

Translating the culture-specific items related to gestures and habits in two Arabic translations of Orwell's *1984*: A study of Achami (2006) and Nabhan (2014)

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Abstract

Owing to their distinctive characteristics, the translation of gestures and habits culture-specific items in literary texts holds a critical position. This study intends to investigate the translation techniques (Pedersen, 2005) employed, together with the strategies (Venuti, 1995) espoused, in rendering these items in Orwell's *1984* from English into two Arabic translations: Achami (2006) and Nabhan (2014). Within Newmark's (1988) classification of CSIs, this category refers to implicit and explicit cultural non-verbal cues and their connotations. To achieve trustworthiness, Toury's (1995) descriptive translation methodology and Creswell's (2012) explanatory design were adopted. The quantitative results revealed that Achami equally domesticates and foreignizes these items. He mostly employs direct and substitution techniques. Nabhan's frequency of foreignizing techniques is a little bit higher than the domesticating techniques since he translates 23 items using direct translation techniques. Other translation techniques are either scarcely or never used. The qualitative analysis proposes that various factors and parameters influence translators' choices at the textual micro-level and orientations at the macro-level.

Keywords: culture-specific items, gestures and habits, translation techniques, translation strategies

1. Introduction

Translating culture-specific items (CSIs) -in general- and gestures and habits in particular in literary texts is distinguished by complications and lacuna which requires using various translation techniques. CSIs are designated as "those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the nonexistence of the referred item or its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text" (Aixelà, 1996, p.58). Within Newmark's (1988) classification of CSIs, the category of gestures and habits focuses on items referring mostly to implicit and explicit cultural non-verbal cues (NVCs) and their

connotations. This category encompasses the symbolic elements of a culture, including customary practices, activities, colours, and non-verbal communication. These elements hold specific meanings for members of the culture and contribute to its shared understanding. As a result, they could hold foreign, weird, or contradictory connotations when compared to other cultures, and be perceived differently in different contexts. Therefore, their translations are critical and provide meaningful data on the translator's translation strategies and techniques.

This research examines the translational treatment of these specific items, which necessitates the application of various translation techniques. These techniques can be broadly classified into two distinct orientations: foreignization and domestication. Pedersen's (2005) taxonomy of translation techniques is employed to analyze this process and to facilitate the ranking of techniques, ranging from the most foreignizing (retention, specification, and direct translation) to the most domesticating (generalization, substitution, and omission). On top of that, it investigates how forty culturally specific gestures and habits are rendered in Orwell's *1984* in two Arabic translations: Achami (2006) and Nabhan (2014). The primary objective is to analyze, discuss, and compare the use of these techniques, paying particular attention to the justification, interpretation, and context of their application. It also aims to extract clear data pertaining to Venuti's (1995) concepts of domestication and foreignization within these translations. Additionally, a comparative analysis is conducted to examine the translation techniques and underlying strategies employed in each Arabic translation.

2. Literature review

2.1. Culture-specific items

Culture-specific items are generally designated as items, concepts, proper nouns, fixed expressions, or things that designate specific cultural products, traits, elements, and references. They are confined within the word level such as words or a combination of words (Florin, 1993, p. 123; Baker, 1992, p. 21) having a single meaning (Olk, 2001, p. 30), but they could sometimes extend beyond the word level (House, 2018, p. 21). As Newmark (1988, p. 94) aptly observes, these elements are intrinsic to a specific culture and its language. They are deeply embedded within the cultural framework and their meaning is only fully intelligible within that context. Consequently, their direct translation into another culture is often improbable, as they may not have a direct equivalent or may convey entirely different (or even alien) denotations and connotations in the target culture (Leppihalme, 2011, p. 126; Aixelà, 1996, p. 58). Being strongly related to the local shared system of meaning, they do not only manifest the sociocultural maxims through which people of the same culture assign similar interpretations to their behaviours, but they also determine how members of that society understand and interpret texts (Salehi, 2012, p. 76). Therefore, members of other cultures usually find them foreign, awkward, and unnatural sounding which in turn raises their consciousness and awareness.

