated only to the second main clause:

[5:45]
(1)\HaDara 'aHmad/(2)\wa la:kin 'ali:y lam yaHDur/(3)\li-annahu mari:D./

[(1)\Ahmad came/(2)\but Ali couldn't/(3)\because he was sick./]

Finally, it is possible for a subordinate clause to be subordinated to another subordinate clause, as in the following example:

[5:46]
tadhakkartu ['anna 'abi: qa:l-a ('innahu lam yashtari sayya:arat-an {lam tu'jibh-u})].

[I remembered [that my father had said (that he had not bought a car {he hadn't liked})].

In the above example, it can be seen that the last relative clause is subordinated to the preceding 'that' clause (qualifier of head noun 'car') and this 'that' clause (second clause) is subordinated to the first 'that' clause (object of 'said'), which is in turn subordinated to the initial main clause (object of 'remembered'). Thus, the sentence contains three instances of subordination.

5.3.2 The Semantic component

This section accounts for the description of the semantic structure. This description is based on Larson's (1998) published work *Meaning based Translation*. According Larson, all natural languages have two distinct units of structure: form and meaning. The former represents units of the surface structure (e.g. lexical, grammatical, phonological, etc.); the latter is made up of units representing the semantic structure (e.g. as meaning components, concepts, propositions, etc.).

She points out that any given text would have a message to convey. The message has both content (i.e. meaning) and form (i.e. structure). The meaning of the message is structured.

The constituent parts of the semantic structure are syntactic elements: a text consists of words, phrases, clauses, sentences, etc. which the text receiver links together in order to understand them as larger units. Thus, the components of the semantic structure are made of features of the elements constituting the syntactic structure. It follows that instances of shifts occurring on the micro-structure level of a translation essentially would bring about shifts on the macro-structure of the text, i.e. the meaningful components of the translation.

According to Larson, meaning is expressed in forms, i.e. lexico-grammatical structure of the surface structure. It is structured. It is not just an inaccessible mass. It can be analysed and represented in many useful ways. Meaning is a network of semantic units and the relations between these units. These units and relations may be represented in various ways.

It is axiomatic that semantic structure is more nearly universal than grammatical structure. That is, types of units, the features, and the relationships are essentially the same for all languages. All have meaning components which can be classified, for example as 'things', 'events', 'attributes', or 'relations'. However, not all languages have the same surface structure grammatical classes: some have conjunctions, others do not, some have prepositional phrases, and others do not. (Cf. Larson 1998) The four semantic classes listed above occur in all languages. Any concept occurring in any language will refer to a 'thing', an 'event', an attribute', or a 'relation'.

The grammar of language uses various alternatives to express the semantic structure. According to Larson (1998), the sentence "the dog treed the cat" is, grammatically speaking, made of a subject, predicate, object (SPO) sentence in terms of its order of grammatical units. But, semantically, its structure is considerably more complicated; the lexical item 'tree', which is a 'thing' concept, is being used as a verb. The 'event' concept, which took place, is 'caused to go up'. The meaning of the sentence could be 'the dog caused the cat to go up into a tree' or 'the dog chased the cat; therefore, the cat went up into a tree'. There is a great deal of skewing between the grammar and the semantic.

The semantic structure is made of various units: meaning components, concepts, and propositions. The smallest unit in the semantic structure is called a meaning component. The lexical item 'boy', for instance, is made up of three different meaning components: 'human being', 'male', and 'young'. Meaning components group together to form larger semantic units called concepts.

According to Larson, meaning components and concepts can be classified semantically into four main groups: 'things', 'events', 'attributes', and 'relations'. Thing concepts include all animate beings, natural and supernatural (e.g. boy, ghost, etc.); and inanimate entities (e.g. angle, stone, etc.). Event concepts include all actions, processes, and experiences. Actions would be such concepts as (run, hit, eat, swim, etc.). Experiences are concepts that refer to the activities of the five senses or to cognitive or psychological activities as (smell, see, hear, think, covet, etc.). Processes always represent a change of state (i.e. from

one condition or state of being to another). These include examples such as (die, become sour, freeze, melt, etc.). Attribute concepts include all types of attributes of quality and quantity ascribed to any thing or event (e.g. long, thick, soft, rough, slowly, suddenly, few, all, etc.). Finally, relation concepts include all types of relations posited between any two of the above semantic units (e.g. with, by, because, since, and, therefore, after, or, etc.).

Larson notes that, in languages like English, only nouns are used to present the thing concepts; only verbs are used to present the event concepts; only modifiers are used for the attribute concepts; and the relation concepts are represented only by prepositions and conjunctions.

According to Larson, the third unit in the semantic structure is called proposition. A proposition is the smallest unit of communication in the semantic structure. It is made up by a combination of small units (e.g. meaning components and concepts). A proposition has the form of a simple sentence, i.e. a sentence with only one predicate (verb) and only one clause. A proposition is a single predication.

Concepts have meaning only in that they refer to things, events, attributes, or relations; however, it is only when a concept occurs with other concepts that a meaningful communication takes place. The combination of various concepts would not result in nonsense, except in some cases (e.g. fantasy, poetry, apocalyptic material, etc.). The combination is a proposition only when the combination makes sense. The proposition should be a combination of concepts that are related to one another in such a way that the result makes sense. For example, the concepts 'monkey', 'climbed' and 'tree', are semantically compatible. As long as the relations are: 'monkey' as agent, 'climbed' as central action concept, and 'tree' as location, the proposition makes sense. But if the 'tree' were the agent and 'monkey' the location, the statement would be incoherent (i.e. it does not make sense/ it would be nonsense). A proposition must be structured in such a way that the result is coherent, that it makes sense, i.e. so that it has structural unity.

Accordingly, any given proposition in any given language would consist of a group of concepts (e.g. things, events, attributes, and/or relations), in which one concept is central and

the other(s) directly related to it through a system of relations. In English, for example, the three concepts 'John', 'Peter', and 'hit' may be combined to form propositions. The event concept 'hit', which is an action, is the central event concept. What the proposition communicates "will depend on the relationship of the other two concepts to 'hit'. If 'John' does the hitting and 'Peter' is the one who was 'hit', then the proposition would be: 'John hit Peter', on the contrary, If 'John' was the one who was 'HIT', then the proposition would be: 'Peter hit John'"

Larson notes that a single proposition is understood by language users to be a single event (i.e. a single action, experience, process, or state). If there is more than one event in a given sentence, there has to be more than one proposition, as in:

[5:47]
John, jumping over the fence, ran, and dove into the lake'

The above sentence has three propositions: (1) 'John jumped over the fence', (2) 'John ran', and (3) 'John dove into the lake'.

It is worth noting here that semantic structure and grammatical structure differs in terms of the ordering of the constituent units. In the semantic structure, for instance, the order of the concepts in a given proposition is not important, whereas, in the surface structure the order of the grammatical units plays a vital rule as it signals differences. Larson (1997: 208) notes:

> Even though the difference in English is signalled by order, in the semantic structure, the order is unimportant. The important thing is that we know which concepts combine to form the proposition and the relations between the concepts.

There are many ways in which the semantic structure of a proposition can be symbolised. For example, a formula like the following might be used to show the difference between the above-mentioned two propositions: (1) agent: 'John', activity: 'Hit', and affected: 'Peter'; and (2) agent: 'Peter', activity: 'Hit', and affected: 'John'. In the first formula, 'John hit Peter', 'John' has an agent relation to 'hit', whereas, in the second one,

'Peter hit John', 'John' is the affected and 'Peter' is the agent. Thus, the order in the semantic structure is not important but the relations (e.g. agent, affected) are.

Larson also notes that any single proposition may be encoded in various ways in a given language. For example, the proposition 'John hit Peter' might be encoded in English with any of the following forms, depending on the context in which it occurs:

i. John hit Peter.

ii. Peter was hit by John.

iii. The hitting of Peter by John…

iv. Peter, who was hit by John, …

v. Peter, the one John hit, …

Larson asserts that choices of which grammatical form to be used in encoding a given proposition is constrained and dictated among other things by the type of relation that the proposition in focus has to signal with other proposition(s) in the same discourse or text.

Larson, following Beekman, Callow, and Kopesec (1981), among others, identifies two types of proposition. These two types will be discussed under the following two major heading respectively: Event Propositions and State Propositions:

5.3.2.1 Event propositions

According to Larson, when a proposition has an 'event' as the central concept, it is called an event proposition. All event propositions consist of at least a central 'event' concept and an additional 'thing' concept. The central 'event' concept may refer to an action, an experience, or a process (e.g. run, hit, eat, swim, smell, see, hear, think, covet, die, become sour, freeze, melt, etc.).

A proposition, which is the smallest unit of communication, is made up by a combination of concepts. According to Larson, the combination of concepts is significant because the concepts are united by special relations. She notes that in an 'event propositions',

other concepts (e.g. 'things' and 'attributes') are related to the central 'event' concept by relations. These relations are called 'case roles'.

A given concept in an event proposition may undertake one or more of the following case roles/relations:

1. Agent

Agent is a term refers to the semantic relation/case role that a 'thing' concept undertakes when being the actual doer of the event. That is, agent is the person or the object that can be identified as the doer of the event. The agent is italicised in the following proposition:

[5:48]
John ran fast

Here, the agent of the semantic structure is encoded as the subject of the grammatical sentence when there is no mismatch of semantics and grammar. The agent case/relation occurs when the central event concept is an action.

2. Causer

Causer, unlike the agent who is the actual doer of the event, is the 'thing' concept that instigates the event rather than actually doing it, i.e. a person or object causes an action or process to happen. The causer is also encoded as subject of the grammatical sentence when there is no skewing between grammar and semantics. The causer is italicised in the following proposition:

[5:49]
Peter made Mary cry. (i.e. Peter caused Mary to cry.)

3. Affected

Affected is a term refers to the semantic relation/case role that a 'thing' concept under takes when undergoes the event or is affected by the event. That is, affected is the one who experiences an event or the person or object that undergoes the event, i.e. feels the effect of it. The affected is italicised in the following proposition:

[5:50]
The dog ate the *meat*.

When there is no skewing between grammar and semantics, the affected is encoded as the object of the verb when the event is an action. When the event is an experience or process,

it is encoded as the subject of the grammatical sentence in English (e.g. 'butter' as in 'the *butter* milted').

4. Beneficiary

Beneficiary is a semantic term refers to the relation/case role that a 'thing' concept assumes when being the one that is advantaged or disadvantaged by the event. It should be noted here that 'beneficiary' is not affected as directly as the 'affected'. The beneficiary is italicised in the following example:

[5:51]
John sold the car for a *friend*.

5. Accompaniment

Accompaniment is a semantic term refers to the relation/case role undertaking by a 'thing' concept when being a thing or person participating in close association with the 'agent', 'causer' or 'affected' of the semantic structure (e.g. in an event proposition). Accompaniment is to be seen as a secondary 'agent', 'causer' or 'affected'. Larson notes that the preposition 'with' is a common grammatical marker for accompaniment in English grammar. The 'accompaniment' is italicised in the following example:

[5:52]
John went to the park with *his dog*.
(Larson, 1998: 221)

6. Resultant

Resultant is that which is produced by the event. There is always a close relationship between the event and the resultant. The resultant is italicised in the following example:

[5:53]
The boys ran a *race*.

When there is no skewing between grammar and semantics, the resultant is always encoded as the object of the verb in English.

7. Instrument

Instrument is a semantic term assumed by a 'thing' concept when used to carry out an event. It is usually an inanimate object. The instrument is italicised in the following example:

[5:54]
Mary wrote with a *pencil*.
(Larson, 1998: 222)

The preposition 'with' is a common marker for instrument in English grammar. It is also used to indicate accompaniment relation (e.g. 'I ate dinner with my *wife*'). Therefore, the surface form 'with' has two semantic functions.

8. Location

Location is a semantic relation/case role assumed by a 'thing' concept when used to identify a spatial placement of an event (e.g. the source, the place of, or the destination of an event). The location is italicised in the following example:

[5:55]
Jane ran away from *home*.

Location can be divided, to be more specific as to whether it is the source location, the destination location or the location at which an event is occurring. However, for simplicity, they have been gathered under one term, i.e. location.

9. Goal

Goal is a semantic term refers to the relation/case role assumed by a 'thing' concept when being the 'goal' towards which an action is directed. The goal is italicised in the following example:

[5:56]
He shot the arrows at the *target*.
(Larson, 1998: 223)

10. Time

Time is a semantic relation/case rule assumed by an 'attribute' concept when it is used to identify a temporal placement of an event, i.e. it tells when the event took place, or indicates the duration of the event. The time is italicised in the following example:

[5:57]
John went to college *three weeks ago*.

11. Manner

Manner is semantic term refers to the relation/case rule assumed by an 'attribute' concept when it indicates some qualification of the event. That is, it states the manner in which the action, experience or process is carried out. The manner is italicised in the following example:

[5:58]

The man ran *quickly*.

(Larson, 1998: 222)

12. Measure

Measure is a semantic term refers to a relation/case rule assumed by an 'attribute' concept (quality) when it indicates quantification of the event. The measure is italicised in the following example:

[5:59]

Jane prays *frequently*.

According to Larson, in all of the above-mentioned examples there is no skewing between grammar and semantics, i.e. the English sentences in which the sentence is equal to the semantic proposition are used (e.g. the agent is the subject of the sentence, the accompaniment occurs as the object of the preposition 'with', and the location occurs as the object of the preposition 'from', 'in', and 'through', etc.). But, in authentic texts there will be a great deal of skewing between form (i.e. grammar) and meaning (i.e. semantics) in all languages. This mismatch is the rule rather than the exception. To illustrate this, Larson presents the following:

[5:60]

a. Peter ate the banana.

b. The banana was eaten by Peter.

c. The eating of the banana by Peter…

d. Peter's eating of the banana…

The above examples show that the proposition may be encoded in different forms and, therefore, the 'agent' of the semantic structure, 'Peter', is encoded by occurring in different grammatical positions. In example (a), 'Peter' is encoded as the subject of the grammatical structure, whereas, in (b) it is the object of the proposition. In example (c), 'Peter' is encoded as a modifier, and finally in example (d) it is the subject of the relative clause. Here, Larson asserts that this is true of all of the case roles.

It is worth noting here that which form is chosen to encode the concepts in English- illustrated above- will depend on the context in which the proposition is being encoded. The point to be made here is that there are always a number of various forms to encode the same proposition.

Now, looking at this issue from another point of view, languages will also sometimes have one form to be used to encode several semantic relations/case roles. To illustrate this, consider the following examples, in which the preposition 'with' is used:

[5:61]

a. I ate ice cream *with* my spoon.

b. I ate ice cream *with* my wife.

c. I ate ice cream *with* my pie.

(Larson, 1998: 225)

In the above three examples, the lexical item 'with' is used to signal three different semantic relations. In example (a), 'with' signals the relation that 'my spoon' is the instrument. It identifies what object was used in eating. In (b), it signals accompaniment of the agent. It indicates that 'my wife ate ice cream also, at the same time and place as I did', i.e. 'I was accompanied by my wife, and we both ate ice cream'. Finally, in example (c), 'with' signals the relation that 'pie' is an effected and that the 'pie' was accompanied by 'ice cream'. That is, 'I ate pie, and with it I also ate ice cream'.

According to Larson, event propositions usually constitute simple concepts. However, complex concepts often occur. Concepts, like meaning components which group together to form concepts, may group together to form complex concepts. To illustrate this, the following shall be considered:

[5:62]

a. The dog bit the boy.

b. The big dog bit the little boy who lives on the corner.

In example (a), the proposition has three simple concepts: 'dog', 'bit', and 'boy'. They are related to one another by the semantic relation/case role: 'dog' being the 'agent' of the action 'bit', and 'boy' being the 'affected'. However, in (b), the proposition has complex

concepts. The agent 'big dog' and the affected 'little boy' are both complex concepts. In the agent 'big' is an attribute concept that identifies or describes the agent. The agent 'dog' is the central concept and 'big' delimits or restricts this concept by adding the information that 'the dog is a big one'. The affected, in the above proposition, is the 'thing' concept 'boy'. Here again, 'boy' is delimited by adding the 'attribute' concept 'little' and by adding a whole proposition which further delimits the affected 'boy' by indicating that it is a specific 'boy', i.e. 'the one who lives on the corner'. It follows that a concept can be delimited by another concept or by a whole proposition. When this occurs, there is a complex concept.

The relationship between the central concept and the modifying concepts or a proposition is one of delimitation. That is, the non-central concepts or propositions that modify the central concept, delimit it in some way.

5.3.2.2 State propositions

State propositions, unlike event propositions which usually made up of 'thing', 'event', 'attribute', and/or 'relation' concepts with the 'event' concept being the central concept and the others are related to it through the semantic case roles, do not have an 'event' concept. Alternatively, they constitute of 'thing' and 'attribute' concepts which are related to each other by other semantic relations called 'state relations'. A state proposition has two main parts: 'topic' and 'comment'. The topic is the 'thing' or 'attribute' concept being talked about, whereas, the 'comment' is what is being said about the topic. The topic consists of a 'thing' or 'attribute' concept and the comment consists of a 'thing' or 'attribute' concept which is used to describe or identify the topic plus the state relation. For example, in the sentence: 'the book is Peter's', the 'thing' concept 'book' is the 'topic', and it is related to the central concept 'Peter' by the state relation 'ownership'. So the meaning is 'the book is owned by (or belongs to) Peter'. The central concept in a state proposition is the 'thing' or 'attribute' concept that occurs as part of the comment. It is central because it contains the important (often new) information that is being presented about the topic (often old information). In English, the forms of the verbs 'be' and 'have' are used to express many state propositions.

State propositions constitute concepts (e.g. 'things' and 'attributes'). The various concepts in a state proposition are related the one to the other by various state roles/relations. Typical semantic relations usually found in state propositions are represented in Diagram 5.3.

No	Topic	State rule/relation	Comment	English Form
a.	Dog	Naming	Fido	The dog's name is Fido.
b.	That car	Ownership	I	That car is mine.
c.	Car	Location	garage	The car is in the garage.
d.	Red	Classification	colour	Red is a colour.
e.	Dog	Classification	animal	A dog is an animal.
f.	that table	Substance	wood	That wooden table…
g.	branch	Partitive	tree	A branch is part of a tree.
h.	story	Depiction	Bill	The story is about Bill.
i.	picture	Depiction	Mary	The picture is of Mary.
j.	director	Identification	Mr. Jones	The director is Mr. Jones.
k.	book	Description	small	The book is small.
l.	Mary	Kinship role	my sister	Mary is my sister.
m.	Bill	Social role	doctor	Bill is a doctor.
n.	this bag	Containership	rice	This bag has rice in it.
o.	Evidence	Existence	[None]	There is evidence.
p.	Weather	Ambience	hot	It is hot.
q.	(Time)	Time	8 o'clock	It is 8 o'clock.

Diagram 5.3 State Relations[3]

In the above table, 'topic' concepts are given in the first column, state relations in the second, and the 'comment' concepts in the third. English surface forms representing the various propositions are given in the fourth column.

Larson notes that a given relation in state proposition, like that in event proposition, can be encoded by various deferent structural forms within a given language. The following

[3] Diagram 5.3 State Relations (Larson, 1998: 236)

examples would show how different structural forms are used in encoding the semantic relation (i.e. 'ownership'):

[5:63]

a. John's house…

b. John has a house.

c. John owns a house.

d. The house John owns…
(Larson, 1998: 237)

As can be noted by looking at the above examples, the state roles/relations are sometimes encoded by verbs or prepositions; and sometimes by the position of the words next to one another in English. Languages will have words, suffixes, enclitics, verbs, and various other ways to mark the various relations. The multiple functions of relation markers, are illustrated in the following English prepositions which encode state relations:

[5:64]

a. She is at the store

b. She came at 10 o'clock
(Larson, 1998: 238)

In the above examples, the preposition 'at' has various functions. In example (a), 'at' has the primary function of location, whereas, in example (b) it has a secondary function of encoding the relation time in the sentence. Larson notes that the preposition 'at', in the first example, is marking location in a state proposition, whereas, in the second one, it is marking time in an event proposition. Here, Larson notes that words which have a relational meaning may have secondary senses or functions just like the other lexical items.

Moreover, Larson notes that the preposition 'in' may also have a secondary function of time in English in such sentences as "I bought this milk in the morning". The form is the same as that used in "There are two cows in the field", but, in this second sentence, the primary meaning of location is indicated rather than time.

According to Larson, grammatical relation markers may also be used in figurative ways. For example, in English, 'over' has a primary meaning of location as in "The airplane

flew over the house", meaning "directly above". However, 'over' also has a figurative meaning of "superior authority" in a sentence like "He has two people over him in the office".

From the foregoing it can be seen that not only are the relations encoded in a variety of ways in a given language, but also the forms which indicate these relations may be used with several different meanings and in figurative ways. Once again, this illustrates the fact that there is no literal correspondence between semantic structure and grammatical structure.

According to Larson, in state propositions, concepts may be simple or complex, just like the ones in the event propositions. That is, the topic or/and the comment in a state proposition may be a simple concept or a complex one. To illustrate this, consider the following examples:

[5:65]

a. The big dog inside the fence is named Fido.

b. The jug contains dirty water which is from the river

(Larson, 1998: 239)

In the above two examples, there are complex concepts. In example (a), the topic 'the big dog' is a complex concept. The 'attribute' concept 'big' modifies the 'thing' concept 'dog', i.e. it describes it. The concept 'dog' is further delimited by an embedded state proposition, which reads, "the dog is inside the fence". In example (b), the topic is the 'jug', which is a simple concept, the relation is containership, and the comment is a complex concept, 'dirty water which is from the river'. The central concept is the thing 'water'. The delimiting concept is the attribute 'dirty', which describes the 'water'. And the thing concept 'water' is further delimited by the state proposition 'which is from the river'.

Here, Larson asserts that when a proposition is embedded and forms part of a complex concept, the relative pronouns of English (e.g. who, which, etc.) are used rather than repeating the central concept to which it refers. Therefore, the form 'which is from the river' stands for the proposition 'water is from the river'. The use of 'which' indicates an embedded proposition whose topic is the central concept of the complex concept to which it belongs. This is illustrated in the following example:

[5:66]

The man who owns the car is in the house made of brick.
(Larson, 1997: 240)

In the above sentence, there are three state propositions: (1) 'the man is in the house', (2) 'the man owns the car', and, (3) the house is made of brick'. The first one is the main proposition. Propositions (1) and (2) are embedded. They delimit the topic and comment, respectively. So, the complex concept- the topic- is 'the man who owns the car'. The complex concept- the comment- is 'the house which is made of brick'. The relationship between the two parts of the semantic structure, i.e. the topic and the comment, is location. The basic proposition is the one which reads "The man is in the house".

5.3.2.3 Semantic hierarchy

In general, any authentic text there would exist not only long lists of event and state propositions but also other larger semantic units. Just like in the grammatical structure small units group together to form larger units (e.g. morphemes- i.e. roots and affixes- unit to form words, words unit to form phrases, phrases unit into clauses, clauses into sentences, etc.), small units in the semantic structure are also grouped in a hierarchical way to form larger and further larger units. That is, meaning components- the smallest units in the semantic structure- unite to form concepts, concepts unite to form concept clusters (i.e. complex concepts), and concept clusters unite to form propositions, propositions unite to form propositional clusters, propositional clusters unite to form semantic paragraphs, semantic paragraphs unite to form episodes, episodes unite to form episode clusters. These units unite to form the ultimate semantic unit 'text'.

It should be noted here that labels and the numbers of the levels of the semantic groupings would vary according to criteria like text complexity, text length and text-type membership. Moreover, not all the above-mentioned levels would necessarily occur in each text, even if two texts, for example, belonged to the same text-type.

5.3.2.4 Relations in semantic structure

According to Larson, unless one knows how two (or more) propositions are related to each other, one would not be able to know what these propositions intend to communicate (i.e. meaning of the linguistic expressions), as in:

[5:67]

a. Mary swept the floor.

b. The floor was dirty.

(Larson, 1998: 300)

Larson notes that the meaning of the above two propositions cannot be comprehended unless we know the underlying communication relations that relate the two propositions to one another. She notes that there are a number of ways in which the above two propositions could be related. For example, the first proposition, 'Mary swept the floor', might be the 'result' and the second, 'the floor was dirty', the 'reason'. Accordingly, the meaning to be communicated would be "Mary swept the floor because it was dirty". However, the communication relations might be that of 'concession-contraexpectation'. The meaning then would be "Even though Mary swept the floor, the floor was dirty". Another possible relation is that of 'condition-consequence'. If this were the relation, the meaning would be "If the floor was dirty, Mary swept it". Hence, in order to understand what is being communicated, we must know what communication relation is intended.

In accordance with Larson, before beginning the systematic presentation of communication relations, it is essential first to distinguish between two types of relations in the semantic structure: the relations which a proposition may have with a concept, on the one hand, and the relations that a proposition may have with other propositions (communication relations), on the other one.

A brief review of the first type will be presented first, followed by an extensive discussion of the second type.

Complex concepts usually contain embedded propositions. The function of an embedded proposition is to delimit one of the concepts in the explicit (i.e. un-embedded) proposition, as in:

[5:68]
The man who came to town left quickly.

The above sentence has two propositions. The first proposition is 'the man left quickly', and the second 'the man came to town'. According to Larson, there is no semantic relation between the two propositions; the second proposition delimits not the first proposition but a concept in it (i.e. 'man'). It identifies which 'man' is being talked about. It indicates that 'it is the man who came to town and not some other man'. This would explain why the proposition is being embedded within the concept.

Larson notes that embedded propositions may relate to concepts within another proposition through various relations called delimitation relations. Here, she distinguishes two types of the delimitation relations: identification and description. The function of the description is to give information about the item, as in:

[5:69]
John, who was very tall, ran quickly.
(Larson, 1998: 300)

The sentence in this example has two propositions: 'John ran quickly' and 'John was very tall'. The second proposition describes one of the concepts in the first proposition (i.e. 'John'). So, the second proposition is related to a concept within the first proposition 'John'.

Unlike the description, identification distinguishes one item from other similar items by pointing out a contrastive feature, as in:

[5:70]
John, who is the last one in the line over there, will come with us.

According to Larson, a proposition or a larger unit (e.g. propositional cluster) might be related to a concept in another unit by some relations called 'associative relations'. These units have an associative relation to the concept that evoked the comment or parenthesis. Comment is used to label associative units that are more closely tied to the concept to which they relate, whereas parenthesis is used for those associative units that are more marginal to the main proposition. The following example would illustrate this:

[5:71]

Jon went to the store early in order to buy bread. By the way, Mrs. Jones still works there. He bought six loaves.

(Larson, 1998: 302)

In the above, the proposition, 'Mrs. Jones still works at the store', is parenthetical. It is related to the concept 'store' in an associative relation.

5.3.2.5 Communication relations

Generally speaking, in any given text there will exist not only long lists of propositions but also other larger semantic units. Like the various structural grammatical units which group together to form larger units (e.g. words group to form phrases, phrases group to form clauses, and clauses group to form complex clauses, etc.), the various units in the semantic structure also group together to form larger and further larger other units. Meaning components, which are the smallest units in the semantic structure, for example, unite to form concepts, concepts unite to form concept clusters (i.e. complex concepts), and concept clusters unite to form propositions, and so on.

Propositions, just like their constituent concepts which are related to one another by case role or state relations (e.g. agent, affected, time, location, activity, target, etc.), are related to one another in various ways. These relations are sometimes called communication relations. The communication relations are the underling factors, which relate large semantic units to one another. Propositions related by the communication relations, for example, form propositional clusters. Propositonal clusters are related to each other by the same set of communication relations to form semantic paragraphs. Semantic paragraphs are related to one other by communication relations also. The semantic paragraphs group together to form episodes, which, in turn, unite by the same relations to form the ultimate semantic unit 'text'.

It is worth noting here that the number of levels of groupings would depend on criteria like the length, the type and the complexity of the text. Furthermore, not all the above-mentioned levels would occur in each text, even if two texts, for example, belonged to the same text-type. Moreover, the names for groups will vary with the different text types.

Larson distinguishes two main broad categories of communication relations that relate one semantic unit to another: chronological and non-chronological relations. These two major relations and their sub-categories will be extensively discussed under the following headings: chronological addition relations and chronological support relations.

5.3.2.5.1 Chronological relations

The relations by which various propositions are related to each other in terms of 'time' are called chronological relations. That is, the events in a sequence of propositions are related by an element of time. Within this category, Larson distinguishes two types: 'addition' and 'support'. According to her, these two terms (i.e. addition and support) are very important in understanding communication relations. She notes that in grammatical structures, the words coordination and subordination would be used for the corresponding relations. One, however, has to differentiate between the grammatical and the semantic structures. The reason for this, can be seen in the following quotation:

> Addition and support are used for the relation between communication units in the semantic structure in order to draw attention to the fact that these are semantic relations and not grammatical ones. It is true that quite often the semantic units in an addition relation will be signalled in the grammatical structure by coordination grammatical units. Likewise, semantic units that are related by support relations will often be signalled by subordination grammatical constructions. However, in order to make it clear that we are describing semantic communication relations, the terms addition and support will be used. (Larson, 1998: 299)

Larson notes that two propositions which have the relation of addition are of equal natural prominence (i.e. one does not support the other). For example, in the sentence "John went home, ate supper, finished his homework, and went to bed", there are four propositions in sequence: 'John went home', 'John ate supper', 'John finished his homework', and 'John went to bed'. They are all equal and constitute a series. The relation of sequence is one kind of addition relation. However, when one of the two propositions is less prominent, it is called a support proposition. It supports the proposition which is more prominent. Fore example, in the sentence "Mary swept the floor because it was dirty", the 'head' proposition is the 'result'

'Mary swept the floor' and the support proposition is the reason; that is, 'because it was dirty'. There are a great variety of support relations which will be defined and illustrated below.

These two major relations and their sub-categories will be extensively discussed under the following headings: chronological addition relations and chronological support relations.

1. Chronological addition relations

Under the chronological addition relation, Larson distinguishes further sub-categories: sequential and simultaneous relations.

i. Sequential relation

According to Larson, if two propositions have a sequential relation to one another, the one event follows the other event in time, and there is no overlap of time between the events. For example, the sentence "The bus will stop in the marketplace and then continue to the bus terminal" consists of two propositions that are in sequential relation to one another. The first proposition 'The bus will stop in the marketplace' refers to an event which occurs first, and the second proposition 'The bus will continue to the bus terminal' is referring to an event which follows the first event. Therefore, the two propositions are in sequential relation to one another. One will happen first, and the other will happen afterwards. They are in chronological order. They are also related by addition in that one is not more prominent than the other (i.e. they are equal prominence). Larson notes that in English grammatical structure, the sequential relation is usually indicated by words such as (first, after that, and then, next, and, etc.). To illustrate the sequential relation, Larson presents the following example:

[5:72]
John cut the grass, repaired the fence and painted the gate.
(Larson, 1998: 306)

In the above sentence, from a semantic point of view, there are three events propositions having a sequential relation: (1)'(first) John cut the grass', (2) '(after that) he repaired the fence', and, finally, (3) '(and then) he painted the gate'. According to Larson,

these three events are in sequential relation. Moreover, the three events are of equal prominence (independent).

ii. Simultaneous relation

When the events of two propositions occurred at the same time, the two propositions said to have a simultaneous relation. Either event may be either a momentary happening or a continuous happening, and the overlap in time may be partial or complete. For example, "He plays the piano for her and she sings for him" is an example of the simultaneous relation. The proposition 'he plays the piano for her' and the proposition 'she sings for him' refer to two events that occurred at the same time. They are also in an addition relation since neither is more prominent than the other (i.e. the have equal prominence). Larson notes that simultaneous relation in English is indicated by forms such as (meanwhile, at the same time, and, etc.). This is presented as follows:

[5:73]
Al cut the grass, Bill repaired the fence and Carl painted the gate.
(Larson, 1998: 302)

In the above sentence, there are three propositions: (1) 'Al cut the grass', (2) '(meanwhile) Bill repaired the fence', and, finally (3) '(at the same time) Carl painted the gate'. The three propositions are in simultaneous relation; they have equal prominence and happening simultaneously.

Larson notes that the sequential and simultaneous relations apply also to relations between larger semantic units (e.g. propositional clusters, paragraphs and higher units), as in:

[5:74]
Peter cut the grass before the sun was hot. When the clock announced 10 a.m. he repaired the fence, and painted the gate after he ate his lunch.

In the above, there are three propositional clusters. Propositional cluster (1) 'Peter cut the grass before the sun was hot' constitutes two propositions: (a) 'Peter cut the grass' and (b) 'before the sun was hot'. The first proposition is the HEAD and the second the circumstance. Propositional cluster (2) 'When the clock announced 10 a.m. Peter repaired the fence',

constitutes also two propositions: proposition (c) 'Peter repaired the fence', which is the HEAD and (d) 'when the clock announced 10 a.m.', which is the circumstance. Finally propositional cluster (3): 'Peter painted the gate after he ate his lunch' constitutes two propositions: (e) 'Peter painted the gate', which is the 'head' and (f) 'after he ate his lunch', which is the circumstance proposition. According to Larson, the three propositional clusters are related to each other by the sequential relation. That is, propositional cluster (1), which is a 'head', is related to the propositional cluster (2), which is also a 'head', by sequential relation. The same relation exists also between propositional clusters (2) and (3). This relation could be semantically expressed as 'First Peter cut the grass before the sun was hot. When the clock announced 10 a.m. he repaired the fence, and then he painted the gate after he ate his lunch). Therefore, the three propositional clusters are in sequential relation, i.e. one sequence of event follows the others.

Larson notes that in the same way, examples could be found of sequential relations between semantic paragraphs and episodes, etc. She asserts that in a text, very often one episode follows another chronologically with one occurring first, the next second, and so on. These episodes would be in a sequential relation one to another. However, in a story, for example, there are may times when one episode will be presented, and then the author will present another episode which is occurring at the same time in another location. These two episodes would be in simultaneous relation one to the other.

2. Chronological support relation

Unlike chronological addition relations, which relate events that are of equal prominence, chronological support relations relate units that are not of equal prominence. One of the units supports the other; there is a support-HEAD relation between the two units. Larson believes that they are considered chronological since they focus on the temporal aspects of the events. Under this category, Larsson proposes the following relation, which she refers to as 'progression' relation:

According to Larson, the progression relation functions like the sequential relation. It relates a series of events, which have a temporal relation, the one to the other. However, in the

sequential relation no one event is more prominent than the other. In this relation, some of the events are in a support relation to one of the events, which is more prominent. That is, there may be a series of events that lead up to a final event, which is the prominent one. The propositional cluster often consists of a series of steps leading up to a goal. To illustrate this the following shall be considered:

[5:75]
Peter rose very early, left the house, went to the river and began fishing.
(Larson, 1998: 309)

In the above, there are a series of steps: (1) 'Peter arose very early', (2) 'Peter left the house', and (3) 'Peter went to the river'. All these three steps with their progression relations lead up to the goal 'Peter began fishing'.

Larson notes that in a larger discourse/text for example, there may be a series of paragraphs, each one describing an event that leads up to a final major event. These paragraphs would then be in a relation of progression to the HEAD paragraph, which would be the goal. She maintains that the sequential, simultaneous and progression relations are commonly found in narrative and procedural discourses. The events being described either follow one another in sequence or happen simultaneously or are grouped in such a way that the sequence is more of a progression leading to a goal.

Here, Larson notes that there is always skewing between surface structures and semantics in terms of the order of events in chronological relations. She maintains that the events of a discourse refer to happenings in real life situations which occur in a certain order, however, there are often reordered in the grammatical sentence or paragraph in such a way that the order is not the same as the real (chronological) order. There may be propositions or propositional clusters within the semantic paragraph, which are not presented in chronological order in the text. She maintains that special forms in the grammar indicate that there is a flashback to an event that took place prior to the other events already mentioned in the text, as in:

[5:76]

> John went into the house, leaving the people standing out in the cold. He returned to confront them again, after discussing the whole situation with his wife and telling her the whole story.
>
> (Larson, 1998: 310)

The above paragraph does not present the main events in chronological order. The order of events in the paragraph is: 'went', 'left', 'returned', 'discussed' and 'told'. However, the chronological order of events in real life setting is: 'left', 'went', 'told', 'discussed' and 'returned'. The resulting paragraph might be something like: 'John left the people standing out in the cold and went into the hose. He told his wife the whole story; discussed it with her and then returned to confront the people again'.

5.3.2.5.2 Non-chronological relations

The second major category of relations is the non-chronological relations. Larson asserts that when the time is not the focal element in the relationships, the relations are labelled as non-chronological. For example, in the sentence, "Mary swept the floor because it was dirty", 'Mary swept the floor' is the result of the reason 'the floor was dirty'. Causality is the focal relationship. Larson asserts that since time is incidental, and not focal, the relation is classified as nonchronological. It is true, however, that the reason usually precedes the result in time of occurrence in the happening being recorded in the text. Here, Larson identifies the following main relations and their sub-categories:

1. Non-chronological addition relations

According to Larson, most non-chronological relations are of a support-HEAD variety, however, there exist some addition relations. In this, she distinguishes two types: conjoining and alternation:

i. Conjoining relation

In conjoining relation, propositions are not chronologically related. However, the two events are of equal prominence, and there is no preference for one or the other. Both are true. Conjoining occurs when two propositions are in a parallel relation to each other in the text.

First, they are of equal prominence; second, they are not chronologically related; and third, both events apply, that is, there is no alternation. To illustrate this, the following shall be considered:

[5:77]
Mary does the housework and Jean does the cooking.
(Larson, 1998: 312)

In the sentence above, there are two propositions: (1) 'Mary does the housework', and (2) 'Jean does the cooking'. The two propositions are completely equal (i.e. no one of the propositions is more prominent than the other). There is no chronological relationship, and there is no alternation, they are simply conjoined.

Here, Larson notes that the relationship conjoining occurs not only between propositions but also between prepositional clusters, between semantic paragraphs, between episodes, and so forth.

ii. Alternation relation

Alternation is also non-chronological and of the addition type. In alternation either one proposition or the other applies. That is, a choice must be made between the two propositions. There is no time element so they are not chronological. One does not support the other. They are simply alternatives. This is presented as follows:

[5:78]
John always plays golf or goes to a football game on Saturday afternoon.
(Larson, 1998: 313)

According to Larson, the above sentence has two propositions: (1) 'John always plays golf on Saturday afternoon' and (2) 'John always goes to a football game on Saturday afternoon'. The two propositions are related by alternation, which is signalled by the English grammatical form 'or'.

Larson notes that alternation is signalled by many different surface forms and it also applies at various levels of the semantic hierarchy.

2. Non-chronological support relations

The second major category of the non-chronological relation is the support relations. The various non-chronological support-HEAD relations are classified under three categories: orientation, clarification, and logical. In these relations, there is a HEAD constituent and a support constituent. According to Larson, the support constituent is one that orients, clarifies or argues. These relations are presented under the following headings:

2.1. Orientation relations

In the group of relations called orientation relations, Larson distinguishes two main types of relations consisting of a support role and a HEAD. They are circumstance-HEAD and orienter-content.

2.1.1. Circumstance-HEAD relation

The circumstance-HEAD is a relation in which the circumstance provides background information about the HEAD unit. Circumstance presents information concerning 'location' or 'time', or some other circumstance.

i. Location

Location is expressed in the circumstance proposition. This relation is illustrated in the following example:

[5:79]
Walking along the cliff top she saw Bill.
(Larson, 1998: 319)

The above sentence constitutes two propositions: (1) 'she was walking along the cliff top', and (2) 'she saw Bill'. The first proposition is the circumstance because it tells the location where the main event happened. The second proposition is the main proposition and has the role of HEAD of the propositional cluster. Hence, the first proposition supports the second by telling what the participant was doing at the time of the main event.

ii. Time

Time is expressed in the circumstance proposition also. The circumstance proposition indicates the time when the HEAD event happened. The following example would illustrate this relation:

[5:80]
As the sun began to rise they left the village.
(Larson, 1998: 320)

In the above sentence, there are two propositions. The first proposition 'the sun began to rise' tells the time when the HEAD proposition 'they left the village' took place. The relation between the two propositions is that of circumstance-HEAD. The first is the circumstance, and the second is the HEAD.

iii. Background information

Background information is also expressed in the circumstance proposition. In the following English forms, the part of the sentence representing the circumstance proposition is italicised:

[5:81]
a. She ironed the shirt *while the bread was baking*.

b. He came out of the house *wearing ragged clothes*.

c. He left Darwin *not knowing where to go*.

Here, Larson, notes that the circumstance-HEAD relation is sometimes divided into the three types just described and called location-HEAD, time-HEAD and circumstance-HEAD. In the examples, which follows this distinction will not be made in the labels.

2.2. Orienter-content relation

In the orienter-content relation, the proposition which is the orienter serves to introduce the content. The orienter proposition would be a proposition like: 'John said to Mary…, John heard…, John wanted…, John remembered…, John purposed…, and so forth). Larson notes that the main event of the orienter is a speech event or a perceptual, cognitive, volitional or evaluative event, as in:

[5:82]
The boy said that he was hungry.
(Larson, 1978: 322)

In the above sentence, there are two propositions: the proposition 'the boy said' is the orienter and the proposition 'the boy is hungry' is the content. Here, Larson notes that this proposition could be stated more appropriately as 'I am hungry' since it is the boy who is speaking, and it would, therefore, be in first person. In the English language, both forms can be used: (1) 'The boy said, "I am hungry"' and (2) 'the boy said that he was hungry'. The proposition 'the boy said' is a statement. Larson notes that the orienter may be a statement, question or command proposition.

Larson maintains that the orienter proposition can be also a state proposition. She notes that statements, such as 'it is not good that', 'it is true that' and 'it is important that', also serve as orienters to the content that follows. The following example would illustrate this relation:

[5:83]
It is not good for Mary to go to town today.

In the above sentence, there are two propositions: the first one is the orienter 'it is not good…' and the second, which is the content proposition, 'that Mary goes to town today'. The orienter is a state proposition.

Here, Larson notes that it is very often that the orienter constituent is a single proposition and the content which goes with it can be a very larger and complicated unit, even sometimes being an embedded text.

2.2 Clarification relations

The second main category in the major category 'non-chronological support relation' is the clarification relations. Under this category, Larson distinguishes two further sub-categories: clarification by restatement relations and clarification by non-restatement relations. The distinction between these two sub-categories is based on whether there is an overlap in the information content of the two units that are being related by the clarification

relations. The above-mentioned relations and their sub-categories are presented under the following headings:

2.2.1. Clarification by restatement

Larson notes that when there is an overlap of the information, the relations are HEAD-restatement in type. The restatement may be an equivalent statement, amplification or a more specific or more generic statement. Here, Larson identifies four relations:

i. HEAD-equivalent ii. HEAD-amplification
iii. GENERIC-specific iv. SUMMARY-specific

i. HEAD-equivalence

HEAD-equivalence indicates that the two units convey the same meaning. They are equivalent. The meaning is the same, and the second proposition is just a restatement of the first one. Sometimes the restatement is a synonymous expression, negation of an antonym and occasionally a figure of speech is used to restate the same information. Equivalence often has the function of adding prominence by repetition. The text producer wishes to make a stronger impact upon the text receiver. These relations are illustrated as follows:

[5:84]
a. Rejoice and be glad

b. I was dumbfounded, flabbergasted, and amazed.

c. I am telling you the truth; I am not lying.
(Larson, 1998: 324-25)

In the above examples, it can be seen that in (a) there are two propositions: 'you rejoice' and 'you be glad'. According to Larson, these are two ways of saying the same thing. The two propositions are equivalent. In (b), the sentence has three propositions which are nearly synonymous: 'I was dumbfounded', 'I was flabbergasted' and 'I was amazed'. The three propositions are in an equivalent relationship one to another. Finally, in example (c) there are two propositions. These propositions are also in an equivalence relationship since

the second one 'not lie' has the same meaning as the first one 'speak that which is true'. The information is the same, but restated by using an antonym and a negative modifier.

ii. HEAD-amplification

HEAD-amplification is a relation between two communication units in which one of the units communicates some of the information which is in the other plus some further information. This additional information may clarify such matters as participants, time, the location or the manner. The following example would illustrate this relation:

[5:85]
He practices medicine; he practices at the clinic in town.

In the above sentence, there are two propositions; the second proposition, 'he practices at the clinic in town', amplifies the first one 'he practices medicine'.

iii. GENERIC-specific

In GENERIC-specific relation, the specific part gives more precise detail. The GENERIC unit includes the information that is in the specific unit. The more generic proposition often includes lexical items that are in a GENERIC-specific relation to lexical items in the specific proposition. This relation can be illustrated as follows:

[5:86]
He cut up the meat. He chopped the meat into small pieces.
(Larson, 1998: 326)

The above sentence has two propositions: (1) 'He cut up the meat' and (2) 'He chopped the meat into small pieces'. The first proposition is the generic and the second one is the specific. Hence, the two propositions are related to one another by the generic-specific relation.

Here, Larson notes that a generic proposition may generate a series of specific proposition. This can be seen in the following example:

[5:87]
John worked in the garden all day. He cut the grass, trimmed the hedge, dug the vegetable patch, and staked the tomatoes.

In the above example, there is a generic proposition, 'John worked in the garden all day', and four propositions which are a series of specific propositions: 'John cut the grass', 'John trimmed the hedge', 'John dug the vegetable patch' and 'John staked the tomatoes'.

Here, Larson notes that sometimes the specific propositions are introduced first then the generic proposition. She maintains that one could say: 'John cut the grass, trimmed the hedge, dug the vegetable patch, and staked the tomatoes'. And then introduce the generic proposition 'he worked in the garden all day'.

iv. SUMMARY-specific

In this category, Larson notes that when analysing larger texts, it often seems more appropriate to use the term 'summary' for the generic unit. In a text, there is often a generic restatement of several communication units. Summaries of this kind help to identify the boundaries between larger units of a text.

2.2.2. Clarification by non-restatement relations

When there is no overlap of the information, the one part is not a restatement of the other part, and the two parts are not saying the same thing. The second part is simply clarifying by adding new information. The new information may be a comparison, an illustration, the manner or a contrast. Larson identifies the following relations under this category:

i. Comparison-HEAD
ii. Illustration-HEAD
iii. Manner-HEAD
iv. CONTRAST-Contrast

i. Comparison-HEAD

Comparison- HEAD relation is based on the point of similarity between the two units. According to Larson, it is typical in English that there will be some information left implicit in the grammatical form, leaving the impression that there is only one proposition when actually there are two. This relation is illustrated in the following example:

[5:88]
His hair is white as snow.
(Larson, 1998: 327)

The above sentence has two propositions. The comparison is between 'his hair is white' and 'snow is white'.

ii. Illustration-HEAD

According to Larson, the role of illustration is used when talking about the comparison role which is filled by larger units such as paragraphs. An illustration is simply a large comparison. This relation can be seen in the following example (the illustration is italicised):

[5:89]
God will begin to rule over very few people and will eventually rule over very many people just like *the mustard plant starts as a very small seed and grows to be a very large plant.*
(Larson, 1998: 328)

iii. Manner-HEAD

In this relation, the manner clarifies and supports the HEAD by providing information which answers a question, (e.g. in what way, how did the event take place?). It often refers to something that happened simultaneously. It describes how a certain event was done. This relation can be illustrated as follows:

[5:90]
He went away walking rapidly.

The above sentence consists of two propositions: 'he went away', and 'he walked rapidly'. The second proposition has the role of manner.

iv. Contrast-CONTRAST

According to Larson, this relation occurs when there are at least two points of difference between the two units and one point of similarity. One of the points of difference involves an opposition. When two propositions are related by contrast-CONTRAST, there must be:

a. A point of difference or contrast.

b. A difference by opposition (usually a positive - negative).

c. A likeness, that is, at least one point of meaning overlap.

This relation and conditions can be illustrated as follows:

[5:91]
I went to classes today, but Bill did not.
(Larson, 1998: 329)

The sentence consists of two propositions: (1) 'I went to classes today' and 'bill did not go to classes today'. The first difference is between 'I' and 'Bill'. The difference by opposition is between 'went' and 'did not go'. The likeness or overlap of meaning is in the phrase 'classes today'. Therefore, the relation between the two propositions is one of contrast-CONTRAST.

Here, Larson notes that in the grammatical structure, which is encoding contrast, some of the information may be left implicit. For example, in the sentence "Everyone went to the party except Bill", the phrase 'except Bill' stands for the proposition 'Bill didn't go to the party'. English uses the word 'except' to express the relation, and only the difference between 'Everyone' and 'Bill' is stated in the sentence. However, the difference by opposition is found in 'went' and 'did not go', and the likeness is in the phrase 'to the party'.

Larson asserts that the point of likeness or meaning overlap may not always be expressed identically as in the phrases 'classes today' and 'the party'. The likeness may be expressed with synonyms or antonyms, but here is still contrast. For example, in the sentence "John is very smart, but Bill is not very brainy", the first difference is between 'John' and 'Bill'. The difference by opposition is found in 'is' and 'is not'. The likeness is found in 'very smart' and 'very brainy' which have partial overlap of information by being synonymous in this context. In the sentence "He stayed behind but I departed", the first difference is between 'he' and 'I'. The difference by opposition is found in the usage of the reciprocal concept 'departed'. 'Stayed' and 'departed' are opposites. The two propositions are 'he stayed behind' and 'I departed' (which means the same as 'I did not stay'). No negative occurs to show the opposition since the antonyms themselves show opposition. The likeness comes in that 'staying behind' and 'departing' share meaning since they are reciprocal concepts.

2.2.3. Logical relations

The third main category under the general category called 'non-chronological support relations' is the logical relations. According to Larson, logical relations are non-chronological support-HEAD relations in which there is always the notion of cause-effect. Although they are classified as non-chronological, inasmuch as the effect usually follows the cause in temporal sequence, there is usually, but not always, a temporal element. She notes that the time framework is not the important matter, but rather the logical relationship between the two units. The logical relations are sometimes called argumentation relations. Under this category, Larson (1998), among others, distinguishes the following relations:

i. Reason-result ii. Means-result iii. Purpose-MEANS
iv. Condition-consequence v. Grounds-conclusion vi. Grounds-exhortation
vii. Concession-contraexpectation

i. Reason-result relation

In the reason-result relation the proposition which has the role of reason answers the question "why this result?" In English, this relation is often marked with words such as ('because', 'so', 'therefore', etc.). The following examples would illustrate this:

[5:92]
a. Mary took a vacation because she was tired.

b. Since Mary was tired, she took a vacation.

c. Mary was tired so she took a vacation.

d. Mary was tired, therefore she took a vacation.
(Larson, 1998: 337)

In each of the above examples, the English grammatical structure matches the propositional structure, but a different form is used to mark the relations. However, there is often skewing between the surface structure and semantics.

ii. Means-Result relation

Means-result is the relationship in which the means proposition answers the question "How did this result come about?" The means-result relation is often expressed in English by words like 'by' or 'through'. The following example would illustrate this:

[5:93]
He won the race by practicing a lot.

According to Larson, the above sentence has two propositions: the result proposition is 'he won the race', and the means by which 'he did this' was 'he practiced a lot'. Larson notes that means always carries the idea of intention, whereas the reason does not.

iii. Purpose-Means relation

Purpose-means is a relationship in which the means proposition answers the question "what was done in order to achieve this purpose?" Here again, there is deliberate intention in that a deliberate means was used to bring about a particular purpose. The difference between means-result and purpose-means is that the result was actually brought about but the purpose may or may not have been fulfilled. The following examples would illustrate the difference between these two relations:

[5:94]
a. By studying hard, he passed his exam.
b. In order to pass the exam, he studied hard (but he didn't pass).
(Larson, 1998: 339)

In the above, it can be seen that the relation in example (a) is means-result, whereas, in (b) is purpose-means.

Purpose-means relation is often signalled in English by the conjunctions 'in order to' and 'so that'. Sometimes the infinitive is used.

iv. Condition-consequence relation

According to Larson, the condition-consequence relation is also of the cause-effect type. In this relation the cause, which is the condition, is either hypothetical or there is some element of uncertainty. Under this relation, Larson distinguishes two sub-categories: contrary-to-fact and potential fact. She notes that both types are characteristically signalled by the word 'if' in English. These two sub-categories are presented under the following headings:

a. Contrary-to-fact

In contrary-to-fact condition-consequence relation, the condition is hypothetical or imagined and did not, will not or is not expected to actually take place. It is simply describing a condition that might have been but as a matter of fact did not occur or is not expected to. These are illustrated in the following examples:

[5:95]
a. If I were younger, I would go to Europe.
b. If he had not missed the bus, he would be there now.
(Larson, 1998: 343)

In the example (a), the sentence, 'If I were younger, I would go to Europe', has two propositions. The first proposition is the condition and is contrary-to-fact since 'I am not younger'. 'I would go to Europe', which is the consequence, is also simply hypothetical. In example (b), the sentence, 'if he had not missed the bus, he would be there now', has also two propositions. The first proposition is the condition and the second is the consequence. Neither is a fact. They are only imagined.

Larson notes that the contrary-to-fact condition-consequence examples given above are in the past tense. This is because they are things that might have happened but did not. Sometimes, contrary-to-fact propositions are in the future tense. This is true when they refer to events that are not expected to happen. This is illustrated in the following example:

[5:96]
If I were to die tomorrow, who would run the store?

b. Potential fact

The second type of condition-consequence relation is that of a potential fact. The propositions are either in the present or future. It is also unknown whether the condition will be met which will result in the consequence or not. This can be illustrated as follows:

[5:97]
If you get there early, you will get inside'

In the above example, the condition-consequence relation between the two propositions is that of a potential fact. The consequence of 'getting inside' is dependent on the condition of 'getting there early'.

v. Grounds-conclusion relation

The grounds-conclusion relation answers the question "What fact is this conclusion based on?" The relationship between the grounds and the conclusion can be stated with the words 'therefore', 'I conclude that' or 'one concludes that' between the two propositions. This relation is illustrated by the following example:

[5:98]
The door is unlocked, so Mary must be home.
(Larson, 1998: 341)

The above sentence consists of two propositions. The grounds, 'the door is unlocked', and the conclusion 'Mary must be home'. This relationship could be stated, 'The door is unlocked, and therefore, I conclude that Mary is home'. In English, this relation typically uses the words 'so' and 'must be'.

vi. Grounds-exhortation relation

The ground-exhortation relation is most like the grounds-conclusion relation, however, in grounds-conclusion the conclusion is a statement, and in grounds-exhortation the exhortation is always a command. The differences between the two relations are illustrated as follows:

[5:99]
a. The floor is clean, therefore, someone must have swept it.
b. The floor is clean, so keep it that way.
(Larson, 1998: 342)

The words which typically are used in English to mark the grounds-exhortation relation are 'so' and 'therefore'.

vii. Concession-contraexpectation relation

The concession-contraexpectation relation has an element of "unexpectedness". According to Larson, there are three parts: (1) a cause (the concession part), (2) an expected effect, and (3) an unexpected result (the contraexpectation part). In English, usually only two of the three parts are made explicit in the grammar. These can be illustrated as follows:

[5:100]
Although the doctor told Bill to stay home, he went to the ball game.
(Larson, 1998: 340)

In the above, there are three propositions representing the above mentioned three parts: (1) the cause 'the doctor told Bill to stay home', (2) the expected effect 'Bill stayed home', and (3) the unexpected effect 'Bill went to the ball game'. It should be noted here, that the expected effect (i.e. proposition 2) is not included in the English sentence, i.e. it is implicit.

5.3.3 The rhetorical component

This component has been adopted in the current study with the aim of describing the conceptual and linguistic characteristics of the major text type 'argumentation', which represents the category of the texts constituting our data.

In what follows, an overview of different approaches to the classification of texts into categories and types is given and then one method of categorising texts is discussed more extensively. After having discussed aspects of approaches to text types and Hatim's method, we are going to highlight the instinctive conceptual and linguistic characteristics of the argumentative text using notions and insights from Hatim's method.

In the past, there was not much research devoted to the study of texts or to setting up a text-typology although the need for text-typology to solve many problems was realised by many linguists. Schmidt (1977), for instance, points out that theoretical research into text has shown that several important problems of communicative text theories, like the coherence of texts, the analysis of macro-structures in narratives and the acceptability of text cannot be

solved without a solution to the problem of text-typology. Reiss (1976: 97-100) also notes that text type is an important concept for translation quality assessment. She believes that one can be in a position to judge a translation "fairly", only when one is able to establish some factors among which is the determination of "the kind of text the original represents" in terms of text type and text variety.

For Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), text has been a long-standing object of literary studies, though emphasis was limited to certain text types. They note that scholars have at various times embarked on tasks such as "describing the text production processes and results of an author, or a group of authors in some time period or setting; discovering some problematic or contestable senses for text; and assigning values to texts".

Recently, the question of text-types has gained the attention of many linguists and rhetoricians such as Werlich (1976), Newmark (1988), Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), Hatim (1983, 1964, and elsewhere), and Hatim and Mason (1990), among others. These studies have not been developed independently of each other. However, this issue still offers a severe challenge to linguists. Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), for instance, believe that the challenge arises from the fact that text typology must deal with actual systems in which selections and decisions have already been made. They point out that the text itself has to be viewed as a system, being a set of elements functioning together. However, while language is a virtual system (a system of options not yet in use), text is an actual system in which options have been taken from their repertories and utilised in a particular structure. This utilisation is carried out via procedures of actualisation (cf. Section 2.1).

Various linguists have proposed different definitions to the notion of text-type. This is because they have dealt with this concept from different aspects. The following quotations present some of the prominent definitions:

Werlich (1983:39) defines this notion as:

> An idealized norm of distinctive text structuring which serves as a deep structural matrix of rules and elements for the encoder when responding linguistically to specific aspects of his experience.

Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 186) define text-type as:

> a set of heuristics for producing, predicting, and processing textual occurrences, and hence acts as a prominent determiner of efficiency, effectiveness, and appropriateness.

In another context, Beaugrande (1985: 197) writes:

> A text type is a distinctive configuration of relational dominances obtaining between or among elements of: (1) the surface text; (2) the textual world; (3) stored knowledge patterns; and (4) a situation of occurrence.

For Hatim and Mason (1990: 140), text type is:

> a conceptual framework which enables us to classify texts in terms of communicative intentions serving an overall rhetorical purpose.

Broadly speaking, text-typology aims at grouping texts into categories and types, and at identifying and describing linguistic and conceptual features that texts belonging to a particular group have in common. The definition of the term text-type varies somewhat between different linguists, but most follow Hatim's (1990) in relating this concept to communicative intentions. In such an approach, texts are defined by features which could be described as external to the text itself. These include areas such as text purpose, text producer's intentions, writer/reader relationships, and medium of communication, etc.

The following is an overview of a variety of different approaches attempting to classify texts into some major categories and types:

Reiss (1976), in her attempt to set up a text typology relevant to translation quality assessment, suggests that texts can be categorised according to their field of discourse, with examples like 'journalistic', 'religious', 'poetic', and etc.

Another attempt has been carried out by Schmidt (1977), who proposes two basic possibilities for the study of text types. One can either start out with the traditionally defined types (e.g. literary, poetic, scientific, religious, journalistic, etc.) as observable objects, and try to reconstruct them via a consistent text theory; or one can begin with a text theory which sets up theoretical types to be compared with empirical samples.

Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) differentiate text-types along 'functional lines', (i.e. text or rather language function. They believe that text-types are supposed to perform specific and intended functions and in so doing contribute to the process of human and social

communication. They follow this line of thought because they view text-types as a linguistic product.

Unlike the above-mentioned linguists, Werlich (1976), in his published book, *A Text Grammar of English*, bases his classification of texts on criteria called 'dominant contextual focus'. He explains this notion by saying:

> Texts distinctively correlate with the contextual factors in a communication situation. They conventionally focus the addressee's attention only on specific factors and circumstances from the whole set of factors. Accordingly, texts can be grouped together and generally classified on the basis of their *dominant contextual focus.* (Werlich, 1976: 19)

Based on this dominant contextual factor, Werlich proposes the following five dominant contextual foci that can be observed in any given text:

1. The focus is on factual phenomena (i.e. persons, objects, and relations) in the *spatial contexts*. Texts of this group will be referred to as descriptive texts.

2. The focus is on factual and/or conceptual phenomena in the temporal context. Texts of this group will be referred to as narrative texts.

3. The focus is on the de-composition (analysis) into or the composition (synthesis) from constituent elements of concepts of phenomena that the communicants have. Texts of this group will be referred to as *expository* texts.

4. The focus is on the relations between concepts of phenomena that the communicants have. Texts of this group will be referred to as argumentative texts.

5. The focus is on the composition of observable future behaviour, with reference to phenomena, in one of the communicants, that is either in the speaker/writer or hearer/reader. Texts of this group will be referred to as instructive texts.

Hatim (1990, 1997a and 1997b) takes the stand that texts are not most usefully categorised according to their field of discourse, with examples like 'journalistic', 'religious', 'poetic', etc. Here, the assumption is that classification of texts "based on criteria such as 'field of discourse' alone amounts to little more than a statement of subject matter"; and if defined in this way "text type will be so broad as to have no predictive value, and when attempts are made

to narrow the focus of description, "we run the risk of ending up with virtually as many text types as there are texts" (Hatim, 1990: 138). Moreover, classification, on the other hand, based on an over-general notion of text 'function' "leads to text types such as 'literary', 'poetic', 'didactic'; the categories are too broad and do not admit the possibility of a literary text being didactic and vice versa".

According to Hatim, one of the problems of text typology is that, however the typology is set up, any real text will display features of more than one type. This "multifunctionality is the rule rather than the exception, and any useful typology of texts will have to be able to accommodate such diversity" (Hatim and Mason, 1990: 138).

Basing himself on variety of notions and insights from a number of standard models of text-typology, text processing approaches, and ancient disciplines such as rhetoric (both Arabic and western), as well as from more recent trends in linguistic description such as text-linguistic (e.g. Prague School, Halliday, Beaugrande and Dressler, Werlich, Brown and Yule, and etc.), Hatim proposes a method for the classification of texts. In this, Hatim maintains that any given text- when meeting a number of standards of textuality- would have a context, a structure, and a texture. Hatim points out that each of these domains is capable of yielding a set of hypotheses about the text; and when they collaborate, they can construct a text that is able to reflect its overall rhetorical goal. Moreover, it is based on the notion 'text predominant rhetorical purpose'. Hatim (1990: 149) defines this notion as

> A term stands for the means whereby a text is defined as a token of a type. The term subsumes the set of communicative, pragmatic and semiotic procedures which followed when relating a text to its context.

Based on the above-mentioned 'dominant contextual focus', Hatim distinguishes three main text types: exposition, instruction, and argumentation. The first two types are highlighted as follows:

1. Expository text-type

In this text category, the contextual focus is either on the decomposition (analysis) into constituent elements of given concepts or their composition (synthesis) from constituent

elements. There are two important variants of this kind of conceptual exposition differentiated, namely: descriptive and narrative texts. In place of 'concepts', description handles 'objects' or 'situations', while narrative texts arrange 'actions' and 'events' in a particular order.

