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New Horizons in Translation Research and Education

5

Edited by
Anne Ketola
Tamara Mikolič Južnič
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PREFACE

This volume presents the results of three editions of DOTSS Doctoral and Teacher Training Summer School. The school is an international joint initiative between five universities: University of Ljubljana (Slovenia), University of Turku (Finland), University of Granada (Spain), Boğaziçi University (Turkey) and Tampere University (Finland), as well as University of Eastern Finland prior to Professor Kaisa Koskinen's transfer to Tampere in 2017. The venue of the school rotates annually between the organizing universities. Since its previous publication in 2016, *New Horizons in Translation Research and Education* is now hosted under a new publication series, namely Tampere Studies in Language, Translation and Literature.

To date, there have been eight Doctoral and Teacher Training Summer Schools. In the early years of the summer school, the precise name of the school varied slightly each year, displaying some local color and traditions, but during the past two years, the name of the school has been established as DOTSS. One of the benefits the summer school offers to students is the opportunity to gain experience in writing and publishing an academic article. The summer schools presented in this volume are from 2016 (organized in Piran, Slovenia, with Prof. Brian Baer as the guest professor), 2017 (hosted in Granada, Spain, with Professor Emeritus Mona Baker as the guest professor), 2018 (organized in Tampere, Finland, with Prof. Roberto A. Valdeón as the guest professor) and 2019 (organized in Ljubljana, Slovenia, with Prof. Lawrence Venuti as the guest professor).

The joint effort of these three summer schools is displayed in this volume with a total of nine articles, offering fresh new insights into translation research. As in previous editions of the publication, all articles were subject to rigorous peer review and carefully revised and edited. The articles have been divided into four sections. The first presents three papers that examine translation students and translation pedagogy, a very prominent topic in the summer school activities. **Sonja Kitanovska-Kimovska** sets out to examine the potential of using self- and peer assessment in a summative manner in formal assessment procedures in translator training by examining data collected from an experiment as well as a survey. The results of the analysis show that in the particular experimental setup, self- and peer assessment did not appear as valid forms of assessment, as neither self- nor peer assessment marks were comparable to the evaluation made by the teacher, but the author proposes measures that can be taken to improve the premises of using these assessment methods. **Erja Vottonen**'s article analyses cued retrospections of translation tasks done by Master's level students majoring in English or Russian. This data is studied in order to shed light on which types of approaches and strategies the students employ in translation and whether they refer to the concepts of *foreignisation*, *domestication* or the *golden mean* emerging from Russian translation studies. The author concludes that the

students implicitly refer to source and target text-oriented approaches in their retrospection, but do not explicitly mention overall global strategies or textual local strategies. Furthermore, instead of aiming strictly at a foreignising or domesticating approach, the students appear to prefer some form of “the golden mean”. Finally, combining Translation Studies with Linguistics, **Marta Fidalgo** sets out to analyze translation revision standards. The analysis compares the *International Standard EN ISO 17100* and its successor the *European Standard EN 15038* from the perspective of revision issues and text-linguistic topics. The author explores the possible implications of the standards for both translator training and professional practice and discusses means to improve the visibility of revision activity in Portugal.

The second section includes two articles that discuss manifestations of ideologies across languages. **Miia Santalahti**'s paper expands the discussion on the presence and influence ideology in multilingual communication by examining legal texts, a text type seldom examined from this perspective. Santalahti's study examined corpus data of Finnish-Soviet treaties from the post-war Soviet era, searching for elements of typical Soviet language. The author found that subtle elements of such nature can be found, particularly when scrutinizing the choice of words, which emphasizes that ideology can never truly be separated from language use. **Janž Snoj**'s article, in turn, focuses on ideology reflected in literary translations. The author compares twelve Slovenian translation versions of Henryk Sienkiewicz's *In Desert and Wilderness* (1911) and reflects on whether the changing ideology of the target culture – Slovenia becoming a part of socialist Yugoslavia – influenced the translations. The analysis demonstrates that there is a difference in the translation versions published before and after World War II: the two pre-war editions do not contain ideological interventions, but eight out of ten post-war editions display signs of textual manipulation.

The third section continues on the topic of literary translation. Combining Halliday's systemic functional linguistics and Toury's descriptive translation studies, **Annamari Korhonen** conducts what she refers to as a culturally relevant linguistic analysis of *Pride and Prejudice* and its recent Finnish translation, observing the data from the perspective of gender representation. The author demonstrates, for instance, how the female characters have been portrayed as more active in the Finnish translation, conforming perhaps to the expectations of the modern Finnish audience. **Anu Heino**'s article analyses questionnaire data to shed light on what attracts Finnish literary translators to continue working in the field despite being generally dissatisfied with the pay they receive. Heino's analysis employs the Bourdieusian concepts of *disinterestedness* and *illusio* to describe why the translators find the field so appealing that monetary compensation appears to be of secondary importance. The author suggests that for these particular respondents, the *illusio* of the field lies in finding satisfaction in the work itself: Their replies are characterized by a certain disinterestedness in economic capital and display an appreciation of social and cultural capital instead.

The fourth and final section includes three articles that deal with contrastive rhetorics in translation, focusing on different genres. **Marina Peršurić Antonić**'s article explores the reception of English translations of Croatian tourist brochures by analyzing data from a pilot study questionnaire that aimed to examine whether English-speaking tourists prefer tourist brochures rich in metadiscourse. The author finds that this indeed seemed to be the case for non-native English speakers, but most native English speakers preferred the text with less metadiscourse, even though among these respondents the results varied more across different demographic groups. **Antarleena Basu** examines the translation of trauma fiction from Bengali to English and reflects on how the rhetoric of pain and agony that is embedded in the Bengali source text is conveyed to the new socio-linguistic context. The author conducts a comparative study of Mahasweta Devi's *Hajar Churasir Maa* and its English translation, *Mother of 1084*, describing the strategies and challenges of the translation work. The article proposes that the translation is mostly unable to mediate the experiences of suffering to the target reader and suggests alternative strategies of translating trauma fictions from Bengali to English. Finally, **Tadej Pahor**'s article discusses Slovene undergraduate and graduate academic writing and its translation into English. Comparing two corpora, a specialized corpus of bilingual undergraduate and graduate writing and a general corpus of academic Slovene, the author identifies both discourse-related issues and general issues in the translations that are then used as a starting point for designing a follow-up interview study with undergraduate and graduate students.

This fifth volume of *New Horizons in Translation Research and Education* displays an unprecedentedly vast selection of novel research and new voices in the field of Translation Studies that are bound to make a steady impact on the future direction of the discipline. The editors as well as the entire summer school teaching staff eagerly look forward to the editions to come.

Anne Ketola, Tamara Mikolič Južnič and Outi Paloposki

Section One

Self- and Peer Assessment for Summative Purposes in Translator Training. Validity and Students' and Teachers' Perceptions

Sonja Kitanovska-Kimovska, Ss Cyril and Methodius University, North Macedonia

ABSTRACT

The formative benefits of self-assessment (SA) and peer assessment (PA) have been widely recognised in higher education research and in translator training. The possibility of using them with a summative function, however, has not received great attention. In this paper, an experiment and a survey have been conducted to test the validity of SA and PA with reference to teacher assessment and to pool students' and teachers' opinions on using SA and PA summatively. The results show that in the current experimental setup SA and PA are not a valid form of assessment, but conditions can be created to make them viable so that they gain students' and teachers' acceptance and confidence.

KEY WORDS: translator training, self-assessment, peer assessment, summative assessment

1 INTRODUCTION

Self-assessment (SA) and peer assessment (PA) have been studied extensively in higher education research and there is a wide consensus on the benefits they bring to the learning process. Kearney et al. (2015, pp.2-3) summarise these as follows: SA leads to improvements in the quality of learning, in learning autonomy, academic engagement, motivation, students' awareness of their strengths and weaknesses, improvements in capacities of self-awareness and monitoring learning and promotion of lifelong learning; whereas PA leads to a better sense of responsibility, accountability and motivation and an increased understanding of content, standards and students' achievement.

Apart from facilitating the process of learning, SA and PA have the potential to develop skills necessary for students' future professional work in any given discipline. In view of the recent shift in Western labour market needs from knowledge to skills (Berry, 2014; Dewhurst, Hancock & Ellsworth, 2013), the skills of self-reflection, cooperation,

communication, problem-solving are becoming increasingly important in the professional context. Companies are also focusing on employee participation and, due to the multidimensional nature of the jobs, multi-source feedback and ratings are increasingly relevant and valuable for improving self-understanding, guiding individual development and informing performance evaluations (London & Smither, 1995, p.810).

At the same time higher education is being criticized for producing inert knowledge and paying little attention to skills development (Schelfhout et al., 2004, p.177). The traditional method of assessment has partly contributed to this effect. Staff members exercise “unilateral intellectual authority” and students have little say in the judgements that are being made about them on the grounds of pre-defined criteria of assessment they are not familiar with (Stefani, 1992, p.148). Such an approach to assessment does not only make students passive, surface learners but also engenders in them a tendency to memorise facts in order to pass the exam rather than to indulge in deep understanding of a given subject and develop an ability to evaluate their own work in ways that are relevant and applicable to their future job (ibid.). My experience as a student in two completely different education systems (British vs. Macedonian) and as a teacher in the Macedonian higher education system has proved this to be at least partially true. As opposed to students in the UK higher education (where critical thinking is not only required and encouraged, but also widely practiced and evaluated), Macedonian students are often uncritical about both their own knowledge and their teachers’ actions and assessment, or reluctant to voice their opinions. Having said that, SA and PA have the potential to bring and facilitate change and transform students from passive recipients of others’ knowledge to active creators of their knowledge and skills and assessors of their own learning¹. Recognising these potentials of self- and peer assessment, researchers have mainly focused on their use for formative purposes. The same applies to studies of the use of SA and PA in translator and interpreter training (Lee, 2005; Fowler, 2007; Pinazo, 2008; Robinson et al., 2006; Ibrahim-González & Noordin, 2012; Milcu, 2012). There has been very little research (e.g. Orpen, 1982; Cowan, 1988; Boud, 1989; Jordan, 1999; Kearney et al., 2015) on the use of SA and PA for summative purposes in general and in translator and interpreter training (e.g. Lee, 2011) in particular. However, according to Boud (1990) unless the assessment process is summative in nature, students will not engage at the same level as they otherwise would. Based on personal experience, I tend to agree on this point.

This paper presents a case study of self- and peer assessment in comparison with teacher assessment (TA) and how the idea of including them in formal assessment is perceived by students and teachers at the Department of Translation and Interpreting at Ss Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje, Republic of North Macedonia. First, an overview of SA and PA research for summative purposes is provided. Then the methods and the findings of this study are presented and discussed. This study has a double focus: on the one hand,

¹ This is the basic position of the constructivists (Cook-Sather, 2002, p.5).

I want to find out if SA and PA are a valid² form of assessment using teacher assessment as a frame of reference; on the other hand, I intend to identify students' and teachers' perceptions on the issue of using SA and PA in the formal process of assessment in translator training. The paper ends with a discussion and closing remarks.

2 BASIC DEFINITIONS

Before I proceed to discuss the main issues of this paper, basic definitions of the key terms used are in order. The distinction between formative and summative assessment was first made by Bloom et al. (1971 in Wiliam & Black, 1996, pp.537-538) where formative assessment is useful in helping students improve, whereas summative assessment is designed to judge the extent of students' learning of the material for the purpose of grading. According to Kelly (2005, p.133) formative assessment includes giving students feedback to inform their progress and enhance their learning, whereas summative assessment involves awarding grades so that students pass a module, are permitted to a higher level or receive their diploma. The terms *formative* and *summative* are not used for the assessment tasks employed, but rather for the functions for which such tasks are intended. In fact, the same assessment tasks can be used for both formative and summative purposes (Harlen 2013 in Earle, 2014, p.218). According to Sadler (1989, p.120) when the purpose of assessment is to use the judgments about student performance to improve students' competence, the tasks serve formative assessment functions. When the purpose is to summarise students' achievements to facilitate certification, the tasks serve summative assessment functions. Perhaps, Black and Wiliam's (1998) renaming of the terms make their functions even more obvious. Formative assessment is "assessment *for* learning", whereas summative assessment is "assessment *of* learning".

Apart from the purpose, there are two other factors that determine the type of assessment: assessor and timing (Galán-Mañas & Hurtado Albir, 2015, p.64). For the purposes of this paper, the assessor factor is relevant. Basically, depending on who assesses, assessment can be classified as self-assessment, peer assessment or hetero-assessment (ibid. p.65), where self-assessment involves students' assessing their own learning, peer assessment involves students' assessing their fellow students' (peers') learning, whereas hetero-assessment involves assessment by an assessor whose knowledge and skills differ from those of the assessee (teacher assessment would be classified in this group).

² With regard to assessment, an important distinction is that between reliability and validity. According to Falchikov & Goldfinch (2000: 288) validity is the degree of agreement between the teachers' marks and those awarded by their students, whereas reliability is about agreement in ratings between and amongst peers.

3 SELF- AND PEER ASSESSMENT FOR SUMMATIVE PURPOSES

Regarding SA and PA for grading purposes, the sentiment among higher education stakeholders in general, and in North Macedonia, in particular, is that it is neither needed nor it is viable³. This sentiment in Europe becomes evident from the education system's failure to explicitly recognise the role of students in assessment. Whereas the European Higher Education Area clearly promotes student-centred learning, students are not involved in the development of teaching and assessment methods in the European higher education institutions (Todoroski, Nordal & Isoski, 2015, p.29). When students are not involved in developing assessment methods, students' involvement in the application of these methods seems to be far-off. The following, instead, seems to be most intuitive reaction: why should we be concerned with a grading function of SA and PA when teachers are the most competent and experienced in the practice? To address this, Boud (1989, pp.21-22) provides three reasons for self-assessment. I believe they are equally valid for PA too. First, with the advent of continuous assessment⁴ in higher education, students have come to expect that whatever they do in class should count towards their final grade and unless that is the case, they are unwilling to put a serious effort. Second, involving students in self-assessment provides practice in the interpretation of often arbitrary requirements of others and gives them the opportunity to assess themselves with partial knowledge of the criteria to be used by others and even criteria that they may not fully accept. Third, students' involvement in formal assessment may save teacher time which they could use for more worthwhile activities than final exam marking which usually does not result in feedback to students or produce learning outcomes. This is especially relevant for teachers who deal with large groups of students (as is the case in my department).

Stefani (1994) stresses the sense of responsibility that introducing students to SA and PA and using the mark both formatively and summatively would engender in them. She argues that this should be done early in their academic career so that when they are in their final year of undergraduate studies, where grading and ranking become crucial, they are accustomed to the assessment procedures (ibid. p.74).

As assessors may be prone to subjective judgements, some authors (van der Vleuten et al. 2000, p.593) recommend multiple assessors as a means of minimizing subjectivity. In a perfect case scenario, those would be multiple teachers or a combination of teachers

³ In fact, the general sentiment on summative assessment is negative as its main purpose is to assign a final mark rather than to feed learning. The same opinion is prevalent in translator training too.

⁴ When timing is a factor, assessment can be initial, continuous or final, where continuous assessment is assessment that "takes place throughout a teaching and learning process" (Galán-Mañas & Hurtado Albir 2015: 65) as opposed to initial, which takes place before a learning process begins, or final, which takes place at the end of a learning process. Kelly (2005: 133) clarifies that continuous assessment is essentially summative in nature, although if feedback is provided to students on a series of frequent small-scale tasks, continuous assessment can serve formative purposes too.

and professionals in the field. The truth is universities, and this is particularly true in North Macedonia, are increasingly struggling with resources and hiring additional staff or engaging existing staff for additional tasks is far from possible. SA and PA may bring this necessary balance and may prove to release teachers' burden of objectivity in formal assessment.