In translation, CSIs are usually related to specific translation lacunas and challenges which arise owing to the variances and divergences between the source and target languages and cultures. This is related to their degree of opacity for target readers (Mailhac, 1996, p. 134), their cultural functions and connotations in the source text, their non-existence in the target language (TL), and “[the] different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of

the target text” (Aixelà, 1996, p. 58). For example, the Hebrew connotation of lamb as a symbol of innocence, helplessness, and sacrifice is not universal and it may not even be known in some languages such as the Inuit (Alter, 1981, p. 12). Consequently, the biblical translation of lamb in the language of Eskimos would impose problems in conveying its symbolic connotations. Similarly, Friday the 13th represents an unlucky day in the English language and culture, but it does not hold similar connotations in other cultures even within European cultures (Pym, 2014, p. 7). A further complication arises due to the inherent differences in how languages segment and categorize the world (Nida, 1964: 35). Nida (1964) provides the example of colour perception, highlighting how speakers of various languages categorize the colour spectrum differently. English, for instance, utilizes eleven basic colour terms. This number is significantly reduced in most West African languages into only three fundamental colour distinctions. The Parimitera dialect of Waica, spoken in northern Brazil, employs four basic colour words as headings or groupings to encompass different colour spectrum. Similarly, the Tarahumara language of northern Mexico utilizes five basic colours, with "siyonomi" referring to both green and blue.

Within Newmark’s (1988) classification of CSIs, the category of gestures and habits encompasses elements primarily referring to implicit and explicit cultural non-verbal cues and their associated cultural significance. It involves “all those nonverbal stimuli in a communication setting that are generated by both the source and his or her use of the environment, and that have potential message value for the source and/or receiver” (Samovar & Porter, 2004, p. 271). In contrast to spoken language, where NVCs appoint physical actions or are inferred based on perceptions of beauty, space, and other factors (Navarro, 2013), literary texts present these cues in a written mode. Their significance in translation lies in the paradox that, despite possessing a degree of universality, a plethora of non-verbal cues remain culturally specific. For instance, while laughter is a commonly understood human expression, its specific connotations can vary significantly across cultures (Nida, 1964, p. 54). Similarly, silence can hold contradictory meanings, signifying both approval and respect or disapproval and rejection, depending on the cultural context. Accordingly, translating the Arabic proverb "السكوت علامة الرضا" /*assuku:tu salamatu arrida:!* literally into “silence is a sign of approval” would misrepresent the intended meaning in the United States, where it can be perceived negatively. As Calero (2005) states, “there are often occasions when it is embarrassing, humiliating or make us appear to be fools when we remain silent” (p. 61). The ‘ring gesture’, formed by connecting the thumb and the forefinger to create a circle, serves as another example of cultural specificity. While connoting approval, agreement, or acceptance in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada, it can be considered rude in Brazil and even insulting or vulgar in some Mediterranean countries.

2.2. Translation techniques

Translation techniques refer to the ways employed to translate smaller textual units such as words, groups of words, or sentences. They designate the specific applications or operations, the local problem-solving processes, or the specific techniques used at a certain point in a text (Hurtado Albir, 2002, p. 250; 2011, p. 70; Pym, 2011, p. 88; Munday, 2016, p. 88) to shift from one language into another. Unlike the prescriptive trend in translation studies (Elboubekri,

2016), they “are not preconceived, nor are they suggested as ideal solutions; [but] they are identified by analysing authentic examples of translated texts in a variety of languages and presented as ‘actual’ strategies [techniques] used rather than the ‘correct’ strategies to use.” (Baker, 1992, p. 7). Therefore, they may be chosen consciously (e.g., through carrying out a series of operations judging various linguistic, contextual, and cultural factors) or intuitively, responsibly (e.g., after rejecting all substituting techniques) or irresponsibly (e.g., out of laziness), and sometimes well or unwisely (Leppihalme, 1997, p. 5). These techniques are mostly the results of the translator’s options and decisions which depend on several parameters and factors of both the source and host contexts such as the genre of the text, the type, mode, purpose, method of translation, the audience expectations, linguistic features, etc. (Molina and Albir, 2002, p. 500).

A multitude of taxonomies for translation techniques have been proposed by scholars such as Baker (1992), Aixelà (1996), Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002, pp. 510-511), Davies (2003, p. 70), and Pedersen (2005, 2011). However, the selection of an appropriate taxonomy hinges on the specific research objectives. Pedersen's (2011) taxonomy, while sharing some characteristics with other classifications, offers several advantages that make it particularly suitable for this study. As Pedersen himself acknowledges (2011, p. 72), it is an explicit, clear-cut and consistent taxonomy, which divides translation techniques along an axis ranging from source-oriented (foreignization) to target-oriented (domestication) translations. Within this framework, foreignization encompasses techniques such as retention (complete and TL adjusted), specification (explicitation and addition), and direct translation (calque and shifted), while domestication includes generalization, substitution (cultural substitution, paraphrase with sense transfer and situational paraphrase), and omission.