Hatim notes that whereas description and narration are generally easily recognisable, boundaries in other cases are more difficult to establish. What is of importance, here, is the distinction between argumentative texts (especially the 'through-argument ' variant) and conceptual exposition.

According to Hatim, in argumentation, the focus is on what is known as 'situation managing', i.e. the dominant function of the text is "to manage or steer the situation in a manner favourable to the text producer's goals". In exposition, on the other hand, the focus is on providing a detached account.

According to Hatim, another distinction is that in an argumentative text, the 'topic sentence' sets 'the tone' of the text and must be substantiated, whereas in exposition, it sets 'the scene' and must be expounded. Thus, in distinguishing these two features, the tendency of tone-setters is to display features such as comparison, judgement, and other markers of evaluative texture; whereas the scene setter exposes various aspects of the scene being introduced to be expounded.

2. Instructional text-type

Instructional text type is another basic text group. The focus here is on the formation of future behaviour in order to regulate through instructions the way people act or think. Two sub-types have been identified: instructions with options (as in advertising, consumer advice, etc.) and instructions without options (as in contracts, treaties, etc.). Hatim maintains that the focus in this text-type is directed towards influencing opinions or behaviour and to provoking action or reaction. Hatim notes that the slogan "Fly me - Air India", for example, arouses interest and acts as an invitation.

Reiss (1976) draws a comparison between argumentative texts and instructional texts with options. He believes that the two types can be treated as operative-type texts. In this

respect, Reiss lays down the following principles of operative texts (texts that arouse interest), which text producers have to follow in order to arouse the interest of the reader and succeed in convincing him or her:

i. Comprehensibility (use of short sentences, simple syntax, etc.,).

ii. Topicality (closeness to life, 'in'-words, topical allusions, etc.)

iii. Memorability (rhetorical repetition, puns, rhymes, slogan, etc.)

iv. Suggestivity (manipulation of opinions by exaggeration, value-judgement, implication, etc.)

v. Emotionality (anxieties and fears are played on, threats and flattery used; the associations of words are exploited).

vi. Language manipulation (propaganda is disguised as information through means such as linguistic parallelism which is used to imply factual comparability)

vii. Plausibility (appeals to authorities, witnesses, 'experts', etc.).

Despite these similarities, clearer patterns of logical thinking are more apparent in argumentative than in instructional texts, because, given discoursal as well as generic constraints, logical presentation tends to be part and parcel of the argumentative text format.

5.3.3.1 Characteristics of argumentative texts

The specific aim of this section is to give a full description of the text-type referred to as counter-argumentation. This presents the membership text-type of our sample texts (i.e. counter-argumentative texts originally written in both Arabic and English languages and their translations - Appendices A to B). To this end, we will highlight its conceptual and linguistic characteristics, with special emphasis on one of its most noticeable and distinctive variable that is responsible for creating texture of this particular text type, using notions and insights from the established works carried out by various linguists on the typology of texts.

Following Hatim's model of text types advocated in this study, the counter-argumentative text is a basic form of the major category called 'argumentative text-type'. Unlike the through-argumentative text, which is another form of argumentation characterised by an extensive substantiation of an initial thesis followed by a conclusion, counter-

argumentative text involves rebuttal of a cited thesis followed by a substantiation and conclusion. The configurations of these two text forms may be diagrammatically represented as follows:

Counter-argument	Through-argument
i. Thesis cited to be opposed	i. Thesis to be supported
ii. Opposition	ii. Substantiation
iii. Substantiation of counter-claim	iii. Conclusion
iv. Conclusion	

Figure 5.2 Counter-argument & through-argument formats[4]

Within counter-argumentation, Hatim distinguishes two sub-types: balance and explicit concessive. In the former, according to Hatim, the text producer has the option of signalling the contrastive between what may be viewed as a claim and a counter-claim either explicitly (by using an explicit adversative particle like 'but', 'however', etc.) or implicitly (by using no explicit adversative particle but rather by using a clause to express the contrast). In the latter, on the other hand, the counter-claim is anticipated (by using an explicit concessive like 'while', 'although', 'despite', and etc.).

Hatim notes that the various argumentative formats appear not to be equally available for all language users to choose from and the preference for one or the other varies within, as well as across, languages and cultures. He believes that the preference for one or the other form is motivated by many factors, among which are politeness, ideology, power, etc.

Hatim stipulates that argumentation, in general, and counter-argumentation, in particular, engages text users in situation managing, guiding the receiver in a manner favourable to the text producer's goals.

Counter-argumentation has particular features that distinguish it from other text types. It is characterised by some linguistic and non-linguistic features that are not in any other text type. In the discussion which follows, an attempt is made to highlight the most significant characteristics of this text type, with a special emphasis placed on the feature 'text texture' (the most commonly used cohesive devices/ties in counter-argumentative texts), These characteristics are summed up and discussed separately under the following headings:

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[4]Figure 5.2 quoted from Hatim, (1997a: 39-40).

5.3.3.1.1 Text overall rhetorical goal

Argumentative text is characterised by its function. The main function of the text form 'counter-argumentation, for example, is rebuttal (i.e. in responding to a thesis, which he takes to be flawed, a text producer may opt to argue by counter-arguing). According to Hatim, two debating positions are made to confront each other. The first position is taken by an absent protagonist who represents the 'thesis cited to be opposed', whereas the second one is taken by a present protagonist. The present protagonist states the 'counter-claim' and performs the function of orchestrating the debate and steering the receiver in a particular direction.

Hatim notes "…although rebuttal is a universally established form of counter-argumentation, however, different languages handle rebuttal differently in terms of the mechanism involved…". In another context, Hatim explains this by saying:

> One can 'rebut' in any language, but rebuttals as a textual procedure, are realised differently in different languages. There will be variations in both the way rebuttal texts are put together … and in the way they are made to 'hang together'… to achieve the rhetorical purpose intended" (Hatim, 1997a: 89).

These differences in handling rebuttal, according to Hatim, are believed to result from many factors, among which are the mismatches between the linguistic systems and conventions of languages. Moreover, different preferences within the same language shall be considered too. Within this context, Hatim (1997a: 52) says:

> The choice of argumentative strategy is closely bound up with intercultural pragmatic factors such as: politeness or power, etc. […] there is a tendency in certain languages and cultures as well as in groups within them, to adopt a more direct through-argumentative style in preference to the more opaque counter-argumentative strategy.

On this particular issue, one has to point out that Arabic and English differ in the choice of argumentation strategies. This is due to the fact the two languages are culturally and socially distant, each language having a quite distinctive rhetorical and cultural style of counter-argumentation. This is the view of Sapir (1956); Kaplan (1983); and Koch (1981). These scholars, among others, hold the position that each language has its own separate structure, and this structure represents a different kind of reality. Sapir states:

> The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached. (Sapir, 1956: 69)

Similarly, Kaplan (1983) suggests that the way languages present their structures is different from one another and this is due to the fact that speakers/writers of different languages use different means and devices to present information. In his contrastive analyses across languages, Kaplan says:

> I am concerned with the notion that speakers [writers] of different languages use different devices to present information [texts] to establish the relationship among ideas, to show the centrality of one idea as opposed to another; and to select the most effective means of presentation. (Kaplan, 1983: 140- 141)

Accordingly, languages differ in terms of their patterns of construction and their rhetorical and linguistic systems. Therefore, the meaning potential and the function of Arabic argumentative texts are always constant (i.e. unchanging in their nature), and the stylistic, cultural, and rhetorical value is inevitable constant as well.

Following Hatim (1997a), like English, Arabic has two basic forms of argumentation: a pro-argument and a counter-argument. However, they show a different tendency in using one form over another. Arabic, for instance, has a tendency to use a similar structure in a pro-argument to English (i.e. thesis', followed by text-producer's extensive substantiation), whereas in a counter-argument, Arabic tends to use a different structure. A counter-argument involves a rebuttal of a thesis-cited; in English, the text producer presents his opponents' view, then, he rebuts it; whereas in Arabic a text producer would opt for presenting his own thesis first, followed by a pro- or counter-argument. In this he is trying to ignore the opponent's thesis. This is due to the social and political situations, and by doing this he succeeds in avoiding any kind of confrontation with whoever his opponent is. These are constraints rooted in the Arabic social, cultural and rhetorical systems.

The structures of counter-argumentation of Arabic and English can be diagrammatically presented as follows:

Arabic:	Text producer's Thesis with Optional Background Information	Text producer's Evaluation (i.e. counter-Claim)	Text producer's Obligatory Substantiation	Text producer's Exhortative Conclusion
English:	Opponent's thesis with optional background information	Text producer's Counter-claim	Text producer's Obligatory Substantiation	Text producer's Conclusion

Figure 5.3 Structures of counter-argumentation in Arabic and English

5.3.3.1.2 Evaluativeness

Evaluativeness is another characteristic of all variants of argumentation. An argumentative text would have particular evaluative forms of linguistic expression. According to Hatim, the degree of evaluativeness "…is bound to vary in response to whether and how far is the text is intended to 'manage' or to 'monitor' a given situation"(Hatim, 1997a: 113).

In other words, the degree of evaluativeness is determined by the text type focus. Evaluativeness is realised by many devices. In the following checklist, proposed by Hatim (Hatim, 1997: 111-17), some of these devices are presented:

1. Lexical processes

i. Overlexicalization is an evaluative device used to underline the prominence of a given concept in the thinking of a particular individual or community.

ii. Referentiality determines whether concepts are abstract and general or concrete and specific. Abstract and general concepts are intrinsically more evaluative as they show intellectual superiority and institutional power.

2. Ideation

Ideation realised by the lexico-grammatical system of transitivity. Here, different worldviews are relayed by the different patterns of participants (designated by nouns performing specific roles) and predicates (designated by verbs or adjectives communicating specific actions, process or states).

3. Deletion

i. Ellipsis is used for the expression of brusqueness, emphasis, shared knowledge, etc. Such attitudes emanate from the fact that an ellipted second sentence relies for its interpretation on a preceding sentence, general world knowledge, and other things.

ii. Nominalization involves rendering the meaning of a verb in the form of a noun, thus dispensing with both 'agency' and modality'. This evaluative device is very effective in masking real intentions.

4. Sequencing

This involves the order in which information is presented to the addressee. The choices made can reflect various degrees of evaluativeness as they selectively determine what objects are to be the focus of attention. Under this heading, Hatim distinguishes the following:

i. Passivisation evaluates by suppressing or de-emphasising certain elements of the sentence for a particular purpose. The evaluativeness of the passive structure emanates from, among other things, the marked status of the sentence structure and the deliberate fronting of certain elements and not others.

ii. Word order subsumes the various devices used in manipulating texture and in the process underlining topic salience within the sentence. A noun phrase, for example, may be

taken out of its normal, unmarked position and placed in an unusual and therefore marked position.

iii. Interruptions of a sequence evaluate discourse by the use of parenthetically-inserted linguistic elements. Such interruptions are usually used with the intention of casting serious doubt on the authenticity of a claim.

iv. The order of paragraphs or of any other chunks of information beyond the boundaries of a single sentence can relay an element of evaluativeness.

5. Complexity of syntax

Complex syntax is essentially evaluative in that it normally relays attitudes of knowledgeability and authority. Here, Hatim distinguishes the following:

i. Subordination of clauses implies complexity of logical relationships and thus acts as an evaluative device. Coordination, on the other hand, relays a more passive attitude to the sequencing of ideas, a naïve or primitive mode of discourse.

ii. Complexity of noun phrases in terms of what and how many pre-modifiers and post-modifiers there are may in itself be significant for the perception of evaluativeness.

6. Modality

Modality: including a variety of intrinsically evaluative devices indicating the text speaker's attitude both to the utterance and to the addressee.

7. Speech acts

Here, utterances do not only communicate prepositional content but also perform actions. The degree of opacity which the meaning of these actions normally exhibits will obviously vary from text type to text type. In this respect, intentionality in evaluative texts tends to be far more opaque than that encountered in non-evaluative texts. Evaluative discourse tends to favour indirectness as a way of capturing the attention of the text receiver.

8. Implicature

Here, unstated propositions lurking between the lines of discourse. This highly evaluative way of communicating is not accidental; the product of an intentional act: there is a right to implicate, as it were. Implied propositions may be consistent with one another and add up to a semantic system, a set of ideological commitments.

9. Address, naming, and personal reference

According to Hatim, in an argumentative text, the mention of someone's profession before citing his name is an evaluative device. It relays a specific attitudinal stance and thus carries ideological meaning.

The checklist above is by no means "intended to be exhaustive of all the evaluative devices with which language users…work in dealing with texts" (Hatim, 1997a: 117).

5.3.3.1.3 Text mode

In terms of text mode, counter-argumentative text has a distinctive mode. Text mode is a term used in linguistic studies as a parameter to distinguish one stretch of language from another. According to Halliday and Hasan's classification, (1985: 12), counter-argumentative text, being an evaluative discourse, is written to be read. They believe that counter-argumentative text, unlike a political speech, which is a text written to be read aloud, is written to be read silently like those in newspapers, books of various sorts, journals, magazines, and etc.

5.3.3.1.4 Text structure

Text structure is a term used in linguistic studies to refer to the compositional plan of a text. Text structure or text hierarchic organisation is one of the varieties of aspects of textuality. Receivers of all text types would expect that what they hear or read is structured in some way. All texts are expected to display certain structure formats that correspond to their types (i.e. different text types exhibit different structure formats). This is because text structure is motivated by contextual factors, which play an important role in determining the structural arrangements of the text in order to display a particular text-type focus.

Accordingly, a counter-argumentative text is always expected to comply with and display, more or less, the following structure formats, called 'sequences of elements':

Counter-argumentation	Through-argumentation
(i) Thesis-cited	(i) Thesis-cited
(ii) Counter-claim	(ii) Substantiation
(iii) Substantiation	(iii) Conclusion
(iv) Conclusion	

Generally speaking, when one first approaches a given text, one would immediately identify series of words, word groups, clauses, etc. According to Hatim, these elements are

grouped in sentences in the order in which they appear on the page. These sentences singly or collectively serve some overall rhetorical purpose. Each element is active in fulfilling a rhetorical function. That is, each element enters into a discourse relation with other elements. These discourse relations enable us to identify sequences of elements which ultimate by make up the unit of text. Moreover, texts have a variety of structures; i.e. different text types exhibit different structure formats.

Each of the above-mentioned structure formats has a certain rhetorical function to fulfil, and the incorporation of these functions would create the text. The rhetorical functions of these formats are different from that of any other text type. These functions are presented under the following headings:

1. Thesis cited

In counter-argumentation, thesis cited 'to be opposed' is a selective summary of someone else's viewpoint. A counter-argumentative text always starts with an evaluative thesis whose function is to 'set the tone' for an unfolding argument. It is a proposition put forward as a claim. Hatim (1997a: 40) notes that "citing the claim of one's opponent for the purposes of subsequently rebutting such a claim is … culture-specific". This means that not all linguistics communities structure their counter-arguments in a way which includes an explicit citation of the opponent's views. Hatim points out that the citation of the opponent's views which is a device sometimes referred to as 'the straw-man gambit' (an opening move that is calculated to win an advantage later on), may at first glance give the impression that the view of the other side (e.g. the one who represents the thesis cited to be opposed) is being fairly represented. For Hatim, such a presentation is not always genuine but rather is often slanted to steer the receiver in a particular direction. Hatim (1997a: 26) explains this by saying:

> The statement of the opponent's position is rarely a straight-forward representation of the opponent's views. Gaps are deliberately and subtly left in the citation to undermine the opponent's stance. Thus, while at one level the opponent's position appears to be fairly represented and appropriately endorsed, this is done in such a way as to highlight those points which weaken his or her position and prepare for subsequent opposition.

2. Substantiation

Thesis-cited is always followed by one (or more) substantiation when needed to substantiate the cited thesis. This is always followed by a counter-claim.

3. Counter-claim

Thesis-cited is always followed by a counter-claim presenting text producer's point of view. After the text producer has presented the opponent's view and the immediate substantiation, he immediately introduces his stance, 'the counter-claim' to rebut the cited thesis.

4. Substantiation of claim

Substantiation of claim usually comes immediately following counter-claim enhancing text producer's view by outlining the grounds for the opposition. This might be followed by one or more substantiations when the text producer feels a need for introducing more justifications. This is usually followed by a conclusion.

5. Conclusion

When the text producer feels that he has achieved his goal or the text's overall rhetorical goal, s/he introduces the conclusion. The conclusion is always presented in a way that serves the text producer's stance.

5.3.3.1.5 Text texture (cohesion)

In addition to the above-mentioned four features, argumentative text is further characterised by its typical texture. Texture is a term used in linguistic studies to refer to the various devices used to make a sequence of sentences in text operational (i.e. both cohesive and coherent). This notion includes a variety of aspects, among which is cohesion. Cohesion is a text propriety that ensures that the various components of the surface text are connected within a sequence of some kind by virtue of both lexical and grammatical cohesive devices. Texts derive their cohesion from several sources, among which is structure. Hatim believes that structure provides the outline, whereas texture fleshes out the details.

Argumentative text is characterised by the use of certain cohesive devices/ties to connect its various units (i.e. structural and rhetorical units). The cohesive devices/ties used in an argumentative text are not put randomly, but have been chosen by the "text producer in such a way as best to serve his own communicative ends and within an institutional setting which exerts its own influence on the linguistic expression" (Hatim, 1991: 193). This is mainly due to the fact that different texts belonging to different text-types would 'demand different textural procedures'. And, hence, a counter-argumentative text would display distinct cohesive devices/ties, to connect different text structure formats, that are almost casually determined by contextual specifications relating to higher-order contextual categories such as text type" (Hatim, 1997a: 107). In other words, both the choices made and the

deployment of cohesive devices/ties in a counter-argumentative text, are motivated by the text type focus. Hatim argues that although there are many possible cohesive devices/ties, in a given language, capable of relaying, for example, a given relationship between two or more units in a text, the choices made by the text producer of some over others "is believed to be … text-specific" (Hatim 1991: 195). This is an idea upheld by Halliday and Hasan (1976: 136) who maintain:

> Cohesion ties do much more than provide continuity and thus create the semantic unity of the text. The choice involved in the types of cohesive markers used in a particular text [text-type] can affect the texture (as being 'loose' or dense') as well as the style and meaning of that text. …the choice of cohesive markers can serve central functions in the text.

From the foregoing, it can be seen that the deployment and choices made by the text producer of particular cohesive devices/ties, from the likely cohesive devices/ties available in the STL linguistic system, are not random but rather constrained and motivated by the overall rhetorical purpose of the text (i.e. the text type). To demonstrate this, some of the most commonly used cohesive devices/ties counter-argumentative texts are presented under the following headings:

1. Recurrence/repetition

Generally speaking, relative distance from a previous occurrence of an item in texts may preclude the use of pro-forms (e.g. pronouns, so, etc.) in which case recurrence is unavoidable. However, in an argumentative text it is important to repeat the same item in the same form to create the effect; there is no attempt to use co-reference, that is, to activate the same content by using varied expression. This is because the repetition of an item with the same referent is motivated. Within this context, Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 55) maintain that recurrence is "prominently used to assert and re-affirm one's viewpoint." This is illustrated as follows:

[5:101]
Much *credit* flows to the State of Israel for the vigour….
The *credit* attaches to the state, though, and not the government…
(Hatim, 1990: 176)

The lexical item 'credit' in the two segments of a counter-argumentative text - structure format (1): 'thesis cited' and structure format (2): 'counter-claim'- has been repeated with the same referent in to link the thesis cited to the opposition. This recurrence/repetition of the same item 'credit' is motivated. Hatim asserts "part of the text producer's intention in this case is to channel 'credit' in a particular direction" and the repetition corresponds to a

counter-argumentative strategy". Moreover, this repetition responds to constraints of text-type focus and any attempt to replace the second mentioning of the item 'credit' by a synonym or a pronoun, for example, would compromise the overall effect of the text.

2. Partial recurrence

Partial recurrence is a further kind of lexical cohesion. It involves the repetition of an item lexicalised in different word classes (e.g. 'dust' – 'dusty', 'education'- 'educated', etc.). Partial recurrence in a counter-argumentative text has a further function to perform. As well as being used as a cohesive device/tie, it supports the development of the counter-argument. Once more, this additional function is motivated by the text-type focus. This function might be weakened in translation if the cohesive device/tie were lost.

[5:102]

> It is a good thing to have an *education* behind you… but I have had certain experiences, with *educated* people…
> (Hatim and Mason, 1990: 200)

Here, the lexical item 'education' is partially recurred in the second sentence 'educated'. The partially recurred item acts as a cohesive device (i.e. it connects the two units). Moreover, according to Hatim, this cohesive tie has another function to perform; "it supports the development of the counter-argument in which the thesis cited, 'it is a good thing to have an education behind you…' relays weak conviction and prepares the way for the opposition, 'but I have had certain experiences, with educated people…', in which the associative meaning of the item 'educated' switches from positive to negative" (Ibid.).

3. Cataphora

Cataphoric constructions are used in argumentative texts to signal a particular function in the text. According to Hatim, cataphora is an anticipatory mechanism which may be used within the boundaries of a single sentence or may look ahead to an entire event beyond the single sentence. He believes that

> In either case the motivation in using cataphora seems to be one of generating uncertainty and thus arousing the interest of the text receiver…. [Moreover,] cataphora, to an arguer, would be a means of highlighting a particular detail. (Hatim, 1997a: 92-93)

The markedness achieved by the use of cataphoric expression is closely bound up with 'text type' as a contextual category which determines the way texts actually emerge. Hatim maintains that "when dealing with cataphora, or indeed any other aspect of texture, receivers of different text types (argumentation, exposition, etc.) will perceive different degrees of markedness in some or other block of content" (Hatim, 1997a: 92-93). He points

out that markedness can range from minimal in texts which are least evaluative (detached exposition) to maximal in texts which are most evaluative (involved argumentation). He notes that cataphora can also be used in semi-evaluative texts but its functions are different from that of a counter-argumentative text. This is to say that when a cataphoric expression occurs in a semi-evaluative text as in story telling, for example, the function of this is to impel the reader to read on, as in:

> [5:103]
> Because *their* history is interwoven with the history of
> Islam, and therefore sharpened five times a day by prayer,
> *Arabs* have a keen sense of the past.
> (Hatim, 1997a: 91)

Here, the reference item 'their' is used as a cataphoric reference before the co-referring expression 'Arabs' in the same clause complex. Following Hatim, this use is motivated by the text producer to block one content by the "sudden and emphatic 'intrusion' of the reasoning behind 'Because their history…". The argument relies, among other things, on highlighting the subordinated clause to achieve a rhetorical purpose (i.e. emphasis).

Generally speaking, cohesive devices/ties are of two types. They are expressed explicitly or implicitly. Hatim believes that the degree of explicitness in the linguistic realisation of contextual values varies according to the text type. In a counter-argumentative text, the 'adversative', which is a cohesive device/tie usually used to connect the counter-claim (opposition) with the thesis cited, is to be expressed explicitly or implicitly. According to Hatim, the degree of adversative explicitness can be related to the strength of the opposition to be voiced. The balance in some texts weighs heavily in favour of a desire to be objective, whether genuine or not. To illustrate the use of both types, Hatim presents the following examples:

> [5:104]
> Existing studies of development in the Gulf region have
> mostly restricted their concern to one aspect of
> development…
>
> What is lacking is an overall perspective of development;
> integrating the political, social and economic aspects;
> providing….
> (Hatim, 1997a: 132)

Here, the text producer signals the contrastive shift between the claim and a counter-claim implicitly with the adversative (connector) signal suppressed 'What is lacking is…'. The suppression of the adversative in this stance is motivated; the text producer, by doing so, enhances his own credibility and adheres to conventions of academic writing. The rhetorical effect of suppressing the adversative is to show objectivity.

[5:105]

> The latest peace plan for Lebanon, signed in Damascus on December 28th, has a slightly better chance of success than the nine previous plans hopefully pressed upon that sad country since the civic war began more than a decade ago… But there are reasons for hope. ….
>
> (Hatim, 1990: 210)

Here, the text producer signals the contrastive shift between the claim and a counter-claim explicitly with the adversative (connector) signal strongly voiced 'but there are reasons for hope. …'. This degree of adversative explicitness is motivated by the text producer; he wants to express the strength of the opposition.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to illustrate the main components of the method developed for the investigation of the phenomenon of shifts in translation. The objective of this investigation is three-fold: to identify shifts of cohesion in the ST-TT text pairs that occurred through translation, to explain and justify their occurrence and, finally, to describe the likely consequences of shifts in the translated texts. To achieve the above-mentioned objects, the method developed encompasses two main components: a comparative model and a descriptive model. The comparative model is designed for the identification of shifts that occurred through translation by means of comparison. The descriptive model has been adopted to provide the theoretical framework needed for the explanation and justification of the occurrence of shifts in translation.

CHAPTER SIX
ANALYSIS OF SHIFTS

6.0 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, a detailed explanation of the method developed for investigating the phenomenon 'translation shifts' in integral translation of argumentative texts has been presented. And, instances of shifts of cohesion in the various ST-TT text pairs have been identified (Appendix E). This has been achieved by the application of the comparative model to the analysis of the various pairs of texts in Appendices A and B (i.e. Arabic source texts and their translations into English as well as English source texts and their Arabic translations).

This has been a primarily step supplementing the issues to be raised in the current chapter. Following Toury (1995: 57), the "identification of shifts is part of the discovery procedures only, i.e. a step towards the formulation of explanatory hypotheses". This statement implies that shift analysis is not directed at exposing translation errors or flaws, but, rather, a means to make a more general statement about the translation process itself (e.g. translation problems, translation norms, translation strategies adopted by individual translators, etc.).

This chapter has two aims: firstly, to explain and justify the shifts of cohesion that occurred through translation by making reference to both the translation strategies which have given rise to these shifts as well as the factors and constraints that have motivated and influenced the translators' decisions. The second aim is to describe the likely consequences of these shifts, with a view to validating Blum-Kulka's (1986) hypothesis that shifts of cohesion would affect levels of explicitation in the translated text (i.e. the general level of the target text's textual explicitness is either higher or lower than that of the source text).

There are, however, two points here that need to be elaborated somewhat before we can embark on the analysis of shifts. The first point concerns the definition of the notion 'translation' itself. Translation is a highly complex phenomenon taking place between at least two languages and cultures. Moreover, the act itself is a multi-dimensional and multi-layered

process involving problem-solving and decision-making. The problem-solving process involves a wide spectrum of decision-making on the part of the translator whenever encountered with translation problems given rise by differences/divergences in the systems of the two languages involved in this process. That is, in his attempt to transfer meaning from one language (SL) to another (TL) by means of the universally known practice of translation, the translator faces a plethora of linguistic, stylistic, and even cultural problems.

The second point concerns the notion 'shift'. That is, when translating is regarded as a problem-solving process, shifts have to be considered not as errors but rather as motivated choices consciously (or sub-consciously) undertaken by the translators in mediating gaps between the systems of the two languages. Hence, shifts are seen to be consequences of the translator's effort to establish translation equivalence (TE) between two different language systems.

The general analysis of the data (i.e. shifts of cohesion), obtained by the application of the comparative model to the analysis of the various ST-TT pair of texts, has the following implications:

Firstly, three types of shifts have occurred through translation: establishment of new cohesive relations, elimination of existing cohesive relations and change of the type of cohesive ties.

Second, all of these shifts in cohesion have been stimulated by the translation actions (e.g. addition, omission, substitution, modification, etc.) undertaken by the various translators for dealing with translation problems resulting from differences between the two languages involved.

Finally, the general analysis of the shifts identified has demonstrated that all of the translation actions undertaken by the translators are themselves motivated. That is, they have been consciously (and/or sub-consciously) undertaken by the translator for some reasons. Here, it has been found that, in line with Blum-Kulka's hypothesis, shifts in cohesion have

been motivated by differences between languages in terms of stylistic and textual norms and conventions along with the unavoidable systematic differences between languages.

The interrelationships between the types of shifts and the kinds of the translation actions that have affected them are presented as follows:

1. New cohesion

This type of shifts in cohesion involves the establishment of new cohesive relation(s) not present in the source text through translation. This type of shifts is affected by various kinds of translation actions implemented by the translators, including:

i. Substitution

The translation strategy of substitution involves rendering a ST element (with no cohesive relation) by a TL translationally-equivalent element (with a cohesive relation), hence, TT establishes a new cohesive relation.

ii. Addition of a lexico-grammatical element

The translation strategy of addition involves inserting in the translated text a lexico-grammatical element (with a cohesive function) that is not present in the source text, hence, TT establishes a new cohesive relation.

iii. Addition of information unit(s)

The translation strategy of addition involves adding to the source text new information unit(s) conveyed by structural units (e.g. phrases, clauses, etc.).

iv. Structural expansion/information splitting

The principle of information splitting involves transforming a ST complex construction into several independent sentences/clauses with finite verbs. It also involves the insertion of conjunctions which explicitly express the implicit semantic relations in the source structure. Moreover, this principle subsumes under it some other translation strategies such as 'grammatical transposition'.

2. Elimination of cohesion

This type of shifts involves the elimination of a ST cohesive relation partially or wholly through translation. This type of shifts is affected by various kinds of translation actions implemented by the translators:

i. Substitution

The translation strategy of substitution involves rendering a ST element (with a cohesive relation) by a TL translationally-equivalent element (with no cohesive relation).

ii. Omission of a cohesive marker

The translation strategy of omission involves omitting a source text cohesive marker in the translated text through translation.

iii. Omission of information unit(s)

The translation strategy of omission involves omitting some information unit(s) from the ST through translation.

iv. Structural incorporation/information collecting

The principle of information collecting involves rendering ST string made up of a sequence of independent clauses with finite verbs by a syntactically complex construction in the TT with embedded elements of various types. Moreover, this principle subsumes under it some other translation strategies such as 'grammatical transposition'.

3. Change of cohesion

This type of shifts involves changing the type of the cohesive ties used in the ST through translation by means of substitution.

This chapter is made up of four sections, each of which deals with the shifts identified from different perspectives (i.e. linguistic, cultural, textual, stylistic, etc.). Section 6.1 accounts for the discussion of shifts from a cultural and linguistic perspective. Section 6.2 examines the type of shifts attributed to stylistic preferences. Shifts attributed to differences in knowledge are discussed in section 6.3. Finally, section 6.4 presents a description of the consequences of shifts in cohesion.

6.1 Shifts attributed to language systematic differences

This section examines the type of shifts in cohesion claimed to be motivated by the unavoidable systematic differences between the two languages. Following Blum-Kulka (1986: 19), the overt cohesive relationships between parts of the texts are necessarily linked

to a language's grammatical system; thus, grammatical differences between languages will be expressed by changes in the types of ties used to mark cohesion in source and target texts.

According to Hatim and Mason (1990: 23), no "one-for-one equivalents exist for all lexical items in Arabic and English; sentence structure of one language does not match that of another". They note that "translation involves overcoming the contrasts between language systems: SL syntactic structures had to be exchanged for TL structures; lexical items from each language had to be matched and the nearest equivalents selected". They emphasise that "this lack of a one-to-one relationship between grammatical/lexical categories creates problems for the translator".

For Nida (quoted in Hatim and Mason 1990: 7) "non-correspondence of grammatical and lexical categories is the main source of information 'gain' and 'loss' in translation. The latter occurs when an SL category lacks information which is obligatory expressed in the corresponding TL category. He maintains "addition to the TT of information not expressed in the ST seems inevitable but only as long as translation itself is regarded as an activity in which each meaningful SL item has to be represented by an equivalent TT item and vice versa".

Nida's view is advocated by Baker (1992: 180), who maintains that different grammatical structures in the SL and TL may cause remarkable changes in the way information or a message is carried across. She affirms, "These changes may induce the translator to add or to omit information in the TT because of the lack of particular grammatical devices in the TL itself. Amongst those grammatical devices that might create problems in translation include person number and gender, tense and aspects, voice, etc.".

Shifts of cohesion attributed to language systematic differences are discussed under two different categories, namely: lexical and structural mismatches.

In each illustrative example of shifts, the ST element(s) (e.g. lexical or grammatical) representing a translation problem is italicised. The translation strategy used by the translator for dealing with this problem and the resulting shift(s) in cohesion are highlighted and

discussed. It should be noted here that only instances of shifts in cohesion which are motivated by a translation problem resulting from lexical mismatches, for example, will be commented on. Other strategies and differences between the source and target texts are dealt with in subsequent sections.

6.1.1 Lexical mismatches

This sub-section examines the types of shifts attributed to lexical mismatches between the two languages. Baker (1992: 10) uses the term 'non-equivalence' to account for situation where the TL has no equivalent words to convey a concept expressed in the ST.

Larson (1998) notes that differences in culture result in situations in which a concept in the source language text is either unknown in the target language and hence no lexical equivalents exist to convey it, or known in the target language but not lexicalised. She points out that this mismatches might be due to differences in cultures with regard to climate, customs, believes, worldviews, etc. Moreover, Larson asserts that when the concept, for which the TL has no equivalent, is a key concept in the information the problem becomes even more critical.

Another point of view is held by Dickens (2002: 97), who maintains that lexical loss is very common in translation, and can occur for all sorts of reasons. He believes that "It very often arises from the fact that exact synonymy between ST words is relatively rare. Another common source of lexical translation loss is the fact that in any text, words acquire associative overtones on top of their denotative meaning […]".

Moreover, Baker (1992) points out that different kinds of non-equivalence require different translation strategies; moreover, "the context and purpose of translation will often rule out some strategies and favour others".

1. New cohesion: TT establishes new cohesive relations not present in the ST through translation. This type of shifts is affected by the translation strategy of addition. Addition

involves adding to the source text new information unit(s), as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:1]

EST2: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\AS a deliberate *dig at* Texas's own President George W. Bush it was hard to beat./ (2)\A cake decorated with three candles fashioned in the shape of polluting Texan smokestacks had pride of place on a table in Brussels this week at a ceremony to mark the anniversary of the European Union's signing of the Kyoto treaty on global warming./
ATT2: SEI<E1<(1) & [(2-4)]:	(1)\ ka:nat *Haraka* khabi:tha fi:ha: l-kathi:r min l-ghamz wa l-lamz fi: qana:t l-ra'i:s l-'amri:ki: ju:rj bu:sh/ [Clauses (2-4): (2)*ha:dhih l-Haraka* tamathalat fi: 'arD ka'ka zi:unat bi-thala:that shumu:' 'ala: shakl *mada:khin* taqli:di:a tu:jad fi: taksa:s/ (3)\wa hiya: *mada:khin* yu'raf 'anha: talwi:thuha: l-shadi:d lil-bi:'a./(4)\ wuDi'at l- ka'ka 'ala: Ta:wila fi: bru:ksil min 'ajl l-'iHtifa:l bil-dhikra: l-tha:litha li-tawqi:' l-'ittiHa:d l-'uwru:bi: 'ala: 'itifa:qiyat kiyu:tu: l-kha:Sa bil-'iHtiba:s l-Hara:ri:/]

[Lit. clauses (1)-(2-4): (1)\It was a nasty move full of [sarcastic remarks] against the American President G. Bush/(2)*This move* was symbolized by displaying of *a cake* decorated with three candles resembling the figure of smokestacks located in Texas/(3)\(*and*) they were *smokestacks* recognized by their excessive pollution of (the) environment/(4)*the cake* was placed on a table in Brussels to celebrate the third anniversary of the European Union's signing of the Kyoto treaty on global warming./]

Here, TT establishes new cohesive relations that are not present in the ST. This type of shift has been affected by the translation strategies implemented by the translator. The translation action involved here (amongst others) is translation by paraphrase: as the cultural-bound concept 'dig at' expressed in the ST is not lexicalised at all in the TL, the translator has opted for the paraphrase strategy. Consequently, shifts in cohesion have occurred.

TT can also establish new cohesion relations by paraphrasing a ST culturally-bound concept, as in the following illustrative example:

[6:2]

EST2: SEIII<E6<(19) & (20):	(19)\On Tuesday, Labour MPs *mocked* the president *like* schoolchildren in a playground./ (20)\In a typical attack, Jane Griffiths, MP for Reading East, dubbed him the "fool on Capitol Hill"./

ATT2: SEIII<E6<[(23-24)] & (25):	[Clauses (23)-(24): (23)\ fa-qad *sakhir-a* 'aHad 'a'Da:'a l-barlama:n l-'ingili:zi: 'an Hizb l-'uma:l min l-ra'i:s bu:sh/(24)*wa waSafahu bi-'annahu* ashbah ma:-yaku:n <<bi-Ta:lib madrasa yaqif-u fi: mal'ab>>/] (25)*wa* maDa: ha:dha l-'iDu: fi: 'intiqa:da:tih wa *waSafa bu:sh* bi-'annahu <<dha:lika l-ghabi: fi: mabna: l-kabitu:l>>./

[Lit. clauses (23-24)-(25): (23)\because *a member of the English parliament* made fun of *President Bush*/(24)*and* described *him* as being much alike "a student standing in school play ground"/(25)*and* this member goes on his mocking and *described* Bush as being "that fool in the building of the Capitol"/]

Here, TT establishes new cohesive relations that are not present in the ST. That is, as the cultural-bound concept 'mocked' expressed in the ST is not lexicalised at all in the TL, the translator has opted to rend ST single-clause sentence by two independent clauses with finite verbs each of which conveying one semantic aspect of the ST expression.

2. Elimination of cohesion: This type of shifts is affected by a variety of translation strategies including substitution. This strategy involves rendering a ST element (with a cohesive relation) by a TL translationally-equivalent element (with no cohesive relation), as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:3]

EST1: SEI<E6<(19) & (20):	(19)\Arab intellectuals…not to have any *dealings* with Israel…/ (20)\but even they had been silent when, for instance, Egypt signed large *deals* selling natural gas to Israel/

ATT1: SEI<E6<(19) & (20):	(19)\'illa: 'anna l-muthaqafu:n l-'arab ja'alu: min bayn-i muqadasa:tahum rafD 'ayya naw'-in min *l-ta'a:mul* ma'a 'isra:'i:l min Dimnih-i ziya:ratuha: 'aw mulaqa:t l-'isra:'i:liyi:n,/ (20)\la:kin Hata: ha:'uwla:'-i baqaw Sa:miti:n 'iza:'a *khaTawa:t* mithla bay'-i miSr kami:a:t kabi:ra min l-gha:z l-Tabi:'i:: 'ila: 'isra:'i:l,/

[Lit. clauses (19)-(20): (19)\however, Arab intellectuals made … any kind of *dealings* with Israel…/(20)\however, even those remained silent against *steps* like the selling of Egypt of a large quantity of (the) natural gas to Israel,/]

Here, ST cohesive relation between the two lexical items 'dealings' and 'deals' is eliminated in the TT. That is, as the TL has no equivalent concepts to convey the same cohesive relation between these two lexical items, the translator has found himself obliged to

substitute the ST lexical item, 'deals', by the lexical item, [khaTawa:t <steps>], which is the approximate translationally-equivalence for the one been used in the ST.

[6:4]

AST2: SEV<E8<(39) & (40):	(39)\nuTa:libukum, 'amri:yka wa al-qiya:da:t al-'u:wru:wbi:ya 'an *tuHakimu:* al-'aql/ (40)\wa tadrisu: bi-*Hikma* wa tarayuth l-'asba:b, wa li-ma:dha: waladat tilka l-ta'aSSu:ba:t/

[Lit. clauses (39)-(40): (39)\We demand that America and the leaders of Europe to <<resort to sound *judgment*>>/(40)\and <<to consider *wisely* >> and thoroughly the causes, and [to consider] why fanaticisms were born/]

ETT2: SEV<E8: (36):	(36)\We demand that the leaders of America and Europe resort to sound judgment and consider the causes wisely and deliberately;/

Here, ST cohesive relation between the lexical items [Hakimu: <resort to>] and the adverbial noun phrase, which cannot be reproduced in literal translation, [bi-Hikma, roughly: <wisely>] in clause (40), which is a noun derived from the roots of the verb [Hakimu:, roughly: <restore to … judgment>] in the preceding one, is eliminated in the TT. That is, the translator has found himself obliged to use an alternative lexical item because TL has no equivalent word.

This type of shifts is also affected by the translation strategy of omission. This strategy involves omitting source text cohesive marker in the translated text through translation, as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:5]

EST1: SEIII<E8<(24) &(25):	(24)\In this young woman's understanding therefore, the opposite of conceding was supposed to be *defiance*,/ (25)*the act of defying*, resisting and refusing to bend under the will of a power/

ATT1: SEIII<E8<(24) & (25):	(24)\ 'iftira:D al-ba:Hitha sh-sha:ba ka:nna 'anna naqi:yD t-tana:zul huwa t-taHadi:y,/ (25)\'ayy ∅l-muqa:wama wa rafD l-ruDu:kh li-'ira:dat Taraf Za:lim mujHif./

[Lit. clauses (24)-(25): (24)\the young (-woman) researcher's proposition was that (the) opposite of (the) concession was the defiance,/(25)\that is, the resistance and the rejection of (the) supplementation to the will of an oppressing and in just party./]

Here, ST cohesive relation between the two expressions 'defiance' and 'act of defying' is eliminated in the TT. That is, as the TL has no equivalent concept to convey ST expression- 'act of defying'- the translator opts for not translating it.

[6:6]

EST2: SEI<E3<(7) & (8)	(7)\As Mr Bush nears his 100th day in office - the *landmark* … Europe is finding that America is striking back./ (8)\In many respects, the 100 days *milestone* will mark the end of a very short honeymoon for US-EU relations./

ATT2: SEI<E3<[(9-10)] & [(11-12)]:	[Clauses (9)-(10): (9)\ wa fi: l-waqt l-ladhi: 'akmala fi:hi l-ra'i:s ju:rj bu:sh mi'at yawm fi: l-bayt l-'abyaD ∅ fa-'inna 'u:ru:bba:…./] [Clauses (11)-(12): (11)\fa:-l-mi'at yawm l-'u:la: ∅ shahidat ni:ha:yat shahr l-'assal l-qaSi:r…./]

[Lit. clauses (9-10)-(11-12): (9)\and, as President G. Bush has completed one hundred days ∅ in the White House, Europe…/(11-12)\because the initial one hundred days ∅ have witnessed the end of the short honeymoon…/]

Here, ST cohesive relation between the two expressions 'landmark' and 'milestone' is eliminated in the TT. That is, as the TL has no translationally-equivalent concepts to convey ST expressions, the translator opts for not translating them.

This type of shifts is also affected by the translation strategy of omission. This strategy involves omitting ST information unit(s) through translation, as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:7]

AST1: SEII<E6<(17) & [(18-19)]:	(17)\wa l-tha:ni: huwa 'anna 'abi:d l-nifT 'anfusahum *la:-yaTma'u:n wa la:-yarghabu:n* fi: 'an yal'abu: 'ayya dawr fi: l-ta'athi:r 'ala: l-siya:sa:t l-'amri:ki:ya,/ [Clauses: (18-19): (18)\Hatta: wa-law fi: shay'-in yata'allaq-u bi-'aqdas muqadasa:tihu:m,/(19)\(*wa na'ni:y muqadasa:tihu:m l-di:ni:ya, wa-laysat l-du:lara:t*)./]

[Lit. clauses (17)-(18-19): (17)\and the second is that 'oil slaves themselves' are not <*state of being extremely eager to do something*> and they do not have the desire to play any role to affect the American policy/(18)\even if it is related to a thing pertaining to their most sacred holiness/(19)*we mean their religious holiness, not the dollars*/]

ETT1: SEII<E6<(10) & (11):	(10)\and the second is that oil slaves themselves do not *want to play* a role in order to affect the American policies/ (11)\even if it is related to their most sacred religious sanctity./

Here, ST cohesive relations between the elements of the two constructions have been eliminated in the English version. That is, as the English language has no semantically and culturally equivalent expressions to convey the one used in the ST, i.e. the expressions [la:-yaTma‘u:n wa la:-yarghabu:n] in clause (17), the translator has opted for translation by omission.

Finally, data has also shown that non-equivalence has also lead to the occurrence of the third type of shifts in cohesion; i.e. TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST through translation, as in the following illustrative example:

[6:8]

AST2: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\al-‘a:lam *’ajma‘* ’istanka:r l-jari:ma l-lati: wajahatha: ’amri:ka/ (2)\wa ‘ala: ha:mish l-’istinka:r *l-jama:‘i:* barazat ’as’ila/

[Lit. clauses (1)-(2): (1)\the *entire* world condemned the crime that America had faced/(2)\and on the margin of the *inclusive* condemnation some questions been raised/]

ETT2: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\The *whole world* has condemned the crime to which America was subjected./ (2)\But on the sidelines of the *universal* condemnation there appeared a number of questions/

Here, ST cohesive relation- signalled by the repetition of the lexical item [jama:‘i:y <universal>]in clause (2), which coheres with the lexical item [’ajma <whole>] in clause (1)- is eliminated in the TT. As the TL has no equivalent word for the Arabic one, the translator obliged to substitute the ST presupposing item- [jama:‘i: <universal>]- by the adjective ‘universal’, which has a synonymy relation with the lexical item ‘whole’ in the preceding clause.

6.1.2 Structural mismatches

In the preceding section, examples of shifts in cohesion motivated by translation problems arising from lexical mismatches (non-equivalence at word level) have been illustrated and a number of attested translation procedures under taken by the various translators in dealing with such problems have been explored. In this section, however, are discussed examples of shifts in cohesion attributed to structural mismatches.

Following Baker (1992: 80), differences in the grammatical structures of the source and target languages often result in some change in the information content of the message during the process of translation. This change may take the form of adding to the TT information that is not expressed in the ST. This can happen when the TL has a grammatical category which the SL lacks. Baker notes that details which are ignored in the ST but which have to be specified in the TL can pose a serious dilemma for the translator if they cannot be reasonably inferred from the context. The change in the information content of the message may be in the form of omitting information specified in the ST. If the TL lacks a grammatical category which exists in the SL, the information expressed by that category then may have to be ignored.

Hatim and Mason (1990: 23) point out that the absence of a grammatical category and/or constraints imposed by the TL grammatical system would influence the translator's decision and, consequently, shifts would occur.

1. New cohesion: TT establishes new cohesive relations not present in the ST. This type of shifts is affected by the translation process of addition. This involves inserting in the TT a lexico-grammatical element (with a cohesive function) through translation, as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:9]

EST2: SEIV<E9<(59) & (60)	(59)\With an EU trying to flex its muscles/ (60)\and ∅ a new president prepared to act unilaterally,/

ATT2: SEIV<E9<(68) & (69):	(68)\wa ma'-a *wuju:d* 'ittiHa:d 'u:ru:bbi: yuHa:wl 'isti'ra:D 'aDala:tahu/ (69)\wa *wuju:d* ra'i: s jadi:d musta'id lil-taSaru:f bi-Su:ra munfarid/]

[Lit. clauses (68)-(69): (68)\and with *(the) existence* of an European Union trying to flex its muscles/(69)\and with *(the) existence* of a new president prepared to act unilaterally/

Here, TT establishes a new cohesive relation not present in the ST. This shift is affected by the insertion of the lexical item [wuju:d <by the presence>] in clause (67) which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item used in the preceding clause. Here, the translator has found himself obliged by the TL grammatical rules which prohibit the use of the same construction used in the ST.

This type of shifts (i.e. establishment of new cohesive relations) can also be affected by the kind of translation strategies such as structural expansion, as in the following illustrative example:

[7:10]

AST2: SEV<E9<(46):	(46)\wa ba'Daha: yukhfi: diktatu:riyatuh taHta dimiqra:Ti:a za:'i:fa *qa:'ima* 'ala: l-tazwi:r wa l-nahb l-munaZam li-tharawa:t shu'u:biha:/

[Lit. (46)\and some of them conceal their dictatorships under a false veneer of democracy *that is based on forgery*, regular looting of their people's fortunes./]

ETT2: SEV<E9<(42) & (43):	(42)\Some of those rulers conceal their dictatorships under a false veneer of democracy/ (43)*which is in fact based on forgery, regular looting of their people's fortunes./*

Here, TT establishes new cohesive relation that is not present in the TT. That is, as the TL has no translationally-equivalent construction to convey ST lexical item [qa:'ima] which fulfils a circumstantial clause, the translator opts to explicate the function of the ST item using a relative clause specifying a concept in the preceding clause.

2. Elimination of cohesion: this type of shifts is affected by various kinds of translation strategies, including structural incorporation/information collecting, as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:11]

EST1: SEIII<E8<(25) & (26):	(25)\the act of defying, resisting and refusing to bend under the will of a power / (26)*that one perceives as unjust and unreasonable.*/]

ATT1: SEIII<E8<(25):	(25)\'ay l-muqa:wama wa rafD l-ruDu:kh li-'ira:dat *Taraf Za:lim mujHif./*

[Lit. (25)\that is, the resistance and the rejection of (the) supplementation to the will of *an oppressing and in just party./*]

Here, ST cohesive relation has been eliminated through translation. That is, as the TL has no equivalent structures to convey the one used in the ST, the translator has been forced to convey ST two independent clauses by a construction of a single clause-sentence.

[6:12]

AST2: SEII<E3<(15) & (16):	(15)\'idh *tataHa:laf* ma'a l-Huka:m l-munafidhi:n li-'ira:datiha:/ (16)\wa *tad'amahum* fi: qam'ihim li-shu'u:bihim raghma ma:-tarfa'ahu min shi'ara:t Huqu:q l-'insa:n../

[Lit. clauses (15)-(16): (15)\as they are allied to the rulers who carry out her will/(16)\and she supports them in suppression of their own people…./]

ETT2: SEII<E3<[(12-13)] & (14):	[Clauses (12)-(13): (12)\as *they* are allied to the *lucky rulers*,/(13)\who carry out *America's will/*] (14)\and in return receive support in *their* suppression of *their* people in spite of all the banners of human rights held by *America/*

Here, TT modifies the structure of the ST. That is, ST independent coordinate clause has been transformed into a subordinate clause. The translator has found himself obliged to carry out this procedure in order to avoid ambiguity. Unlike Arabic, English makes few distinctions in reference system in terms of gender and number.

3. Change of cohesion: this type of shifts is affected by the translation strategy of substitution. Here, TT changes the type of the ties used in the ST, as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:13]

AST1: SEI<E2<[(3-4)] & (5):	[Clauses (3-4): (3)\'indama: 'aZharat *ha:dhihi l-'ida:ra* 'annaha: la: taktafi: bi-tabani: l-mawqif l-'isra:'i:li:ya min mufawaDa:t l-sala:m fa-Hasb…/] (5)\wa *tuTa:lib* l-DaHa:ya bi-waqf 'a'ma:l l-'unf!/

[Lit. clauses (3-4)-(5): (3)\when this administration made it clear that it does not only adopt the Israeli's position on the peace negotiation…./ (5)\and it calls upon the victims to stop the violence acts/]

ETT1: SEI<E2<(3) & (4):	(3)\when it insists not only to adopt the Israeli situation in the peace negotiations but also to support the Israeli atrocities/ (4)\and ∅ calls upon the victims to stop violence /

Here, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST. That is, while ST establishes reference to the definite article NP, [al-'ida:ra <the administration>] in clause (3), by means of pronominal reference, i.e. the concealed second person feminine pronoun [ha: <it>] affixed to the verb [la:-kinna(-ha:) <but it>] in clause (4), reference in the TT is made by a grammatical means, i.e. ellipsis; the subject of the second coordinate clause is omitted. This type of shift is apparently due to differences in the systems of the two languages. In English, the slot of the subject of the second coordinate clause is to be left blank.

[6:14]

AST2: SEIV<E7<(36) & (37):	(36)\wa HariSat *'amri:ka* 'ala: 'an la:-tataHamal mas'u:liyat ma:-sataqu:m bih/ (37)\wa ha:hi: *tuHa:wil* jam' 'adad min duwalina: l-'arabi:ya wa l-'isla:mi:ya/

[Lit. clauses (36)-(37): (36)\ America is keen not to bear responsibility of her actions alone/(37)\therefore, [there she is] trying to gather a number of our Arabs and Islamic states/]

ETT2: SEIV<E7<(33) & (34):	(33)\America is keen not to bear responsibility of her actions/ (34)\and, therefore ∅ tries to gather a number of Arabs and Islamic States/

Here, changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST. That is, ST establishes reference relation between the two clauses by means of pronominal reference, i.e. the gender marker [tu] embedded in the verb [tuHa:wil <she tries>] in clause (37) which anaphorically refers back to the name ['amri:yka: <America>] in the preceding clause, whereas in the English version reference is made by ellipsis, i.e. omission of the subject of the second coordinated clause. This type of shift is apparently due to differences in the systems of the

two languages. In English, the slot of the subject of the second coordinate clause is to be left blank.

[6:15]:

EST1: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\During the discussion period that followed a lecture of mine at Oxford three and a half years ago I was stunned by a question put to me by *a young woman*,/ (2)*whom* I later discovered to have been a Palestinian student working for her doctorate at the university./
ATT1: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\fa:ja'ani: 'ithna:' niqa:sh muHa:Dara 'alqaytuha: fi: ja:mi'at 'u:ksfu:rd qabla thala:th sanawa:t wa niSf l-sana su:'a:l TaraHathu *sha:bba/* (2)\'araft-u la:Hiqan 'anna*ha:* Ta:liba filisTi:ni:ya ta'id-u li-shaha:dat l-du:ktu:ra fi: tilka l-ja:mi'a./

[Lit. clauses (1)-(2): (1)\surprised me during a discussion of a lecture I delivered at Oxford University three years and half year ago a question raised by a young woman/(2)\I knew later on that she was a Palestinian student prepares for (the) PhD certificate at that university./]

Here, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST. That is, while ST makes reference to an identity expressed in the preceding clause by the possessive pronoun NP 'her doctorate' in clause (2), the TT establishes reference relation using the personal pronominal reference item, i.e. the feminine explicit independent pronoun [ha: <she>] affixed to the particle ['anna, roughly: <that-she>]. Apparently, this change in the type of the cohesive relation signalled in the ST could be attributed to the fact that Arabic grammatical structure has no equivalent to the English objective relative clause marked by the relative pronoun 'whom'. To compensate for this divergence, the Arabic translator modifies the ST construction and uses a main clause.

[6:16]

EST1: SEI<E2<(4) & (5):	(4)\and how it seemed to me necessary not only to understand the connection between *our history* and *Israel's*∅,/ (5)\but that as Arabs we needed to study that other history as *one* concerning us rather than avoiding or ignoring it totally/
ATT1: SEI<E2<(4) & (5):	(4)\wa kayfa 'anna min l-Daru:ri:, kama 'ara:, laysa fahm l-'ila:qa bayna *ta:ri:khuna:* wa *ta:ri:ykh 'isra:'i:l* faqaT,/ (5)\bal 'inna: ka-'arab bi-Ha:ja 'ila: dira:sat dha:lika l-ta:ri:kh l-'a:khar 'ala: 'annahu *mawDu:'* ya'ni:na: wa laysa tajanubahu 'aw l-'ighfa:l l-ta:m lahu kama: hiya l-Ha:l mindhu zaman Tawi:l./

[Lit. clauses (4)-(5): (4)\and how that is necessary, as I see it, not to understand the relation between *our history* and *Israel's history* only,/(5)\but also we as Arabs need to study

that other history as *a subject* concerning us and not to avoid it or the complete ignorance of it as the case since a long time/]

Here, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST. That is, the ST makes reference relation between the two clauses by using the nominal substitute 'one' in clause (5), which substitutes for the elliptical head 'history' in the NP 'Israel's ∅' in the preceding clause, whereas TT establishes explicitly this link by supplying the elliptical head and using an explicit lexical item substituting the pro-form used in the ST. This shift is mainly because in Arabic it is obligatory to supply the head of the second coordinated NP.

[6:17]

EST1: SEI<E5: (16) & (17):	(16)\the PLO had already recognized it/ (17)\and ∅ was pursuing peace process with it,/

ATT1: SEI<E5: (16) & (17):	(16)\wa 'i'tarafat bi-ha: munaZamat l-taHri:r l-filisTi:ni:ya/ (17)\wa *tu:a:Sil-u* ma'aha: 'amali:yat l-sala:m,/

[Lit. clauses (16)-(17): (16)\and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation recognised it/ (17)\and continues-it with it the peace process,/ /]

Here, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST. That is, ST establishes reference relation between the two clauses by means of ellipsis, i.e. omission of the subject of the second coordinated clause, whereas the Arabic version makes reference explicitly by supplying the elliptical head, i.e. the gender marker [tu] attached to the verb indicating that the subject of the clause is feminine. This is due to the fact that in Arabic verbs are inflected for both gender and number (i.e. they must convey explicit markers indicating both gender and number of the subjects).

[6:18]

EST2: SEIII<E7<(31) & (32):	(31)\Mr Bush is a profound believer in the American Way/ (32)\and ∅ sees …/

ATT2: SEIII<E7<(34) & (35):	(34)\'inna l-ra'i:s bu:sh yu:'amin 'i:yma:n-an ra:sikh-an bi-Tari:qat l-Haya:t l-'amri:ki:ya/ (35)\wa *huwa yanZur* …/]

[Lit. clauses (34)-(35): (34)\In fact President Bush strongly believes in the American life way/(35)\and *he* sees-(*he*)…/]

Here, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST. That is, ST establishes reference relation between the two clauses by means of ellipsis, i.e. omission of the subject of the second coordinated clause, whereas the Arabic version makes reference explicitly by both supplying the elliptical head, i.e. the gender marker [y] attached to the verb indicating that the subject of the clause is masculine in addition to the use of the third person independent pronoun.

6.2 Shifts attributed to differences in stylistic preferences

> Shifts in cohesion through translations have been claimed to be linked to differences in stylistic preferences for types of cohesive markers in the two languages involved in translation; "one language showing a tendency for higher levels of redundancy through cohesion. (Blum-Kulka, 1986: 19)

This section deals with examples of shifts in cohesion resulting, not from lexico-grammatical mismatches between the two languages, but rather, out of normative stylistic considerations.

The underlying assumption here is that every language has its own stylistic conventions and preferences in using certain patterns of cohesion that differ from these of other languages; shifts in cohesion occur through translation when two or more TL cohesive devices are available at the translator's disposal to express the same ST cohesive relation. Based on small-scale studies and casual observation, a number of scholars have noted features which seem, intuitively, to be linked to language differences in stylistic preferences rather than to the confrontation of specific linguistic systems. Blum-Kulka (1986: 19), for example, notes that a comparative stylistic study has shown that "when English and Hebrew writers have been given the choice between lexical repetition and pronominalization, Hebrew writers tend to prefer the former while English writers tend to choose the latter".

Arabic and English have different preferences in using certain patterns of cohesion. These differences are observed in the use of the following cohesive categories:

1. Lexical repetition

An area of obvious contrast between Arabic and English is in the use of lexical repetition. Following Emery (1989a), Arabic discourse is often characterised as having an abundance of lexical repetition which manifests itself in many forms. Repetition of the same lexical item, for him, is a "property of style generally avoided in written English". He asserts that the translation strategy is to utilise partial lexical recurrence which may take the form of substitution by a superordinate noun.

This concern has been voiced by Hatim and Mason (1997), who note that Arabic and English differ considerably in tolerance of repetition. They argue that the rhetoric maxim 'opt for lexical variation unless there is a good reason for doing otherwise' is probably a universal rhetorical convention, however, the "distinctive socio-cultural practices of different communities promote different thresholds of tolerance for features such as recurrence and degree of lexical variation" (Hatim and Mason, 1997: 32). That is, while recurrence is an option available to users of both Arabic and English, the latter generally see it as a heavily marked form which must have some special motivation. It may be argued that this holds for Arabic too. However, cross-cultural variation is often detected in this area, and what speakers of Arabic see by way of motivation may differ in both kind and degree from that what speakers of English appreciate as such (Hatim and Mason, 1997: 32).

2. Reference

According to Baker (1992), reference is a device which allows the reader to trace 'participants, entities, events, etc. in a text. One of the most common patterns of establishing chains of reference in English and a number of other languages is to mention a participant explicitly in the first instance, for example by name or title, and then use a pronoun to refer back to the same participant in the immediate context. Generally, every language has certain items which have the property of reference in the textual sense. The most common reference items in English and a large number of other languages are pronouns.

Patterns of reference (i.e. anaphora), however, can vary considerably both within and across languages. Baker (1992: 183) notes, "Within the same language, text type seems to be an important factor in determining the choice of pattern". Fox (1986), for example, examined patterns of reference in three genres of American English: spontaneous conversation, exposition, and narrative. She found that the distribution of pronoun versus full noun phrase differed dramatically from one discourse/text type to the next. Baker asserts, "each language has what we might call general preferences for certain patterns of reference as well as specific preferences that are sensitive to text type". (Baker, 1992: 183)

Moreover, Callow (1974) explains that Hebrew, unlike English, prefers to use proper names (i.e. repetition) to trace participants through a discourse. So, where English would normally use a pronoun to refer to a participant who has already been introduced, provided there is no possibility of confusing reference, Hebrew is more likely to repeat the participant's name.

3. Conjunctions

Another area in which Arabic and English differ is in the use of discourse connectives. Languages vary extremely in the pattern of relatedness between sentences. They vary, too, in the use of connectives as well as in the preference for certain kinds of connectives. Baker (1992) asserts that languages vary tremendously in the type of conjunctions they prefer to use as well as the frequency with which they use such items. Moreover, she notices that "since conjunction is a device for signalling relations between chunks of information, how much to say in one go, and with how the relations between such chunks of information are perceived and signalled" (Baker, 1992: 192). In fact, the use of conjunction provides an insight into the whole logic of discourse. (Smith and Frawley, 1983)

Baker (1992) notes that some languages tend to express relations through subordination and complex structures whereas others prefer to use simpler and shorter structures and to mark the relations between these structures explicitly where necessary. She points out "one

noticeable difference in the use of conjunctions which is well documented in the literature is that between English and Arabic". (Baker, 1992: 192)

According to Baker, English, compared to Arabic, generally prefers to present information in relatively small chunks and to signal the relationship between these chunks in an unambiguous ways, using a wide variety of conjunctions to mark semantic relations between clauses, sentences, and paragraphs. In addition to the types of conjunction discussed by Halliday and Hasan (1976), English also relies on a high-developed punctuation system to signal breaks and relations between chunks of information. Arabic, on the other hand, prefers to group information into very large grammatical chunks. Baker asserts, "It is not unusual for Arabic paragraphs to consist of one sentence. This is partly because punctuation and paragraphing are a relatively recent development in Arabic" (Baker, 1992: 193). Moreover, Arabic tends to use a relatively small number of conjunctions, each of which has a wide range of meanings which depend for their interpretation on the context, thus relying heavily on the reader's ability to infer relationships which are only vaguely alluded to by the writer.