According to Rowntree (1987 in Somervell, 1993, p.224) assessment is preparation for life and whereas the "eliminative" nature of traditional assessment may prepare students for the wrong sort of life, SA (and I would add PA) is a much better preparation as it gives students greater control over their own destinies. It helps develop student autonomy and empowers them to make judgements that count. According to Magin & Helmore (2001, p.288) teachers cannot convince students of the learning benefits of PA (and I would add SA) unless they show confidence that students are able to make assessments that can count towards their final grades.

Having said that, the question to ask is: Are SA and PA in summative assessment a viable option? Intuitively, the most common answer is negative for obvious reasons: students are neither knowledgeable enough nor sufficiently experienced to be able to make valid judgements on their work. As superficial or as neglectful of students' level of study and prior experience in such assessment as these intuitions might be, indeed, there have been studies which have confirmed that students make inaccurate judgements. Nilson (2003, p.34) mentions Orsmond et al. (1996) and Pond et al. (1995) as studies which find that most students grade more leniently than the instructor over 80 percent of the time. Nilson (ibid.) also mentions emotion and laziness as formidable barriers to viable assessment by students. Lee (2011, p.99) compares SA and TA (teacher assessment) in interpreter training and finds that they are similar in mark but different in content not only in that they focus on different aspects of the performance, but also in that students' and teachers' comments on the same aspect are often exact opposites.

However, some research has also suggested that these intuitions do not necessarily hold true. In her study of collaborative self, peer and tutor assessment among first year undergraduates in a biochemistry practical, Stefani (1992, p.151) found out that 76% of the SA marks and 80.7% of the PA marks fell within the +/-10% acceptance range presenting a strong case for including students (even those with no previous knowledge or experience of the assessment process) in the design and implementation of assessment methods. Bergee (1993 in Falchikov, 2005, p.94) and MacAlpine (1999, p.19) also find very high and statistically significant correlation between PA and teacher assessment, whereas Scott & Watson (1992 in Falchikov, 2005, p.94) find that "staff-assisted" peer marking is as reliable as teacher marking. A more recent study with the same outcome is Kearney et al. (2015). Studying self- and peer assessment against teacher assessment among first year undergraduate students of education, they conclude that students are able to self-assess and assess their peers with reasonable accuracy.

On account of the various and often conflicting results of the different studies, Falchikov (2005) suggests that further research is needed into SA and PA in different contexts and disciplines. My research aims to contribute to this discussion by replicating the study of SA and PA validity in translator training. It has the added value of incorporating stakeholders' perspectives on SA and PA as an element of formal assessment. The overarching question of the study is: Could self- and peer assessment be used summatively in formal assessment procedures in translator training? More specific questions addressed are:

- (1) Is there any correlation between self-, peer and teacher assessment of a translation assignment?
- (2) Do SA and PA depend on student performance and year of study?
- (3) What are student perceptions of the process?
- (4) What are students' and teachers' attitudes to using SA and PA for summative purposes in translator training?

4 METHODS

This research has a two-fold purpose: first, to examine if SA and PA meet the quality concept of validity by comparing them to teacher assessment; and second, to investigate if SA and PA meet the quality criteria of acceptance and confidence by stakeholders by gathering the attitudes of students and teachers towards the use of SA and PA for summative purposes in translator training. To meet this two-fold purpose, two small-scale investigations have been carried out: an experiment and a survey.

4.1 Experiment

To test the validity of SA and PA with reference to teacher assessment, an experiment was conducted involving self-, peer and teacher assessment of a translation assignment. The assignment was completed by a total of 71 students (the vast majority of whom are female aged 20-22 years) studying for a diploma in translation (English being their first foreign language with either French or German as their second foreign language) at the Department of Translation and Interpreting at the Blaze Koneski Faculty of Philology in Skopje. They were divided into two groups based on their year of study: 43 in the 3rd year and 28 in the 4th year of study⁵ (their final year of study).

⁵ These two years of study were chosen rather than others because this is when students have translation practice classes as envisaged by the curriculum. The experiment was conducted in the spring term of 2016 so the groups of students referred to here were in their respective year of study at the time of the experiment.

The students were first asked to translate a text of approximately 240 words from English into Macedonian. The text was an excerpt from a newspaper article⁶ containing fairly general vocabulary (some of which may still present a challenge for the young translator) and potential pitfalls in the understanding and interpretation of grammatical structures. The students were then given a printed version of the rating criteria with examples (Appendix 1), which was followed by oral explanation of how to apply the criteria. The assessment method used was based on error analysis where the assessor had to make two decisions: to identify the type of error and to decide on the severity of the error (major or minor error). The rating grid specified how many points should be deducted for each error type. The students were given time to read and analyse the criteria and to ask questions. Then, they were asked to assess the translation of a peer and to come up with a total number of deducted points. The students assessing were the same students who translated the text, which means that they were equally familiar with the original text and the translation. The students knew whose translation they were assessing as the translations had been signed. The translations were then given back to the students and each student was asked to self-assess their own translation and to come up with a total number of deducted points. It should be pointed out that neither text analysis of the original text nor discussion of possible translation solutions was carried out prior to the translation or assessment tasks, leaving the students to make their own judgments as to right or wrong translation options. All these activities (translation, rating scale description and discussion, peer assessment and self-assessment) were done consecutively on the same day in a time slot of 1.5 hours in total. As a final step, the teacher also assessed all student translations and came up with a total number of deducted points for each student. The points assigned by the teacher were translated into final marks and these were then used as a frame of reference to translate students' points into final marks. The three marks were then analysed using the software for statistical analysis Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS), version 16.0. It was expected that the data would show if there is any correlation or variance between self-, peer and teacher assessment as well as if SA and PA depend on student performance⁷ and year of study.

To examine student perceptions of the process of SA and PA, a post-task questionnaire (Appendix 2) was developed and distributed among students right after the completion of the assessment tasks. The questionnaire asked students to evaluate their own assessment skills and give their opinion on the exercise. The questionnaire also asked students to assess the level of usefulness and difficulty as well as the learning benefits of SA and PA on a 5-point Likert scale. In addition, respondents could say whether SA and PA should

⁶ The first three paragraphs of Geoff Watts's article "The amazing brains of the real-time interpreters" (Watts, 2014).

⁷ The benchmark for student performance here is the teacher's mark so "high performers" or "high achieving students" are those who are awarded a high mark by the teacher, whereas "low performers" or "low achieving students" are those who are awarded a low mark by the teacher.

be included in translator training classes and whether students should be involved in the formal process of assessment in translation examinations.

An important note to make is that this was the first time for students to undertake assessment (both self- and peer) and that the experiment design did not include a training component. These factors may have a significant impact on the final results of the study. In addition, the failure to ensure the anonymity of peer assessment may affect peer assessment marks and as such is an important methodological issue. Finally, the nature of the task itself may also have a part to play in this research endeavor. Meta analyses on SA and PA have come up with conflicting results as to whether the discipline predetermines students' output on SA and PA. Falchikov & Boud (1989, p.424) found that the sciences produce more accurate self-assessments than other areas of study, whereas Falchikov & Goldfinch (2000) did not find such relationship in peer assessment output. It is reasonable to expect that grading questions with clear answers (like in the sciences, for example) would present much lower challenge for the inexperienced or novice assessor than open questions (like in the humanities, for instance). Translation, by its very nature, is multifaceted and complex and as such may present a greater challenge for an experienced assessor, let alone for an inexperienced one like the students.

4.2 Survey

To see if SA and PA meet the quality criteria of acceptability and confidence by the stakeholders, a survey was conducted among students and teachers at the same department. A separate questionnaire was developed for each group of respondents consisting of 10 core questions and 4 questions on demographics each (Appendices 3 and 4). The two questionnaires are essentially the same, the difference being the different perspective they use. The questions in the student questionnaire take the students' perspective on the topic, whereas the questions in the teacher questionnaire take the teachers' perspective.

The questions address points of interest to the study and were designed based on a review of literature and the researcher's personal experience. Using a 5-point Likert scale, questions were of two basic designs: statements where respondents were asked to choose their degree of agreement and statements where respondents were asked to choose between semantic differentials where there were two poles and a list in between. For the 10 core questions, the respondents were asked to explain their choice (this opportunity was fairly frequently used: specific figures are provided in section 5.2 below). The topics covered in the survey are: how difficult assessment is; how reliable the assessment methods used are; how often the respondents mistrust the assessment methods used; if the respondents think students should be involved in the formal process of assessment; how reliable student assessment would be; how much they think student involvement would increase confidence in the process; how much would students and teachers benefit from students' involvement in the process. It could have been interesting to elicit the

respondents' opinion on specific benefits or drawbacks of SA and PA. Nevertheless, the intention was not to study the respondents reactions on every possible aspect of SA and PA, but rather to keep the survey as general as possible because the primary aim was to identify general tendencies and the general attitude towards SA and PA for summative purposes.

The survey was carried out in Macedonian because almost all respondents were Macedonian native speakers and this felt to be the most appropriate approach. The survey was conducted using Google Forms and was distributed by email to students and teachers of translation at the Department of Translation and Interpreting of Blaze Koneski Faculty of Philology in Skopje. The students group consisted of students enrolled in the 3rd and the 4th year of study⁸ as well as recent graduates,⁹ whereas the teachers group consisted of full-time teachers of translation theory or practice at the department. The survey was sent to around 150 students¹⁰ and 22 teachers and answers were received from 55 students and 14 teachers. The response rate of 36.7% for students and 63% for teachers can be assumed to be representative of the students' and teachers' population of the department as a whole.

5 RESULTS

5.1 Experiment

The main purpose of the experiment was to determine the validity of SA and PA by analysing if self-, peer and teacher marks are comparable and if there is any correlation between them on a translation assignment. Boud & Falchikov (1989 in Topping, 2003, p.61) and Stefani (1994, p.72) find that high achieving students tend to underrate themselves and low achieving students tend to overrate themselves. Griffiee (1995 in Sluijsmans et al. 1999, p.297) finds that there is no difference in self-assessments depending on the year of study. In view of the fact that Stefani's and Griffiee's studies were set up in the same way as the present one with respect to these aspects of the research, I used the data to test these contentions as well. The experiment also aimed at gaining a clearer perception of students' experience of the SA and PA process.

5.1.1 Self-assessment (SA), peer assessment (PA) and teacher assessment (TA)

The comparison of the mean marks shows great differences between students' and teachers' marks. Table 1 below shows the mean marks and the standard deviations of

⁸ The survey was conducted in the autumn term of 2016 so the groups of students referred to here were in their respective year of study at the time of the survey.

⁹ Recent graduates are the students who completed their studies in the past year. In view of their recent university experience, it was deemed appropriate to involve them in the study. At the same time, the issues under scrutiny here are not affected by time lapse so their involvement has no adverse effect on the results of the study.

¹⁰ This number is roughly equivalent to two generations of students at the department.

self-, peer and teacher assessments. The results indicate that the average marks students give to themselves (9.48 for self-assessment and 8.24 for peer assessment) are very different from the average marks the teacher gives (7.34). The SPSS analysis shows that there is a statistically significant difference between SA and TA ($t=10.764$, $p<0.0001$), and PA and TA ($t=3.692$, $p<0.0001$), respectively. The difference between SA and PA is also statistically significant ($t=5.561$, $p<0.0001$). This result already indicates that SA and PA are not comparable to TA, whereas PA is more valid than SA.

Table 1. Comparison of means and standard deviation for self-, peer and teacher marks.

	N	Mean	Standard deviation
Self mark	71	9.48	0.69
Peer mark	71	8.24	1.73
Teacher mark	71	7.34	1.59

Data were further analysed using the Pearson correlation coefficient. The statistical analysis shows that there is no correlation between SA and TA ($r= 0.097$, $p<0.421$) and there is very modest correlation between PA and TA ($r= 0.235$, $p<0.049$). The results suggest that PA is closer to TA than SA.

The analysis of variance also shows that student assessments are more accurate in peer assessment than in self-assessment (Figures 1 and 2). 11% of the students have marked themselves identically with their teacher, whereas 18% of the students marked their peers identically with their teacher. 20% of SA are within 1 mark¹¹ variance (+1 or -1) and this percent is higher (33%) for PA.

¹¹ The points awarded for each assessment were translated into marks on a 5 to 10 marking scale, where 5 is a fail and 10 is the highest possible mark. This marking scale is the one used in the universities in North Macedonia for final examination marking. +1/-1 variance refers to a positive or negative variance of 1 mark from the teacher's mark. For instance, +1 variance means that the student gave himself (in SA) or another student (in PA) a mark of 6, where the teacher gave the same translation a mark of 5. Or, -1 variance means that the student gave himself (in SA) or another student (in PA) a mark of 6, where the teacher gave the same translation a mark of 7.

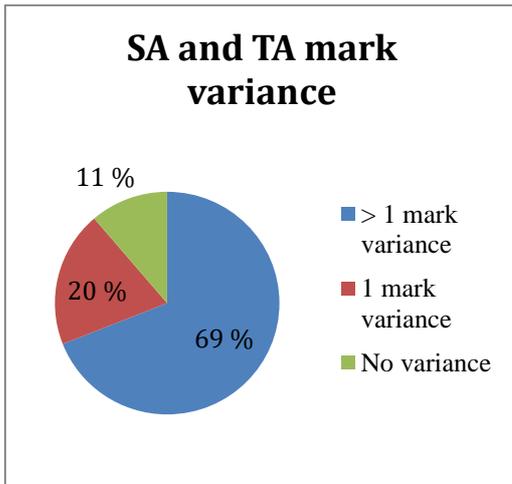


Figure 1. SA and TA mark variance.

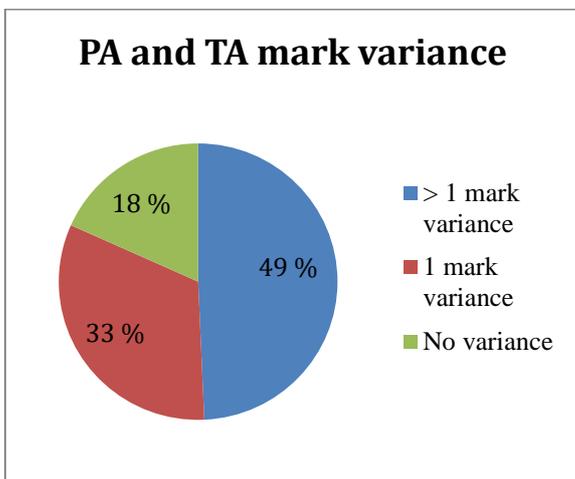


Figure 2. PA and TA mark variance.

Table 2 illustrates the self-assessment marks. As can be seen, high performers are much better at self-assessment than low performers. In low performing students there is greater variation between SA and TA (they have given themselves a pass, in some cases even with a very high mark, where the teacher would give them a fail), whereas in high performing students there is very little variation from TA (they all fall within the same mark range as that of their teacher). In other studies (Sluijsmans et al., 1999; Kearney et al., 2015) the former would be considered as statistical outliers and would be excluded from the analysis. If I had done that, my data set would have been significantly reduced. Be that as it may, the fact that there are so many marks that would qualify as outliers speaks for itself: the greatest problem with SA (and Sluijsmans et al., 1999, p.303 would add with PA) lies with the weakest students. The data also suggest that high achieving students undermark themselves, whereas low achieving students overmark themselves. This result confirms Boud & Falchikov's (1989 in Topping, 2003) and Stefani's (1994) findings and shows that SA depends on student performance.

