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Habitus and Intellectual Trajectory in the Translational Process: A Case Study

طريقة تفكير المترجم ومسيرته الفكرية في عملية الترجمة: دراسة حالة

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Abstract

This research aims to identify the extent to which the agents' habitus and intellectual trajectory influence the end product of translation and further to understand the complex portrait of how the agents' experiences, history, and backgrounds influence the process of translation. The researcher presents a case study utilizing an explanation of Bourdieu's theoretical framework. The data used in this research involves an interview with the translator Trevor Le Gassick, identifying his experiences, history and backgrounds that might influence the process of translation to figure out if he has a certain degree of liberty in his choice of strategies and practices. The researcher also uses examples from Le Gassick's translation of novels written by the Egyptian Nobel laureate Naguib Mahfouz to validate his interview responses. It is concluded that the translator's habitus and intellectual life trajectories strongly influence the process and product of translation. This will allow for more consideration of individual agency in relation to a cultural production.

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الملخص

يهدف هذا البحث إلى تحديد مدى تأثير طريقة تفكير المترجم ومسيرته الفكرية على الترجمة النهائية، وفهم الصورة المعقدة التي تشمل كيفية تأثير خبرات المترجمين وتاريخ حياتهم وخلفياتهم على عملية الترجمة. بعد عرض نظرية العالم الفرنسي بوردو المستخدمة في هذا البحث تم عرض دراسة الحالة. تتضمن البيانات المستخدمة في هذا البحث مقابلة أجريت مع المترجم تريفورلوجاسيك، حيث يتم من خلالها تحديد إذا كانت خبراته وتاريخ حياته وخلفيته أثّرت على ترجمته، وإذا كانت لديه حرية اختيار الاستراتيجيات خلال عملية الترجمة. استخدمنا أيضا أمثلة من ترجماته لروايتين كتبهما نجيب محفوظ الروائي المعروف الحاصل على جائزة نوبل للأدب؛ للتحقق من صحة أجوبة المقابلة. كانت نتيجة البحث أن طريقة تفكير المترجم ومسيرته العلمية والحياتية قد أثرت بشكل كبير على عملية الترجمة، وبالتالي النص المترجم. تدعو هذه النتيجة الباحثين النظر في العلاقة بين القوى الفردية والمنتج الثقافي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: بورديو، طريقة تفكير المترجم، المسيرة الفكرية، عملية الترجمة.

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Introduction

In the past few years, the interest in applying Bourdieu's work in the field of translation studies increased significantly (Wolf, 2009, 2011; Sapiro, 2015; Hanna, 2016). This is part of a major concern towards understanding and viewing the act of translation as a social and a cultural practice. For the purpose of understanding translation as a social practice, it is necessary to bypass the approaches that focus on the text itself and to adopt the ones that can analyse the agents' role in the act of translation.

Bourdieu's theory, which is presented in this paper, has been proved as a useful tool for analysing the acts of translation in relation to the socio-cultural contexts and the impact of translators on translation activities (see e.g. Gouanvic, 2005; Chesterman, 2007; Kung, 2009; Meylaerts, 2010). As we do not intend to provide a detailed theoretical discussion of Bourdieu's work, we use a concrete case study as an illustration to, first, demonstrate how Bourdieu's theory and concepts can be applied successfully to explain translators' practices in their translations and, second, to examine to what extent translators' habitus and life and intellectual trajectories can influence their practices in their translations. The postulate that translators' habitus is the product of their life and intellectual trajectories is important in the translation process (Krais

and Gebauer, 2002). That is because it helps to trace the interaction between the product of translation and the surrounding social environment. This means that the criteria of choosing particular translation decisions can be correlated with translators' habitus or may explain why they adopted certain translation strategies in a particular situation. This can be compared to a good football player who can anticipate where the ball will fall and which player will catch the football before it falls down.

In this research, we have adopted Bourdieu's work because it has significantly contributed in understanding and critically examining the role of translators as social and cultural agents who are actively involved in the production of textual practices (Liu, 2012; Sela-Sheffy, 2014; Hanna, 2016). In Bourdieu's theory, the concepts of habitus, capital, field, and trajectory have made a valuable contribution to the theorisation of the relationship between the translators' activities and the structures which influence their acts of translation. On that basis, the researcher believes that Bourdieu's work can serve the aims of this research.

