

The Genesis of the Translation of Children's Classics: A Bourdieusian Account of 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ṣabrī's Translation of *Gulliver's Travels* (1909)

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Abstract

Recently, Bourdieu's sociological theory has been applied in translation studies. Based on Bourdieu's assumption that individuals' practices result from the interwoven relation between their habitus and the field in which they grow up and work, 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ṣabrī's translation of *Gulliver's Travels* (1909) was chosen as a testing ground, through which this assumption will be proven or rejected. This paper aims to contribute to the growing area of sociological research by contextualizing this translation within its socio-cultural context. To carry out this analysis, Bourdieu's concepts – field, habitus, and doxa – are used as research tools to understand the relationship between the decisions a translator makes at the micro-level and the stimuli at the macro-level. This entails examining the genesis of the field of children's literature in Egypt during the late nineteenth century to identify the prevalent doxic practices that conditioned cultural productions. It also requires focussing on the socio-political factors that influenced the translator's habitus. The analysis is expected to determine to what extent the decisions taken at the textual level were affected by both the prevalent doxic practices and the translator's habitus. This research concludes that the habitus may exert powerful effects on the translator's strategic decisions to a greater extent than the prevalent doxic practices in the field. Examining the influences of the translator's habitus in the translation has produced some results worthy of further analysis. It may be possible to expand on this study by including different genres in the same field, such as fantasy books for children. The same sociological theory also could be applied to other genres outside the field of children's literature, such as the translation of political books.

Keywords: A Bourdieusian Account, Children's Classics, field, habitus, translated *Gulliver's Travels* (1909)

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Introduction

Recently, scholars in the field of translation studies have shown an increased interest in drawing on Bourdieu's sociology to explain translation as a socially situated activity. This recent interest in Bourdieu's sociological theory comes as a result of limitations in "polysystem theory and its developments in Toury's descriptive translation studies" (Hanna, 2016, p. 6). The main limitation of Toury's theory is the lack of the social explanation "of the role of institutions and practices in the emergence and reproduction of symbolic goods" (Gouanvic, 1997, p. 126). Bourdieu's sociological theory highlighted the important role that the agents of translation played in shaping ideological ideas or incorporating new perspectives through the translations (Khalifa, 2014). Such a sociologically oriented approach in translation studies has made "translators and interpreters more visible as social actors" (Inghilleri, 2005, p. 142). Therefore, this paper aims to analyze, sociologically, an early translation of *Gulliver's Travels* (1909) by 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ṣabrī.

Based on data taken from the Arabic Union Catalogue, it is estimated that twenty-six translators have contributed to the translation of *Gulliver's Travels* between 1873 and 2016 in the Arab world. Most historians, if not all, agree that the first Arabic translation of *Gulliver's Travels* dates back to 1909, when 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ṣabrī published his version. However, this is not true because it was discovered that the first early Arabic translation of *Gulliver's Travels* appeared in 1873 by Dimtrī Qustandī Bishara (Al-Sayad, 2007). Bishara's version explicitly was aimed at children, but it only introduced the first and second voyages. Similarly, 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ṣabrī translated the first and second voyages of *Gulliver's Travels*. Although Ṣabrī did not explicitly state that his translation was meant for children, this can be assumed. Abū Al-Riḍā (1993) asserted that since 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ṣabrī's translation was published in 1909, the first two voyages of *Gulliver's Travels* had been translated into Arabic with the intention of introducing them to children, not adults. Based on the assumption that this translation was geared toward children in Egypt during the late nineteenth century, this paper attempts to answer the following questions:

- 1- What does the Arabic translation of *Gulliver's Travels* (1909) reveal about the genesis of the translation of children's classics in Egypt?
- 2- To what extent did the translator's habitus influence the translation?

To answer these questions, the main concepts of Bourdieu's theory – field, habitus, and doxa – are employed as research tools to help in understanding the relationship between the decisions a translator makes at the micro-level and the stimuli at the macro-level. The results from the analysis are expected to support or reject the hypothesis inferred from Bourdieu's theory – that individuals' practices result from the interwoven relation between their habitus and the field in which they grow up and work. This paper includes six parts. The first presents a brief overview of previous studies in the field. The second comprises the methodology followed in conducting the analysis. The third explains Bourdieu's main concepts to shed light on their value as analytical tools. The fourth examines the dominant doxa in the field of children's literature translation in Egypt during the late nineteenth century. The fifth presents illustrative examples from the translation to determine to what extent the translator aligned himself with the prevailing doxa. The final part discusses the findings from the analysis.