Table 2. Teacher vs self-assessment: differences in means based on performance group.

Group (Teacher points)	Number in group	SA points (mean)	TA points (mean)	Difference of means
91-100	5	97.42	97.80	-0.38
81-90	5	85.19	85.60	-0.41
71-80	6	75.92	76.67	-0.75
61-70	8	67.44	65.50	1.94
51-60	10	59.00	57.00	2.00
0-50	37	/	26.59	/

To identify if the performance on SA and PA depends on the year of study, I have conducted a one-way MANOVA test. The results show that SA is not significantly dependent on the year of study ($F(1, 69) = 0.31, p < 0.59$). This result is opposite to Filene's (1969, p.454) result where senior students show better student-tutor agreement in self-assessment than junior students. PA is a borderline case in terms of statistically significant dependence on the year of study ($F(1, 69) = 3.87, p < 0.054$). This result is relevant, though, as it shows that study experience has an effect on students' PA performance.

5.1.2 Post-task questionnaire

The results of the post-task questionnaire show students' opinions on the process of being involved in SA and PA and shed light on the possible uses of SA and PA in the future. Table 3 shows students' perceptions of the usefulness and difficulty of SA and PA.

Table 3. Students' perceptions of the usefulness and difficulty of self- and peer assessment.

	Self-assessment	Peer assessment
Usefulness	64% of students	80% of students
Difficulty	79% of students	57% of students

Both SA and PA are perceived as useful (64%¹² and 80%, respectively) and difficult (79% and 57%, respectively). Peer-assessment is viewed as slightly more useful and less difficult than self-assessment ("It is easier to find errors in another persons' translation than in one's own"¹³). 70% of the students think they have gained some learning benefits

¹² The percentages in the table indicate the number of students who are clearly on the positive side with a mark of 4 or 5 on a 5 point Likert scale.

¹³ The discussion of the questionnaire results includes students' quotes in brackets. The students' comments quoted here and the section on survey results below are provided as an illustration of the generalisations made or are selected as representative of the whole group.

from the exercises and 81% think such exercises should be included in the translation classroom. The most frequent comment was that SA and PA are very beneficial, interesting and should be used more often. There were two students who said the exercise was extremely boring. Generally, the students were particularly impressed by peer assessment as, in their view, it helps them develop greater awareness of the different translation solutions (“It is interesting to see how two different translators can provide different but perfectly correct solutions”) as well as their own errors (“It gives us an opportunity to be self-critical, which is very important for a translator”; “This exercise helps us perceive mistakes in our work we are usually unaware of”). The following comments perhaps describe the benefits of SA and PA in the most profound way: “This is useful in the sense of seeing translation as a final product”; “This exercise helps develop critical thinking”. These results are very much in line with the findings of Falchikov (1986, p.155), McDowell (1995, p.306) and De Grez et al. (2012).

Whereas students have emphasised the benefits of SA and, particularly, of PA for learning purposes (“The exercise is excellent because we learn from mistakes, but also because we become familiar with different ways of translating the same thing”), they are rather indeterminate about the idea of using SA and PA for final grading. 56% of the students think SA and PA should not be used for summative purposes. The explanation for such a stance may be found in their own evaluation of their assessment skills. The most frequent comment provided was that they lack competence and experience in assessment. Still, there were some students who commented that this may be amended by training or repeated exposure to such exercises.

5.2 Survey

The purpose of the survey was to investigate students’ and teachers’ attitudes towards the idea of using self- and peer assessment as an element in summative assessment. As the survey was essentially the same for both groups (the difference being the different perspective), the discussion combines the results from both groups. The questionnaire asks the respondents to explain their opinion on 10 questions. Teachers used this option significantly more than students to elaborate their views. An average of 9.8 teachers (70.6%) supported their responses with explicit arguments, as opposed to an average of 7 students (12.7%). I quote some of the comments provided in the discussion below.

First some demographics on the respondents are in order. 60% of student respondents have completed their fourth year of study but still have some examinations to take before graduation, 16.4% are graduates, whereas the rest are younger. 98.2% have translation as their main subject. 96.4% have been assessed in translation practice courses, but the majority of the students have also been assessed in courses like translation theory (70.9%) and subject-area terminology (72.7%). Regarding the grade they received on their latest exam involving translation assessment, there is a fairly even distribution with a normal curve, where a small portion have obtained the highest (9.1%) or the lowest (10.9%)

grade, and the majority have earned the grades in between with the highest number of students being in the main body of the curve (45.5% have obtained a 7 or an 8 on a 5-10 marking scale). The teacher demographics show that the majority have more than 5 years' experience in translation assessment (35.7% have 6-15 years' experience, whereas another 35.7% have more than 15 years' experience assessing student translations). 92.9% assess translations in translation practice courses, and 64.3% assess translation from and into the mother tongue.

5.2.1 Perceptions of current assessment

Before addressing the issue of SA and PA in formal assessment, I thought it would be insightful to gather the students' and teachers' perceptions of assessment as a task and the current assessment methods. Both students and teachers have rather indeterminate opinions on the difficulty of assessment. On a 1-5 Likert scale, where 1 means 'very easy' and 5 means 'very difficult', the students' mean mark is 3.58 and the teachers' mean mark is 3.14. There is no statistically significant difference between their mean marks ($t=1.59$, $p<0.2$), but the fact that students perceive assessment as slightly more difficult than teachers do may be attributed to their lack of experience in the assessment task. The comments provided are more revealing of students' and teachers' perceptions of translation assessment: "There are many different translation solutions" (S1¹⁴); "Different teachers would assess the same translation differently" (S2); "It is not easy to make an assessment because there are many different aspects that need to be considered" (T1); "It is a complex answer. There are 10 error types weighing differently. It is not a matter of right/wrong answer" (T2). As can be seen, students emphasise the subjectivity in translation assessment, whereas teachers emphasise the complexity of assessing translation competence.

A set of questions addressed students' and teachers' confidence in the teachers' assessment methods and how often they mistrust the assessment methods used. 91.5% of the teachers believe their assessment method is reliable (on a 1-5 scale, 50% have selected 4 and 41.5% have selected 5). Teachers also believe that students have a fairly high confidence (4.31 out of 5) in their assessment method. When students are asked the same question, their average response is 3.11. The statistical analysis of these results shows a significant difference ($z=-3.481$, $p<0.0001$) between students' perceptions and teachers' perceptions of teachers' assessment methods reliability: students trust teachers' assessment method less than what their teachers believe they do. Again, the comments they provide are eye-opening: the teachers say they rely on pre-defined criteria and believe they use them consistently ("The criteria I use to assess translations are the same for all students and they are reliable"). The students, on the other hand, believe teachers are not objective and often expect students to provide the translation solution the teacher

¹⁴ "S" stands for "student", "T" stands for "teacher". The numbers are used to differentiate the respondents. The numbers are randomly given, so "S1" in section 5.2.1 does not necessarily refer to the same respondent as "S1" in section 5.2.2.

opts for (“Teachers assess based on person rather than knowledge”). One student said that not all teachers have an assessment method, whereas two students said they were happy with the assessment methods teachers use because teachers are experienced and knowledgeable. Two teachers, too, said that there are no universally accepted criteria for translation assessment and that it is very difficult to be objective.

Regarding the frequency of mistrust in the assessment methods used, on a 1-5 Likert scale, where 1 means ‘never’ and 5 means ‘always’, students’ mean mark is 3.05 and teachers’ mean mark is 2.36. The students are indeterminate, whereas the teachers are clearly on the negative side (a result similar to that of Mikolič-Južnič, 2013, p.95, who reported that only 12.5% of the teachers admit to having some trouble assessing and grading translations). The statistical analysis is revealing here, too, showing significant difference ($z=-2.469$, $p<0.02$). Students mistrust their teachers’ assessment methods more often than the teachers themselves. This result is indicative and clearly shows that something needs to be done to increase students’ confidence in translation assessment methods.

5.2.2 Opinions on SA and PA for summative purposes

This section covers the core of the opinion questionnaire as it addresses students’ and teachers’ views on the use of SA and PA in the formal assessment process. When it comes to the general question if students should be involved in the formal process of assessment, both groups are rather indeterminate. 52.7% of the students and 57.1% of teachers are positive about the idea, whereas 20% of the students and 14.3% of the teachers cannot decide. The rest are on the negative side. Teachers are slightly more in favour of the idea than students, but there is no significant difference between the two groups ($z=-0.4$, $p<0.7$).

The picture becomes clearer on more specific questions of SA and PA as an element of formal assessment. Both groups were asked to say how far they agree with the statements that students should be involved in formal assessment through self-assessment and through peer assessment, respectively. The response is clearly negative. Students’ degree of agreement for SA is 3.09, and for PA 2.60, whereas teachers’ degree of agreement is 2.14 for SA and 2.5 for PA. There is no significant difference between students’ and teachers’ views on PA ($z=-0.3$, $p<0.7$), whereas the difference in their views on SA is significant ($z=-2.29$, $p<0.03$). The data show that students favour self-assessment over peer assessment, whereas teachers favour peer assessment over self-assessment. This result seems to be contradictory to the views on SA and PA students expressed in the post-experiment questionnaire where they preferred peer assessment to self-assessment (as more useful and less difficult). The context in which SA and PA are used may influence their decisions. It indicates that students may be biased when SA is used for summative purposes. This result also shows that students prefer to do peer assessment

than to be subject to peer assessment themselves. This might be due to their lack of trust in their peers' objectivity, knowledge or skills.

With regard to student assessment reliability, both students and teachers do not think it would be reliable: 2.63 was the mark given by students, 2.5 by teachers ($z=-0.32$, $p<0.7$). To illustrate this, some comments follow: "Students cannot make objective assessment. They do not have the necessary knowledge and experience" (T1); "Self-assessment bears the risk of subjectivity" (T2); "Assessment is the teacher's responsibility" (T3); "Even in anonymous assessment, peers show solidarity" (T4); "Very few students have the knowledge to be able to do this" (S1); "The teacher is the one who should assess" (S2); "Students would often assign their peers higher marks than what they deserve" (S3). There were two teachers who were positive about SA and PA in summative assessment: "Perhaps we would have a more objective picture. Similar or different positions will help us be more objective" (T5). A few students were also positive of the idea: "Peer assessment would help students' personal development, not only translation skills development. A sense of responsibility" (S4); "There would be respect for both parties' opinions" (S5).

As to the benefits of involving students in the assessment process, the respondents are rather indeterminate (Table 4). Both students and teachers are ambivalent as to whether involving students in the formal assessment process would bring confidence in the process or benefits for students and teachers. There is no statistically significant difference of opinion between the two groups (confidence $z=-0.03$, $p<0.98$; benefits for students $z=-0.5$, $p<0.6$, benefits for teachers $z=-1.27$, $p<0.2$).

Table 4. Students' and teachers' opinion on the benefits of student involvement.

	Students' degree of agreement	Teachers' degree of agreement
Students' involvement in assessment brings confidence in the process	3.16	3.14
Students' involvement in assessment brings benefits for students	3.29	3.36
Students' involvement in assessment brings benefits for teachers	2.80	3.21

Again, their comments reveal a lot about their perceptions. "Involving another entity, that is, students, in the assessment process would increase mistrust and would help create 'clans' that would favour or devalue certain candidates" (T1); "Students would become more responsible and aware of what is expected of them" (T2); "Teachers would find it easier to make assessment decisions" (T3); "I believe cooperation is necessary to increase trust, efficiency and to make more realistic assessment" (T4); "We are not equal to teachers. We are yet to gain the knowledge and experience they have" (S1); "It wouldn't

be realistic” (S2); “Students would develop greater understanding of assessment and of the teacher’s position. They would increase awareness of their efforts. Student-teacher relationship, mutual understanding and cooperation would improve” (S3).

6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Assessment has different forms and functions. This paper addressed assessment on a translation assignment with a summative function. The overall purpose was to see if self- and peer assessment can be used summatively in formal assessment procedures in translator training. The approach taken was to determine if self- and peer assessment meet the quality criteria of validity and acceptance and confidence by stakeholders to be used as a summative assessment tool. The answers were sought by comparing self- and peer assessment to teacher assessment and by pooling students’ and teachers’ opinions on using self- and peer assessment for summative purposes in translator training.

With regard to the first quality criterion, my analysis has shown that self- and peer assessment are not a valid assessment method measured against the standard of teacher assessment in the current methodological setup. Neither self- nor peer assessment marks are comparable to teacher’s marks. These results may be explained if variables such as student involvement in criteria development and assessment experience are closely considered. In the present study, rather than being involved in criteria development, students were provided with the criteria they were supposed to use. This may have created a barrier for students understanding and applying the assessment criteria in the same way as the teacher does. Developing criteria together with students or, at least, providing facilitation and guidance, may prove to be a worthwhile effort that would lead to better student performance on the assessment tasks. Another factor that is likely to have a stake in the current results is students’ experience in assessment. The students in this study have neither had previous assessment experience nor have they been trained in these assessment methods. This was the first time they performed SA and PA and in such circumstances, perhaps, it is reasonable to expect that their performance would not match their teacher’s performance. Had some time been invested in students’ assessment training and had they been exposed to several assessment tasks using the same criteria before conducting the experiment, different results could be achieved.

Nevertheless, my analysis confirms Topping’s (2003, p.77) conclusions that peer assessment correlates more highly with teacher assessment than does self-assessment and that self- and peer assessment do not correlate well themselves. In their meta-analysis, Boud and Falchikov (1989 in Topping, 2003) identify a general trend where high achieving students underestimate their performance and low achieving students overestimate their performance. My findings confirm this too. The analysis has also shown that in low performing students there is greater variation from the teacher’s marks

than in high performing students. Regarding the effect of the year of study on SA and PA performance, the study did not find any significant influence. Although the experiment was not successful in terms of product, it proved to be successful in terms of process. A vast majority of participating students appreciate the exercise and advocate for it to be more frequently used in translation classes. This result is in line with Hanrahan & Isaacs's (2001, p.65) findings.

Student variation should come as no surprise given the fact that teacher marks are also variable between markers and even with the same marker over time (Heywood 1977 in Boud, 1989, p.22). Using teacher marks as a yardstick is problematic in itself as the validity and reliability of professional teachers is often low (Falchikov & Boud, 1989, p.398; Topping, 2003, p.77) and there is evidence that the assessment of student performance by professional teachers is very variable (Topping, 2003, p.60). Following Magin & Helmore (2001, p.289), this weakness of the present study may be amended by involving several teachers and thereby providing information on the comparative reliability of teachers' marks. That information could then be used to determine if low levels of agreement are due to self- or peer marks unreliability, teacher marks unreliability or both. This is an issue that future studies may address.

These results cannot be viewed without reference to results from other studies. As discussed above, there have been studies which have reached completely different conclusions when it comes to the reliability or validity of students' judgements. My results may be accounted for by a number of factors following Falchikov (2005) & Topping (2003): students' not being involved in criteria-development; students' not being trained in assessment; the fact the anonymity of peer assessment was not ensured (Langan et al., 2005, p.31); the assessment instrument itself (error based rather than a system with positive points); the nature of the discipline (sciences giving better correspondence than social sciences or humanities: it is clear that arithmetical problems with unique answers or multiple-choice questions are a rather smaller challenge for assessors than are translations requiring higher level and multifaceted learning). Modifications to any of these might produce different results.