For the purpose of this research, a qualitative case study approach has been adopted to explore the translation product within its context using multiple data sources. According to Hodkinson

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(2008), the qualitative approach involves a theory (in our case Bourdieu's theory of social practice) to understand what is going in the field and investigate the social phenomenon of interest. Moreover, in a qualitative approach, the data collection methods include semi-structured measuring methods that are tailored to serve the aims and objectives of a research (ibid).

As this research aims to investigate how and the extent to which habitus and life and intellectual trajectories influence a translator's translation, the methodology used in this research is a case study qualitative descriptive method which is used "to understand phenomena from the perspectives of those involved" (Glesne, 2006, p. 4). The case study used in this research is the Trevor Le Gassick's translations of Naguib Mahfouz's novels. This case study is chosen as Le Gassick is among the first translators to translate for Naguib Mahfouz; the only Arab to have been awarded the Nobel Prize in literature. Mahfouz, according to many scholars (e.g. Allegretto- Diiulio, 2007; Sollars, 2008), is the most well-known novelist in the Arab world.

Moreover, Le Gassick is a prominent Western scholar and translator in the field of Arabic literature who has enriched the field with his works and contributions. He translated one of the most famous novels of Mahfouz- Midaq Alley. It is the first and most translated (into English) Arabic novel. This novel was translated into 15 languages and it has appeared in more than 30 foreign editions.

In addition to the fact that the novels' understudy have been chosen because they are written by the only Arab laureate, they contain many culture specific references (CSIs) that enable us to examine Le Gassick's behaviour in translation in terms of foreignisation and domestication. It is worth noting that domestication and foreignisation are the two main approaches to translate CSIs (Baawaidhan, 2016). Making the source language references appear as they had originally been written in the English language is called domestication. However, making the reader of the source language references aware of the foreign origins of the translated text and familiar with the new concepts and values is called foreignisation

(Wright 2016).

Therefore, the case study data were mainly collected by means of an interview with the translator; Le Gassick and two of his translations of Mahfouz's novels; Midaq Alley and The Thief and the Dogs aiming at examining his habitus in relation to his practices in translation. The researcher conducted the interview with the translator in 2012 via email and chose a semi-structured type of interview which, according to Edwards and Holland (2013), is characterised by increasing levels of flexibility that allows the translator to speak freely in the interview and provide extensive answers. Moreover, this type of interview can provide answers to the "why" question in a research (Schensul et al., 1999), which helps to achieve the aims of this research.

The researcher investigated the habitus of the translator by employing the theory of habitus and its method of interrogation of a life trajectory to examine Le Gassick's practices in translation and explain them in relation to his habitus. The translator understudy revealed details of his personal life that helped us in correlating his practices to his life and intellectual trajectories and in finding out the extent to which his habitus and life and intellectual trajectories can be seen in his translations.

An overview of the concepts of habitus, capital, field and trajectory

Many scholars in the field of sociology and translation studies apply Bourdieu's work in the field of translation studies (see e.g. Wolf, 2007; Kung, 2009; Liu, 2012; Sela-sheffy, 2014; Hanna, 2016, etc). All these studies offer deeper understanding of how the process of translation works in its surrounding environment especially in the socio-cultural context where the translations are conducted.

According to Bourdieu, the theory of social practice can "restore to people the meaning of their actions (1962, p. 109)." He suggests a sociological model which conceptualises sociology as a science of social practices (1984). He explains his model with the following equation: [habitus + capital] + field

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= practice. The interplay of these three concepts in Bourdieu's theory leads to unconscious behaviour, strategy, or practice. In other words, he believes that the interrelation between habitus, capital, and field structures the social practice. In order to understand the concept of habitus and how it works, the concepts of field and capital in Bourdieu's theory should also be discussed.

The daily life of the social agents witnesses an unlimited number of practices. To understand them, it is important to first identify the circumstances and the place where these practices were produced (Accardo, 2006). In other words, social agents' practices must be understood in their respective social space (i.e. social field). There are various social fields e.g. the field of art, literature, translation, etc. Bourdieu presents social fields as a space where agents and institutions interact with each other (1996). For Bourdieu, a field consists of positions occupied by social agents (people and institutions) who have to be endowed with particular forms of power to obtain the right to enter a particular social field (Accardo, 2006). Each field values particular forms of power (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) that Bourdieu named capital. Agents in any field own different types of capitals related to that field (Bourdieu ,1996).