Literature Review

Most studies in the field of children's literature translation have focussed only on the linguistic and cultural sides of translations (Alqudsi, 1988; Al-Mahadin, 1999; Mouzughhi, 2005; Dukmak, 2012; Al-Daragi, 2016; Alsiary, 2016; Alsaleh, 2019; Alkhaldi, 2019). Far too little attention has been paid to Arabic translations of English classics for children from a sociological perspective. Many scholars have applied Bourdieu's sociological theory in the field of translation studies (Simeoni, 1998; Gouanvic, 1997, 1999, 2002a, 2005; Wolf, 2002, 2007b; Inghilleri, 2005; Hanna, 2005; Sela-Sheffy, 2005; Liang, 2010; Alkhamis, 2012; Elgindy, 2013; Alkhawaja, 2014). However, no study has been undertaken to examine the translation of children's classics in the Arab world from a Bourdieusian perspective. Hanna (2016, p.206) notes that "very little research, if any, has been conducted on ... translation of children's literature" using Bourdieu's sociological theory. This highlights the need to examine the genesis of the field of children's classics translation in Egypt using Bourdieu's theory.

A quick search in major scholarly databases – including the British Library's EThOS, DARY-Europe's E-theses Portal, ProQuest, and Google Scholar – reveals that no study exists that draws on Bourdieu's theory to examine the translation of children's classics in Arabic. Alsiary's (2016) doctoral study drew on two of Bourdieu's concepts briefly, as it examined socio-cultural norms that affected translation flows in the field of children's literature in Saudi Arabia. These norms were explained by examining key publishers' practices in the field under study, namely Obeikan, Jarir, Dar Alnabtah, and the King Abdul-Aziz Library. To this effect, Alsiary adapted Toury's norms theory, elements of Heibron's (1999/2010) translation-flow concept and Lefevere's (1992/2005) manipulation approach, while also concentrating on two concepts of Bourdieu's theory (field and capital) (Alsiary, 2016). The study concluded that translators appeared to be the "weakest players" in the field (Alsiary, 2016, p. 258). Textual analysis of some randomly selected case studies, interviews with publishers and bibliographic data indicate translators' inactive role. Decisions taken during the translation process "seem to be outside of translators' control and heavily influenced by publishers' regulations, which, in turn, are subject to the main cultural and censorial factors" (Alsiary, 2016, p. 258).

Although Alsiary's study provided valuable insights into the field of children's literature translation in Saudi Arabia from a socio-cultural perspective, it fell short as far as providing sufficient consideration to the role of translators who may challenge norms in their translations. Although the study claimed to be sociological in nature, it did not engage in details with Bourdieu's theory. Another limitation of Alsiary's study is that it pulled Bourdieu's sociology apart, using two main concepts – field and capital – without referring to the other concepts. This paper attempted to fill the gaps that the aforementioned studies left open. It aims to engage with Bourdieu's sociological concepts in relation to one another, specifically the relationship between the field and habitus, to achieve the dynamism of this social theory of practice.

Methodology

This paper depends on historical and archival sources. It uses a case study and follows a target-oriented approach. The source text was used to ascertain intervention levels undertaken in the target text and mainly uses a qualitative approach. A two-stage analysis was conducted to make

an in-depth examination of the translator's practices at the micro- and the macro-levels. As for the micro-analysis, this paper carries out a detailed textual and paratextual analysis of the translation of *Gulliver's Travels* (1909). Illustrative examples are provided from the translation, in which the translator interferes through two main strategies: adding and changing. The main sociological concepts of Bourdieu's theory – field, habitus, and doxa – were applied to examine the sociological motivation behind the translator's intervention in the translation. Therefore, the macro-level analysis aimed to identify the main socio-political factors that affected the translator's habitus. This approach – including biographical, historical, and archival research – was used to reveal “the various hands, minds and hearts that were responsible for the final product” (Simeoni, 1998, p. 32).

Overview of Bourdieu's Key Concepts

Translators' choices are influenced by norms, but in some cases, translators choose to challenge these norms in their work (Yannakopoulou, 2008). In such cases, norms seem to be insufficient for explaining the motivations behind translators' choices (Yannakopoulou, 2008). Therefore, it is better to supplement the norms with the concept of habitus to have a full picture of the context in which the translation occurs (Yannakopoulou, 2008). Gouanvic (2005) highlighted the importance of Bourdieu's concept of habitus in understanding translators' practices:

Norms do not explain the more or less subjective and random choices made by translators who are free to translate or not to translate, to follow or not to follow the original closely. If a translator imposes a rhythm upon the text, a lexicon or a syntax that does not originate in the source text and thus substitutes his or her voice for that of the author, this is essentially not a conscious strategic choice but an effect of his or her specific habitus, as acquired in the target literary field (p. 158).