Arabic, according to Baker, makes heavy use of certain conjunctions (e.g. 'wa' and 'fa'). Moreover, Baker notes that short sentences, a varied array of conjunctions, and absence of the typical conjunctions (mainly wa, fa, and a few other particles) are "associated with translated Arabic texts"; i.e. original Arabic texts do not normally display these features.

This view is substantiated by Dickens (2002: 131), who notes "in many genres at least, Arabic sentences are typically longer than English sentences, and sentences and clauses in Arabic are typically connected either by one of the three basic connectives 'wa', 'fa' and 'thumma', or by the use of one of the simple secondary connectives such as 'Haythu', 'idh', etc.".

The general analysis of the data has revealed that stylistic differences between Arabic and English in the above mentioned cohesion categories have led to the occurrence of shifts in cohesion through translation in both directions. These are discussed under the pre-established three types of shifts:

1. New cohesion: TT establishes new cohesive relations not present in the ST by means of addition. This strategy involves inserting in the TT a conjunction, as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:19]

EST1: SEI<E5: (15) & (16):	(15)\two major Arab countries had made formal peace with Israel,/ (16)\Ø the PLO had already recognized it/
ATT1: SEI<E5: (15) & (16):	(15)\ba'da: ma:-'aqa:mat dawlata:n 'arabiyata:n ra'i:siyata:n l-sala:m ma'a 'isra:'i:l,/ (16)*wa* 'i'tarafat bi-ha: munaZamat l-taHri:r l-filisTi:ni:ya/

[Lit. clauses (15)-(16): (15)\after two major Arab countries had established (the) peace with Israel,/(16)*and* the Palestinian Liberation Organisation recognised it/]

Here, TT explicitly links the two clauses by inserting the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in clause (16).

[6:20]

EST1: SEIII<E8<(24) & [(25-26)]:	(24)\In this young woman's understanding therefore, the opposite of conceding was supposed to be defiance,/ [Clauses (25-26): (25)\Ø the act of defying, resisting and refusing to bend under the will of a power /(26)\that one perceives as unjust and unreasonable./]
ATT1: SEIII<E8<(24) & (25):	(24)\'iftira:D l-ba:Hitha l-sha:bba ka:nna 'anna naqi:yD l-tana:zul huwa l-taHadi:,/ (25)*'ay* l-muqa:wama wa rafD l-ruDu:kh li-'ira:dat Taraf Za:lim mujHif./

[Lit. clauses (24)-(25): (24)\the young (-woman) researcher's proposition was that (the) opposite of (the) concession was the defiance,/(25)*that is*, the resistance and the rejection of (the) supplementation to the will of an oppressing and in just party./]

Here, TT explicitly links the two clauses by inserting the additive conjunction ['ay <that is>] in clause (25).

[6:21]

EST1: SEIII<E10<(35) & (36):	(35)\Besides, I continue to believe as an educator that knowledge -- any knowledge -- is better than ignorance./ (36)\Ø There is simply no rational justification from an intellectual point of view of having a policy of ignorance./

ATT1: SEIII<E10<(36) & (37):	(36)\'iDa:fat-an 'ila: dha:lika la:-'aza:lu 'ala: 'i'tiqa:di:, ka-mu'alim, 'anna l-ma'rifa --'aya ma'rifa-- 'afDal min l-jahl./ (37)*wa* laysa huna:ka, bi-basa:Ta, 'ala: l-Sa'i:d l-fikri:, 'aya tabri:r manTiqi: li-'itikha:dh l-jahl siya:sa /

[Lit. clauses (36)-(37): (36)\in addition to that, I still hold on (my) belief, as a teacher, that (the) knowledge…./(37)*as/because* there is, simply, on the intellectual aspect, no rational justification to undertake (the) ignorance as a policy,/]

Here, TT explicitly establishes a link between the clauses (36) and (37) by inserting the vague [or multipurpose] conjunction [wa, roughly: <because>] in clause (37), which establishes the conjunctive relation [C3], while ST uses no conjunction.

[6:22]

EST2: SEIII<E5<(14) & (15)	(14)\Mr Bush is less inclined to look towards Europe than any other recent American president./ (15)\Ø He speaks of a "hemispheric" approach to foreign policy and trade in which the Americas act in concert./

ATT2: SEIII<E5<(18) & (19):	(18)\min l-wa:DiH 'anna ju:rj bu:sh yubdi: zuhd-an wa:DiH-an akthara min ghayrih tija:h l-'irtiba:T wa l-qurb min 'u:ru:bba:/ (19)*fa*-huwa yataHadath-u 'an (nuSf l-ku:ra l-gharbi:) fi: maja:l l-siya:sa l-kha:riji:a wa l-tija:ra,/

[Lit. clauses (18)-(19): (18)\it is obvious that G. Bush is intending to be more sincere/interested towards the commitment and association with Europe than any others/(19)*because* he speaks about "the western part of the global" on the foreign policy and trade/]

Here, TT explicitly establishes the underlying semantic relation 'adversative' in linking the two clauses (18) and (19) by inserting the conjunction [fa <because>] in clause (19), while ST uses no conjunction.

[6:23]

EST2: SEIII<E5<(15) & (16):	(15)\He speaks of a "hemispheric" approach to foreign policy and trade in which the Americas act in concert./ (16)\Ø There is a growing focus on the Pacific and Asia./

ATT2: SEIII<E5<(19) & (20):	(19)*fa*-huwa yataHadath-u 'an (nuSf l-ku:ra l-gharbi:) fi: maja:l l-siya:sa l-kha:riji:a wa l-tija:ra,/ (20)*wa* la: yakhfa: 'ala: 'aHad 'anna huna:ka tarki:z 'amri:ki: mutaza:yud 'ala: l-ba:sifik wa 'a:sya:/

[Lit. clauses (19)-(20): (19)\as he speaks about "the western part of the Global" on the foreign policy and trade/(20)*and* it is a well-known fact that there is a growing American's focus on the Pacific and Asia/]

Here, TT explicitly establishes the underlying semantic relation 'additive' in linking the two clauses (19) and (20) by inserting the conjunction [wa <and>] in clause (20), while ST uses no conjunction.

This type of shifts (i.e. establishment of new cohesive relation through translation) is also affected by the translation strategy of 'structural expansion/information splitting' which involves the insertion of conjunctions explicitly signalling the underlying semantic relations between the extended constructions, as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:24]

EST1: SEIII<E9<(32):	(32)\since our history was incomplete *without consideration of Israel/*

ATT1: SEIII<E9: (32) & (33):	(32)\li-'anna ta:ri:khuna: yabqa: na:qiS / (33)*'idha: lam* na'akhudh 'isra:'i:l fi: l-'i'ti:ba:r,/

[Lit. clauses (31)-(32): (31)\because *our history* remains incomplete/(32)*if we* do not take…/]

Here, TT establishes new cohesive relations not present in the ST. This shift has been motivated by rendering ST construction of a single clause-sentence by a string of two adjacent independent clauses; and inserting the conditional conjunction ['idha lam <if not>] in clause (32) which explicitly signals the underlying semantic relation between the two clauses.

[6:25]

EST2: SEIII<E6<(23):	(23)\European newspapers, which are read on the Internet by White House aides, frequently refer to Mr. Bush as the "Toxic Texan"./

ATT2: SEIII<E6<(27) & (28):	(27)\wa yaTali' l-mas'u:lu:n l-'amri:ki:yu:n 'ala: *l-SuHuf* l-'u:ru:bbi:ya 'abra l-'intarni:t / (28)*wa* aSbaHat ha:dhih *l-SuHuf* tushi:r 'ila: bu:sh 'ala: 'annahu <<l-taksa:si: l-sa:m>>./

[Lit. clauses (27)-(28): (27)\and the American officials read the European *newspapers* through the internet/(28)*and* these *newspapers* have began to refer to Bush as being "the Toxic Texan"/]

Here, TT establishes new cohesive relations not present in the ST. This shift has been motivated by rendering ST construction of a single clause-sentence by a string of two adjacent independent clauses; and inserting the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in clause (28) which explicitly signals the underlying semantic relation between the two clauses.

2. Elimination of cohesion: ST cohesive relations are eliminated through translation by various means including omission. This strategy involves omitting conjunctions, as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:26]

AST1: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)*'idha:* ka:na lada: l-ba'D-u 'aya 'amal-in fi: 'an taku:n 'ida:rat l-ra'i:s ju:rj dablyu: bu:sh 'aqal 'inHiya:z-an li-'isra:'i:l min 'ida:rat l-ra'i:s bi:l ki:lintu:n,/ (2)*fa*-'inna ha:dha: l-'amala tabadad/

[Lit. clauses (1)-(2): (1)*If* someone has any hope that President G. W. Bush's administration would be less biased to Israel than that of President Bill Clinton/(2)*then* this hope has vanished/]

ETT1: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)*If* some people have any hope that Bush's administration will be less biased to Israel than the Clinton's one,/ (2)\Ø this hope vanishes in thin air/

Here, ST explicitly signals the relation of 'condition-consequence' between the two clauses by the conjunction [fa <then/so>] while the TT uses no explicit conjunction to convey the same relation. This is mainly due to the fact that English grammatical structure encourages the use of syndetic coordination when the semantic relation between the two units is clear.

[6:27]

AST1: SEIV<E12<(35) & (36):	(35)\fa-min du:n da'am l-wilaya:t l-muttaHida, ma: ka:nat 'isra:'i:l li-tajru:'-u 'ala: l-tanSul min kuli 'iltiza:ma:tuha: l-muta'aliqa bi-'amalyyat l-sala:m./ (36)*wa* min du:n tawa:Tu:' l-wilaya:t l-muttaHida, ma: ka:nat 'isra:'i:l li-tajru:'-u 'ala: 'irtika:b kul ha:dha: l-qadra min l-jara:'im l-yawmi:ya./

[Lit. clauses (35)-(36): (35)\hence without the support of *the United States*, Israel would not have to disregard its …./(36)*and* without the collaboration of *the United States*, Israel would not have dear to commit all of this amount of the daily crimes/]

ETT1: SEIV<E12<(20) & (21):	(20)\Without its support, Israel would not have dared to disregard its peace commitments./ (21)\∅Without its collaboration, Israel would not have dared to commit such a deal of daily crimes./

Here, ST explicitly signals the underlying semantic relation between the two clauses by using the additive conjunction [wa <and>] while the TT uses no explicit conjunction to convey the same relation. This is mainly due to the fact that English grammatical structure encourages the use of syndetic coordination when the semantic relation between the two units is clear.

[6:28]

AST2: SEII<E3<(12) & (13):	(12)\siyasa:t Huku:ma:t 'amri:ka l-muta'a:qiba taftaqid 'ila: l-'adl/ (13)*wa*-la: tahtamm siwa: bi-maSa:liHiha: 'ala: Hisa:b Huqu:q l-'a:khari:n../

[Lit. clauses (12)-(13): (12)\The policies of the successive American governments lack justice/(13)*as* they are interested on nothing but their own interests regardless to the others/]

ETT2: SEII<E3<(9) & (10):	(9)\The policies of successive American administrations are lacking in justice./ (10)\∅ They only put their interests above the rights of others./

Here, ST explicitly signals the underlying semantic relation between the two clauses by using the additive conjunction [wa <and>] while the TT uses no explicit conjunction to convey the same relation. This is mainly due to the fact that English grammatical structure encourages the use of syndetic coordination when the semantic relation between the two units is clear.

[6:29]

AST2: SEII<E4<(18) & (19):	(18)\wa raghma 'i'la:n 'amri:ka bi-'anna huna:lika mi'at wa thalathi:n munaZama fi: 'anHa:' l-'a:lam ta'tabiruha: 'amri:ka 'irha:bi:ya/ (19)*'illa 'anna* mas'u:li:ha: wa nu:wa:biha: wa 'i'la:miuha: Ha:walu: mindhu l-daqa:'iq l-'u:la: li-wuqu:' l-jari:ma 'ilSa:quha: bil-'arab wa l-muslimi:n,/

[Lit. clauses (18)-(19): (18)\and despite the America's declaration of the existence of about one hundred organizations all over the world- classified by America as terrorist [groups]/(19)*however*, here officials, (and) its members of parliament, and its media-men have attempted from the first instant of the occurrence of the crime…/]

ETT2: SEII<E4<(16) & (17):	(16)\Though America has announced that there are all over the world some 130 organizations whom she considers as terrorists,/ (17)\∅ the fact remains that US officials, congressmen and media have attempted from the first instant of the occurrence of the crime…/

Here, ST explicitly signals the underlying semantic relation between the two clauses by using the adversative conjunction [’ila: ’anna <yet>] while the TT uses no explicit conjunction to convey the same relation. This is mainly due to the fact that English grammatical structure encourages the use of syndetic coordination when the semantic relation between the two units is clear.

ST cohesive relations can also be eliminated through translation by the strategy of ‘omission of information unit(s)’, as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:30]

AST1: SEII<E4<(11) & (12):	(11)\wa ’idha: ka:na huna:ka man yu‘awil-u ‘ala: ’anna l-‘ilaqa:t l-‘arabi:ya l-lati: yatamata‘-u biha: <*lu:bi: l-nifT*> yumkin-u ’an tatruk ta’athi:r ‘ala: tawajuha:t l-’ida:ra l-jumhu:ri:ya,/ (12)\fa-’inna l-Haqi:qa l-lati: tabruz-u l-’a:na hiya ’anna: *lu:bi: l-nifT l-’amri:ki:* la:-yanZur-u ’ila: ‘ila:qa:tih l-‘arabi:ya bi-waSfiha: ‘a:mil DaghT wa-dha:lika li-sababyyn,/

[Lit. clauses (11)-(12): (11)\and if there is anyone beliefing that the Arab relations that enjoyed by *oil lobby* can leave an effect on the directions of the Republican administration,/ (12)\then the fact appears now is that *the American oil lobby* does not regard its Arabic relation as a pressure factor and that is for two reasons/]

ETT1: SEII<E4<(6) & (7):	(6)\If some people say that the Arab relations which the oil lobby enjoys can affect the attitudes of the Republican administration,/ (7)*the current fact is that the Arab relations cannot be a pressure force for two reasons:*/

Here, ST cohesive relations between the lexical items [lu:bi: l-nifT] and [lu:bi: l-nifT al-’amri:ki: <the American oil lobby>], respectively in clauses (11) and (12), has been eliminated in the TT. This shift occurred as a consequence of transforming ST active clause into passive voice in the English version. This passivisation process involves the omission of the agent of the active structure in the ST.

[6:31]

AST2: SEV<E8<(40) & (41):	(40)\wa tadrisu: bi-Hikma wa tarayuth al-'asba:b, wa li-ma:dha: *waladat* tilka l-ta'aSSu:ba:t/ (41)*wa* kayfa *waladat* wa *tawalladat* wa taHawarat 'an qawa:'id kulla l-'adya:n kha:Sat-an l-'isla:m/

[Lit. clauses (40)-(41-42): (40)\and to consider wisely and deliberately the causes, and to consider why fanaticisms were born/(41)*and* to consider how (they=fanaticisms) multiplied and veered off the tenets of all religions, especially Islam/]

ETT2: SEV<E8:(37):	(37)\to consider how and why fanaticisms were *born* and multiplies and veered off the tenets of all religions, especially Islam/

Here, TT cohesive relations between the three lexical items [wulidat <has been given birth to>], [wulidat <has been given birth to>] and [tawalladat <multiplies>], respectively in clauses (40) and (41) have been not relayed in the TT. This is due to the TL stylistic convention that does not tolerate the repetition of the same lexical items.

This type of shifts is also affected by the translation strategy of substitution. This strategy involves substituting ST element (with a cohesive function) by a translationally-equivalent TT element (with no cohesive function), as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:32]

AST1: SEI<E2<[(3-4)] & (5):	[Clauses (3-4): (3)\'indama: 'aZharat ha:dhihi l-'ida:ra 'annaha: la: taktafi: bi-tabani: l-mawqif l-'isra:'i:li: min mufawaDa:t l-sala:m fa-Hasb,/(4)\wa la:-kinaha: tad'am *l-'a'ma:l l-waHshiy:a* l-'isra:'i:li:ya/] (5)\wa tuTa:lib l-DaHa:ya bi-waqf *'a'ma:l l-'unf*!/

[Lit. clauses (3-4)-(5): (3)\when this administration made it clear that it does not only adopt the Israeli's position on the peace negotiation/(4)\but it also supports the Israeli's brutal acts/(5)\and it calls upon the victims to stop the violence acts/]

ETT1: SEI<E2<(3) & (4):	(3)\when it insists not only to adopt the Israeli situation in the peace negotiations but also to support the Israeli *atrocities*/ (4)\and calls upon the victims to stop *violence* /

Here, ST cohesive relation of repetition between the two lexical items [al-'a'ma:l al-waHshi:ya <the brutal acts] in clause (4) and [a'ma:l al-'unf <acts of violence>] in clause (5), has been partially eliminated through translation by substitution.

[6:33]

AST2: SEV<E9<[(44-45)] & (46):	[Clauses (44-45): (44)\wa ma:- tar'awnahu min diktatu:riya:t wa Huka:m/(45)\la:- yu'aminu:n bi-Huri:ya:t *l-shu'u:b* wa la:- bi-suluTa:tuha: …/] (46)\wa ba'Daha: yukhfi: dikta:tu:riyatuh taHta dimiqra:Ti:ya za:'i:fa qa:'ima 'ala: l-tazwi:r wa l-nahb l-munaZam li-tharawa:t *shu'u:b*iha:/

[Lit. clauses (44-45)-(46): (44)\and the patronage you give to dictators and rulers/(45)\who do not believe in the rights and freedoms of their nations./(46)\and some of them conceal their dictatorships under a false veneer of democracy based on forgery, regular looting of their people's fortunes./]

ETT2: SEV<E9<[(40-41)] & [(42-43)]:	[Clauses (40-41): (40)\and the patronage you give to tyrants/(41)\who do not believe in the rights and freedoms of their *nations*./] [Clauses (42-43): (42)\Some of those rulers conceal their *dictatorships* under a false veneer of democracy/(43)\which is in fact based on forgery, regular looting of their *people's fortunes*./

Here, ST cohesive relation of repetition between the two lexical items [l-shu'u:b <the nations] in clause (45) and [shu'u:b <nations>] in clause (46), has been partially eliminated through translation by substitution.

This type of shifts (i.e. elimination of cohesive relations through translation) is also affected by the translation strategy of 'structural incorporation/information gathering', as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:34]

AST2: SEI<E1<(5) & (6):	(5)\wa ha:hi: tastayqiZ li-ghaflatiha: wa ghuru:riha:/ (6)*ba'dda* 'an waqa'at l-jari:ma taHta 'anZa:r 'ajhizatiha: l-'istikhbari:ya wa l-'amni:ya/

[Lit. clauses (5)-(6): (5)\and there she has waken up from her carelessness and arrogance/(6)*after* the crime has occurred under the vision of her intelligence and security agencies/]

ETT2: SEI<E1<(43):	(4)\It is hoped that she has waken up from her carelessness and arrogance *having seen that crime was committed under the nose of her intelligence and security services*./

Here, ST cohesive relation signalled by the temporal conjunctive [ba'da <after>] has been eliminated in the TT. That is, ST subordinate clause has been transformed into an embedded ing-form clause.

[6:35]

AST2: SEII<E2<(10) & (11):	(10)\ al-lati: tasababat fi: mawt l-malayi:yn min *l-bashar* / (11)\wa dafa'at jama'a:t min *l-bashar* 'ila: l-y'as fa-l'irha:b l-'a'ma:/

[Lit. clauses (10)-(11): (10)\that (it) has caused the death of millions of *people*/(11)*and* it has brought despair on groups of *people*, then, to blind terrorism/]

ETT2: SEII<E2<(8):	(8)\which has caused the death of millions of people and has brought despair, and consequently blind terrorism to many groups./

Here, ST cohesive relation of repetition between the two lexical items [al-bashar <the people>] in clause (10) and [al-bashar <the people>] in clause (11) has been completely eliminated through translation by transforming ST coordinated clause into a coordinated phrase in the TT.

[6:36]

AST2: SEIV<E7<[(31-32)] & (33):	[Clauses (31-32): (31)\'al-'a:na 'amri:yka tandafi' li-tukarir 'akhTa:'uha: taHta: waT'at l-Zarf/(32)\al-ladhi: yuHatim 'ala: l-'ida:ra l-'amri:ki:ya 'irDa:' *sha'baha:* bi-'amal 'askari:/] (33)*ba'da* 'an shaHana*hu* l-'i'la:m bi-da'awa:t l-tha'r wa l-'intiqa:m…/

[Lit. clauses (31-32)-(33): (31)\Now, America is set to repeat her errors under compulsion of recent events,/(32)\that forces the American administration to please *its people* by taking military action/(33)*after they* have been urged to do so by calls of the media for revenge…/]

ETT2: SEIV<E7<(29) & (30):	(29)\America now is set to compound her errors,/ (30)*as* the Administration is under compulsion of recent events to give satisfaction to the American people by taking military action *having been urged to do so by calls of the media for revenge* /

Here, ST cohesive relations have been eliminated in the TT. This shift has been affected by transforming ST subordinate clause into an embedded ing-form clause.

[6:37]

AST2: SEVI<E12<(60)] & [(61-64)]:	(60)\qa:datuha: kullahum sha:ru:n… / [Clauses (61-64): (61)\kula Huka:muha: mindhu ta'si:suha: 'ila: yawmina: ha:dha: 'irtakabu: madha:biH/(62)\wa qatalu: 'asra:/(63)\wa 'istawlu: 'ala: mumtalaka:t al-filisTi:yni:yyn/(64)\wa danasu: muqadasa:t l-muslimi:n,/]

[Lit. clauses (60)-(61-64): (60)\All her leaders are like Sharon…/(61)\All her governors since it has been established to this day have committed maskers/(62)\and killed-they war prisoners/(63)\and confiscated-they Palestinian properties/(64)\and desecrate-they Muslim holy places,/]

ETT2: SEVI<E12<(54) & (55):	(54)\All her leaders are like Sharon./ (55)\All of them since Israel was established to this day have committed massacres, killed prisoners, confiscated Palestinian properties, desecrated Muslim holy places./

Here, ST cohesive relations have been eliminated by conveying ST sequence made up of several independent clauses by a complex construction in the TT.

3. Change of cohesion: this type of shifts is mainly affected by the translation strategy of substitution. This strategy involves changing the type of the cohesive ties used in the ST through translation, as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:38]

AST1: SEIV<E11<(33) & (34):	(33)\'isra:'i:l laysat hiya *l-'adu:* l-waHi:d lil-filisTi:niyyn,/ (34)\al-wilaya:t l-muttaHida hiya *l-'adu:* l-'a:khar, 'in lam taku:n hiya *l-'adu:* l-'ahamm./

[Lit. clauses (33)-(34): (33)\Israel is not the only Palestinians' *enemy*/(34)\∅ (the) United States is *the other enemy*, if not (she) is the most important enemy/]

ETT1: SEIV<E11<(18) & (19):	(18)\Israel is not the only *enemy* of the Palestinians/ (19)\but America is *the other one*, not to say more important./

Here, ST cohesive relation signalled by the repetition of the definite article NP [al-'adu:w <the enemy>] in clauses (33) and (34) respectively, has been reduced in the TT. That is, ST presupposing item is substituted by the general lexical item 'one' in the TT to avoid repetition.

[6:39]

AST2: SEVI<E11<(55) & (56):	(55)\sa-*yattajih* 'ila: al-*'intiqa:m/* (56)\wa qad yaku:n *'intiqamahu* 'irha:b 'a'ma: …/

[Lit. clauses (55)-(56): (55)\he resorts to revenge,/(56)\and it could be a blind revenge of terrorism,/]

ETT2: SEVI<E11<(49) & (50):	(49)\he resorts to *revenge*,/ (50)\and *it* could be a blind revenge of terrorism,/

Here, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST by means of substitution. That is, ST establishes reference by using the definite article NP ['intiqa:muh <his revenge>]

in clause (56), which refers back to both: the concealed third person pronominal reference item 'he' affixed in the verb [yattajih <he-resorts>] as well as the lexical item ['intiqa:m < revenge>], whereas the TT establishes the same reference relation using the third person pronominal reference item 'it'.

[6:40]

EST1: SEIII<E10: (36) & (37):	(36)\There is simply no rational justification from an intellectual point of view of having a policy of *ignorance./* (37)\or using *ignorance* as a weapon in a struggle./
ATT1: SEIII<E10: (37) & (38):	(37)\wa laysa huna:ka, bi-basa:Ta, 'ala: l-Sa'i:d l-fikri:, 'aya tabri:r manTiqi: li-'itikha:dh *l-jahl* siya:sa / (38)\'aw 'isti'ma:la*hu* sila:H fi: l-Sira:'./

[Lit. clauses (37)-(38): (37)\and there is not, simply, on the intellectual aspect, any rational justification to undertake (the) *ignorance* as a policy,/(38)\or using *it* (as) a weapon in the struggle./]

Here, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST by means of substitution.

That is, ST cohesive relation signalled by the lexical item 'ignorance', which is a direct repetition of the lexical item used in the preceding clause, has been substituted by the third person concealed pronoun 'he' suffixed to the expression ['isti'ma:la(-*hu*) <using it>].

[6:41]

AST1: SEV<E14<(40) & [(41-42)]:	(40)\'isra:'i:l hiya l-binduqi:ya,/ [Clauses: (41-42): (41)*wa- la:kin* l-wilaya:t l-muttaHida hiya l-yad l-lati: taZghaT 'ala: l-zina:d/(42)\li-taqtul l-'aTfa:l l-filisTi:niyyn./]
ETT1: SEV<E14<(25) & (26):	(25)\Israel is the gun/ (26)*while* America is the hand which presses the trigger to kill the Palestinian children./

[Lit. clauses (40)-(41-42):(40)\Israel is the rifle/(41)*but* the United States is the hand which presses on the trigger/(42)\to kill [-she] the Palestinians children/]

Here, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST. That is, TT establishes a link between the two clauses using the conjunction 'while', which substitutes for the one used in the ST, i.e. the more emphatic compound conjunction which is made up of both [wa <and>] and [la:kin <but >].

[6:42]

EST2: SEI<E2<(5) & (6):	(5)\On the other side of the Atlantic, *a senior member of the Bush administration* said the EU was in many ways "the antithesis of American values" and interests"./ (6)*He* said: "I can't think of a single long-term factor working in its favour. There's no evidence of the EU breaking out of its static, command control mentality."/

ATT2: SEI<E2<(7) & (8):	(7)\'ala: l-ja:nib l-'a:khar min l-'aTlasi: waqaf-a *'aHad kuba:ral-mas'u:li:yn fi: 'ida:rat bu:sh* li-yaqu:l 'anna l-'ittiHa:d l-'u:ru:bbi: <<yushakil l-naqi:D lil-qiyam wa l-maSa:liH l-'amri:ki:ya>> / (8)\wa 'aDa:fa *dha:likaal-mas'u:l* qa:'i:l-an <<laysa huna:ka 'aya dali:yl yushi:r 'ila: takhali: l-'ittiHa:d l-'u:ru:bbi: 'ann jumu:dih wa 'aqliyatih l-mutaHajira>>./

[Lit. clauses (7)-(8): (7)\on the other side of the Atlantic, *a senior member of Bush's administration* (stud up to say) that the European Union "forms the opposite of the American values and interests"/(8)*and that official* goes on to say "there is no any single evident indicating that the European Union is breaking out of its statistic, command control mentality."/]

Here, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST. That is, TT establishes the cohesive relation of reference using the demonstrative NP, [dha:lika l-mas'u:l <that official>] which is made up of the repetition of the lexical item [mas'u:l <official>] expressed in the preceding clause plus the accompanying determiner (i.e. the definite article), whereas the ST establishes reference using the third person pronominal reference item 'he'.

[6:43]

EST2: SEI<E3<(9) & (10):	(9)\The initial warm glow that greeted the appointment by Mr Bush of such seasoned foreign policy hands as Gen. Colin Powell…/ (10)*When* Gen. Powell reassured America's allies on its commitment to Europe by saying categorically that "we went in together and we will leave together",/

ATT2: SEI<E3<(13) & (14):	(13)\ka:nat bida:yat shahr l-'asal ma'a l-tarHi:b l-'u:ru:bbi: bi-ta'yyn l-jinira:l ku:lin ba:wl wazi:yr-an lil-kha:riji:ya fi: 'ida:rat bu:sh/ (14)*wa* qad Safaq l-'u:ru:biyu:n Tawi:l-an li-ma:dhakarah-u ba:wl …/]

[Lit. clauses (13)-(14): (13)\the beginning of the honeymoon coincided with the Europeans' greeting of the appointment of (the) General Colin Powell as a foreign minister in Bush's administration/(14)*and* the Europeans had clapped for a long time, for what Powell said about America's commitment to Europe "we went in the past together and we will go in the future together"/]

Here, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST. That is, TT establishes link between the two clauses using the additive conjunction [wa <and>], which substitutes for the one used in the ST, i.e. the temporal conjunction 'when'.

[6:44]

EST2: SEIII<E6<(24) & (25):	(24)\Opinion polls show 63 per cent of Americans approve of *Mr Bush*,/ (25)*while* only 26 per cent of Britons have a favourable view of *him*./
ATT2: SEIII<E6<(29) & (30):	(29)\ wa tuDhir 'istiTla:'a:t l-r'ay 'anna % 63 min l-'amri:kiyyn yu'ayudu:n *'ada:'a bu:sh/* (30)*fi: l-waqt l-ladhi:* la: yu'jib *'ada:'a bu:sh* siwa: % 26 min l-biri:Ta:ni:yyn./

[Lit. clauses (29)-(30): (29)\and the opinion polls show that %63 of the Americans support *Bush's performance*/(30)*whereas Bush's performance* is supported/admired only by % 26 of the Britons/]

This example exhibits two incidents of cohesive tie change through translation: in the first case, TT establishes the cohesive relation of reference using the proper name possessive NP, ['ada:'a bu:sh <Bush's performance>], while the ST uses the third person pronominal reference item 'him'. In the second one, TT links the two clauses by using a lexical signal, i.e. the prepositional phrase [fi:y l-waqat al-ladhi:y <whereas>], which substitutes for the one used in the ST, i.e. the conjunction 'while'.

6.3 Shifts attributed to the translation process per se

The aim of this section is to examine instances of shift in cohesion believed to be motivated by the translation process itself. According to Blum-Kulka (1986), the process of interpretation performed by the translator on the source text might lead to the occurrence of shifts of cohesion in the ST-TT text pair through translation. She notes that these shifts take place "regardless of the traceable differences between the two linguistic and textual systems **[of the languages]** involved" (1986: 19).

A number of scholars, based on small-scale studies and casual observations, have noted features which seem, intuitively, to be linked to the nature of the translation process

itself rather than to the confrontation of specific linguistic systems. These features are neatly described by Baker (1985: 243), as follows:

1. A marked rise in the level of explicitness in the translations compared to source texts in general. In (1992), Baker examined several "examples of translations which build extensive background information into the TT". In one case, Baker has noted that a simple clause in an English source text has been rendered by a sequence of more than six independent clauses with finite verbs in the translated text.

2. A tendency towards disambiguation and simplification; for example, Baker (1985: 97-98) notes that, in her corpus of English translations of Dutch novels, "potentially ambiguous pronouns are replaced by forms which allow more precise identification, and difficult syntax is made easier".

3. A tendency to avoid repetitions which occur in source texts, either by omitting them or rewording them. Baker maintains, "Toury (1991) reports this feature as one of the most persistent, unbending norms in translation in languages studied so far".

For Schäffner (1991), shifts through translation are inevitable; this is mainly due to differences in knowledge between SL and TL receivers. She explains that "texts are always intended to function in a particular communicative situation, which includes the premise that they are intended for particular addressees, that they have to fulfil a specific function, and that they have to conform to conventions developed with respect to specific [**genres**] and texttypes" (Schäffner 1991: 1-2). Moreover, the ST is written for particular SL reader(s) whom the ST writer shares knowledge with. She notes that some information in the source-language text is embedded (i.e. not explicitly uttered); the writer and the readers know this implicit information. In translation, however, this shared knowledge is not the same (i.e. ST writer does not share knowledge with the TL readers). Hence, translators often compensate for these knowledge differences by making explicit what is implicit in the ST and supplying background information deemed necessary for a successful TT comprehension.

Colina (1997) believes that shifts are attributed to textual differences between the two languages. She maintains that texts are linguistic units characterised by exhibiting texture-

the property that makes texts coherent, cohesive wholes. They are often classified according to genre and text type. Genres "are conventionalised forms of texts which reflect the functions and goals involved in a particular social occasion as well as the purposes of the participants involved in them" (Hatim and Mason, 1990: 69). She points out that genre ascription is at least in part determined by the social context in which a text exists, resulting in generic categories such as news report, editorial, news broadcast, etc. Text types refer to the main rhetorical purpose of a text, i.e. argumentative, narrative, legal, which may be in turn realised by a sequence of rhetorical purposes. Language-specific patterns of structural organisation and syntactic features serve to identify text types and genres. As shown by studies in contrastive rhetoric (Kaplan 1966; Hinds 1983), textual features vary across languages and cultures; thus, the structure of Arabic argumentative text, for instance, is not the same as that of English. She adds that for a text to function as a sign with its intended pragmatic force, the text receiver must be able to identify it as a token of a particular text type and genre. Such ability is dependent upon discourse participants (i.e. both text producer and receiver) sharing the same knowledge of textual features and conventions-a common occurrence when both belong to the same linguistic and cultural community. She emphasises that "in translated text, however, the source text producer and the target text receiver belong to different cultural and linguistic systems that do not normally share textual features and conventions. It follows therefore that the transfer of the source-language text into a target-language will involve changes and adjustments in textual features and organisation" (Colina 1997: 336).

In our corpuses, shifts attributed to the translation process itself are evident in both directions of translation. These are presented under the three pre-identified types of shifts. Illustrative examples of each category are selected from both corpora (i.e. translation from Arabic into English, and vice versa).

1. New cohesion: TT establishes new cohesive relations not present in the ST by means of substitution. This strategy involves substituting a ST element (with no cohesive

function) for a TL translationally-equivalent element (with a cohesive function), as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:45]

EST1: SEII<E7<(22) & (23):	(22)\How could *one* possibly oppose analysing and learning everything possible about a country/ (23)\whose presence in *our* midst for over 50 years has so influenced and shaped the life of every man, woman and child in the Arab world?/
ATT1: SEII<E7<(22) & (23):	(22)\la:kin kayfa yumkin li-'ay-in *mina:* 'an yu'a:riD l-sa'y 'ila: ma'rifat wa taHli:l 'akthar ma:-yumkin min l-ma'lu:ma:t 'an ha:dha: l-balad/ (23)\al-ladhi: ka:nna li-HuDu:rih-i *baynana:* mindhu khamsi:yn sana kula ha:dha: l-ta'athi:r fi: Tabi:'at Haya:t kula rajul wa 'imra'a fi: l-'a:lam l-'arabi:?/

[Lit. clauses (22)-(23): (22)\but, how it could be possible for any of *us* to oppose the effort to understand and analyse…/(23)\that his presence *among us* for fifty years had all of this (the) influence over [the] nature of life of every man and woman in the Arab world? /]

Here, TT establishes a new cohesive relation not present in the ST; i.e. the lexical relation between the two lexical items [mina: <us>] and [baynana: <among us>] in clauses (22) and (23), respectively. This has been achieved by substituting ST in-definite general lexical item 'one' in clause (22) by a pronoun, which is semantically considered by the translator to be more explicit.

[6:46]

EST2: SEII<E4<(12) & (13)	(12)\But *Europe* is learning that Gen Powell is only one member of the Bush foreign policy team./ (13)\Some *officials* have already begun to whisper against the former Gulf War leader, accusing him of being out of step with the president on key issues./
ATT2: SEII<E4<(16) & (17):	(16)\ba'daha: bi-waqt-in qaSi:r adrakt *'u:ru:bba:* 'anna ku:lin ba:wl laysa siwa: fard-in wa:Hid-in fi: fari:q bu:sh l-kha:S bil-siya:sa l-kha:riji:ya/ (17)\wa bada' ba'aD *l-'u:ru:bbi:yyn* yahmisu:n bi-kala:m-in Did-a ba:wl mutahimi:n 'i-ya:hu bil-'azf l-mu:nfarid ba'i:d-an 'an l-ra'i:s wa rab'ih./

[Lit. clauses (16)-(17): (16)\After that in a short time *Europe* found that Powell was nothing but a single figure in Bush's team for the foreign policy/(17)\then some *Europeans* began to whisper with words against Powell accusing…/]

Here, TT establishes a new cohesive relation not present in the ST. This shift is affected by using the definite article NP [al-'u:ru:bbiyyn <the Europeans>] cohering with the lexical item ['u:ru:bba <Europe>] in the preceding one, which substitutes for the one used in the ST, i.e. the indefinite title 'officials'.

[6:47]

EST2: SEIII<E7<(36) & (37):	(36)\Mr Bush's style is in many ways unsuited *to a world/* (37)\in which diplomatic nuance can be everything/

ATT2: SEIII<E7<(40) & (41):	(40)\fa-ha:dha l-'islu:b yu'Tabar ghayra maqbu:l bil-nisba *lil-'u:ru:bbi:yyn/* (41)*al-ladhi:na* yarawn 'anna l-du:blu:ma:siya yajib-u 'an yaku:n la-ha: dawr-un fi: kula shay'a./

[Lit. clauses (40)-(41): (40)\because this manner is considered as unacceptable *for the Europeans*/(41)\who deem that diplomacy must have a role in every thing/]

Here, TT establishes new cohesion relation not present in the ST. This shift results from the use of the definite article NP [lil-'u:ru:bbiyyn <to the Europeans>], which substitutes for ST prepositional phrase 'to a world', as well as the modification of the structure of ST relative clause by transforming it into a defining relative clause with the relative pronoun [al-ladhi:na].

This type of shifts (i.e. establishment of new cohesion) is also affected by the translation strategy of addition. This strategy includes inserting in the TT a lexico-grammatical element (with a cohesive function), as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:48]

EST1: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\During the discussion period that followed a lecture of mine at *Oxford* three and a half years ago I was stunned by a question put to me by a young woman,/ (2)\whom I later discovered to have been a Palestinian student working for her doctorate at *the university*./

ATT1: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\fa:ja'ani: 'ithna:' ni:qa:sh muHa:Dara 'alqaytuha: fi: *ja:mi'at 'u:ksfu:rd* qabla thala:th sanawa:t wa niSf l-sana su:'a:l TaraHathu sha:bba/ (2)\'araft-u la:Hiqan 'annaha: Ta:liba filisTi:ni:ya ta'id-u li-shaha:dat l-du:ktu:ra fi: *tilka l-ja:mi'a*./

[Lit. clauses (1)-(2): (1)\surprised me during a discussion of a lecture I delivered at *Oxford University* three years and half year ago a question raised by a young woman/(2)\I knew later on that she was a Palestinian student prepares for (the) PhD certificate at *that university*./]

Here, TT establishes a new cohesive relation not present in the ST. This shift is affected by the insertion of the lexical item [ja:mi'a <university>], which defines the noun ['u:ksfu:rd <Oxford>] in clause (1). The translator has carried this procedure in order to compensate for knowledge differences.

[6:49]

EST2: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\As a deliberate dig at Texas's own President George W. Bush it was hard to beat./ (2)\A cake decorated with three candles .../

ATT2: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\ ka:nnat *Haraka* khabi:ytha fi:ha: l-kathi:r min l-ghamz wa l-lamz fi: qana:t l-ra'i:s l-'amri:ki: ju:rj bu:sh/ (2)*ha:dhih l-Haraka* tamathalat fi: 'arD ka'ka zi:unat bi-thala:that shumu:' .../

[Lit. clauses (1)-(2): (1)\It was a nasty move full of [sarcastic remarks] against the American President G. Bush/(2)*This move* was symbolized by displaying of a cake decorated with three candles.../]

Here, TT establishes new cohesive relation not present in the ST. This has been achieved by the insertion of the demonstrative NP [ha:dhih l-Haraka <this move>] in clause (2), which coheres with the lexical item [Haraka <move>] in the preceding one.

[6:50]

EST2: SEIV<E8<(47) & (48):	(47)*Today*, the Cold War is over/ (48)\and Tony Blair's centre-Left Labour is in power./]

ATT2: SEIV<E8<(54) & (55):	(54)\wa *l-yawm* lam ta'u:d huna:ka Harb-un ba:rida/ (55)\wa taHkum biri:yTa:nya: *ha:dhih l-'ayya:m* Huku:ma 'umma:li:ya yaqu:duha: tu:ni: blayr/]

[Lit. clauses (54)-(55): (54)\and *today*, there exists no cold war any more/(55)\and Britain *known-days* is governed by a Labour government lead by Tony Blair/]

Here, TT establishes new cohesive relation not present in the ST. This has been achieved by inserting the demonstrative NP [ha:dhih l-'ayya:m <these days>] which coheres with the NP [al-yawm <the day>] in the preceding one.

The translation strategy of addition involves also inserting in the TT a conjunction, as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:51]

EST1: SEI<E3<(7) & (8):	(7)\ "wouldn't that kind of attention paid to Israel", she said, "be a form of concession to it?"/ (8)\∅ She was asking me if ignorant "non-normalization" didn't constitute a better approach to a state/
ATT1: SEI<E3<(7) & (8):	(7)\fa-qad qa:lat ('alann yaku:n ha:dha: l-naw' min l-'ihtima:m bi-'isra:'i:l shakl-an min 'ashka:l l-tana:zul 'ama:maha:?/ (8)*'ay* 'annaha: ka:nat tas'al 'idha: lam yakun (l-la:-taTbi:') l-ja:hil huwa l-mawqif l-'afDal tija:h l-dawla /

[Lit. clauses (7)-(8): (7)\(as) she said, "would not this kind of attention [given to] Israel be a form of concession to her?"/(8)*that is*, she was asking if not…/]

Here, TT explicitly signals the underlying semantic relation between the two clauses by inserting the coordinating particle ['ay <I mean>] at clause-initial.

The translation strategy of addition involves also inserting in the TT new information unit(s), as in the following illustrative example:

[6:52]

EST1: SEI<E5: (14) & (15):	(14)\After all, I found myself asking in return ∅,/ (15)\∅ two major Arab countries had made formal peace with Israel,/
ATT1: SEI<E5: (14) & (15):	(14)\ wa wajadtuni: 'atasa:'al-u bil-muqa:bil 'an *ma'na: mawqifuha: fi: l-waD' l-Ha:li:*,/ (15)*ba'da:* ma:-'aqa:mat dawlata:n 'arabiyata:n ra'ysiata:n l-sala:m ma'a 'isra:'i:l,/

[Lit. clauses (14)-(15): (14)*and* I found my self asking in return *about (the) meaning of her point of view on the current situation*,/(15)*after* two major Arab countries had established (the) peace with Israel,/]

Here, TT establishes new cohesive relation not present in the ST. TT explicitly signal the underlying semantic relation between the two clauses by inserting a conjunction, i.e. [ba'da: <after>] in clause (15). The translator has been obliged to do so as he has already inserted new information, i.e. the prepositional phrase ['an ma'na: mawqifuha: fi: l-waD' l-

Ha:li: <about (the) meaning of her point of view on the current situation>] at the end of clause (14).

[6:53]

EST2: SEI<E2<(3) & (4)	(3)\Still stinging from what she had described as "saddening" meetings with the Bush team, Margot Wallstrom, the European environment commissioner, was unusually blunt./ (4)\∅The EU, she said, would press ahead with *Kyoto* "with or without the United States"./
ATT2: SEI<E2<(5) & (6)	(5)\ *wa yabdu: 'anna huna:ka ghaDab 'u:ru:bbiy tija:h l-mawqif l-'amri:kiy l-ra:fiD li-tilka l-'itifa:qi:ya,*/ (6)*fa-ba'da* 'ijtima:' 'aqadathu l-mufawaDa l-'u:ru:bbi:ya … 'aHad 'a'Da:' fari:q bu:sh qa:lat …fi: tanfi:dh *'itifa:qi:yat ki:yu:tu:* ma'a l-wilaya:t l-muttaHida 'aw du:niha:>>./

[Lit. clauses (5)-(6): (5)*and it seems that there is an European's depression against the American rejection of that treaty*/(6)*because, after* a meeting held by the European environment commissioner… with one member of Bush's team, she said…in the exclusion of Kyoto *treaty* with the United States or without it"/]

Here, TT establishes new cohesive relations not present in the ST. This has been affected by the insertion of the new information unit (i.e. clause (5)) representing the translator's own interpretation of the ST.

[6:54]

EST2: SEIII<E7<(33):	(33)\He is instinctively sceptical about the value of international organisations./

ATT2: SEIII<E7<(36) & (37):	(36)\wa huwa shaku:k bi-Tab'ih tija:h *l-qiyam*/ (37)*al-lati: tumathiluha: wa tad'u: 'ili:yha: l-munaZama:t l-dawli:ya./*

[Lit. clauses (36)-(37): (36)\and he is doubtful by nature about *the values*/(37)*that have been resembled and propagated by the international organisations*/]

Here, TT establishes new cohesive relations not present in the ST. This has been affected by the insertion of new information unit, i.e. clause (37), representing the translator's own interpretation of the ST.

[6:55]

EST2: SEIII<E7<(39):	(39)\While straight talking is often welcomed in America,/

ATT2: SEIII<E7<(45) & (46):	(45)\wa fi: l-waqt l-ladhi: yuraHib l-'amri:ki:yu:n bil-'aqwa:l wa l-taSriHa:t l-lati: tatasim bil-Sara:Ha, / (46)*fa-'inna l-Sara:Ha laysat da:'im-an mauDi' tarHi:b sawa:'-un 'ala: l-mustawa: l-dawli: 'aw l-shakhSi:*/

[Lit. clauses (45)-(46): (45)\on the one hand, where the Americans welcomed the sayings and statements which are full of *frankness*/(46)*however*, *frankness* is not always welcomed neither at the international level nor at the personal level/]

Here, TT establishes new cohesive relations not present in the ST. This has been affected by the insertion of new information unit, i.e. clause (46), representing the translator's own interpretation of the ST.

[6:56]

EST2: SEIV<E8<[(42-43)] & (44):	[Clauses (42-43): (42)\when President Ronald Reagan was accused of being a trigger-happy fool…/] (44)\and could not offer an opinion *without a prepared script./*

ATT2: SEIV<E8<[(49-50)] & (51)	[Clauses (49-50): (49)\al-lati: wajahaha: l-'u:ru:bi:yu:n li-ra'i:s *ri:yghaa:n* qabla 20 'a:mm…/] (51)\wa laysa bi-wis'ih 'ibda:'a 'aya ra'y du:na 'an yuqadam lahu *maktu:b-an fi: waraqa li-yaqra'ahu*>>./

[Lit. clauses (50)-(51): (49)/that been directed by the Europeans to President Reagan 20 years ago…./(51)\and he could not make any opinion *without having it in a written form to read-he it*/]

Here, TT establishes new cohesive relation not present in the ST. This shift is affected by rendering explicitly the implicit information in the ST prepositional phrase 'without a prepared script'.

[6:57]

EST2: SEIV<E8<(52) & (53):	(52)\In his last two policy speeches, Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, has not mentioned America,/ (53)\Ø *seeking* to avoid controversy before the general election./

ATT2: SEIV<E8<(62) & [(63-64)]:	(62)\khi:la:l khiTa:bayh-i al-'a:mi:yn al-ladha:n 'alqa:huma: wazi:yr al-kha:riji:ya *al-biri:yTa:ni:y* ru:bin ku:wk lam yadhkur 'amri:yka: 'ala: al-'iTla:q/ [Clauses (63-64): (63)*wa l-sabab* fi: *dha:lika* 'adam l-dukhu:l fi: 'akhdh-in wa rad-in qad la: tuHmad-u 'uqba:h-u /(64)\fi: al-waqt l-ladhi: tasta'id fi:h-i *biriTa:nya* li-'ijra:'-i 'intikha:bat 'a:ma fi: l-mustaqbal l-qari:b./]

[Lit. clauses (62)-(63-64): (62)\in his two public statements that been delivered by *the British* foreign secretary Robin Cook, he did not mention America/(63)*and the reason* behind this is to avoid getting into an argument that might have severe consequences/ (64)\the time at which *Britain* is preparing for a general election in the near future/]

Here, TT establishes new cohesive relations that are not present in the ST. This has been achieved by inserting into the ST new information units, i.e. the content of clauses (63-64), providing background information that has been left implicit in the ST in an attempt by the translator to compensate for differences in knowledge.

This type of shifts (i.e. establishment of new cohesion) is also affected by the translation strategy of 'structural expansion/information splitting'. This involves inserting conjunctions explicitly signalling the underlying semantic relations between the units, as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:58]

EST2: SEIII<E7< (38):	(38)\His slip this week when he said United States forces would defend Taiwan against the Chinese hardly helped to rebuild relations with Beijing./

ATT2: SEIII<E7<[(42-43)] & (44):	[Clauses (42-43): (42)\fi:y l-'isbu:w' qabla al-ma:Di:y zala lisa:n bu:sh/ (43)\'indama: qa:la 'anna al-qu:wa:t al-'amri:yki:ya sa-tuda:fi' 'an taywa:n Dida S-Si:yn/] (44)*wa ka:nat al-nati:ja* tawji:h Darba shadi:da lil-'ila:qa:t bayna wa:shinTu:n wa baki:n./

[Lit. clauses (42-43)-(44): (42)\in the week before the last Bush's tongue slip/(43)\when he said that the American forces would defend Taiwan against the Chinese/(44)*and the result was* a very strong strike directed against the relations between Washington and Beijing/]

Here, TT establishes new cohesive relations not present in the ST. This has been achieved by rendering ST complex construction by a sequence of three independent clauses with finite verbs including the insertion of the expression [wa ka:nat l-nati:ja <and the result was…>] which explicitly signal the underlying semantic relation 'result' between these clauses.

2. Elimination of cohesion: this type of shifts is affected by various translation strategies, including omission. Omission involves distortion through translation of a given ST element (with cohesive function), as in the following illustrative example:

[6:59]

EST1: SEI<E4< (12) & (13):	(12)\even during those long years when *Israel* was unthinkable in the Arab world/ (13)\and even when one had to use euphemisms like "the Zionist entity" *to refer to it./*
ATT1: SEI<E4< (12) & (13):	(12)\Hata: khila:l l-sini:n l-Tawi:lyla Hi:yna ka:nna l-tafki:r bi-*'isra:'i:l* min l-muHaramat fi: l-'a:lam l-'arabi:,/ (13)\'ila: darajat 'anna 'l-'ism lam yaku:n yudhkar muba:shara bal bi-'isti'ma:l ta'abi:r mithl "al-kiya:n l-Suhyu:ni::"∅./

[Lit. clauses (12)-(13): (12)\even during the long years when the thinking about *Israel* was [one] of the prohibited [things] in the Arab world,/(13)\∅ to the extent that the name could not to be uttered alone without using some expressions like "the Zionist entity" ∅./]

Here, ST cohesive relation signalled by the third person pronominal reference item 'it', which anaphorically refers to an identity established in the preceding clause, has not been relayed in the translation. This shift is affected by the omission of the prepositional phrase 'to refer to it' as the translator might have judged that the inclusion of this piece of information would be considered redundant for the TL audience who is familiar with this euphemism.

This translation strategy (i.e. omission) involves also the omission of information unit(s) as well, as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:60]

AST1: SEI<E3<[(6-8)] & [(9-10)]:	[Clauses (6-8): (6)\wa fi:y Hi:yn wajaha al-bayt al-'abyaD al-da'wa li-mujrim al-Harb 'ari:yal sha:ru:wn/(7)*li-'ijra:' muHa:datha:t ma'a l-ra'i:s bu:sh*,/(8)*fa*-qad 'imtana'at *l-'ida:raal-'amri:ki:ya* 'an tawjih da'wa muma:thila lil-ra'i:s al-filisTi:ni: ya:sir 'arafa:t,/] [Clauses (9-10): (9)\li-tu'lin bi-ha:dha: l-mawqif, 'anna 'inHiya:zuha: li-'isra:'i:l balagha min l-Safaqa Had-an yataja:waz Hata: l-'i'tibara:t l-shakli:ya/(10)*al-lati: yata'ayan 'an yuZhiruha: <al-waSi:T>*./

[Lit. clauses (6-8)-(9-10): (6)\(and when) the White House has sent an invitation to the war criminal Ariel Sharon/(7)*to hold talks with President Bush*/(8)*yet, the American administration* has declined to send a similar invitation to the Palestinian President Yasir Arafat/(9)*<by doing so, it has announced> that its alliance to Israel has reached a*

degree of recklessness breaching [all] diplomatic customs/(10)*that must be practiced by "the mediator"*/]

ETT1: SEI<E3<(5):	(5)\The American alignment to Israel reaches such an impertinent degree of inviting the war criminal Sharon to the White House ∅ and refusing to do the same with the Palestinian President Arafat./

Here, TT eliminates the cohesive relations conveyed in the ST. This has been achieved by the translation strategies of information gathering and information omission. The translator has opted to carry out these processes on the basis that the TL reader(s) would not appreciate the inclusion of the omitted information unit(s) which is considered 'redundant' for him.

[6:61]

AST1: SEII<E6<(17) & [(18-19)]:	(17)\wa th-tha:ni: huwa 'anna 'abi:d l-nifΤ 'anfusahum *la:-yaTma'u:n wa la:-yarghabu:n* fi: 'an yal'abu: 'aya dawr fi: l-ta'athi:r 'ala: l-siya:sa:t l-'amri:ki:ya,/ [Clauses: (18-19): (18)\Hata: wa-law fi: shay'-in yata'allaq-u bi-'aqdas muqadasa:tihu:m,/(19)\(*wa na'ni: muqadasa:tihu:wm l-di:ni:ya, wa-laysat l-du:wlara:t*)./]

[Lit. clauses (17)-(18-19): (17)\and the second is that 'oil slaves themselves' are not <state of being extremely eager to do something> and they do not have the desire to play any role to affect the American policy/(18)\even if it is related to a thing pertaining to their most sacred holiness/(19)\we mean their religious holiness, not the dollars/]

ETT1: SEII<E6<(10) & (11):	(10)\and the second is that oil slaves themselves do not want to play a role in order to affect the American policies/ (11)\even if it is related to their most sacred religious sanctity./

Here, TT eliminates the cohesive relation signalled by the ST. This has been achieved by the omission of some information units, i.e. the expressions [la:-yaTma'u:wn wa la:-yarghabu:wn <state of being extremely motivated and eager to do something>] in clause (17) and the information unit conveyed by clause (19): [wa na'ni: muqadasa:tuhum al-di:yni:ya, wa-laysat d-du:lara:t <what is meant …>], which is a commentary statement expanding on the preceding one. The translator has opted to carry out this process in order to uphold TL norms and conventions.

[6:62]

EST2: SEIII<E6<[(19-20)] & [(21-22)]:	[Clauses (19)-(20): (19)\On Tuesday, Labour MPs mocked *the president* like schoolchildren in a playground./(20)\In a typical attack, *Jane Griffiths*, MP for Reading East, dubbed him the "fool on Capitol Hill"./ [Clauses (21)-(22): (21)*In the process she displayed a basic ignorance of Washington geography- the White House is a mile and a half from Congress, which the president rarely visits-*/(22)\which reinforced Washingtonians' sense that Europe's politicians are glibly hostile./

ATT2: SEIII<E6<[(23-25) & (26):	[Clauses (23-25): (23)\ fa-qad sakhir-a 'aHad 'a'Da:'a al-barlama:n al-'ingili:yzi:y 'an Hizb al-'uma:l min al-ra'i:ys bu:sh/(24)\wa waSafahuw bi-'annahuw ashbah ma:-yaku:wn <<bi-Ta:lib madrasa yaqif-u fi:y mal'ab>>/(25)\wa maDa: ha:dha al-'iDu:w fi:y 'intiqa:da:tuh wa waSafa bu:sh bi-'annahuw <<dha:lika al-ghabi:y fi:y mabna: al-kabitu:l>>./] (26)*wa* tu'Ti:y mithla *ha:dhih al-'aqa:wi:yl* wa:shinTu:wn al-'inTiba:' bi-'anna s-siya:si:yu:wn al-'u:wru:wbi:yu:wn mu'a:du:wn li-'amri:yka:/

[Lit. clauses (23-25)-(26): (23)\because a member of the English parliament made fun of President Bush/(24)\and described him as being much alike "a student standing in school play ground"/(25)\and this (MP) goes on his mocking and described Bush as being "that fool in the building of the Capitol"/(26)\and such of these sayings indicate to Washington the impression that the European politicians are hostile towards America/]

Here, ST cohesive relation upholding between the two clauses has been not preserved in the TT. This has been affected by the omission of the information unit conveyed by clause (21). This is motivated by the fact that the translator has used his own judgement about the relevance of the knowledge conveyed in the ST to the respective TT audience.

This type of shifts (i.e. elimination of cohesive relations through translation) is also affected by the translation principle of 'information gathering/structural incorporation', as in the following illustrative example:

[6:63]

AST1: SEI<E3<[(6-8)] & [(9-10)]:	[Clauses (6-8): (6)\wa fi:y Hi:yn wajaha al-bayt al-'abyaD al-da'wa li-mujrim al-Harb 'ari:yal sha:ru:wn/(7)*li-'ijra:' muHa:datha:t ma'a al-ra'i:ys bu:sh*,/(8)\fa-qad 'imtana'at al-'ida:ra al-'amri:yki:ya 'an tawji:yh da'wa muma:thila lil-ra'i:ys al-filisTi:yni:y ya:sir 'arafa:t,/] [Clauses (9-10): (9)\li-tu'lin bi-ha:dha: al-mawqif, 'anna 'inHiya:zuha: li-'isra:'i:yl balagha min S-Safaqa Had-an yataja:waz Hata: al-'i'tibara:t sh-shakli:ya/(10)*al-lati:y yata'ayan 'an yuZhiruha: <al-waSi:yT>*./]

[Lit. clauses (6-8)-(9-10): (6)\(and when) the White House has sent an invitation to the war criminal Ariel Sharon/(7)\to hold talks with President Bush/(8)\yet, the American administration has declined to send a similar invitation to the Palestinian President Yasir

Arafat/(9)\<by doing so, it has announced> that its alliance to Israel has reached a degree of recklessness breaching [all] diplomatic customs/(10)\that must be abide by "the mediator"/]

ETT1: SEI<E3<(5):	(5)\The American alignment to Israel reaches such an impertinent degree of inviting the war criminal Sharon to the White House and refusing to do the same with the Palestinian President Arafat./

Here, ST cohesive relations between the elements of the two constructions have been eliminated through translation. This is affected by transforming ST construction of five independent clauses with finite verbs into syntactically complex construction as well as the omission of some information units.

3. The last type of shifts due to the translation process itself involves changing the types of the cohesive ties used in the ST through translation, as in the following illustrative examples:

[6:64]

EST2: SEII<E4<(12) & (13)	(12)\But Europe is learning that *Gen Powell* is only one member of the Bush foreign policy team./ (13)\Some officials have already begun to whisper against *the former Gulf War leader*, accusing him of being out of step with the president on key issues./

ATT2: SEII<E4<(16) & (17):	(16)\ba'daha: bi-waqt-in qaSi:yr adrakt 'u:wru:wbba: 'anna *ku:lin ba:wl* laysa siwa: fard-in wa:Hid-in fi:y fari:yq bu:sh al-kha:S bil-si:ya:sa al-kha:riji:ya/ (17)\wa bada' ba'aD al-'u:wru:wbbi:yyn yahmisu:wn bi-kala:m-in Did-a *ba:wl* mu:tahimi:yn 'i-ya:huw bil-'azf al-mu:nfarid ba'i:yd-an 'an al-ra'i:ys wa rab'uh./

[Lit. clauses (16)-(17): (16)\After that in a short time Europe found that *Colin Powell* was nothing but a single figure in Bush's teem for the foreign policy/(17)*then* some Europeans began to whisper with words against *Powell* accusing…/]

Here, the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST has been changed in translation. This has been affected by the translation strategy of substitution. That is, ST expressions: the NP, title plus surname 'Gen Powell', and the definite article NP 'the former Gulf War leader', respectively, have been substituted by the lexical items: full name, [ku:lin ba:wl <Colin Powell>] and the surname [ba:wl <Powell>].

[6:65]

EST2: SEI<E3<(10) & (11):	(10)\When *Gen. Powell* reassured America's allies on its commitment to Europe by saying categorically that "we went in together and we will leave together",/ (11)\one European official described *his words* as "music to our ears"./

ATT2: SEI<E3<(14) & (15):	(14)\wa qad Safaq al-'u:wru:wbbi:yu:wn Tawi:yl-an li-ma:dhakarah-u *ba:wl* Hawla 'iltiza:m 'amari:yka: bi-'u:wru:wbba: <<laqad sirna fi:y al-ma:Di:y ma'an wa sa-nasi:yr fi:y al-mustaqbal 'ayDan ma'an>>./ (15)\wa qad waSafa mas'u:wl 'u:wru:wbi:y *kalima:t ba:wl* <<bi-'annaha: kalima:t mu:wsi:yqi:ya 'aTrabatna: kathi:yr-an>>./

[Lit. clauses (14)-(15): (14)\and the Europeans had clapped for a long time, for what Powell said about America's commitment to Europe "we went in the past together and we will go in the future together/(15)\(and) one European official described *Powell's words* "as music words that have entertained us to some extent"/]

Here, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST. ST establishes the cohesive relation of reference by the possessive personal pronominal reference NP 'his words' whereas TT establishes the same reference relation by means of proper name possessive NP [kalima:t ba:wl].

[6:66]

AST2: SEII<E3<(14) & (15):	(14)*hiya* ba'i:da 'an wa:qi' sh-shu'u:wb/ (15)\'idh tataHa:laf ma'a al-Huka:m al-munafidhi:yn li-*'ira:datiha:*/

[Lit. clauses (14)-(15): (14)\they (i.e. American policies) are distant from the realities of nations/(15)\as they are allied to the rulers who carry out their will/]

ETT2: SEII<E3<(11) & [(12-13)]:	(11)*Those policies* are distant from realities of nations/ [Clauses (12-13): (12)\as they are allied to the lucky rulers,/(13)\who carry out *America's will/*]

Here, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST. This has been achieved by substituting ST less explicit tie, i.e. the possessive personal pronominal NP ['ira:datiha: <her will>], by a more explicit one, i.e. the possessive name NP 'America's will'.

[6:67]

AST2: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\al-'a:lam 'ajma' 'istanka:r al-jari:yma al-lati:y wa:jahatha: 'amri:yka/ (2)*wa* 'ala: ha:mish al-'istinka:r al-jama:'i:y barazat 'as'ila/

[Lit. clauses (1)-(2): (1)\the entire world condemned the crime that America had faced/(2)*and* on the margin of the inclusive condemnation some questions been raised/]

ETT2: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\The whole world has condemned the crime to which America was subjected./ (2)*But* on the sidelines of the universal condemnation there appeared a number of questions/

Here, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST. This has been achieved by substituting ST semantically less explicit/general purpose conjunction, i.e. the coordinating particle [wa <and>], by a more explicit one, i.e. the compound conjunction constituting of the additive conjunction 'and' plus the lexical signal 'in return', which explicitly conveys a result relation between the two clauses.