In this regard, Bourdieu and Wacquant affirm that agents are "bearers of capitals and, depending on their trajectory and on the position they occupy on the field" (1992, p. 108). Also, capitals mainly identify the positions of different actors in any field (Bourdieu 1992). Every social agent in that field has particular types of capitals with different amounts and volumes. In this regard, Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes four types of capitals: cultural capital, economic capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. As for cultural capital, it takes the form of dispositions such as education, knowledge and experience. In terms of economic capital, it is obtained when the agents possess financial resources. In the matter of social capital, it is acquired by accumulating a network of relationships with other agents in the field. Finally, symbolic capital is another form of capital that can be possessed only through recognition by others.

In terms of habitus, it is the central concept in Bourdieu's theory of social practice (Bonnewitz, 2005). It has been widely and successfully used in studies of a range of disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, philosophy, cultural studies, education and literary criticism (Grenfell ,2008). Habitus is the concept through which the world is perceived and the one which determines an agent's actions within it and is fundamentally constituted on agent's history, experiences, background, and all other experiences of the agent's life (Bourdieu, 1984)

There are other issues that need further discussion when considering the definition of habitus. First, the term trajectory which refers to the positions an agent occupies in "the successive states of literary field" (Bourdieu 1993, p. 189). Translators' intellectual and life trajectories can be identified by examining the positions they successively occupy in the field of translation and other fields. Translators' trajectory is also determined by their network of social relations with other agents in the translational field and other fields.

Second, the term "disposition", which is used repeatedly to define the concept of habitus, is a concept that refers to the cognitive and affective factors of thinking and feeling. Bourdieu uses the concept of disposition as something beyond consciousness and that habitus is acquired through experience and explicit socialisation in an agent's early life (Jenkins , 1992). In this regard, Meylaerts asserts that "dispositions acquired through experiences related to both other fields and to translators' larger life conditions and social trajectory, may play a fundamental role in translators' habitus (2010, p. 4)."

Bourdieu explains habitus through the notions of "disposition and trajectory" which comprises individuals' exposure to social structures and the resulting tendency to act. For example, if we are born in culture x and passed through its social, cultural, and educational institutions, we will behave and act according to the standards of culture x because we act within the realm of culture x which we interiorised.

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Moreover, Bourdieu emphasises that habitus has a "structured and structuring" nature (1993, p. 170). That is, it is "structured" by an agent's life and intellectual trajectory, i.e. friends, family upbringing, educational experiences, etc. and "structuring" as it shapes or at least influences an agent's practices. For instance, a child born and raised in a family of musicians has a greater tendency to develop musical ability and appreciate music through exposure to musical system at the early age than if she/he grew up in a family of athletes. Therefore, that child will go on to constitute and reproduce the world of music and art incorporated in her/him. In this sense, habitus is structuring structures (Swartz, 2002).

Agents' habitus is shaped through their trajectories over the course of which they pursue various values (Hanks, 2005). In other words, translators' acquisition of linguistic competence, the type of education and training they receive, the norms of the cultures they experience, etc. all contribute to structure translators' habitus, thus, orienting their choices in translations (Heilbron and Sapiro, 2008). Therefore, habitus can "generate practices, perceptions, and attitudes ... without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any rule" (Thompson, 1991, p. 12). It is the product of individual history and a long process of inculcation starting from early childhood and the whole life and intellectual trajectories.

In this matter, Bonnewitz (2005) asserts that habitus can be acquired through primary and secondary socialisation. Primary socialisation refers to the socialisation during childhood through family and early education. The secondary socialisation refers to one's education at school and university and any other life experiences. It is worth noting, that according to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 133), habitus is "durable, but not eternal", which means that habitus is constantly reinforced and modified by life experiences and this is why habitus is dynamic in its nature (Chudsikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011). However, habitus stays with the agent throughout his life. Although it is transposable, it could generate effects across time and fields which means that it is also responsible for generating practices in different situations (Bourdieu,

1990).