2.3. Translation strategies

Translation strategies designate the two basic poles, the overall translation orientation (Munday, 2016, p. 88), macro-textual plans or mindsets (Pym, 2011, p. 88) or the translator’s translation project (Baker, 2001, p. 240). These two poles are mostly represented in an imaginary continuum of translation through which many influential aspects of translation are taken into consideration attentively. Still, they should not be understood as binary opposites but as a cline (House, 2018), where, for example, the translator either moves from like to sameness or utilizes the target language to derail the translating language (Foucault, 1969, in Berman, 1985/2000, pp. 285–286). On the one side, domestication describes the translation strategy that minimizes the foreignness of the source text for the target audiences through adopting “a transparent, fluent style” (Shuttleworth and Cowie, 1997, p. 44) or adapting the ST’s characteristics to yield a TT that looks natural (Newmark, 1988, p. 24) “normal, familiar, and accessible to the target audience” (Davies, 2003, p. 69). On the other side, foreignization delineates the type of translation which deliberately breaks target conventions (Shuttleworth and Cowie, 1997, p. 59) or veers from its sanctioned patterns (Toury, 1995, p. 29) by retaining something of the foreignness of the original or preserving “the characteristics of the source text as far as possible” (Davies, 2003, p. 69) although this produces an exotic or strange impact. They are referred to as acts which are held throughout the translation process to fill in linguistic, constitutive, communicative, cultural, and intercultural gaps between the ST and TT based on

(dominating) approaches and for the sake of fulfilling certain purposes (religious, political, etc.) (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997; Baker & Saldanha, 2000, p.240).

Translation strategies and translation techniques are strongly interconnected. For Pym, strategies are “inferred macro–textual plans on mindsets that organise procedures in terms of a purpose (*q.v.*) involving potential loss and gain” (2011, p. 14). The translation techniques which work on the textual micro–units that are adopted in the translating process are mostly governed by certain principles that are consistent with the strategy adopted. Since they respond harmoniously to the translation overall orientation of the translator (e.g., towards ‘free’ or ‘literal’ translation, towards the TT or ST, towards domestication or foreignization) (Munday, 2016, p. 88), they are used as a measurable instrument of analysis “to describe the actual steps taken by the translators in each textual micro–unit and obtain clear data on the general methodological option chosen” (Molina and Hurtado Albir, 2002, p. 499). For example, if the translator’s overriding objective is to foreignize CSIs in the target text, then borrowing will be most frequently used (Molina and Hurtado Albir, 2002, p. 508).

3. Method

This research endeavours to comprehensively analyse the translation of gestures and habits CSIs in Orwell’s *1984* in two Arabic translations by Achami (TT1) and Nabhan (TT2). While Anouar Achami is an Egyptian translator, Al-Harith Al-Nabhan is a Syrian translator residing in Bulgaria. It addresses the factors influencing the selection and application of the translation techniques and their impacts on the rendering of individual CSIs (micro-textual level), the overall target text (macro-textual level), the target readership, and the host language and culture. To establish the trustworthiness of the research findings, a descriptive and comparative study that mixes quantitative and qualitative research methods would be most appropriate. Firstly, Toury’s methodology of the descriptive translation studies (1995, p. 113) is employed to analyse the realization of equivalence in each case, “e.g., in terms of the balance between what has been kept invariant and what has undergone transformation” (Toury 1995, p. 113). Secondly, the research design adopts mixed methods research to collect, analyse and systematically combine both quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell and Clark, 2011). Within this framework, Creswell’s (2012, p. 542) explanatory sequential design is embraced to structure the quantitative and qualitative extraction of the coupled pairs and their analysis in distinct phases. This allows the qualitative phase to build directly upon the findings of the quantitative phase, enabling the extraction of more nuanced and specific information than could be gleaned solely from statistical tests.