With regard to the second quality criterion, the survey shows that teachers are pretty confident in their assessment methods and do not think changes are necessary, nor that such changes should bring students' involvement in the assessment process. Students, on the other hand, do not fully trust teachers' assessment methods, but, at the same time, do not think that confidence can be boosted by their own involvement in the formal process of assessment. The main reasons provided are lack of experience in assessment, lack of knowledge, friendship and bias.

Based on these results, the most straightforward answer to my overarching question is that self- and peer assessment could not be used summatively in formal assessment

procedures in translator training. The findings that the students' output is significantly different from that of the teacher and that the attitudes of the stakeholders are not straightforwardly positive lead to such a conclusion. Notably, if the validity and reliability of students' judgements in SA and PA is questioned, and if students and teachers do not accept or trust these alternative methods of assessment, SA and PA do not meet the quality criteria to be used as assessment tools.

According to Boud (1989, p.20), if student grading is to become an element of official recorded assessment, two conditions should be met: (1) students must demonstrate that they can produce acceptable marks, that is, marks that are very likely to be the same as the teacher's mark for the same assignment; (2) if (1) is achieved when student marks are not officially recorded, then it must be demonstrated that the exam conditions do not distort their ratings. If these conditions cannot be met, he says, then for SA (and by extension, I would argue, PA) to be used for grading purposes, measures should be taken to moderate the potential for bias (*ibid.*). I would agree that with appropriate measures and, I would add, a change of mindset, conditions can be created to make SA and PA viable for official grading. I would also agree with Beard & Hartley (1984 in Freeman, 1995, p.291) that "unless student markers can reliably reproduce academic marks, the peer assessment, if used, should have a very low weight, if any, in a student's final grade". Thus, triangulated and weighted marks would provide a stable measure relatively free of the idiosyncrasies of a single rater. To keep the students' involved and at the same time reduce subjectivity, a possible way forward would be to include an independent assessor, such as another teacher or a professional translator. Thus, the final mark would be triangulated and derived from four different sources where SA, PA, independent assessment and teacher assessment might be distributed in a ratio 10%, 30%, 30% and 30%, respectively. I recognize that as useful as this idea might seem, it may not be easily implementable in our everyday context (Macedonian or, in fact, any other), primarily, for reasons such as lack of financial, staff or time resources in universities. I still believe that it deserves serious consideration by all stakeholders in the process.

Further measure is to use averaged multiple peer assessments. Magin and Helmore (2001, p.295) argue that even single teachers marks would be unsafe to rely on. As teachers are more experienced, more expert and less biased, it is true that a typical teacher assessment would be superior to a typical student assessment. However, marks produced by single teacher assessments are unlikely to be superior to averaged peer marks if these are based on more than four marks for each assignment (*ibid.* p.296; Cho et al., 2006, p.900). They conclude that there is potential to improve the reliability of summative assessments by combining teacher marks with the average scores obtained from multiple peer ratings. Thus, combining self-, multiple peer and teacher marks is a possibility to be used and tested in future studies.

Another measure to be taken and tested is to give students training in self- and peer assessment (Dancer & Dancer, 1992; Freeman, 1995; De Grez et al., 2012) and to engage them in criteria development (Sluijsmans et al., 1999; Falchikov, 2005; Langan et al., 2005). That way self- and peer assessment would serve a double purpose: contribute both to learning and to formal assessment. All these measures can be used to modify research methods and possibly lead to different findings.

Having said that, these measures are relatively easy to implement. Changing the perceptions of the stakeholders is a more challenging task (at least in the Macedonian context). My findings have shown that both students and teachers express great fear of handling any of the teachers' power of assessment over to students. Nevertheless, if we are able to undertake the measures mentioned above and demonstrate students' ability to assess their own work or moderate students' assessment, chances are that such a result would gradually lead to a change in the stakeholders' perceptions.

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APPENDIX 1. Rating criteria

SAE J2450 Quick Reference

A. Wrong Term: (WT) A wrong term is any target language term that

- a. violates a client term glossary
- b. is in clear conflict the de facto standard translation(s) of the source language term in the automotive field,
- c. is inconsistent with other translations of the source language term in the same document or type of document unless the context for the source language term justifies the use of a different target language term, for example due to ambiguity of the source language term;

Serious weight: 5, Minor weight: 2

B. Wrong Meaning: (WM)

- a. denotes a concept in the target language that is different from the concept denoted by the source language.
- b. a translation that contradicts the meaning of the original.

Serious weight: 5, Minor weight: 2

C. Omission: (OM) An error of omission has occurred if

- a. a continuous block of text in the source language has no counterpart in the target language text and, as a result, the semantics of the source text is absent in the translation;
- b. a graphic which contains source language text has been deleted from the target language deliverable.

Serious weight: 4, Minor weight: 2

D. Structural Error: (SE) A structural error comprises the following instances of syntactic errors, incorrect word structure, or agreement errors:

- a. a source term is assigned the wrong part of speech in its target language counterpart.
- b. the target text contains an incorrect phrase structure, e.g., a relative clause when a verb phrase is needed.
- c. the target language words are correct, but in the wrong linear order according to the syntactic rules of the target language.
- d. an otherwise correct target language word (or term) is expressed in an incorrect morphological form, e.g., case, gender, number, tense, prefix, suffix, infix, or any other inflection.
- e. two or more target language words disagree in any form of inflection as would be required by the grammatical rules of that language.

Serious weight: 4, Minor weight: 2

E. Misspelling: (SP) A misspelling has occurred if a target language term

- a. violates the spelling as stated in a client glossary.

- b. violates the accepted norms for spelling in the target language,
 - c. is written in an incorrect or inappropriate writing system for the target language.
- Serious weight: 3, Minor weight: 1

F. Punctuation Error: (PE) The target language text contains an error according to the punctuation rules for that language.
 Serious weight: 2, Minor weight: 1

G. Miscellaneous Error: (ME) Any linguistic error related to the target language text which is not clearly attributable to the other categories listed above should be classified as a miscellaneous error.
 Serious weight: 3, Minor weight: 1

Example:

Line	Source	Difference	J2450 error type	J2450 points for error type
3	You can change the 3G service setting under Settings > UIM/SIM card management.	Може да ги промените поставките за 3G-услугата во Нагодување > Управување со UIM/SIM-картичка.	PE-M	1
8	Cannot use disabled Bluetooth feature.	Не може да се користи невозможна невозможната карактеристика функција за Bluetooth.	SE-M WT-S	2 5
9	Mild alert	Средно Умерено тревожење	ME-M	1
33	0.5 seconds	0.50,5 секунди	PE-M	1
34	2.5 minutes	2.52,5 минути	PE-M	1

APPENDIX 3. Questionnaire for Translation Students

Dear colleagues,

The questionnaire aims at collecting translation students' opinions on student assessment on examinations including a translation task. It is extremely important that you provide your honest opinion. The questionnaire is anonymous and your responses will be used for research purposes only. Completion will take not more than 5 minutes.

Thank you for your cooperation!

Yours faithfully,

Dr. Sonja Kitanovska-Kimovska, Assistant Professor

1. What year of study are you currently enrolled in?
 - First year of study
 - Second year of study
 - Third year of study
 - Fourth year of study
 - I have completed classes, but still have exams left
 - Graduate
 - Other

2. What is your main area of study?
 - Translation
 - Interpreting
 - Language and literature
 - Other

3. Which exams have included a translation task? The exams for the course in: (multiple answers possible)
 - Language instruction
 - Translation practice
 - Literature studies
 - Translation theory
 - Technical terminology
 - Other

4. What was the mark you obtained in the last translation exam you took?
 - 5
 - 6
 - 7
 - 8
 - 9
 - 10

5. How difficult is it to assess students' translation in final examinations?

Very easy 1 2 3 4 5 Very difficult

Why?

6. How much do you trust your teachers' translation assessment methods?

I don't trust them at all 1 2 3 4 5 I trust them a lot

Why?

7. How often do you mistrust your teachers' assessment methods?

- Never
- Very rarely
- Neither rarely nor often
- Very often
- Always

Why?

8. Do you think students should be involved in the formal process of assessment (e.g. through self-assessment, peer assessment and the like)?

- Yes
- No
- I don't know

Why?

9. How far do you agree with the following statement: "Students should be involved in the formal process of assessment through self-assessment"?

I totally disagree 1 2 3 4 5 I fully agree

Why?

10. How far do you agree with the following statement: "Students should be involved in the formal process of assessment through peer assessment"?

I totally disagree 1 2 3 4 5 I fully agree

Why?

11. How reliable would student assessment be?

Totally unreliable 1 2 3 4 5 Completely reliable

Why?

12. How far do you agree that student involvement in the formal process of assessment would increase stakeholders' confidence in the process?

I totally disagree 1 2 3 4 5 I fully agree

Why?

13. How much would students benefit from their involvement in the formal assessment process?

- Not at all
- Very little
- Neither little, nor a lot
- A lot
- Enormously

Why?

14. How much would teachers benefit from students' involvement in the formal assessment process?

- Not at all
- Very little
- Neither little, nor a lot
- A lot
- Enormously

Why?

APPENDIX 4. Questionnaire for Translation Teachers

Dear colleagues,

The questionnaire aims at collecting translation teachers' opinions on student assessment on examinations including a translation task. It is extremely important that you provide your honest opinion. The questionnaire is anonymous and your responses will be used for research purposes only. Completion will take not more than 5 minutes. Thank you for your cooperation!

Yours faithfully,

Dr. Sonja Kitanovska-Kimovska, Assistant Professor

1. How long have you been involved in students' translation assessment?
 - 0-5 years
 - 6-15 years
 - More than 15 years

2. What kind of translation tasks do you assess?
 - I do not assess translation tasks
 - Translation from a mother tongue into a second language
 - Translation from a second language into a mother tongue
 - Translation from a mother tongue into a second language and vice versa

3. The translations you assess are for the course in: (multiple answers possible)
 - Language instruction
 - Translation practice
 - Literature studies
 - Translation theory
 - Technical terminology
 - Other

4. How difficult is it to assess students' translation in final examinations?

Very easy 1 2 3 4 5 Very difficult

Why?

5. How reliable is your assessment method?

Totally unreliable 1 2 3 4 5 Completely reliable

Why?

6. How much do students trust your translation assessment method?

They don't trust it at all 1 2 3 4 5 They trust it a lot

7. How often do you mistrust your own assessment method?

- Never
- Very rarely
- Neither rarely nor often
- Very often
- Always

Why?

8. Do you think students should be involved in the formal process of assessment (e.g. through self-assessment, peer assessment and the like)?

- Yes
- No
- I don't know

Why?

9. How far do you agree with the following statement: "Students should be involved in the formal process of assessment through self-assessment"?

I totally disagree 1 2 3 4 5 I fully agree

Why?

10. How far do you agree with the following statement: "Students should be involved in the formal process of assessment through peer assessment"?

I totally disagree 1 2 3 4 5 I fully agree

Why?

11. How reliable would student assessment be?

Totally unreliable 1 2 3 4 5 Completely reliable

Why?

12. How far do you agree that student involvement in the formal process of assessment would increase stakeholders' confidence in the process?

I totally disagree 1 2 3 4 5 I fully agree

Why?

13. How much would students benefit from their involvement in the formal assessment process?

- Not at all
- Very little
- Neither little, nor a lot
- A lot
- Enormously

Why?

14. How much would teachers benefit from students' involvement in the formal assessment process?

- Not at all
- Very little
- Neither little, nor a lot
- A lot
- Enormously

Why?

The realisation of foreignisation, domestication and “the golden mean” in students’ translation process

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ABSTRACT

This paper reports a study that explores the different approaches students take when translating based on different task descriptions. The data consist of transcribed cued retrospections of translation tasks done by eight master’s-level students majoring in English or Russian. Retrospections were carried out immediately after the students had completed the translation task. In the retrospections, screen recordings of the translation processes were used as a cue. The aim of the data-driven research is to explore what kinds of approaches emerge from the students’ verbalisations and whether the different task descriptions or the students’ majors influence these approaches. In addition, the aim is to find out whether students refer explicitly or implicitly to “foreignization”, “domestication” or “the golden mean” emerging from Russian translation studies. The results indicate that the verbalisations include implicit references to source and target text-oriented approaches, but explicit references to the overall global strategies or textual local strategies are non-existent. The task descriptions have a minor impact on the approaches, but the results also suggest that students are balancing between the two poles and aiming to some form of “the golden mean” instead of aiming strictly at a foreignising or domesticating approach. Unexpectedly, students majoring in English translate in a more source-text-oriented manner, whereas students majoring in Russian translate in a more target-text-oriented manner.

KEY WORDS: domestication, foreignisation, the golden mean, translator training, translation process

1 INTRODUCTION

According to the European Master’s in Translation competence framework (EMT, 2017, p.8), students should know how to justify their solutions “using the appropriate metalanguage and applying appropriate theoretical approaches”. Knowledge about translation (PACTE, 2003) is considered as one sub-competence in PACTE’s translation

competence model as well¹. Knowledge about translation can be both explicit and implicit declarative knowledge about how translation functions, including the translation process, methods and strategies, types of problems, and knowledge related to professional translation practices and the work market, such as different types of briefs, clients, and audiences (PACTE, 2003). Theoretical knowledge is also included in Göpferich's TransComp-model meaning that "topics covered and methods employed in theoretical and practical translation training" and "translation assignment" are considered as foundations for the development of translation competence (Göpferich, 2009, p.21).

Knowledge about translation helps translators solve problems arising during the translation process. Based on theoretical knowledge, a translator knows how to approach the source text analytically and consider why the text is translated and for whom, and what information is relevant for the target reader (Kumpulainen, 2015, p.33). Therefore, one central aspect of translation regarding theoretical knowledge is knowledge about different strategies that can be applied to different types of translation situations since there is not one particular model or right way to translate. On the whole, translators should possess the ability to choose an appropriate solution based on the task description and to justify their solutions (Kumpulainen, 2015, p.34).

Translation strategies are introduced to students in both theoretical and practical translation courses. Therefore, it is relevant to ask whether students apply this knowledge in their translation processes. At the University of Eastern Finland, where this study was conducted, knowledge about the task description is the bare minimum in both theory as well as practice-oriented classes during Bachelor of Arts (BA) training (Vottonen & Jääskeläinen, 2018). The participants in this study have all completed a BA in translation, which includes both translation exercise classes and compulsory theoretical studies. Therefore, it can be assumed that at the master's level (MA), students already possess knowledge about translation in general and knowledge about translation strategies in particular.

The purpose of this study is to explore the approaches students take to accomplish a translation task (discussed in section 2). The aim is to explore whether the students verbalise explicit references to global strategies or whether they express a certain approach or principle that could be linked with the global strategy concepts. This paper concentrates on the translation process and students' verbalisations. Especially, the interest is on the global strategy concepts of "foreignization", "domestication" and "the golden mean" arising from Russian translation studies. In addition, the purpose is to explore whether there are differences between different task descriptions among students majoring in English and Russian. Translation strategies are often studied at a textual level,

¹ The PACTE research group (Process in the Acquisition of Translation Competence and Evaluation) was formed in 1997 to investigate the acquisition of translation competence in written translation (PACTE 2003).

but this study aims to explore what happens in the translator's mind, in the so-called "black box", during the translation process. This study provides information to the translator trainers as well.