Bourdieu, through this concept, aims to examine the active role of social agents in the construction of social reality (Strand, 2001). Bourdieu asserts that habitus is the "ensemble of schemata of perception, thinking, feeling, evaluating, speaking, and acting that structures all expressive, verbal, and practical manifestations and utterances of a person", similar to the grammar in any language (1984, p. 82). It is the product of history that "produces practices in accordance with the schemes engendered by history" (ibid). It is the product of the objective conditions which the individuals are exposed to. These conditions enhance the embodiment of tendencies towards certain courses of action. Habitus is the link between the agents' subjective worlds and cultural world into which they are born and which they share with others (Jenkins, 1992). The relationship between a social agent and the world surrounding him/her is expressed by Bourdieu as "the body is in the social world but the social world is within the body" (ibid, p. 190). That means that the social values and norms are ingrained within the body and, as a result, are reflected in the way people behave, feel, and think. Moreover, Bourdieu (1993, cited by Wacquant 2006) believes that agents' acquisition of dispositions depends on their accumulated capitals and on their life and intellectual trajectories in the social space.

On that basis, one can safely state that habitus produces dispositions, practices or strategies for action, rather than rules for implementation. To put differently, practices and behaviour are produced by the habitus which can be passed on through the generations. Bourdieu refers to this as the "historical action" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 190). Habitus helps social scientists to understand agents' behaviours, beliefs, or opinions in the world around them based on mutual relationship between individuals' disposition and the structures within which they operate (Wolfreys, 2000).

Due to the fact that habitus is a historical action, it is safe to assume that the habitus of the translator is structured by the translational field and any other historical experiences in the translational

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field and other fields. In other words, translators' practices in the field of translation may be influenced by other factors than, for example, the different codes of practice within that field such as the translators' position within the field, the amount and volume of cultural capital they acquired in the field, professional and personal circumstances, etc.

The habitus in Translation Studies

There are various earlier approaches in the field of translation studies (TS) that focus on the text itself and not on the wider socio-cultural context during the process of translation. For example, the linguistic approaches in TS (e.g. Jakobson, 1959; Koller, 1995) focus on the basic linguistic transfer of the message from source text (ST) to target text (TT) and consider mainly the concept of meaning and equivalence (Toury, 1995).

The focus of the research in the field of translation studies started to shift from the textual level to the extra-textual level considering social and cultural dimensions in the process of translation. This shift of focus from the language itself to the interaction between translation and culture and how culture effects and constrains translation is referred to by Bassnett and Lefevere (1990) as the cultural turn in the TS. The cultural approach in the TS focuses on studying translation in its surrounding environment where there are extra-textual factors that influence the product of translation (Wolf 2007, p. 131). In this regard, Wolf (2011) asserts that this is definitely the most crucial turning point in the field of translation studies since its rise in the sixties of the 20th century.

Also, there are descriptive translation approaches, which uncovered the power structures and considered the social space in which the translation is performed. For example, Even-Zohar's theory of polysystem (1990) offers a method for examining a translation in its context of production. Polysystem theory focuses on translated literature and how they work as an integrated system within a social and cultural framework (1990).

The exclusion of the various factors and actors that are brought to the translation task has led to the emergence of the sociological turn in the TS. The sociological approaches have drawn the attention of scholars of translation studies to "the sociology of agents" (Wolf, 2007) or "the sociology of translators" (Chesterman, 2006). This shift in focus emphasises the importance of investigating the various agents of translation who are involved in either shaping the end product of translation through their ideologies or introducing new perspectives through translation. Translation agents or agents of translation are social actors who are heavily involved in the production of translation.

Considering those agents is expected to provide a better socio-cultural understanding of the dynamics of agency, which, as a result, would prove fruitful in revealing how agency is exercised or agents' choices are made and reflected in the end product of translation. In this paper, the concept of agent basically encompasses human actors who are involved in the production process of translation. In other words, this paper explores how different human agents engaged in the translation exert their power over the translation differently.

Agent-oriented research in the field of TS is mainly influenced by Bourdieu's theory of social practice and more specifically by the concept of "habitus". This concept, according to Simeoni (1998), examines translators' social involvement in the process of translation. This influence is based on the need "within Translation Studies to focus more attention on translators" and "to critically analyse their role as social and cultural agents actively participating in the production and reproduction of textual and discursive practices" (Inghilleri, 2005, p.126).