[6:68]

AST2: SEII<E3<(15) & (16):	(15)\'idh tataHa:laf ma'a al-Huka:m al-munafidhi:yn li-'ira:datiha:/ (16)*wa* tad'amahum fi:y qam'ihim li-shu'u:wbihim raghma ma:-tarfa'ahu min shi'a:ra:t Huqu:wq al-'insa:n../

[Lit. clauses (15)-(16): (15)\as they are allied to the rulers who carry out her will/(16)*and* she supports them in suppression of their own people…./]

ETT2: SEII<E3<[(12-13)] & (14):	[Clauses (12)-(13): (12)\as they are allied to the lucky rulers,/(13)\who carry out America's will/] (14)*and in return* receive support in their suppression of their people in spite of all the banners of human rights held by America/

Here, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST. This has been achieved by substituting ST semantically less explicit/general purpose conjunction, i.e. the coordinating particle [wa <and>], by a more explicit one, i.e. the compound conjunction constituting of the additive conjunction 'and' plus the lexical signal 'in return', which explicitly conveys a result relation between the two clauses.

[6:69]

EST1: SEI<E5: [(16-17)] & (18):	[Clauses (16-17): (16)\the PLO had already recognized it/(17)\and was pursuing peace process with it,/] (18)*and* several other Arab countries had trade and commercial relations with it./

ATT1: SEI<E5: [(16-17)] & (18):	[Clauses (16-17): (16)\wa 'i'tarafat bi-ha: munaZamat t-taHri:yr al-filisTi:yni:ya/(17)\wa tu:a:Sil-u ma'aha: 'amaliyyat l-sala:m,/] (18)*fi:-ma:* 'aqa:ma 'adadu:n min l-diwal l-'arabi:ya 'ilaqa:t tija:ri:ya ma'aha: /

[Lit. clauses (16-17)-(18): (16)\and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation recognised it/(17)\and continues with it the peace process,/(18)*even as* a number of the Arab countries established trade relations with it./]

Here, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST. This has been achieved by substituting ST semantically less explicit/general purpose conjunction, i.e. the coordinating particle 'and', by a semantically more explicit one, i.e. the temporal conjunction [fi:-ma: <even as>].

6.4 Consequences of shifts

> The process of translation, particularly if successful, necessitates a complex text and discourse processing. The process of interpretation performed by the translator on the source language text might lead to a target language text which is **more redundant than the source language text**. This redundancy can be expressed by a raise in the level of cohesive explicitness in the target language text. This argument 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 [**of the two languages**] involved. It follows that **explicitation is viewed here as inherent in the process of translation.** (Blum-Kulka, 1986: 19)

The specific aim of this section is to describe the consequences of shifts in cohesion-that have occurred through translation, with a view to validating Blum-Kulka's explicitation hypothesise that shifts in types of cohesive markers used in translation would affect textual explicitness in the translated text. That is, the levels of explicitness in the TT are higher or lower than that of the source text. The explicitation hypothesis postulates that this rise takes place "regardless of the increase traceable to differences between the two linguistic and textual systems involved" (Blum-Kulka 1986).

For ease of reference, the description of the consequences of shifts on levels of explicitness in the translated texts will be presented under the following two separate sections representing the different translation directions (i.e. translation from Arabic into English and vice versa).

6.4.1 Levels of explicitness in English translated texts

The general analysis of the shifts of cohesion in the ST-TT text pairs has shown that the general levels of explicitness in English translated texts are relatively lower than that of the Arabic source texts. This 'implicitation' is mainly affected by two types of shifts, namely, elimination of cohesive relations and change of types of cohesive features through translation.

1. The type of shifts referred to in the current study as elimination of cohesive relations through translation has affected the levels of explicitness in the translated texts (i.e. implicitation). As has been pointed out in the preceding sections, this type of shifts is mainly motivated by the translation procedures such as:

i. Substitution: this strategy involves substituting a ST element (with a cohesive function) with a TL element (with no cohesive function), as in examples 6:8 and 6:9 above. This strategy has been adopted by the translator in order to avoid repetition which is not acceptable in English.

ii. Omission: this strategy involves the omission through translation of a single lexico-grammatical element (with a cohesive function) or an information unit(s) from the ST, respectively, as in examples 6:27 and 6:31.

iii. Structural incorporation/ information gathering: this principle involves the elimination of cohesive relations signalled in the ST through translation by transforming ST sequences of simple sentences/clauses with complex constructions in the ST. This is mainly constrained by stylistic and generic considerations as in examples 6:34 and 6:35.

2. Implicitation is also caused by change of the type of cohesive features used in the ST through translation. This type of shifts is mainly affected by the translation procedure of substitution, including the following:

i. Shifts from lexical word to proform, as in example 6:38 where the translator uses the indefinite lexical item 'one' to substitute for the repeated lexical item in the ST, i.e. [al-'adu:].

ii. Shifts from more semantically conjunctions signalling the underlying semantic relations between ST segments to less explicit conjunctions (i.e. the use of vague or general purpose conjunctions) in the TT, as in example 6:41.

6.4.2 Levels of explicitness in Arabic translated texts

The general analysis of the shifts of cohesion that occurred through translating from English into Arabic has shown that the general levels of explicitness in the Arabic translated texts are higher than that of the English source texts. This confirms with Blum-Kulka's explicitness hypothesis.

This rise in levels of explicitness in the translated texts has been mainly affected by two types of shifts: establishment of new cohesive relations not present in the source text as well as the change of the type of the cohesive features used in the source text through translation.

1. Establishment of new cohesive relations not present in the source text through translation has raised levels of explicitness in the translated texts. This type of shifts is linked up with various translation decisions, including:

i. Substitution: this involves substituting a ST element (with no cohesive relation) with a TL element (with a cohesive relation), as in example 6:45.

ii. Addition: this strategy involves insertion of either a single lexico-grammatical element (with a cohesive function) or a new information unit(s), as in examples 6:1, 6:19, 6:48 and 6:54.

iii. Structural expansion/information splitting: this principle involves the establishment of new cohesive relations in the TT through translation by transforming ST

complex constructions into sequences of simple sentences/clauses in the TT. This principle involves also insertion of conjunctions explicitly signalling the underlying semantic relations implicit in the ST constructions. This translation strategy has been mainly undertaken by the translators in order to compensate for differences in knowledge as well as to adopt the ST to the stylistic and generic norms and conventions of the TL. This is evident in examples 6:24, 6:25 and 6:58.

2. Explicitation is also caused by change of the type of cohesive features used in the ST through translation. This type of shifts is mainly affected by the translation procedure of substitution. This includes the following:

i. Shifts from proform to lexical word, as in examples 6:17, 6:42 and 6:65.

ii. Shifts from less explicit conjunctions (i.e. the use of vague or general purpose conjunctions) in the ST to the use of more semantically conjunctions signalling the underlying semantic relations between text segments, as in examples 6:44 and 6:69.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to explain and justify the occurrence of shifts of cohesion that have occurred through translation. This has been achieved by highlighting the dynamic interrelationships between, on the one hand, shifts of cohesion and the translation strategies that have given rise to them, and the factors and constraints that have motivated and influenced the translators' decisions, on the other hand. Moreover, it has also attempted to describe the consequences of the shifts identified on the levels of explicitness in the translated texts, with a view to validating Blum-Kulka's explicitation hypothesis.

The general analysis of the shifts of cohesion that occurred through translation has shown interesting implications. Three types of shifts have been identified (i.e. establishment of new cohesion, elimination of cohesion and change of type of cohesive features). Shifts in cohesion are not considered as errors, but rather, as consequences of motivated translation

strategies undertaken by the various translators. The general analysis of the examples of shifts has shown that the translation strategies undertaken by the various translators are motivated and influenced by three factors and constraints (i.e. systemic language differences, stylistic preferences and the translation process itself). Finally, the analysis has found that levels of explicitness in the ST-TT pair of texts have been affected by shifts of cohesion in translation: levels of explicitness were higher in translating from English to Arabic and were lower in translating from Arabic into English.

CHAPTER SEVEN
CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

This study has attempted to investigate the translation phenomenon "shifts" in integral translation. More specifically, this investigation has attempted to identify shifts of cohesion in ST-TT text pair that occurred through translation of Arabic and English argumentative texts (i.e. translating from Arabic into English and vice versa), with the view to validating Blum-Kulka's (1986) theory that translation is necessarily entails shifts of both cohesion and coherence. It has also attempted to explain and justify the occurrence of shifts in translation by referring to both the translation actions undertaken by the translators as well as the factors and constraints that have motivated and influenced the translators' decisions. Finally, it has attempted to describe the consequences of shifts of cohesion on the translated texts, with a view to validating Blum-Kulka's (1986) claim that shifts of cohesion in translation are postulated to affect textuality in the translated text (i.e. levels of explicitation in the translated text are either higher or lower than that of the source text).

7.1 Statement of procedures

To achieve these objectives and validate the above-mentioned hypothesis, a theoretically-based methodology for investigating shifts have been constructed. The methodology developed consists of two different, though interrelated, parts: a practical and a theoretical. The practical part encompasses a comparative model. It has been designed for the identification of shifts of cohesion in the ST-TT text pair that occurred through translation by means of comparison. The latter is to be seen as a supplementary one providing the theoretical insights needed for the explanation and justification of shifts in cohesion that occurred through translation. It has three major components: textual component, semantic component, and rhetorical component.

7.2 Data used

For the purpose of the analysis, two different corpuses comprising equal number of translationally-equivalent authentic texts published by various newspapers in the two languages have been used. The first corpus consists of two original Arabic argumentative texts and their translation into English (Appendix A). The second one consists of two original English argumentative texts and their translation into Arabic (Appendix B). These pairs of texts have been used for the identification of shifts in cohesion and for the description of the likely consequences of shifts in the translated texts. Moreover, the selected texts in both corpuses are all intuitively judged as representative of the text-type category called 'argumentation' (see chapter 5).

7.3 Results of the current study

The results of the comparative analysis and the general analysis of shifts identified are summarised below. For ease of reference, these are presented separately under the following two sub-sections:

7.3.1 Results of the comparative analysis (CA)

By the application of the comparative model to the analysis of the various ST-TT text pairs in the two corpuses, it has been possible to identify shifts of cohesion that occurred through translation. Shifts of cohesion in the ST-TT text pairs are evident in translating into both directions (i.e. translating from Arabic into English, and vice versa, Appendix E). This result confirms Blum-Kulka's (1986) hypothesis that translation necessarily entails shifts in cohesion.

7.3.2 Results of the analysis of shifts

The general analysis of the results (i.e. shifts in cohesion) that have been revealed by the application of the comparative model to the analysis of the various ST-TT text pairs (Appendixes A and B) has shown several interesting observations. These are spilled-out as follows:

The first observation concerns the occurrence of shifts through translation. It has been demonstrated that all shifts of cohesion in the ST-TT text pairs have been stimulated by the translation actions, which have been undertaken by the translators for various reasons.

Moreover, in any activity has to do with translation, the translator needs to employ more or less four translation strategies (e.g. addition, omission, substitution, structural modification and adjustment, etc.), each of which is binary in nature, i.e. obligatory (the translator is compelled to apply it in order to overcome the unavoidable systemic language differences) or optional (its adoption depends on the translator's own preference/will). Through the translation process, these translation actions have (singly or cumulatively) led to the occurrence of shifts of cohesion (e.g. establishment of new cohesion, elimination of cohesion and/or change of cohesive features).

The second conclusion concerns the dynamic interrelationships between types of shifts and kinds of the translation strategies that have given rise to them, on the one hand, and the factors and constraints that have motivated and influenced the translators' decisions. These are as follows:

1. Establishment of new cohesive relation

TT establishes new cohesive relation(s) not present in the source text through translation. This type of shifts is evident in both translation directions (i.e. translating from Arabic into English and vice verse); and it has been affected by various translation strategies implemented by the translators for various reasons:

i. Substitution: this translation strategy involves rendering a ST element (with no cohesive function) by a TL element (with a cohesive function). This translation strategy has been commonly undertaken by the translators for various reasons. In one case, the non existence in the TL of equivalent words to convey the same meaning expressed by ST concept. This strategy has been implemented in favour of explicitness, i.e. a ST element is substituted by a TL element which is semantically more explicit.

ii. Addition of a lexico-grammatical element: this translation strategy involves inserting in the translated text a lexico-grammatical element (with a cohesive function). This translation strategy has been commonly undertaken by the translators for various reasons. It has been found that the most inserted item is the cohesive category of conjunctions for explicating the underlying semantic relations upholding between text elements.

iii. Addition of information unit(s): this translation strategy involves adding to the source text new information unit(s) conveyed by structural units (e.g. phrases, clauses, etc.). This translation strategy has been commonly undertaken by the translators for various reasons. In one case, the non existence in the TL of equivalent words to convey an ST culturally-bound concept has motivated the translator to paraphrase the expressed concept with the addition of irrelevant words and structures. Moreover, this type of translation strategy is also motivated by knowledge differences, that is, the translator supplies background information to compensate for knowledge differences. In some cases, translator sometimes introduces new information unit(s) representing his own interpretation of the ST.

iv. Structural expansion/information splitting: the principle of information splitting involves transforming a ST complex construction into several independent sentences/clauses with finite verbs. It also involves the insertion of conjunctions which explicitly express the implicit semantic relations in the source structure. Moreover, this principle subsumes under it some other translation strategies such as 'grammatical transposition'. This strategy has been

often implemented by the translators in order to either assess the TL audience by simplifying the structure of the ST or to observe TL conventions and norms (e.g. style and genre).

2. Elimination of cohesive relation(s)

This type of shifts involves the elimination of a given ST cohesive relation, partially or wholly, through translation; and it is affected by various kinds of translation actions implemented by the translators for various reasons. These are presented as follows:

i. Substitution: this translation strategy involves rendering a ST element (with a cohesive function) by a TL element (with no cohesive function). This translation strategy has been commonly undertaken by the translators for various reasons. In one case, the non existence in the TL of equivalent words to convey the same meaning expressed by ST concept. This strategy has also been opted for by the translators due to stylistic and generic constraints.

ii. Omission of a lexico-grammatical element: this translation strategy involves omitting through translation a given ST lexico-grammatical element (with a cohesive function). This translation strategy has been commonly undertaken by the translators for various reasons, including the non existence in TL of equivalent words to translate a concept expressed in the ST, especially when it has judged to be irrelevant for the development of the text. Stylistic and generic considerations are involved too.

iii. Omission of information unit(s): this translation strategy involves the elimination through translation of some information unit(s) conveyed by the source text. This strategy has been commonly undertaken by the translators when, for instance, the information conveyed in the ST is deemed to be superfluous or irrelevant for the TL audience.

iv. Structural incorporation/information collecting: this principle involves transforming a ST sequence made up of several independent sentences/clauses with finite

verbs into a complex construction in the TT. Moreover, this principle subsumes under it some other translation strategies such as 'grammatical transposition' in which a given ST independent clause transformed into a clause embedded in a phrase in a super-structure. This strategy has been often implemented by the translators in order to observe TL conventions and norms (e.g. style and genre).

3. Change of cohesive ties

Finally, this type of shifts involves changing the type of the cohesive tie(s) used in the ST through translation; and it is mainly affected by the translation procedure of substitution. This type of shifts is evident in both directions of translation. Translators often resort to this process in order to uphold TL conventions and norms as well as to resolving translation problems caused by the unavoidable systematic language differences.

Finally, Blum-Kulka's (1986) hypothesis that shifts of cohesion in translation affect the levels of textuality in the translated text (i.e. levels of explicitness in the TT are claimed to be either higher or lower than that of the ST) has been confirmed. In the light of the general analysis of the shifts identified, it has been observed that shifts of cohesion that took place through translating from Arabic into English have affected the levels of explicitness in the English version, i.e. lower than that in the Arabic source text. This is mainly due to the fact that the two languages differ to a considerable extent in their stylistic preferences for the use of certain cohesive relations. Contrary to this, the shifts of cohesion that have occurred in the process of translating from English to Arabic have raised the levels of explicitination in the Arabic translations. This might be ascribed to the fact that Arabic language, unlike English, is considered to be relatively an explicit language. (See Hatim and Mason 1990, Dickens 2002, Williams 1983, Kaplan 1983, and others) Moreover, it could be safely claimed that Arabic is more explicit than English because of the fact that Arabic is an inflectional language (i.e. verbs have to be inflected for both gender and number).

7.4 Achievements and contributions

The current study has achieved the following:

Firstly, the study has demonstrated that shifts are inevitable in any activity that has to do with translating between two (or more) different languages, regardless of how skilful the translator is and regardless of the scope of differences between the two languages, as well as the translating method or approach one might follow.

Second, the study has demonstrated that shifts in translation are, contrary to the generally hold point of view, considered as positive consequences of the translator's effort to establish translation equivalence between two different language systems, and the occurrence of these shifts through translation reflects the translator's awareness of the linguistic and non-linguistic discrepancies between the source and target languages. In this sense, shifts can be defined as problem-solving strategies (i.e. motivated decisions) adopted consciously by the translator to minimize the unavoidable loss of meaning when rendering a text from one language into another.

Third, the current study has identified three types of shifts (i.e. establishment of new cohesion, elimination of cohesion and change of the type of cohesive features through translation). It has also distinguished between obligatory cohesion-shifts and optional cohesion-shifts. The first category encompasses the type of shifts affected by the mandatory actions imposed upon the translator by the unavoidable systematic differences between the two languages. The second category (i.e. optional cohesion-shifts) covers the type of shifts affected by the elective and intentional process and decisions undertaken by translators to mediate gaps in knowledge between source- and target-readerships, to adapt the translated text to various norms and conventions prevalent in the target culture, or to adhere to the translation universal norms. The postulation of the terms 'obligatory' and 'optional' cohesion-shifts satisfies the need to account for linguistic and non-linguistic differences between the languages involved in the process of translation.

Fourth, the study has developed a theoretically-based methodology for investigating shifts in translation. The method was initially designed to facilitate the comparison and description of both Arabic and English translations of argumentative texts. The method can be applied to translations into languages other than Arabic and English. Moreover, it can also be applied with slight modification to translations in different text-types and genres.

Finally, the current study, to best of my knowledge, can be regarded as the first of its type to deal with this translation phenomenon 'shifts of cohesion' in translation of argumentative texts (i.e. literature was the focus of the bulk of studies that have touched upon this subject), with length. Moreover, it is the first also to address this issue in translating between the Arabic and English languages (i.e. most of the current studies have dealt with shifts in translation between Indo-European languages).

7.5 Recommendations for future studies

It is axiomatic that this thesis cannot, in fact, give resolutions to all problems or issues raised here. Therefore, future research must be conducted to explore the effects of shifts on the same and other textual variables (e.g. text producer's intent, text overall rhetorical purpose/function, text compositional plan (structure), style, genre, etc.) on this text type as well as other text types (e.g. expository texts, narrative texts, etc.).

While our corpus was small, the study did demonstrate an empirical approach to exploring the potential sources of shifts of cohesion in translating integral argumentative texts from Arabic into English and versa vice. However, the findings of the current study need to be confirmed by a future research. This will be done by making use of corpus linguistics methods and computer tools comparing corpora and texts, the purpose of which would be to locate distinctive features of translated texts and also draw conclusions about universals of translation.

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Appendix A

Arabic Source Texts and English Translated Texts

1. Original document of AST1
2. Original document of ETT1
3. Original document of AST2
4. Original document of ETT2

Appendix A
Original AST1

بقلم: العرب

السنة الرابعة والعشرون العدد (6118) الثلاثاء 16 محرم 1423 هـ - الموافق 30/3/2002

الولايات المتحدة واسرائيل

مَن هو العدو الحقيقي للفلسطينيين؟

إذا كان لدى البعض اي امل في ان تكون ادارة الرئيس جورج بوش اقل انحيازا لاسرائيل من ادارة الرئيس السابق بيل كلينتون، فان هذا الامل تبدد عندما اظهرت هذه الادارة انها لا تكتفي بتبني الموقف الاسرائيلي من مفاوضات السلام فحسب، ولكنها تدعم الاعمال الوحشية الاسرائيلية وتطالب الضحايا بوقف اعمال العنف، وفي حين وجه البيت الابيض الدعوة لمجرم الحرب ارييل شارون لاجراء محادثات مع الرئيس بوش، فقد امتنعت الادارة الامريكية عن توجيه دعوة مماثلة للرئيس الفلسطيني ياسر عرفات، لتعلن بهذا الموقف، ان انحيازها لاسرائيل بلغ من الصفاقة حدا يتجاوز حتى الاعتبارات الشكلية التي يمكن ان يظهرها «الوسيط».

وإذا كان هناك من يعول على ان «العلاقات العربية» التي يتمتع بها «لوبي النفط» يمكن أن تترك تأثيرا على توجهات الادارة الجمهورية، فان الحقيقة التي تبرز الآن هي ان «لوبي النفط» الامريكي لا ينظر الى «علاقاته العربية» بوصفها عامل ضغط، وذلك لسببين: الأول، لان هذه العلاقات ليست متكافئة ولا تعدو كونها علاقات «سادة وعبيد»، السادة يأمرون، وعبيد النفط تطيع، وذلك من دون ان يكون لهذه العلاقات «الاقتصادية» الخام، أي اثر سياسي. والثاني، هو ان عبيد النفط انفسهم لا يطمحون ولا يرغبون في ان يلعبوا اي دور في التأثير على السياسات الامريكية، حتى ولو في شأن يتعلق بأقدس مقدساتهم. (ونعني مقدساتهم الدينية، وليس الدولارات).

واذا كان هناك من يظن ان المصالح الامريكية في المنطقة يمكن ان تتأثر عندما تواصل واشنطن دعمها لاعمال القتل اليومية للابرياء. فقد ثبت، حتى الآن على الاقل، ان بعض اثمن «الحكومات العربية» التي اكتفت بتقديم الدعم الكلامي للقضية الفلسطينية (مع حفنة دولارات لا تغني ولا تسمن)، اثبتت انها أعجز من ان تشكل قوة ضغط وانها لا تجرؤ على رفع أصوات الاحتجاج ضد السياسة الامريكية الراعنة. ولم يكن صعبا على واشنطن ان تستوعب الحقيقة القائلة ان الدول العربية لا تتبنى استراتيجية واحدة حيال القضية الفلسطينية، ولا تتحدث بصوت واحد، ولم تخطط للقيام بعمل احتجاجي واحد، ولا تنوي اتخاذ اجراء عملي واحد ضد المصالح الامريكية، وبالتالي فان الشيء الطبيعي، هو ان تمسك الولايات المتحدة بالحبل من طرفه السائب لتنحاز فقط الى الطرف الذي اعتادت الانحياز اليه.

بالرغم من بعض الجوانب الايجابية التي اسفرت عن انعقاد القمة العربية، فقد صار من الجلي الآن، ان الموقف من الانحياز الامريكي الاعمى لاسرائيل، كان هو الغائب الأكبر.

● لا شيء اهم اليوم من وضع هذا الانحياز على جدول اعمال اللقاءات العربية

اسرائيل ليست هي العدو الوحيد للفلسطينيين. الولايات المتحدة هي العدو الآخر، ان لم تكن هي العدو الأهم. فمن دون دعم الولايات المتحدة، ما كانت اسرائيل لتجرؤ على التفصل من كل التزاماتها المتعلقة بعملية السلام. ومن دون تواطؤ الولايات المتحدة، ما كانت اسرائيل لتجرؤ على ارتكاب كل هذا القدر من الجرائم اليومية. ومن دون مساندة الولايات المتحدة، ما كان بوسع اسرائيل ان تنتهك كل ما تشاء من القوانين والاعراف والمقررات الدولية.

في الحقيقة، الولايات المتحدة هي المسؤول الأول والمباشر عن كل ما يجري في المنطقة. وليست اسرائيل سوى اداة.

اسرائيل هي البندقية، ولكن الولايات المتحدة هي اليد التي تضغط على الزناد لقتل الأطفال الفلسطينيين.

اسرائيل هي البلدوزر، ولكن الولايات المتحدة هي اليد التي تهدم منازل الفلسطينيين.

اسرائيل هي الدبابة، ولكن الولايات المتحدة هي قوة الاحتلال.

ومن الواجب حمل العلاقة مع الولايات المتحدة على محمل العلاقة مع عدو... لانها، ببساطة، هي العدو الحقيقي.

Appendix A
Original ETT1

USA and Israel, which is the Palestinians' real enemy?

By Ahmed ElHouni

If some people have any hope that Bush's administration will be less biased to Israel than the Clinton's one, this hope vanishes in the thin air when it insists not only to adopt the Israeli situation in the peace negotiations but also to support the Israeli atrocities and call upon the victims to stop violence. The American alignment to Israel reaches such an impertinent degree of inviting the war criminal Sharon to the White House and refusing to do the same with the Palestinian President Arafat. If some people say that the Arab relations which the oil lobby enjoys can affect the attitudes of the Republican administration, the current fact is that the Arab relations can not be a pressure force for two reasons: the first is that these relations are not on an equal footing and they are no more than the relation between masters and slaves without having any political effect and the second is that the oil slaves themselves do not want to play a role in order to affect the American policies even if it is related to their most sacred religious sanctity. If some people think that the American interests in the region can be affected by Washington's insistence to support the daily killing operations, it is proved, at least until now, that the Arab governments, which are satisfied with verbal support, are more disable than being a pressure force or raising the voices of protest against the American policy. It is not difficult for Washington to get the fact that the Arab countries lack consensus in relation to the Palestinian cause or even in speaking in one voice to protest against its policy or in taking one practical measure against its interests. So, the natural thing is that America takes the side of the traditional ally regardless of the other side of the rope. Despite the Arab summit's positive sides, it becomes obvious now that the situation from the American blind alignment to Israel was the big absentee. Nothing more important today than putting this alignment on the agendas of Arab meetings. Israel is not the only enemy of the Palestinians but America is the other one, not to say more important. Without its support, Israel would not have dared to disregard its peace commitments. Without its collaboration, Israel would not have dared to commit such a deal of daily crimes. Without its assistance, Israel would not have dared to violate all the international laws and resolutions. In fact, America is the first and direct responsible for what is happening in the region and Israel is no more than a tool. Israel is the gun while America is the hand which presses the trigger to kill the Palestinian children. Israel is the bulldozer while America is the hand which demolishes the Palestinians' houses. Israel is the tank while America is the occupation force. We must classify the relation with America as that with the enemy simply because it is the real one.

Appendix A
Original AST2

بقلم: احمد الهوني

حكّموا العقل .. الارهاب لا أمة له

هل تراجع أمريكا وأوروبا رعايتهما له؟

العالم أجمع استنكر الجريمة التي واجهتها امريكا. وعلى هامش الاستنكار الجماعي برزت أسئلة وسلطت الأضواء على حقائق منها أن امريكا ساهمت في ولادة الارهاب، وها هي تستيقظ لغفلتها وغرورها بعد ان وقعت الجريمة تحت أنظار أجهزتها الاستخبارية والامنية.

لماذا امريكا؟ سؤال ردده مواطنون امريكيون بسطاء قد لا يعلمون ما ارتكبته وترتكبه دولتهم في حق شعوب عديدة في امريكا اللاتينية وآسيا وافريقيا.

شعوب عانت وتعاني من مظالم السياسة الامريكية التي تسببت في موت الملايين من البشر ودفعت جماعات من البشر الى اليأس فالارهاب الاعمى.

سياسات حكومات امريكا المتعاقبة تفتقد الى العدل ولا تهتم سوى بمصالحها على حساب حقوق الآخرين.. هي بعيدة عن واقع الشعوب اذ تتحالف مع الحكام المنفذين لارادتها وتدعمهم في قمعهم لشعوبهم رغم ما ترفعه من شعارات حقوق الانسان.. وها هي قوائم المتهمين التي اعلنتها تضم رعايا لحلفائها.

ورغم إعلان امريكا بان هنالك مئة وثلاثين منظمة في أنحاء العالم تعتبرها امريكا ارهابية الا ان مسؤوليها ونوابها وأعلامها حاولوا منذ الدقائق الأولى لوقوع الجريمة الصاقها بالعرب والمسلمين، ومع ورود اسماء عربية أو اسلامية كانت من بين ركاب الطائرات الأربع المنكوبة تحول الالصاق الى يقين دون اية ادلة.

الشيء الذي يجب ان تستيقظ له الدولة الأعظم ودول الاتحاد الاوروبي عوضاً عن دق طبول الحرب وارسال التهديدات ان يعيدوا النظر فيما زرعوه هم أنفسهم بمساندتهم الارهاب وجماعات المتعصبين.. وحمايتهم.

حكام مسلمون وعرب مستهترون بشعوبهم يمارسون أبشع أنواع الحكم تحت شعارات براقة عبر أجهزة اعلام جوفاء.. طبول.. وفساد وتستر على الفاسدين والمفسدين وعلى مختلف أنواع الانتهاكات، وسيادة العائلات على مداخيل الدول وتوريث الأبناء للحكم... و.. و..

من الذي اسس التعصب بافغانستان؟

ان ما قدمته امريكا من تدريب وأسلحة وما منحته دول حليفة لها من أموال كان بداية التأسيس والتكوين الذي تطور وتشعب ليتم تصدير المتعصبين تحت شعار الاسلام الى دول عديدة، وما حدث في مصر ويحدث في الجزائر ماثل للاذهان.. ولولا حسم الحكم ويقظته في تونس لحدث في البلد الامن ما يحدث الان في الجزائر.. وها هي فرنسا تحتضنهم، وترعى بريطانيا قنواتهم وصحفهم.. والحديث يطول عن حماية امريكا ودول أوروبا لقيادات تلك الجماعات!

الان امريكا تندفع لتكرار اخطائها تحت وطأة الظرف الذي يحتم على الادارة الامريكية ارضاء شعبها بعمل عسكري بعد ان شحنه الاعلام بدعوات الثأر والانتقام.. ولاشك ان منفذي الجريمة يستحقون العقاب لكن التسرع في غياب الادلة قد يقود الى كوارث ونتائج سلبية على العالم أجمع.. وحرصت امريكا على ان لا تتحمل مسؤولية ما ستقوم به وها هي تحاول جمع عدد من دولنا العربية والاسلامية لتشاركها فيما ستفعله ضد شعب او شعوب عديدة بريئة مما وقع.

- نطالبكم، امريكا والقيادات الاوروبية ان تحكّموا العقل وتدرسوا بحكمة وتريث الاسباب، ولماذا ولدت تلك التعصبات وكيف ولدت وتوالدت وتحولت عن قواعد كل الاديان خاصة الاسلام الذي يحرم قتل الانسان الا عبر القضاء وبعد ادانته بالقتل. راجعوا ما ارتكبتموه من ظلم وما ترعونه من ديكتاتوريات وحكام لا يؤمنون بحرية الشعوب ولا بسلطاتها.. وبعضها يخفي ديكتاتوريته تحت ديمقراطية زائفة قائمة على التزوير والنهب المنظم لثروات شعوبها. كل ذلك يجب ان يعاد النظر فيه لتقوم ديمقراطيات حقيقية تحترم القضاء وتعمل على تأمين مستقبل وحياة المواطنين. ان الفساد والقمع سبب اساسي لولادة المتعصبين.. فراجعوا تحالفاتكم وعودوا عن مظالمكم واعلموا ان الفرد عندما يصاب باليأس والاحباط ويفقد الامل في اي اصلاح سيتجه الى الانتقام وقد يكون انتقامه ارهاباً أعمى.. لانكم حماة للظالمين.

اسرائيل قاعدة لتفريخ التعصب بما ترتكبه من جرائم في حق الانسانية.. عمليات قتل وتدمير يومية.. قادتها كلهم شارون.. كل حكامها منذ تاسيسها الى يومنا هذا ارتكبوا مذابح وقتلوا أسرى واستولوا على ممتلكات الفلسطينيين ودنسوا مقدسات المسلمين، وكانت امريكا هي داعمهم وهي من يزودهم بالطائرات التي تقصف الآمنين.. والظلم يولد مثيله..

اسرائيل مصدر اساسي لولادة التعصب «!!» فإحذروا استغلال الصهيونية فهي مدرسة الارهاب.

القضية هامة وتهم كل انسان في هذا العالم يتطلع الى علاج مرضى الارهاب والتعصب المنافيين للاديان جميعها. افتحوا الأبواب أمام المفكرين والكتاب والمبدعين للحوار لايجاد الحلول السليمة بعيداً عن البطش والحروب واستغلال قواتكم لضرب دويلات مثلما حدث ضد الصرب والبوسنة والشيشان.. مثل تلك القضايا لا تعالج بالحروب والدبابات بل باستئصال مسبباتها.

نحن في مستهل قرن جديد يجب ان يكون عصر تعايش بالمحبة والاخاء ونشر المعرفة وعدم سيطرة ثماني دول على مداخيل وثروات وعرق وجهود الشعوب الفقيرة. وان لم تحكموا العقل فان التعصب سيخلق ثغرات أكبر وأسوأ.

فحقد الضحايا لن يوقفه المزيد من القتل. العقل والفكر الانساني المستنير يجب ان يسودا اذا اردتم امناً وتقدماً وحياة آمنة لشعوبكم.. العدل ووقف الاستغلال واحترام خيارات الشعوب ومحاربة الفقر والفساد هو العلاج.

Appendix A
Original ETT2

Resort to Common Sense
By the editor - In-Chief Ahmed El Houni
Terrorism is not exclusive to any nation.

Will America and Europe reconsider their patronage of terrorism? The whole world has condemned the crime to which America was subjected. But on the sidelines of the Universal condemnation there appeared a number of questions that highlighted certain facts including America's role in giving birth to terrorism. It is hoped that she has waken up from her carelessness and arrogance having seen that crime were committed when the nose of her intelligence and security services. Why was America the target? This question was put out by naive American citizens who perhaps do not know what their government has committed, and continue to commit against many nations in Latin America, Asia and Africa. Those nations have suffered, and continue to suffer, the injustices of American policy, which has caused the death of millions of people and have brought despair, and consequently blind terrorism to many groups. The policies of successive American administrations are lacking in justice. They only put their interests above the rights of others. Those policies are distant from realities of nations as they are allied to the lucky rulers who carry out America's will and in return receive support in their suppression of their people in spite of all the banners of human rights held by America. So now, the lists of suspects announced but America contains subjects of America's allies. Though America has announced that there are all over the world some 130 organizations whom she considers as terrorists, the fact remains that U.S officials, congressmen and media have attempted from the first instant of the occurrence of the crime to stick the culpability onto Arabs and Muslims. And as some Arabs or Muslims names were found on the passenger lists of the four unfortunate planes, the "framing" was transformed "dead certainty". The thing to which the Super power and the European Union States should be alerted to is that instead of barging on the drums of war and making threats, they should reconsider what they have planted themselves by supporting and protecting fanatics and terrorists. There are Arab and Muslim rulers who are indifferent to the rights and welfare of their subjects and carry on the most awful kinds of government under false legends and with the aid of empty propaganda, loud drums... corruption... and cover up over the misdeeds of the corrupt and corruptors. Cover up over all kinds of excess and the control of a number of families over the revenues of states and bequeathing the reins of governments to their siblings. And so on and so further. Who did establish fanaticism in Afghanistan? The training arms, and funding which were offered by the U.S and their allies are responsible for the creation of the fanaticism which had grown to the extent of exporting fanatics to many countries under the banner of Islam. What happened in Egypt and is still happening in Algeria are reminders of that... And were it not for the alertness and decisiveness in Tunisia things could have happened there as they do in Algeria now. Yet France gives them safe haven and Britain allows them to have TV cannels and publications. The protection given by America and other European countries to the leaders of such groups is a long story. America now is set to compound her errors, as the Administration is under compulsion of recent events to give satisfaction to the American people by taking military action, having been urged to do so by calls of the media for revenge. -2- There is no doubt that the perpetrators of the crimes deserve punishment, but to be hasty in the absence of evidence may lead to disasters and negative consequences for the whole world. America is keen not to bear responsibility of her actions and, therefore tries to gather a number of Arabs and Islamic States to collaborate in her actions against one or several innocent nations which had no hand in what have occurred. We demand that the leaders of America and Europe resort to sound judgment and consider the causes wisely and deliberately; to consider how and why fanaticisms were born and multiplies and veered off the tenets of all religions, especially Islam which forbids the killing of a human being unless he is tried in court of law and condemned of committing murder. Do reconsider the injustices you have committed and the patronage you give to tyrants who do not believe in

the rights and freedoms of their nations. Some of those rulers conceal their dictatorships under a false veneer of democracy which is in fact based on forgery, regular looting of their people's fortunes. All these things must be reconsidered so that genuine democracies which respect the law and endeavor to ensure the future and welfare of the citizens, might arise. Corruption and suppression are fundamental roots for the birth of fanaticism. Therefore do consider fair alliances and discontinue your injustices. And bear in mind that when an individual feels desperate and frustrated and loses hope of any reforms, he resorts to revenge, and it could be a blind revenge of terrorism, because of the fact that you are the protectors of the tyrants. Israel is a base for breeding fanatics because of the crimes against humanities which commits ...killings and destruction on a daily basis. All her leaders are like Sharon. All of them since Israel was established to this day have committed massacres, killed prisoners, confiscated Palestinian properties, desecrates Muslims holy places. America has supported them...supplies them with the planes used in strafing unarmed Palestinians. Injustice breeds injustice. Israel is the main source for the creation of fanaticism. Therefore beware the Zionists attempts to exploit you. They are the source of terrorism. This is a very serious matter. Every human being all over the world looks towards a remedy for terrorism and fanaticism, which are opposed to all religions. Open your doors for thinkers, writers and intellectuals to discuss ways to find peaceful solutions instead suppressions, wars and the use of your forces to hit nations as what happened to Serbia, Bosnia and Chechnya. These matters can be resolved not by war, tanks, but by uprooting their causes. We are at the beginning of a new century which should be the age of peaceful, enlightened and fraternal relations, and not the era of 8 nations controlling all the resources of poor nations. If you do not resort to wisdom, there will be more and worse scope for fanaticism. The grief of victims cannot be assuaged by more killings. Common sense and enlightenment should prevail if you want security, progress and peace for your nations. Justice and an end to exploitation and respect for the choice of nations, fighting poverty and corruption... These are the cures.

Appendix B

English Source Texts and Arabic Translated Texts

1. Original document of EST1
2. Original document of ATT1
3. Original document of EST2
4. Original document of ATT2

Appendix B
Original EST1

May 17, 2001

Defiance, dignity, and the rule of dogma
By Edward Said

During the discussion period that followed a lecture of mine at Oxford three and a half years ago I was stunned by a question put to me by a young woman, whom I later discovered to have been a Palestinian student working for her doctorate at the university. I had been speaking about the events of 1948, and how it seemed to me necessary not only to understand the connection between our history and Israel's, but that as Arabs we needed to study that other history as one concerning us rather than avoiding or ignoring it totally as has been the case for such a long time. The young woman's question was to raise doubt about my views on the necessity of studying and learning about Israel. "Wouldn't that kind of attention paid to Israel," she said, "be a form of concession to it?" She was asking me if ignorant "non-normalization" didn't constitute a better approach to a state that had for years made it a point of policy to stand in the way of and deny Palestinian self-determination, to say nothing of having caused Palestinian dispossession in the first place.

I must confess that the thought hadn't occurred to me, even during those long years when Israel was unthinkable in the Arab world and even when one had to use euphemisms like "the Zionist entity" to refer to it. After all, I found myself asking in return, two major Arab countries had made formal peace with Israel, the PLO had already recognized it and was pursuing a peace process with it, and several other Arab countries had trade and commercial relations with it. Arab intellectuals had made it a point of honor not to have any dealings with Israel, not to go there, not to meet with Israelis, and so on and so forth, but even they had been silent when, for instance, Egypt signed large deals selling natural gas to Israel and had maintained diplomatic relations with the Jewish state during frequent periods of Israeli repression against the Palestinians. How could one possibly oppose analyzing and learning everything possible about a country whose presence in our midst for over 50 years has so influenced and shaped the life of every man, woman and child in the Arab world?

In this young woman's understanding therefore, the opposite of conceding was supposed to be defiance, the act of defying, resisting and refusing to bend under the will of a power that one perceives as unjust and unreasonable. That, I took it, was what she suggested we should be practicing towards Israel and not what I was trying to propose, which was a creative engagement with a culture and society that on all significant levels had behaved and (as the ongoing Israeli brutality against the Aqsa Intifada shows) continues to behave with a policy of deliberate dehumanization towards Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular. In this the egregious Ariel Sharon is scarcely distinguishable from Barak, Rabin and Ben-Gurion (leaving aside the truly vicious racism of many of Sharon's allies like Scharansky, Liberman

and Rabbi Ovadia Yousef). What I said in contrast was not only a matter of understanding them but also of understanding ourselves since our history was incomplete without consideration of Israel, what it represented in our lives, how it had done what it had, and so forth. Besides, I continue to believe as an educator that knowledge -- any knowledge -- is better than ignorance. There is simply no rational justification from an intellectual point of view of having a policy of ignorance, or using ignorance as a weapon in a struggle. Ignorance is ignorance, no more and no less. Always and in every case.

Appendix B
Original ATT1

القدس- 23 ايار 2001

عن التحدي والكراهة والدغمائية

بقلم: د. إدوارد سعيد

فاجأني أثناء نقاش محاضرة ألقيتها في جامعة أكسفورد قبل ثلاث سنوات ونصف السنة سؤال طرحته شابة عرفت لاحقا أنها طالبة فلسطينية تعد لشهادة الدكتوراه في تلك الجامعة. كنت أتحدث عن أحداث 1948 وكيف أن من الضروري، كما أرى، ليس فهم العلاقة بين تاريخنا وتاريخ إسرائيل فقط، بل أننا كعرب بحاجة إلى دراسة ذلك التاريخ الآخر على انه موضوع يعنينا وليس تجنبه أو الإغفال التام له كما هي الحال منذ زمن طويل. إلا أن سؤال الشابة الفلسطينية جاء ليثير الشكوك في موقفي هذا، فقد قالت: "ألن يكون هذا النوع من الاهتمام بإسرائيل شكلا من أشكال التنازل أمامها؟" أي إنها كانت تسأل إذا لم يكن "اللا تطبيع" الجاهل هو الموقف الأفضل تجاه الدولة التي تدور سياستها منذ زمن طويل على رفض ومنع حق الفلسطينيين في تقرير المصير، بل هي أصلا الطرف المسؤول عن سلبهم. علي أن اعترف بأن هذه الفكرة لم تخطر ببالي قط، حتى خلال السنين الطويلة حين كان التفكير بإسرائيل من المحرمات في العالم العربي، إلى درجة أن الاسم لم يكن يذكر مباشرة بل باستعمال تعابير مثل "الكيان الصهيوني". ووجدتني أتساءل بالمقابل عن معنى موقفها في الوضع الحالي، بعدما أقامت دولتان عربيتان رئيسيتان السلام مع إسرائيل، واعترفت بها منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية وتواصل معها عملية السلام، فيما أقام عدد من الدول العربية علاقات تجارية معها. إلا أن المثقفين العرب جعلوا من بين مقدساتهم رفض أي نوع من التعامل مع إسرائيل من ضمنه زيارتها أو ملاقاة الإسرائيليين، لكن حتى هؤلاء بقوا صامتين إزاء خطوات مثل بيع مصر كميات كبيرة من الغاز الطبيعي إلى إسرائيل، وإدامة العلاقات الدبلوماسية معها أثناء حملاتها القمعية المتكررة ضد الفلسطينيين. لكن كيف يمكن لأي منا أن يعارض السعي إلى معرفة وتحليل اكثر ما يمكن من المعلومات عن هذا البلد الذي كان لحضوره بيننا منذ خمسين سنة كل هذا التأثير في طبيعة حياة كل رجل وامرأة في العالم العربي؟

افتراض الباحثة الشابة كان أن نقيض التنازل هو التحدي، أي المقاومة ورفض الرضوخ لإرادة طرف ظالم مجحف. هذا كما اعتقد، هو الموقف الذي أرادت لنا اتخاذه تجاه إسرائيل، وليس ما كنت اقترحه، أي التناول الخلاق لثقافة ومجتمع اتخذ على كل المستويات المهمة (ولا يزال يتخذ كما تبين وحشية الاسرائيليين، تجاه الانتفاضة) سياسة تهدف إلى تدمير إنسانية العرب عموما والفلسطينيين على وجه الخصوص. وليس في هذا المجال فرق يذكر بين أرييل شارون الشنيع وإيهود باراك أو إسحاق رابين أو ديفيد بن غوريون (ناهيك عن العنصرية المسعورة لدى حلفاء شارون مثل شارانسكي وليبرمان والحاخام عوفاديا يوسيف). ولا يقتصر موقفي هذا على محاولة فهم هؤلاء، بل أيضا أن نفهم أنفسنا، لان تاريخنا يبقى ناقصا إذا لم نأخذ إسرائيل في الاعتبار، بكل ما مثلته في حياتنا وقامت به تجاهنا. إضافة إلى ذلك لا أزال على اعتقادي، كمعلم، أن المعرفة –أي معرفة- افضل من الجهل. وليس هناك، ببساطة، على صعيد الفكر، أي تبرير منطقي لاتخاذ الجهل سياسة او استعماله سلاحا في الصراع. الجهل هو الجهل، لا اقل او اكثر، وهو كذلك دوما ومهما كانت الظروف.

Appendix B
Original EST2

Storm clouds gather over the Atlantic
President Bush's first 100 days have shown the United States is fighting back against Europe, write Toby Harnden in Washington and Anton La Guardia

AS a deliberate dig at Texas's own President George W Bush it was hard to beat. A cake decorated with three candles fashioned in the shape of polluting Texan smokestacks had pride of place on a table in Brussels this week at a ceremony to mark the anniversary of the European Union's signing of the Kyoto treaty on global warming.

Still stinging from what she had described as "saddening" meetings with the Bush team, Margot Wallstrom, the European environment commissioner, was unusually blunt. The EU, she said, would press ahead with Kyoto "with or without the United States".

On the other side of the Atlantic, a senior member of the Bush administration said the EU was in many ways "the antithesis of American values" and interests. He said: "I can't think of a single long-term factor working in its favour. There's no evidence of the EU breaking out of its statist, command control mentality."

As Mr Bush nears his 100th day in office - the landmark day on which every president since Franklin D Roosevelt has faced initial judgment - Europe is finding that America is striking back.

In many respects, the 100 days milestone will mark the end of a very short honeymoon for US-EU relations. The initial warm glow that greeted the appointment by Mr Bush of such seasoned foreign policy hands as Gen Colin Powell has given way to a distinct chill.

When Gen Powell reassured America's allies on its commitment to Europe by saying categorically that "we went in together and we will leave together", one European official described his words as "music to our ears".

But Europe is learning that Gen Powell is only one member of the Bush foreign policy team. Some officials have already begun to whisper against the former Gulf War leader, accusing him of being out of step with the president on key issues.

Mr Bush is less inclined to look towards Europe than any other recent American president. He speaks of a "hemispheric" approach to foreign policy and trade in which the Americas act in concert. There is a growing focus on the Pacific and Asia.

In recent weeks, senior Bush advisers have become increasingly worried about plans for a European Rapid Reaction Force. Just as significantly, they are exasperated by the tide of anti-Bush rhetoric emanating from the other side of the Atlantic.

On Tuesday, Labour MPs mocked the president like schoolchildren in a playground. In a typical attack, Jane Griffiths, MP for Reading East, dubbed him the "fool on Capitol Hill". In the process she displayed a basic ignorance of Washington geography - the White House is a mile and a half from Congress, which the president rarely visits - which reinforced

Washingtonians' sense that Europe's politicians are glibly hostile. European newspapers, which are read on the internet by White House aides, frequently refer to Mr Bush as the "Toxic Texan".

Opinion polls show 63 per cent of Americans approve of Mr Bush, while only 26 per cent of Britons have a favourable view of him. The German newspaper Die Tageszeitung recently said that "ultimately cowboy Bush could involuntarily be the catalyst for European integration". The pervasive European caricature of the president is partly of his own making. He concedes he is "not very poetic" and has taken to listing his own verbal mishaps as a way of blunting criticism of his intellect.

For most Americans, Mr Bush's plain-speaking approach and willingness to take a back seat on occasions like the return of the American spy plane crew from China are a refreshing change from the selfish showmanship of President Clinton.

Mr Bush is a profound believer in the American Way and sees his country as the embodiment of good. He is instinctively sceptical about the value of international organisations. In European eyes, all this just tends to confirm the stereotype that the President is not engaged in policy.

Mr Bush's style is in many ways unsuited to a world in which diplomatic nuance can be everything. His slip this week when he said United States forces would defend Taiwan against the Chinese hardly helped to rebuild relations with Beijing.

While straight talking is often welcomed in America, even advisers now concede that the rejection of the Kyoto treaty with minimal consultation and without having an alternative policy in place alienated allies unnecessarily.

Much of the European criticism of Mr Bush is eerily reminiscent of 20 years ago when President Ronald Reagan was accused of being a trigger-happy fool who was in the pockets of his advisers and could not offer an opinion without a prepared script. Then, the close personal rapport between Mr Reagan and Margaret Thatcher helped strengthen the "special relationship" while the Cold War kept America firmly anchored in Europe.

Today, the Cold War is over and Tony Blair's centre-Left Labour is in power. As a former soulmate and "Third Way" fellow traveller of Mr Clinton, Mr Blair has been unable to forge much more than a cordial telephone relationship with Mr Bush.

The British Government, which liked to parade its "special relationship" with the Clinton administration, now tries to keep a stony public silence on events in Washington while saying privately that the Bush team is made up of "committed internationalists".

In his last two policy speeches, Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, has not mentioned America, seeking to avoid controversy before the general election. It is undeniable however, that the relationship between Europe and America has changed fundamentally over Mr Bush's

first 100 days, and diplomats on both sides of the Atlantic have little doubt that it will continue to do so for the next 1,000.

The leader of the only superpower has shown he is prepared to act unilaterally, doing what he sees as best for America whatever international sensibilities might be. With an EU trying to flex its muscles and a new president prepared to act unilaterally, the danger is that the continued European tendency to misunderstand Mr Bush could help push America towards a potentially dangerous isolationism.

Appendix B
Original ATT2

اميركا وأوروبا : سحب خلافات تتجمع

كانت حركة خبيثة فيها الكثير من الغمز واللمز في قناة الرئيس الأميركي جورج بوش. هذه الحركة تمثلت في عرض كعكة زينت بثلاث شموع على شكل مداخن تقليدية توجد في تكساس وهي مداخن يعرف عنها تلويثها الشديد للبيئة. وضعت الكعكة على طاولة في بروكسل من اجل الاحتفال بالذكرى الثالثة لتوقيع الاتحاد الأوروبي على اتفاقية كيوتو الخاصة بالاحتباس الحراري. ويبدو ان هناك غضبا أوروبيا تجاه الموقف الأميركي الرافض لتلك الاتفاقية. فبعد اجتماع عقدته المفوضية الأوروبية لشؤون البيئة ماركوت وول ستورم مع احد اعضاء فريق بوش قالت بلهجة حادة غير عادية «ان الاتحاد الأوروبي سيمضي قدما في تنفيذ اتفاقية كيوتو مع الولايات المتحدة أو دونها». على الجانب الآخر من الأطلسي وقف احد كبار المسؤولين في إدارة بوش ليقول ان الاتحاد الأوروبي «يشكل النقيض للقيم والمصالح الأميركية» واضاف ذلك المسؤول قائلا «ليس هناك اي دليل يشير إلى تخلي الاتحاد الأوروبي عن جموده وعقليته المتحجرة». وفي الوقت الذي اكمل فيه الرئيس جورج بوش مائة يوم في البيت الأبيض فإن أوروبا لا تشعر بالارتياح للعلاقة الاقل من عادية التي تربطها هذه الأيام بالولايات المتحدة. فالمائة يوم الأولى شهدت نهاية شهر العسل القصير الذي عاشته العلاقات الأوروبية ـ الأميركية. كانت بداية شهر العسل مع الترحيب الأوروبي بتعيين الجنرال كولن باول وزيرا للخارجية في إدارة بوش، وقد صفق الأوروبيون طويلا لما ذكره باول حول التزام اميركا بأوروبا «لقد سرنا في الماضي معا وسنسير في المستقبل ايضا معا». وقد وصف مسؤول أوروبي كلمات باول «بانها كلمات موسيقية اطربتنا كثيرا». بعدها بوقت قصير ادركت أوروبا ان كولن باول ليس سوى فرد واحد في فريق بوش الخاص بالسياسة الخارجية وبدأ بعض الأوروبيين يهمسون بكلام ضد باول متهمين اياه بالعزف المنفرد بعيدا عن الرئيس وربعه. من الواضح ان جورج بوش يبدي زهدا واضحا اكثر من غيره تجاه الارتباط والقرب من أوروبا، فهو يتحدث عن «نصف الكرة الغربي»في مجال السياسة الخارجية والتجارة، ولا يخفى على احد ان هناك تركيزا أميركيا متزايدا على الباسيفك وآسيا. في الأسابيع الأخيرة أصبح كبار المستشارين المحيطين بجورج بوش اكثر قلقا بشأن الخطط الأوروبية لتشكيل قوة أوروبية للتدخل السريع وزاد من قلقهم تلك النغمة المتزايدة المعادية للرئيس بوش في أوروبا. فقد سخر احد أعضاء البرلمان الانجليزي عن حزب العمال من الرئيس بوش ووصفه بأنه اشبه ما يكون «بطالب مدرسة يقف في ملعب» ومضى هذا العضو في انتقاداته ووصف بوش بانه «ذلك الغبي في مبنى الكابتول». وتعطي مثل هذه الاقوال واشنطن الانطباع بان السياسيين الأوروبيين معادون لأميركا. ويطلع المسؤولون الأميركيون على الصحف الأوروبية عبر الانترنت وأصبحت هذه الصحف تشير إلى بوش على انه «التكساسي السام» وتظهر استطلاعات الرأي ان 63% من الأميركيين يؤيدون اداء بوش في الوقت الذي لا يعجب اداء بوش سوى 26% من البريطانيين. وكتبت صحيفة «تاكيز يتونغ» الألمانية مؤخرا تقول «ان راعي البقر بوش يمكن ان يلعب عن غير قصد دور المحفز للاندماج الأوروبي». بالنسبة لمعظم الأميركيين تشكل مفاهيم بوش الصريحة ورغبته في شغل مقعد خلفي في مناسبات هامة مثل عودة طاقم طائرة التجسس الأميركية من الصين تغيرا حميدا عن الاستحواذ الاناني للاضواء الذي كان يمارسه الرئيس السابق كلينتون. ان الرئيس بوش يؤمن ايمانا راسخا بطريقة الحياة الأميركية وهو ينظر إلى بلاده على انها تجسد الخير في هذا العالم. وهو شكوك بطبعه تجاه القيم التي تمثلها وتدعو اليها المنظمات الدولية. وبالنسبة للاوروبيين تقدم تصرفات بوش الدليل الدامغ «من باب السخرية» على ان الرئيس غير منخرط في السياسة، فهذا الأسلوب يعتبر غير مقبول بالنسبة للأوروبيين الذين

يرون ان الدبلوماسية يجب ان يكون لها دور في كل شيء. في الأسبوع قبل الماضي زل لسان بوش عندما قال ان القوات الأميركية ستدافع عن تايوان ضد الصين وكانت النتيجة توجيه ضربة شديدة للعلاقات بين واشنطن وبكين. وفي الوقت الذي يرحب الأميركيون بالأقوال والتصريحات التي تتسم بالصراحة، فان الصراحة ليست دائما موضع ترحيب سواء على المستوى الدولي أو الشخصي. وقد أقر بعض مستشاري بوش ان رفضه لاتفاقية كيوتو دون تشاور ودون وجود سياسة بديلة ادى إلى تغريب اميركا عن حلفائها دون داع. ان الانتقادات التي يوجهها الأوروبيون لبوش تذكرنا بتلك الانتقادات التي وجهها الأوروبيون للرئيس ريغان قبل 20 عاما حيث وصفوه بانه «غبي وضعه مستشاروه في جيوبهم وليس بوسعه ابداء أي رأي دون ان يقدم له مكتوب في ورقة ليقراه». لقد ساعدت العلاقات الخاصة التي ربطت تاتشر بريغان في تقوية «العلاقة الخاصة» القائمة عبر الاطلسي في الوقت الذي كانت فيه الحرب الباردة تتأجج في العالم. واليوم لم تعد هناك حرب باردة وتحكم بريطانيا هذه الأيام حكومة عمالية يقودها توني بلير الذي كان زميلا للرئيس السابق كلينتون في «الطريق الثالث». وبالرغم من مرور مائة يوم على وجود بوش في البيت الأبيض الا ان توني بلير فشل في اقامة علاقة جيدة مع بوش وكل ما بينهما لا يتعدى سوى مكالمات هاتفية تفتقر إلى الدفء. في السابق كان يحلو للحكومة البريطانية ان تتبجح بالعلاقة الخاصة التي تربطها مع إدارة كلينتون، أما الآن فإن هذه الحكومة تلتزم الصمت تجاه الاحداث التي تشهدها واشنطن. خلال خطابيه العامين اللذين القاهما وزير الخارجية البريطاني روبن كوك لم يذكر أميركا على الاطلاق والسبب في ذلك عدم الدخول في اخذ ورد قد لا تحمد عقباه في الوقت الذي تستعد فيه بريطانيا لإجراء انتخابات عامة في المستقبل القريب. ومن الواضح جدا ان العلاقة التي تربط أوروبا بالولايات المتحدة شهدت تغييرا جوهريا خلال المائة يوم التي قضاها بوش في السلطة وليس هناك شك لدى الدبلوماسيين على طرفي الاطلسي من انها ستستمر في التغير خلال الالف يوم القادمة. ومع وجود اتحاد أوروبي يحاول استعراض عضلاته ووجود رئيس جديد مستعد للتصرف بصورة منفردة فإن استمرار أوروبا في سوء فهم بوش يحمل على طياته خطر دفع أميركا نحو العزلة الخطيرة. تلغراف

Appendix c

Segmented Arabic Source Texts and English Translations

1. **Figure 6.1: Segmented AST1**
2. **Figure 6.2: Segmented ETT1**
3. **Figure 6.3: Segmented AST2**
4. **Figure 6.4: Segmented ETT2**

Appendix C
Figure 6.1 Segmented AST1

SEI

E1:
(1)\'idha: ka:na lada: l-ba'D-u 'aya 'amal-in fi: 'an taku:n 'ida:rat l-ra'i:s ju:rj dablyu: bu:sh 'aqal 'inHiya:z-an li-'isra:'i:l min 'ida:rat l-ra'i:s byl kilintu:n,/
(2)\fa-'inna ha:dha: l-'amala tabadad/

E2:
(3)\'indama: 'aZharat ha:dhihi l-'ida:ra 'annaha: la: taktafi: bi-tabani: l-mawqif l-'isra:'i:li: min mufawaDa:t l-sala:m fa-Hasb,/
(4)\wa la:-kinaha: tad'am l-'a'ma:l l-waHshiya l-'isra:'i:liya/
(5)\wa tuTa:lib l-DaHa:ya bi-waqf 'a'ma:l l-'unf!/

E3:
(6)\wa fi: Hi:yn wajaha l-bayt al-'abyaD l-da'wa li-mujrim l-Harb 'aryal sha:ru:n/
(7)\li-'ijra:' muHa:datha:t ma'a l-ra'i:s bu:sh,/
(8)\fa-qad 'imtana'at l-'ida:ra l-'amri:kiya 'an tawjih da'wa muma:thila lil-ra'i:s l-filisTi:ni: yasir 'arafa:t,/
(9)\li-tu'lin bi-ha:dha: l-mawqif, 'anna 'inHiya:zuha: li-'isra:'i:l balagha min l-Safaqa Had-an yataja:waz Hata: l-'i'tibara:t l-shakliya/
(10)\al-lati: yata'ayan 'an yuZhiruha: <l-waSi:T>./

SEII

E4
(11)\wa 'idha: ka:na huna:ka man yu'awil-u 'ala: 'anna l-'ilaqa:t l-'arabiya l-lati: yatamata'-u biha: <lu:bi: l-nifT> yumkin-u 'an tatruk ta'athi:r 'ala: tawajuha:t l-'ida:ra l-jumhu:riya,/
(12)\fa-'inna al-Haqi:qa l-lati: tabruz-u l-'a:na hiya 'anna: lu:bi: l-nifT l-'amri:ki: la:-yanZur-u 'ila: 'ila:qa:tih l-'arabiya bi-waSfiha: 'a:mil DaghT wa-dha:lika li-sababyyn,/

E5:
(13)\al-'awwal, li-'anna ha:dhihi l-'ilaqa:t laysat mutaka:fi'a/
(14)\wa-la: ta'd-u kawnaha: 'ilaqa:t <sa:da wa 'abi:d>./
(15)\l-sa:da ya'amuru:n, wa 'abi:d l-nifT tuTi:'/
(16)\wa dha:lika min du:n 'an yaku:n li-ha:dhihi l-'ilaqa:t <l-'iqtiSa:diya l-kha:m> 'aya 'atharun siya:si:/

E6:
(17)\wa l-tha:ni: huwa 'anna 'abi:d l-nifT 'anfusahum la:-yaTma'u:n wa la:-yarghabu:n fi: 'an yal'abu: 'aya dawr fi: l-ta'athiyr 'ala: l-siyasa:t l-'amri:kiya,/
(18)\Hata: wa-law fi: shay'-in yata'allaq-u bi-'aqdas muqadasa:tihu:m,/
(19)\(wa na'ni: muqadasa:tihu:m l-di:niya, wa-laysat l-du:wlara:t)./

SEIII

E7

(20)\wa ’idha: ka:na huna:ka man yaZun-u ’anna l-maSa:liH l-’amri:kiya fi: l-manTiqa yumkin-u ’an tata’athar/

(21)\‘indama: tuwa:Sil-u wa:shinTu:n da‘maha: li-’a‘ma:l l-qatl l-yawmiyah lil-’abriya:’,/

(22)\fa-qad thabata, Hata: l-’a:na ‘ala: l-’aqal, <’inna ba‘aD l-Zan ’ithm>./

E8

(23)\fa-l-Huku:ma:t l-‘arabiya l-lati: ’iktafat bi-taqdi:m l-da‘am l-kala:mi: lil-qaDia l-filisTi:niyya (ma‘a Hifnat dulara:t la:-tughni: wa-la: tusmin), ’athbatat ’annaha: ’a‘jaz min ’an tushakil quwat DaghT/

(24)\wa ’annaha: la: tajr’u: ‘ala: raf‘ ’aSwa:t l-’iHtija:j Did-a l-siya:sa l-amri:kiya l-ra:hina./