To study this topic, MA level translation students majoring in English or Russian as well as translation, performed a translation task in which participants translated a text from their L2 into L1 (Finnish). The translation process was screen recorded. Immediately after the task, I conducted a cued retrospection with the students. In retrospection, students viewed their recorded translation process, describing what happened at different points and explaining their solutions. Retrospections were recorded, transcribed and analysed with the content-based analysis method.

This paper reports the results of this study, the aim of which is to explore students' approaches to translation tasks, as mentioned above. The aim is also to develop and test methods of analysis for identifying different approaches and reasoning of translation solutions in students' verbalisations. First, I look into the definition of "translation strategies" and the concepts of domestication, foreignisation, and the idea of "the golden mean", and define them for the purpose of this study. In addition, I introduce classification of local translation strategies categorised on the basis of global strategies. Then, I explain the research material and methods in more detail. Finally, I present the results of the analysis. In the conclusions, I discuss the relevance of the results of this study from the point of view of translator training, bring out limitations and restrictions of the study, and propose ideas for future research.

2 DEFINING TRANSLATION STRATEGIES

2.1 The notions of foreignisation, domestication and the golden mean

Translation strategies are often divided into global and local strategies. Global strategy refers to the translator's general approach to a text, while local strategies are decisions concerning individual translation problems at the textual level. Global strategies are often presented as two opposite poles: either the translation is loyal to the source text or to the target language. For instance, Toury (2012, p.69) refers to these poles as acceptability and adequacy. By acceptability, Toury (2012, p.69) denotes situations where the target language text is produced by following the target language's norms, while adequacy refers to a situation when the translator follows the source text rather than targeting linguistic and literary norms. Similar dichotomies have been presented in translation studies: formal and dynamic equivalence (Nida, 1964), documentary and instrumental translation (Nord, 1991), semantic and communicative translation (Newmark, 1988), and domestication and foreignisation (Venuti, 1995; 1998). In Russian translation studies, the concepts of literal and free translation are used instead of foreignisation and domestication (see Komissarov, 1990; Barhudarov, 1975). In addition to these two poles,

Russian translation studies speaks of “the golden mean”, which is preferred over literal and free translation.

In this study, I approach the global strategies from the point of view of foreignisation and domestication introduced by Lawrence Venuti (1995). The concepts of foreignisation and domestication have been discussed in translation studies already for over 20 years and the idea behind these concepts even longer. Originally, Venuti (1995, pp.19-20) traces the roots of the concepts of foreignisation and domestication back to Schleiermacher’s (2004/1813, p.49) argumentation that the translator either leaves the author in peace by moving the reader towards the author or leaves the reader in peace by moving the author towards the reader. The first approach aims to convey to the reader to the same impression that the source text conveys to its own readers, while the latter aims to create an impression that the text was originally written in the target language (Schleiermacher 2004/1813, p.49). According to Venuti (1995, p.20), domestication refers to “an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values”, whereas foreignisation is “an ethnodeviant pressure on [target-language culture] values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad”. In summary, foreignisation refers to non-fluent translation that highlights the foreign in the source text, while domestication replaces unfamiliar elements with domestic variants aiming to fluency (Koskinen, 2012, p.13). Originally, Venuti launched these concepts to discuss translation ethics, but later they have become concepts in descriptive translation studies and tools for empirical research.

Although Venuti (1995, p.310) advocates foreignising translation, he also agrees that the translation process will always entail some form of reduction, exclusion and inscription. In other words, translation always communicates an interpretation, which includes some features of the target culture and this leads to the fact that all translations are domesticated to some degree (Venuti, 1998, p.5). Furthermore, Toury (2012, p.70) argues that translation is never either adequate or acceptable, but rather it presents a blend of both. Paloposki and Oittinen (2000, p.386) even suggest that foreignisation is merely an illusion, which does not really exist, and that we should only discuss different levels of domestication.

In fact, Newmark (1988, p.45) presents different global strategies in a V diagram (see Figure 1). In the diagram, closest to the source language emphasis is word-for-word translation, in which the source text is followed closely, and words are translated by their most common meanings out of context. Literal translation is considered a slightly more target language-oriented strategy (words are converted to their nearest TL equivalents), and after this faithful translation is mentioned in which the translator attempts to reproduce the contextual meaning of the original. Closer to the centre of the V is semantic translation, which differs from “faithful translation” only in that it must take more account of the aesthetic value of the source text, compromising “meaning” where appropriate so

that the translation sounds more natural. On the far side of the target text adaptation is the emphasis, which is the “freest” form of translation (mainly used for plays and poetry). Free translation reproduces the content without the original form. Idiomatic translation reproduces the “message” of the original but tends to distort nuances of meaning by preferring colloquialisms and idioms where these do not exist in the original. Opposite to semantic translation is communicative translation, which attempts to render the exact contextual meaning of the original in such a way that both content and language are readily acceptable and comprehensible to the readership (Newmark, 1988, pp.46-7).



Figure 1. Newmark’s V diagram (1988, p.45).

The idea of the V diagram, in which semantic and communicative translations are presented almost at the centre of the continuum of global strategies, resembles the idea of “the golden mean” arising from Russian translation studies. However, the difference between Western and Russian translation studies is that Western tradition is more descriptive, whereas Russian scholars see both literal and free translation negatively (see Barhudarov, 1975; Fëdorov, 1983; Komissarov, 1990). Russian scholars argue that literal translation is the translator’s error because it is based on word-for-word copying of the source text, which distorts the meaning of the source text and violates the norms of the target language, and therefore it is not even considered as a translation strategy (Borisenko, 2007, p.25, 28). Foreignisation is criticised as well, since it is considered as a poor disguise for literal translation (Borisenko, 2012, p.177). Free translation is considered slightly more acceptable, but not ideal, since the meaning of the source text is not transferred accurately enough (Barhudarov, 1975, p.188).

Instead of literal and free translation, many Russian translation scholars prefer the idea of “the golden mean”. The golden mean has been described with a variety of concepts, such as “adequate” (Barhudarov, 1975, Komissarov, 1990), “full-valued” (Fëdorov, 1983), “realistic” (Kaškin, 1955), and “harmonious translation” (Recker, 1974). Common features of these concepts are that they are often associated with the idea of good, ideal translation, and, as mentioned above, the scholars regard literal and free translation with critique (Kemppanen, 2013, p.173). Komissarov (1990, p.233) defines adequate translation as translation that aims to achieve equivalence without breaking the target language norms but still uses the requirements of the text type. It is important to notice, that by adequate translation Toury (2012) refers to a source text-oriented translation.

According to Vojnič (2010, p.42), the most accurate definition for the golden mean is the definition of harmonious translation by Recker (1974): the mission of the translator is to convey the content of the source text (ST) by means of another language completely and accurately, maintaining the original stylistic and expressive features.

2.2 Local strategies from the point of view of global strategies

Local translation strategies have been classified in different ways and from the point of view of global strategies (see for example Leppihalme, 2001; Pedersen, 2006). Van Poucke (2012) attempts to operationalise the concepts of foreignisation and domestication by forming five fields, each of which includes one or more local strategies. These fields are defined as strong foreignisation (F), moderate foreignisation (f), moderate domestication (d), strong domestication (D), and neutral translation (0), as shown in Figure 2.

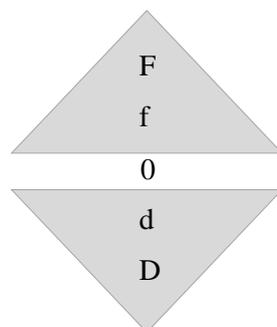


Figure 2. The division of translation strategies into foreignising and domesticating fields by Van Poucke (2012, p.144).

As strongly foreignising, Van Poucke (2012, p.145) considers strategies that stay as close as possible to the source text retaining both form and meaning of the translated source text items. These strategies include all forms of borrowing (retention, transliteration, loanwords, loan-based neologisms). Moderate foreignisation includes strategies that cause minor changes in either form or meaning, but still stay close to the source text on lexical and syntactic levels. These strategies are deliberate literal translation and calques, when a more idiomatic equivalent is available in the target language but it is not used by the translator. In addition to these, Van Poucke (2012, p.145) includes into moderate foreignisation specification, explicitation, and addition, when the form of the original is retained but extra information is added to the term in order to explain the meaning of a culture-specific item, without substituting it by a more familiar item in the target culture. As for domesticating strategies, moderate domesticating includes all strategies that adapt the original text to some idiomatic and stylistic norms of the target language. In other words, significant changes in form and meaning are made in the translation compared to the source text (Van Poucke, 2012, p.146). Strong domestication covers the cases in

which no trace of the source text can be found in the translation, neither the original form, nor original meaning. In those cases, when information is added to the original text or when the meaning of the original is radically changed, translation strategy can be considered as being strongly domesticating (Van Poucke, 2012, p.147).

Van Poucke has classified local translation strategies from the point of view of foreignising and domesticating translation, but how about aiming at the golden mean? Van Poucke (2012, p.148) suggests neutral translation to be in the middle of strong/moderate domestication and foreignisation. By neutral translation Van Poucke refers to cases when translation remains unmarked, that is “the translator did not really meet a translation problem and was able to use the most *obvious* choice of words”. This could be, for instance, the immediate or default equivalent (Van Poucke, 2012, p.148), or established and official equivalents. The idea of neutral translation is, however, problematic since translation always includes some degree of domestication, as the source language is transferred to the target language (Paloposki & Oittinen 2000, p.386; Kudashev 2017, p.68). Furthermore, the idea of neutral translation differs from the definitions by Russian scholars, since according to Van Poucke, in neutral translation the translator does not encounter problems during the translation process, whereas strategies promoted by Russian scholars imply some decision making.

Kudashev (2017, p.67) criticises the classification of strategies proposed by Van Poucke since the comparison of translation with the original text at the lexico-semantic, syntactic and stylistic levels ignores the higher levels, such as pragmatics, as well as the function of the text. In addition, as Koskinen (2012, p.15) points out, there is no straightforward way to measure the degree of foreignness in the translation since Venuti does not provide tools for foreignising (or domesticating) strategies. Domesticated translation aims at fluency of the target text. Moreover, it does not challenge the reader in any way, and it can be considered as a reader-oriented approach (Koskinen, 2012, p.15). Furthermore, Koskinen (2012, p.15) notes that only those elements that are foreign to the target culture can be considered foreignising. In other words, not all foreign elements are automatically foreignised if they are not foreign to the target text reader (Koskinen, 2012, p.15). In addition, the fact that the feel of domestication and foreignisation depend mostly on the reader’s language proficiency and background knowledge makes measuring foreignisation even more complex (Kudashev, 2017, p.67). Furthermore, exploring only domesticating and foreignising approaches implies that all modifications made to the translation are driven by the target reader, and not the cases where the translator simply has not understood the source text correctly or could not find a more accurate equivalent for the source language word (Kudashev, 2017, p.66). In this sense, it is relevant to explore the translation process and the reasons behind the modifications.

2.3 Process view on translation strategies

Knowing different types of translation strategies and knowing how to apply them in different situations pertains to one of the translator's core skills. In order to take the target audience into consideration, the translator needs to decide the general approach, or the global strategy, which guides decision making during the translation process. However, the notion of translation strategy is a rather elusive concept in translation studies. The first problem is that strategy can refer to different phenomena or the same phenomena are referred to by different names, such as methods, procedures, tactics, or techniques (Jääskeläinen, 2009, p.376; Gambier, 2010). The second problem is that translation strategies have been divided into textual and procedural strategies, but the distinction between these two is not always clear (see Kearns, 2008), since the decisions made during the process affect the text as well.

Jääskeläinen (2009, p.376) summarises that “strategies relate to things which happen with texts, such as domestication or foreignisation, and to things which take place during the translation process and which can be traced in translators' verbalisation”. Naturally, these two are related, since actions during the process will be reflected in the product. From the point of view of the translation product, translation strategies relate to different types of textual phenomena at different levels. For instance, foreignising and domesticating function as general approaches, and “direct transfer” or “superordinate term” are solutions for concrete individual translation problems at the textual level (Jääskeläinen, 2009, pp.366-7). From the procedural point of view, Jääskeläinen (2009, p.378) refers to Levý (1989/1967), according to whom translating is a decision-making process where the translator has to choose among a certain number of alternatives. The solutions made during the process are not always perfect, but translators aim at the optimal solution in the particular translation (Jääskeläinen, 2009, p.378). However, Jääskeläinen (2009, p.378) notes that Levý's theoretical approach assumes that translators' decision making is purely based on fact and information, while in reality translators often base their decisions on intuitive criteria along the lines of “this sounds better/odd/fluent” or “this doesn't sound like Finnish” (see Jääskeläinen, 1999).

From the procedural perspective, translation strategies are often defined as problem-oriented plans or procedures, the goal of which is to solve concrete translation problems. On the other hand, translation strategies do not have to be limited to problem-solving strategies (see Jääskeläinen, 1993). According to Jääskeläinen (2009, p.380), translators' verbalisations of unproblematic decisions indicate the existence of a general approach in the production of the target text. Process-oriented translation strategies, therefore, can be divided into global and local strategies as well: global strategies refer to general guidelines or principles, that are governed by the function of the translation or the translation brief and, thus, guide local strategies relating to problem solving and decision making of individual ST items (Jääskeläinen, 2009, p.380; Gambier, 2010, p.416). In this paper, I focus on the translation process in the students' verbalisations of the translation

processes. In this context, I study the realisation of the global strategies from the point of view of different approaches students take during a translation task. In addition, the purpose is to explore whether they refer to the notions of foreignisation, domestication, and the golden mean explicitly or implicitly.

3 MATERIAL AND METHODS

The data analysed for this paper consist of the translation process verbalisations of eight MA-level translation studies students. Four of the participants majored in English language and translation, and four in Russian language and translation. All participants had completed their BA, including both theoretical and practical translation courses. In addition, students had been exposed to the notions of domestication and foreignisation during their studies, at least during translation commentaries which students have to submit with their translation exercises. In these commentaries, students are explicitly asked which kind of global and local strategies they have used. In addition, global and local strategies are discussed during their translation studies lectures.

The participants were asked to perform a translation task from either English or Russian into their first language (Finnish) with different task descriptions. The English source text was a description of a travel attraction, *Tower of London* (324 words), and the Russian source text described a travel attraction in Saint Petersburg called *New Holland* (259 words). Three participants translated the text to be published in the travel magazine, *Mondo*, two in the travel section of the Finnish daily newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* and three in the children's news section of *Helsingin Sanomat*. The different task descriptions were expected to reveal different types of approaches and justifications. The task descriptions were written in a way that they do not explicitly refer to foreignisation, domestication or the golden mean to find out whether students interpret the task descriptions in terms of global strategy notions. The assumption was that the students translating for *Mondo* would have a more ST-oriented approach, whereas students translating for a children's news section would translate in a more TT-oriented manner. The assumption was also that students translating for *Helsingin Sanomat* in general would aim somewhere in the middle of these two different strategies, since they are presumably translating for a wide, adult audience – not for children's news nor for the readers of travel magazines.

The students' translation process was recorded with the screen recording software *Camtasia Studio 8*. Immediately after the task, participants performed retrospection where they described their translation process to the researcher with the screen recording as a cue. Cued retrospection was chosen as the data elicitation method because it can assumedly open a window into the participants' long-term memory which, when triggered by cues, may bring forth how problematic situations were solved during

translation (Englund Dimitrova & Tiselius, 2014, p.280). Retrospections were recorded and transcribed². During the retrospections, students could describe their translation and decision-making process rather freely. During silent moments or clear problems, the researcher asked, “what happens here” or “what did you think here” without prompting the use of theoretical concepts. As mentioned above, in the context of this and future research, it was important not to lead the students to use given theoretical concepts, for example, by asking them whether they domesticated the target text, since the aim is to study if students refer to these concepts explicitly or implicitly themselves.