The data for this study consisted of coupled pairs, facilitating the analysis of the relationship between the replaced and replacing segments within both the source texts (STs) and target texts (TTs). To assist data collection, two research instruments were utilized: a custom-designed tally sheet programmed in Microsoft Office Excel and the Researcher Observer. The latter permits to organize data and provide statistics about translation techniques and strategies.

4. Findings and discussions

4.1. Quantitative data collection and findings

Figure 1 exhibits the percentage of the translation techniques employed by Achami and Nabhan

in rendering gestures and habits CSIs. It is followed by Figure 2 which compares the two translations in terms of translation strategies.

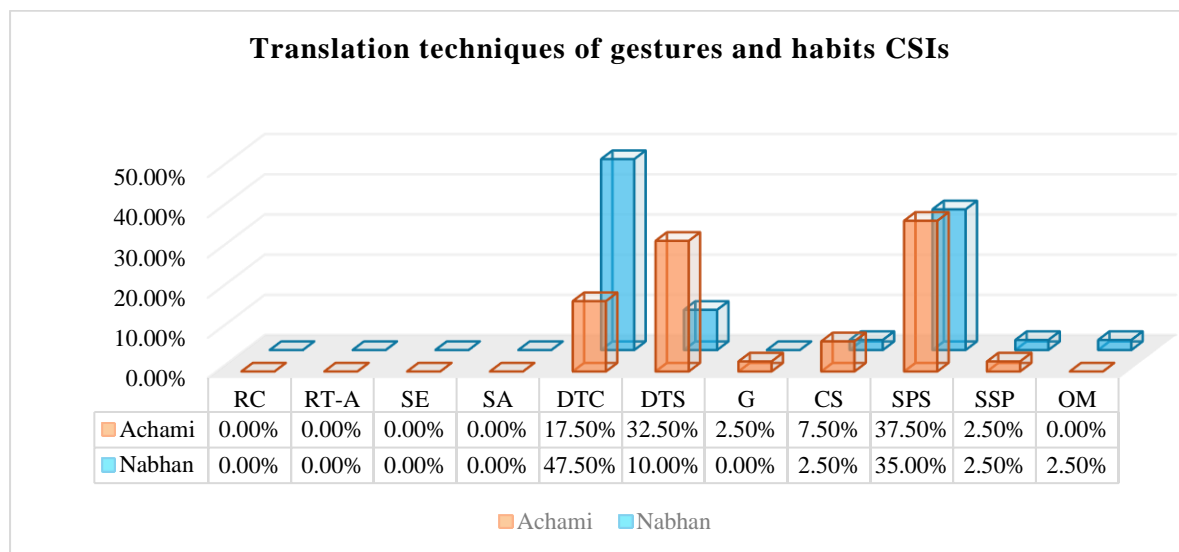


Figure 1. Translation techniques of gestures and habits

Based on the graph which visualises the prevailing tendencies towards translation techniques, it is evident that both translators exhibit a propensity towards direct translation techniques and paraphrase with sense transfer.

In a detailed analysis of forty CSIs pertaining to gestures and habits, Achami utilizes direct translation-shift thirteen times, while opting for paraphrase with sense transfer on fifteen cases. Similarly, Nabhan demonstrates a preference for direct translation, employing calques nineteen times. He also employs paraphrase with sense transfer fourteen times. Notably, neither translator resorts to retention or specification techniques. Furthermore, techniques such as generalization, situational paraphrase, and omission are employed infrequently.

The relative prominence of these techniques serves as a metric for evaluating the translators' preferred strategies. The following bar graph provides a visual representation of the convergence and divergence between the two Arabic translations with respect to their translation approaches. Remarkably, Achami's translation exhibits a balanced use of foreignization and domestication strategies. In contrast, Nabhan's translation demonstrates a greater reliance on foreignizing techniques.