SEIV

E9

(25)\wa lam yakun Sa‘b-an ‘ala: wa:shinTu:n ’an tastaw‘ib l-Haqiyqa l-qa:’ila ’anna l-duwal l-‘arabiya la:- tatabana: ’istirajiya wa:Hida Hiya:l l-qaDiya l-filisTi:niyya,/

(26)\wa la:- tataHadath-u bi-Sawt wa:Hid,/

(27)\wa lam tukhaTiT lil-qiya:m bi-‘amal-in ’iHtija:ji:-in wa:Hid,/

(28)\wa la:- tanwi: ’itikha:dh ’ijra:’i:-n ‘amaliy-n wa:Hid-in Dida l-maSa:liH l-’amri:kiya,/

E10

(29)\wa bil-ta:li: fa-’inna l-shay’a l-Tabi:‘i: huwa ’an tumsik l-wilaya:t l-muttaHida bil-Habl min Tarafah l-sa:’ib/

(30)\li-tanHa:z faqaT lil-Taraf l-ladhi: ’i‘ta:dat l-’inHiya:z ’ilyyh./

E11

(31)\bil-raghm min ba‘aD l-jawa:nib l-’ijabiya l-lati: ’asfarat ‘an ’in‘iqa:d l-qi:ma l-‘arabiya, fa-qad Sa:ra min l-jaly-u l-’a:na, ’anna l-mawqif min l-’inHiya:z-i l-’amri:ki: l-’a‘ma: li-’isra:’i:l, ka:na huwa l-gha:’ib l-’akbar./

(32)\la:- shay’a ’aham l-yawm min waD‘ ha:dha: l-’inHiya:z ‘ala: jadwal ’a‘ma:l l-liqa:’a:t l-‘arabiya./

(33)\’isra:’i:l laysat Hiya l-‘adu: l-waHiyd lil-filisTi:niyyn,/

(34)\l-wilaya:t l-muttaHida Hiya l-‘adu: l-’a:khar, ’in lam taku:n Hiya l-‘adu: l-’ahamm./

E12

(35)\ fa-min du:n da‘am l-wilaya:t l-muttaHida, ma: ka:nat ’isra:’i:l li-tajru:’-u ‘ala: l-tanSul min kulli ’iltizama:tuha: l-muta‘aliqa bi-‘amaliyat l-sala:m./

(36)\wa min du:n tawa:Tu:’ l-wilaya:t l-muttaHida, ma: ka:nat ’isra:’i:l li-tajru:’-u ‘ala: ’irtika:b kull ha:dha: l-qadra min l-jara:’im l-yawmiya./

(37)\wa min du:n musa:nadat l-wilaya:t l-muttaHida, ma: ka:na bi-wis‘-i ’isra:’i:l ’an tantahik-a kulla ma: tasha:’u min l-qawaniyn wa l-’a‘ra:f wa l-muqarara:t l-dawliya./

SEV

E13

(38)\fi: l-Haqiyqa, l-wilaya:t l-muttaHida hiya l-mas'u:l l-'awal wa l-muba:shir 'an kulla ma: yajri: fi: l-manTiqa,/
(39)\wa laysat 'isra:'i:l siwa: 'ada:t./

E14

(40)\'isra:'i:l hiya l-bunduqiya,/
(41)\wa- la:kin l-wilaya:t l-muttaHida hiya l-yad l-lati: taZghaT 'ala: l-zina:d/
(42)\li-taqtul l-'aTfa:l l-filisTi:niyyn./
(43)\'isra:'i:l hiya l-bildawzar,/
(44)\wa- la:kin l-wilaya:t -muttaHida hiya l-yad l-lati: tahdim mana:zil l-filisTi:niyyn./
(45)\'isra:'i:l hiya l-daba:ba,/
(46)\wa- la:kin l-wilaya:t l-muttaHida hiya quwat l-'iHtila:l./

E15

(47)\wa min l-wa:jib Haml l-'ilaqa:t ma'a l-wilaya:t l-muttaHida 'ala: maHmal l-'ilaqa:t ma'a 'adu:/
(48)\li-'annaha: bi-basa:Ta, hiya l-'adu: l-Haqi:qi:./

Appendix C
Figure 6.2 Segmented ETT1

SEI

E1
(1)\If some people have any hope that Bush's administration will be less biased to Israel than Clinton's one,/
(2)\this hope vanishes in thin air/

E2
(3)\when it insists not only to adopt the Israeli situation in the peace negotiations but also to support the Israeli atrocities/
(4)\and calls upon the victims to stop violence./

E3
(5)\The American alignment to Israel reaches such an impertinent degree of inviting the war criminal Sharon to the White House and refusing to do the same with the Palestinian President Arafat./

SEII

E4
(6)\If some people say that the Arab relations which the oil lobby enjoys can affect the attitudes of the Republican administration,/
(7)\the current fact is that the Arab relations cannot be a pressure force for two reasons:/

E5
(8)\the first is that these relations are not on an equal footing/
(9)\and they are no more than relation between masters and slaves without having any political effect/

E6
(10)\and the second is that the oil slaves themselves do not want to play a role in order to affect the American policies/
(11)\even if it is related to their most sacred religious sanctity./

SEIII

E7
(12)\If some people think that the American interests in the region can be affected by Washington's insistence to support the daily killing operations,/

E8
(13)\it is proved, at least until now, that the Arab governments, which are satisfied with verbal support, are more disable than being a pressure force or raising the voices of protest against the American policy./

E9
(14)\It is not difficult for Washington to get the fact that the Arab countries lack consensus in relation to the Palestinian cause or even in speaking in one voice to protest against its policy or in taking one practical measure against its interests./

E10
(15)\So, the natural thing is that America takes the side of the traditional ally regardless of the other side of the rope./

SEIV

E11

(16)\Despite the Arab summit's positive sides, it becomes obvious now <that the situation from the American blind alignment to Israel was the big absentee./

(17)\Nothing more important today than putting this alignment on the agendas of Arab meetings./

(18)\Israel is not the only enemy of the Palestinians/

(19)\but America is the other one, not to say more important./

E12

(20)\Without its support, Israel would not have dared to disregard its peace commitments./

(21)\Without its collaboration, Israel would not have dared to commit such a deal of daily crimes./

(22)\Without its assistance, Israel would not have dared to violate all the international laws and resolutions./

SEV

E13

(23)\In fact, America is the first and direct responsible for what is happening in the region/

(24)\and Israel is no more than a tool./

E14

(25)\Israel is the gun/

(26)\while America is the hand which presses the trigger to kill the Palestinian children./

(27)\Israel is the bulldozer/

(28)\while America is the hand which demolishes the Palestinians' houses./

(29)\Israel is the tank/

(30)\while America is the occupation force./

E15

(31)\We must classify the relation with America as that with the enemy/

(32)\simply because it is the real one./

Appendix C
Figure 6.3 Segmented AST2

SEI ← **E1**

(1)\al-‘a:lam’ajma‘’istankara l-jari:ma l-lati: wajahatha ’amri:ka/
(2)\wa ‘ala: hamish l-’istinka:r l-jama:‘i: barazat ’as’ila/
(3)\wa suliTat l-’aDwa:’ ‘ala: Haqa:’iq/
(4)\minha:’anna ’amri:ka sahamat fi: wila:dat l-’irha:b,/
(5)\wa ha:hi: tastiyqiZ li-ghaflatiha: wa ghuru:riha:/
(6)\b’ada ’an waqa‘at l-jari:ma taHta ’anZa:r ’ajhizatiha: l-’istikhba:riya wa l-’amniya/

SEII

E2

(7)\li-ma:dha ’amri:ka? su’a:l radadahu muwaTinu:n ’amri:kiyu:n busaTa:’/
(8)\qad la:- ya‘lamu:n ma:- ’irtakabath wa tartakibh dawlatahu: fi: Haq shu‘u:b-in ‘adi:da fi: amri:ka l-latiniya wa ’a:sya: wa ’afriqiya:/
(9)\shu‘u:b ‘a:nat wa tu‘a:ni: min maZa:lim l-siyasa:t l-’amri:kiya/
(10)\al-lati: tasabbabat fi: mawt l-malayiyn min l-bashar/
(11)\wa dafa‘at jama‘a:t min l-bashar ’ila: l-y’as fa-l’irha:b l-’a‘ma:/

E3

(12)\siyasa:t Hukuwma:t ’amri:ka l-muta‘a:qiba taftaqid ’ila: l-‘adl/
(13)\wa-la: tahtamm siwa: bi-maSa:liHiha: ‘ala: Hisa:b Huqu:q l-’akhariyn../
(14)\hiya ba‘i:da ‘an waqi‘ l-shu‘u:b/
(15)\’idh tataHa:laf ma‘a l-Huka:m l-munafidhiyn li-’iradatiha:/
(16)\wa tad‘amahum fi: qam‘ihim li-shu‘u:bihim raghma ma:- tarfa‘ahu min shi‘ara:t Huqu:q l-’insa:n../
(17)\wa ha:hi: qawa:’im l-mutahamiyn l-lati: ’a‘lanatha taDum ra‘a:ya li-Hulafa:’iha/

E4

(18)\wa raghma ’i‘la:n ’amri:ka bi-’anna huna:lika mi’at-un wa thalathi:n munaZama fi: ’anHa:’ l-‘a:lam ta‘tabiruha ’amri:ka ’irhabiya/
(19)\’illa ’anna mas’uli:ha wa nuwa:biha wa ’i‘lamiha Ha:walu: mindhu l-daqa:’iq l-’uwla: li-wuqu:‘ l-jari:ma ’ilSaquha bi-l-‘arab wa l-muslimiyn,/
(20)\wa ma‘a wuru:d ’asma:’ ‘arabiya ’aw ’isla:miya ka:nat min bayn ruka:b l-Ta:’ira:t l-’arba‘ l-manku:ba taHawal l-’ilSa:q ’ila: yaqi:n du:na ’ayat ’adilla./

E5

(21)\l-shay’a l-ladhi: yajib-u ’an tastayquZ lahu l-dawla l-’a‘Zam wa duwal l-’ittiHa:d l-’uru:bbi: ‘iwaD-an ‘an daq-i Tubu:l l-Harb wa ’irsa:l l-tahdi:da:t ’an ya‘idu: l-naZar-a fi: ma:-zara‘uhu hum ’anfusahum bi-musanadatihum l-’irha:b wa jama‘a:t l-muta‘aSSibi:n.. wa Himayatihum./
(22)\Huka:m muslimu:n wa ‘arab mustahtiru:n bi-shu‘ubihum yumarisu:n ’absha‘ ’anwa:‘ l-Hukm taHta shi‘ara:t bara:qa ‘abra ’ajhizat ’i‘la:m jawfa:’.. Tubu:l.. wa fasa:d wa tasatur ‘ala: l-fasidi:n wa l-mufsidi:n wa ‘ala: mukhtalaf ’anwa:‘ l-’intihaka:t wa siyadat l-‘a’ila:t ‘ala: madakhil l-duwal wa tawri:th l-’abna:’ lil-Hukm… wa ..wa../

SEIII ← **E6**

(23)\man l-ladhi: ’asas-a l-ta‘aSSub bi-’ifghanista:n?/
(24)\’inna ma:-qadamathu ’amri:ka min tadri:b wa ’asliHa wa ma:-manaHathu duwal Hali:fa laha: min ’amwa:l ka:na bi-da:yat l-ta’asi:s wa l-takwi:n/
(25)\l-ladhi: taTawar-a wa tasha‘ab-a li-yatim taSdi:r l-muta‘aSSibi:n taHta shi‘a:r l-’isla:m ’ila: duwal ‘adi:da,/
(26)\wa ma:- Hadath fi: miSr wa yaHduth fi: l-jaza:’ir ma:thil-un lil-’adhha:n…/
(27)\wa law-la: Hasm l-Huku:ma wa yaqZatuha fi: tu:nis la-Hadath fi: al-balad l-’a:min ma:-yaHduth l-’a:n fi: l-jaza:’ir…/
(28)\wa ha:hi: faransa: taHtaDinahum,/
(29)\wa tar‘a: biriTa:nya qanawa:tihum wa SuHufihum…/
(30)\wa l-Hadi:th yaTu:l ‘an Himayat ’amri:ka wa duwal ’uru:bbiya li-qiyada:t tilka l-jama‘a:t!/

SEIV ← **E7**

(31)\’al-’a:na ’amri:ka tandafi‘ li-tukarir ’akhTa:’uha taHta waT’at l-Zarf/
(32)\l-ladhi: yuHatim ‘ala: l-’ida:ra l-’amri:kiya ’irDa:’ sha‘baha bi-‘amal ‘askari:/
(33)\ba‘da ’an shaHanahu l-’i‘la:m bi-da‘wa:t l-tha’r wa l-’intiqa:m…/
(34)\wa-la:-shakka ’anna munafidhi: l-jari:ma yastaHiqu:n l-‘iqa:b/
(35)\la:kin l-tasaru’ fi: ghiya:b l-’adilla qad yaqu:d ’ila: kawa:rith wa nata:’ij salbiya ‘ala: l-‘a:lam ’ajma‘…/
(36)\wa HariSat ’amri:ka ‘ala: ’an la:-tataHamal mas’u:liyat ma:-sataqu:m bih/
(37)\wa ha:hi: tuHa:wil jam‘ ‘adad min duwalina: l-‘arabiya wa l-’isla:miya/
(38)\li-tusha:rikuha fi:-ma: sataf’alahu Dida sha’b ’aw shu‘u:b ‘adi:da bari:’a mima: waqa‘./

SEV

E8

(39)\nuTa:libukum, ’amri:ka wa l-qiyada:t l-’uru:bbiya ’an tuHakimu: l-‘aql/
(40)\wa tadrisu: bi-Hikma wa tarayuth l-’asba:b, wa li-ma:dha waladat tilka l-ta‘aSSubba:t/
(41)\wa kayfa waladat wa tawalladat wa taHawarat ‘an qawa:‘id kula l-’adya:n kha:Sat-an l-’isla:m/
(42)\l-ladhi: yuHarim qatl l-’insa:n ’illa: ‘abra l-qaZa:’ wa ba‘ada ’ida:natih bil-qatl./

E9

(43)\ra:ji‘u: ma:-’irtakabtumu:h min Zulm /
(44)\wa ma:- tar‘awnahu min diktaturiya:t wa Huka:m/
(45)\la:- yu’minu:n bi-Huriya:t l-shu‘u:b wa la:- bi-suluTa:tiha …/
(46)\wa ba‘Daha yukhfi: diktaturiyatuh taHta dimiqra:Tiya za:’ifa qa:’ima ‘ala: l-tazwi:r wa l-nahb l-munaZam li-tharawa:t shu‘u:biha:/

E10

(47)\kula dha:lika yajib ’an yu‘a:d l-naZar fi:-hi/
(48)\li-taqu:m dimuqra:Tiya Haqi:qiya taHtarim l-qaDa:’/
(49)\wa ta‘mal ‘ala: ta’amiyn mustaqbal wa Haya:t l-muwa:Tiniyyn./

SEVI

E11

(50)\'inna l-fasa:d wa l-qam' sabab-un 'asa:si: li-wila:dat l-muta'aSSibi:n./
(51)\fa-ra:ji'u: taHa:lufa:tiku:m /
(52)\wa 'u:du: 'an maZa:limaku:m /
(53)\wa 'i'lamu: 'anna l-fard-a 'indama yuSa:b bil-y'as wa l-'iHba:T/
(54)\wa yafqid l-'amal-a fi: 'aya 'iSla:H/
(55)\sa-yattajih 'ila: l-'intiqa:m/
(56)\wa qad yaku:n 'intiqa:muh 'irha:b 'a'ma: .../
(57)\li-'anaku:m Huma:t lil-Za:limi:n./

E12

(58)\'isra:'i:l qa:'ida li-tafri:kh l-ta'aSSu:b/
(59)\bi-ma:-tartakibahu min jara:'im fi: Haq l-'insa:niya...'amaliyat qatl wa tadmi:r yawmmiya.../
(60)\qa:datuha: kullahum sharu:n... /
(61)\kulla Hukamuha mindhu ta'si:suha 'ila: yawmmina ha:dha 'irtakabu: madha:biH/
(62)\wa qatalu: 'asra:/
(63)\wa 'istawlu: 'ala: mumtalaka:t l-filisTi:niyyn/
(64)\wa danasu: muqadasa:t l-muslimiyyn,/
(65)\wa ka:nat 'amari:ka hiya da:'imahum/
(66)\wa hiya man yuzauwidahum bil-Ta:'ira:t /
(67)\l-lati: taqSif l-'a:miniyn.../
(68)\wa l-Zilm yuwalid-u mithlahu.../
(69)\'isra:'i:l maSdar-un 'asa:si: li-wila:dat l-ta'aSSub((!!))/
(70)\fa-'iHdharu: 'istighla:l l-Sihyu:niya/
(71)\fa-hiya madrasat l-'irha:b./

E13

(72)\l-qaDiya ha:ma wa tahum-u kulla 'insa:n fi: ha:dha l-'a:lam/
(73)\yataTala'-u 'ila: 'ila:j marDa: l-'irha:b wa l-ta'aSSub/
(74)\l-muna:fiya:n lil-'adya:n jami:'uha: ./
(75)\'iftaHu: l-'abwa:b 'ama:m l-mufakiru:n wa l-kuta:b wa l-mubdi'u:n lil-Hiwa:r li-'ija:d l-Hulu:l l-sali:ma ba'i:d-an 'an l-baTsh wa l-Huru:b wa 'istighla:l quwa:tiku:m li-Darb duwayla:t/
(76)\mithla ma:-Hadath Did l-Sirb wa l-buwsna wa l-shisha:n..../
(77)\mithla tilka l-qaDa:ya la:-tu'a:laj bil-Huru:b wa l-dababa:t bal bi-isti'aSa:l musabiba:tiha./

SEVII

E14

(78)\naHnu fi: mustahal qarn-in jadi:d/
(79)\yajib 'an yaku:n 'aSr ta'a:yush bil-maHabba wa l-'ikha:' wa nashr l-ma'rifa wa 'adam sayTarat thama:n duwal 'ala: madakhi:l wa tharawa:t wa 'araq wa juhu:d l-shu'u:b l-faqi:ra./
(80)\wa 'in lam tuHakimu: l-'aql/
(81)\fa-'inna l-ta'aSSu:b sa-yakhliq thaghara:t 'akbbar wa 'aswa'./
(82)\fa-Hiqd l-DaHa:ya lan yu:qifahu l-mazi:d min l-qatl./

E15

(83)\l-'aql wa l-fikr l-'insa:ni: l-mustani:r yajib 'an yasu:d/
(84)\'idha 'aradtu:m 'amn-an wa taqadum-an wa Haya:t-an 'a:mina li-shu'u:biku:m../
(85)\l-'adl wa waqf l-'istighla:l wa 'iHtira:m khiyaa:t lshu'u:b wa muHa:rabat l-faqr wa l-fasa:d huwa l-'ila:j./

Appendix C
Figure 6.4 Segmented ETT2

SEI ← **E1**

(1)\The whole world has condemned the crime to which America was subjected./
(2)\But on the sidelines of the Universal condemnation there appeared a number of questions/
(3)\that highlighted certain facts including America's role in giving birth to terrorism./
(4)\It is hoped that she has waken up from her carelessness and arrogance having seen that crime was committed under the nose of her intelligence and security services./

SEII

E2

(5)\Why was America the target?
(6)\This question was put out by American citizens who perhaps do not know what their government has committed, and continues to commit against many nations in Latin America, Asia and Africa.
(7)\Those nations have suffered, and continue to suffer, the injustices of American policy,/
(8)\which has caused the death of millions of people and have brought despair, and consequently blind terrorism to many groups./

E3

(9)\The policies of successive American administrations are lacking in justice./
(10)\They only put their interests above the rights of others./
(11)\Those policies are distant from realities of nations/
(12)\as they are allied to the lucky rulers/
(13)\who carry out America's will /
(14)\and in return receive support in their suppression of their people in spite of all the banners of human rights held by America./
(15)\So now, the lists of suspects announced by America contain subjects of America's allies./

E4

(16)\Though America has announced that there are all over the world some 130 organizations whom she considers as terrorists,/
(17)\the fact remains that U.S officials, congressmen and media have attempted from the first instant of the occurrence of the crime to stick the culpability onto Arabs and Muslims./
(18)\And as some Arabs or Muslims names were found on the passenger lists of the four unfortunate planes, the "framing" was transformed "dead certainty"./

E5

(19)\The thing to which the Super power and the European Union States should be alerted to is that instead of barging on the drums of war and making threats they should reconsider what they have planted themselves by supporting and protecting fanatics and terrorists./
(20)\There are Arab and Muslim rulers who are indifferent to the rights and welfare of their subjects and carry on the most awful kinds of government under false legends and with the aid of empty propaganda, loud drums... corruption... and cover up over the misdeeds of the corrupt and corruptors. Cover up over all kinds of excess and the control of a number of families over the revenues of states and bequeathing the reins of governments to their siblings. And so on and so further./

SEIII ← **E6**

(21)\Who did establish fanaticism in Afghanistan?/
(22)\The training arms, and funding which were offered by the U.S and their allies are responsible for the creation of the fanaticism/
(23)\which had grown to the extent of exporting fanatics to many countries under the banner of Islam./
(24)\What happened in Egypt and is still happening in Algeria are reminders of that.../
(25)\And were it not for the alertness and decisiveness in Tunisia things could have happened there as they do in Algeria now./
(26)\Yet France gives them safe haven/
(27)\and Britain allows them to have TV cannels and publications./
(28)\The protection given by America and other European countries to the leaders of such groups is a long story./

SEIV ← **E7**

(29)\America now is set to compound her errors,/
(30)\as the Administration is under compulsion of recent events to give satisfaction to the American people by taking military action, having been urged to do so by calls of the media for revenge./
(31)\There is no doubt- that the perpetrators of the crimes deserve punishment,/
(32)\but to be hasty in the absence of evidence may lead to disasters and negative consequences for the whole world./
(33)\America is keen not to bear responsibility of her actions/
(34)\and, therefore tries to gather a number of Arabs and Islamic States/
(35)\to collaborate in her actions against one or several innocent nations, which had no hand in what have occurred./

SEV

E8

(36)\We demand that the leaders of America and Europe resort to sound judgment and consider the causes wisely and deliberately;
(37)\to consider how and why fanaticisms were born and multiplies and veered off the tenets of all religions, especially Islam /
(38)\which forbids the killing of a human being unless he is tried in court of law and condemned of committing murder./

E9

(39)\Do reconsider the injustices you have committed/
(40)\and the patronage you give to tyrants/
(41)\who do not believe in the rights and freedoms of their nations./
(42)\Some of those rulers conceal their dictatorships under a false veneer of democracy/
(43)\which is in fact based on forgery, regular looting of their people's fortunes./

E10

(44)\All these things must be reconsidered/
(45)\so that genuine democracies- which respect the law and endeavour to ensure the future and welfare of the citizens, might arise./

SEVI

E11

(46)\Corruption and suppression are fundamental roots for the birth of fanaticism./
(47)\Therefore do consider fair alliances and discontinue your injustices./
(48)\And bear in mind that when an individual feels desperate and frustrated and loses hope of any reforms,/
(49)\he resorts to revenge,/
(50)\and it could be a blind revenge of terrorism,/
(51)\because of the fact that you are the protectors of the tyrants./

E12

(52)\Israel is a base for breeding fanatics/
(53)\because of the crimes against humanities which it commits ...killings and destruction on a daily basis./
(54)\All her leaders are like Sharon./
(55)\All of them since Israel was established to this day have committed massacres, killed prisoners, confiscated Palestinian properties, desecrates Muslims holy places./
(56)\America has supported them... supplies them with the planes used in strafing unarmed Palestinians/
(57)\Injustice breeds injustice./
(58)\Israel is the main source for the creation of fanaticism./
(59)\Therefore beware the Zionists attempts to exploit you./
(60)\They are the source of terrorism./

SEVII

E13

(61)\This is a very serious matter./
(62)\Every human being all over the world looks towards a remedy for terrorism and fanaticism, which are opposed to all religions
(63)\Open your doors for thinkers, writers and intellectuals to discuss ways to find peaceful solutions instead suppressions, wars and the use of your forces to hit nations/
(64)\as what happened to Serbia, Bosnia and Chechnya./
(65)\These matters can be resolved not by war, tanks, but by uprooting their causes./

E14

(66)\We are at the beginning of a new century/
(67)\which should be the age of peaceful, enlightened and fraternal relations, and not the era of 8 nations controlling all the resources of poor nations./
(68)\If you do not resort to wisdom,/
(69)\there will be more and worse scope for fanaticism./
(70)\The grief of victims cannot be assuaged by more killings./

E15

(71)\Common sense and enlightenment should prevail/
(72)\if you want security, progress and peace for your nations./
(73)\Justice and an end to exploitation and respect for the choice of nations, fighting poverty and corruption...These are the cures./

Appendix D

Segmented English Source Texts and Arabic Translations

1. Figure 6.5: Segmented EST1
2. Figure 6.6: Segmented ATT1
3. Figure 6.7: Segmented EST2
4. Figure 6.8: Segmented ATT2

Appendix D
Figure 6.5 Segmented EST1

SEI

E1
(1)\During the discussion period that followed a lecture of mine at Oxford three and a half years ago I was stunned by a question put to me by a young woman,/
(2)\whom I later discovered to have been a Palestinian student working for her doctorate at the university/

E2
(3)\I had been speaking about the events of 1948,/
(4)\and how it seemed to me necessary not only to understand the connection between our history and Israel's,/
(5)\but that as Arabs we needed to study that other history as one concerning us rather than avoiding or ignoring it totally/ as has been the case for such a long time/

E3
(6)\The young woman's question was to raise doubt about my views on the necessity of studying and learning about Israel./
(7)\ "wouldn't that kind of attention paid to Israel", she said, "be a form of concession to it?"
(8)\She was asking me if ignorant "non-normalization" didn't constitute a better approach to a state/
(9)\that had for years made it a point of policy to stand in the way of and deny Palestinian self-determination,/
(10)\to say nothing of having caused Palestinian dispossession in the first place./

E4
(11)\I must confess that the thought hadn't occurred to me/
(12)\even during those long years when Israel was unthinkable in the Arab world/
(13)\and even when one had to use euphemisms like "the Zionist entity" to refer to it./

E5
(14)\After all, I found myself asking in return,/
(15)\two major Arab countries had made formal peace with Israel,/
(16)\the PLO had already recognized it/
(17)\ and was pursuing a peace process with it,/
(18)\and several other Arab countries had trade and commercial relations with it./

E6
(19)\Arab intellectuals had made it a point of honour not to have any dealings with Israel, not to go there, not to meet with Israelis, and so on and so forth,
(20)\but even they had been silent when, for instance, Egypt signed large deals selling natural gas to Israel/
(21)\ and had maintained diplomatic relations with the Jewish state during frequent periods of Israeli repression against the Palestinians./

SEII ← **E7**
(22)\How could one possibly oppose analysing and learning everything possible about a country/
(23)\ whose presence in our midst for over 50 years has so influenced and shaped the life of every man, woman and child in the Arab world?/

E8

(24)\In this young woman's understanding therefore, the opposite of conceding was supposed to be defiance,/
(25)\the act of defying, resisting and refusing to bend under the will of a power /
(26)\that one perceives as unjust and unreasonable./
(27)\That, I took it, was what she suggested, we should be practicing towards Israel/
(28)\and not what I was trying to propose,/
(29)\which was a creative engagement with a culture and society that on all significant levels had behaved and (as the ongoing Israeli brutality against the Aqsa Intifada shows) continues to behave with a policy of deliberate dehumanisation towards Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular./
(30)\In this the egregious Ariel Sharon is scarcely distinguishable from Barak, Rabin and Ben-Gurion (leaving aside the truly vicious racism of many of Sharon's allies like Scharansky, Liberman and Rabbi Ovadia Yousef)./

SEIII

E9

(31)\What I said in contrast was not only a matter of understanding them but also of understanding ourselves/
(32)\since our history was incomplete without consideration of Israel,/
(33)\what it represented in our lives,/
(34)\how it had done what it had, and so forth./

E10

(35)\Besides, I continue to believe as an educator that knowledge -- any knowledge -- is better than ignorance./
(36)\There is simply no rational justification from an intellectual point of view of having a policy of ignorance./
(37)\or using ignorance as a weapon in a struggle./
(38)\Ignorance is ignorance, no more and no less. Always and in every case./

Appendix D
Figure 6.6 Segmented ATT1:

E1
(1)\ fa:ja'ani: 'ithna:' ni:qa:sh muHa:Dara 'alqaytuha: fi: ja:mi'at 'uksfu:rd qabla thala:th sanawa:t wa niSf l-sana su:'a:l TaraHathu sha:bba/
(2)\'araft-u la:Hiqan 'annaha: Ta:liba filisTi:niyya ta'id-u li-shaha:dat l-duktu:ra fi: tilka l-ja:mi'a./

E2
(3)\kunt-u 'ataHadath-u 'an 'aHda:th 1948/
(4)\wa kayfa 'anna min l-Daru:ri:, kama 'ara:, laysa fahm l-'ila:qa bayna ta:ri:khuna: wa ta:ri:kh 'isra:'i:l faqaT,/
(5)\bal 'inna: ka-'arab bi-Ha:ja 'ila: dira:sat dha:lika l-ta:ri:kh l-'a:khar 'ala: 'annahu mawDu:' ya'ni:na: wa laysa tajanubahu 'aw l-'ighfa:l l-ta:m lahuw kama: hiya 'l-Ha:l mindhu zaman Tawiyl./

E3
(6)\'ila-'anna su:'a:l l-sha:bb l- filisTi:niyya ja:'a li-yuthi:r l-shuku:k fi: mawqifi: ha:dha:,
(7)\fa-qad qa:lat ('alann yaku:n ha:dha: l-naw' min l-'ihtima:m bi-'isra:'i:l shakl-un min 'ashka:l l-tana:zul 'ama:maha:?/
(8)\'ay 'annaha: ka:nat tas'al 'idha: lam yaku:n (l-la:-taTbi:') l-ja:hil huwa l-mawqif l-'afDal tija:h l-dawwla /
(9)\l-lati: tadu:r siyasatuha: mindhu zaman Tawiyl 'ala: rafD wa man' Haq l-filisTi:niyyn fi: taqri:r l-maSi:r,/
(10)\bal hiya 'aSlan l-Taraf l-mas'u:l 'an salbihim./

SEI

E4
(11)\ 'alayya 'an a'tarif bi-'anna ha:dhih l-fikra lam takhTur bi-ba:li: qaT, /
(12)\Hata: khila:l l-siniyn l-Tawi:la Hi:na ka:nna l-tafki:yr bi-'isra:'i:l min l-muHaramat fi: l-'a:lam l-'arabi:,/
(13)\'ila: darajat 'anna 'l-'ism lam yaku:n yudhkar muba:shara bal bi-'isti'ma:l ta'abi:r mithl "l-kiya:n l-Suhyu:ni:"./

E5
(14)\ wa wajadtuni: 'atasa:'al-u bil-muqa:bil 'an ma'na: mawqifuha: fi: l-waD' l-Ha:li:,/
(15)\ba'da: ma:-'aqa:mat dawlata:n 'arabiyata:n ra'i:siyta:n l-sala:m ma'a 'isra:'i:l,/
(16)\wa 'i'tarafat bi-ha: munaZamat l-taHriyr l-filisTi:niyya/
(17)\wa tuwa:Sil-u ma'aha: 'amaliyat l-sala:m,/
(18)\fi:-ma: 'aqa:ma 'adadu:n min l-diwal l-'arabiya 'ilaqa:t tija:riya ma'aha: /

E6
(19)\'illa: 'anna l-muthaqafu:n l-'arab ja'alu: min bayn-i muqadasa:tuhum rafD 'aya naw'-in min l-ta'a:mul ma'a 'isra:'i:l min Dimnih-i ziya:ratuha: 'aw mulaqa:t l-'isra:'i:liyyn,/
(20)\la:kin Hata: ha:'u:la:'-i baqaw Sa:mitiyn 'iza:'a khaTawa:t mithla bay'-i miSr kamiya:t kabi:ra min l-ghа:z l-Tabi:'i:: 'ila: 'isra:'i:l,/
(21)\wa 'ida:mat l-'ilaqa:t l-diblu:ma:siya ma'aha: 'ithna:' Hamala:tuha: l-qam'iya l-mutakarira Didd l-filisTi:niyyn/

SEII ← **E7**
(22)\la:kin kayfa yumkin li-'ayy-in mina: 'an yu'a:riD l-sa'y 'ila: ma'rifat wa taHliyl 'akthar ma:-yumkin min l-ma'lu:ma:t 'an ha:dha: l-balad/
(23)\al-ladhi: ka:nna li-HuDu:rih-i baynana: mindhu khamsiyn sana kulla ha:dha: l-ta'athiyr fi: Tabi:yat Haya:t kulla rajul wa 'imra'a fi: l-'a:lam l-'arabi:?/

SEIII

E8

(24)\ ’iftira:D l-ba:Hitha l-sha:bba ka:nna ’anna naqiyD l-tana:zul huwa l-taHadi:,/
(25)\’ay l-muqa:wama wa rafD l-ruDu:kh li-’ira:dat Taraf Za:lim mujHif./
(26)\ha:dha: kama: ’a‘taqid, huwa l-mawqif l-ladhi: ’aradat lana: ’itikha:dhahu tija:h ’isra:’i:l,/
(27)\wa laysa ma:- kunt-u ’aqtariHahu,/
(28)\’ay l-tana:wl l-khala:q li-thaqa:fat wa mujtama‘ ’itakhadh-a ‘ala: kull l-mustawaya:t l-muhima (wa la:-yaza:l-u yatakhidh-u kama: tubayyun-u waHshi:at l-’isra:’i:liyyn, tija:h l-’intifa:Da) siya:sat-un tahdifu ’ila: tadmi:r ’insaniyat l-‘arab ‘umu:man wa l-filisTi:niyyn ‘ala: wajh l-khuSu:S./
(29)\wa laysa fi: ha:dha: l-maja:l farq yudhkar bayna ’arya:l sharu:n l-shani:‘ wa ’ihu:d bara:k ’aw ’isHa:q rabiyn ’aw dayfiyd bin ghuw‘yu:n (na:hi:ka ‘an l-‘unSuriya l-mas‘u:ra lada: Hulafa’ sharu:n mithla sha:‘a:nski: wa li:barma:n wa l-Hakha:m ‘ufa:dya yu:siyf)./

E9

(30)\wa la:-yaqtaSir-u mawqifi: ha:dha: ‘ala: muHa:walat fahm ha’u:la:’,/
(31)\bal ’ayDan ’an nafham ’anfusina:,/
(32)\li-’anna tari:khuna: yabqa: na:qiS-an /
(33)\’idha: lam na’akhudh ’isra:’i:l fi: l-’i’tiba:r,
(34)\bi-kulla ma:- mathalath-u fi: Haya:tuna:/
(35)\wa qa:mat bih-i tija:huna:/

E10

(36)\’iDa:fat-an ’ila: dha:lika la:-’aza:lu ‘ala: ’i‘tiqa:di:, ka-mu‘alim, ’anna l-ma‘rifa --’aya ma‘riffa-- ’afDal min l-jahl./
(37)\ wa laysa huna:ka, bi-basa:Ta, ‘ala: l-Sa‘i:d l-fikri:, ’aya tabriyr manTiqi: li-’itikha:dh l-jahl siya:sa /
(38)\’aw ’isti‘malahu sila:H fi: l-Sira:‘./
(39)\l-jahl huwa l-jahl, la:-’aqalla ’aw akthar, wa huwa ka-dha:lika dawman wa mahma ka:nnat l-Zuru:f./

Appendix D
Figure 6.7 Segmented EST2

SEI

E1

(1)\As a deliberate dig at Texas's own President George W. Bush it was hard to beat./
(2)\A cake decorated with three candles fashioned in the shape of polluting Texan smokestacks] had pride of place on a table in Brussels this week at a ceremony to mark the anniversary of the European Union's signing of the Kyoto treaty on global warming./

E2

(3)\Still stinging from what she had described as "saddening" meetings with the Bush team, Margot Wallstrom, the European environment commissioner, was unusually blunt./
(4)\The EU, she said, would press ahead with Kyoto "with or without the United States"./
(5)\On the other side of the Atlantic, a senior member of the Bush administration said the EU was in many ways "the antithesis of American values" and interests./
(6)\He said: "I can't think of a single long-term factor working in its favour. There's no evidence of the EU breaking out of its statist, command control mentality."/

E3

(7)\As Mr Bush nears his 100th day in office – the landmark day on which every president since Franklin D. Roosevelt has faced initial judgment- Europe is finding that America is striking back./
(8)\In many respects, the 100 days milestone will mark the end of a very short honeymoon for US-EU relations./
(9)\The initial warm glow that greeted the appointment by Mr Bush of such seasoned foreign policy hands as Gen. Colin Powell has given way to a distinct chill./
(10)\When Gen. Powell reassured America's allies on its commitment to Europe by saying categorically that "we went in together and we will leave together",/
(11)\one European official described his words as "music to our ears"./

SEII ← **E4**

(12)\But Europe is learning that Gen Powell is only one member of the Bush foreign policy team./
(13)\Some officials have already begun to whisper against the former Gulf War leader, accusing him of being out of step with the president on key issues./

SEIII

E5

(14)\Mr Bush is less inclined to look towards Europe than any other recent American president./
(15)\He speaks of a "hemispheric" approach to foreign policy and trade in which the Americas act in concert./
(16)\There is a growing focus on the Pacific and Asia./

E6

(17)\In recent weeks, senior Bush advisers have become increasingly worried about plans for a European Rapid Reaction Force./
(18)\Just as significantly, they are exasperated by the tide of anti-Bush rhetoric emanating from the other side of the Atlantic./
(19)\On Tuesday, Labour MPs mocked the president like schoolchildren in a playground./
(20)\In a typical attack, Jane Griffiths, MP for Reading East, dubbed him the "fool on Capitol Hill"./
(21)\In the process she displayed a basic ignorance of Washington geography- the White House is a mile and a half from Congress, which the president rarely visits-/
(22)\which reinforced Washingtonians' sense that Europe's politicians are glibly hostile./
(23)\European newspapers, which are read on the Internet by White House aides, frequently refer to Mr Bush as the "Toxic Texan"./
(24)\Opinion polls show 63 per cent of Americans approve of Mr Bush,/
(25)\while only 26 per cent of Britons have a favourable view of him./
(26)\The German newspaper Die Tageszeitung recently said that "ultimately cowboy Bush could involuntarily be the catalyst for European integration"./
(27)\The pervasive European caricature of the president is partly of his own making./
(28)\He concedes he is "not very poetic"/
(29)\and has taken to listing his own verbal mishaps as a way of blunting criticism of his intellect./

E7

(30)\For most Americans, Mr Bush's plain-speaking approach and willingness to take a back seat on occasions like the return of the American spy plane crew from China are a refreshing change from the selfish showmanship of President Clinton./
(31)\Mr Bush is a profound believer in the American Way/
(32)\and sees his country as the embodiment of good./
(33)\He is instinctively sceptical about the value of international organisations./
(34)\In European eyes, all this just tends to confirm the stereotype/
(35)\that the President is not engaged in policy /
(36)\Mr Bush's style is in many ways unsuited to a world/
(37)\in which diplomatic nuance can be everything /
(38)\His slip this week when he said United States forces would defend Taiwan against the Chinese hardly helped to rebuild relations with Beijing./
(39)\While straight talking is often welcomed in America,/
(40)\even advisers now concede that the rejection of the Kyoto treaty with minimal consultation and without having an alternative policy in place alienated allies unnecessarily./

SEIV

E8

(41)\Much of the European criticism of Mr Bush is eerily reminiscent of 20 years ago/
(42)\when President Ronald Reagan was accused of being a trigger-happy fool/
(43)\who was in the pockets of his advisers/
(44)\and could not offer an opinion without a prepared script./
(45)\Then, the close personal rapport between Mr Reagan and Margaret Thatcher helped strengthen the "special relationship"/
(46)\while the Cold War kept America firmly anchored in Europe./
(47)\Today, the Cold War is over/
(48)\and Tony Blair's centre-Left Labour is in power./
(49)\As a former soulmate and "Third Way" fellow traveller of Mr Clinton, Mr Blair has been unable to forge much more than a cordial telephone relationship with Mr Bush./
(50)\The British Government, which liked to parade its "special relationship" with the Clinton administration, now tries to keep a stony public silence on events in Washington/
(51)\while saying privately that the Bush team is made up of "committed internationalists"./
(52)\In his last two policy speeches, Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, has not mentioned America,/
(53)\seeking to avoid controversy before the general election./

E9

(54)\It is undeniable however, that the relationship between Europe and America has changed fundamentally over Mr Bush's first 100 days,/
(55)\and diplomats on both sides of the Atlantic have little doubt that it will continue to do so for the next 1,000./
(56)\The leader of the only superpower has shown he is prepared to act unilaterally,/
(57)\doing what he sees as best for America/
(58)\whatever international sensibilities might be./
(59)\With an EU trying to flex its muscles/
(60)\and a new president prepared to act unilaterally,/
(61)\the danger is that the continued European tendency to misunderstand Mr Bush could help push America towards a potentially dangerous isolationism./

Appendix D
Figure 6.8 segmented ATT2

E1

(1)\ ka:nat Haraka khabi:tha fi:ha: l-kathi:r min l-ghamz wa l-lamz fi: qana:t l-ra'i:s l-'amri:ki: ju:rj bu:sh/
(2)\ ha:dhih l-Haraka tamathalat fi: 'arD ka'ka ziyunat bi-thalathat shumu:' 'ala: shakl mada:khin taqli:diya tu:jad fi: taksa:s/
(3)\wa hiya: mada:khin yu'raf 'anha: talwithuha: l-shadi:d lil-biy'a./
(4)\ wuDi'at l- ka'ka 'ala: Ta:wila fi: bru:ksil min 'ajl l-'iHtifa:l bil-dhikra: l-thalitha li-tawqi:' l-'ittiHa:d l-'uru:bbi: 'ala: 'itifaqiyat kiyu:tu: l-kha:Sa bil-'iHtiba:s l-Hara:ri:/

SEI

E2

(5)\ wa yabdu: 'anna huna:ka ghaDab 'uru:bbi: tija:h l-mawqif l-'amri:ki: l-ra:fiD li-tilka l-'itifaqiya,/
(6)\ fa-ba'da 'ijtima:' 'aqadathu l-mufawaDa l-'uru:bbiya li-shu'u:n l-biy'a ma:rku:t wu:al stu:rm ma'a 'aHad 'a'Da:' fari:q bu:sh qa:lat bi-lahja Ha:da ghayra 'a:di:ya <<'inna l-'ittiH:ad l-'uru:bbi: sa-yamDi: qudiman fi: tanfi:dh 'itifaqiyat kiyu:tu: ma'a l-wilaya:t l-muttaHida 'aw du:niha>>./
(7)\'ala: l-ja:nib l-'a:khar min l-'aTlasi: waqaf-a 'aHad kuba:r l-mas'u:li:yn fi: 'ida:rat bu:sh li-yaqu:l 'anna l-'ittiHa:d l-'uru:bbi: <<yushakil l-naqi:D lil-qiyam wa l-maSa:liH l-'amri:kiya>> /
(8)\ wa 'aDa:fa dha:lika l-mas'u:l qa:'il-an <<laysa huna:ka 'aya daliyl yushi:r 'ila: takhali: l-'ittiHa:d l-'uru:bbi: 'ann jumu:dih wa 'aqliyatih l-mutaHajjira>>./

E3

(9)\wa fi: l-waqt l-ladhi: 'akmala fi:hi l-ra'i:s ju:rj bu:sh mi'at yawm fi: l-bayt l-'abyaD fa-'inna 'uru:bba:/
(10)\la: tash'ur bil-'irtiya:H lil-'ilaqa:t l-'aqal min 'a:diya l-lati: tarbiTuha hadhihi l-'ayya:m bil-wilaya:t l-muttaHida./
(11)\fa:-l-mi'at yawm l-'u:la: shahidat niha:yat shahr l-'assal l-qaSi:r/
(12)\l-ladhi: 'a:shathu l-'ilaqa:t l-'uru:bbiya l-'amri:kiya./
(13)\ka:nat bida:yat shahr l-'assal ma'a l-tarHi:b l-'uru:bbi: bi-ta'yyn l-jinira:l ku:lin bawl wazi:r-an lil-kha:rijiya fi: 'ida:rat bu:sh/
(14)\wa qad Safaq l-'uru:bbiyyu:n Tawi:l-an li-ma:dhakarah-u bawl Hawlla 'iltiza:m 'amari:ka bi-'uru:bba <<laqad sirna fi: l-ma:Di: ma'an wa sa-nasi:r fi: l-mustaqbal 'ayDan ma'an>>./
(15)\wa qad waSafa mas'u:l 'uru:bbi: kalima:t bawl <<bi-'annaha kalima:t mu:si:qiya 'aTrabatna kathi:rr-an>>./

SEII ← **E4**

(16)\ba'daha: bi-waqt-in qaSi:r adrakt 'uru:bba 'anna ku:lin bawl laysa siwa: fard-in wa:Hidd-in fi: fari:q bu:sh l-kha:S bil-siya:sa l-kha:rijiya/
(17)\wa bada' ba'aD l-'uru:bbiyyn yahmisu:n bi-kala:m-in Did-a bawl mutahimi:n 'i-ya:hu bil-'azzf l-munfarid ba'i:dd-an 'an l-ra'i:s wa rab'uh./

SEIII

E5

(18)\min l-wa:DiH 'anna ju:rj bu:sh yubdi: zuhdd-an wa:DiH-an akthara min ghayrih tija:h l-'irtiba:T wa l-qurb min 'uru:bba:/

(19)\fa-huwa yataHadath-u 'an (nuSSf l-kura l-gharbi:) fi: maja:l l-siya:sa l-kha:rijiya wa l-tija:ra,/

(20)\wa la: yakhfa: 'ala: 'aHad 'anna huna:ka tarki:yz 'amri:ki: mutaza:yud 'ala: l-ba:sifik wa 'a:sya:/

E6

(21)\fi: l-'asa:bi:' l-'akhiyra aSbaHa kuba:r l-mustashari:n l-muHi:Tu:n bi-ju:rj bu:sh akthar qalaq-an bi-sh'an l-khu:TaT l-'uru:bbiya li-tashki:l quwa:t 'uru:bbiya lil-tadakhul l-sari:'/

(22)\wa za:da min qalaqihum tilka l-naghama:t l-mutaza:yyda l-mu'a:diya lil-ra'i:s bu:sh fi: 'uru:bba/

(23)\ fa-qad sakhir-a 'aHad 'a'Da:'a l-barlama:n l-'ingili:zi: 'an Hizb l-'umma:l min l-ra'i:s bu:sh/

(24)\wa waSafahu bi-'annahu 'ashbah ma:-yaku:n <<bi-Ta:lib madrasa yaqif-u fi: mal'ab>>/

(25)\wa maDa: ha:dha l-'iDu: fi: 'intiqa:da:tih wa waSafa bu:sh bi-'annahu <<dha:lika l-ghabi: fi: mabna: l-kabitu:l>>./

(26)\wa tu'Ti: mithla ha:dhih l-'aqa:wiyl wa:shinTu:n l-'inTiba:' bi-'anna l-siya:siyu:n l-'uru:biyyu:n mu'a:du:n li-'amri:ka/

(27)\wa yaTali'l-mas'u:lu:n l-'amri:kiyy-un 'ala: l-SuHuf l-'uru:biyya 'abra l-'intarnit/

(28)\wa aSbaHat ha:dhih l-SuHuf tushi:r 'ila: bu:sh 'ala: 'annahu <<l-taksa:si: l-sa:m>>./

(29)\ wa tuZhir 'istiTla'a:t l-r'ay 'anna % 63 min l-'amri:kiyyn yu:'ayydu:n 'ada:'a bu:sh/

(30)\fi: l-waqt l-ladhi: la: yu'jib 'ada:'a bu:sh siwa: % 26 min l-biri:Ta:niyyn./

(31)\ wa katabat SaHi:fat (ta:ki:yz yatuing) l-'alma:niya mu'akhar-an taqu:l <<'inna ra:'i: l-baqar bu:sh yumkin 'an yal'ab 'an ghayr qaSd dawr l-mu:Hafiz lil-'indima:j l-'uru:bbi:>>./

E7

(32)\bi-lnisba li-mu'aZam l-'amri:kiyyn tushakil mafahi:m bu:sh l-Sari:Ha wa raghbatuh fi: shughl maq'ad-in khalfi: fi: munasaba ha:ma mithla 'awdat Ta:qam Ta:'irat l-tajasus l-'amri:kiya min l-Si:n taghayr-un Hami:d-un 'an l-'istiHwa:dh l-'ana:ni: lil-'aDwa:'/

(33)/l-ladhi: ka:nna yuma:risahu l-ra'i:s l-sa:biq kilintu:n,/

(34)\'inna l-ra'i:s bu:sh yu:'amin 'i:ma:n-an ra:sikh-an bi-Tari:qat l-Haya:t l-'amri:kiya/

(35)\wa huwa yanZur 'ila: bila:dih 'ala: 'annaha: tujasid-u l-khayr fi: ha:dha l-'a:lam.

(36)\wa huwa shaku:k bi-Tab'ih tija:h l-qiyam/

(37)\l-lati: tumathiluha wa tad'u: 'iliyha: l-munaZama:t l-dawliya./

(38)\wa bil-nisba lil-'uru:biyyn tuqadim-u taSarufat bu:sh l-daliyl l-da:migh (min ba:b l-sukhriya)/

(39)\'ala: 'anna l-ra'i:s ghayra munkhariT fi: l-siya:sa,/

(40)\fa-ha:dha l-'islu:b yu'Tabar ghayra maqbu:l bil-nisba lil-'uru:biyyn/

(41)\l-ladhi:na yarawn 'anna l-dublu:ma:siya yajib-u 'an yaku:n la-ha: dawr-un fi: kuli shay'a./

(42)\fi: l-'isbu:' qabla l-ma:Di: zala lisa:n bu:sh/

(43)\ 'indama: qa:la 'anna l-quwa:t l-'amri:kiya sa-tuda:fi' 'an taywa:n Dida l-Si:n/

(44)\wa ka:nat l-nati:ja tawji:h Darba shadi:da lil-'ilaqa:t bayna washinTu:n wa bakiyn./

(45)\wa fi: l-waqt l-ladhi: yuraHib l-'amri:kiyyu:n bil-'aqwa:l wa l-taSri:Ha:t l-lati: tatasim bil-Sara:Ha, /

(46)\fa-'inna l-Sara:Ha laysat da:'im-an mauDi' tarHi:b sawa:'-un 'ala: l-mustawa: l-dawli: 'aw l-shakhSi:/

(47)\wa qad 'aqar-a ba'D mustasha:ri: bu:sh 'inna rafDahu-u li-'itifaqi:yat kiyu:tu: du:na tasha:wir wa du:na wuju:d siya:sa badi:la 'adda: 'ila: taghri:b 'amari:ka: 'an Hulafa:'u:h: du:na da:'/

SEIV

E8

(48)\'inna l-'intiqada:t l-lati: yuwajihuha l-'uru:biyyu:n li-bu:sh tudhakiruna: bil-'intiqada:t/
(49)\l-lati: wajahaha: l-'uru:biyyu:n lil-ra'i:s ri:ghan qabla 20 'amm-an/
(50)\Hayth-u waSafu:hu bi-'annahu <<ghabi: waDa'ahu mustasharu:h-u fi: jiyu:bihim/
(51)\wa laysa bi-wis'ih 'ibda:'a 'aya ra'y du:na 'an yuqadam lahu maktu:b-an fi: waraqa li-yaqra'ahu>>./
(52)\laqad sa:'adat l-'ilaqa:t l-kha:Sa l-lati: rabaTat ta:tshar bi-ri:gha:n fi: taqwiy:at <<l-'ilaqa:t l-kha:Sa>> l-qa:'ima 'abra l-'aTlasi:/
(53)\fi: l-waqt l-ladhi: ka:nat fi:hi l-Harb l-ba:rida tata'ajaj fi: l-'a:lam./
(54)\wa l-yawm lam ta'u:d huna:ka Harb-un ba:rida/
(55)\wa taHkum biri:Ta:nya: ha:dhih l-'aya:m Huku:ma 'ummaliya yaqu:duha: tu:ni: blayr/
(56)\l-ladhi: ka:nna zamiyl-an lil-ra'i:s l-sa:biq kilintu:n fi: <<l-Tari:q l-tha:lith>>./
(57)\wa bil-raghm min muru:r mi'at yawm 'ala: wuju:d bu:sh fi: l-bayt l-'abyaD/
(58)\'ila: 'anna tu:ni: blayr fashala fi: 'iqamat 'ilaqa:t jayda ma'a bu:sh/
(59)\wa kulla ma-baynahuma la: yata'ada: siwa: mukalama:t ha:ti:fiya taftaqir 'ila: l-dif'a./
(60)\fi: l-sa:biq ka:nna yaHlu: lil-Huku:ma l-biri:Ta:niyya 'an tatabajaH bil-'ilaqa:t l-kha:Sa l-lati: tarbiTuha: ma'-a 'ida:rat ki:lintu:n,/
(61)\'ama: l-'a:na fa-'inna ha:dhih l-Huku:ma taltazim-u l-Samt tija:h-i l-'aHda:th l-lati: tashhaduha: washinTu:n./
(62)\khila:l khiTabayh-i l-'a:miyyn l-ladha:n 'alqa:huma: wazi:r l-kha:riji:a l-biriTa:ni: ru:bin ku:k lam yadhkur 'amri:ka: 'ala: l-'iTla:q/
(63)\wa l-sabab fi: dha:lika 'adam l-dukhu:l fi: 'akhdh-in wa rad-in qad la: tuHmad-u 'uqba:h-u /
(64)\fi: l-waqt l-ladhi: tasta'id fi:h-i biriTa:niya li-'ijra:'-i 'intikha:bat 'a:mma fi: l-mustaqbal l-qari:b./

E9

(65)\wa min l-wa:DiH-u jayd-an 'anna l-'ilaqa:t l-lati: tarbiT 'uru:bba: bil-wilaya:t l-muttaHida shahidat taghayur-in jawhari-un khila:l l-mi'at yawm/
(66)\l-lati: qaDa:ha: bu:sh fi: l-sulTa /
(67)\wa laysa huna:ka shak-un lada: l-du:blu:ma:siyyn 'ala: Tarafi: l-'aTlasi: min 'annaha: sa-tastamir fi: l-taghayur khilal l-'alf yawm-in l-qa:dima./
(68)\wa ma'-a wuju:d 'ittiHa:d 'uru:bbi: yuHa:wl 'isti'ra:D 'aDala:tuh/
(69)\wa wuju:d ra'i:s jadi:d musta'id lil-taSaru:f bi-Su:ra munfarid/
(70)\fa-'inna 'istimra:r 'uru:bba: fi: su:'a fahm bu:sh yaHmil-u 'ala: Taya:tih khaTar daf' 'amari:ka: naHwa l-'izla l-khaTi:ra./

APPENDIX E

RESULTS OF THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

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The application of the comparative model to the analysis of the various ST-TT pair of texts has shown that a significant number of shifts in cohesion have occurred through translation in both directions (i.e. translating from Arabic into English and vice versa.)

The following conventions have been systematically carried out in the discussion of the shifts occurred on each translation:

1. Shifts involving the relatedness of pair of independent clauses (or clause complexes) are grouped and discussed under the sub-heading (Shifts at L1).

2. Shifts involving the relatedness of pair of adjacent elements are grouped and discussed under the sub-heading (Shifts at L1).

3. Finally, shifts involving the relatedness of pair of adjacent sequences of elements are grouped and discussed under the sub-heading (Shifts at L3).

As for the illustrative examples, i.e. ST and TT translationally-equivalent pair of texts in which shifts have occurred, the following conventions have been systematically applied:

1. The excerpts of the pair of units under discussion (i.e. ST units and their TT equivalent units at which shift has occurred) are quoted and displayed in two separate tables, as illustration and reference for the description of the cohesion they display. The table displaying ST units is given first.

2. Each illustrative excerpt under discussion has a reference: its source, number of text in the order of texts within the corpus, line numbers within the text. For example, a reference such as "AST1: SEI<E1<(1) & (2)" means the excerpts are taken from the Arabic source text; text number in the Arabic corpus is (1), and "SEI<E1<(1) & (2)", respectively, indicates the place of the excerpts in the segmented text (i.e. the numbers of the cohesively bonded excerpts at which the cohesive relation is attested). These are given in the left-side column. In the right-side column are placed the passages of the bonded excerpts, and a blank single line space separating them is used.

3. In each example, the ST cohesive feature which represents a translation problem is highlighted. The strategy used by the translator is highlighted in bold in both the original translation and the literal-translated version.

4. In Arabic, each excerpt (original or translated) is reproduced in a transliterated form using the conventional scheme discussed at the beginning of the current study. This is followed by a literal translation of the excerpt (s) into English. The translation is intended as an approximation of the original Arabic text since the aim is to assist the reader(s)- who might not be familiar with the Arabic language- to follow the discussion of individual examples. A literal translation can give some insight into aspects of the structure, if not the meaning of the original, but it is never the same as the original.

5. A literal translation of the Arabic version is always given immediately following the original one to show the flavour of the Arabic text. The literal-translated versions follow their corresponding texts in all respects.

Examples of shifts of cohesion that occurred through translation in each ST-TT texts pair are presented under the following sections:

1. Shifts in ETT1

The comparison of the pair of texts, AST1 and ETT1 in terms of their cohesive relations binding their various units, has revealed significant shifts on the part of the English version. All instances of shift in ETT1 are grouped and discussed under the following sub-headings:

1.1. Shifts at L1

Example 1:

AST1: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\'idha: ka:na lada: l-ba'D-u 'aya 'amal-in fi: 'an taku:n 'ida:rat l-ra'i:s ju:rj dablyu: bu:sh 'aqal 'inHiya:z-an li-'isra:'i:l min 'ida:rat l-ra'i:s byl kilintu:n,/ (2)*fa*-'inna ha:dha: l-'amala tabadad/

[Lit. clauses (1)-(2): (1)\If someone has any hope that President Gorge W. Bush's administration would be less biased to Israel than that of President Bill Clinton/(2)*then* this hope has vanished/]

ETT1: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\If some people have any hope that Bush's administration will be less biased to Israel than the Clinton's one,/ (2)\Ø this hope vanishes in the thin air/

In the above excerpts, ST clausal relation of 'condition-consequence', signalled by the conjunctions: ['idha: <if>] in clause (1) denoting condition, and [fa <then/so>] in clause (2) denoting consequence, is implicitly expressed in the TT. That is, TT uses no explicit conjunction to mark the consequence clause.

Example 2:

AST1: SEI<E2<[(3-4)] & (5):	[Clauses (3-4): (3)\'indama: 'aZharat *ha:dhihi l-'ida:ra* 'annaha: la: taktafi: bi-tabani: l-mawqif l-'isra:'i:li: min mufawaDa:t l-sala:m fa-Hasb,/(4)*wa la:-kinaha:* tad'am *l-'a'ma:l l-waHshiya* l-'isra:'i:liya/] (5)*wa tuTa:lib* l-DaHa:ya bi-waqf *'a'ma:l l-'unf*!/

[Lit. clauses (3-4)-(5): (3)\when *this administration* made it clear that it does not only adopt the Israeli's position on the peace negotiation/(4)*but it* also supports the Israeli's brutal acts/(5)*and it* calls upon the victims to stop the violence acts/]

ETT1: SEI<E2<(3) & (4):	(3)\when it insists not only to adopt the Israeli situation in the peace negotiations but also to support the Israeli atrocities/ (4)\and ∅ calls upon the victims to stop violence /

In the above excerpts, TT modifies the structure of the ST by incorporating ST string of three adjacent independent clauses, i.e. clauses (3)-(5), in a construction of two clauses with embedded elements; consequently, the following shifts have occurred:

1. ST cohesive relation [R5]- signalled by the pronominal personal reference item, i.e. the concealed second person feminine pronoun [ha: <it>] affixed to the verb [la:-kinna(-ha:) <but it>] in clause (4) presupposing the referent item [al-'ida:ra <the administration>] in clause (3), is omitted in the TT.

2. ST cohesive relation [R5]- signalled by the pronominal personal reference item, i.e. the second person feminine concealed pronoun [tu] in the verb [tuTa:lib <it calls upon>] in clause (5) presupposing the pronominal personal reference item affixed to the verb, [la:-kinna(-ha: <but it>)], i.e. <the administration> in clause (4), is omitted in the TT.

3. ST conjunctive relation [C3] - signalled by both the use of the ambiguous (general purpose) conjunction [wa <whereas>] and the lexical items in the two clauses which stand on a contrastive relation: [tad'am <support>], [al-'a'ma:l l-waHshiya <the brutal acts>] in (4),

and [tuTa:lib-u <calls upon>], ['a'ma:l al-'unf <the violent acts>] in (5), respectively, is missed in the TT.

Example 3:

AST1: SEI<E3<[(6-8)] & [(9-10)]:	[Clauses (6-8): (6)\wa fi: Hi:yn wajaha l-bayt l-'abyaD l-da'wa li-mujrim l-Harb 'aryal sha:ru:n/(7)*li-'ijra:' muHa:datha:t* ma'a l-ra'i:s bu:sh,/(8)*fa*-qad 'imtana'at *l-'ida:ra l-'amri:ki:ya* 'an *tawji:yh* da'wa muma:thila lil-ra'i:s l-filisTi:ni: ya:sir 'arafa:t,/] [Clauses (9-10): (9)*li-tu'lin* bi-*ha:dha: l-mawqif,* 'anna 'inHiya:zuha: li-'isra:'i:l balagha min l-Safaqa Had-an yataja:waz Hata: l-'i'tibara:t l-shakliya/(10)\al-lati: yata'ayan 'an yuZhiruha: <*l-waSi:T*>./]

[Lit. clauses (6-8)-(9-10): (6)\(and when) the White House has sent an invitation to the war criminal Ariel Sharon/(7)*to hold talks with President Bush*/(8)*yet, the American administration* has declined to send a similar invitation to the Palestinian President Yasir Arafat/(9)\<*by doing so, it has announced*> *that its alliance to Israel has reached a degree of recklessness breaching [all] diplomatic customs*/(10)*that must be abide by "the mediator"*/]

ETT1: SEI<E3<(5):	(5)\The American alignment to Israel reaches such an impertinent degree of inviting the war criminal Sharon to the White House and refusing to do the same with the Palestinian President Arafat./

In the above excerpts, TT modifies the structure of the ST by incorporating ST string of five adjacent independent clauses- clauses (6-10)- in a construction of a single clause-sentence with several embedded elements; consequently, the following shifts have occurred:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C3]- signalled by the conjunction [li: <to>] in clause (7), which links it with the preceding one, is omitted altogether in the TT.