Many studies (e.g. Inghilleri, 2005; Sapiro, 2008; Kung, 2009; Meylaerts, 2010; Liang, 2010; Liu, 2012) in this field examine the concept of habitus to explore the social implications of translation and the social constraints operative in the translational process. Jean-Marc Gouanvic is one of the first scholars who emphasised the importance of Bourdieu's sociol-

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ogy in the field of translation studies. He examines Bourdieu's theory of social practice and how it can be applied in the field of translation. He states that Bourdieu's sociology is the "sociology of the text as a production in the process of being carried out, of the product itself and of its consumption in the social fields, the whole seen in a relational manner" (Gouanvic, 2005, p. 148).

In his works (2002, 2005), Gouanvic examines the role of agents (translators, publishers, distributors, consumers, critics, consecrating agents, etc.) and other various factors in shaping the translational product as a cultural product in specific institutions. He concludes that the translation process is heavily influenced by translator's habitus and that this habitus can be identified through the reconstruction of the translator's social trajectory. He also adds that translation strategies are not deliberate choices but rather they are the result of the translator's habitus, which structures the respective field and, in turn, is structured by the field itself (Gouanvic, 2005).

In the same vein, Sela-Sheffy (2005) investigates Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field to examine translators' practices and behaviour as determined by their position in the field of translation. She examines three different groups of translators who own different levels of knowledge about Hebrew and other foreign languages. Translators of the first group have deep knowledge of normative Hebrew (i.e. Biblical Hebrew) and, as a result, occupy higher positions in the field of translation. Translators of the second group have little knowledge about normative Hebrew and hold lower positions in the field. Translators of the third group have no knowledge of Hebrew but they are master in foreign languages and thus, occupy powerful positions in the field.

Sela-Sheffy finds that translators of the first group use their knowledge in their translations to show their proficiency and that translators of the third group prefer to foreignise their translations, unlike other translators who are against foreignisation, so they can demonstrate their knowledge about other languages and cultures and show their compe-

tence in mastering foreign languages. On that basis, she (2005) concludes that translators' knowledge and position in the field influence their actions; thus, the researchers can predict translators' preferences and choices in their translations if they examine their habitus in relation to the field of translation.

The following case study on translators' habitus investigates, among others, the role of life and intellectual trajectories of the translator in shaping his/her habitus, thus, practices in the field of translation studies. My claim is that the translator's life experiences, history and feelings, as manifested in the interview with the translator Le Gassick, can be seen clearly in his translations. In what follows, I will focus on parts of the translator's narration to substantiate my claim that the translator's life and intellectual trajectories trigger the dynamism of his habitus and influence his translations significantly.

A case study: Le Gassick's habitus resulting from life and intellectual trajectories

It is evident that Bourdieu viewed the habitus in terms of personality, characteristics as well as life and intellectual trajectories. The trajectories affecting the formation of Le Gassick's habitus are certainly closely linked to his experiences in the field such as his experiences in the field of translation when he translated Midaq Alley and The Thief and the Dogs as his habitus was developed through the actual practice of translation. The translator, operating in the translational field, brought his professional experience combined with his cultural and symbolic capitals acquired in the translational field and other fields.

The translator's habitus – represented in his way of thinking, beliefs, dispositions, and life and intellectual trajectories – influences the task of translation either in terms of the works to be translated or in terms of how these works are translated. That is, Le Gassick (2012) describes parts of his life and intellectual trajectories that affected his choice of works to be translated. He says that he has a doctorate in

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Arabic studies and has visited many parts of the Arab world; Syria, Jordan, Egypt, and Lebanon where he met many Arab friends. At that time, Le Gassick says that he was interested in the world of Arabic fiction. Then, he heard about the prominent Arabic writer Naguib Mahfouz. He started reading his novels and instantly recognised his talent as a writer. Le Gassick asserts that the light irony and humour in Mahfouz's novel Midaq Alley attracted his attention as a literary agent and he decided to translate it. Therefore, Le Gassick's intellectual trajectory (i.e. having a doctorate in Arabic literature) ingrained him in the field of translation.

Moreover, Le Gassick believes that Mahfouz is not only a great talented writer but also his works have a special style. That is, Le Gassick asserts that because of the extraordinary way of how Mahfouz presents and describes the characters and situations in the novel, this allowed him, to some extent, to break a barrier that had previously prevented him from seeing Arabs as an inferior race in the colonist discourse. He adds that before agreeing to translate a work, he has to be convinced that this work is worth translating. He said that after he had read the novel Al-Sabar for Sahar Khalifah (translated as "Wild Thorns"), he found it to be an outstanding novel and that is why it has to be translated to reach a broader audience.