In light of the above-mentioned phenomenon, one may suppose that Bourdieu's concept of habitus is useful for explaining the motivations behind the translator's practices, specifically those which challenge the dominant norms of the time. Bourdieu (1990) defined habitus as “systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures” (p. 53). This definition reveals four features of habitus: it is durable, transposable, structured and structuring. The first feature is the durability of the dispositions, which means “they are ingrained in the body...through the life history of the individual” (Thompson, 1991, p. 12). Although habitus is durable, this does not mean it is eternal. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) noted that the habitus of individuals evolves and can change when they acquire education and training or experience new things.

The second feature that characterizes habitus is that it is transposable. This means that the dispositions “are capable of generating a multiplicity of practices and perceptions in fields other than those in which they were originally acquired” (Thompson, 1991, p. 12). Bourdieu (1990) also described the habitus as both structured and structuring. In the third feature, the dispositions are structured in that they always incorporate the objective social conditions of their inculcation (Johnson, 1993). In other words, they “reflect the social conditions within which they were acquired” (Thompson, 1991, p. 12). For example, the dispositions that are acquired by an

individual from a working-class background are different from those acquired by individuals who were raised in a middle-class family (Thompson, 1991).

The fourth feature is that they are also structuring, which means they can generate practices adjusted to specific situations (Johnson, 1993). In other words, the structuring function helps to shape an individual's present and future practices. These features reveal that habitus can be considered a link between past, present, and future. However, Maton (2014) noted that habitus not only links between past, present and future but also "between the social and the individual, the objective and the subjective, and structure and agency" (p. 52).

Hanna (2006) explained that the relation between the habitus of an individual and the field is not a hierarchical one taking the form of norms "imposed by the field and actualized by the habitus" (p. 66). Rather, the interplay between the habitus and the field can be better understood as "a circle in a sense of a dialectical relationship between objective structures and subjective dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 36). This relationship works in two ways:

On one side, it is a relation of *conditioning*: the field structures the habitus, which is the product of the immanent necessity of a field. ... On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or *cognitive construction*. Habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and value, in which it is worth investing one's energy (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127, italics in original)

An individual's habitus does not entail acting according to the prevailing social norms in a specific field. Bourdieu suggested that individuals are not pre-programmed automatons who act out the implications of their upbringings (Maton, 2014). He asserted that habitus is the "product of history, that is of social experience and education, it may be *changed by history*, that is by new experiences, education or training" (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 45, italics in original). Hanna (2006) noted that the habitus of an individual is the product of history in two senses: it is the product of the history of the field that an individual lives in and the product of that individual's trajectory in the social space.

A trajectory is an important term that needs to be defined when discussing the concept of habitus. It refers to the "series of positions successively occupied by the same writer in the successive states of the literary field" (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 189). Hanna (2016) explained that Bourdieu's concept of trajectory helps us to delineate the effects of a translator's movements across different fields in relation to their translation production. Translators' choices are not only affected by the social fields these individuals inhabit but can also be influenced by changes in their personal circumstances, for example, moving to a different country or working in another field that may or may not relate to the field of translation (Hanna, 2006).

It is important to understand the habitus of an individual within the field because any attempt to explain practice based on "habitus alone is not Bourdieusian" (Maton, 2014, p. 60). Ngarachu (2014) pointed out that "fields are the contexts within which the habitus operates" (p. 61). Hence, the concept of the field needs to be defined and placed in the appropriate context before using it as an analytical tool. Bourdieu used different terms to refer to a field, including describing

it as a market and a game (Hanna, 2006). Similar to a game, a field has rules for how to play, stakes (i.e., forms of capital), and strategies for playing (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu (1993b) explained that:

in order for a field to function, there have to be stakes and people prepared to play the game, endowed with the *habitus* that implies knowledge and recognition of the immanent laws of the field, the stakes and so on (p. 72, italics in original).