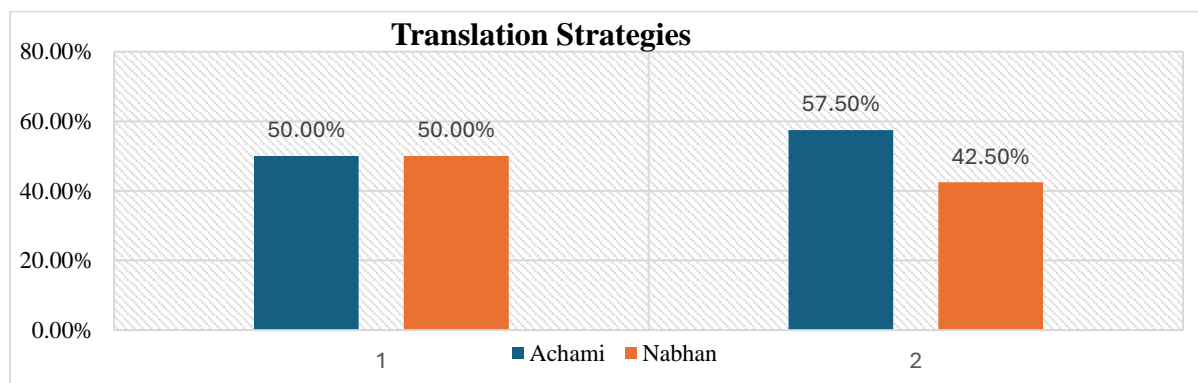


Figure 2. Translation strategies of gestures and habits CSIs

4.2. Qualitative data analysis

1) "... to believe that the physical type set up by the Party as an ideal *-tall muscular youths and deep bosomed maidens, blond hair, vital, sunburnt, carefree ...*" (Orwell, 1949, p. 76)

لو أن النموذج الجسدي الذي حدده الحزب هو النموذج المثالي حيث يكون الفتيان يافعين ومفتولي العضلات، وتكون الفتيات العذارى مكتنزات الصدور، وشقراوات الشعر ومفعمات بالحيوية وقد أكسبتهن الشمس سمرة وأصبحن متحررات من القلق. (Achami, 2006, p. 72).

/law ʔanna annamu:ðaʒ alʒasadijj allaði: ħaddadahu alħizb huwa annamu:ðaʒ almiθa:lijj ħajθu jaku:nu alfitja:n ja:fiʕi:n wamaftu:li: alʕaðala:t wataku:n alfataja:t alʕaða:ra: muktaniza:t aʕʕudu:r waʕaʕra:wa:t affaʕr wamuffʕama:t bialħajawijjah waqad ʔaksabathunna affamsu sumrah waʔa:ʕbaħna mutaharrira:t min alqalaq/

لو كان النموذج الجسدي الذي وضعه الحزب هو النموذج المثالي حقا ... حيث يكون الشباب فتيانا يافعين مفتولي العضلات ... وحيث تكون الفتيات العذارى شقراوات الشعر مكتنزات الصدور مسمرات بفعل الشمس مفعمات النشاط ومتحررات من القلق. (Nabhan, 2014, p. 65)

/law ka:na annamu:ðaʒ alʒasadijj allaði: waðaʕahu alħizb huwa annamu:ðaʒ almiθa:lijj ħakan ... ħajθu jaku:nu affaba:bu fitja:nan ja:fiʕi:n maftu:li: alʕaðala:t wa ħajθu taku:n alfataja:t alʕaða:ra: ʕaʕra:wa:t affaʕr muktaniza:t aʕʕudu:r musmara:t bifiʕl affamsu muffʕama:t annaʕa:ʔ wamutaharrira:t min alqalaq/

The first instance under consideration appears in the section where Winston Smith contemplates the Party's prescribed physical ideal. He defines the concept of beauty in opposition to those deemed ugly by the Party; these individuals, in his words, are characterized as small, dark, beetlike and ill-favoured. As perceptions of beauty and ugliness are demonstrably culturally contingent, the descriptive elements employed in this context can also be categorized as CSIs. Primarily, both translators have chosen to foreignize them in the target text through shifted direct translation. This particular technique potentially requires less effort to convey ST's connotations or guide the target readers towards the intended meaning (Pedersen, 2005, p. 5). Additionally, it serves to preserve the item with all its embedded cultural references within the TT. Direct translation techniques, in general, serve as a common technique for rendering cultural references associated with perceptions and features of beauty and ugliness, exemplified in the Orwell's *1984* (1949) by examples such as "small goatee beard" (p. 16), "the little beetle-like men" (p. 78) and "mare-like buttocks" (p. 276). Examining the translation of these examples, as shown in the below table, demonstrate the translators' adherence to preserve the ST's representation of ugly prole people. The common technique used in these cases is direct translation which is defined as word-for-word or literal translation (Pedersen, 2005, p. 5; 2011, p. 83); however, instead of following a strict word-for-word order translation, the translators are adjusting translation to the Arabic language structure or add few words mostly for stylistic reasons.