All these events and experiences in Le Gassick's life, including the acquired cultural capital (e.g. education, experience, etc.), became part of his habitus and influenced his choices of selecting works for translation. Also, Le Gassick expresses clearly that through his translation of Mahfouz, he somehow wants to convey to the readers from the English Language world that there is a possibility to have friendship and understanding with Arabs. Therefore, Le Gassick's believes that the way the Western society looks at the people of the Middle East particularly in terms of their devotion to their nation, gave him the incentive to translate Arabic literature to English.

In terms of the translator's choices of strategies, there are many factors that influenced his behaviour in the field of translation. That is, during his trans-

lation of Midaq Alley, Le Gassick spent a year in Cairo to pursue his research. This opportunity gave him the privilege to meet Mahfouz and talk to him about his translation of Midaq Alley. Meeting Mahfouz influenced Le Gassick's translation of the novel as, according to Le Gassick, Mahfouz asked him to adopt any translation methods he believes that they can achieve deep understanding of the text. Therefore, meeting the author of the novel allowed him to choose his translation procedures freely especially when Le Gassick declares that he does not have any specific translation policies or procedures while translating. He also states that while translating, he tries to think of how the author's ideas would have been expressed if he had been writing in English – his native language.

For the purpose of investigating Le Gassick's behaviour in his translations of Mahfouz's novels, we have analysed his translations, deduced the CSIs from the novels and their translations (see table 1 and 3), and provided random examples as shown in the tables 2 and 4 below.

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Table 1: CSIs in the novel Midaq Alley and Le Gassick's translations

CSI in the Arabic novel	LeGassick's English translation	Strategy adopted
جلباب	Shirt	Domestication
جلباب	Gown	Domestication
جلباب	Cloak	Domestication
الأفندية	Western dress	Domestication
قبقاب	Sandals	Domestication
قبقاب	Clog	Domestication
شبشب	Shoes	Domestication
طربوش	Hat	Domestication
معلم	Mr.	Domestication
أستاذ	Reverend sir	Domestication
أفندي	Wearing a suit	Domestication
أفندي	Effendi	Foreignisation
سيد	Mr.	Domestication
ست	Mrs.	Domestication
الخواجا	Man/ Mr.	Domestication
باشا	Pasha	Foreignisation
باشا	Mr.	Domestication
شيخ	Sheikh	Foreignisation
مدمس	Beans	Domestication
بسبوسة	Sweet	Domestication
حلاوة الطحينية	Sweet	Domestication
الفريك	Green Wheat	Domestication
جوزة	Water pipe	Domestication
نارجيلة	Water pipe	Domestication
حناء	Perfume	Domestication

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Table 2: Examples from Midaq Alley

Source text	Translation in the TT
لا تمش بلا طربوش (زقاق المدق، 1947: 45)	Never go without a hat. (Midaq Alley, 1966: 44)
الرجل الجامد الذاهل ذو الجلباب و البنيقة و رباط الرقبة و النظارة الذهبية (زقاق المدق، 1947: 10)	The absentminded and statuesque man wearing the gold rimmed spectacles and the necktie (Midaq Alley, 1966: 6)
و لم يكن السيد رضوان معدودا من العلماء (زقاق المدق، 1947: 91)	Radwan Hussainy was not a scholar (Midaq Alley, 1966: 90)
علق بصر السيد بالخواجا (زقاق المدق، 1947 : 237)	Salim sat watching the man (Midaq Alley, 1966: 239)
ماذا تعني يا أستاذ (زقاق المدق، 1947 : 123)	What do you mean, reverend sir (Midaq Alley, 1966: 127)
يرتدي جلبابا ذا بنيقة موصول بها رباط رقبة مما يلبسه الأفندية (زقاق المدق، 1947: 7)	Dressed in a cloak with sleeves, wearing a necktie usually worn by those who affect Western dress (Midaq Alley, 1966: 3)
صينية عليها طبق المدمس (زقاق المدق، 1947: 30)	Plate of cooked beans (Midaq Alley, 1966: 30)
صينية فريك محشو بالحمام (زقاق المدق، 1947: 67)	Cooked green wheat mixed with pieces of pigeon meat (Midaq Alley, 1966: 67)
إنك لا تهدي من أحببت و لكن الله يهدي من يشاء (زقاق المدق، 1947: 91)	You cannot lead aright whomever you wish; it is God who leads whomever he wishes (Midaq Alley, 1966: 93)
أداء فريضة الحج (زقاق المدق، 1947: 269)	Make the holy pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina (Midaq Alley, 1966: 269)
يا رب يا معين يا رزاق يا كريم حسن الختام يا رب كل شيء بأمره. مساء الخير يا جماعة (زقاق المدق، 1947: 5).	Good evening everyone (Midaq Alley, 1966: 1)
مولودة في ليلة القدر (زقاق المدق، 1947: 138)	Born under a lucky star (Midaq Alley, 1966: 141)
بليها و اشربي ماءها (زقاق المدق، 1947: 143)	I Don't give a damn (Midaq Alley, 1966: 146)
الصبر مفتاح الفرج (زقاق المدق، 1947: 50)	Patience is the key to joy (Midaq Alley, 1966: 49)
ثم تناولت لفافة الحناء (زقاق المدق، 1947: 136)	She picked up her perfume (Midaq Alley, 1966: 139)