Johnson (1993) noted that a person must have specific skills, talent, and knowledge to be accepted as a legitimate player in the field. It can be argued then that the metaphor of a game suggests two main issues. First, the field is governed by specific rules that the agents must follow (Bathmaker, 2015). Second, a game is also used to refer to the strategies of “how to play the game [well] in order to win” (Bathmaker, 2015, p. 66). In light of this metaphor, this paper examines the field of children's literature translation in Egypt in the late nineteenth century as a social space that was governed by specific rules that applied in a unique manner.

If the habitus of an agent follows the rules required by the game, this means that the habitus of this agent commits to the doxa of the field (Dwyer, 2016). Doxa is another important concept of Bourdieu's sociological theory that needs to be considered in this paper. Doxa is “the relationship of immediate adherence that is established in practice between a *habitus* and the field to which it is attuned, the pre-verbal taken-for-granted of the world that flows from practical sense” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 68, italics in original). Furthermore, doxa can be considered “the silent ‘rules of the game,’ which are usually ‘misrecognised’ as ‘the natural order’” (Dwyer, 2016, p. 19). In a specific field, agents compete over winning a form of capital: economic, social, or symbolic. Capital in Bourdieu's (1977) view is “*all* the goods, material or symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as *rare* or worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation” (p. 178, italics in original). Having defined the abstract concepts of Bourdieu's theory, the next section applies these analytical tools to understand the dominant doxa of the field of children's literature translation in Egypt during the late nineteenth century.

The Genesis of the Field of Children's Literature Translation in Egypt

The late nineteenth century witnessed prosperity in translation (Tajer, 2013). Badawī (1993) referred to this era as “the age of [both] translation and adaptation” (p. 11). The popularity of translation at this time was attributed to the interest of Muḥammad ‘Alī (1769–1849), the ruler of Egypt, who was keen to learn more about the Europeans and their scientific and literary works (Tajer, 2013). Despite this cultural revival and the prosperity of translation in different areas of knowledge; however the genre of children's literature translation still did not receive considerable attention. Although there were notable cultural productions in other literary genres, such as prose, poetry, and drama, the translation of children's literature was homologous with the fields of education, religion, or literary translation.

It could be said that children's literature as a genre was mainly introduced to Egypt through translation. It was introduced in Egypt by scholars returning from studying abroad (Snir, 2017). These scholars began a series of sporadic attempts to translate and adapt foreign literary works, mainly written in French and English, for children (Snir, 2017). Among these scholars who

introduced important books for children were Rifā'a al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (1801–1873), Muḥammad 'Uthmān Jalāl (1829–1898), and Aḥmad Shawqī (1868–1932). It was through the efforts of these individuals that the field of children's literature translation began to form. The selection of what would be translated during this phase depended on the translators themselves, their personal preferences, and their knowledge of the author's reputation in their source culture.

Two opposing groups appeared in Egyptian society during the nineteenth century: modernists and traditionalists (Hanna, 2016). The traditionalists received a traditional religious education (Hanna, 2016) and therefore preferred using the high register of Arabic found in the Quran and neo-classical poetry and prose. This style of writing was characterized by “the use of rhyming prose (*saj'*) and rhetorical forms such as parallelisms, paronomasia; (*tajnīs or jinās*), antitheses (*tibāq*) and puns” (Moreh, 1975, p. 10, italics in original). The field of children's literature translation during its genesis in Egypt was homologous with the field of religion. This homology took different forms. First, it appeared in the Islamisation of the translated texts. Bardenstein (2005) noted that Islamisation was the main strategy used by early translators, such as Muḥammad 'Uthmān Jalāl (1829–1898). One of the most common aspects of Islamising a text is the frequent and explicit use of Quranic verses, either in part or whole or through allusion (Bardenstein, 2005, p. 67). Jalāl's translation of *Al-'Uyūn al-Yawāqiz fī al-Amthāl wal-Mawāiz* [*The Insightful Wisdom of Fables and Proverbs*] (1906) was an early work that established the foundations of the field of children's literature translation and helped shape the work of other translators in the generations that followed (Bardenstein, 2005).

Second, the Islamisation of the text entailed deleting, or changing any concepts that clashed with Islamic beliefs, particularly mentions of religious, political or sexual taboos (known as the triangle taboo). As for the translations produced, there was a dominant trend for producing what was called *tarjama bi-taṣarruf* (free translation), which was signaled on the front cover of many translated works in the late nineteenth century (Hanna, 2011). This prevalent doxic practice allowed some translators to intervene in their translations and produce a different version from the source text.