2) "the practice of kissing pope's toe" (Orwell, 1949, p. 94)

(Achami, 2006, p. 87) / ʕa:dat taqbi:l ʔaqda:m alba:ba:/ "عادة تقبيل أقدام الباب"

(Nabhan, 2014,, p. 78) / ʕa:dat taqbi:l ʔaʕbuʕi qadam alba:ba:/ "عادة تقبيل أصبع قدم البابا"

The second example designates an NVC which holds a higher degree of opacity (Mailhac,

1996, p. 134) for a significant portion of the target readership. It can be further classified as a monocultural (Pedersen, 2005, p. 10) CSI which creates a translation crisis point, as the ST audience is presumed to possess knowledge of it, while its identifiability amongst the intended TT audience remains limited. The act of kissing the Pope's toes constitutes an unfamiliar cultural gesture within the target culture. In Catholicism, this practice signifies an expression of humble veneration or deeply obeisant conduct. Nabhan translates it using the shifted direct translation technique. However, Achami, chooses to render *pope's toes* as the literal equivalent of *pope's feet*. This choice can be construed as an attempt to mitigate the peculiarity and weirdness of this gesture within the target culture.

Table 1: Translating features of ugly prole people from English into Arabic

Source Text	Target Text 1	Target Text 2
"small goatee beard"	لحية أشبه بلحية (التيس) /lahjah ʔaʃbahu biliħjati (atti:s)/ (A goatee-like beard)	لحية صغيرة كلحية معزاة /liħjah saxi:rah kalaħjati miʃza:t (A small beard like a goat's beard)
"the little beetle-like men"	القصار شبهي الخنافس /alkisa:r fabi:hi: alxana:fi:s/ (Short people look like beetles)	القصار الذين يشبهون الخنافس /alkisa:r alla ð i:na juʃbi:hu:n alxana:fi:s/ (Short people who look like beetles)
"mare-like buttocks"	"ردفيها البارزين ككفل حصان" /radfajha: alba:riza:n kakafli ħi ʃa:n/ ("her prominent buttocks like those of a horse")	"مثل ردي في حصان" /miθla radfaj ħiʃa:n/ ("like a horse's buttocks")

3) "clawed the air menacingly above his head" (Orwell, 1949, p. 229)

(Achami, /julwwiħ fi: alħawa:ʔ muħaddidan wa mutawaʃidan / "يلوح في الهواء مهددا ومتوعدا" / 2006, p. 214)

"كفه تضرب الهواء ضريا عنيفا من فوق رأسه" /kaffahu taðribu alħawa:ʔ ðarban ʃani:fan min fawki (Nabhan, 2014, p. 190) raʔsihi/

The third example embodies the act of extending a salutation to the populace. Most leaders craft a unique method of acknowledging the public, a signature style that may express a regal wave, an energetic flourish, dominance or even a simple nod. These gestures are demonstrably linked to, or perhaps become integral components of, the leader's source culture. This example occurs in the passage where an orator of the Inner Party addresses the assembled crowd in a vehemently persuasive but menacing manner. The gesture vividly portrays one's sense of superiority, dominance, and power. Both translators utilize the technique of paraphrase with sense transfer yet arrive at divergent interpretations. In this technique, the translator removes the source text's CSI in the target text but keeps its sense or relevant connotations by using paraphrase (Pedersen, 2005, p. 6). While Achami renders the gesture as "waving in the air, threatening and intimidating," Nabhan translates it as "his palm strikes the air violently above his head." Both translators opt to remove the gesture and substitute it with its inferred meaning or presumed connotation. Using the paraphrase technique, they produce descriptive equivalents (Newmark, 1988, p. 92) where the description and function of the source text element are

combined. The translators' aims are to facilitate smooth reading by making the CSI more transparent to target readers. However, a pertinent question arises 'Does this technique maintain some of the ST's cultural flavour?' This concern is to some degree linked to the conveyed semantic content. Consequently, the paraphrase techniques (Pedersen, 2011, p. 88) often exhibit variations in both length and complexity. This issue is more effectively addressed through the lens of Nida's (1964, p. 125) concepts of redundancy and entropy.