2. ST conjunctive relation [C3]- signalled by the conjunction [fa <however/yet>] in clause (8), which links it with the preceding one, is omitted in the TT.

3. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the lexical item [tawji:h <process of sending an invitation>] in clause (8), which coheirs with [wajaha <send>] in the preceding construction, is rendered in the TT by the verbal substitute 'do', i.e. [S2];

4. ST cohesive relation [L4]- signalled by the demonstrative NP, (the demonstrative reference item [ha:dha: <this>] plus the general lexical item [mawqif <stance>], which summaries the events in the preceding construction, is omitted in the TT.

5. ST cohesive relation [L5]- signalled by the lexical item [waSi:yT <mediator>] in clause (10), which coheres with the lexical item [muHa:datha:t <talks> in clause (7), is omitted in the TT.

Example 4:

AST1: SEII<E4<(11) & (12):	(11)\wa 'idha: ka:na huna:ka man yu'awil-u 'ala: 'anna l-'ilaqa:t l-'arabiya l-lati: yatamata'-u biha: <*lu:bi: l-nifT*> yumkin-u 'an tatruk ta'athi:r 'ala: tawajuha:t l-'ida:ra l-jumhu:riya,/ (12)*fa*-'inna l-Haqiyqa l-lati: tabruz-u l-'a:na hiya 'anna: *lu:bi: l-nifT* al-'amri:ki: la:-yanZur-u 'ila: 'ilaqa:tih l-'arabiya bi-waSfiha: 'a:mil DaghT wa-dha:lika li-sababyyn,/

[Lit. clauses (11)-(12): (11)\and if there is anyone beliefs that the Arab relations that enjoyed by oil lobby can leave an effect on the directions of the Republican administration,/(12)*then* the fact appears now is that the American *oil lobby* does not regard its Arabic relation as a pressure factor and that is for two reasons/]

ETT1: SEII<E4<(6) & (7):	(6)\If some people say that the Arab relations which the oil lobby enjoys can affect the attitudes of the Republican administration,/ (7)\∅the current fact is that the Arab relations cannot be a pressure force for two reasons:/

In the above excerpts, TT modifies the structure of the ST; consequently, the following shifts have occurred:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C3]- 'condition-consequence', signalled by the conjunctions: ['idha: <if>] in clause (10) denoting condition, and [fa <then/so>] in clause (11) denoting consequence, is modified in the TT by using no explicit conjunction.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the NP [lu:wbi:y al-nifT <oil lobby>] in clause (11), which is a direct repetition of the same NP expressed in the preceding unit, is omitted in the TT.

Example 5:

AST1: SEII<E5<(13) & [(14-16)]:	(13)\al-'awwal, li-'anna *ha:dhihi l-'ilaqa:t* laysat mutaka:fi'a/ [Clauses (14-16): (14)\wa-la: ta'd-u kawnaha: *'ilaqa:t <sa:da* wa *'abiyd*>./(15)\l-sa:da ya'amuru:n, wa *'abiyd l-nifT* tuTi:'/(16)\wa dha:lika min du:n 'an yaku:n li-*ha:dhihi l-'ilaqa:t <l-'iqtiSa:diya l-kha:m*> 'aya 'atharun siya:si:/]

[Lit. clauses (13)-(14-16): (13)\the first, because *these relations* are not equivalent/(14)\and it is nothing but *a relation of* "*masters* and *slaves*"/(15)\the masters instruct and the oil *slaves* obey,/(16)\and *these pure economic relations* having no political effect,/]

ETT1: SEII<E5<(8) & (9):	(8)\the first is that *these relations* are not on an equal footing/ (9)\and *they* are no more than a relation between masters and slaves Ø without having any political effect/

In the above excerpts, TT modifies ST structure by incorporating the string of four independent adjacent clauses by a construction of two clauses with some embedded elements; consequently, the following shifts have occurred:

1. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the lexical item [‘ilaqa:t <relations>] in (14), which is a direct repetition of the lexical item [‘ilaqa:t <relations>] in clause (13), is rendered by [R5] in the TT; i.e. ST presupposing item is replaced by the personal reference item ‘they’ in the TT.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the lexical item [‘abiyd <slaves>] in clause (15), which is a direct repetition of the lexical item [‘abiyd <slaves>] expressed in the preceding clause, is omitted in the TT.

3. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the NP [ha:dhih l-‘ilaqa:t l-’iqtiSa:diya l-kha:m <these pure economic relations>] in clause (16)- which coheres with the definite article [ha:dhih l-‘ilaqa:t <these relations>] in clause (13), is reduced in the TT by omission.

Example 6:

AST1: SEII<E6<(17) & [(18-19)]:	(17)\wa l-tha:ni: huwa ’anna ‘abi:d l-nifT ’anfusahum la:-yaTma‘u:n wa la:-yarghabu:n fi: ’an yal‘abu: ’aya dawr fi: l-ta’athi:r ‘ala: l-siyasa:t l-’amri:ki:ya,/ [Clauses: (18-19): (18)\Hata: wa-law fi: shay’-in yata‘allaq-u bi-’aqdas *muqadasa:tihu:m*,/(19)\(*wa* na‘ni: *muqadasa:tihu:m l-di:ni:ya*, wa-laysat *l-du:lara:t*)./]

[Lit. clauses (17)-(18-19): (17)\and the second is that ‘oil slaves themselves’ are not <state of being extremely eager to do something> and they do not have the desire to play any role to affect the American policy/(18)\even if it is related to a thing pertaining to *their most sacred holiness*/(19)*we mean their religious holiness, not the dollars*/]

ETT1: SEII<E6<(10) & (11):	(10)\and the second is that oil slaves themselves do not want to play a role in order to affect the American policies/ (11)\even if it is related to their most sacred religious sanctity./

In the above excerpts, TT modifies the structure of the ST by omitting one of the ST constructions, i.e. the commentary clause, (19); consequently, the following shifts have occurred:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C1]- signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>], which links clause (19) with the preceding one, is omitted.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the NP [muqadasa:tihu:m <their religious holiness>] in clause (19), which is a direct repetition of the same NP expressed in the preceding clause, is omitted in the TT.

Example 7:]

AST1: SEIII<E7<[(20-21)] & (22):	[Clauses (20-21): (20)\wa 'idha: ka:na huna:ka man yaZun-u 'anna al-maSa:liH al-'amri:yki:ya fi:y al-manTiqa yumkin-u 'an tata'athar/(21)\ *'indama:* tu:wa:Sil-u wa:shinTu:wn da'maha: li-'a'ma:l al-qatl al-yawmi:yah lil-'abri:ya:',/] (22)\ *fa*-qad thabata, Hatta: al-'a:na 'ala: al-'aqal, <'inna ba'aD l-Zan 'ithm>./

[Lit. clauses (20-21)-(22): (20)\and if there is any one who thinks that the American interests in the region can be affected/(21)*when* Washington continues its support to the daily killing operations of the innocents/(22)*then* it has been proved, until now at least, "that some doubts are sinful"/]

ETT1: SEIII<E7<(12):	(12)\If some people think that the American interests in the region can be affected by Washington's insistence to support the daily killing operations,/

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred on the part of the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C4]- signalled by the temporal conjunction ['indama: <when>], which links clause (19) with the preceding one, is omitted in the TT.

2. ST conjunctive relation [C3]- 'condition-consequent', signalled by the explicit conjunction [fa <then>], which links clause (22) with the preceding construction, is omitted in the TT.

Example 8:

AST1: SEIII<E8<(23) & (24):	(23)\fa-*l-Huku:wma:t al-'arabi:ya* al-lati:y 'iktafat bi-taqdi:ym d-da'am al-kala:mi:y lil-qaDia al-filisTi:yni:ya (ma'a Hifnat du:wlara:t la:-tughni:y wa-la: tusmin), 'athbatat 'annaha: 'a'jaz min 'an tushakil qu:wat DaghT/ (24)\ *wa* 'ann*aha:* la: tajr'u: 'ala: raf' 'aSwa:t al-'iHtija:j Did-a s-siya:sa al-amri:yki:ya l-ra:hina./

[Lit. clauses (23)-(24): (23)\as the Arab governments which are satisfied with the verbal support to the Palestinian cause (with a handful of dollars that do not satisfy nor feed), are more disable than forming a pressure force/(24)*and* they do not dear to raise the voices of protest against the current American policies/]

ETT1: SEIII<E8<(13):	(13)\it is proved, at least until now, that the Arab governments, which are satisfied with verbal support, are more disable than being a pressure force or raising the voices of protest against the American policy./

In the above excerpts, TT modifies ST structure by incorporating two independent clauses by a construction of a single clause-sentence with several embedded elements; consequently, the following shifts have occurred on the part of the English version:

1. ST cohesive relation [R4]- signalled by the pronominal reference ['anna(-ha:) <they>] in clause (24), which presupposes the reference item [al-Huku:wma:t al-'arabi:ya <the Arab governments>] in the preceding clause, is omitted in the TT.

2. ST conjunctive relation [C1]- signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>], which links clause (24) with the preceding one, is omitted in the TT.

Example 9:

AST1: SEIII<E9<[(25-28)]:	[Clauses (25-28): (25)\wa lam yakun Sa'b-an 'ala: *wa:shinTu:wn* 'an tastaw'ib al-Haqi:yqa al-qa:'ila 'anna d-duwal al-'arabi:ya la:- tatabana: 'istiraji:ya wa:Hida Hi:ya:l al-qaDi:ya al-filisTi:yni:ya,/(26)*wa* la:- tataHadath-u bi-Sawt wa:Hid,/(27)*wa* lam tukhaTiT lil-qi:ya:m bi-'amal-in 'iHtija:ji:-in wa:Hid,/(28)*wa* la:- tanwi:y 'itikha:dh 'ijra:'i:-n 'amali:y-n wa:Hid-in Dida al-maSa:liH al-'amri:yki:ya,/]

[Lit. clauses (25-28): (25)\and it was not difficult for *Washington* to understand the fact [that] Arab countries do not adopt a single strategy towards the Palestinian cause/(26)\and (they) do not speak in one voice.../(27)\and they do not plan to undertake a single protest measure/(28)\ and (they) do not intend to undertake a single action against *the American interests*/]

ETT1: SEIII<E9<(14):	(14)\It is not difficult for Washington to get the fact that the Arab countries lack consensus in relation to the Palestinian cause or even in speaking in one voice to protest against its policy or in taking one practical measure against its interests./

In the above excerpts, TT modifies the structure of the ST by incorporating ST string of four concessive independent clauses, clauses (25-28), by a construction of a single clause-sentence with several embedded elements; consequently, the following shifts have occurred on the part of the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relations [C1]- signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>], which links the group of clauses, (26) to (28), with the preceding clause, is omitted in the TT.

2. ST cohesive relation [R1.1]- signalled by the possessive proper name NP [al-maSa:liH al-'amri:ki:ya <the American interests>] in clause (28) which anaphorically refers to the referent item [wa:shinTu:wn <Washington>] in clause (25), is rendered in the TT by [R1.2], i.e. TT uses the possessive personal pronominal NP 'its interests'.

3. ST conjunctive relations [C1]- signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>], which links clause (27) with the preceding one, is omitted in the TT.

4. ST conjunctive relations [C1]- signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>], which links clause (28) with the preceding one, is omitted in the TT.

Example 10:

AST1: SEIII<E10<(29) & (30):	(29)*wa bil-ta:li:y* fa-'inna sh-shayy'a T-Tabi:y'i:y huwa 'an tumsik *al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida* bil-Habl min Tarafah s-sa:'ib/ (30)*li-tanHa:z* faqaT lil-Taraf al-ladhi:y 'i'ta:dat al-'inHiya:z 'ilyyh./

[Lit. clauses (29)-(30): (29)\and consequently, the natural thing is that the United States grasps the rope from its loss end/(30)*to* (it) line up only to the party to whom it used to side with/]

ETT1: SEIII<E10<(15):	(15)\So, the natural thing is that America takes the side of the traditional ally regardless of the other side of the rope./

In the above excerpts, ST construction of two independent clauses is rendered in the TT by a construction of one single clause-sentence with embedded elements; consequently, the following shifts have occurred on the part of the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C3]- signalled by the conjunction [li: <in order to>] in clause (30), which links it with the preceding one, is omitted in the TT.

2. ST cohesive relation [R4]- signalled by the personal pronominal reference item, i.e. the concealed feminine pronoun in the verb, [tanHa:z <it-lines>] in clause (30), which presupposes the definite article NP [al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida <the United States> in the preceding clause, is reduced in the TT by omission.

Example 11:

AST1: SEIV<E11<(33) & (34):	(33)\'isra:'i:yl laysat Hiya *al-'adu:w* l-waHi:yd lil-filisTi:yni:yyn,/ (34)\∅ al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida Hiya *al-'adu:w* al-'a:khar, 'in lam taku:n Hiya al-'adu:w l-'ahamm./

[Lit. clauses (33)-(34): (33)\Israel is not the only Palestinians *enemy*/(34)\∅ (the) United States is *the other enemy*, if not (she) is the most important enemy/]

ETT1: SEIV<E11<(18) & (19):	(18)\Israel is not the only *enemy* of the Palestinians/ (19)*but* America is *the other one*, not to say more important./

In the above excerpts, the following instances of shifts have occurred in the English version:

1. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the definite article NP [al-'adu:w <the enemy>] in clause (32), which is a direct repetition of the same definite article NP [al-'adu:w <the enemy>] in the preceding clause, is rendered by [S1]; that is ST presupposing item is substituted by the general lexical item 'one' in the TT.

2. TT establishes explicitly the conjunctive relation [C2] by inserting the adversative conjunction 'but' in clause (19), which links it with the preceding one, whereas ST uses no explicit conjunction.

Example 12:

AST1: SEIV<E12<(35) & (36):	(35)\ fa-min du:wn da'am *al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida*, ma: ka:nat 'isra:'i:yl li-tajru:w'-u 'ala: t-tanSul min kulli 'iltizama:tuha: al-muta'aliqa bi-'amali:yat s-sala:m./ (36)*wa* min du:wn tawa:Tu:' *al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida,* ma: ka:nat 'isra:'i:yl li-tajru:'-u 'ala: 'irtika:b kull ha:dha: al-qadra min al-jara:'im al-yawmi:ya./

[Lit. clauses (35)-(36): (35)\hence without the support of *the United States*, Israel would not have to disregard its …./(36)*and* without the collaboration of *the United States*, Israel would not have dear to commit all of this amount of the daily crimes/]

ETT1: SEIV<E12<(20) & (21):	(20)*Without its support*, Israel would not have dared to disregard its peace commitments./ (21)\∅ *Without its collaboration*, Israel would not have dared to commit such a deal of daily crimes./

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred on the part of the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C1]- signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in clause (34), which links it with the preceding one, is substituted in the TT by structural parallelism, i.e. the repetition of the structure unit in clause (21), 'Without its collaboration'.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the definite article NP [al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida <the United States>] in clause (33), which is a direct repletion of the same

definite article NP expressed in the preceding clause, is rendered in the TT as [R1.2]; TT uses the possessive pronoun 'its'.

Example 13:

AST1: SEV<E14<(40) & [(41-42)]:	(40)\'isra:'i:yl hiya al-binduqi:ya,/ [Clauses: (41-42): (41)*wa- la:kin al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida* hiya al-yad al-lati:y taZghaT 'ala: al-zina:d/(42)*li-taqtul al-'aTfa:l al-filisTi:yni:yyn./*]

[Lit. clauses (40)-(41-42): (40)\Israel is the rifle/(41)\but the United States is the hand which presses on the trigger/(42)*to kill [-she] the Palestinians children*/]

ETT1: SEV<E14<(25) & (26):	(25)\Israel is the gun/ (26)*while* America is the hand which presses the trigger *to kill the Palestinian children./*

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred on the part of the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C2]- signalled by the more emphatic conjunction, i.e. the compound conjunction [wa + la:kin <and +but >] in clause (41), which links it with the preceding one, is rendered in the TT by a less emphatic conjunction, 'while'.

2. ST conjunctive relation [C2]- signalled by the conjunction [li: <to>] in clause (42), which links it with the preceding one, is omitted in the TT.

3. ST cohesive relation [R4]- signalled by the personal pronominal reference, i.e. the concealed feminine pronoun affixed in the verb [taqtul <she-kills>] in clause (42), which presupposes the definite article NP [al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida <the United States>] in the preceding clause, is reduced in the TT by omission.

Example 14:

AST1: SEV<E15<(47) & (48):	(47)\wa min al-wa:jib Haml al-'ilaqa:t ma'a al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida 'ala: maHmal al-'ilaqa:t ma'a *'adu:w/* (48)\li-'annaha: bi-basa:Ta, hiya *al- 'adu:w* al-Haqi:yqi:y./

[Lit. clauses (47)-(48): (47)\and it is necessary to consider the relation with the United States as a relation with an enemy/(48)\because it, simply, is the real enemy/]

ETT1: SEV<E15<(31) & (32):	(31)\We must classify the relation with America as that with the *enemy/* (32)\simply because it is the real *one./*

In the above excerpts, ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the lexical item [‘adu:w <enemy>] in clause (48), which is a direct repetition of the lexical item [‘adu:w <enemy>] in the preceding clause, is rendered in the TT by [S1]; TT presupposing lexical item is replaced by the substitute ‘one’ in the TT.

1.2. Shifts at L2

Example 15:

AST1: SEI<E1 & E2:	[E1<(1-2): (1)\’idha: ka:na lada: al-ba‘D-u ’ayya ’amal-in fi:y ’an taku:wn *’ida:rat al-ra’i:ys ju:rj dablyu:w bu:sh* ’aqal ’inHi:ya:z-an li-’isra:’i:yl min ’ida:rat al-ra’i:ys byl kilintu:wn…./] [E2<(3-5): (5): (3)\‘indama: ’aZharat *ha:dhihi al-’ida:ra* ’annaha: la: taktafi:y bi-tabani:y l-mawqif al-’isra:’i:yli:y min mufa:waDa:t s-sala:m…./]

[Lit. E1<(1-2): (1)\If someone has any hope that *the administration of President Gorge W. Bush* would be less baize to Israel than the administration of President Bill Clinton…./ E2<(3-5): (3)\when *this administration* made it clear that it does not only adopt the Israeli’s position on the peace negotiation…/]

ETT1: SEI<E1 & E2:	[E1<(1-2): (1)\If some people have any hope that *Bush’s administration* will be less biased to Israel than the Clinton’s one,/(2)\this hope vanishes in the thin air/] [E2<(3-4): (3)\when *it* insists not only to adopt the Israeli situation in the peace negotiations …./]

In the above excerpts, ST cohesive relation [R3]- signalled by the demonstrative NP [ha:dhih al-’ida:ra <this administration>] in E2, which presupposes the lexical item [’ida:ra < administration>] in the NP [’ida:rat-i al-ra’i:ys …bu:sh <the administration of President Bush>] in the preceding unite, is rendered in the TT by [R5]. That is ST presupposing item, i.e. the demonstrative NP [ha:dhih al-’ida:ra <this administration>], is replaced by the pronominal personal reference item ‘it’ in the TT.

Example 16:

AST1: SEI<E2 & E3:	[E2<(3-5): (3)\‘indama: ’aZharat *ha:dhihi al-’ida:ra* ’annaha: la: taktafi: bi-tabanni:y al-mawqif al-’isra:’i:yli:y min mufa:waDa:t s-sala:m fa-Hasb…./] [E3<(6-10): (6)*wa fi:y Hi:yn* wajjaha l-bayt l-’abyaD al-da‘wa li-mujrim al-Harb ’arya:l sha:ru:wn…/(8)\fa-qad ’imtana‘at *al-’ida:ra al-’amri:yki:ya* ‘an tawjji:yh da‘wa muma:thila…/]

[Lit. E2<(3-5): (3)\when *this administration* made it clear that it does not only adopt the Israeli's position on the peace negotiation…./ E3<(6-10): (6)*and while* the White House has sent (the) invitation to the war criminal Arial Sharon …./(8)\however, *the American administration* has refrained to send a similar invitation to the Palestinian President Yasir Arafat…./]

ETT1: SEI<E2 & E3:	[E2<(3-4): (3)\when it insists not only to adopt the Israeli situation in the peace negotiations…./] [E3: (5)\∅The American alignment to Israel reaches such an impertinent degree of inviting the war criminal Sharon to the White House and refusing to do the same with the Palestinian President Arafat./

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred on the part of the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C1]- signalled by the more emphatic conjunction- i.e. the compound conjunction: [wa + fi:y Hi:yn <and/while>] in E3, which links it with the preceding unit, is modified in the TT; TT uses no conjunction.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the NP [al-'ida:ra <the administration>] in E3, which is a direct repletion of the same lexical item [ha:dhih al-'ida:ra <this administration>] expressed in the preceding unit, is reduced in the TT by omission.

Example 17:

AST1: SEII<E4 & E5:	[E4<(11-12): (11)\… al-lati:y yatamata'-u biha: <lu:bi: *al-nifT*> yumkin-u 'an tatruk ta'athi:r 'ala: tawajuha:t al-'ida:ra al-jumhu:ri:a,/(12)\fa-'inna al-Haqi:qa al-lati:y tabruz-u al-'a:na hiya 'anna: lu:bi: al-nifT al-'amri:yki:y la:-yanZur-u 'ila: *'ila:qa:tih al-'arabi:ya* bi-waSfiha: …./] [E5<(13-16): (15)\s-sa:da ya'amuru:n, wa 'abi:d *al-nifT* tuTi:'/(16)\wa dha:lika min du:n 'an yaku:wn li-ha:dhihi al-'ila:qa:t <al-'iqtiSa:di:ya *al-kha:m*> 'ayya 'atharun siya:si:y./]

[Lit. E4<(11-12): (11)\and if there is anyone believes that the Arab relations that enjoyed by *oil* lobby…/(12)\then, the fact… the American *oil* lobby…/ E5<(13-16): (15)\the masters instruct and the *oil* slaves obey,/ (16)\…these *pure* economic relations having any political effect…/]

ETT1: SEII<E4 & E5:	[E4<(6-7): (6)\If some people say that the Arab relations which the oil lobby enjoys can affect the attitudes of the Republican administration…/] [E5<(8-9): (9)\and they are no more than a relation between masters and slaves without having any political effect/]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred on the part of the English version:

1. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the lexical item [nifT <oil>] in E5, which is a direct repetition of the lexical item [nifT <oil>] in the preceding unit, is reduced in the TT; TT omits ST presupposing item.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the lexical item [kha:m <pure>] constituting the NP [ha:dhih al-'ila:qa:t al-'iqtiSa:di:ya al-kha:m <these pure commercial relations> in E5, which collocates with the lexical item [nifT <oil>] in the preceding unit, is reduced in the TT; TT omits ST presupposing item.

Example 18:

AST1: SEII<E5 & E6:	[E5<(13-16): (13)\al-'awwal, li-'anna ha:dhihi al-'ila:qa:t laysat mutaka:fi'a…/(15)\s-sa:da ya'amuru:n, wa *'abi:yd al-nifT* tuTi:'/(16)\wa dha:lika min du:n 'an yaku:wn li-ha:dhihi al-'ila:qa:t <*al-'iqtiSa:di:ya* al-kha:m> 'ayya 'atharun siya:si:y/] [E6<(17-19): (17)\wa th-tha:ni:y huwa 'anna *'abi:yd al-nifT* 'anfusahum …./(19)\(wa na'ni:y muqadasa:tihu:m al-di:yni:ya, wa-laysat *al-du:wlara:t*)./]

[Lit. E5<(13-16): (13)\the first, because these relations are not equivalent…/(15)\the masters instruct and *oil slaves* obey,/(16)\and that…*these pure economic relations* having no political effect,/ E6<(17-19): (17)\and the second is that *oil slaves* themselves …/(19)\we mean their religious holiness, not *the dollars*/]

ETT1: SEII<E5 & E6:	[E5<(8-9): (8)\the first is that these relations …/(9)\and they are no more than a relation between masters and *slaves* without having any political effect/] [E6<(10-11): (10)\and the second is that the *oil slaves* themselves do not want to play a role in order to affect the American policies/(11)\even if it is related to their most sacred religious sanctity./]

In the above excerpts, the TT has modified the structure of the ST second unit consisting of a sequence made up of six independent adjacent clauses by rendering it by a construction of two independent clauses; consequently, the following shifts have occurred:

1. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the NP ['abi:yd-u al-nifT <oil slaves>] in E6, which is a direct repetition of the same NP ['abi:yd-u al-nifT <oil slaves>] expressed in the preceding unit, is modified in the TT.

2. ST cohesive relation [L6]- signalled by the definite article NP [al-du:wlara:t <the dollars>] in E6, which coheres with the noun ['iqtiSa:d <economy>] in the preceding unit, is reduced in the TT; i.e. ST presupposing item is omitted in the TT.

Example 19:

AST1: SEIII<E7 & E8:	[E7<(20-22): (20)\wa 'idha: ka:na huna:ka man yaZun-u 'anna al-maSa:liH al-'amri:yki:ya fi:y al-manTiqa yumkin-u …/] [E8<(23-24): (23)*fa*-l-Hu:ku:wma:t al-'arabi:ya al-lati:y …./]

[Lit. E7<(20-22): (20)\and if there is any one who thinks that the American interests in the region …/ E8<(23-24): (23)*then* Arab governments …/]

ETT1: SEIII<E7 & E8:	[E7: (12)\If some people think that the American interests in the region can be affected…./] [E8: (13)\∅ it is proved, at least until now, that the Arab governments, which are. …/]

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C4]- signalled by the explicit conjunction [fa <then>] in E7, which links it with the preceding unit- is implicitly signalled in the TT.

Example 20:

AST1: SEIII<E8 & E9:	[E8<(23-24): (23)\fa-l-Hu:ku:wma:t al-'arabi:ya al-lati:y 'iktafat bi-taqdi:ym d-da'am al-kala:mi:y lil-*qaDi:ya al-filisTi:yni:ya* …/(24)\wa 'annaha: la: tajr'u: 'ala: raf'-i 'aSwa:t al-'iHtija:j Did-a *s-siya:sa al-amri:yki:ya* al-ra:hina./] [E9<(25-28): (25)*wa* lam yakun Sa'b-an …al-qa:'ila 'anna d-duwal al-'arabi:ya la:- tatabana: 'istiraji:ya wa:Hida Hi:ya:l *al-qaDi:ya al-filisTi:yni:ya*…/(28)\wa la:- tanwi:y 'itikha:dh 'ijra:'i-n 'amali:y-un wa:Hid-un Dida *al-maSa:liH al-'amri:yki:ya*,/]

[Lit E8<(23-24): (23)\as the Arab governments which are satisfied with the verbal support to *the Palestinian cause*…./(24)\and they do not dare to raise the voices of protest against the current *American policies*/ E9<(25-28): (25)*and* it was not difficult for Washington …a single strategy towards *the Palestinian cause*…./(28)\and (they) do not intend to undertake a single action against the *American interests*/]

ETT1: SEIII<E8 & E9:	[E8<(13)\it is proved, at least until now, that the Arab governments, which are satisfied with verbal support ∅, are more disable than being a pressure force or raising the voices of protest against *the American policy*./] [E9<(14)\∅ It is not difficult for Washington to get the fact that the Arab countries lack consensus in relation to *the Palestinian cause* or even in speaking in one voice to protest against its policy or in taking one practical measure against *its interests*./]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred on the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C3]- signalled by the vague (general purpose) conjunction [wa <therefore>] in E9, which links it with the preceding one, is reduced in the TT; TT uses no conjunction.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the definite article NP [al-qaDi:ya al-filisTi:ni:ya <the Palestinian cause>] in E9, which is a direct repetition of the same definite article NP in the preceding unit, is reduced in the TT.

3. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the lexical item ['amri:yki:ya <American>]- in E9, which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item ['amri:yki:ya <American>] in the preceding unit, is reduced in the TT. That is, ST presupposing item is replaced by the pronominal reference item 'it' in the TT; i.e. [R5].

Example 21:

AST1: SEIII<E9 & E10:	[E9<(25-28): (25)\wa lam yakun Sa'b-an 'ala: wa:shinTu:wn 'an tastaw'ib al-Haqi:yqa.../] [E10<(29-30): (29)*wa bil-ta:li:y* fa-'inna sh-shay' T-Tabi:'i:y huwa 'an…/]

[Lit. E9<(25-28): (25)\and it was not difficult for Washington to understand the fact …/ E10<(29-30): (29)*and consequently*, the natural thing is that the United States grasps the rope from its loose end…/]

ETT1: SEIII<E9 & E10:	[E9<(14)\It is not difficult for Washington to get the fact…./] [E10<(15)*So*, the natural thing is that…/]

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C3]- signalled by the more emphatic conjunction, i.e. the combined conjunction which is made up of the additive conjunction [wa <and>] and the lexical signal [bil-ta:li:y <consequently>] in E10, which links it with the preceding unit, is signalled in the TT by a less emphatic conjunction, 'so'.

Example 22:

AST1: SEIV<E11 & E12:	[E11<(31-34): (34)*al-wila:ya:t al-muttaHida* Hiya al-'adu: al-'a:khar, 'in lam taku:wn Hiya al-'adu: al-'aham./] [E12<(35-37): (35)*fa*-min du:n da'am *al-wila:ya:t al-muttaHida,* ma: ka:nat 'isra:'i:yl li-tajru:'-u 'ala: t-tanaSul min kulli 'iltizama:tuha: al-muta'aliqa bi-'amali:yat s-sala:m…./]

[Lit. E11<(31-34): (34)*the United States* is the other enemy, if not (she) is the most important enemy/ E12<(35-37): (35)*because*, without the support of *the United States*, Israel would not dear to breach all of its commitments to the peace process…/]

ETT1: SEIV<E11 & E12:	[E11<(17-20): (20)\but *America* is the other one, not to say more important./] [E12<(21-23): (21)\∅Without *its support*, Israel would not have dared to disregard its peace commitments…./]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred on the part of the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C3]- signalled by the explicit conjunction [fa <because>] in E12, which links it with the preceding unit, is implicitly rendered in the TT; TT uses no conjunction.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the NP [al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida <the United States>] in E12, which is a direct repetition of the same definite article NP expressed in the preceding unit, is rendered as [R5]. That is, ST presupposing item- i.e. the definite article NP [al-wila:ya:t al-muttaHida <the United States>]- is replaced by the personal pronominal reference item 'it' in the TT.

Example 23:

AST1: SEV<E14 & E15:	[E14<(40-46): (40)\'isra:'i:yl hiya al-bunduqi:ya …/] [E15<(47-48): (47)*wa* min al-wa:jib Haml al-'ilaqa:t ma'a al-wila:ya:t al-muttaHida 'ala: maHmal al-'ilaqa:t ma'a 'adu: …./]

[Lit. E14<(40-46): (40)\Israel is the rifle…/ E15<(47-48): (47)*consequently* it is a must to consider the relation with the United States as a relation with an enemy…./]

ETT1: SEV<E14 & E15:	E14<(26-31): (26)\Israel is the gun…/ E15<(32-33): (32)\∅We must classify the relation with America as that with the enemy…./]

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C3]- signalled by the vague/ multipurpose conjunction [wa, roughly: 'and' plus 'consequently'] in E15, which links it with the preceding one, is implicitly expressed in the TT; TT uses no conjunction.

1.3. Shifts at L3

Example 24:

AST1: SEI & SEII:	[SEI<E1-E3>: (1)\'idha: ka:na lada: al-ba'D-u 'ayya 'amal-in fi:y 'an taku:wn 'ida:rat al-ra'i:ys ju:rj dablyu:w bu:sh 'aqal 'inHi:ya:z-an li-'isra'i:yl min 'ida:rat al-ra'i:ys byl ki:lintu:wn,/(2)\fa-'inna ha:dha: al-'amala tabadad…/] [SEII<E4-E6>: (11)*wa* 'idha: ka:na huna:ka man yu'awil-u 'ala: 'anna al-'ilaqa:t al-'arabi:ya al-lati:y yatamata'-u biha: <lu:bi: l-nifT> yumkin-u 'an tatruk ta'athi:r 'ala: tawajuha:t al-'ida:ra al-jumhu:wri:ya…/]

[Lit. SEI<E1-E3>: (1)\If someone has any hope that President Gorge W. Bush's administration would be less biased to Israel than that of President Bill Clinton/(2)\then this hope has vanished…./ SEII<E4-E6>: (11)*and* if there is anyone reckons on… Arab relations enjoyed by oil lobby can have an effect on the directions of the Republican administration…./]

ETT1: SEI & SEII:	[SEI<E1-E3>:(1)\If some people have any hope that Bush's administration will be less biased to Israel than the than the Clinton's one,/(2)\this hope vanishes in the thin air…/] [SEII<E4-E6>:(6)\∅ If some people say that the Arab relations which the oil lobby enjoys can affect the attitudes of the Republican administration…./]

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C1] signalled by the explicit conjunction [wa <and>] in SEII, which links it with the preceding unit, is reduced in the TT by the use of an implicit conjunction.

Example 25:

AST1: SEII & SEIII:	[SEII<E4-E6>: (11)*wa* 'idha: ka:na huna:ka man yu'awil-u 'ala: 'anna al-'ilaqa:t al-'arabi:ya al-lati:y yatamata'-u biha: <lu:wbi:y al-nifT> …/(17)\wa th-tha:ni:y huwa …fi:y al-ta'athi:yr 'ala: *s-siya:sa:t al-'amri:yki:ya*…/(19)\(wa na'ni:y muqadasa:tihu:m al-di:yni:ya, wa-laysat *al-du:wlara:t*)./] [SEIII<E7-E10>: (20)*wa* 'idha: ka:na huna:ka man yaZin-u 'anna al-maSa:liH al-'amri:yki:ya fi:y al-manTiqa yumkin-u 'an tata'athar…./(23)\fa-l-Hu:ku:wma:t al-'arabi:ya al-lati:y 'iktafat bi-taqdi:ym d-da'am al-kala:mi:y lil-qaDi:ya al-filisTi:yni:ya (ma'a *Hifnat du:wlara:t* la:-tughni:y wa-la: tusmin), 'athbatat 'annaha: 'a'jaz min 'an tushakil qu:at DaghT…/(28)\wa la:- tanwi:y 'itikha:dh 'ijra:'i:-n 'amali:-n wa:Hid-in Dida *al-maSa:liH al-'amri:yki:ya*…./]

[Lit. SEI1<E4-E6>:(11)*and* if there is anyone reckons on … Arab relations that enjoyed by oil…/(17)\and the second is that… to affect *the American policies*,/(19)\we mean their religious holiness, not *the dollars*/ SEIII<E7-E10>:(20)*and* if there is any one who thinks that the American interests in the region can be affected…./(23)\as the Arab governments which are satisfied with the verbal support to the Palestinian cause (with *a handful of dollars* that do not either satisfy or feed),…./(28)\and (they) do not intend to undertake a single action against *the American interests*…./]

ETT1: SEII & SEIII:	SEII<E4-E6>: (6)\If some people say that the Arab relations which the oil lobby enjoys .../(10)\and the second is that ... to play a role in order to affect *the American policies*/] SEIII<E7-E10>: (12)\∅ If some people think that the American interests in the region can be affected ..../(14)\It is not difficult for Washington to get the fact....in taking one practical measure against *its interests*..../]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred on the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C1] signalled by the explicit conjunction [wa <and>] in SEIII, which links it with the preceding unit, is reduced in the TT by the use of an implicit conjunction [or Ø-conjunction].

2. ST cohesive relation [L1] signalled by the lexical item [du:wlara:t <dollars>] in SEIII, which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item [du:wlara:t<dollars>] expressed earlier in the preceding unit, is reduced in the TT by the omission of ST presupposing item.

3. ST cohesive relation [L1] signalled by the NP [al-maSa:liH al-'amri:yki:ya <the American interests>] in SEIII, which is a direct repetition of the proper name ['amri:ki:ya] in the NP [s-siyasa:t al-'amri:yki:ya <the American policies], in the preceding SE, is reduced in the TT by rendering ST presupposing item by the possessive personal pronoun 'its interests'.

Example 26:

AST1: SEIII & SEIV:	[SEIII<E7-E10>: (23)\fa-l-Hu:ku:wma:t al-'arabi:ya al-lati:y 'iktafat bi-taqdi:ym d-da'am al-kala:mi:y *lil-qaDia al-filisTi:yni:ya* (ma'a Hifnat du:wlara:t la:-tughni:y wa-la: tusmin), 'athbatat 'annaha: 'a'jaz min 'an tushakil qu:at DaghT.../(29)\wa bil-ta:li:y fa-'inna sh-shyy'a T-Tabi:'i: huwa 'an tumsik *al-wilaya:t l-muttaHida* bil-Habl min Tarafah s-sa:'ib.../] [SEIV<E11-E12>: (33)\'isra'i:yl laysat Hiya al-'adu:w al-waHi:yd *lil-filisTi:yni:yyn*.../(35)\ fa-min du:n *da'am al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida*, ma: ka:nat 'isra'i:yl li-tajru:'-u 'ala: t-tanSul min kulli 'iltizama:tuha: al-muta'aliqa bi-'amali:yat s-sala:m.../]

[Lit. SEIII<E7-E10>:(23)\as the Arab governments which are satisfied with the verbal support to *the Palestinian cause*.../(29)\and consequently, the natural thing is that *United States* grasps the rope from its loss end..../ SEIV<E11-E12>:(33)\Israel is not the only *Palestinians* enemy.../(35)\hence without the support of the United States, Israel would not have to disregard its..../]

ETT1: SEIII & SEIV:	[SEIII<E7-E10>: (15)\So, the natural thing is that *America* takes the side of the traditional ally regardless of the other side of the rope./] [SEIV<E11-E12>: (18)\Israel is not the only enemy of the *Palestinians*/(19)\but America is the other one, not to say more important./(20)\Without *its support*, Israel would not have dared to disregard its peace commitments..../]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred on the English version:

1. ST cohesive relation [L1] signalled by the NP [lil-filisTi:yni:yyn <the Palestinians>] in SEIV, which is a direct repetition of the proper noun [filisTi:yni:yyn <Palestinians>] in the preceding unit, is eliminated in the TT by the omission of ST presupposed item.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1] signalled by the NP [da'amm al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida < United States support>] in SEIV, which is a direct repetition of the NP [al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida <the United States>] in the preceding unit, is reduced in the TT by rendering ST presupposing item by the possessive personal pronoun 'its supports'.

Example 27:

AST1: SEIV & SEV:	SEIV<E11-E12>: (33)\'isra'i:yl laysat Hiya al-'adu:w al-waHi:yd lil-filisTi:yni:yyn,/(34)\al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida *Hiya al-'adu:w al-'a:khar*, 'in lam taku:wn Hiya al-'adu:w al-'aham …/] SEV<E13-E15>: (38)\fi:y l-Haqi:yqa, al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida hiya al-mas'u:wl al-'awal wa al-muba:shir 'an kulla ma: yajri:y fi:y al-manTiqa…/(47)*wa min al-wa:jib* Haml al-'ila:qa:t ma'a al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida 'ala: maHmal al-'ila:qa:t ma'a 'adu:w/(48)\li-'annaha: bi-basa:Ta, *hiya al-'adu:w al-Haqi:yqi:y:*/]

[Lit. SEIV<E11-E12>:(33)\Israel is not the only Palestinians enemy/(34)\United States is *the other enemy*…/ SEV<E13-E15>:(38)\in fact, *United States* is the first and direct responsible for what is happening in the region…./(47)*and therefore*, it is a must to consider the relation with United States as a relation with an enemy/(48)\because *it is, simply, the real enemy.*/]

ETT1: SEIV & SEV:	SEIV<E11-E12>: (18)\Israel is not the only enemy of the Palestinians/(19)\but America is *the other one*, not to say more important./] SEV<E13-E15>: (23)\In fact, America is the first and direct responsible for what is happening in the region…/(31)\∅We must classify the relation with America as that with the enemy/(32)\simply because *it is the real one.*/]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred:

1. ST cohesive relation [L1], signalled by the lexical item ['adu:w <enemy>] in SEIV, which is a direct repetition of the same lexical in the preceding unit, is modified in the TT by rendering ST presupposing item by the general lexical item 'one'.

2. ST conjunctive relation [C3], signalled by the general-purpose conjunction [wa, roughly: <and therefore>] in SEV, which relates it to the preceding one, is implicitly signalled in the TT.

3. ST cohesive relation [L1] signalled by the definite article NP [al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida <the United states>] in SEV, which is a direct repetition of the same identity, i.e. the definite article NP [al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida <the United states>] in the preceding unit, is modified in the TT by rendering ST presupposing NP, [al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida <the United states>], by the general lexical item 'America'.

4. ST cohesive relation [L1] signalled by the definite article NP [al-'adu:w <the enemy>] in SEV, which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding unit, is reduced in the TT.

2. Shifts in ETT2

The comparative analysis of the pair of texts, AST2 and ETT2 in terms of cohesive relations bonding their various units, has revealed significant shifts on the part of the English version. The various shifts on ETT2 are discussed under the following sub-headings:

2.1. Shifts at L1

Example 28:

AST2: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\al-'a:lam *'ajma'* 'istanka:r al-jari:yma al-lati:y wa:jahatha: 'amri:yka/ (2)*wa* 'ala: ha:mish al-'istinka:r *al-jama:'i:y* barazat 'as'ila/

[Lit. clauses (1)-(2): (1)\the *entire* world condemned the crime that America had faced/(2)\and on the margin of the *inclusive* condemnation some questions been raised/]

ETT2: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\The *whole world* has condemned the crime to which America was subjected./ (2)*But* on the sidelines of the *universal* condemnation there appeared a number of questions/

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred on the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C2]- signalled by the less explicit conjunction, i.e. vague/general purpose, [wa <and>] in clause (2), which links it to the preceding one, is modified in the TT by using the more explicit adversative conjunction 'but'.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the lexical item [jama:'i:y <universal>]in clause (2), which coheres with the lexical item ['ajma <whole>] in clause (1), is modified in the TT. That is, TT substitutes the ST presupposing item- [jama:'i:y <universal>]- by the

adjective 'universal', which has a synonymy relation with the lexical item 'whole' in the preceding clause.

Example 29:

AST2: SEI<E1<(2) & [(3-4)]:	(2)\wa 'ala: ha:mish al-'istinka:r al-jama:'i: barazat 'as'ila/ [Clauses:(3)-(4):(3)*wa* suliTat al-'aDwa:' 'ala: Haqa:'iq/ (4)\minha:'anna 'amri:yka sa:hamat fi:y wila:dat al-'irha:b,/]

[Lit. clauses (2)-(3-4): (2)\and on the margin of the mutual condemnation some questions were raised/(3)*and* lights had been focused on some facts/(4)\including that America herself participated in giving birth to terrorism./]

ETT2: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(2)\But on the sidelines of the Universal condemnation there appeared a number of questions/ (3)*that* highlighted certain facts including America's role in giving birth to terrorism./

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C1]- signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in clause (3), which links it to the preceding one, is modified in the TT; TT establishes a structural relation between the two units through using the relative pronoun 'that'.

Example 30:

AST2: SEI<E1<(5) & (6):	(5)\wa ha:hi:y tasti:yqiZ li-ghaflatiha: wa ghuru:wriha:/ (6)*b'ada* 'an waqa'at al-jari:yma taHta 'anZa:r 'ajhizatiha: al-'istikhba:ri:ya wa al-'amni:ya/]

[Lit. clauses (5)-(6): (5)\and there she has waken up from her carelessness and arrogance/(6)*after* the crime has occurred under the vision of her intelligence and security agencies/]

ETT2: SEI<E1<(43):	(4)\It is hoped that she has waken up from her carelessness and arrogance having seen that crime was committed under the nose of her intelligence and security services./

In the above excerpts, TT modifies the structure of the ST by incorporating the string of two independent clauses in a single-clause sentence with embedded elements; consequently, ST conjunctive relation [C5]- signalled by the temporal conjunctive [ba'da <after>] in clause (6), which links it with the preceding one- is eliminated in the TT.

Example 31:

AST2: SEI<E1<[(3-4)] & [(5-6)]:	[Clauses (3)-(4): (3)\wa suliTat al-'aDwa:' 'ala: Haqa:'iq/ (4)\minha:'anna 'amri:yka sa:hamat fi:y wila:dat al-'irha:b,/] [Clauses (5)-(6): (5)*wa* ha:hi:y tasti:yqiZ li-ghaflatiha: wa ghuru:wriha:/(6)\b'ada 'an waqa'at al-jari:yma taHta 'anZa:r 'ajhizatiha: al-'istikhba:ri:ya wa al-'amni:ya/]

[Lit clauses (3-4)-(5-6): (3)\and lights had been focused on some facts/(4)\including that America had contributed in giving birth to terrorism/(5)*and* there she has waken up from her carelessness and arrogance/(6)\after the crime has occurred under the vision of her intelligence and security agencies/]

ETT2: SEI<E1<(3) & (4):	(3)\that highlighted certain facts including America's role in giving birth to terrorism./ (4)\Ø It is hoped that she has waken up from her carelessness and arrogance having seen that crime was committed under the nose of her intelligence and security services./

In the above excerpts, TT modifies the structure of the ST by incorporating the string of two independent clauses in a single-clause sentence with embedded elements; consequently, the following instances of shifts have occurred:

1. ST explicit conjunctive relation [C1]- signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>], which links clause (4) to the preceding one - is modified in the TT; i.e. TT uses no conjunction in relating the same two units.

2. ST cohesive relation [C4]- signalled by the temporal conjunction [ba'da <after>], which links clause (6) to the preceding one - is omitted in the TT.

Example 32:

AST2: SEII<E2<(10) & (11):	(10)\ al-lati:y tasabbabat fi:y mawt al-mala:yi:yn min *al-bashar* / ((11)*wa* dafa'at jama'a:t min *al-bashar* 'ila: al-y'as fa-l'irha:b al-'a'ma:/

[Lit. clauses (10)-(11): (10)\that (it) has caused the death of millions of *people*/(11)*and* it has brought despair on groups of *people*, then, to blind terrorism/]

ETT2: SEII<E2<(8):	(8)\which has caused the death of millions of people and have brought despair, and consequently blind terrorism to many groups./

In the above excerpts, TT modifies the structure of the ST by incorporating the string of two independent clauses in a single clause sentence with embedded elements; consequently, the following instances of shifts have occurred:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C1]- signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in clause (11), which links it with the preceding one, is omitted in the ST.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the lexical item [bashar <people>] in clause (11), which is a direct repletion of the same lexical item in the preceding one, is eliminated in the TT.

Example 33:

AST2: SEII<E3<(12) & (13):	(12)\siyasa:t Huku:wma:t 'amri:yki:ya al-muta'a:qiba taftaqid 'ila: al-'adl/ (13)*wa*-la: tahtamm siwa: bi-maSa:liHiha: 'ala: Hisa:b Huqu:q al-'a:khari:yn../

[Lit. clauses (12)-(13): (12)\The policies of the successive American governments lack justice/(13)*as* they are interested on nothing but their own interests regardless to the others/]

ETT2: SEII<E3<(9) & (10):	(9)\The policies of successive American administrations are lacking in justice./ (10)\Ø They only put their interests above the rights of others./

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C3]- signalled by the vague/multipurpose conjunction [wa, roughly: <as>] in clause (13), which links it with the preceding one, is modified in the TT; i.e. TT uses no conjunction.

Example 34:

AST2: SEII<E3<(14) & (15):	(14)*hiya* ba'i:da 'an wa:qi' sh-shu'u:wb/ (15)\'idh tataHa:laf ma'a al-Huka:m al-munafidhi:yn li-*'ira:datiha:*/

[Lit. clauses (14)-(15): (14)\they (i.e. American policies) are distant from the realities of nations/(15)\as they are allied to the rulers who carry out their will/]

ETT2: SEII<E3<(11) & [(12-13)]:	(11)*Those policies* are distant from realities of nations/ [Clauses (12-13): (12)\as they are allied to the lucky rulers,/(13)\who carry out *America's will/*]

In the above excerpts, ST cohesive relation [R2]- signalled by the possessive personal pronominal NP ['ira:datiha: <her will>] in clause (15), which refers anaphorically to the identity [hiya <she>] earlier mentioned in the preceding clause, is modified in the TT. That is, TT establishes the cohesive relation [R1] by rendering ST presupposing item by the possessive proper name NP 'America's will'.

Example 35:

AST2: SEII<E3<(15) & (16):	(15)\'idh tataHa:laf ma'a al-Huka:m al-munafidhi:yn li-'ira:datiha:/ (16)*wa* tad'amahum fi:y qam'ihim li-shu'u:wbihim raghma ma:-tarfa'ahu min shi'a:ra:t Huqu:wq al-'insa:n../

[Lit. clauses (15)-(16): (15)\as they are allied to the rulers who carry out her will/(16)*and* she supports them in suppression of their own people…./]

ETT2: SEII<E3<[(12-13)] & (14):	[Clauses (12)-(13): (12)\as they are allied to the lucky rulers,/(13)\who carry out America's will/] (14)*and in return* receive support in their suppression of their people in spite of all the banners of human rights held by America/

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C1]- signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in clause (16), which links it with the preceding one, is modified in the TT. That is, TT establishes the conjunctive relation [C3] in linking the two units by inserting the phrase 'and in return'- constituting of the additive conjunction 'and' plus the lexical signal 'in return', which explicitly conveys a result relation between the two units.

Example 36:

AST2: SEII<E4<(18) & (19):	(18)\wa raghma 'i'la:n 'amri:yka bi-'anna huna:lika mi'at wa thalathi:n munaZama fi: 'anHa:' al-'a:lam ta'tabiruha: 'amri:ki:ya 'irha:bi:ya/ (19)*'illa 'anna mas'u:wli:yha:* wa nu:wa:biha: wa 'i'la:miha: Ha:walu: mindhu d-daqa:'iq al-'u:wla: li-wuqu:' al-jari:yma 'ilSa:quha: bil-'arab wa al-muslimi:yn,/

[Lit. clauses (18)-(19): (18)\and despite the America's declaration of the existence of about one hundred organizations all over the world- classified by America as terrorist [groups]/(19)*however, here officials*, (and) its members of parliament, and its media-men have attempted from the first instant of the occurrence of the crime…/]

ETT2: SEII<E4<(16) & (17):	(16)\Though *America* has announced that there are all over the world some 130 organizations whom she considers as terrorists,/ (17)\∅ the fact remains that *US officials*, congressmen and media have attempted from the first instant of the occurrence of the crime…/

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C2]- explicitly signalled by the adversative conjunction ['ila: 'anna <yet>] in clause (19), which links it with the preceding clause, is modified in the TT; i.e. TT uses no conjunction.

2. ST cohesive relation [R2]- signalled by the possessive pronominal reference NP [mas'u:wli:yha: <her officials>] in clause (19), which anaphorically refers back to the

identity ['amari:ka: <America>] established earlier in the preceding clause, is modified in the TT. That is, ST presupposing item is rendered by the possessive proper name NP 'US officials' in the TT.

Example 37:

AST2: SEII<E4<[(18-19)] & (20):	[Clauses (18-19): (19)\'illa 'anna mas'u:wli:yha: … Ha:walu: mindhu d-daqa:'iq al-'u:wla: li-wuqu:' al-jari:yma *'ilSa:quha:* bil-'arab wa al-muslimi:yn,/] (20)\wa ma'a wuru:wd 'asma:' 'arabi:ya 'aw 'isla:mi:ya … taHawal al-*'ilSa:q* 'ila: yaqi:n du:wna 'ayat 'adilla./

[Lit. clauses (18-19)-(20): (19)\however, her officials…have attempted from the first instant of the occurrence of the crime [expression of laying the blame on some one] Arabs and Muslims/(20)\And as some Arabs or Muslims names…the [*accusation*] has became an established fact without proof./]

ETT2: SEII<E4<[(16-17)] & (18):	[Clauses (16-17): (17)\the fact remains that US officials…have attempted from the first instant of the occurrence of the crime to *stick* the culpability onto Arabs and Muslims./] (18)\And as some Arabs or Muslims names… *the "framing"* was transformed "dead certainty"./

In the above excerpts, ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the lexical item ['ilSa:q <accusation>] in clause (20), which is a direct repetition of the lexical item ['ilSa:q <allegation>] in the preceding clause, is reduced in the TT.

Example 38:

AST2: SEIII<E6<(25) & (26):	(25)\al-ladhi:y taTawar-a wa tasha'ab-a li-yatim taSdi:yr al-muta'aSSibi:yn taHta: shi'a:r al-'isla:m 'ila: duwal 'adi:yda,/ (26)*wa* ma:- Hadath fi:y miSr wa yaHduth fi:y al-jaza:'ir ma:thil-un lil-'adhha:n…/

[Lit. clauses (25)-(26): (25)\which had grown and developed to the extent of exporting fanatics to many countries under the banner of Islam./(26)*and* what happened in Egypt and is still happening in Algeria are reminders of that.../]

ETT2: SEIII<E6<(23) & (24):	(23)\which had grown to the extent of exporting fanatics to many countries under the banner of Islam./ (24)\∅ What happened in Egypt and is still happening in Algeria are reminders of that.../

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C1]- explicitly signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in clause (26), which links it with the preceding one, is modified in the TT. TT relates clause (24) to the preceding one using no conjunction.

Example 39:

AST2: SEIII<E6<(29) & (30):	(29)\wa tar‘a: biri:yTa:nya: qanawa:tihum wa SuHufihum…/ (30)\wa al-Hadi:th yaTu:wl ‘an Hima:yat ’amri:yka wa duwal ’u:wru:wbi:ya li-qi:a:da:t tillka al-jama‘a:t!/

[Lit. clauses (29)-(30): (29)\and Britain allows them to have TV channels and publications./(30)\(and not to mention) the protection given by America and other European countries to the leaders of such groups/]

ETT2: SEIII<E6<(27) & (28):	(27)\and Britain allows them to have TV channels and publications./ (28)\∅The protection given by America and other European countries to the leaders of such groups is a long story./

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C1]- explicitly signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in clause (30), which links it with the preceding one, is implicitly expressed in the TT; i.e. TT uses no conjunction.

Example 40:

AST2: SEIV<E7<[(31-32)] & (33):	[Clauses (31-32): (31)\’al-’a:na ’amri:yka tandafi‘ li-tukarir ’akhTa:’uha: taHta: waT’at Z-Zarf/(32)\al-ladhi:y yuHatim ‘ala: al-’ida:ra al-’amri:yki:ya ’irDa:’ *sha‘baha:* bi-‘amal ‘askari:y/] (33)*ba‘da* ’an *shaHanahu* al-’i‘la:m bi-da‘awa:t th-tha’r wa al-’intiqa:m…/

[Lit. clauses (31-32)-(33): (31)\Now, America is set to repeat her errors under compulsion of recent events,/(32)\that forces the American administration to please *here people* by taking military action/(33)*after they* have been urged to do so by calls of the media for revenge…/]

ETT2: SEIV<E7<(29) & (30):	(29)\America now is set to compound her errors,/ (30)*as* the Administration is under compulsion of recent events to give satisfaction to the American people by taking military action having been urged to do so by calls of the media for revenge /

In the above excerpts, TT modifies ST construction made up of a string of three adjacent independent clauses; consequently, the following shifts have occurred in the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C4]- explicitly signalled by the temporal conjunction [ba‘da <after>] in clause (33), which links it with the preceding construction, is eliminated in the TT.

2. ST cohesive relation [R4]- signalled by the personal pronominal reference item, i.e. the plural pronoun [hu <it>] suffixed to the verb [shaHana(-hu)] in clause (33), which anaphorically refers to the identity [sha'b <people>] established earlier in the preceding clause, is reduced in the TT.

Example 41:

AST2: SEIV<E7<[(31-32)] & [(33-35)]:	[Clauses (31-32): (31)\'al-'a:na 'amri:yka: tandafi' li-tukarir 'akhTa:'uha: taHta waT'at Z-Zarf/(32)\al-ladhi:y yuHatim 'ala: al-'ida:ra al-'amri:yki:ya 'irDa:' sha'baha: bi-'amal 'askari:y…/] [Clauses (33-35): (34)*wa*-la:-shaka 'anna munafidhi:y al-jari:yma yastaHiqu:wn al-'iqa:b…/]

[Lit. clauses (31-32)-(33-35): (31)\Now, America is set to repeat her errors under compulsion of the (recent) event,/(32)\that makes it compulsory for the American administration to please here people by taking a military action …/(33-35)*though*, there is no doubt that the people who committed the crime deserve (the) punishment…/]

ETT2: SEIV<E7<[(29-30)] & [(31-32)]:	[Clauses (29-30): (29)\America now is set to compound her errors,/(30)\as the Administration is under compulsion of recent events to give satisfaction to the American people… /] [Clauses (31-32): (31)\∅ There is no doubt- that the perpetrators of the crime deserve punishment…/]

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C3]- signalled by the less explicit/ vague conjunction [wa, roughly: <though>] in clause (31), which links it with the preceding construction- is modified in the TT; TT uses no conjunction.

Example 42:

AST2: SEIV<E7<(36) & (37):	(36)\wa HariSat *'amri:yka* 'ala: 'an la:-tataHamal mas'u:wli:yat ma:-sataqu:wm bih/ (37)*wa* ha:hi:ya *tuHa:wil* jam' 'adad min duwalina: al-'arabi:ya wa al-'isla:mi:ya/

[Lit. clauses (36)-(37): (36)\ *America* is keen not to bear responsibility of her actions alone/(37)*therefore*, [there she is] trying to gather a number of our Arabs and Islamic states/]

ETT2: SEIV<E7<(33) & (34):	(33)*America* is keen not to bear responsibility of her actions/ (34)*and, therefore* ∅ tries to gather a number of Arabs and Islamic States/

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C1]- signalled by the less explicit [vague/multi purpose] conjunction [wa <therefore>] in clause (37), which links it with the preceding clause, is

modified in the TT. TT explicitly relates clause (34) to the preceding one by the more emphatic conjunction, i.e. the combined conjunction made up of 'and' plus 'therefore'.

2. ST cohesive relation [R5]- signalled by the personal pronominal reference item, i.e. the concealed feminine pronoun [tu] embedded in the verb [tuHa:wil <she tries>] in clause (37), which anaphorically refers to the identity ['amari:yka: <America>] established earlier in the preceding clause, is eliminated in the TT. That is, TT renders ST presupposing item by an elliptical head.

Example 43:

AST2: SEV<E8<(39) & (40):	(39)\nuTa:libukum, 'amri:yka wa al-qiya:da:t al-'u:wru:wbi:ya 'an *tuHakimu:* al-'aql/ (40)*wa* tadrisu: bi-*Hikma* wa tarayuth al-'asba:b, wa li-ma:dha: waladat tillka t-ta'aSSu:ba:t/

[Lit. clauses (39)-(40): (39)\We demand that America and the leaders of Europe to resort to sound *judgment*/(40)*and* to consider *wisely* and thoroughly the causes, and [to consider] why fanaticisms were born/]

ETT2: SEV<E8: (36):	(36)\We demand that the leaders of America and Europe resort to sound judgment and consider the causes wisely and deliberately;/

In the above excerpts, ST construction of two independent adjacent clauses is rendered in the TT by a single-clause sentence; consequently, the following shifts have occurred:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C1] signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in clause (40), which links it with the preceding one, is eliminated in the TT by rendering ST construction of two independent adjacent clauses with a single clause-sentence in the TT.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1] signalled by the lexical item [Hikma <wisely>] in clause (40), which coheres with the lexical item [Hakimu, roughly: <restore to … judgment>] in the preceding one, is eliminated in the TT.

Example 44:

AST2: SEV<E8<(39) & [(40-42)]:	(39)\nuTa:libukum, 'amri:yka wa al-qiya:da:t al-'u:wru:wbi:ya 'an *tuHakimu:* al-'aql/ [Clauses (40-42): (40)*wa* tadrisu: *bi-Hikma* wa tarayuth al-'asba:b, wa li-ma:dha: *waladat* tillka *t-ta'aSSu:ba:t*/(41)*wa* kayfa *waladat* wa tawalladat wa taHawarat 'an qawa:'id kulla al-'adya:n kha:Sat-an al-'isla:m/(42)\al-ladhi:y yuHarim qatl al-'insa:n 'illa: 'abra al-qaZa:' wa ba'ada 'ida:natih bil-qatl./]

[Lit. clauses (39)-(40-42): (40)*and* to consider wisely and deliberately the causes, and to consider why fanaticisms were born/(41)*and* to consider how (they=fanaticisms) multiplied and veered off the tenets of all religions, especially Islam/(42)\which forbids the killing of a human being unless he is tried in court of law and condemned of committing murder./]

ETT2: SEV<E8:(36) & [(37-38)]:	(36)\We demand that the leaders of America and Europe resort to sound judgment and consider the causes wisely and deliberately;/ [Clauses (37-38): (37)\∅ to consider how and why fanaticisms were born and multiplies and veered off the tenets of all religions, especially Islam /(38)\which forbids the killing of a human being unless he is tried in court of law and condemned of committing murder./]

In the above excerpts, TT modifies the structure of the ST; consequently, the following shifts have occurred:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C1] explicitly signalled by the additive conjunctive [wa <and >] in clause (40), which links it to the preceding one, is modified in the TT. TT uses no explicit conjunction to signal the same relation; i.e. [∅-conjunction].

2. ST cohesive relation [R5] signalled by the concealed personal pronominal reference item affixed to the end of the verb [wulidat <were born-they>] in clause (41), which anaphorically refers to the identity [t-ta‘aSSu:ba:t <fanaticisms>] established earlier in the preceding clause, is reduced in the TT.

3. ST cohesive relation [L1] signalled by the lexical item [wulidat <were born>] in clause (41), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding clause, is reduced in the TT.

Example 45:

AST2: SEV<E9<[(44-45)] & (46):	[Clauses (44-45): (44)\wa ma:- tar‘awnahu min *diktatu:wri:ya:t* wa Huka:m/(45)\la:- yu’aminu:n bi-Huri:ya:t *sh-shu‘u:wb* wa la:- bi-suluTa:tuha: …/] (46)*wa* ba‘Daha: yukhfi:y *diktatu:wri:yatuh* taHta dimiqra:Ti:ya za:’i:fa qa:’ima ‘ala: t-tazwi:yr wa n-nahb al-munaZam li-tharawa:t *shu‘u:wb*iha:/

[Lit. clauses (44-45)-(46): (44)\and the patronage you give to dictators and rulers/(45)\who do not believe in the rights and freedoms of their nations./(46)\and some of them conceal their dictatorships under a false veneer of democracy based on forgery, regular looting of their people’s fortunes./]

ETT2: SEV<E9<[(40-41)] & [(42-43)]:	[Clauses (40-41): (40)\and the patronage you give to *tyrants*/(41)\who do not believe in the rights and freedoms of their *nations*./] [Clauses (42-43): (42)\∅Some of those *rulers* conceal their *dictatorships* under a false veneer of democracy/(43)\which is in fact based on forgery, regular looting of their *people's fortunes*./

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C1]- explicitly signalled by the additive conjunction in clause (46), which links it with the preceding construction, is modified in the TT. That is, TT uses no explicit conjunction.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the lexical item [diktatu:wri:yatuh <their-dictatorships] in clause (46), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item in the preceding construction, is modified in the TT. That is, TT establishes a lexical cohesive relation, i.e. [L5], between the two lexical items in clauses (40) and (42), respectively, 'tyrants' and 'rulers'.

3. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the lexical item [sh-shu'u:wb <nations] in clause (46), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item in clause (45), is modified in the TT. That is, TT establishes the cohesive relation [L2] between the two lexical items 'nations' and 'people', respectively, clauses (41) and (43).

Example 46:

AST2: SEVI<E11<(51) & (52):	(51)\fa-*ra:ji'u:* taHa:lufa:tiku:m / (52)*wa 'u:du:w* 'an maZa:limaku:m /

[Lit. clauses (51)-(52): (51)\Therefore [you] re-consider your alliances/(52)*and* [you] do discontinue your injustices./]

ETT2: SEVI<E11<(47):	(47)\Therefore do consider fair alliances and discontinue your injustices./

In the above excerpts, TT modifies ST construction made up of two adjacent independent clauses by rendering it with a single clause-sentence; consequently, the following instances of shifts have occurred:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C1]- signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in clause (52), which links it to the preceding one, is eliminated in the TT.

2. ST cohesive relation [R5] signalled by the plural pronominal reference item affixed to the verb [‘ud(-u:) <verb + you>] in clause (52), which anaphorically refers to an identity early established in the preceding construction, is omitted in the TT.

Example 47:

AST2: SEVI<E11<(55) & (56):	(55)\sa-*yattajih* ’ila: *al-’intiqa:m/* (56)\wa qad yaku:wn *’intiqa:muh* ’irha:b ’a‘ma: …/

[Lit. clauses (55)-(56): (55)\he resorts to revenge,/(56)\and *his revenge* could be a blind terrorism,/]

ETT2: SEVI<E11<(49) & (50):	(49)\he resorts to *revenge*,/ (50)\and *it* could be a blind revenge of terrorism,/

In the above excerpts, ST cohesive relation [R2]- signalled by the possessive pronominal NP [’intiqa:muh <his revenge>] in clause (56), which anaphorically refers to an identity established earlier in the preceding construction, i.e. the concealed third person pronominal reference item ‘he’ affixed in the verb [yattajih <he-resorts>], is modified in the TT. That is, TT establishes the cohesive relation [R5] by using the third personal pronominal reference item ‘it’ to presuppose the lexical item ‘revenge’ in the preceding construction.

Example 48:

AST2: SEVI<E12<(60)] & [(61-64)]:	(60)*qa:datuha:* kullahum sha:ru:wn… / [Clauses (61-64): (61)\kulla *Huka:muha:* mindhu ta’si:suha: ’ila: yawmina: ha:dha: ’irtakabu: madha:biH/ (62)\wa qatalu: ’asra:/(63)\wa ’istawlu: ‘ala: mumtalaka:t al-filisTi:yni:yyn/(64)\wa danasu: muqadasa:t al-muslimi:yn,/]

[Lit. clauses (60)-(61-64): (60)\All her leaders are like Sharon…/(61)\All her governors since it has been established to this day have committed maskers/(62)\and killed-they war prisoners/(63)\and confiscated-they Palestinian properties/(64)\and desecrate-they Muslims holy places,/

ETT2: SEVI<E12<(54) & (55):	(54)\All *her leaders* are like Sharon./ (55)\All of *them* since Israel was established to this day have committed massacres, killed prisoners, confiscated Palestinian properties, desecrates Muslims holy places./

In the above excerpts, TT construction made up of four adjacent independent clauses has been rendered by a single clause-sentence. Moreover, ST cohesive relation [R1.1]-signalled by the possessive title NP [Huka:muha: <her governors>] in clause (61), which

anaphorically refers to an identity established earlier in the preceding construction, i.e. the concealed third person pronominal reference item suffixed in the NP [qa:datuha: <her leaders>], is modified in the TT. That is, TT establishes the cohesive relation [R5] by using the third personal pronominal reference item 'them' to presuppose the referent 'her leaders' in the preceding construction.

Example 49:

AST2: SEVI<E12<[(58-64)] & [(65-68)]:	[Clauses (58-64): (58)\'isra:'i:yl qa:'ida li-tafri:ykh t-ta'aSSu:wb/(59)\bi-ma:-tartakibahu min jara:'im fi:y Haq al-'insa:ni:ya…'amali:yat qatl wa tadmi:yr yawmi:ya…/] [Clauses (65-68): (65)*wa* ka:nat 'amari:yka: hiya da:'imahum…/]

[Lit. clauses (58-64)-(65-68): (58)\Israel is a base for breeding fanatics/(59)\because of the crimes against humanities which it commits…killings and destruction on a daily basis…/(65-68)*conversely*, America was the one who supported them…/]

ETT2: SEVI<E12<[(52-55)] & [(56-57)]:	[Clauses (52-55): (52)\Israel is a base for breeding fanatics/ (53)\because of the crimes against humanities which it commits …killings and destruction on a daily basis.../] [Clauses (56-57): (56)\∅America has supported them… supplies them with the planes used in strafing unarmed Palestinians…/]

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C2]- signalled by the less explicit/vague conjunction [wa, roughly: <conversely>] in clause (65), which links it to the preceding construction, is implicitly expressed in the TT.

Example 50:

AST2: SEVII<E13< (76) & (77):	(76)*mithla* ma:-Hadath Did S-Sirb wa al-bu:sna wa sh-shisha:n…./ (77)*mithla* tillka al-qaDa:ya la:-tu'a:laj bil-Huru:wb wa d-dababa:t bal bi-isti'aSa:l musabiba:taha: ./

[Lit. clauses (76)-(77): (76)*Like* what happened to Serbia, Bosnia and Chechnya./(77)*Like* these matters can be resolved not by war, tanks, but by uprooting their causes./]

ETT2: SEVII<E13<(64) & (65):	(64)\as what happened to Serbia, Bosnia and Chechnya./] (65)\These matters can be resolved not by war, tanks, but by uprooting their causes./

In the above excerpts, ST cohesive relation [L1], signalled by the lexical item [mithla <like>] in clause (77), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding construction, is eliminated in the TT.

Example 51:

AST2: SEVII<E14<(80) & (81):	(80)\wa 'in lam tuHakimu: al-'aql/ (81)*fa*-'inna t-ta'aSSu:wb sa-yakhliq thaghara:t 'akbar wa 'aswa'./

[Lit. clauses (80)-(81): (80)\If you do not resort to wisdom,/(81)*therefore*, there will be more and worse scope for fanaticism./]

ETT2: SEVII<E14<(68) & (69):	(68)\If you do not resort to wisdom,/ (69)\∅ there will be more and worse scope for fanaticism./]

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C3], i.e. 'condition-consequence relation', explicitly signalled by the causal conjunction [fa <therefore>] in clause (81), which links it to the preceding one, is implicitly expressed in the TT.

Example 52:

AST2: SEVII<E14<[(80-81)] & (82):	[Clauses (80-81): (80)\wa 'in lam tuHakimu: al-'aql/(81)\fa-'inna t-ta'aSSu:wb sa-yakhliq thaghara:t 'akbar wa 'aswa'./] (82)*fa*-Hiqd D-DaHa:ya: lan yu:qifahu al-mazi:yd min al-qatl./

[Lit. clauses (80-81)-(82): (80)\If you do not resort to wisdom,/(81)\therefore, there will be more and worse scope for fanaticism./(82)*because* the grief of victims cannot be ceased/restrained by more killings./]

ETT2: SEVII<E14<[(68-69)] & (70):	[Clauses (68-69): (68)\If you do not resort to wisdom,/(69)\there will be more and worse scope for fanaticism./] (70)\∅ The grief of victims cannot be assuaged by more killings./

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C3], i.e. 'condition-consequence relation', explicitly signalled by the causal conjunction [fa <because>] in clause (82), which links it to the preceding one, is implicitly expressed in the TT.

2.2. Shifts at L2

Example 53:

AST2: SEII<E2 & E3:	[E2<(7-11):(7)\li-ma:dha 'amri:yka? su:'a:l radadahu mu:a:Tinu:wn 'amri:yki:yu:wn busaTa:'/(9)\shu'u:wb 'a:nat wa tu'a:ni:y min maZa:lim s-siyasa:t *al-'amri:yki:ya…*/] [E3<(12-17): (12)\siyasa:t Huku:wma:t 'amri:yki:ya al-muta'a:qiba taftaqid 'ila: al-'adl/(13)\wa-la: tahtamm siwa: bi-maSa:liHiha: 'ala: Hisa:b Huqu:q al-'a:khari:yn../(14)\hiya ba'i:da 'an wa:qi' sh-shu'u:wb/(15)\'idh tataHa:laf ma'a al-Huka:m al-munafidhi:yn li-*'ira:datiha:*/(16)\wa tad'amahum fi:y qam'ihim li-shu'u:wbihim raghma ma:- tarfa'ahu.../(17)*wa* ha:hi:y qawa:'im al-mutahami:yn al-lati:y 'a'lanatha: taDum ra'a:ya li-Hulafa:'iha:/]

[Lit. E2<(7-11): (7)\'why America?' is a question raised by some naive American citizens…/(9)\nations (that) suffered and continue to suffer from the injustices of the *American policies*…/ E3<(12-17): (12)\The policies of the successive American governments lack justice…/(15)\as they are allied to the rulers who carry out *her will*/(16)\and she supports them in their suppression of their people despite of…/(17)\[*and there is*] the suspect lists that *it* has announced contain citizens from *its allies*/]

ETT2: SEII<E2 & E3:	[E2<(5-8): (5)\Why was America the target?(6)\This question was put out by American citizens…/(7)\Those nations have suffered, and continue to suffer, the injustices of *American policy*…/] [E3<(9-15): (9)\The policies of successive American administrations are lacking in justice…/(13)\who carry out *America's will*/(14)\and in return receive support in their suppression of their people in spite of…/(15)*So* now, the lists of suspects announced by America contain subjects of America's allies./]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C3]- signalled by the less explicit (vague/multipurpose conjunction) [wa, roughly: <and>], which links E3 with the preceding construction- is modified in the TT; ST explicitly relates the two units using the causal conjunction 'so'.

2. ST cohesive relation [R2]- signalled by the possessive pronominal reference NP ['ira:datuha: <her will>] in E3, which anaphorically refers to the NP [s-siyasa:t al-'amri:yki:ya <American policy>] in the preceding unite- is modified in the TT; ST presupposing item, i.e. possessive pronominal reference NP, is rendered in the TT by the repetition of the lexical item 'America'.

Example 54:

AST2: SEII<E3 & E4:	[E3<(12-17): (12)\siyasa:t Huku:wma:t 'amri:yki:ya al-muta'a:qiba taftaqid 'ila: al-'adl…/(17)*wa* ha:hi:y qawa:'im al-mutahami:yn al-lati:y 'a'lanatha: taDum ra'a:ya li-*Hulafa:'iha:*/] [E4<(18-21): (18)*wa raghma* 'i'la:n 'amri:ki:ya bi-'anna huna:lika mi'at wa thalathi:n munaZama fi: 'anHa:' al-'a:lam ta'tabiruha: 'amri:ki:ya 'irha:bi:ya/(19)\'illa 'anna *mas'u:wli:yha:* wa nu:wa:biha: wa 'i'la:miha: Ha:walu: mindhu d-daqa:'iq al-'u:wla: li-wuqu:' al-jari:yma 'ilSa:quha: bil-'arab wa al-muslimi:yn,/]

[Lit. E3<(12-17): (12)\The policies of the successive American governments lack justice…/(17)\[and there is] the suspect lists that she has announced contain people/citizens from *its allies*/ E4<clauses (18-20): (18)*and*, *though* America has announced that there…/(19)\however, *its officials*, (and) its members of parliament, and its media-men have attempted from…/]

ETT2: SEII<E3 & E4:	[E3<(9-15): (9)\The policies of successive American administrations are lacking in justice…/(15)\So now, the lists of suspects announced by America contain subjects of *America's allies*./] [E4<(16-18): (16)\∅ Though America has announced that there …/(17)\the fact remains that *U.S officials*, congressmen and media have attempted from…/]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the English version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C1]- signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>], which links E4 with the preceding construction, is modified in the TT, i.e. TT uses no conjunction.

2. ST cohesive relation [R4]- signalled by the personal pronominal reference NP [mas'u:wli:y(-ha:) <its officials>] in E4, which anaphorically refers to the NP [Hulafa:'i(-ha:) <its allies>] in the preceding unit, is modified in the TT, i.e. ST presupposing item is rendered in the TT by the full lexical item 'America'.

Example 55:

AST2: SEV<E9 & E10:	[E9<(43-46): (43)*ra:ji'u:* ma:-'irtakabtumu:h min Zulm/(44)\wa ma:-tar'awnahu min diktatu:wri:ya:t wa Huka:m/(45)\la:- yu'aminu:n bi-Huri:ya:t sh-shu'u:wb…/] [E10<(47-49): (47)*)\kulla dha:lika* yajib 'an yu'a:d *n-naZar* fi:y-hi/(48)\li-taqu:wm dimu:qra:Ti:a Haqi:yqi:ya taHtarim al-qaDa:'/ (49)\wa ta'mal 'ala: ta'ami:yn mustaqbal wa Haya:t al-mu:a:Tini:yn./]

[Lit. E9<(43-46): (43)\Do reconsider the injustices you have committed/(44)\and the patronage you give to tyrants/(45)\who do not believe in the rights and freedoms of their nations…./ E10<(47-49): (47)*All these must be reviewed* /(48)\so that genuine democracies-which respect the law and endeavour…./]

ETT2: SEV<E9 & E10:	[E9<(39-43): (39)\Do *reconsider* the injustices you have committed/(40)\and the patronage you give to tyrants.../] [E10<(44-46): (44)*All these things* must be *reconsidered*/(45)\so that genuine democracies…/]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred on the English version:

1. ST cohesive relation [R3]-signalled by the demonstrative NP [kulla dha:lika <all that>] in E10, which anaphorically refers to the content of the preceding unit- is rendered in the TT as [L5], i.e. TT uses the general lexical item 'things' plus the determiner 'these', which summaries the content of the preceding unit.

2. ST cohesive relation [L2]- signalled by the phrase [yu'a:d n-naZar <must be reviewed> in E10, which has a synonymy relation with the lexical item [ra:ji'u: <reconsider>]- is rendered in the TT by [L1]. That is, TT establishes link between the two units by inserting the lexical item 'reconsider' in E10, which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding unit.

Example 56:

AST2: SEVII<E14 & E15:	[E14<(78-82): (78)\naHnu: fi:y mustahal qarn-un jadi:yd/(79)\yaji:b 'an yaku:wn 'aSr ta'a:yush bil-maHaba wa al-'ikha:' wa nashr al-ma'rifa wa 'adam sayTarat thama:n duwal 'ala: madakhi:l wa tharawa:t wa 'araq wa juhu:wd sh-shu'u:wb *al-faqi:yra*./(80)\wa 'in lam tuHakimu: *al-'aql*/(81)\fa-'inna t-ta'aSSu:wb sa-yakhliq thaghara:t 'akbar wa 'aswa'./(82)\fa-Hiqd D-DaHa:ya: lan yu:qifahu al-mazi:yd min al-qatl./] [E15<(83-85): (83)*al-'aql* wa al-fikr al-'insa:ni:y al-mustani:yr yajib 'an yasu:wd/(84)\'idha: 'aradtu:m 'amn-an wa taqadu:m-an wa Haya:t-an 'a:mina li-shu'u:wbiku:m../(85)\al-'adl wa waqf al-'istighla:l wa 'iHtira:m khi:ara:t sh-shu'u:wb wa muHa:rabat *al-faqr* wa al-fasa:d huwa al-'ila:j./]

[Lit. E14<(78-82): (78)\We are at the beginning of a new century/(79)/which should be the age of peaceful, enlightened and fraternal relations, and not [the era] of the control of eight nations of all the incomes and the resources and …of *poor* nations./(80)\If you do not resort to *(the) good judgment*,/(81)\then, fanaticism would create …/(82)\this is because the grief of victims cannot be halted by more killings./E15<(83-85): (83)*(the) good judgment* … should prevail/(84)\if you want security, progress and peaceful life for your nations./(85)\(the) justice and an end to exploitation and respect for the choice of nations, fighting *poverty* and corruption is the cure [These are the cures]./

ETT2: SEVII<E14 & E15:	[E14<(66-70): (66)\We are at the beginning of a new century/(67)\which should be the age of peaceful, enlightened and fraternal relations, and not the era of 8 nations controlling all the resources of *poor* nations./(68)\If you do not resort to *wisdom*,/(69)\there will be more and worse scope for fanaticism./(70)\The grief of victims cannot be assuaged by more killings./] [E15<(71-73): (71)*Common sense* and enlightenment should prevail/ (72)\if you want security, progress and peace for your nations./(73)\Justice and an end to exploitation and respect for the choice of nations, fighting *poverty* and corruption...These are the cures./]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the English version:

1. ST cohesive relation [L1], signalled by the lexical item [al-'aql <(the) good judgment] in E15, which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding unit, is modified in the TT. That is, TT establishes link between the two units by the lexical item 'common sense' in E15, which has a synonymy relation with the lexical item 'wisdom' in E14.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1], signalled by the lexical item [al-faqr <poverty>] in E15, which shares the same root with the lexical item [al-faqi:yra <the poor>] expressed in the preceding unit, is modified in the TT; it establishes link between the two units by the lexical item 'poverty' in E15, which has a synonymy relation with the lexical item 'poor' in E14.

3. Shifts in ATT1

The comparison of the pair of texts (EST1 and ATT1)-in terms of their cohesive relations relating units at the above mentioned three levels of text organisation- has revealed significant shifts on the part of the Arabic version. These are discussed under the following sub-headings:

3.1. Shifts at L1

Example 57:

EST1: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\During the discussion period that followed a lecture of mine at *Oxford* three and a half years ago I was stunned by a question put to me by *a young woman*,/ (2)\whom I later discovered to have been a Palestinian student working for *her* doctorate at *the university*./

ATT1: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\fa:ja'ani: 'ithna:' ni:qa:sh muHa:Dara 'alqaytuha: fi: *ja:mi'at 'u:ksfu:rd* qabla thala:th sanawa:t wa niSf l-sana su:'a:l TaraHathu sha:bba/ (2)\'araft-u la:Hiqan 'annaha: Ta:liba filisTi:niyya ta'id-u li-shaha:dat l-duktu:ra fi: *tilka l-ja:mi'a./*

[Lit. clauses (1)-(2): (1)\surprised me during a discussion of a lecture I delivered at *Oxford University* three years and half year ago a question raised by a young woman/(2)\I knew later on that she was a Palestinian student prepares for (the) PhD certificate at *that university./*]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. ST cohesive relation [L5]- signalled by the general lexical item 'university' in the definite article NP 'the university' in clause (2), which coheres with the noun 'Oxford' established in the preceding clause- is modified in the TT. That is, TT establishes the cohesive relation [L1] by using the lexical item [ja:mi'a <university>] in clause (2), which is a direct repletion of the lexical item [ja:mi'a <university>] in the preceding clause.

2. ST cohesive relation [R1.2]- signalled by the possessive pronoun NP 'her doctorate' in clause (2), which presupposes the identity 'a young woman' established in the preceding clause- is replaced by [R4] in the TT. That is, TT anaphorically refers back to the identity [sha:bba <a young woman>] in clause (1) using the personal pronominal reference item, i.e. the feminine concealed pronoun [hiya: <she>] affixed to the verb [ta'idd-u <preparing-(she)].

Example 58:

EST1: SEI<E2<(4) & (5):	(4)\and how it seemed to me necessary not only to understand the connection between our history and Israel's,/ (5)\but that as Arabs we needed to study that other history as one concerning us rather than avoiding or ignoring it totally/

ATT1: SEI<E2<(4) & (5):	(4)\wa kayfa 'anna min D-Daru:wri:y, kama 'ara:, laysa fahm l-'ila:qa bayna *ta:ri:ykhuna:* wa *ta:ri:ykh 'isra:'i:yl* faqaT,/ (5)\bal 'inna: ka-'arab bi-Ha:ja 'ila: dira:sat dha:lika t-ta:ri:ykh al-'a:khar 'ala: 'annahuw *mawDu:'* ya'ni:na: wa laysa tajanubahuw 'aw al-'ighfa:l t-ta:m lahuw kama: hi:ya 'l-Ha:l mindhu zaman Tawi:yl./

[Lit. clauses (4)-(5): (4)\and how that is necessary, as I see it, not to understand the relation between our history and *Israel's history* only,/(5)\but also we as Arabs need to study that other history as *a subject* concerning us and not to avoid it or the complete ignorance of it as the case since a long time/]

In the above excerpts, ST cohesive relation [S1]- signalled by the nominal substitute 'one' in clause (5), which substitutes the elliptical head 'history' in the NP 'Israel's ∅' in the preceding clause- is modified in the TT. TT establishes a link between the two clauses by means of [L*4*]; it uses the general noun [mawDu:' <a subject>] in clause (5), which coheres with the specific lexical item [ta:ri:kh <history>] in the preceding one.

Example 59:

EST1: SEI<E3<(6) & (7):	(6)\The young woman's question was to raise doubt about my views on the necessity of studying and learning about Israel./ (7)\"wouldn't that kind of attention paid to Israel", ∅ she said, "be a form of concession to it?"

ATT1: SEI<E3<(6) & (7):	(6)\'ila-'anna su:'a:l sh-sha:b al- filisTi:yni:ya ja:'a li-yuthi:yr sh-shuku:wk fi:y mawqifi:y ha:dha:, (7)*fa*-qad qa:lat ('alann yaku:wn ha:dha: l-naw' min al-'ihtima:m bi-'isra:'i:yl shakl-an min 'ashka:l at-tana:zul 'ama:maha:?/

[Lit. clauses (6)-(7): (6)\however, the young Palestinian woman's question has come to raise doubts about my stance (this)/(7)*as* she said, "would not this kind of attention given to Israel be a form of concession to her?"/]

In the above excerpts, TT establishes the conjunctive relation [C3] between the two clauses by inserting the conjunctive particle [fa <as>] in clause (7), whereas the ST uses no explicit conjunction.

Example 60:

EST1: SEI<E3<(7) & (8):	(7)\ "wouldn't that kind of attention paid to Israel", she said, "be a form of concession to it?"/ (8)\∅She was asking me if ignorant "non-normalization" didn't constitute a better approach to a state/

ATT1: SEI<E3<(7) & (8):	(7)\fa-qad qa:lat ('alann yaku:wn ha:dha: l-naw' min al-'ihtima:m bi-'isra:'i:yl shakl-an min 'ashka:l at-tana:zul 'ama:maha:?/ (8)*'ayy* 'annaha: ka:nat tas'al 'idha: lam yaku:wn (al-la:-taTbi:y') l-ja:hil huw al-mawqif al-'afDal tija:h ad-dawwla/

[Lit. clauses (7)-(8): (7)\(as) she said, "would not this kind of attention [given to] Israel be a form of concession to her?"/(8)*that is*, she was asking if not…/]

In the above excerpts, TT establishes the conjunctive relation [C1] by inserting the explicit additive conjunction ['ay <that is>] in clause (8), which relates it to the proceeding one- whereas ST uses no conjunction.

Example 61:

EST1: SEI<E4< (12) & (13):	(12)\even during those long years when *Israel* was unthinkable in the Arab world/ (13)*and* even when one had to use euphemisms like "the Zionist entity" to refer to *it*./
ATT1: SEI<E4< (12) & (13):	(12)\Hata: khila:l s-sini:yn T-Tawi:yla Hi:yna ka:nna t-tafki:yr bi-'isra:'i:yl min l-muHaramat fi:y l-'a:lam l-'arabi:y,/ (13)\∅ 'ila: darajat 'anna 'l-'ism lam yaku:wn yudhkar muba:shara bal bi-'isti'ma:l ta'abi:yr mithl "al-ki:ya:n S-Suhyu:wni:y:" ∅./

[Lit. clauses (12)-(13): (12)\even during the long years when the thinking about Israel was [one] of the prohibited [things] in the Arab world,/(13)\∅to the extent that the name could not to be uttered alone without using some expressions like "the Zionist entity" ∅./]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred on the Arabic version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C1]- explicitly signalled by the additive conjunction 'and', which links clause (13) with the preceding one- is eliminated in the TT.

2. ST cohesive relation [R4], signalled by the pronominal reference item 'it' in clause (13), which anaphorically refers to the identity 'Israel' established in the preceding one, is eliminated in the TT.

Example 62:

EST1: SEI<E5: (14) & (15):	(14)\After all, I found myself asking in return,/ (15)\∅ two major Arab countries had made formal peace with Israel,/
ATT1: SEI<E5: (14) & (15):	(14)\ wa wajadtuni:y 'atasa:'al-u bil-muqa:bil 'an ma'na: mawqifuha: fi:y al-waD' al-Ha:li:y,/ (15)*ba 'da:* ma:-'aqa:mat dawlata:n 'arabi:yata:n ra'i:ysita:n s-sala:m ma'a 'isra:'i:yl,/

[Lit. clauses (14)-(15): (14)*and* I found my self asking in return about (the) meaning of her viewpoint on the current situation,/(15)*after* two major Arab countries had established (the) peace with Israel,/]

In the above excerpts, TT establishes the conjunctive relation [C4] by inserting the temporal conjunction [ba'da: <after>], which explicitly relates clause (17) to the preceding one, whereas ST uses no explicit conjunction in relating the same units.

Example 63:

EST1: SEI<E5: (15) & (16):	(15)\two major Arab countries had made formal peace with Israel,/ (16)\Ø the PLO had already recognized it/
ATT1: SEI<E5: (15) & (16):	(15)\ba'da: ma:-'aqa:mat dawlata:n 'arabi:yata:n ra'i:ysita:n s-sala:m ma'a 'isra:'i:yl,/ (16)*wa* 'i'tarafat bi-ha: munaZamat t-taHri:yr al-filisTi:yni:ya/

[Lit. clauses (15)-(16): (15)\after two major Arab countries had established (the) peace with Israel,/(16)*and* the Palestinian Liberation Organisation recognised it and continues with it the peace process,/]

In the above excerpts, TT establishes the conjunctive relation [C1] by inserting the additive conjunction [wa <and>], which explicitly relates clause (16) with the preceding one, whereas ST uses no explicit conjunction in relating the two units.

Example 64:

EST1: SEI<E5: (16) & (17):	(16)\the PLO had already recognized it/ (17)\and Ø was pursuing peace process with it,/
ATT1: SEI<E5: (16) & (17):	(16)\wa 'i'tarafat bi-ha: *munaZamat l-taHriyr l-filisTi:niyya/* (17)\wa *tuwa:Sil-u* ma'aha: 'amaliyat l-sala:m,/

[Lit. clauses (16)-(17): (16)\and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation recognised it/ (17)\and continues-it with it the peace process,/]

Here, TT establishes a new cohesive relation that is not in the ST, i.e. the reference relation between the feminine pronoun [tu] embedded in the verb [tuwa:Sil <continues-it>] in clause (17) which anaphorically refers back to the NP [munaZamat l-taHriyr l-filisTi:niyya <the PLO>] in the preceding clause.

Example 65:

EST1: SEI<E5: [(16-17)] & (18):	[Clauses (16-17): (16)\the PLO had already recognized it/(17)\and was pursuing peace process with it,/] (18)*and* several other Arab countries had trade and commercial relations with it./

ATT1: SEI<E5: [(16-17)] & (18):	[Clauses (16-17): (16)\wa 'i'tarafat bi-ha: munaZamat t-taHri:yr al-filisTi:yni:ya/(17)\wa tu:a:Sil-u ma'aha: 'amali:yat s-sala:m,/] (18)*fi:y-ma:* 'aqa:ma 'adadu:n min d-diwwal al-'arabi:ya 'ila:qa:t tija:ri:ya ma'aha:/

[Lit. clauses (16-17)-(18): (16)\and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation recognised it/(17)\and continues with it the peace process,/(18)*even as* a number of the Arab countries established trade relations with it./]

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C1]- signalled by the additive conjunction 'and', which links clause (18) with the preceding one- is modified in the TT; TT establishes links between the two constructions by the temporal conjunction [fi:-ma:<even as>].

Example 66:

EST1: SEI<E6<(19) & (20):	(19)\Arab intellectuals…not to have any *dealings* with Israel…/ (20)\but even they had been silent when, for instance, Egypt signed large *deals* selling natural gas to Israel/

ATT1: SEI<E6<(19) & (20):	(19)\'illa: 'anna al-muthaqafu:wn al-'arab ja'alu: min bayn-i muqadasa:tuhum rafD 'ayya naw'-in min *t-ta'a:mul* ma'a 'isra:'i:yl min Dimnih-i zi:a:rataha: 'aw mulaqa:t al-'isra:'i:yli:yyn,/ (20)\la:kin Hata: ha:'u:wla:'-i baqaw Sa:miti:yn 'iza:'a *khaTawa:t* mithla bay'-i miSr kami:a:t kabi:yra min al-gha:z T-Tabi:y'i:y: 'ila: 'isra:'i:yl,/

[Lit. clauses (19)-(20): (19)\however, Arab intellectuals made … any kind of *dealings* with Israel…/(20)\however, even those remained silent against *steps* like the selling of Egypt of a large quantity of (the) natural gas to Israel,/]

In the above excerpts, ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the lexical item 'deals' in (20), which is a direct repetition of the lexical item 'dealings' in the preceding clause- is eliminated in the TT.

Example 67:

EST1: SEI<E6<(20) & (21):	(20)\but even they had been silent when, for instance, Egypt signed large deals selling natural gas to *Israel/* (21)\and had maintained diplomatic relations with *the Jewish state* during frequent periods of Israeli repression against the Palestinians./

ATT1: SEI<E6<(20) & (21):	(20)\la:kin Hata: ha:'u:wla:'-i baqaw Sa:miti:yn 'iza:'a khaTawa:t mithla bay'-i miSr kami:a:t kabi:yra min al-ghaz T-Tabi:y'i:y: 'ila: *'isra:'i:yl,/* (21)\wa 'ida:mat al-'ila:qa:t d-diblu:wma:si:ya *ma'aha:* 'ithna:' Hamala:tuha: l-qam'i:ah al-mutakarira Didd al-filisTi:yni:yyn/

[Lit. clauses (20)-(21): (20)\but even those remained silent against steps like the selling of Egypt of large quantity of the natural gas to *Israel*,/(21)\and (the) sustention of the diplomatic relations *with it* during its repetitive repression campaigns against the Palestinian./]

In the above excerpts, ST cohesive relation [L2]- signalled by the definite article NP 'the Jewish state' in clause (21), which anaphorically refers to the reference 'Israel' expressed in the preceding unit- is modified in the TT. That is, ST presupposing item- i.e. the definite article NP- is rendered in the TT by the concealed feminine third person pronominal reference item [ha: <her>] in the phrase [ma'a(-ha: <with she>] in clause (21).

Example 68:

EST1: SEII<E7<(22) & (23):	(22)\How could *one* possibly oppose analysing and learning everything possible about *a country*/ (23)*whose presence* in our midst for over 50 years has so influenced and shaped the life of every man, woman and child in the Arab world?/

ATT1: SEII<E7<(22) & (23):	(22)\la:kin kayfa yumkin li-'ayy-in *mina:* 'an yu'a:riD s-sa'y 'ila: ma'rifat wa taHli:yl 'akthar ma:-yumkin min al-ma'lu:wma:t 'an *ha:dha: al-balad/* (23)*al-ladhi:y ka:nna li-HuDu:wrih-i baynana:* mindhu khamsi:yn sana kulla ha:dha: t-ta'athi:yr fi:y Tabi:y'at Haya:t kulla rajul wa 'imra'a fi:y al-'a:lam al-'arabi:y?/

[Lit. clauses (22)-(23): (22)\but, how it could be possible for any of *us* to oppose the effort to understand and analyse.../(23)\that *his presence* among *us* for fifty years had all of this (the) influence over [the] nature of life of every man and woman in the Arab world?/]

In the above excerpts, TT explicitly signals relation between the clauses (22) and (23) by establishing the cohesive relation [R1.2]- signalled by the possessive pronominal personal NP [HuDu:ruh <its <masculine> presence>] plus the definite relative pronoun [al-ladhi:y] in clause (23), which anaphorically refers to its referent expressed earlier in the preceding clause, i.e. the definite NP [ha:dha: al-balad <this country>] -while ST establishes link between the two units by the indefinite relative pronoun 'whose presence', which presupposes the indefinite NP 'a country'.

Example 69:

EST1: SEIII<E8<(25) & (26):	(25)\the act of defying, resisting and refusing to bend under the will of a power / (26)*that one perceives as unjust and unreasonable.*/]

ATT1: SEIII<E8<(25):	(25)\'ayy al-muqa:wama wa rafD al-ruDu:wkh li-'ira:dat *Taraf Za:lim mujHif./*

[Lit. (25)\that is, the resistance and the rejection of (the) supplementation to the will of *an oppressing and in just party./*]

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C3] between the clauses (25) and (26)- signalled by the non-defining relative clause, i.e. clause (26) stating the reason- is eliminated in the TT by rendering ST two independent clauses by a construction of a single clause-sentence.

Example 70:

EST1: SEIII<E8<(24) & [(25-26)]:	(24)\In this young woman's understanding therefore, the opposite of conceding was supposed to be defiance,/ [Clauses (25-26): (25)\Ø the act of defying, resisting and refusing to bend under the will of a power /(26)\that one perceives as unjust and unreasonable./]

ATT1: SEIII<E8<(24) & (25):	(24)\ 'iftira:D al-ba:Hitha sh-sha:ba ka:nna 'anna naqi:yD t-tana:zul huwa *t-taHadi:y*,/ (25)*'ayy* al-muqa:wama wa rafD al-ruDu:wkh li-'ira:dat Taraf Za:lim mujHif./

[Lit. clauses (24)-(25): (24)\the young (-woman) researcher's proposition was that (the) opposite of (the) concession was the defiance,/(25)*that is*, the resistance and the rejection of (the) supplementation to the will of an oppressing and in just party./]

In the above excerpts, TT explicitly establishes the conjunctive relation [C1]- by inserting the additive conjunction ['ay <that is>] in clause (25), which relates it with the preceding one- while ST uses no explicit conjunction.

Example 71:

EST1: SEIII<E9<[(23-25)] & (26):	[Clauses (24-26): (24)\In this young woman's understanding therefore, the opposite of conceding was supposed to be defiance,/(25)\the act of defying, resisting and refusing to bend under the will of a power /(26)\that one perceives as unjust and unreasonable./] (27)*That*, I took it, was what she suggested, we should be practicing towards Israel/

ATT1: SEIII<E9<[(24-25)] & (26):	[Clauses (24-25): (24)\ 'iftira:D al-ba:Hitha sh-sha:ba ka:nna 'anna naqi:yD t-tana:zul huwa t-taHadi:y,/(25)\'ayy al-muqa:wama wa rafD al-ruDu:wkh li-'ira:dat Taraf Za:lim mujHif./] (26)*ha:dha:* kama: 'a'taqid, *huwa al-mawqif* l-ladhi:y 'aradat lana: 'itikha:dhahuw tija:h 'isra:'i:yl,/

[Lit. clauses (24-25)-(26): (24)\the young (-woman) researcher's proposition was that (the) opposite of (the) concession was the defiance,/(25)*that is*, the resistance and the rejection of (the) supplementation to the will of an oppressing and in just party./(26)\this, as I think, is the stand that she wanted us to adopt towards Israel,/]

In the above excerpts, there is a relation of contrast between the two chunks in each version. This contrastive relation is between two differing positions- respectively, the young woman's position and that of the writer. This contrastive relation, however, is signalled in the two versions by different means; consequently, the following shifts have occurred:

1. ST cohesive relation [L2], signalled by the lexical item 'propose' in clause (27), which coheres with the lexical item 'suggested' in the preceding one, is rendered in the TT by [L3]. That is, TT uses the lexical item ['iqtira:H <proposal>] in clause (26), which establishes an antonymy relation with the lexical item [mawqif <stand>] in the preceding one.

2. ST conjunctive relation [C3] between the clauses (24) and (25)- signalled by the non-defining relative clause '*that one perceives as unjust and unreasonable*', which supports the preceding statement by stating the reason- is modified in the TT. That is, TT renders ST construction- i.e. clause (25) by an embedded element- i.e. the NP [Taraff Za:llim mujHiff <an oppressing and in just party>] incorporated in clause (24).

3. TT establishes the cohesive relation [L1] between the two units by inserting the lexical item ['ayy <that is>] at the initial position in clause (27), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding unit.

Example 72:

EST1: SEIII<E9<[(24-27)] & [(28-29)]:	[Clauses (24-27): (24)\In this young woman's understanding therefore, the opposite of conceding was supposed to be *defiance*,/(25)\the act of defying, resisting and refusing to bend under the will of a power /(26)*that one perceives as unjust and unreasonable.*/(27)\That, I took it, was what she *suggested*, we should be practicing towards Israel/] [Clauses (28-29): (28)\and not what I was trying to *propose*,/ (29)*which* was a *creative engagement* with a culture and society/]

ATT1: SEIII<E9<[(24-26)] & [(27-28)]:	[Clauses (24-26): (24)\ 'iftira:D al-ba:Hitha sh-sha:ba ka:nna 'anna naqi:yD t-tana:zul huwa *t-taHadi:y*,/(25)*'ayy* al-muqa:wama wa rafD al-ruDu:wkh li-'ira:dat *Taraf Za:lim mujHif.*/(26)\ha:dha: kama: 'a'taqid, *huwa al-mawqif* l-ladhi:y 'aradat lana: 'itikha:dhahuw tija:h 'isra:'i:yl,/] [Clauses (27-28): (27)\wa laysa ma:- kunt-u *'aqtariHahuw*,/(28)*'ayy t-tana:wl l-khala:q* li-thaqa:fat wa mujtama' 'itakhadh-a 'ala: kull al-mustawaya:t al-muhima (wa la:-yaza:l-u yatakhidh-u kama: tubayyun-u waHshi:yat al-'isra:'i:yli:yyn, tija:h al-'intifa:Da) si:ya:sat-un tahdifu 'ila: tadmi:yr 'insa:ni:yat al-'arab 'umu:man wa al-filisTi:yni:yyn 'ala: wajh al-khuSu:wS./]

[Lit. clauses (24-26)-(27-28): (24)\the young (-woman) researcher's proposition was that (the) opposite of (the) concession was the defiance,/(25)*that is*, the resistance and the rejection of (the) supplementation to the will of an oppressing and in just party./(26)\this, as I think, is the stand that she wanted us to adopt towards Israel,/(27)\and not what I proposed,/(28)*that is*, the creative handling of a culture and a society that undertakes, on all of the significant levels, (and still undertaking as the Israeli brutality against the Intifada shows) a policy aims at the destruction of the Arab humanity in general and the Palestinian on (the) particle./]

In the above excerpts, there is a relation of contrast between the two chunks in each version. This contrastive relation is between two differing positions- respectively, the young woman's position and that of the writer. This contrastive relation, however, is signalled in the two versions by different means; consequently, the following shifts have occurred:

1. ST cohesive relation [L2], signalled by the lexical item 'propose' in clause (28), which coheres with the lexical item 'suggested' in the preceding one, is rendered in the TT by [L3]. That is, TT uses the lexical item ['iqtira:H <proposal>] in clause (27), which establishes an antonymy relation with the lexical item [mawqif <stand>] in the preceding one.

2. ST conjunctive relation [C3] between the clauses (25) and (26)- signalled by the non-defining relative clause '*that one perceives as unjust and unreasonable*', which supports the preceding statement by stating the reason- is modified in the TT. That is, TT renders ST construction- i.e. clause (26) by an embedded element- i.e. the NP [Taraff Za:llim mujHiff <an oppressing and in just party>] incorporated in clause (25).

3. TT establishes the cohesive relation [L1] between the two units by inserting the lexical item ['ayy <that is>] at the initial position in clause (28), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding unit.

Example 73:

EST1: SEIII<E9<(32):	(32)\since our history was incomplete without consideration of Israel/

ATT1: SEIII<E9: (32) & (33):	(32)\li-'anna ta:ri:ykhuna: yabqa: na:qiS / (33)*'idha: lam* na'akhudh 'isra:'i:yl fi:y l-'i'ti:ba:r,

[Lit. clauses (31)-(32): (31)\because *our history* remains shortened/(32)*if we* do not take…/]

In the above excerpts, TT expands on the ST by rendering ST construction of a single clause-sentence by a string of two adjacent independent clauses; and relate them to one another by the conjunctive relation [C5] signalled by the conditional conjunction [*'idha lam* <if not>] in clause (33).

Example 74:

EST1: SEIII<E10<(35) & (36):	(35)\Besides, I continue to believe as an educator that knowledge -- any knowledge -- is better than ignorance./ (36)\Ø There is simply no rational justification from an intellectual point of view of having a policy of ignorance./

ATT1: SEIII<E10<(36) & (37):	(36)\'iDa:fat-an 'ila: dha:lika la:-'aza:lu 'ala: 'i'tiqa:di:, ka-mu'alim, 'anna al-ma'rifa --'ayya ma'riffa-- 'afDal min al-jahl./ (37)*wa* laysa huna:ka, bi-basa:Ta, 'ala: S-Sa'i:yd al-fikri:y, 'ayya tabri:yr manTiqi:y li-'itikha:dh al-jahl si:ya:sa /

[Lit. clauses (36)-(37): (36)\in addition to that, I still hold on (my) belief, as a teacher, that (the) knowledge…./(37)*as/because* there is, simply, on the intellectual aspect, no rational justification to undertake (the) ignorance as a policy,/]

In the above excerpts, TT explicitly establishes link between the clauses (36) and (37) by inserting the vague [or multipurpose] conjunction [wa (roughly: <because>] in clause (37), which establishes the conjunctive relation [C3], while ST uses no conjunction.

Example 75:

EST1: SEIII<E10: (36) & (37):	(36)\There is simply no rational justification from an intellectual point of view of having a policy of *ignorance./* (37)\or using *ignorance* as a weapon in a struggle./

ATT1: SEIII<E10: (37) & (38):	(37)\wa laysa huna:ka, bi-basa:Ta, 'ala: S-Sa'i:yd al-fikri:y, 'ayya tabri:yr manTiqi:y li-'itikha:dh *al-jahl* si:ya:sa / (38)\'aw 'isti'ma:la*huw* sila:H fi:y S-Sira:'./

[Lit. clauses (37)-(38): (37)\and there is not, simply, on the intellectual aspect, any rational justification to undertake (the) *ignorance* as a policy,/(38)\or using *it* (as) a weapon in the struggle./]

In the above excerpts, ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the lexical item 'ignorance' in clause (37), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item in the preceding one- is modified in the TT. That is, TT establishes the cohesive relation [R5] between the two units by the third person pronominal reference item in the verb ['isti'ma:la(-*huw*) <using it>] to substitute for ST presupposing item, i.e. 'ignorance'.

3.2. Shifts at L2

Example 76:

EST1: SEI<E1 & E2:	[E1<(1-2): (2)\whom I later discovered to have been a Palestinian student working for her doctorate at the *university*/] [E2<(3-5): (5)\but that as Arabs we needed to study that other history as *one* concerning us…/]

ATT1: SEI<E1 & E2:	[E1<(1-2): (2)\'araft-u la:Hiqan 'annaha: Ta:liba filisTi:yni:ya ta'id-u li-shaha:dat d-du:ktu:wra fi:y *tillka l-ja:mi'a./* [E2<(3-5): (5)\bal 'inna: ka-'arab bi-Ha:ja 'ila: dira:sat dha:lika t-ta:ri:ykh al-'a:khar 'ala: 'annahuw *mawDu:* ' ya'ni:na: …/]

[Lit. E1<(1-2): (2)\I knew later on that… *university*/ E2<(3-5): (5)\but also we as Arabs needed to study that other history as a *subject* concerning us…/]

In the above excerpts, TT establishes the cohesive relation [L5] between the two elements by inserting the lexical item [mawDu:' <subject>] in E2, which coheres with the lexical item [ja:mi'a <university>] in the preceding unit instead of ST item, i.e. the substitute 'one', which does not have a cohesive function.

Example 77:

EST1: SEI<E2 & E3:	[E2<(3-5): (4)\and how it seemed to me necessary not only to understand the connection between our history and *Israel*'s,/(5)\but that as Arabs we needed to study that other history as one concerning us…/] [E3<(6-10): (6)\∅The young woman's question was to raise doubt about *my views on the necessity of studying and learning about Israel*…/ (10)\to say nothing of having caused Palestinian dispossession in the first place./]

ATT1: SEI<E2 & E3:	[E2<(3-5): (4)\wa kayfa 'anna min D-Daru:wri:y, kama 'ara:, laysa fahm l-'ila:qa bayna ta:ri:ykhuna: wa ta:ri:ykh *'isra:'i:yl* faqaT,/ (5)\bal 'inna: ka-'arab bi-Ha:ja 'ila: dira:sat dha:lika t-ta:ri:ykh al-'a:khar 'ala: 'annahuw mawDu:' ya'ni:na:…/] [E3<(6-10): (6)*'ila-'anna* su:'a:l sh-sha:b al- filisTi:yni:ya ja:'a li-yuthi:yr sh-shuku:wk fi:y *mawqifi:y ha:dha:*,…/(9)\l-lati:y tadu:r siyasatuha: mindhu zaman Tawi:yl 'ala: rafD wa man' Haq al-filisTi:yni:yyn fi:y taqri:yr al-maSi:yr,/(10)\ bal hi:ya 'aSlan *T-Taraf al-mas'u:wl* 'an salbihim./]

[Lit. E2<(3-5): (4)\and how necessary it was, as I saw it, not only to understand the relation between our history and Israel's history,/(5)\but also we as Arabs needed to study that other history as a subject concerning us…/ E3<(6-10): (6)*however*, the question of the Palestinian young woman came to cast doubt on *my stand (this)*…/(10)\but she is rather *the responsible party* about their dispossession./]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred on the Arabic version:

1. TT explicitly establishes the conjunctive relation [C2] by inserting the adversative conjunction ['ila: 'anna <yet>] in E2, while ST uses no conjunction.

2. ST cohesive relation [L8]- signalled by means of paraphrasing (i.e. repetition of the semantic content of the preceding unit), 'my views on the necessity of studying and learning about Israel', in E3- is modified in the TT. That is, TT relates the two units by the NP [mawqifi: ha:dha: <my stance (this)>] in E3, which is made up of a general lexical item summarising the content of the preceding unit plus a determiner.

Example 78:

EST1: SEI<E3 & E4:	[E3<(6-10): (6)\The young woman's question was to raise doubt about *my views* on the necessity of studying and learning about Israel./(7)\ "wouldn't that kind of attention paid to Israel", she said, "be a form of concession to it?"/(8)\She was asking me if ignorant "non-normalization" didn't constitute a better approach to a state…/] [E4<(11-13): (11)\I must confess that *the thought* hadn't occurred to *me*…/]

ATT1: SEI<E3 & E4:	[E3<(6-10): (6)\'ila-'anna su:'a:l sh-sha:b al- filisTi:yni:ya ja:'a li-yuthi:yr sh-shuku:wk fi:y *mawqifi:y* ha:dha:…,/(7)\fa-qad qa:lat …/(8)\'ayy 'annaha: ka:nat tas'al ∅'idha: lam yaku:wn (al-la:-taTbi:y') l-ja:hil huw al-mawqif .../] [E4<(11-13): (11)\'alayya 'an a'tarif bi-'anna *ha:dhih al-fikra* lam takhTur bi-*ba:li:y* qaT…/]

[Lit. E3<(6-10): (6)\however, the question of the Palestinian young woman came to cast doubt on *my stand* (this)…/(8)\that is, she was asking if …the best stand towards the state…/ E4<(11-13): (11)\I have to admit that *this idea* never came to *my mind* at all…/]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. ST cohesive relation [L5] binding the two units- signalled by the general indefinite lexical item 'thought', which summaries the content of the preceding unit- is modified in the TT. TT establishes link between the same units by the NP [ha:dhih al-fikra <this idea>] in E4, which is made up of a determiner and a definite lexical item summarising the content of the preceding unit.

2. ST cohesive relation [R5]- signalled by the pronominal reference item 'me' in E4, which presupposes the possessive NP 'my views' in the preceding unit- is modified in the TT. That is, TT renders ST presupposing item by the possessive pronominal NP [ba:li:y <my mind>] in E4.

Example 79:

EST1: SEI<E4 & E5:	[E4<(11-13): (11)\I must confess that the thought hadn't occurred to me…./] [E5<(14-18): (14)*After all*, I found myself asking in return…./]
ATT1: SEI<E4 & E5:	[E4<(11-13): (11)\'alayya 'an a'tarif bi-'anna ha:dhih al-fikra lam takhTur bi-ba:li:y qaT…/] [E5<(14-18): (14)*wa* wajadtuni:y 'atasa:'al-u bil-muqa:bil 'an ma'na: mawqifuha: fi:y al-waD' al-Ha:li:y …./]

[Lit. E4<(11-13): (11)\I have to confess that this idea never came to my mind at all,/ E5<(14-18): (14)*and*, I found my self asking in return about [the] meaning of her standpoint on the current situation,/]

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C4]- signalled by the explicit temporal conjunction 'after all', which links E5 with the preceding one- is modified in the TT. That is, TT signals relation between the two elements by the additive conjunction [wa <and>].

Example 80:

EST1: SEI<E5 & E6:	[E5<(14-18): (14)\After all, I found myself asking in return,/ (15)\two major Arab countries had made formal peace with *Israel*…/] [E6<(19-21): (18)\∅ Arab intellectuals had made it a point of honour not to have any dealings with Israel …/(21)\ and had maintained diplomatic relations with *the Jewish state* during …/]

ATT1: SEI<E5 & E6:	[E5<(14-18): (14)\ wa wajadtuni:y 'atasa:'al-u bil-muqa:bil 'an ma'na: mawqifuha: .../(15)\ba'da: ma:-'aqa:mat dawlata:n 'arabi:yata:n ra'i:ysita:n s-sala:m ma'a *'isra:'i:yl* .../] [E6<(19-21): (19)\ *'illa: 'anna* al-muthaqafu:wn al-'arab ja'alu: min bayn-i muqadasa:tuhum rafD 'ayya naw'-in min t-ta'a:mul ma'a 'isra:'i:yl .../(21)\wa 'ida:mat al-'ila:qa:t d-diblu:wma:si:ya *ma'aha:* 'ithna:' .../]

[Lit. E5<(14-18): (14)\subsequently, I found my self asking in return about [the] meaning of her standpoint.../(15)\after two major Arab countries established (the) peace with *Israel*.../E6<(19-21): (18)*however*, (the) Arab intellectuals made among their sacred [things] the rejection of any kind of (the) dealings with Israel.../(21)\and (the) maintenance of the diplomatic relations *with it* .../]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. TT explicitly establishes the conjunctive relation [C2] by inserting the adversative conjunction ['ila: 'anna <yet>] in E5, while ST uses no conjunction.

2. ST cohesive relation [L2]- signalled by the definite article NP 'the Jewish State' in E5, which presupposes the reference 'Israel' in the preceding unit- is reduced in the TT by rendering ST presupposing item by the pronominal reference item [ma'aha: <with it>] in E5.

Example 81:

EST1: SEIII<E8 & E9:	[E8<(24-30): (27)\That, I took it, was what she suggested, we should be practicing towards Israel.../] [E9<(31-34): (31)*What I said in contrast* was not only a matter of understanding them but also of understanding ourselves.../]

ATT1: SEIII<E8 & E9:	[E8<(24-29): (26)\ha:dha: kama: 'a'taqid, huwa *al-mawqif l-ladhi:y* 'aradat lana: 'itikha:dhahuw tija:h 'isra:'i:yl.../] [E9<(30-35): (30)*wa* la:-yaqtaSir-u *mawqifi:y ha:dha:* 'ala: muHa:walat fahm ha:'u:wla:'.../]

[Lit. E8<(24-29): (26)\this, as I think, is the stand that she wanted us to adopt towards Israel.../ E9<(30-35): (30)\and, my stand (this) is not limited to understanding those.../]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. ST contrastive relation signalled by the lexical signal in the expression 'What I said in contrast' in E9, is substituted by the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in the TT.

2. TT expands on the ST by establishing the cohesive relation [L1] between the two units by inserting the NP [mawqifi:y ha:dha <my stance (this)>] in E9, which is a direct repletion of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding unit.

Example 82:

EST1: SEIII<E9 & E10:	[E9<(31-34): (31)\What *I* said in contrast was not only a matter of understanding them but also of understanding ourselves…/] [E10<(35-38): (35)*Besides*, *I* continue to believe as an educator that knowledge -- any knowledge -- is better than ignorance…./]
ATT1: SEIII<E9 & E10:	[E9<(30-35): (30)\wa la:-yaqtaSir-u mawqifi:y ha:dha: ‘ala: muHa:walat fahm ha:’u:wla:’…/] [E10<(36-39): (36)*’iDa:fat-an ’ila: dha:lika* la:-’aza:lu ‘ala: *’i‘tiqa:di:y*, ka-mu‘alim, ’anna al-ma‘rifa --’ayya ma‘riffa-- ’afDal min al-jahl…/]

[Lit. E9<(30-35): (30)\and, *my stand* (this) is not limited to understanding those…/ E10<(36-39): (36)*in addition to that*, I still on *my believe*, as a teacher, that (the) knowledge-any knowledge is better than (the) ignorance…/]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C1]- signalled by the additive conjunction ‘besides’, which links E10 with the preceding one- is modified in the TT. That is, TT establish link between the two units using the more emphatic compound conjunction, i.e. [’iDa:fat-an ’ila: dha:lika <in addition to that>] in E5, which has an additional propositional meaning; it explicitly makes reference to the content of the preceding unit.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the personal pronominal reference item ‘I’ in E10, which presupposes the reference item ‘I’ in the preceding one- is changed into [R1.2] in the TT. That is, TT renders ST presupposing item by the possessive pronominal reference NP [’i ‘tiqa:di:y <my believe>] in E10.

3. TT expands on the ST by establishing the cohesive relation [L2] between the two units by inserting the lexical item [’i ‘tiqa:d <believe>] in E10, which coheres with the lexical item [*mawqif* <stance>] expressed in the preceding unit.

3.3. Shifts at L3

Example 83:

EST1: SEI & SEII:	[SEI<E1-E6>: (5)\but that as Arabs we needed to study that other *history as one* concerning us rather than avoiding or ignoring it totally/ as has been the case for such a long time…/(7)\ "wouldn't that kind of attention paid to *Israel*", she said, "be a form of concession to it?"…./] [SEII<E7>:(22)\∅How could *one* possibly oppose analysing and learning everything possible about *a country*…/]
ATT1: SEI & SEII:	[SEI<E1-E6>: (5)\bal *'inna: ka-'arab* bi-Ha:ja 'ila: *dira:sat dha:lika t-ta:ri:ykh al-'a:khar 'ala: 'annahuw mawDu:' ya'ni:na:* wa laysa tajanubahuw 'aw al-'ighfa:l t-ta:m lahuw kama: hi:ya 'l-Ha:l mindhu zaman Tawi:yl .../(7)\fa-qad qa:lat ('alann yaku:wn ha:dha: l-naw' min al-'ihtima:m bi-*'isra:'i:yl* shakl-an min 'ashka:l at-tana:zul 'ama:maha: …/] [SEII<E7>: (22)*la:kin* kayfa yumkin li-*'ayy-in mina:* 'an yu'a:riD *s-sa'y 'ila: ma'rifat wa taHli:yl 'akthar ma:-yumkin min al-ma'lu:wma:t 'an ha:dha: al-balad…*/]

[Lit. SEI<E1-E7>: (5)\but also we as Arabs needed to study that other history as a subject concerning us and not to avoid it or to ignore it completely as the case for a long time ago…/(7)\(because) she said, "would not this kind of attention paid to Israel be a kind of the concession forms in front of her?"…./SEII<E8>: (21)*but*, how it could be possible for *any of us* to oppose efforts to understand and analyse the most possible (the) information about *this country…]*

Here, the following shifts have occurred on the Arabic version:

1. TT establishes conjunctive relation [C2] by inserting explicit conjunction [la:kin <but>] at the initial position of SEII, which relates it with the preceding unit, whereas ST establishes the same relation implicitly [i.e. using ∅-conjunction].

2. TT establishes the cohesive relation [R1.4] by rendering ST indefinite general lexical item 'one' in SEII (22), which has no cohesive function, by the first person plural pronominal reference <mina: <us>] in SEII, which presupposes a number of pre-mentioned identities- in the preceding unit- including: the speaker, the Palestinian student, and the Arab intellectuals.

3. ST cohesive relation [L5], signalled by the lexical item 'country' in the indefinite NP 'a country' in SEII<E8:(22), which anaphorically refers back to an identity established earlier in the preceding unit- i.e. the proper name 'Israel' in SEI, is modified in the TT. ST presupposing item- i.e. the indefinite NP 'a country'- is substituted by the demonstrative NP [ha:dha: al-bald <this country>] in SEII, which refers back to the proper name ['isra:'i:yl <Israel> in the preceding unit.

4. TT establishes the cohesive relation 'specific-general' between the constituents of the two units, i.e. the lexical item [mawDu:w' <subject>] in SEI and the expression [s-sa'y 'ila: ma'rifat wa taHli:yl … al-ma'luma:t <efforts to understand and analyse … information>].

Example 84:

EST1: SEII & SEIII:	[SEII<E7>: (22)\How could one possibly oppose analysing and learning everything possible about a country…/] [SEIII<E8-E10>: (24)\In this young woman's understanding therefore, the opposite of conceding was supposed to be defiance….]
ATT1: SEII & SEIII:	[SEII<E7>: (22)\la:kin kayfa yumkin li-'ayy-in mina: 'an yu'a:riD *s-sa'y 'ila: ma'rifat wa taHli:yl 'akthar ma:-yumkin min al-ma'lu:wma:t 'an ha:dha: al-balad…*/] [SEIII<E8-E10>: (24)\'iftira:D *al-ba:Hitha sh-sha:bba* ka:nna 'anna naqi:yD t-tana:zul huwa t-taHadi:y ….../]

[Lit. SEII<E7: (21)\but, how it could be possible for any of us to oppose *efforts to understand and analyse … information* about this country…/SEIII<E8-E10: (23)\the young (-woman) *researcher*'s question was that [the] opposite of (the) concession was the defiance…]

Here, the following shifts have occurred on the Arabic version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C3], signalled by the explicit conjunction 'therefore' in SEIII, which relates it to the preceding unite, is implicitly signalled in the TT.

2. TT makes an explicit link between the two units through the use of the lexical item [al-ba:Hitha <the researcher>] in SEIII, which coheres with the expression [s-sa'y 'ila: ma'rifat wa taHli:yl … al-ma'luma:t <efforts to understand and analyse … information>] in the preceding unite.

4. Shifts in ATT2

The comparison of the pair of texts EST2 and ATT2-in terms of their cohesive relations relating units at the above mentioned three levels of text organisation- has revealed significant instances of shift on the part of the Arabic version. These are discussed under the following sub-headings:

4.1. Shifts at L1

Example 85:

EST2: SEI<E1<(1) & (2):	(1)\As a deliberate dig at *Texas*'s own President George W. Bush it was hard to beat./ (2)\Ø A cake decorated with three candles fashioned in the shape of polluting *Texan* smokestacks had pride of place on a table in Brussels this week at a ceremony to mark the anniversary of the European Union's signing of the Kyoto treaty on global warming./
ATT2: SEI<E1<(1) & [(2-4)]:	(1)\ ka:nnat *Haraka* khabi:ytha fi:yha: al-kathi:yr min al-ghamz wa al-lamz fi:y qana:t al-ra'i:ys al-'amri:yki:y ju:wrj bu:sh/ [Clauses (2-4): (2)\ *ha:dhih al-Haraka* tamathalat fi:y 'arD *ka'ka* zi:unat bi-thala:that shumu:' 'ala: shakl *mada:khin* taqli:ydi:a tu:jad fi:y taksa:s/ (3)\wa hiya: *mada:khin* yu'raf 'anha: talwi:thuha: sh-shadi:d lil-bi:y'a./(4)\ wuDi'at al- ka'ka 'ala: Ta:wila fi:y bru:wksil min 'ajl al-'iHtifa:l bil-dhikra: th-tha:litha li-tawqi:y' al-'ittiHa:d al-'u:wru:wbi:y 'ala: 'itifa:qi:yat ki:yu:wtu: al-kha:Sa bil-'iHtiba:s al-Hara:ri:y/]

[Lit. clauses (1)-(2-4): (1)\It was a nasty move full of [sarcastic remarks] against the American President G. Bush/(2)*This move* was symbolized by displaying of *a cake* decorated with three candles resembling the figure of smokestacks located in Texas/(3)\(*and*) they were *smokestacks* recognized by their excessive pollution of (the) environment/(4)*the cake* was placed on a table in Brussels to celebrate the third anniversary of the European Union's signing of the Kyoto treaty on global warming./]

In the above excerpts, TT renders ST construction of a single clause-sentence- i.e. clause (2)- by a sequence of three adjacent independent clauses; consequently, the following instances of shift have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. ST cohesive relation [L1], signalled by the lexical item 'Texan' in clause (2), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item uttered in the preceding unit, is eliminated in the TT.

2. TT relates the two constructions to one another using the demonstrative NP [ha:dhih al-Haraka <this move>] in clause (2), which is made up of the demonstrative reference item [ha:dhih <this>]functioning as a determiner plus the lexical item [Haraka < move>], which is a direct repletion of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding clause; whereas ST uses no conjunction.

3. TT establishes the following cohesive relations that do not exist in the ST:

i. Cohesive relation [L1] between the constituents of clauses (2) and (3) signalled by the lexical item [mada:khin <smokestacks >] in clause (3), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding one.

ii. Cohesive relation [L1] between the constituents of clauses (2) and (4) signalled by the lexical item [ka'kka <cake>] in clause (4), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in clause (2).