Children were not explicitly addressed in this stage. This was attributed mainly to the lack of capitals in the field of children's literature translation. In order for agents to function in any field of cultural production, they must be aware of the value of the capital at stake. This entails developing an interest in the stakes, or what Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) called *illusio*. Since no one enters the field intending to lose, the entrants to the field of children's literature translation in the late nineteenth century either made it clear in their paratextual zone that what they translated for children was suitable to be included in the educational curriculum, or they translated works for children but did not address them. Addressing children implicitly and flagging the importance of the translations in the paratextual zone was found in the two translations produced by Muḥammad 'Uthmān Jalāl: *Qabūl wa-Wardjanna* (1871) and *Al-'Uyūn al-Yawāqiz fī al-Amthāl wal-Mawāiz* [*The Insightful Wisdom of Fables and Proverbs*] (1906). The translation examined in this paper was an illustrative example of the second practice, in which the content was intended for children, but the translator did not address them explicitly.

Based on this brief overview of the genesis of the field, the following section analyses Şabrī's translation of *Gulliver's Travels* (1909) to determine to what extent the translator followed or challenged the poetics of the time, or as Bourdieu put it, the doxic practices prevailing during that time.

A Bourdieusian account of 'Abd al-Fattāh Şabrī's translation of *Gulliver's Travels* (1909)

Şabrī adopts the mindset of a typical middle-class Egyptian employee. He was very orthodox in his career. Zaki Mūbark compares the end of the two different professions taken by 'Abd al-Fattāh Şabrī and Ibrahim al-Mazinī (1889- 1949) (an Egyptian poet, novelist, journalist, and translator) as follows:

TT:

خضع الأستاذ عبد الفتاح صبري للأنظمة الإدارية خضوعاً وصل به إلى أرفع منصب في وزارة المعارف، وثار المازني على الأنظمة الإدارية ثورة وصلت به إلى العيش من سنان القلم في الجرائد والمجلات. فما النتيجة وما الغاية في حياة هذا وهكذا؟ مات عبد الفتاح باشا صبري ميتة الغريب فلم تنبكه وزارة المعارف ولم يحزن عليه مخلوق

(Mūbark, 2013, p. 1865)

BT:

Şabrī submitted himself to the rules of government, and this subservience took him to the highest position in Wizarat al-Ma'ārif [*the Ministry of Education*]. In contrast, al-Mazinī revolted against the laws of the government, and this led him to earn his income from a non-governmental profession, namely writing in newspapers and magazines. What impacts, then, did these two professions have on these two men? Şabrī died as an outsider; no-one lamented him, whether *Wazarat al-Ma'ārif* or any individual (my translation).

Mūbarak's words show that Şabrī reached a prominent position because he was so submissive to the rules of the government, and when he died, no one remembered or lamented him. However, Şabrī's translation of *Gulliver's Travels* includes social and political criticism, which shows a hidden heterodox side of his personality. This contradictory nature of Şabrī's habitus can be justified at many levels, but before proceeding to the justifications, it is important to present illustrative examples from his translation. Şabrī critically depicts the Lilliputian society and exposes political and social problems related to corruption and poverty. Most of the criticism levelled against the government of Lilliput is not apparent in the ST and it seems that Şabrī is alluding to the Egyptian government and society.

Example (1):

When news spreads that Gulliver has arrived to Lilliput, the ruler orders that anyone who wants to see Gulliver can only do so once, and no one can go within fifty yards of Gulliver's residence without a license. Swift explains how these rules turn into a great money-making industry as follows:

ST

"Secretaries of State **got considerable fees.**" (Swift, 1909, p. 15)

However, Şabrī translates this as follows:

TT

فانتبه موظفوه فرصة هذا الأمر الكريم وفرضوا الضرائب الباهظة والرسوم الغالية على كل طالب حتى ملأوا خزائنهم من أموال العباد بهذا الفساد

(1909, p. 33)

BT

“They [the employees of the emperor] took this opportunity to **impose high taxes and expensive fees on anyone who wanted to see [Gulliver]. They filled their coffers with the money of the poor through this corruption.**”

Şabrī used lexical choices such as الضرائب الباهظة “high taxes,” الرسوم الغالية “expensive fees,” العباد “poor people,” and الفساد “corruption.” These lexical choices, which do not appear in the ST, seem to reflect the translator’s criticism of the way in which taxes were imposed. Şabrī describes the Lilliputian government’s collection of taxes, which are taken from “poor people” as “corruption.” This is not the only instance when the translator criticizes taxation. Whenever he finds a chance, Şabrī condemns taxes, as shown below:

Example (2)

Swift writes that this monarch **does not tax** his subjects:

ST

For this prince lives chiefly upon his own demesnes, seldom, except upon great occasions, raising any subsidies upon his subjects, who are bound to attend him in his wars, at their own expense (Swift, 1909, p. 15)

Şabrī makes radical changes in translating this sentence. He alters the ST to express the view that the Lilliputians are upset with the taxes imposed on them for sustaining Gulliver’s supplies as follows:

TT

فكانت ضريبة قاسية أن منها الناس وضجوا

(1909, p. 34)

BT

This was a heavy tax that people became upset with

To understand the translator’s strategic decisions in the previous examples, it is important to explore the historical period in which the translation was produced. In examples one and two, Şabrī specifically criticizes the level of taxes levied on people by the Lilliputian government. A number of significant events concerning taxation in Egypt around the time of Şabrī’s publication (1909) may, to some extent, justify his additions in the TT. When Muḥammad ‘Alī came to the throne in 1805, he imposed high taxes on Egyptians, and this was classed as a significant resource at the time (Al-Ṭūkhī, 2009). Historians also noted that these heavy taxes were levied because the government was concerned about reducing the budget deficit. Still, little attention was paid to the average citizen and their circumstances (Al-Ṭūkhī, 2009). Khedive Isma‘īl (1830–1895) imposed even more taxes on citizens in an attempt to fund debts (Al-Ṭūkhī, 2009). At the time, different kinds of taxes were levied on everything, and everyone suffered because of this (Al-Ṭūkhī, 2009). Taxes were imposed on everyone, ranging from businessmen to those working in the lowest-paid jobs, and even those with no profession (Al-Ṭūkhī, 2009). Even fishers were obliged to pay the government 50% of their daily income (Al-Ṭūkhī, 2009). The government also imposed taxes on marriage and on burning the dead, irrespective of whether the person who had died was an adult or a child (Al-Ṭūkhī, 2009). The tax situation in Egypt around this time triggered Şabrī to criticize

it implicitly in his translation of *Gulliver's Travels*. The imposition of the taxes in Egypt around 1909 was not pleasant, and the nation received poor services in return. This provides one sociological dimension for understanding Ṣabrī's criticism in a relation to these additions. However, there are other examples in which Ṣabrī condemns kings and princes, and this clearly shows his ambivalence towards those in power. These examples as follow:

Example (3):

Gulliver helps the Lilliputians and rescues their village from a Blefuscu attack. He brings all the Blefuscu naval fleet to Lilliput. The emperor of Lilliput becomes happy and plans to use Gulliver as a weapon to destroy Blefuscu and make it a province in his empire. Gulliver disagrees with this plan refusing to force free people into slavery. This, in turn, annoys the emperor and other officials in the government, who turn against Gulliver and want to get rid of him. Gulliver expresses his opinion about this situation as follows:

ST

"Of so little weight are the greatest services to princes, when put into the balance with a refusal to gratify their passions" (Swift, 1909, p. 39).

In his translation, Ṣabrī generalizes that this is the situation with all kings not only the Lilliputian king. He also adds other words which clearly show his critical tone, as follows:

TT

ولكن الملوك لا يقف في سبيل أطماعهم حق أو انصاف فنراهم يستعملون كل الوسائط السافلة الدينية لبلوغ غاياتهم الجائرة وينقمون على من يمحص لهم النصح لغير مأرب شخصي أو منفعة ذاتية رغم ما يرون فيهم من الإخلاص في العمل والقيام بالوعود والعهود وهذا الملك العريق في الملك وصفاته لم يخالف تلك السنة الشنعاء

(Ṣabrī, 1909, p. 58)

BT

But the kings are greedy, and they do not consider justice or fairness. We see them using all contemptible ways possible to achieve their unjust goals. They are also hostile to all those who advise them against their actions, even when these advisers are devoted to their work, and never break any rules. This king is no exception to this ugly practice.