In this paper, the analysis was data-driven. On the basis of students’ verbalisations of their decision making, I formed six categories: 1) considering the target reader, 2) fluency of the target language (TL), 3) following the ST, 4) information search, 5) translation of the meaning, and 6) “gut feeling”. Considering the target reader refers to verbalisations where the assumed knowledge of the target reader is used as a criterion for decision making during the translation process. In this category, the focus is on the audience, while fluency of the target text (TT) concentrates on the language itself and making the target text fluent. Following the ST includes verbalisations where the source text-orientation functions as a translation principle. Information search refers to situations where students base their decision making clearly on a dictionary or parallel text, or other source of information. Information search is, of course, a central part of the translation process itself, but in this context, a category information search covers cases when students use the dictionary or parallel text as the only criteria for decision making. Translation of the meaning relates to situations where students do not follow the source text, but rather translate the idea or the meaning of the source text item. In this category, students verbalised their decision making as that they try to distance themselves from the source text expression, but on the other hand, they did not comment on the fluency of the target language. The last category, “gut feeling”, refers to situations where students based their decision making on internal resources (see PACTE, 2017). With these categories, the purpose is to explore how students tackle individual problems and whether these can be linked to general approaches to the task at hand.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this section, I introduce each of the categories emerging from the data in more detail, and present a few examples from the students’ verbalisations. Each category will also be discussed from the perspective of whether they reflect the notions of global strategies.

² Retrospections were carried out in Finnish, therefore, all the examples presented in chapter 4 are translated into English by the author of this paper.

The distribution of categories by different students is presented in the Tables 1, 2 and 3 below. In Table 1, I have separated different categories of analysis based on the task description. Table 2 presents different categories by the students majoring in English, and Table 3 the students majoring in Russian. The column on the left names the type of the category, whereas the uppermost rows refer to the task description (Table 1) or to the participants (Tables 2 and 3). “E” followed by a number indicates students majoring in English, and “R” followed by a number indicates students majoring in Russian. The letters after the majors show the commission: “M” for *Mondo*, “HS” for *Helsingin Sanomat* travel section, and “HSC” for the children’s news section in *Helsingin Sanomat*. In total, I identified 412 comments on decision making in the data. In the table, I have bolded three of the most-used categories of analysis by the students.

Table 1. The categories of analysis in relation to the task description.

	M (n = 3)	HS (n = 2)	HSC (n =3)	Total
Considering brief / target reader	24.55% (41)	25.25% (25)	33.56% (49)	27.91% (115)
Fluency of the TL	19.76% (33)	17.17% (17)	19.86% (29)	19.17% (79)
Following the ST	18.56% (31)	21.21% (21)	11.64% (17)	16.75% (69)
Information search	17.96% (30)	19.19% (19)	10.96% (16)	15.78% (65)
Translation of the meaning	9.58% (16)	11.11% (11)	15.75% (23)	12.14% (50)
“Gut feeling”	9.58% (16)	6.06% (6)	8.22% (12)	8.25% (34)
Total	167	99	146	412

Table 2. The categories of analysis by the students majoring in English.

	E1 M	E2 M	E3 HS	E4 HSC	Total
Considering brief / target reader	19.19% (11)	33.33 % (16)	21.74 % (10)	43.86 % (25)	28.84% (62)
Fluency of the TL	20.31% (13)	12.50% (6)	13.04% (6)	14.04% (8)	15.35% (33)
Following the ST	25.00% (16)	16.67% (8)	36.96% (17)	10.53% (6)	21.86% (47)
Information search	18.75% (12)	25.00% (12)	17.39% (8)	10.53% (6)	17.67% (38)
Translation of the meaning	7.81% (5)	4.14% (2)	2.17% (1)	17.54% (10)	8.37% (18)
“Gut feeling”	10.94% (7)	8.33% (4)	8.70% (4)	3.51% (2)	7.91% (17)
Total	64	48	46	57	215

Table 3. The categories of analysis by the students majoring in Russian.

	R1 M	R2 HS	R3 HSC	R4 HSC	Total
Considering brief / target reader	25.45% (14)	28.30% (15)	34.15% (14)	20.83% (10)	26.90% (53)
Fluency of the TL	25.45% (14)	20.75% (11)	26.83% (11)	20.83% (10)	23.35% (46)
Following the ST	12.73% (7)	7.55% (4)	9.76% (4)	14.58% (7)	11.17% (22)
Information search	10.91% (6)	20.75% (11)	2.44% (1)	18.75% (9)	13.71% (27)
Translation of the meaning	16.36% (9)	18.87% (10)	17.07% (7)	12.50% (6)	16.24% (32)
“Gut feeling”	9.09% (5)	3.77% (2)	9.76% (4)	12.50% (6)	8.63% (17)
Total	55	53	41	48	197

4.1 Considering the target reader

The most frequently used verbalisation focuses on **considering the target reader** (27.91%; see Table 1). This category includes clarifying the target text or omitting unnecessary pieces of information. Clarifying solutions refers to explicitation, that is, a produced descriptive translation or added information or an explanation of a foreign word (see Example 1). In addition, students made the translation more explicit in situations where they considered that literal translation would be too difficult to understand for the target reader. Omission refers to situations in which students omitted information that they regarded unnecessary based on the task description or assumed knowledge of the target reader (see Example 2).

(1) “I thought that it could be good to be in English in the translation. In principle, you could include some kind of translation for those who don’t know English, but it would be good that the original names are in the text, since they are going there. And all the signs are in English there”. (E1M)

(2) “There was that adjective, and I wasn’t sure what it meant, but I’m not sure if it’s that relevant, so I might have omitted that, because what they did there is more relevant. And maybe it’s not that important when you think about where this text is going to be published”. (R2HS)

Considering the target reader also relates to changes concerning the way of addressing the reader. Students also thought that the use of more vivid language would make the text more interesting to the reader. In Example 3, the student translating for the *Helsingin Sanomat* for children probably considered the translation for children when she mentioned that the language of the translation should be interesting to the reader.

(3) “I translated quite a lot directly, but then I also thought about the task description, and I downplayed these murders, but still so that the language would be simple enough but at the same time vivid enough to be interesting to the reader”. (E4HSC)

On the whole, considering the target reader refers to situations where students aim at making the translation more comprehensible for the reader by adding or omitting information. In some cases, the original foreign word or name is transferred into the translation and then explained, or the foreign word is omitted and replaced with descriptive translation. Van Poucke (2012) suggests the first approach to be moderate foreignising or ST-oriented, whereas the second can be considered a rather domesticating or TT-oriented approach. Therefore, this category can be considered case by case, or it can somehow aim to the golden mean: it transfers the content but considers the reader’s background knowledge.

However, students do not refer explicitly to the notions of domestication or foreignisation, let alone the golden mean. One could assume that there would be few explicit references to these concepts since the students are focusing on the target reader in their verbalisations and decision making. The examples, however, show that students take the target reader into account and refer to some kind of moderate foreignising or domesticating approach implicitly.

The differences between the task descriptions (see Table 1) in the verbalisations related to the target reader were as expected. Students translating for children consider the task description more often (33.56%) than students translating for *Mondo* (24.55%) or *Helsingin Sanomat* (25.25%). The child audience certainly has its influence on the translators’ decisions, whereas the differences between *Mondo* and *Helsingin Sanomat* are rather minimal. In addition, there are only minor differences between the English (28.84%) and Russian (26.90%) students.

4.2 Fluency of the target language

The second category of analysis that rose from the verbalisations is aiming at fluency of the target language (19.17%). The ways to achieve fluent target language are executed in different ways, but most often students mentioned long sentences and the difficulty to translate these structures into Finnish. Therefore, students often split sentences (see Example 4).

(4) “I thought that since there are so many commas, it would be easier in Finnish to put a full stop in the middle of that sentence”. (R3HSC)

In addition to sentence structure, students mentioned changes in the word order and verb voice. Students also paid attention to context and instead of literal translation they chose an equivalent more suitable for the context (see Example 5).

(5) “‘Poâvilas’ means that it just appeared there, but I think that some radio station or prison doesn’t just appear in some place. Therefore, I put ‘were founded’”. (R1M)

Despite the task description, all students paid attention to fluency evenly (see Table 1). This outcome is surprising, since it could be assumed that students translating for children would pay more attention to fluency. However, even though both Russian and English students aimed at fluent target language structures and following target language conventions, the Russian students (23.35%) paid more attention to the language than the English students (15.35%). The changes students mentioned in their verbalisations were rather similar (shorter sentences, word order, and easier structures). The most notable difference between English and Russian students was that Russian students paid more attention to the individual words that they could not translate literally (as presented in Example 5). This can be due to the language pair.

From the point of view of global strategies, fluency of TT complies with the criteria for the domesticating approach. However, none of the students explained their decision explicitly with the concept of domestication, but rather implicitly with the general TT-oriented approach that they wanted to follow the target language conventions and translate the text to sound good and fluent in Finnish.

4.3 Following the ST

The third category, **following the ST** (16.75%), refers to the verbalisations where students commented that they deliberately wanted to emphasise the source text style or expression in the translation. This category also includes cases where students think that the Finnish equivalent would sound weird. In Example 6, the student wanted to follow the style of the source text expression and ended up with a similar expression in Finnish (“kohtasivat kuolemansa”).

(6) “This ‘met their death’ is like a euphemism, so I didn’t want to say directly that they died in the translation”. (E3HS)

Following the ST also relates to literal translation or direct transfer of the foreign word. Students explained literal translation in different ways: they did not come up with any other solutions, the context allowed them to translate literally (in this case, students think of other solutions as well), or students felt that they were rushed (see Example 7).

(7) “This ‘mnogofunkcional’nyj kompleks’ (in English “multifunctional centre/complex/building”) is a word that is clear in Russian, but how to say it in Finnish? If we think about Saint Petersburg, it’s evident, but I don’t know if you can find these in Finland since it’s not basic Finnish thing. Then I thought that I had been translating for almost an hour already, and I should just put in something. [...] This may not be understandable for Finns, but I didn’t come up with any better solution. If I would have had more time maybe I would have found something. – So you ended up with ‘multifunctional complex’? – Yes”. (R2HS)

These verbalisations point to a ST-oriented approach. In some situations, students do not come up with any other solution than following the source text, but in some situations, students follow the source text consciously. However, as Koskinen (2012, p.15) points out, only those solutions can be considered foreignising that are foreign in the target culture, so being faithful to the source text is not always considered as foreignising. In addition, as Kudashev (2017, p.66) mentions, not all modifications are driven by the needs of the target reader. The same idea applies in this context as well: although the students translate in a ST-oriented manner, they do not necessarily try to foreignise the translation. In addition, some solutions could be considered as aiming at the golden mean, since students aim to retain the style and content of the original accurately by the means of the target language as presented by Recker (1974) in chapter 2.2. Alternatively, if the students ‘just translate’ and the translation remains ‘unmarked’ as Van Poucke (2012) presented, the text could be considered as a neutral translation. In any case, the ability to know which text segments can or cannot be translated literally can be considered as a part of interlingual text production skills of translation competence (Kumpulainen, 2016, p.61). In addition, a literal way of translating can also be a personal style, but also it can speed up the process (Englund Dimitrova, 2005, p.52).

In this category, the task description had some influence on the students’ approaches. Students translating for *Mondo* (18.56%) and *Helsingin Sanomat* (21.21%) referred to this category in their verbalisations more often than students translating for children (11.64%), which was expected. It is interesting, though, that English students (21.86%) followed the ST more closely than Russian students (11.17%). One reason for this could be that Anglo-American culture is a dominant one, and translation from a dominant culture into a minor culture is usually thought to be foreignising and vice versa (see Venuti, 1995). Another reason could be the difference between language skills: English students tend to know English better than Russian students know Russian, hence English students do not necessarily even notice the influence of English on translating.

4.4 Information search

As mentioned by the PACTE research group (2017, p.192), decision making during the translation process involves the use of automatised and non-automatised cognitive

resources (internal support) and the use of different sources of documentation (external support). External support can be, for instance, non-specialist and specialist dictionaries, parallel texts, and search engines.

The fourth category of analysis that emerged from the data is information search (15.78%). This category refers to decision making in which students search for an equivalent for the source text word or a phrase from a bilingual dictionary, the Internet, or Google Translate, and base their decision making fully on the external source of information. Most of the time, students used the bilingual dictionary without any criticism (see Example 8), which was rather surprising. One reason can be that students did not verbalise their thoughts concerning the source criticism, or consider these sources as an authority. In some situations, students mentioned the context when they were thinking about which word to choose from the dictionary. In addition to bilingual dictionaries, students often searched for parallel text via Google as they tried to find existing or established equivalents for culture-bound items or place names (see Example 9).

(8) “If this [dictionary] says that it is ‘contemporary’, then it is contemporary”. (R4HSC)

(9) “Here I tried to find out whether there is an existing equivalent for this or whether I have to come up with some Finnish name for this”. (R3HSC)

The uncritical approach towards bilingual dictionaries, parallel texts, and especially the Google Translate tool implies a rather mechanical understanding of translation. From the point of view of global strategies, information searching does not necessarily reflect any of them, but in some cases, it is a rather neutral or mechanical approach. On the other hand, Pedersen (2005) suggests official equivalent and Van Poucke (2012) neutral translation to be in the middle of ST- and TT-oriented approaches.

The influence of the task description was quite small in this category (see Table 1), but students who translated for children (10.96%) based their decision making on information search less than students translating for *Mondo* (17.96%) or *Helsingin Sanomat* (19.19%). One reason could be that students translating for children did not follow the ST as closely as students translating for *Mondo* or *Helsingin Sanomat* (see section 4.3). Students majoring in English (17.67%) relied on secondary sources more often than students majoring in Russian (13.71%). It is possible, that this, too, goes hand in hand with the verbalisations related to following the ST: English students seem to be more faithful to the original text, and therefore, they also base their decision making on information search more often.

4.5 Translation of the meaning

The fifth category refers to verbalisations focusing on **translation of the meaning** (12.14%). This category relates to situations where students distanced themselves from the source text and translated the “same idea, but in Finnish” (see Example 10), or take the core information of the source text sentence and form a target language sentence that contains the same information (see Example 11). Translation of the meaning includes also cases where students choose a familiar word for the source language expression (adaptation) or translate the expression with a more general equivalent (generalisation).

(10) “This ‘berët svoë načalo’ [in English “to originate”], I thought that it’s the same thing as ‘it begins’. I didn’t even think that I could come up with the same kind of expression, but I just translated what it means”. (R1M)

(11) “This was quite tricky because this is a kind of travel agency type of text. I had to think about what works for children, so I started to simplify and left only those elements that are now in that sentence. In the end, I roughly combined the elements”. (E4HSC)

As other categories of analysis presented above, translation of the meaning should be considered as domesticating or foreignising case by case. There are some familiar features with the existing classifications, for instance, adapting or generalising are usually considered to be a domesticating approach (see Leppihalme, 2001; Pedersen, 2005). Similar to other categories, students did not refer explicitly to the notions of domestication or foreignisation, but as the examples show, the TT-oriented approach can be found in their decision making implicitly.