It can be seen from table (1) and (2) how Le Gassick translated the cultural references in the novels with domestication rather than foreignisation. For example, Le Gassick translated the word جلباب many times using the domesticating approach (shirt, gown, cloak) rather than using words like Gallabiyah or Jilbab.

Le Gassick's behaviour in translation can also be seen in his translation of the novel *The Thief and the Dogs*. As shown in table (3) and (4), the majority of CSIs in the table are translated using domestication rather than foreignisation.

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Table 3: CSIs in the novel The Thief and the Dogs and Le Gassick's translations

CSIs in the Arabic novel	Le Gassick's English translation	Strategy adopted
جلباب	Gallabiya	Foreignisation
جلباب	Garment	Domestication
معلم	Mr.	Domestication
معلم	Friend	Domestication
أستاذ	Mr.	Domestication
أفندم	Sir	Domestication
سيد	Master	Domestication
ست	Madame	Domestication
باشا	Pasha	Foreignisation
شيخ	Sheikh	Foreignisation
حضرة	Sir	Domestication
عم	Mr.	Domestication
عم	Dear	Domestication
طحينة	Tahini	Foreignisation
كباب	Cooked meat	Domestication
وضوء	Wash	Domestication
غبار خماسيني	Dust in a whirlwind	Domestication

Table 4: Examples from The Thief and the Dogs

Source text	Translation in the TT
يكتنفه البياض الناصع من الجلباب الفضفاض و الطاقية و اللحية (اللص و الكلاب، 1961 : 65)	From his loose garment to his skullcap and beard, a shiny white. (The Thief and the Dogs, 1984: 78)
يا معلم عليش إنزل (اللص و الكلاب،1961 : 10)	Mr. Ilish, come down (The Thief and the Dogs, 1984: 17)
ترى كيف حالك يا شيخ علي يا جنيدي (اللص و الكلاب، 1961: 18)	He wondered how Ali al-Junaydi was (The Thief and the Dogs, 1984: 26)
سأرسل لك الواد ليحضر الكباب (اللص و الكلاب، 1961: 124)	I will send the waiter to get you some cooked meat (The Thief and the Dogs, 1984: 138)
قل إن كنتم تحبون الله فاتبعوني يحببكم الله (اللص و الكلاب، 1961: 26)	If you love God, then follow me and God will love you (The Thief and the Dogs, 1984: 32)

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ليلة بيضا بالصلاة على النبي (اللص و الكلاب، 1961: 45)	Uttering a variety of colourful expressions of welcome (The Thief and the Dogs, 1984: 55)
ألف نهار أبيض (اللص و الكلاب، 1961: 9)	How marvellous (The Thief and the Dogs, 1984: 16)
نحن نتعلم من المهد الى اللحد (اللص و الكلاب، 1961: 89)	We continue learning from the cradle to the grave (The Thief and the Dogs, 1984: 102)
توضأ و اقرأ (اللص و الكلاب، 1961: 26)	Wash and read (The Thief and the Dogs, 1984: 32)

Based on the tables above, one can notice how Le Gassick adopts, almost in all of his translations, the domesticating strategy while translating the CSIs in Mahfouz's novels. Therefore, one can safely argue that Le Gassick's beliefs are manifested in his translation practices. That is, after we have examined Le Gassick's translations of Mahfouz's novels in terms of how he translated culture specific references into English, we have found that the majority of his translations of CSIs are domesticated.