The underlined phrases in the previous example show that Ṣabrī wants to generalize the bad characteristics of the Lilliputian king to all kings all over the world. He follows these generalized phrases with the specific sentence, **"this king is no exception in this ugly practice."** It is worth considering, in this context, the relationship between ministers and civil servants during that time when this translation was published. Ṭaha Ḥusayn (1889-1973) commented on the nature of this relationship, specifically in Wazarat al-Ma'ārif, where Ṣabrī worked at that time, as follows:

وطاعة الموظفين (للوزراء) واجبة، فأول ما يجب على هؤلاء الموظفين أن يستقبلوا إذا كان الاختلاف بينهم وبين الوزير من الشدة والمساس بالمسائل الجوهرية بحيث يضطرهم إلى الاستقالة

(Ḥusayn, 2014, pp. 118,19)

BT

The civil servants must obey the ministers. These civil servants have to resign immediately from their work if they have different opinions from their ministers on any essential matter.

Ḥusayn's words provide a context for understanding Ṣabrī's decisions in his translation of *Gulliver's Travels*. This note, which was made by Ḥusayn, may explain Ṣabrī's criticism in the previous examples. Being closely connected to ministers and kings made Ṣabrī experience this kind of relationship that he implicitly criticized in his translation.

In another example, Ṣabrī notes the disadvantages of being close to kings as well as ministers. In the ST, Gulliver's friendly treatment of the ambassadors sent by the emperor of Blefuscu is seen by the Lilliputians as a sign of his disloyalty. When Gulliver knows about what the Lilliputians think of him, he comments:

Example (4):

ST:

"This was the first time I began to conceive some imperfect idea of courts and ministries" (Swift, 1909, p. 40).

Ṣabrī, in his translation, generalizes this idea to all kings and ministers and use specific lexical phrases to exaggerate on the ugliness of being close to such people, as follows:

TT

فشعرت لأول مرة بمبلغ المكاييد والوشايات التي تنجم عن الاحتكاك ببلاط الملوك. وقد دلت الوقائع والحوادث على أن جلس الملوك والامراء محفوف دائما بالمخاوف والمكاره لا يهنأ له بال ولا تظمن له نفس مادام في عداد المقربين

(Ṣabrī, 1909, p. 60)

BT

I felt for the first time the conspiracies, and calumnies that a person who serves a king may expose himself to. Incidents and events indicated that those who serve kings and princes are always surrounded by fears and worries; they do not enjoy peace of mind and, they do not feel secure.

In the previous example, Ṣabrī translates "imperfect idea" as المكاييد والوشايات "conspiracies and calumnies." He also adds another sentence in which he expresses the view that those who serve kings and princes are always surrounded by fears and worries; they do not enjoy peace of mind and they do not feel secure." These additions seem to indicate that Ṣabrī speaks through his translation about the disadvantages of being close to kings and ministers in general. This strategic decision on the part of the translator and his stance towards the political authorities in examples three and four make sense when examining the social trajectory of Ṣabrī, specifically his professional habitus.

Every effort has been made to research as much material as possible on Ṣabrī's professional habitus. Luckily, it is found that he had a prominent position in the field of education. A short synoptic biography of Ṣabrī is presented in the following figure:



Figure 1. Biography of 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ṣabrī by Maṭba'at al-ma'ārif (1931, p. 2)

This short biography shows that Ṣabrī held many positions in the field of education, ultimately reaching a very prominent position, that of deputy minister in the Egyptian ministry of education. It also reveals that Ṣabrī was a qualified literary figure. He was a linguist. He also spoke English fluently and wrote it very well. He co-wrote with 'Alī 'omar a textbook, *al-Qirā'ah al-Rashīdah* (*Wise Reading*) for primary school children. Due to Ṣabrī's important position in the field of education, he was frequently chosen as a representative of this field in important events. For example, when the government established a committee to look at reforming the educational system at al-Azhar, this committee was led by the deputy minister in the Egyptian ministry of education, 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ṣabrī (Reḍa, 1928). In 1932, the first international conference of Arabic music was held under the patronage of King Fu'ad I, who issued a royal decree to establish an organisation committee of this conference ('uṣfūr, 2007) and making 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ṣabrī its deputy head. These positions that Ṣabrī held for important events and occasions show his connectedness to those in politics, including kings and ministers. It seems that Ṣabrī speaks through his translation about issues that he could not speak about in reality due to his position, which was very much related to the field of politics (kings and ministers).