In regard to task descriptions, the students translating for children refer to this category more often than students translating for the other two audiences. This results from the tendency that the students translating for children were more likely to generalise or simplify the ST structures or expressions (15.75%; see Example 11) than students translating for *Mondo* (9.58%) or *Helsingin Sanomat* (11.11%). In addition, there are differences between English (8.37%) and Russian (16.24%) students. This could result from the language pair, since, in some cases, Russian students commented that it was easier for them to move further from the source text expression (see Example 10). In addition, as mentioned above, English students adopted more often the ST-oriented approach.

4.6 “Gut feeling”

As mentioned in 4.4, the translation process involves internal support to decision making. According to PACTE (2017, p.192), internal support refers to automatised and non-automatised cognitive resources, such as linguistic and extralinguistic knowledge, knowledge about translation, and cognitive strategies for solving translation problems. Decision making based on internal support can be difficult to specify and verbalise, so this category is referred to as ‘gut feeling’ in this study.

“**Gut feeling**” (8.25%) relates to situations in which students commented that they “just put something” without any justifications, or they translated in a way which is “good enough” (see Example 12). In addition, “gut feeling” refers to situations in which students are not sure whether they understand the source text, but end up with some kind of solution.

(12) “I’m not sure if I like that word, but it’s good enough”. (E1M)

“Gut feeling” is a difficult category to analyse since students do not justify their solutions except by saying that the solution is “ok”. The decision making can be based on information search that students picked up during the translation process, or it can be based on internal knowledge and intuition. However, intuition has been acknowledged to have an important role in the translation process (see Hubscher-Davidson, 2013). In addition, gut feeling can be based on subjective or implicit theory about translation (see Presas Corabella & Martín de León, 2014) which, for its part, can be based on knowledge obtained during translator training. The differences between the task descriptions and the students were minimal (see Tables 1, 2 and 3).

5 CONCLUSION

This paper explores the students’ verbalisations of their decision making during the translation process. As presented above, some of the categories of analysis imply different types of approaches that can be considered as target or source text oriented. The differences of approaches were rather small, depending on the task descriptions. However, students translating for children considered the target reader and translating the meaning over form, while students translating for *Mondo* and *Helsingin Sanomat* based their decision more often on following the ST and information search. This outcome was quite expected. Although there were slight differences between the students translating for different task descriptions, based on the current data, it would be an overgeneralization to claim that all students translating for children pursued the domesticating approach and all students translating for *Mondo* pursued the foreignising approach, because the differences between individual students are rather noticeable. This implies that students

are rather balancing between two poles instead of aiming strictly at a foreignising or domesticating approach. It could be suggested that the students strive for some form of the golden mean in their translations.

All students referred to all categories of analysis, and various approaches stood out in different students' verbalisations. However, unexpectedly, the study exposed differences between students majoring in English and students majoring in Russian: the first group translated in a more ST-oriented manner (English: 21.86%; Russian: 11.17%), whereas the latter group paid more attention to the fluency of the TL (English: 15.35%; Russian: 23.35%). All students have shared lectures on translation studies, but the variation can result from different emphasis in translation exercises. Considering the target reader was the most frequently commented category for most students. In fact, taking the target reader into account is emphasised in all translation classes.

The students did not refer to the notions of foreignisation, domestication or the golden mean explicitly. However, the verbalisations of the categories presented above could be considered to reflect these notions. In the verbalisations, the students referred to some concepts of local strategies, such as omission, addition, explicitation, or generalisation. As mentioned above, the quite constant use of these categories in all the task descriptions and among the students imply that students are balancing between the two opposite approaches. In addition, it should be analysed case by case whether the decision that students verbalised is considered foreignising or domesticating. Based on the verbalisations and on the non-use of the concepts in question indicate that students do not necessarily even contemplate the issue of foreignisation and domestication during their translation process.

On the whole, this study gives a glance of students' translation processes and the approaches they take during translation. However, a shortcoming of the current data is that it is difficult to draw a conclusion based on a translation task. One aim of this study was to develop and test methods of analysis for students' verbalisations and criteria for decision making. This paper presents one way to analyse and categorise verbal process data. There were, however, difficulties determining which category each identified verbalisation belongs to. For instance, categories following the ST and information search are quite close to each other, as well as considering the target reader and translating the meaning. Some of the categories can overlap with "gut feeling", and some decisions are not necessarily based on "gut feeling", but students do not verbalise their thoughts in more detail so it could be interpreted to belong to another category. The categories emerging from the data are based on interpretations of the researcher and they could be determined from another point of view.

Despite its shortcomings, this paper provides new information on translation strategies from the point of view of the translation process, since studies of translation strategies are

often product-oriented. This paper also provides information on the solutions translation students make during the process, and therefore, it can provide new information for translator trainers. This topic could be explored further with wider data, and include even professional translators to compare students and professionals. In my dissertation, I am continuing research on this topic with a larger student data set, in which I study the relation of theory and practice in translation training.

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A Text-Linguistic Approach to Translation Standards. Implications for Revision in the Portuguese Context

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ABSTRACT

This paper¹ aims to highlight the importance of associating Translation Studies with Linguistics, when it comes to looking at translation revision from a broader perspective. As set out in the standards that regulate the provision of translation services, revision is currently a mandatory activity within the translation process and plays a significant role in the translation industry. Taking into account the entry into force of the International Standard EN ISO 17100, which replaces the European Standard EN 15038, this article examines these two normative documents with regard to revision issues and text-linguistic topics. The analysis intends to explore the possible implications of the standards for both training and professional practice, given the socio-professional invisibility of the revision activity in Portugal.

KEY WORDS: revision, translation standards, text linguistics, socio-discursive interactionism, translation

1 INTRODUCTION

Translation Studies and Linguistics are two fields that have already acquired an independent status within the Human and Social Sciences. To achieve this autonomy both disciplines struggled for recognition for years and even had to turn their back on each other as if their main study objects – language and communication – were entirely separate realities. Only by doing so could they establish themselves as both academic and research fields. However, Translation Studies and Linguistics are undeniably related and can therefore benefit from being combined when reflecting on language practices, as for instance translation revision.

With this in mind, this paper aims to highlight the importance of considering Translation Studies and Linguistics from an interdisciplinary perspective, where the two fields are

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combined and complement each other, thus enriching both disciplines. When considering textual practices such as translation revision, Text Linguistics in particular can also be useful to better understand what texts are, how they are produced and what conditions their production. To test this argument, the present article will draw on the analysis of the two standards regarding the provision of translation services which have been in force in Portugal.

As far as the industry is concerned, the publication of the European Standard EN 15038 in 2006 and, more recently, of the International Standard ISO 17100 in 2015 was a major step towards regulating the provision of translation services, as well as towards defining revision as a mandatory requirement within the translation process. This new visibility assigned to the revisory activity, in turn, influenced academia and promoted discussion around the topic. As a result, theoretical and empirical studies focusing on the revision process (Künzli, 2007; Mossop, 2014; Parra Galiano, 2005; Robert, 2012) and revision competence (Horváth, 2009; Robert et al, 2017a) have flourished in the last decade, but have also raised concerns about the need for reviser training. Moreover, thanks to the technological developments in the translation industry, revision is increasingly required and has become a relevant quality assurance procedure (Parra Galiano, 2006, 2010). However, despite this recognition of the importance of revision, it remains unclear how revisers should be trained in order to comply with the requirements that are set out in the standards.

To tackle such issues, it is necessary to take a closer look at the two normative documents in question and understand how the reviser's role is described therein. To what extent do translation standards effectively value the revisory activity? Are there significant differences as far as reviser competences are concerned if one compares the first standard with the second one? Do both standards reinforce the importance of considering linguistic, textual, and translational aspects when it comes to revision or do they rather disregard the intertwined relationship between those three dimensions? These are some of the questions which this paper aims to address.

Based on a comparison of these two documents, the study starts by briefly outlining the research context in which it was developed, and to this end Section 2 describes the main objectives and the theoretical framework in question. Then, Section 3 provides a definition of the key concepts as they are understood in this work. The paper moves on to explain the methodology used in the analysis, and Section 5 looks at the materials – namely the translation standards – in more detail and discusses the results within a text-linguistic perspective. Finally, the conclusions are presented in Section 6.

2 CONTEXTUALISATION AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 The Portuguese context

Portugal is one of the countries where EN 15038:2006 and ISO 17100:2015 have been transposed as national standards in 2012 and 2016, respectively (IPQ, 2012, 2016). However, university degrees in Translation are relatively new in the country. The first programmes date back only to the early 2000s and the ones that are currently offered still do not include specific training on revision, according to the curricula available online².

In Portugal, translator training programmes are offered by faculties of Arts or Human/Social Sciences. In addition, translation departments and linguistics departments do not always share their activities for the benefit of research, and interaction between members of the two groups can be quite scarce. This makes it more challenging for scholars to develop projects that combine both scientific domains. The present study fits into this kind of context – a PhD. research project in Text Linguistics that applies socio-interactionist principles to translation revision.

Building on previous work on the advantages of the theoretical intersection between Text Linguistics and Translation Studies (Fidalgo, 2014), this study now looks at the translation standards stated above and tries to analyse whether and how the linguistic and textual issues are addressed in these documents. Furthermore, the article also seeks to critically reflect on how the standards describe the reviser's professional competences and suggests possible implications for reviser training.

2.2 The Socio-Discursive Interactionism framework

Text Linguistics encompasses several approaches to texts and textual analysis that share a common interest: communication. This dimension is relevant since this branch of Linguistics focuses on language functioning and use by advocating a more comprehensive analysis of textual phenomena.

Socio-Discursive Interactionism (SDI) is an epistemological and theoretical framework within Text Linguistics, which has been developed by Jean-Paul Bronckart (1997). It constitutes a variation and a continuation of the principles of Social Interactionism in the sense that it combines contributions from Psychology (Vygotsky, 1934/2007), Philosophy of Language (Voloshinov, 1929/1986), Semiology (Saussure, 2002) and the Activity Theory (Leontiev, 1978/2009), among others. Therefore, SDI should not be

² If one takes a look at the curricula of the three translation degrees currently offered by Portuguese public universities (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa – <https://www.letas.ulisboa.pt/pt/cursos/licenciaturas-1-ciclo/traducao>; Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade NOVA de Lisboa – <http://fcsh.unl.pt/ensino/licenciaturas/traducao#section-3>; Universidade de Aveiro – <https://www.ua.pt/#/pt/c/44/p>), it can be seen that none of them includes an autonomous unit dedicated to revision. This information is only available in Portuguese, but it certainly goes against the status given to the revisory activity in the standards.

considered as a linguistic theory but rather as a science of the human being, in which language plays a central role in human development. Bronckart (2004) argues that the mediating function of language cannot be separated from the context in which verbal productions (i.e. texts) emerge, because the social dimension influences the linguistic one. So, SDI advocates a top-down approach (Voloshinov, 1929/1986, pp.95-96) when examining the relationship between social activities, genres, and texts. In order to understand this dynamics, SDI is also concerned with the analysis of professional practices and consequently with professional training. The framework, which was initially theorised in Switzerland, now has active research groups in several countries such as Argentina, Brazil, and Portugal.

The following section will discuss how SDI can be applied to the study of translation revision by considering two main concepts: text and revision.

3 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

According to the socio-interactionist assumptions, social interaction is a crucial factor as far as language use is concerned since individuals interact through texts, which can be produced in both oral and written form. Communication is a key notion within SDI just as in contemporary translation theories (Hurtado Albir, 2017), therefore revision, which contributes to achieving efficient communicative interchanges, can be seen as an issue that connects the two fields of research. With this in mind, it is possible to state that Text Linguistics and Translation Studies share the same research materials, namely language and texts, as well as a common goal which is to enable successful communication.

3.1 The notion of text

On the one hand, the concept of text can be perceived as a theoretical abstraction by overlooking contextual and situational features. On the other hand, a text can also be understood as a complex and concrete object (Miranda, 2010), which enables communication between individuals and even influences their actions.

In this paper, it is assumed that texts are not just linguistic units; they also constitute communicative units (Coutinho, 2014b, p.125) that are produced in a given time, in a given culture and within various spheres of human action. This multidimensional context will influence and even constrain text production in different ways, depending on the genre and the activity at issue. According to Coutinho (2008, p.202), texts are thus empirical representatives of social activities. At the same time, texts also comprise a praxeological component (Bota, 2009; Bronckart, 2008) that plays an important role in shaping reality.

From this perspective, standards are normative texts, which aim to regulate different areas of human interaction: what these particular texts prescribe through language (the linguistic dimension of texts) is to be complied with through actions (the praxeological dimension of texts). Therefore, each standard can be viewed as a unique specimen of the genre *standard*, which is produced within the activity of standardisation.

In this sense, translation standards are texts that are written to regulate and standardise the provision of translation services. This text production context has an impact on the linguistic forms used in those texts, as Miranda (2014, p.151) explains: the *social* influences the *linguistic*; the *global* affects the *local*. These are precisely the grounds on which the SDI top-down approach is based.

In order to accomplish the communicative goals implied above, texts sometimes need to be revised. Since the concept of revision is quite broad and not univocal, it demands further definition.

3.2 The notion of *revision*

According to TS scholars, revision is usually approached as both a process and a product (Mossop, 2014; Robert, 2008). In general terms, it is a process when it refers to the bilingual activity of comparing a target-language text with the corresponding source-language text by a person other than the translator; and it is a product when the notion is used to designate the improved version of a translated text.

However, translation theorists often point out the fact that the terminology concerning translation revision varies considerably (Brunette, 2000; Parra Galiano, 2005; Künzli, 2014) in different languages, including Portuguese as will be discussed further on in this paper. On the one hand, different terms can be used to name the same concept; on the other hand, a single term can also refer to distinct practices.

The multilingual publication of translation standards reflects an attempt to harmonise definitions related to the revision terminology used in the translation industry. A clear distinction is drawn, for instance, between the processual notions of *review* and *revision*. The first one applies to the “monolingual examination of target language content for its suitability for the agreed purpose” (ISO, 2015, p.2), the second one to the “bilingual examination of target language content against source language content for its suitability for the agreed purpose” (ibid.). As made explicit in the above sections, the present article focuses specifically on issues related to this second notion.

3.3 Relating *text* and *revision*

When associating Translation Studies with Text Linguistics, especially as far as the SDI framework is concerned, revision can be seen as a social and as a language activity for it implies interaction through texts. Moreover, since revision refers to a bilingual comparison of textual products, it also assumes a mediating function (Bronckart, 2004): it is the reviser's role to combine the different voices (authors, translators, reviewers, project managers) that might intervene in text production and to deliver a target-language text that complies with the project specifications, namely the so-called brief. By inserting the necessary changes to improve the quality of a text, the reviser is acting on that text through language, which again points to both the praxeological and linguistic dimensions of texts (Bronckart, 2008).

In this sense, revision is both a reading and writing practice, a linguistic and textual practice. It implies constant movements between three texts³ that engage in a dialogue with each other and, for that reason, it can also be viewed as a dynamic and dialogical practice within the interactionist perspective (Voloshinov, 1929/1986; Fidalgo, 2014).

Such an approach to revision not only provides a broader view of an activity which goes far beyond the correction of spelling and grammar, as the traditional understanding usually assumes, but also emphasises the link between the revision process and the text-linguistic issues associated with it. This is precisely what the analysis presented in this paper intends to underline.

4 MATERIALS AND METHOD

As described above, translation standards are empirical representatives⁴ of the standardisation activity in the sense that they embody language actions by specifying the “requirements for all aspects of the translation process” (ISO, 2015, p.vi) in textual form.