To explain his behaviour in translation, we asked Le Gassick to share with us his beliefs about translating CSIs with reference to using foreignisation and domestication. He says that he believes that the readers should not be distanced from the characters and situations in the novel by being reminded of their own ignorance of the Arab world and its customs and of Islam. Second, readers should enjoy and engage with the characters of the novel and finally, the ideas of the novel should be presented as clearly as possible to its readers. That is why he deliberately avoids using footnotes and culture specific references as he attempts to keep the readers involved emotionally in the novel they are reading. Moreover, Le Gassick affirms that his beliefs and ideas are based on his experience as he finds that the typical reader wants to be more involved in the text and not always to be reminded of the differences between his/her culture and the culture he/she is reading about.

Furthermore, the translator declares that he has many Arab friends. He visited many parts of the Arab world and thus, he sees himself as culturally neutral as he has dealt with many Arab people and become familiar with their religion and customs. Therefore, Le Gassick believes that all these experiences should be presented through his work. He asserts that he aims to help the readers overcome cultural barriers and political issues and see Arabs as human beings with whom one should be able to communicate and "therefore to see international problems and issues as stemming as much from our own failings and mistakes as from their problems and 'peculiarities' of faith and culture" (Le Gassick, 2012, p. 90, emphasis in original).

Le Gassick adds that he believes that the underlying reason behind his behaviour in translation is that he despises racism and religious intolerance. This indicates how the translator's attitudes, as part of his habitus, influence his behaviour in translation. Such attitudes and dispositions can be clearly deduced from Le Gassick's life trajectory as he says that he witnessed World War II and its aftermath in a racist society. He adds that all horrible events during the World War II, when he was a boy and the India-Pakistan conflict, the Vietnam War, massacres in Cambodia and then the Arab-Israel war and the American invasion of Iraq are all branded in his mind. Thus, through his translations, Le Gassick wants people to "realise that all human beings are essentially similar and it is only the cultural and religious differences (all matters of opinion and choice, of course) that lead to such disasters" (2012, p. 91).

On that basis, one could safely state that Le Gassick's life trajectory including his history and experiences has strong effect on his attitudes, beliefs and dispositions. All these components are an integral part of the translator's habitus that affect his way of translation. In addition, the translator asserts that his choices of strategies (e.g. not using italics and footnotes) aim to enhance the commonalities and eliminate differences between the two cultures. In addition to that, as part of his life trajectory, meeting

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friends from different races and cultures influenced his behaviour in translation. He affirms that he developed friendships with his students from different races and origins and they became a major influence on him. In this regard, Hanna asserts that translators' trajectories are determined by "the network of social relations they have with other agents in the field(s) in which they are involved" (2016, p. 5).

One other influence on Le Gassick's translation is Arberry's translations of Sa`di's Gulestan. He says that "I must have learned from his work that translation can and should be fluid and enjoyable to read rather than stilted and littered with italics and scholarly footnotes" (2012, p. 92) Therefore, the translator's experiences, education, ideologies and life and intellectual trajectories influence his behaviour and practices in the act of translation.

Conclusion

The case study has shown that apparently Le Gassick's trajectories and habitus can be seen in his translation. That is, his habitus, being shaped through life and intellectual trajectories, influences his practices and behaviour in translation. Examining and conceptualising the translator's habitus aimed at better understanding the functional mechanisms of the process of translation within the social and cultural situations that acknowledge the situatedness of the habitus within the broader systemic contexts in which it works. Also, in this paper, the concept of translatorial agency from different viewpoints has been addressed. In other words, the factors that influenced the translation decisions and outcomes have been examined. Insights into the effect of the combined factors of the translation process have been provided and the extent to which the translators' habitus, including life and intellectual trajectories, influenced translators' behaviour in translation has been investigated. This could further prove that Bourdieu's theory is of practical use in translation research and that, as Bourdieu claims, the habitus is "a product of history, produces individual and collective practices […] in accordance with the schemes generated by history" (1990b, p. 54) .

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