Example 86:

EST2: SEI<E2<(3) & (4)	(3)\Still stinging from what she had described as "saddening" meetings with the Bush team, Margot Wallstrom, the European environment commissioner, was unusually blunt./ (4)\∅The EU, she said, would press ahead with Kyoto "with or without the United States"./
ATT2: SEI<E2<(5) & (6)	(5)\ wa yabdu:w 'anna huna:ka ghaDab 'u:wru:wbi:y tija:h al-mawqif al-'amri:yki:y r-ra:fiD li-tillka al-*'itifa:qi:ya,*/ (6)*fa-ba'da* 'ijtima:' 'aqadathuw al-mufawaDa al-'u:wru:wbi:ya… ma'a 'aHad 'a'Da:' fari:yq bu:sh qa:lat… tanfi:ydh *'itifa:qi:yat ki:yu:wtu:* ma'a al-wilaya:t al-muttaHida 'aw du:wniha:>>./

[Lit. clauses (5)-(6): (5)\and it seems that there is an European's depression against the American rejection of that *treaty*/(6)*because, after* a meeting held by the European environment commissioner… with one member of Bush's tem, she said…in the exclusion of Kyoto *treaty* with the United States or without it"/]

In the above excerpts, TT modifies the structure of the ST; consequently, the following shift have occurred on the Arabic version:

1. TT expands on the structure of the ST by inserting the comment clause, i.e. clause (5); and establishes link between it and the following one by the following means:

i. Conjunctive relation [C3], signalled by the combined conjunction [fa- ba'd <after>] in clause (6); clause (5) signals the grounds relation, whereas clause (6) is connected to the preceding one through a 'conclusion' relation, which is signalled by the combined conjunction [fa] 'so' and [ba'd] 'after'.

ii Cohesive relation [L1], signalled by the lexical item ['itifa:qi:ya < treaty>] in clause (6), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding clause.

2. ST construction of a string of two adjacent independent clauses is rendered in the TT by a single clause-sentence construction with some embedded elements.

Example 87:

EST2: SEI<E2<(5) & (6):	(5)\On the other side of the Atlantic, *a senior member of the Bush administration* said the EU was in many ways "the antithesis of American values" and interests"./ (6)\∅ *He* said: "I can't think of a single long-term factor working in its favour. There's no evidence of the EU breaking out of its static, command control mentality."/

ATT2: SEI<E2<(7) & (8):	(7)\‘ala: al-ja:nib al-’a:khar min al-’aTlasi:y waqaf-a *’aHad kuba:r al-mas’u:wli:yn fi:y ’ida:rat bu:sh* li-yaqu:wl ’anna al-’ittiHa:d al-’u:wru:wbi:y <<yushakil n-naqi:yD lil-qi:yam wa al-maSa:liH al-’amri:yki:ya>> / (8)\ *wa* ’aDa:fa *dha:lika al-mas’u:wl* qa:’i:l-an <<laysa huna:ka ’ayya dali:yl yushi:yr ’ila: takhali:y al-’ittiHa:d al-’u:wru:wbi:y ‘ann jumu:wdih wa ‘aqli:atih al-mutaHajira>>./

[Lit. clauses (7)-(8): (7)\on the other side of the Atlantic, *a senior member of Bush's administration* (stud up to say) that the European Union "forms the opposite of the American values and interests"/(8)*and that official* wants on to say "there is no any single evident indicating that the European Union is breaking out of its statistic, command control mentality."/]

In the above excerpts, TT modifies the structure of the ST by carrying out the following procedures:

1. TT establishes link, i.e. the conjunctive relation [C1], between clauses (7) and (8) by the explicit additive conjunction [wa <and>], which links clause (8) with the preceding one, while ST uses no conjunction in relating the two units.

2. ST cohesive relation [R4] signalled by the pronominal reference item 'he' in clause (8), which anaphorically refers to the reference 'a senior member…' mentioned in the preceding clause, is modified in the TT. ST presupposing item is rendered in the TT by the demonstrative NP [dha:lika l-mas'u:wl <that official>], i.e. [R2].

Example 88:

EST2: SEI<E3<(7) & (8)	(7)\As Mr Bush nears his 100th day in office - the *landmark* … Europe is finding that America is striking back./ (8)*In many respects*, the 100 days *milestone* will mark the end of a very short honeymoon for US-EU relations./

ATT2: SEI<E3<[(9-10)] & [(11-12)]:	[Clauses (9)-(10): (9)\wa fi:y al-waqt al-ladhi:y ’akmala fi:yhi al-ra’i:ys ju:wrj bu:sh *mi’at yawm* fi:y al-bayt al-’abyaD fa-’inna ’u:wru:wbba:…/] [Clauses (11)-(12): (11)*fa:-l-mi’at yau:wm l-’u:wla:* shahidat ni:ha:yat shahr l-‘assal l-qaSi:yr…/]

[Lit. clauses (9-10)-(11-12): (9)\and, as President G. Bush has completed *one hundred days* in the White House, Europe…/(11-12)*because* the initial *one hundred days* have witnessed the end of the short honeymoon…/]

In the above excerpts, TT modifies the structure of the ST; consequently, the following shifts have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C2] expressed by the adversative form 'in many respects', which links clause (8) with the preceding one, is substituted by [C3] in the TT. That is, TT uses the causal conjunction [fa <because>] in relating clause (11) to the preceding construction.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1] signalled by the lexical item 'milestone' in clause (8), which coheres with the lexical item 'landmark' in the preceding clause, is eliminated in the TT by the omission of a ST construction, i.e. the embedded clause constituting the presupposed item, 'landmark'.

Example 89:

EST2: SEI<E3<(9) & (10):	(9)\The initial warm glow that greeted the appointment by Mr Bush of such seasoned foreign policy hands as Gen. Colin Powell…/ (10)*When* Gen. Powell reassured America's allies on its commitment to Europe by saying categorically that "we went in together and we will leave together",/

ATT2: SEI<E3<(13) & (14):	(13)\ka:nat bida:yat shahr al-'asal ma'a t-tarHi:yb al-'u:wru:wbi:y bi-ta'i:yn al-jinira:l ku:lin ba:wl wazi:yr-an lil-kha:riji:ya fi:y 'ida:rat bu:sh/ (14)*wa* qad Safaq al-'u:wru:wbbi:yu:wn Tawi:yl-an li-ma:dhakarah-u ba:wl …/

[Lit. clauses (13)-(14): (13)\the beginning of the honeymoon coincided with the Europeans' greeting of the appointment of (the) General Colin Powell as a foreign minister in Bush's administration/(14)*and* the Europeans had clapped for a long time, for what Powell said about America's commitment to Europe "we went in the past together and we will go in the future together/]

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C4] signalled by the explicit temporal conjunction 'when', which links clause (10) with the preceding one, is substituted by [C1] in the Arabic version. That is, TT uses the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in relating clause (14) to the preceding one.

Example 90:

EST2: SEI<E3<(10) & (11):	(10)\When *Gen. Powell* reassured America's allies on its commitment to Europe by saying categorically that "we went in together and we will leave together",/ (11)\∅ one European official described *his words* as "music to our ears"./

ATT2: SEI<E3<(14) & (15):	(14)\wa qad Safaq al-'u:wru:wbbi:yu:wn Tawi:yl-an li-ma:dhakarah-u *ba:wl* Hawla 'iltiza:m 'amari:yka: bi-'u:wru:wbba: <<laqad sirna fi:y al-ma:Di:y ma'an wa sa-nasi:yr fi:y al-mustaqbal 'ayDan ma'an>>./ (15)*wa* qad waSafa mas'u:wl 'u:wru:wbi:y *kalima:t ba:wl* <<bi-'annaha: kalima:t mu:wsi:yqi:ya 'aTrabatna: kathi:yr-an>>./

[Lit. clauses (14)-(15): (14)\and the Europeans had clapped for a long time, for what Powell said about America's commitment to Europe "we went in the past together and we will go in the future together/(15)\(*and*) one European official described *Powell's words* "as music words that have entertained us to some extent"/]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. TT establishes the conjunctive relation [C1] between the clauses (14) and (15) by inserting the explicit additive conjunction [wa <and>], while ST uses no conjunction.

2. ST cohesive relation [R1.2] signalled by the possessive pronominal NP 'his words' in clause (10), which anaphorically refers to the reference item 'Gen. Powell' in the preceding clause, is substituted by [R1.1] in the TT. That is, ST presupposing item 'his words' is rendered in the TT by the possessive proper name NP [kalima:t ba:l <Powell's words>].

Example 91:

EST2: SEII<E4<(12) & (13)	(12)\But Europe is learning that *Gen Powell* is only one member of the Bush foreign policy team./ (13)\Ø Some officials have already begun to whisper against *the former Gulf War leader*, accusing him of being out of step with the president on key issues./

ATT2: SEII<E4<(16) & (17):	(16)\ba'daha: bi-waqt-in qaSi:yr adrakt 'u:wru:wbba: 'anna *ku:lin ba:wl* laysa siwa: fard-in wa:Hid-in fi:y fari:yq bu:sh al-kha:S bil-si:ya:sa al-kha:riji:ya/ (17)*wa* bada' ba'aD al-'u:ru:biyyn yahmisu:n bi-kala:m-in Did-a *ba:wl* mu:tahimi:yn 'i-ya:huw bil-'azf al-mu:nfarid ba'i:yd-an 'an al-ra'i:ys wa rab'uh./

[Lit. clauses (16)-(17): (16)\After that in a short time Europe found that *Powell* was nothing but a single figure in Bush's teem for the foreign policy/(17)*then* some Europeans began to whisper with words against *Powell* accusing…/]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. TT establishes the conjunctive relation [C4] between clauses (16) and (17) by inserting the ambiguous/multipurpose conjunction [wa <then>], while ST uses no conjunction.

2. ST cohesive relation [L5] signalled by the NP 'the former Gulf War leader' in clause (13), which anaphorically refers to the reference item 'Powell' in the preceding clause, is substituted by [L1] in the TT. That is, ST presupposing item is rendered in the TT by the proper name [ba:wl <Powell>] in clause (17), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding clause.

3. ST cohesive relation [L10] signalled by the lexical item 'war' in clause (13), which has a collocational association with the lexical item 'General' in the preceding clause, is eliminated in the TT.

4. TT establishes the cohesive relation [that does not exist in the ST. That is, TT creates the relation of [R1.3] by means of lexical cohesion; the pairs ['uwru:bba: <Europe>] and ['u:ru:wbi:yyn <Europeans>] in clauses (16) and (17), respectively.

Example 92:

EST2: SEIII<E5<(14) & (15)	(14)\Mr Bush is less inclined to look towards Europe than any other recent American president./ (15)\Ø He speaks of a "hemispheric" approach to foreign policy and trade in which the Americas act in concert./
ATT2: SEIII<E5<(18) & (19):	(18)\min al-wa:DiH 'anna ju:rj bu:sh yubdi: zuhd-an wa:DiH-an akthara min ghayrih tija:h al-'irtiba:T wa al-qurb min 'u:wru:wbba:/ (19)*fa*-huwa yataHadath-u 'an (niSf l-ku:ra l-gharbi:) fi: maja:l s-siya:sa l-kha:riji:ya wa l-tija:ra,/

[Lit. clauses (18)-(19): (18)\it is obvious that G. Bush is intending to be more sincere/interested towards the commitment and association with Europe than any others/(19)*because* he speaks about "the western part of the Global" on the foreign policy and trade/]

In the above excerpts, TT explicitly establishes link between clauses (18) and (19), i.e. the conjunctive relation [C3), by inserting the causal conjunction [fa <because>] in clause (19), while ST uses no conjunction.

Example 93:

EST2: SEIII<E5<(15) & (16):	(15)\He speaks of a "hemispheric" approach to foreign policy and trade in which the Americas act in concert./ (16)\Ø There is a growing focus on the Pacific and Asia./

ATT2: SEIII<E5<(19) & (20):	(19)*fa*-huwa yataHadath-u 'an (niSf al-ku:ra l-gharbi:) fi: maja:l l-siya:sa l-kha:riji:ya wa l-tija:ra,/ (20)*wa* la: yakhfa: 'ala: 'aHad 'anna huna:ka tarki:yz 'amri:ki: mutaza:yud 'ala: l-ba:sifik wa 'a:sya:/

[Lit. clauses (19)-(20): (19)\as he speaks about "the western part of the Global" on the foreign policy and trade/(20)*and* it is a well-known fact that there is a growing American's focus on the Pacific and Asia/]

In the above excerpts, TT explicitly establishes link between clauses (19) and (20), i.e. the conjunctive relation [C1), by inserting the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in clause (20), while ST uses no conjunction.

Example 94:

EST2: SEIII<E6<(17) & (18):	(17)\In recent weeks, *senior Bush advisers* have become increasingly *worried* about plans for a European Rapid Reaction Force./ (18)*Just as* significantly, *they* are *exasperated* by the tide of anti-Bush rhetoric emanating from the other side of the Atlantic./

ATT2: SEIII<E6<(21) & (22):	(21)\fi:y al-'asa:bi:y' al-'akhi:yra aSbaHa *kuba:r al-mustashari:yn* al-muHi:yTu:wn bi-ju:wrj bu:sh akthar *qalaq-an* bi-sh'an al-khuTaT al-'u:wru:wbi:ya li-tashki:l qu:a:t 'u:wru:wbi:ya lil-tadakhul s-sari:y'/ (22)*wa* za:da min *qalaqihim* tilka l-naghama:t l-mutaza:yda l-mu'a:di:ya lil-ra'i:s bu:sh fi: 'u:ru:bba:/

[Lit. clauses (21)-(22): (21)\in the recent weeks the senior advisers around Gorge Bush have become more *worried* about the European plans to form an European force for rapid intervention/(22)*and* their *worries* have been intensified by that growing aggressive tone against President Bush in Europe/]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C5] signalled by the more emphatic comparative expression 'just as', which links clause (18) with the preceding one, is substituted by [C1] in the TT. That is, TT establishes a link between clauses (21) and (22) using the additive conjunction [wa <and>].

2. ST cohesive relation [L2] signalled by the lexical item 'exasperated' in clause (18), which coheres with the lexical item 'worried' in the preceding clause, is substituted by [L1] in the TT. That is, ST presupposing item 'exasperated' is rendered by the lexical item [qalaq <worry>], which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item in the preceding clause.

3. ST cohesive relation [R4] signalled by the personal pronominal reference item 'them' in clause (18), which anaphorically refers to the reference 'senior Bush advisers' expressed in the preceding clause, is substituted by [R1.2] in the TT. That is, ST presupposing item 'them' is rendered by the NP [qalaqihim <their worries>].

Example 95:

EST2: SEIII<E6<(19):	(19)\On Tuesday, *Labour MPs* mocked the president like schoolchildren in a playground./

ATT2: SEIII<E6<[(23-24)] & (25):	(23)\ fa-qad sakhir-a 'aHad 'a'Da:'a al-barlama:n l-'ingili:zi: 'an Hizb al-'uma:l min *l-ra'i: s bu:sh*/ (24)*wa waSafahu* bi-*'annahuw* ashbah ma:-yaku:n <<bi-Ta:lib madrasa yaqif-u fi: mal'ab>>/

[Lit. clauses (23)-(24): (23)\because *a member of the English parliament* made fun of *President Bush*/(24)*and* described-*he him* as being much alike "a student standing in school play ground"/]

In the above excerpts, TT expands on the structure of the ST by rendering clause (19) by two adjacent independent coordinate clauses with finite verbs, i.e. clauses (23) and (24); consequently, the following shifts have occurred:

1. TT establishes the conjunctive relation [C1] using the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in relating the two clauses.

2. TT establishes the cohesive relation [R.4] signalled by reference, i.e. the affixed personal pronominal reference item [hu <him>], which anaphorically refers to an identity established in the preceding clause.

3. TT establishes the cohesive relation [R.4] signalled by reference, i.e. the concealed personal pronominal reference in the verb [waSafa-he <described-he>], which anaphorically refers to an identity established in the preceding clause.

Example 96:

EST2: SEIII<E6<(19) & (20):	(19)\On Tuesday, *Labour MPs* mocked *the president* like schoolchildren in a playground./ (20)\Ø In a typical attack, *Jane Griffiths*, MP for Reading East, dubbed *him* the "fool on Capitol Hill"./

ATT2: SEIII<E6<[(23-24)] & (25):	[Clauses (23)-(24): (23)\fa-qad sakhir-a 'aHad 'a'Da:'a l-barlama:n l-'ingili:zi: 'an Hizb al-'uma:l min *al-ra'i: s bu:sh*/(24)*wa waSafahu* bi-*'annahu* ashbah ma:-yaku:n <<bi-Ta:lib madrasa yaqif-u fi: mal'ab>>/ (25)*wa* maDa: ha:dha l-'iDu: fi: 'intiqa:da:tih wa *waSafa bu:sh* bi-'annahu <<dha:lika l-ghabi: fi: mabna: l-kabitu:l>>./

[Lit. clauses (23-24)-(25): (23)\because *a member of the English parliament* made fun of *President Bush*/(24)*and* described *him* as being much alike "a student standing in school play ground"/(25)*and* this member goes on his mocking and *described* Bush as being "that fool in the building of the Capitol"/]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. TT establishes the conjunctive relation [C1] between clauses (25) and (23) using the explicit additive conjunction [wa <and>], while ST uses no explicit conjunction in relating the same constructions.

2. ST cohesive relation [L2] signalled by the lexical item 'dubbed' in clause (20), which coheres with the lexical item 'mocked' in the preceding clause, is substituted by [L1] in the TT. That is, ST presupposing item 'mocked' is rendered by the lexical item [waSafa <described>] in clause (25), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding construction.

3. ST cohesive relation [R.4] signalled by the personal pronominal reference item 'him' in clause (20), which anaphorically refers to the reference 'the president' in the preceding clause, is substituted by [L1] in the TT. That is, while ST makes reference by grammatical means, 'him', TT does the same but by lexical means, i.e. by the repetition of the lexical item, [bu:sh <Bush>] in clause (25).

Example 97:

EST2: SEIII<E6<(21) & (22):	(21)\In the process she displayed a basic ignorance of *Washington* geography- the White House is a mile and a half from Congress, which the president rarely visits/ (22)\which reinforced *Washingtonians*' sense that Europe's politicians are glibly hostile./

ATT2: SEIII<E6<(26):	(26)\wa tu'Ti: mithla ha:dhih l-'aqa:wi: l wa:shinTu:n al-'inTiba:' bi-'anna l-siya:si:yu:n al-'u:ru:biyyu:n mu'a:du:n li-'amri:ka:/

[Lit. (26)\and such of these sayings indicate to Washington the impression that the European politicians are hostile towards America/]

In the above excerpts, ST construction of a string of two adjacent independent clauses is rendered in the TT by a construct of a single clause-sentence; consequently, ST cohesive relation [L1] signalled by the use of the lexical item 'Washington' in clause (22), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding clause, is reduced in the TT.

Example 98:

EST2: SEIII<E6<[(19-20)] & [(21-22)]:	[Clauses (19)-(20): (19)\On Tuesday, Labour MPs mocked *the president* like schoolchildren in a playground./(20)\In a typical attack, *Jane Griffiths*, MP for Reading East, dubbed him the "fool on Capitol Hill"./ [Clauses (21)-(22): (21)\In the process *she* displayed a basic ignorance of Washington geography- the White House is a mile and a half from Congress, which *the president* rarely visits-(22)\which reinforced Washingtonians' sense that Europe's politicians are glibly hostile./

ATT2: SEIII<E6<[(23-25) & (26):	[Clauses (23-25): (23)\ fa-qad sakhir-a 'aHad 'a'Da:'a al-barlama:n al-'ingili:yzi:y 'an Hizb al-'uma:l min *al-ra'i:ys bu:sh/*(24)\wa waSafahuw bi-'annahuw ashbah ma:-yaku:wn <<bi-Ta:lib madrasa yaqif-u fi:y mal'ab>>/(25)\wa maDa: ha:dha al-'iDu:w fi:y 'intiqa:da:tuh wa waSafa bu:sh bi-'annahuw <<dha:lika al-ghabi:y fi:y mabna: al-kabitu:l>>./ (26)*wa* tu'Ti:y mithla *ha:dhih al-'aqa:wi: l* wa:shinTu:n l-'inTiba:' bi-'anna l-siya:siyyu:n l-'u:ru:biyyu:n mu'a:du:n li-'amri:ka:/

[Lit. clauses (23-25)-(26): (23)\because a member of the English parliament made fun of President Bush/(24)\and described him as being much alike "a student standing in school play ground"/(25)\and this (MP) goes on his mocking and described Bush as being "that fool in the building of the Capitol"/(26)*and* such of *these sayings* indicate to Washington the impression that the European politicians are hostile towards America/]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. TT explicitly establish links between the two constructions by using the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in clause (26), which links it with the preceding construction, while ST uses no conjunction.

2. ST cohesive relation [L1]- signalled by the use of the definite article NP 'the president' in clause (21), which is a direct repetition of the same NP expressed in the preceding construction- is eliminated in the TT.

3. ST cohesive relation [R.4]- signalled by the use of the pronominal reference item 'she' in clause (21), which presupposes the proper name 'Jane Griffiths'- expressed in the preceding construction- is eliminated in the TT.

4. TT establishes the cohesive relation [L5] between the two constructions by inserting the demonstrative NP [ha:dhih l-'aqawi:l <these sayings>] in clause (26), which presupposes the contents of the preceding construction.

Example 99:

EST2: SEIII<E6<[(17-18)] & [(19-22):	[Clauses (17-18): (18)\Just as significantly, they are exasperated by the tide of *anti-Bush rhetoric* emanating from the other side of the Atlantic./] [Clauses (19-22): (19)\Ø On Tuesday, Labour MPs *mocked* the president like schoolchildren in a playground./(20)\In a typical attack, … *dubbed* him the "fool on Capitol Hill"…./]

ATT2: SEIII<E6<[(21-22)] & [(23-26)]:	[Clauses (21-22): (22)\wa za:da min qalaqihum tillka n-naghama:t al-mutaza:yda al-mu'a:di:ya lil-ra'i:ys bu:sh fi: 'u:ru:bba:/] [Clauses (23-26): (23)*fa*-qad sakhir-a 'aHad 'a'Da:'a al-barlama:n al-'ingili:yzi: 'an Hizb al-'uma:l *min al-ra'i:s bu:sh*/(24)\wa waSafahu bi-'annahu ashbah ma:-yaku:n <<bi-Ta:lib madrasa yaqif-u fi: mal'ab>>/(25)\wa maDa: ha:dha al-'iDu: fi: *'intiqa:da:tuh* wa *waSafa bu:sh* bi-'annahu <<dha:lika l-ghabi: fi: mabna: al-kabitu:l>>…../]

[Lit. clauses<(21-22)-(23-26): (22)\and their worries have been intensified by that growing aggressive tone against President Bush in Europe/(23-26)*when* one of the Labour (Party) MP of the English parliament *made fun of* President Bush/(24)*and described* him as being much alike "a student in a school standing in a play ground"/(25)\and this (MP) goes on his mocking and described Bush as being "that fool in the building of the Capitol"/(26)\and such of these sayings indicate to Washington the impression that the European politicians are hostile towards America/]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. TT expands on the TT by establishing the conjunctive relation [C3], signalled by the inserted explicit conjunction [fa <when>] in clause (23), which links it with the preceding construction, while ST uses no explicit conjunction in relating the two constructions.

2. ST cohesive relation 'generic-specific' signalled by the two lexical items 'mocked' and 'dubbed', respectively in clauses (19) and (20), which cohere with the expression 'anti-Bush rhetoric' in (18), is reduced in the TT.

Example 100:

EST2: SEIII<E6<(23):	(23)\European newspapers, which are read on the Internet by White House aides, frequently refer to Mr Bush as the "Toxic Texan"./

ATT2: SEIII<E6<(27) & (28):	(27)\ wa yaTali' al-mas'u:lu:n l-'amri:kiyyu:n 'ala: *l-SuHuf* al-'u:ru:biyya 'abra al-'intarni:t / (28)*wa* aSbaHat ha:dhih *l-SuHuf* tushi:r 'ila: bu:sh 'ala: 'annahu <<al-taksa:si: l-sa:m>>./

[Lit. clauses (27)-(28): (27)\and the American officials read the European *newspapers* through the internet/(28)*and* these *newspapers* have began to refer to Bush as being "the Toxic Texan"/]

In the above excerpts, TT expands on the ST construction. That is, ST construction of a single clause-sentence is rendered in the TT by a construction of a string of two adjacent independent clauses. TT establishes the following cohesive relations in relating the two units:

1. The conjunctive relation [C1] signalled by the additive conjunction [wa <and>] in relating the two units.

2. The cohesive relation [L1] signalled by the lexical item [SuHu:ff <newspapers>] in clause (28), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical items expressed in the preceding clause.

Example 101:

EST2: SEIII<E6<(23) & (24):	(23)\European newspapers, which are read on the Internet by White House aides, frequently refer to Mr Bush as the "Toxic Texan"./ (24)\Ø Opinion polls show 63 per cent of Americans approve of Mr Bush,/

ATT2: SEIII<E6<[(27-28)] & (29):	[Clauses<(27-28): (27)\ wa yaTali' al-mas'u:wli:yn al-'amri:yki:yyn 'ala: S-SuHuf al-'u:wru:wbi:ya 'abra al-'intarni:t /(28)\ wa aSbaHat ha:dhih S-SuHuf tushi:yr 'ila: bu:sh 'ala: 'annahuw <<at-taksa:si:y s-sa:m>>./] (29)\ wa tuDhir 'istiTla:'a:t al-r'ay 'anna % 63 min al-'amri:yki:yyn yu:'ayudu:wn 'ada:'a bu:sh/

[Lit. clauses (27-28)-(29): (27)\and *the American officials* read the European newspapers through the internet/(28)\and these newspapers have began to refer to Bush as being "the Toxic Texan"/(29)*and* the opinion polls show that 63% of Americans support Bush's performance/]

In the above excerpts, TT establishes the conjunctive relation [C1] by inserting the explicit additive conjunction [wa <and>], which links clauses (29) and (27), while ST uses no explicit conjunction in linking the same units.

Example 102:

EST2: SEIII<E6<(24) & (25):	(24)\Opinion polls show 63 per cent of Americans approve of *Mr Bush,*/ (25)*while* only 26 per cent of Britons have a favourable view of *him.*/

ATT2: SEIII<E6<(29) & (30):	(29)\ wa tuDhir 'istiTla:'a:t al-r'ay 'anna % 63 min al-'amri:yki:yyn yu:'ayudu:wn *'ada:'a bu:sh*/ (30)*fi: al-waqt al-ladhi:* la: yu'jib *'ada:'a bu:sh* siwa: % 26 min al-biri:yTa:ni:yyn./

[Lit. clauses (29)-(30): (29)\and the opinion polls show that 63% of Americans support *Bush's performance*/(30)*whereas Bush's performance* is supported/admired only by 26% of the Britons/]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred on the Arabic version:

1. ST cohesive relation [R4] signalled by the use of the pronominal reference item 'him' in clause (25), which anaphorically refers to the reference 'Mr Bush' expressed in the preceding clause, is rendered in the TT as [L1] by rendering ST presupposing item 'him' by the full lexical form, i.e. the proper name [bu:sh <Bush>] in clause (30), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in clause (29).

2. TT establishes the cohesive relation [L1], which is not presence in the ST, by inserting the lexical item ['ada:'a <performance>] in clause (30), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in clause (29).

3. ST clausal relation of contrast signalled by the use of the subordinating conjunction 'while', which links clause (25) with the preceding one, is rendered in the TT by a more emphatic conjunction, i.e. the adverbial phrase [fi:y l-waqt l-ladhi:y <in the main time>].

Example 103:

EST2: SEIII<E6<[(23-25)] & [(26-29)]:	[Clauses (23-25): (23)\European newspapers, which are read on the Internet …/] [Clauses (26-29): (26)\∅ The German newspaper Die Tageszeitung recently said. …/]

ATT2: SEIII<E6<[(27-30)] & (31):	[Clauses (27-30): (27)\ wa yaTali' al-mas'u:wli:yn al-'amri:yki:yyn 'ala: S-SuHuf al-'u:wru:wbi:ya 'abra al-'intarni:t… / (31)\ *wa* katabat SaHi:fat (ta:ki:yz yatuing) al-'almani:ya mu'akhar-an …/

[Lit. clauses (27-30)-(31): (27)\and the American officials read the European newspapers…/(31)*where* the German newspaper "Die Tageszeitung" has recently wrote …/]

In the above excerpts, TT establishes the conjunctive relation [C3], between the two clauses by inserting the general-purpose conjunction [wa, roughly: <were> in clause (27), which links it with the preceding one, whereas ST uses no explicit conjunction.

Example 104:

EST2: SEIII<E7<(30):	(30)\For most Americans, *Mr Bush*'s plain-speaking approach and willingness to take a back seat on occasions like the return of the American spy plane crew from China are a refreshing change from the selfish showmanship of President Clinton./

ATT2: SEIII<E7< (32) & (33):	(32)\ bi-lnisba li-mu‘aZam al-’amri:yki:yyn tushakil mafahi:ym bu:sh S-Sari:yHa wa raghbatuh fi:y shughl maq‘ad-in khalfi:y fi:y muna:saba ha:ma mithla ‘awdat Ta:qam Ta:’irat t-tajasus al-’amri:yki:ya min S-Si:yn taghayr-un Hami:yd-un ‘an *al-’istiHwa:dh al-’ana:ni:y lil-’aDwa:’/* (33)/*al-ladhi:* ka:nna yuma:risahu l-ra’i: s l-sa:biq ki:lintu:n,/

[Lit. clauses (32)-(33): (32)\for the most of the Americans Bush’s frank concepts and his wish in occupying a back seat in important occasions like the return of the American spy plane crew from China form a positive change from the selfish procession of lights/(33)\that had been practiced by (the) former President Clinton/]

Here, TT expands on the ST construction by inserting clause (33), which is a subordinate clause with a conjunctive name delaminating a concept in the preceding construction.

Example 105:

EST2: SEIII<E7<(31) & (32):	(31)*Mr Bush* is a profound believer in the American Way/ (32)\and ∅ sees his country as the embodiment of good./

ATT2: SEIII<E7<(34) & (35):	(34)\’inna *l-ra’i:s bu:sh* yu:’amin ’i:yma:n-an ra:sikh-an bi-Tari:qat l-Haya:t l-’amri:ki:ya/ (35)\wa *huwa yanZur* ’ila: bila:dih ‘ala: ’annaha: tujasid-u al-khayr fi: ha:dha: l-‘a:lam.

[Lit. clauses (34)-(35): In fact *President Bush* believes strongly in the American ways of life/(35)\and he looks at his country as resembling goodness in this world./]

Here, ST cohesive relation [E1] signalled by the omission of the subject of the second coordinated clause, i.e. the pronominal reference item ‘he’ in clause (32), which anaphorically refers to the reference ‘Mr Bush’ expressed in the preceding clause, is rendered in the TT as [R5] by the insertion of the independent pronominal reference item [huwa <he>] in clause (35).

Example 106:

EST2: SEIII<E7<(33):	(33)\He is instinctively sceptical about the value of international organisations./

ATT2: SEIII<E7<(36) & (37):	(36)\wa huwa shaku:wk bi-Tab‘ih tija:h *al-qi:yam/* (37)\al-lati:y tumathiluha: wa tad‘u:w ’ili:yha: al-munaZama:t d-dawli:ya./

[Lit. clauses (36)-(37): (36)\and he is doubtful by nature about *the values*/(37)*that have been resembled and propagated by the international organisations*/]

Here, ST expands on the structure of the ST by inserting the relative clauses, i.e. clause (37), which defines a concept expressed in the preceding one.

Example 107:

EST2: SEIII<E7<(34) & (35):	(34)\In European eyes, all this just tends to confirm the *stereotype*/ (35)\that the President is not engaged in policy/]

ATT2: SEIII<E7<(38) & (39):	(38)\wa bil-nisba lil-'u:wru:wbbi:yyn tuqadim-u *taSarufa:t bu:sh* l-dali:l l-da:migh (min ba:b l-sukhri:ya)/ (39)\'ala: 'anna *l-ra'i: s* ghayra munkhariT fi: l-siya:sa,/]

[Lit. clauses (38)-(39): (38)\and as for the Europeans, *Bush's behaviours* present an un-deniable evidence "mockingly"/(39)\that *the President* is not engaged in politics/]

In the above excerpts, TT establishes a new cohesive relation between the two clauses by inserting the proper name possessive NP [taSarufat bu:sh <Bush's behaviours>] in clause (38).

Example 108:

EST2: SEIII<E7<(36) & (37):	(36)\Mr Bush's style is in many ways unsuited to a world/ (37)\in which diplomatic nuance can be everything/

ATT2: SEIII<E7<(40) & (41):	(40)\fa-ha:dha l-'uslu: b yu'Tabar ghayra maqbu:wl bil-nisba *lil-'u:wru:wbbi:yyn/* (41)*al-ladhi:yna* yarawn 'anna l-du:blu:ma:si:ya yajib-u 'an yaku:n la-ha: dawr-un fi: kulla shay'a./

[Lit. clauses (40)-(41): (40)\because this manner is considered as unacceptable *for the Europeans*/(41)\who deem that diplomacy must have a role in every thing/]

In the above excerpts, TT establishes a new cohesive relation between the two clauses by inserting the prepositional NP [lil-'u:wru:wbbi:yyn <for the Europeans>] in clause (40).

Example 109:

EST2: SEIII<E7<[(34-35)] & [(36-37)]:	[Clauses (34-35): (34)\In European eyes, all this just tends to confirm the *stereotype*/(35)\that *the President* is not engaged in policy/] [Clauses (36-37): (36)\Ø *Mr Bush*'s *style* is in many ways unsuited to a world/(37)\in which *diplomatic nuance* can be everything/

ATT2: SEIII<E7<[(38-39)] & [(40-41)]:	[Clauses (38-39): (38)\wa bil-nisba *lil-'u:wru:wbbi:yyn* tuqadim-u *taSarufa:t bu:sh* l-dali:l l-da:migh (min ba:b s-sukhri:ya)/(39)\'ala: 'anna al-ra'i:ys ghayra munkhariT fi:y *s-siya:sa,/*] [Clauses (40-41): (40)*fa-ha:dha l-'islu:wb* yu'Tabar ghayra maqbu:wl bil-nisba *lil-'u:wru:wbbi:yyn/*(41)*al-ladhi:yna* yarawn 'anna d-du:blu:wma:si:ya yajib-u 'an yaku:wn la-ha: dawr-un fi:y kulla shay'a./]

[Lit. clauses (38-39)-(40-41): (38)\as for the Europeans, Bush's behaviours present them with (the) un deniable evidence "mockingly"/(39)\that the President is not engaged in (the) politics/(40)\because this manner is considered as unacceptable for the Europeans/(41)\who deem that diplomacy must have a role in every thing/]

In the above excerpts, TT modifies the various relations in the ST by carrying out the following procedures:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C3]- signalled by the use of an implicit conjunction or [0-conjunction] in clause (36) which links it with the preceding one, is rendered in the TT by the use of the explicit coordinating conjunction [fa <because>] in clause (40).

2. ST cohesive relation [L4] signalled by the lexical item 'style' in clause (37), which coheres with the lexical item 'stereotype' in clause (34), is rendered in the TT by the use of the demonstrative NP [ha:dha: l-'islu:wb <this style>] in clause (39), which presupposes the possessive proper name NP[taSarufa:t bu:sh <Bush's actions> in clause (37); i.e. referential relation [R2].

3. ST contrastive relation signalled by the NP 'Mr Bush' in clause (36), which is made of a title plus a proper name anaphorically referring to the definite article NP 'the president' in the preceding clause, which is made up of a definite article plus the common noun, is modified in the TT by the omission of the proper name 'Bush' in clause (40).

4. ST cohesive relation [L10] signalled by the lexical item 'diplomatic' in clause (37), which coheres with the lexical item 'president' in clause (35), is modified in the TT; TT establishes lexical relation [L2] signalled by the lexical item [d-diblu:wma:si:ya <diplomacy>] in clause (41), which coheres with the lexical item [a s-si:ya:sa <politic>] in clause (39).

5. TT establishes the cohesive relation [L1], signalled by the definite article NP ['al-'u:ru:bbiyyn <the Europeans>] in clause (40), which is a direct repetition of the definite article NP ['al-'u:wru:wbbi:yyn <the Europeans>] in clause (38), which is not explicitly expressed in the ST.

Example 110:

EST2: SEIII<E7<(38):	(38)\His slip this week when he said United States forces would defend Taiwan against the Chinese hardly helped to rebuild relations with Beijing./

ATT2: SEIII<E7<[(42-43)] & (44):	[Clauses (42-43): (42)\fi:y l-'isbu:w' qabla al-ma:Di:y *zala lisa:n bu:sh*/(43)\ *'indama: qa:la* 'anna al-qu:a:t al-'amri:yki:ya sa-tuda:fi' 'an taywa:n Dida S-Si:yn/] (44)\ *wa* ka:nat *al-nati:yja* tawji:yh Darba shadi:yda lil-'ila:qa:t bayna wa:shinTu:wn wa baki:n./]

[Lit. clauses (42-43)-(44): (42)\in the week before the last Bush's tongue slip/(43)\when he said that the American forces would defend Taiwan against the Chinese/(44)\and the result was a very strong strike directed against the relations between Washington and Beijing/]

Here, ST construction of a single clause-sentence- i.e. clause (38)- is rendered in the TT by a string of three adjacent independent clauses- i.e. clauses (42–44), bring about the following instances of shifts; TT establishes the following relations that have not explicitly been expressed in the ST:

1. The conjunctive relation [C4], signalled by the conjunction ['indama: <when>] in clause (41), which links it with the preceding one;

2. The cohesive relation [R4], signalled by the concealed pronominal reference- suffixed to a verb- [qa:la: <(he-)said>] in clause (43) presupposing the referent [bu:sh <Bush>] in the preceding clause;

3. The conjunctive relation [C3], signalled by the combination of the additive conjunction [wa <and>] and the lexical signals [l-nati:yja <the result>] in clause (44), which links it with the preceding construction of two independent clauses- i.e. clauses (42-43).

Example 111:

EST2: SEIII<E7<(39):	(39)\While straight talking is often welcomed in America,/

ATT2: SEIII<E7<(45) & (46):	(45)\wa fi:y al-waqt al-ladhi:y yuraHib al-'amri:yki:yu:wn bil-'aqwa:l wa t-taSri:yHa:t al-lati:y tatasim bil-*Sara:Ha*, / (46)*fa-*'inna *al-Sara:Ha* laysat da:'im-an mauDi' tarHi:yb sawa:'-un 'ala: al-mustawa: d-dawli:y 'aw sh-shakhSi:y/

[Lit. clauses (45)-(46): (45)\on the one hand, where the Americans welcomed the sayings and statements which are full of *frankness*/(46)*however*, *frankness* is not always welcomed neither at the international level nor at the personal level/]

In the above excerpts, TT expands on the ST structure by rendering ST structure of a single clause-sentence by a construction of two adjacent independent clauses; consequently, the following shifts have occurred:

1. TT establishes the conjunctive relation [C2] signalled by the adversative conjunction [fa <however>] in clause (46).

2. TT establishes the cohesive relation [L1] signalled by the lexical item [Sara:Ha <frankness>] in clause (46), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding clause.

Example 112:

EST2: SEIII<E7<(39) & (40):	(39)\While straight talking is often welcomed in America,/ (40)*even* advisers now concede that the rejection of the Kyoto treaty with minimal consultation and without having an alternative policy in place alienated allies unnecessarily./

ATT2: SEIII<E7<[(45-46)] & (47):	[Clauses (45-46): (45)\wa fi:y al-waqt al-ladhi:y yuraHib al-'amri:yki:yu:wn bil-'aqwa:l wa t-taSri:Ha:t al-lati:y tatasim bil-Sara:Ha,/(46)\fa-'inna al-Sara:Ha laysat da:'im-an mauDi' tarHi:yb sawa:'-un 'ala: al-mustawa: d-dawli:y 'aw sh-shakhSi:y/] (47)*wa* qad 'aqar-a ba'D mustasha:ri:y bu:sh 'inna rafDahu-u li-'itifa:qi:yat ki:yu:wtu: du:wna tasha:wir wa du:wna wuju:wd siya:sa badi:yla 'adda: 'ila: taghri:yb 'amri:yka 'an Hulafa:'u:ha: du:wna da:'/

[Lit. clauses (45-46)-(47): (45)\on the one hand, where the Americans welcomed the sayings and statements which are full of frankness/(46)\however, frankness is not always welcomed neither at the international level nor at the personal level/(47)\and some of Bush's advisers admitted that his rejection of Kyoto treaty with out consultation and without having an alternative policy in place separated America from its allies unnecessarily/]

In the above excerpts, ST clausal relation of 'concession' signalled by the use of the vague subordinating conjunction 'even' in clause (40), which pragmatically links it with the preceding clause, is modified in TT.

Example 113:

EST2: SEIV<E8<(41):	(41)\Much of the European criticism of Mr Bush is eerily reminiscent of 20 years ago/

ATT2: SEIV<E8<(48) & (49)	(48)\'inna al-'intiqa:dat al-lati:y *yu:wajihuha: al-'u:wru:wbi:yu:wn* li-bu:sh tudhakirna: bil-'intiqa:da:t/ (49)\al-lati:y *wajahaha: al-'u:wru:wbi:yu:wn* li-ra'i:ys ri:ygha:n qabla 20 'a:mm/

[Lit. clauses (48)-(49): (48)\the criticism *directed* by the *Europeans* to Bush remind us with the criticisms/(49)/that been *directed* by the *Europeans* to President Reagan 20 years ago/]

In the above excerpts, TT expands on ST construction. That is, ST construction of a single clause-sentence is rendered in the Arabic version by a construction of two adjacent independent clauses with the following cohesive relations:

1. The cohesive relation [L1] signalled by the NP [l-'u:ru:bi:u:n <the Europeans>] in clause (49), which is a direct repetition of the NP [l-'u:ru:bi:u:n <the Europeans>] in the preceding one.

2. The cohesive relation [L1] signalled by the lexical item [wajaha <direct>] in clause (49), which is a direct repetition of the same lexical item expressed in the preceding one.

Example 114:

EST2: SEIV<E8<[(42-43)] & (44):	[Clauses (42-43): (42)\when President Ronald Reagan was accused of being a trigger-happy fool/(43)\who was in the pockets of his advisers/] (44)\and Ø could not offer an opinion without a prepared script./
ATT2: SEIV<E8<[(49-50)] & (51)	[Clauses (49-50): (49)\al-lati:y wajahaha: al-'u:wru:wbi:yu:wn li-ra'i:ys ri:ygha:n qabla 20 'a:mm/(50)\Hayth-u waSafu:huw bi-'annahuw <<ghabi:y waDa'ahuw *mustasha:ru:h-u* fi:y ji:u:wbihum/ (51)\wa laysa *bi-wis'ih* 'ibda:'a 'ayya ra'y du:wna 'an yuqadam lahuw maktu:wb-an fi:y waraqa li-yaqra'ahuw>>./

[Lit. clauses (50)-(51): (49)/that been directed by the Europeans to President Reagan 20 years ago/ (50)\where they described him as being (a fool who was put in the pockets of *his* advisers"/(51)\and *he* could not make any opinion without having it in a written form to read from it/]

In the above excerpts, ST cohesive relation [E1]- signalled by the omission of the Head noun of the nominal group '[Ø=he] could not offer…' in clause (44), which presupposes the reference 'his advisers' in the preceding clause- is rendered in the TT by [R4]. That is, ST elliptical item is lexicalised in the TT, i.e. the concealed third person pronominal reference item [bi-wis(-'ih) <he cannot>] in clause (51).

Example 115:

EST2: SEIV<E8<(45) & (46):	(45)*Then*, the close personal rapport between Mr Reagan and Margaret Thatcher helped strengthen the "special relationship"/ (46)*while* the Cold War kept America firmly anchored in Europe./

ATT2: SEIV<E8<(52) & (53)	(52)\laqad sa:'adat al-'ila:qa:t al-kha:Sa al-lati:y rabaTat ta:tshar bi-ri:ygha:n fi:y taqwi:at <<al-'ila:qa:t al-kha:Sa>> al-qa:'ima 'abra al-'aTlasi:y/ (53)*fi:y al-waqt al-ladhi:y* ka:nat fi:yhi al-Harb al-ba:rida tata'ajaj fi:y al-'a:lam./

[Lit. clauses (52)-(53): (52)\the special relations which linked Thatcher with Reagan helped strengthen the existing "special relations" throughout the Atlantic/(53)\at the time in which the cold war was raging over the world/]

In the above excerpts, TT changes the type of the cohesive tie used in the ST. that is TT uses a semantically more explicit conjunction [fi:y al-waqt al-ladhi:y <at the time in which>], which substitutes for the less explicit conjunction used in the ST, i.e. 'while'.

Example 116:

EST2: SEIV<E8<(47) & (48):	(47)\Today, the Cold War is over/ (48)\and Tony Blair's centre-Left Labour is in power./]

ATT2: SEIV<E8<(54) & (55):	(54)\wa *al-yawm* lam ta'u:wd huna:ka Harb-un ba:rida/ (55)\wa taHkum biri:yTa:nya: *ha:dhih al-'ayya:m* Huku:ma 'umma:li:ya yaqu:duha: tu:ni: blayr/]

[Lit. clauses (54)-(55): (54)\and *today*, there exists no cold war any more/(55)\and Britain *now-days* is governed by a Labour government lead by Tony Blair/]

In the above excerpts, TT establishes new cohesive relation by inserting the definite article NP [ha:dhih al-'ayya:m <these now-days] in clause (55), which coheres with the definite article NP [al-yawm <the-day today>] in the preceding one.

Example 117:

EST2: SEIV<E8<[(45-46)] & [(47-48)]:	[Clauses (45-46): (45)*Then*, the close personal rapport between Mr Reagan and Margaret Thatcher helped strengthen the "special relationship"/(46)\while the Cold War kept America firmly anchored in Europe./] [Clauses (47-48): (47)*Today*, the Cold War is over/(48)\and Tony Blair's centre-Left Labour is in power./]

ATT2: SEIV<E8<[(52-53)] & [(54-55)]:	[Clauses (52-53):(52)\laqad sa:'adat al-'ila:qa:t al-kha:Sa al-lati:y rabaTat ta:tshar bi-ri:ygha:n fi:y taqwi:at <<al-'ila:qa:t al-kha:Sa>> al-qa:'ima 'abra al-'aTlasi:y/(53)\fi:y al-waqt al-ladhi:y ka:nat fi:yhi al-Harb al-ba:rida tata'ajaj fi:y al-'a:lam./] [Clauses (54-55): (54)\ (54)*wa* al-yawm lam ta'u:wd huna:ka Harb-un ba:rida/(55)\wa taHkum biri:yTa:nya: ha:dhih al-'aya:m Huku:wma 'umma:li:ya yaqu:wduha: tu:ni:y blayr/]

[Lit. clauses (52-53)-(54-55): (52)\the special relations which linked Thatcher with Reagan helped strengthen the existing "special relations" throughout the Atlantic/(53)\at the time in which the cold war was raging over the world/(54)*and* the-day today, there exists no cold war any more/(55)\and Britain known-days is governed by a Labour government lead by Tony Blair/]

In the above excerpts, ST conjunctive relation [C2], signalled implicitly by the temporal expressions 'then' and 'Today', respectively, in clauses (45) and (47), plus the repetition of the NP 'the Cold War', is modified in the TT. That is, TT uses the general-purpose conjunction [wa, roughly: <but>].

Example 118:

EST2: SEIV<E8<(49):	(49)\As a former soulmate and "Third Way" fellow traveller of Mr Clinton, Mr Blair has been unable to forge much more than a cordial telephone relationship with Mr Bush./

ATT2: SEIV<E8<[(56-57)] & [(58-59)]:	[Clauses (56-57): (57)\wa bil-raghm min muru:wr mi:'at yawm 'ala: wuju:wd *bu:sh* fi:y l-bayt al-'abyaD/] [Clauses (58-59): (58)*'ila: 'anna* tu:ni: blayr fashala fi:y 'iqa:mat 'ila:qa:t jayda ma'a *bu:sh*/(59)\wa kulla ma: baynahum la: yata'ada: siwa: muka:lama:t ha:ti:fi:ya taftaqir 'ila: d-dif'a./]

[Lit. clauses (56-57)-(58-59): (57)\and despite the fact that one hundred days have already passed while Bush in power in the White House/(58)\however, Tony Blair failed to establish a good relation with Bush/(59)\and all that between them is nothing but some telephone calls lacking solemnity/]

In the above excerpts, TT expands on the ST by rendering ST structure of a single clause-sentence by a string of four adjacent independent clauses. Consequently, the following cohesive relations have been established in the TT:

1. TT establishes the conjunctive relation [C2] between the two units by inserting the explicit conjunction ['ila: 'anna <however>] in clause (58), which links it with the preceding one.

2. TT establishes the cohesive relation [L1] between the two units by the repetition of the common name [bu:sh <Bush>] in clause (58).

Example 119:

EST2: SEIV<E8<(1) & (2):	(52)\In his last two policy speeches, Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, has not mentioned America,/ (53)\Ø *seeking* to avoid controversy before the general election./

ATT2: SEIV<E8<(62) & [(63-64)]:	(62)\khi:la:l khiTa:bayh-i al-'a:mi:yn al-ladha:n 'alqa:huma: wazi:yr al-kha:riji:ya *al-biri:yTa:ni:y* ru:bin ku:wk lam yadhkur 'amri:yka: 'ala: al-'iTla:q/ [Clauses (63-64): (63)*wa s-sabab* fi:y *dha:lika* 'adam d-dukhu:wl fi:y 'akhdh-in wa rad-in qad la: tuHmad-u 'uqba:h-u /(64)\fi:y al-waqt al-ladhi:y tasta'id fi:yh-i *biri:yTa:ni:ya* li-'ijra:'-i 'intikha:bat 'a:ma fi:y al-mustaqbal al-qari:yb./

[Lit. clauses (62)-(63-64): (62)\in his two public statements that been delivered by the British foreign secretary Robin Cook, he did not mention America atoll/(63)\and the reason behind this is to avoid getting into an argument that might have a severe consequences/ (64)\the time at which Britain is preparing for a general election in the near future/]

In the above excerpts, TT modifies the structure of the ST; consequently, the following shifts have occurred:

1. TT explicitly express clausal relation of reason between the clauses (62) and (63) by inserting the additive coordinating conjunction [wa <and>] and the lexical signal [as-sabab <the reason>] in clause (63), which link it with the preceding clause, whereas, ST uses no explicit conjunction.

2. TT creates a referential relation [R2] signalled by the demonstrative reference item [dha:lika <that>] in clause (63) presupposing the content of the preceding clause, which is not explicitly expressed in the ST.

3. TT inserts a lexical relation [L1] signalled by the lexical item [biri:Ta:nya: <Britain>] in clause (64), which coheres with the lexical item [al-biri:Ta:ni:ya <the British>] in the preceding clause.

Example 120:

EST2: SEIV<E9<(54):	(54)\It is undeniable however, that the relationship between Europe and America has changed fundamentally over Mr Bush's first 100 days,/

ATT2: SEIV<E9<(65) & (66):	(65)\wa min al-wa:DiH-u jayd-an 'anna al-'ila:qa:t al-lati:y tarbiT 'u:wru:wbba: bil-wila:ya:t al-muttaHida shahidat taghayyur-in jawhari-in khila:l *al-mi'at yawm/* (66)*al-lati:* qaDa:ha: bu:sh fi: l-sulTa /

[Lit. clauses (65)-(66): (65)\and it was very obvious that the relations which links Europe with the United States witnessed a fundamental change during the one hundred days/(66)\that Bush spent in power/]

Here, ST construction of a single clause-sentence has been rendered by two adjacent independent clauses; consequently, TT establishes a new cohesive relation, i.e. the relative

pronoun [al-lati: <which>] in clause (66), which anaphorically refers to the definite article NP [al-mi'at yawm <the hundred days>] expressed in the preceding clause.

Example 121:

EST2: SEIV<E9<(54) & (55):	(54)\It is undeniable however, that the relationship between Europe and America *has changed* fundamentally over Mr Bush's first *100 days*,/ (55)\and diplomats on both sides of the Atlantic have little doubt that it will continue to *do so* for the next *1,000 Ø*./
ATT2: SEIV<E9<[(65-66)] & (67):	[Clauses (65-66):(65)\wa min al-wa:DiH-u jayd-an 'anna al-'ila:qa:t al-lati:y tarbiT 'u:ru: bba: bil-wila:ya:t l-muttaHida shahidat *taghayu:r-in* jawhari-in khila:l *l-mi'at yawm*/(66)\al-lati: qaDa:ha: bu:sh fi: l-sulTa /] (67)\wa laysa huna:ka shakk-un lada: d-du:blu:ma:siyyn 'ala: Tarafi: l-'aTlasi: min 'annaha: sa-tastamir *fi: l-taghayu:r* khila:l *l-'alf yawm-in* l-qa:dima./

[Lit. clauses (65-66)-(67): (65)\and it was very obvious that the relations which links Europe with the United States witnessed a fundamental change during the one hundred days/(66)\that Bush spent in power/(67)\and official on the sides of the Atlantic have no doubts that it will continue making change during the coming one thousand days/]

In the above excerpts, TT modifies the structure of the ST; consequently, the following shifts have occurred:

1. ST construction of a single clause-sentence- i.e. clause (54)- is rendered in the TT by two adjacent clauses; TT inserts a whole clause- i.e. clause (66) which is a relative clause- to convey ST prepositional phrase functioning as verb compliment, providing reason- 'over Mr Bush's first …'.

2. ST cohesive relation [S2], signalled by the verbal substitute 'do' in clause (55), which substitutes the verb phrase 'has changed' in the preceding clause, is modified in the TT.

3. ST cohesive relation [E1], signalled by the omission of the noun-head of the nominal group 'the next 1,000 Ø= days' in clause (55), which presupposes the head of the nominal group 'first 100 days' in the preceding clause, is modified in the TT. That is, TT supplies the omitted head [al-'alf yawm <the one thousand days>] in clause (67).

Example 122:

EST2: SEIV<E9<(56-58):	[Clauses (56-58): (56)\The leader of the only superpower has shown he is prepared to act unilaterally,/(57)\doing what he sees as best for America/(58)\whatever international sensibilities might be./

Here, ST sequence of three independent clauses has been wholly omitted in the TT.

Example 123:

EST2: SEIV<E9<(59) & (60)	(59)\With an EU trying to flex its muscles/ (60)\and ∅ a new president prepared to act unilaterally,/

ATT2: SEIV<E9<(68) & (69):	(68)\wa ma'-a *wuju: d* 'ittiHa:d 'u:ru:bi: yuHa:wl 'isti'ra:D 'aDala:tahu/ (69)\ wa *wuju: d* ra'i:s jadi:d musta'id lil-taSaru:f bi-Su:ra munfarid/]

[Lit. clauses (68)-(69): (68)\and with (the) existence of an European Union trying to flex its muscles/(69)\and with (the) existence of a new president prepared to act unilaterally/

Here, TT establishes a lexical relation [L1] signalled the lexical item [wuju:d <existence>] in clause (69), which is a direct repetition of the lexical item [wuju:d <existence>] in the preceding one, whereas this relation is left implicit in the ST.

Example 124:

EST2: SEIV<E9<[(59-60)] & (61)	(59)\With an EU trying to flex its muscles/(60)\and a new president prepared to act unilaterally,/ (61)\∅ the danger is that the continued European tendency to misunderstand Mr Bush could help push America towards a potentially dangerous isolationism./

ATT2: SEIV<E9<[(68-69)] & (70):	[Clauses (68-69): (68)\wa ma'-a wuju:d 'ittiHa:d 'u:ru:bi: yuHa:wl 'isti'ra:D 'aDala:tahu/(69)\wa wuju:d ra'i:s jadi:d musta'id lil-taSaru:f bi-Su:ra munfarid/] (70)*fa*-'inna 'istimra:r 'u:ru:bba: fi: su:'a fahm bu:sh yaHmil-u 'ala: Taya:tih khaTar daf' 'amari:ka: naHw l-'uzla l-khaTi:ra./

[Lit. clauses (68-69)-(70): (68)\and with (the) existence of an European Union trying to flex its muscles/(69)\and with (the) existence of a new president prepared to act unilaterally/(70)\the result is that the continued European tendency to misunderstand Mr Bush implicitly indicate the danger of pushing America towards the dangerous isolationism/]

Here, TT explicitly signal the semantic relation 'grounds-conclusion' by inserting the conjunctive particle [fa <then>], whereas ST uses no explicit conjunction.

4.2. Shifts at L2

Example 125:

EST2: SEI<E1 & E2:	[E1<(1-2): (1)\As a deliberate dig at Texas's own President George W. Bush it was hard to beat…./] [E2<(3-6): (3)\Ø Still stinging from what she had described as "saddening" meetings with the Bush team, Margot Wallstrom, the European environment commissioner, was unusually blunt./(4)\The EU, she said, would press ahead with Kyoto "with or without the United States"./(5)\On the other side of the Atlantic, a senior member of the Bush administration said the EU was in many ways "the antithesis of American values" and interests./(6)\He said: "I can't think of a single long-term factor working in its favour. There's no evidence of the EU breaking out of its statistic, command control mentality."/]

ATT2: SEI<E1 & E2:	[E1<(1-4): (1)\ka:nnat Haraka khabi:tha fi:ha: l-kathi:r min l-ghamz wa l-lamz fi: qana:t l-ra'i:s l-'amri:ki: ju:rj bu:sh…./(4)\ wuDi'at l- ka'ka 'ala: Ta:wila fi: bru:ksil min ajl l-'iHtifa:l bil-dhikra: l-tha:litha li-tawqi:' l-'ittiHa:d l-'u:ru:bbi:y 'ala: *'itifa:qiyat kiyu:tu:* l-kha:Sa bil-'iHtiba:s l-Hara:ri: /] [E2<(5-8): (5)*wa yabdu: 'anna huna:ka ghaDab 'u:ru:bbi: tija:h l-mawqif l-'amri: ki: l-ra:fiD li-tilka l-'itifa:qi:ya…./]

[Lit. E1<(1-4): (1)\It was a nasty move full of [sarcastic remarks] against the American President G. Bush…/(4)\the cake was placed on a table in Brussels to celebrate the third anniversary of the European Union's signing of the *Kyoto treaty* on global warming./E2<(5-8): (5)*and* it seems that there is an European's depression against the American rejection of *that treaty*…/]

In the above excerpts, TT expands on the structure of the ST by inserting a construction, i.e. clause (5) at the beginning of E2, which is a statement commenting on the content of the preceding one; consequently the following shifts have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. TT establishes explicitly the additive relation [C2] between E1 and E2 by inserting the additive conjunction [wa <and>] at the beginning of E2, while ST uses no explicit conjunction in linking the two units.

2. TT establishes the cohesive relation [R2] between the constituent elements of the two units by inserting the demonstrative NP [tilka l-'itifa:qi:ya <that treaty>] in E2, which anaphorically refers to the identity ['itifa:qiyat kiyu:tu: <Kyoto treaty>]expressed in the preceding unit.

Example 126:

EST2: SEI<E2 & E3:	[E2<(3-6): (3)\Still stinging from what she had described as "saddening" meetings with the Bush team, Margot Wallstrom, the European environment commissioner, was unusually blunt…/] [E3<(7-11): (7)\ Ø As Mr Bush nears his 100th day in office – the landmark day on which every president since Franklin D. Roosevelt has faced initial judgment- Europe is finding that America is striking back…./]

ATT2: SEI<E2 & E3:	[E2<(5-8): (5)\wa yabdu: 'anna huna:ka *ghaDab 'u:ru:bbi:* tija:h l-mawqif l-'amri:ki: l-ra:fiD li-tilka l-'itifa:qiya,/(6)\fa-ba'da 'ijtima:' 'aqadathu l-mufawaDa l-'u:ru:bbiyya li-shu'u:n l-bi:'a… ma'a 'aHad 'a'Da:' fari:q bu:sh qa:lat…/] [E3<(9-15): (9)*wa* fi: l-waqt l-ladhi: 'akmala fi:hi l-ra'i:s ju:rj bu:sh mi'at yawm fi: l-bayt l-'abyaD fa-'inna 'u:ru:bba: *la: tash'ur bil-'irtiya:H* lil-'ilaqa:t l-'aqal min 'a:di:ya/(10)\al-lati: tarbiTuha: ha:dhihi al-'ayya:m bil-wilaya:t l-muttaHida…/]

[Lit. E2<(5-8): (5)\and it seems that there is an European *resentment* against the American rejection of that treaty…/E3<(9-15): (9)*and*, at the meantime as President G. Bush has completed on hundred days in the White House, *Europe does not feel content* with its underside relation/(10)\that links it noondays with the United States…/]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. TT establishes explicitly the additive relation [C2] between E2 and E3 by inserting the additive conjunction [wa <and>] at the beginning of E3, while ST uses no explicit conjunction in linking the two units.

2. TT establishes the cohesive relation [L8] between the constituents of E2 and E3 by inserting the expression ['u:wru:wbba: la: tash'ur bil-'irtiya:H <Europe does not feel content>] in E3, which paraphrases the content of the phrase [ghaDab 'u:wru:wbi:y <European resentment>] expressed in the preceding unit.

4.3. Shifts at L3

Example 127:

EST2: SEI & SEII	[SEI<E1-E3>: (9)\The initial warm glow that greeted the appointment by Mr Bush of such seasoned foreign policy hands as *Gen. Colin Powell* has given …/] [SEII<E4>: (12)*But* Europe is learning that *Gen Powell* is only one member of the Bush foreign policy team./(13)\Some officials have already begun to whisper against *the former Gulf War leader*, accusing him of being out of step with the president on key issues./]

ATT2: SEI & SEII	SEI<E1-E3>: (13)\ka:nnat bida:yat shahr l-'assal ma'a l-tarHi:b l-'u:ru:bbi: bi-ta'yi:n l-jinira:l ku:lin ba:wl wazi:yr-an lil-kha:riji:ya fi: 'ida:rat bu:sh.../] [SEII<E4>: (16)*ba'daha:* bi-waqt qaSi:r adrakt 'u:ru:bba: 'anna ku:lin *ba:wl* laysa siwa: fard wa:Hid fi: fari:q bu:sh l-kha:S bil-siya:sa l-kha:riji:ya.../]

[Lit. SEI<E1-E3>: E1:(13)\the beginning of the honeymoon coincided with the Europeans' greeting of the appointment of *General Colin Powell* as a foreign minister in Bush's administration.../] SEII <E4>:(16)*After that* in a short time Europe found that *Powell* was nothing but a single figure in Bush's teem for the foreign policy.../]

In the above excerpts, the following shifts have occurred in the Arabic version:

1. ST conjunctive relation [C2] explicitly signalled by the adversative conjunction 'but' which relates SEII to the preceding one is modified in the TT. That is, TT relates the same units one to another by the conjunctive relation [C4] signalled by the expression [ba'daha: <after that>], which is made up of a temporal conjunction plus a demonstrative item referring anaphorically to the content of the preceding unit.

2. ST cohesive relation [L9] signalled by the lexical item 'War leader' in SEII, which collocates with the lexical item 'Gen. Powell' in the preceding unite, is modified in the TT. That is, TT establishes the cohesive relation [L1] in referring to the identity expressed in the preceding unit- i.e. the repetition of the common name [ba:wl < Powell>] in the two units.