Apart from the influences of the translator's social trajectory on his translation, it could be noted that the publisher who published this translation encouraged Ṣabrī to speak up. Ṣabrī chooses to publish his translation with *al-Jarīda*, a liberal newspaper. Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyied (1872-1963) founded this newspaper on 9th March 1907 to act as the mouthpiece for his Umma Party (Landau, 2015). Under al-Sayyied's guidance, as Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper, a circle of writers and journalists emerged who began to demand wider educational and other social reforms

in Egypt (Landau, 2015). In his very first article published in the first issue of *al-Jarīda* on March 9, 1907, al-Sayyied told the reading public that his newspaper “is the perfect medium for the dissemination of ideas which will create the vision of a common national ideal” (Wendell, 1972, p. 222). al-Sayyied encouraged people to express their opinions freely, and he called for writing with the purpose of inspiring social and political reforms. His newspaper *al-Jarīda* “was modernist and liberal in its character and expressed moderate national positions” (Akyeampong, 2012, p. 29). *al-Jarīda* newspaper published literary works because its editor-in-chief believed that through literature, the new generation of Egyptian liberals could express their dreams and visions (Robin, 1995). Therefore, there is no wonder to see Ṣabrī's intervention in the translation, which contained social and political criticism because this went along with the publisher's policy.

The Harmony between the Habitus of Ṣabrī and the Doxa of the Field

The language register used by ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Ṣabrī in his translation is only understandable in terms of the dominant poetics at that time or in Bourdieu's terms: the doxa. It could be noted that Ṣabrī was influenced by the religious education he received. Therefore, he used numerous Qur'anic verses in his translation of *Gulliver's Travels*. The following table presents only two examples out of the 36 instances used in the translation:

Table 1. *Examples of Quranic intertextuality in Ṣabrī's translation of Gulliver's Travels (1909)*

ST	TT	BT	The Quranic verse
“We, therefore, trusted ourselves <u>to the mercy of the waves</u> ” (Swift, 1909, p. 3)	وسلمنا أنفسنا للقضاء فقد تحكّم وقلنا (لن يصيبنا إلا ما كتب الله لنا) (Ṣabrī, 1909, p. 11)	“We were already overwhelmed so, we surrendered ourselves to destiny, and we said, “ <u>Never will we be struck except by what Allah has decreed for us.</u> ”	“قُلْ لَنْ يُصِيبَنَا إِلَّا مَا كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَنَا.” “Say, Only what God has decreed will happen to us.” Quranic verse 51 in Sūrat At-Tawba
<u>so they expect no mercy.</u> (Swift 1909, p. 9)	“ويعيث في الأرض فسادا يهلك الحرث والنسل.” (Ṣabrī, 1909, p. 21)	<u>strive throughout the land to cause corruption therein and destroy crops and animals</u>	“إِذَا تَوَلَّى سَعَى فِي الْأَرْضِ لِيُفْسِدَ فِيهَا وَيُهْلِكَ الْحَرْثَ وَالنَّسْلَ.” “When he leaves, he sets out to spread corruption in the land, destroying crops and live-stock.” Quranic verse 205 in Sūrat Al-Baqara

The second practice followed by Ṣabrī was the “free translation” strategy he followed when introducing *Gulliver's Travels* into Arabic. He signals this practice on the front cover as follows:



Figure 2. the Front Cover of Şabrî's translation of *Gulliver's Travels* (1909)

It should be noted that although he followed the doxic practices prevalent during that time, his habitus has informed his decisions in the translation to a greater extent. This is evident in the inclusion of social and political criticism that did not exist in the ST. Returning to the hypothesis posed at the beginning of this study, it is now possible to state that the translator's practices are the result of the interwoven relation between his habitus and the field in which he worked. Thus, it could be argued that translation norms were not appropriately established during this phase of children's literature translation. It also should be noted that the genesis of the field was in a haphazard state, with no fixed rules or policies for what and how to translate for children. The sociological analysis presented in this paper also supports the translator's active role as a social actor and contends what Alsiary (2016) claims about translators' inactivity in her thesis.

Conclusion

This paper used Bourdieu's sociological theory to generate a greater understanding of the translation of *Gulliver's Travels* (1909) as a socially situated activity. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, social trajectory, field and, doxa helped in understanding the translator's practices, which challenged the prevalent doxa of the time. The sociological analysis of the translation of *Gulliver's Travels* (1909) presented in this paper showed that the final product of the translation was influenced by the socio-political factors prevailing at that time and the effects of the translator's social trajectory. It also demonstrated that the publisher gave Şabrî a great amount of freedom to make certain strategic decisions in relation to his translation. This appears in the political taboo that was included in a translation intended for children. Therefore, it could be concluded that the habitus of the translator, his social trajectory, and the publisher's stance have a greater influence on the translator's decisions than the prevalent doxa of the time.

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