4) "He was a monstrous man, with a mane of greasy grey hair, his face pouched and seamed, with **thick negroid lips**" (Orwell, 1949, p. 98)

"كان راذفورد رجلا ضخمة الجثة ذا غرة من شعر دهني رمادي، ووجه منتفخ مجعد وشففتين سميكتين مكتنزتين".
(Achami, 2006, p. 91)

/ka:na ra:ðfu:rd razulan daxma alzuθθah ða: rarrah min affaʕrin duhnijj rama:dijj wawazhun muntafixun muzaʕʕad wafafatajn sami:katajn muktanizatajn/

"كان راذفورد رجلا جسيما له لبدة من الشعر الرمادي المدهن، ووجه ذو غضون وجيوب تحت العينين، وشففتان زنجيتان
ثخينتان". (Nabhan, 2014, p. 82)

/ka:na ra:ðfu:rd razulan zassiman lahu lubdah mina affaʕrin arrama:dij almudahhan wawazhun ðu: ruðu:n wa zuju:b tahta alʕajnajn wafafatajn zinijjajata: θaxi:nata:n/

The translation of terms like negro or nigger which are usually treated – from ideological and political perspectives- as derogatory or racist terms¹ are critical. While Nabhan translates it literally using the direct translation technique, Achami omits *negroid* and replaces it with its sense. He translates *thick negroid lips* to what literally means *thick chunky lips*. This example manifests a compelling case study for examining the ideological underpinnings and ramifications of translation. One approach involves using direct translation techniques, which can be perceived as a means for introducing the ST's representations of 'negroes' into the target language and its corresponding culture. Conversely, retaining this element within the TT serves as a means of perpetuating and fostering this derogatory representation. Furthermore, this case exemplifies the dynamic nature of CSIs. The term in question is widely recognized as a racial term across numerous regions of the globe.

5) "He was a small, dark-haired man in a white jacket, with a diamond-shaped, **completely expressionless face which might have been that of a Chinese**" (Orwell, 1949, p. 213)

"كان رجلا ضئيل الجسم، أسود الشعر يرتدي سترة بيضاء وله وجه جامد الملامح يشبه الألماس يبدو منه كأنه صيني".
(Achami, 2006, p. 199)

/ka:na razulan ðaʔi:la alʕism ʔaswada affaʕr hartadi: sutrah bajða:ʔ walahu wazh za:mid almala:miħ jufbiħu alʔalma:s jabdu: minħu kaʔannahu ši:nij/

"كان رجلا صغير الحجم، قاتم الشعر، يلبس سترة بيضاء، وله وجه على شكل ماسة ومن غير تعبير على الإطلاق ...
لعله وجه صيني!" (Nabhan, 2014, p. 177)

/ka:na razulan ʕaxi:ra alħazm ka:timu affaʕr jagbisu: sutrah bajða:ʔ walahu wazħ ʕ ala: f akl

¹ Though this sentence could be better studied within Newmark's (1988, p. 104) metaphors, yet what interests us in the current study is the translation of CSIs.

ma:ssah wa min rajr taʿbi:r ʿala: alʿiṭla:k laʿallahu waʿh ʿi:nijj/

This example is characterized by an explicit representation of Chinese people. Both translators use direct shifted translation to preserve literally the same description from the ST. The foreignization of this item is similar to what Pym (2014) describes as taking the bullet out of the author. Consciously or unconsciously, translators are assuming the responsibility for maintaining (and emphasizing) the ST's representations. Remarkably, Achami does not follow the structure of the ST's sentence. Translating "with a diamond-shaped, completely expressionless face" into what literally means "he has a diamond-shaped face that looks like a diamond" produces a shift in the structure.

6) "Winston called it a yellow note" (Orwell, 1949, p. 98)

(Achami, 2006, p. 74) /*naxmah ʿafrā:ʔ* / "نغمة صفراء"

(Nabhan, 2014, p. 65) /*laḥnan ʿaʿfara* / "لحننا أصفر"

7) "for a moment had filled him with black terror." (Orwell, 1949, p. 14)

(Achami, 2006, p.2) /*ruʿban* / "رعبا"

(Nabhan, 2014, p. 1) / *ruʿban ʿaswadan* / "رعباً أسود"

Connotatively, colour is used as a non-verbal cue to transmit a variety of culturally bound cues. While 'yellow note' is a figurative term, the emphasis here is on the colour connotation. In music notation, a 'yellow note' signifies, in Winston's words, a peculiar, cracked, braying, jeering note. Both translators retain the word 'yellow', but their techniques differ producing different translations. Achami employs a direct translation technique, a calque, while Nabhan transforms it into a "yellow melody." However, both maintain and introduce the author's symbolism of the colour 'yellow' into the target culture. To understand the cultural specificity of colour in the last example, it is required to put into consideration that colour is used in the English culture as quantifiers of feelings such as black terror, red rage, blue funk and seeing red.

Understand the cultural specificity of colour in the final example requires preserving the use of colour in English culture as a quantifier of feelings, such as 'black terror' and 'red rage', 'blue funk' and 'seeing red'. Nevertheless, these associations may not be translated directly to the Arabic culture. 'Black' is used to quantify extreme fear and anxiety in the source culture but conveying the connotation of 'black terror' into the target text might be acceptable through using a different colour or phrase. It is worth noting that both direct translation calque and generalization techniques hide the intended meaning. On the one hand, though Nabhan's use of direct translation calque permits to preserve the cultural specificity of the colour 'black', its impacts on target readers may not be fully rendered. On the other hand, though Achami's use of generalization familiarizes the item, it causes a loss of this cultural specificity of the CSI. Achami is satisfied with giving a general and sometimes an ambiguous hint. For examples 6 and 7, translating colours, in these two cases, questions the need for retaining their cultural specificities or ensuring comprehension.

5. Conclusion and implications

This study investigated the translational treatment of gestures and habits, a category of CSIs, in two Arabic translations of Orwell's *1984*. The analysis of Achami's (2006) and Nabhan's (2014) translations revealed significant details about their translation strategies and techniques. Although foreignization and domestication are two poles in an imaginary continuum, the translators' orientations are not directed to merely one direction. Besides, direct translation and substitution techniques are mostly used by both translators, retention, specification, generalization and omission techniques are rarely used.

Although foreignizing or domesticating these items may be determined by the techniques employed, translators are consciously orienting their translations. The translation of a phrase like "*thick negroid lips*" exemplifies this point as the chosen strategy carries significant implications. While foreignization might appear faithful to the source text and potentially enrich the target language, it can also be employed to perpetuate derogatory representations. The considerations regarding foreignization are equally applicable to domestication. While it prioritizes a translation that is understandably and acceptable, it may cause translation loss.

The excessive use of direct translation techniques is determined by the semantic content of these items and their degree of opacity. They are efficient and 'well-chosen when the item is frequently repeated throughout the source text in different contexts when the author provides sufficient description and explanation of that item, or when the translator decides to preserve the authenticity of ST's CSIs. Within the direct translation techniques, direct translation calque is highly and preferably used for one or two-word CSIs. If a strict word-for-word translation produces exoticism, impedes reading or distorts the intended meaning, direct shifted translation is employed. Remarkably, Although the two translators translate similar items literally, they do not usually produce similar translations, which proves that direct translation techniques sometimes generate confusion and ambiguity for target readers. However, they are avoided when they "1) give another meaning, or 2) have no meaning, or 3) are structurally impossible, or 4) do not have a corresponding expression within the metalinguistic experience of the TL, or 5) have a corresponding expression but not within the same register" (Vinay and Darbelnet, 2000, p. 88). In case these techniques are not applicable paraphrase with sense transfer is mostly employed.

Paraphrase with sense transfer may help smooth reading by making the item more transparent to target readers. It is also used to compensate for the loss of meaning in translation. However, the pertinent point that needs to be analysed is if this technique attains some flavour. This is related to some extent to the degree of redundancy of the translation. The translation is sometimes longer and too detailed and some other times shorter and narrower. This issue is addressed when talking about redundant and entropic messages according to Nida (1964).

All in all, both translators are inclined to use specific translation techniques at the expense of others. This is justified by their endeavours, intentions, purposes and the degree of opacity of the CSI. The translator's effort in employing each technique is also different. Though the study cannot reveal the exact translators' intentions and purposes in employing each technique, it helps to draw tentative general conclusions. For example, there is a relationship between the level of transculturality or formality and the use of direct translation techniques or paraphrase with sense transfer. Translators' consciousness and awareness of the cultural specificities of

these items play a vital role in treating these items as translation crisis points. Therefore, translators are required to be knowledgeable, competent and sensitive to the cultural differences in rendering gestures and habits CSIs so that they can convey the intended meaning.

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