Interestingly, the national versions of the standards are translations as well and the responsibility for their production falls upon the competent standardisation bodies in each country. In the case of Portugal, this body is called Instituto Português da Qualidade (Portuguese Institute for Quality), which is also the entity to be contacted concerning the purchase of any national standard.

³ These are the source text and the two versions of the target text, the first target text is the one delivered by the translator and the second one is the one being revised.

⁴ The notion of texts as “empirical representatives” is commonly used within the SDI framework (Bronckart, 1997; Coutinho, 2006), where texts are considered to be complex material objects that represent social activities.

Given that the aim of this study was to examine the two translation standards while highlighting the links between Text Linguistics and Translation Studies based on that analysis, the first methodological step taken was to acquire the normative documents that now constitute the material under analysis. These texts are identified as follows:

1. the Portuguese version of the European Standard EN 15038:2006 entitled “Translation services – Service requirements”: *Norma Portuguesa*⁵ *EN 15038*, which was published in 2012 by Instituto Português da Qualidade, in short referred to as NP EN 15038:2012;
2. the Portuguese version of the International Standard ISO 17100:2015 entitled “Translation Services – Requirements for Translation Services”: *Norma Portuguesa EN ISO 17100*, which was published in 2016 by Instituto Português da Qualidade, in short referred to as NP EN ISO 17100:2016.

Since this paper is focused on the Portuguese context, the analysis is essentially drawn from the comparison of the two Portuguese versions of the standards. However, for the sake of clarity, all quotations are extracted from the respective texts written in English as this is one of the official source languages of the standards. Thus, whenever the term *standard/s* and expressions like ‘the two documents’ or ‘both standards’ are used in this paper, they should be understood as a reference to these normative documents as regulatory instruments, regardless of the language version. When this is not the case, it will be clarified.

The first thing worth mentioning about the standards in question is the publication date. It took six years for Portugal to have a national version of the European Standard EN 15038:2006, but only one year for the country to transpose ISO 17100:2015. This can be interpreted as being in line with the later development of Translation Studies in the Portuguese academic context, not to mention the fact that the professional status of revisers is still not recognised by the Portuguese tax system (Fidalgo, 2014). Furthermore, in Portugal, there is no professional bar association that can recognise the competences of those experts, just as there are no certified translators. The repercussions of the standards as both linguistic and social objects must therefore be considered in the light of these constraints, since these documents influence the provision of services as far as professional profiles, practices and terminology adoption in the translation market are concerned.

Once again, the usefulness of adopting the interactionist top-down approach as a methodological option within a text-linguistic perspective becomes evident in this context. It is important to understand the social conditions in which empirical texts circulate to better evaluate the linguistic forms in use, as Coutinho (2014a, p.227) explains in the following passage:

⁵ “Norma Portuguesa” means Portuguese standard and that is what NP in the abbreviated form stands for.

(...) social interaction is a determining factor, and furthermore, it implies that one should take into consideration the specificities of this same interaction: the context or, more accurately, the social activity where it takes place and the specific genre (among the genres in use, in the activity in question). Analysing linguistic forms where they occur only makes sense when you take into account these specificities, as they are the technical resource for the pursuance of social purposes (...).

In line with this perspective, the following section will firstly look at how revision issues are addressed in the translation standards, and secondly, it will discuss the discrepancies between the two documents in regard to text-linguistic topics.

5 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Even though the International Standard ISO 17100 replaces the previous EN 15038, it is worth comparing both documents and commenting on some of the differences and similarities between the two, in order to assess whether changes have been made to the way revision topics are addressed in the most recent standard when comparing it to the first one. The goal is to tackle the issues raised in the introductory section of this paper, namely to understand how the revisory activity is described in these normative documents and whether they reinforce the intertwined relationship between linguistic, textual, and translational aspects when it comes to revision.

5.1 Revision issues

5.1.1 Revision terminology – what kind of service is provided?

Revision, as a mandatory quality assurance procedure, is considered essential to meet the expectations of clients and contributes to “the delivery of a quality translation service that meets applicable specifications” (ISO, 2015, p.1) by ensuring compliance with the linguistic conventions of the target language.

In this respect, both translation standards show a clear effort to present definitions of terms related to quality procedures by identifying five different quality control stages within the translation process: checking, revision, review, proofreading and final verification. To this end, both documents include a specific section entitled “Terms and definitions”. The ISO standard, however, is more structured since it divides this section into five subsections according to thematic criteria and even includes a diagram describing the translation workflow (see ISO, 2015, p.12). Table 1 below lists the different terms used in the standards to refer to the quality procedures in question, indicating their application status and the expert responsible for carrying them out.

Table 1. Revision terminology in English.

EN 15038:2006/ISO 17100:2015			
	Professional	Status	Synonyms*
Checking/Check	translator	mandatory	self-revision
Revision	reviser	mandatory	bilingual editing
Review	reviewer	optional; if requested	monolingual editing
Proofreading	proofreader	optional; if requested	-
Final verification	translation service provider	mandatory	-0

* These synonyms are explicitly proposed in ISO 17100:2015.

When one takes a look at the Portuguese versions of the standards, there is one aspect that immediately stands out: the efforts to improve the terminological consistency and adequacy as far NP ISO 17100:2016 is concerned. The first standard, NP EN 15038:2012, included five different translations just for the term *review*, as shown in Table 2. The Portuguese language does not have different words for the terms *revision* and *review* – the word ‘revisão’ is used for both meanings. Nevertheless, it is still possible to distinguish the two notions by specifying whether they refer to a bilingual procedure (‘revisão bilíngue’) or to a monolingual one (‘revisão monolíngue’) (see Table 2).

Table 2. Revision terminology in Portuguese.

	NP EN 15038:2012		NP ISO 17100:2016		
	Main translation	Other translations	Main translation	Other translations	Synonyms*
Checking/Check	<i>revisão pelo tradutor</i>	-	<i>verificação</i>	-	-
Revision	<i>revisão por terceiros</i>	<i>revisão da tradução</i>	<i>revisão bilíngue</i>	-	<i>revisão da tradução</i>
Review	<i>revisão</i>	i) <i>revisão especializada;</i> ii) <i>revisão técnica;</i> iii) <i>revisão pelo especialista;</i> iv) <i>revisão monolíngue</i>	<i>revisão monolíngue</i>	-	<i>revisão de texto</i>
Proofreading	<i>revisão de provas</i>	-	<i>revisão de provas</i>	-	-
Final verification	<i>verificação final</i>	-	<i>controlo final</i>	-	-

* These synonyms are explicitly proposed in NP EN ISO 17100:2016.

As seen in Table 1, the English versions of the standards are identical regarding the terminology used to designate different revisory practices, while several variations can be observed in the two Portuguese documents. In this regard, NP ISO 17100:2016 is definitely more coherent than NP EN 15038:2012, because it does not entail the level of terminology variation that is found in the previous standard. These changes are significant, but the reasons behind them are never addressed in the document. One can only assume that they are based on the synonyms provided in ISO 17100:2015 (see Table 1), which were non-existent in EN 15038:2006.

Since terminology comprises a linguistic dimension in addition to the conceptual one, these changes can once again be linked to the argument that the social activity (in this case standardising the provision of translation services) in which a text is produced has an impact on the linguistic forms that are used in that same text. Moreover, these differences may also foster the use of a more harmonised metalanguage about the professional practices at issue by both revisers and translation agencies in Portugal.

5.1.2 Revision methods – how is the service provided?

The definition of the term *revision* does not differ significantly from one standard to another. Both documents clearly mention the contrastive nature of revision (CEN, 2006, p.6; ISO, 2015, p.2) and point out that the translation should be examined “for its suitability for the agreed purpose” (ibid.). Although this wording obviously refers to a functional approach to revision, in line with contemporary translation theories, what is meant by the expression still remains vague in the documents, since this requirement is not further explained in the standards.

Moreover, the standards do not include any specifications regarding the way the revisory task should be carried out, as Robert (2008) also stresses. The ISO standard does highlight the fact that revision should take into account the aspects listed under the section devoted to translation (ISO, 2015, p.11), but nowhere in the standards are possible revision methods and strategies explained or recommended.

Thus, in the case of revision, translation standards are able to prescribe *what* is to be done but not *how* it can be accomplished.

5.1.3 Revision competence(s) – who provides the service?

Globalisation has boosted the demand for language services and increasingly qualified language experts, who are able to deliver quality translations “in line with the highest professional and ethical standards” (DGT, 2017, p.4). This seems straightforward and easy to grasp, but the criteria used by translation service providers for the selection of revisers actually do not differ much from those applying to translators, if the requirements included in the standards are to be met (as it will be shown below).

According to the standards, the professional competences of translators are the following:

- a. translation competence;
- b. linguistic and textual competence in the source language and the target language;
- c. competence in research, information acquisition, and processing;
- d. cultural competence;
- e. technical competence;
- f. domain competence (new addition to ISO 17100:2015, since it was not included in EN 15038:2006).

In turn, the professional competences of revisers are described in the normative documents as follows:

Revisers shall have the competences as defined in 3.2.2 [‘Professional competences of translators’], and should have translating experience in the domain under consideration. (CEN, 2006, p.7)

The TSP shall ensure that revisers have all the translator competences defined in 3.1.3 [‘Professional competences of translators’], the qualification defined in 3.1.4 [‘Translator qualifications’], and translation and/or revision experience in the domain under consideration. (ISO, 2015, p.6)

This means that, in theory, every translator is a potential reviser, which seems to be in line with the new *EMT Competence Framework*, where revision is included in the competences of translators (DGT, 2017, p.8). In practice, however, professionals know this is not always the case because not all good translators are good revisers. In addition to that, according to the standards, revision competence is apparently identical to the sum of the above-mentioned translator subcompetences, contrary to what Horváth (2009) and Robert et al (2017a, 2017b) argue.

Furthermore, revision experience is not a compulsory requirement but an optional one, since revisers can have “translation *and/or* revision experience” (ISO, 2015, p.6, our emphasis). But what is even more surprising are the qualifications required to become a reviser in the twenty-first century, namely one of the following:

- formal higher education in translation (recognised degree);
- equivalent qualification in any other subject plus a minimum of two years of documented experience in translating;
- at least five years of documented professional experience in translating. (CEN, 2006, p.7)

- a) a recognized graduate qualification in translation from an institution of higher education;
- b) a recognized graduate qualification in any other field from an institution of higher education plus two years of full-time professional experience in translating;
- c) five years of full-time professional experience in translating. (ISO 2015, p.6)

Since a reviser is only required to meet one of the three qualification criteria listed in each standard, it can be inferred that a reviser does not need to have either training or experience in revision or a university degree of any kind for that matter, as long as s/he has worked as a professional translator for at least five years. The same applies to

translators, who are allowed to exercise their profession without holding an academic degree, as the qualifications required of translators are the same as those of revisers.

Close textual analysis of the standards thus reveals that these requirements do not ensure high quality of the revisers' output.

5.2 Text-linguistic issues

Assuming that every textual production is necessarily situated in a particular social context (Coutinho, 2006), that is, that the social setting not only influences the choice of the genre but also affects the textual structures and linguistic forms used in a text, the terminology adopted in translation standards is an important aspect to consider. The terms in use certainly derive from the context of activity, namely that of translation, but at the same time these choices also influence the verbal interactions between collaborating professionals.

In this sense, the changes introduced in the ISO standard represent a notable effort towards terminology adoption and consistency. First, ISO 17100:2015 reveals a considerable difference in the way definitions are organised by presenting different thematic subsections, which was not the case in EN 15038:2006. Secondly, it also includes a greater number of terms (forty-two against a total of nineteen in the European Standard). For instance, the section devoted to language and content encompasses eleven definitions, some of which were not part of the previous normative document, like the concepts of *domain* (ISO, 2015, p.3) or *text* (ibid.). Although some of these definitions may also be perceived as vague or circular⁶, one should recognise that some progress has been made in this respect, judging by the changes mentioned above.

As far as text-linguistic issues are concerned, it should also be underlined that the two standards provide a definition for the notion of linguistic and textual competence in the sense that it “includes the ability to understand the source language and mastery of the target language.” (CEN, 2006, p.7; ISO, 2015, p.6). Although one could argue that these are in fact two competences, the effort in emphasising the relevance of both language comprehension and production has to be acknowledged, and more importantly the notion does not overlook the “knowledge of text-type conventions” (ibid.). This obviously represents a positive aspect of the standards as they recognise each text is produced in accordance to certain textual parameters (Coutinho & Miranda, 2009), depending on the genre question.

Strangely enough, however, while the European Standard does not include any further reference to this matter, the International Standard states that the “review includes

⁶ See, for instance, the definitions of *reviser* as a “person who revises target language content against source language content” (ISO, 2015, p.4), of *reviewer* as a “person who reviews target language content” (ibid.) or of *proofreader* as a “person who proofreads target language content” (ibid.).

assessing (...) respect for the relevant text-type conventions.” (ISO, 2015, p.11), ultimately assigning this responsibility to the reviewer, rather than to the reviser. A problem arises here, and the incoherence is easy to understand if one recalls that review is not a mandatory task within the translation workflow; it is an optional procedure that depends on the project specifications (see Table 2). This means that text-type conventions do not need to be considered by the reviser after all, which points to a less comprehensive view of revision.

Also, it is interesting to note that both standards present specific indications about the text-linguistic aspects that should be accounted for when translating (CEN, 2006, p.11; ISO, 2015, p.10). However, when it comes to revising, the normative documents are less explicit. For example, the International Standard determines that the reviser “shall examine the target language content against the source language content for any errors and other issues” (ISO, 2015, pp.10-11), but it does not explain what issues these might be. Instead, it limits the revisory activity to the “comparison of the source and target language content for the aspects listed” (ISO, 2015, p.11) in the translation section.

On this basis, one can only infer that there are no major differences between translation and revision and this is perhaps the reason why the standards do not distinguish between the professional competences of translators and revisers. Several research studies (Horváth, 2009; Robert et al, 2017a), however, have already demonstrated that, despite the common characteristics, translation and revision are different activities and require distinct professional competence profiles.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that two significant annexes that were included in the European Standard EN 15038 were simply removed from the ISO standard: Annex C entitled “Source text analysis” and Annex D “Style guide”. The first appendix focused on aspects related to textuality and textual organisation (both on the macro- and micro-levels), while the second one provided instructions about punctuation, spelling, and formatting, among other related topics.

This omission can be viewed as a major setback from a text-linguistic perspective, as these appendixes reinforced the need for integrating text-linguistic concerns in translation and revision practices.

6 CONCLUSIONS

José Saramago, Portuguese writer and winner of the Nobel Prize of Literature in 1998, once wrote, “amending is the only task in the world that will never come to an end”⁷ (Saramago, 2008, p.14, our translation). Indeed, with the growing technological advances in translation industry, one may consider the possibility of revision becoming more and more the future of translation. For this reason, it is essential to acknowledge the role of revision in ensuring the quality of translation products, i.e. translated texts. Translation standards such as EN 15038 and ISO 17100 contributed to the recognition of the revisory activity as a mandatory procedure within the provision of translation services, but there is still work to be done.

This article outlined how those normative documents approach revision from a text-linguistic point of view. After comparing the two standards, it is possible to conclude that they do not distinguish between reviser competence and translator competence, and also that both standards (and particularly ISO 17100) essentially disregard the intertwined relationship between linguistic, textual, and translational dimensions when it comes to revision.

The analysis also explored the possible implications of this scenario for Portugal, a country where reviser training opportunities are much-needed, especially in the field of translation, since most training offers are targeted at the book publishing sector. Nevertheless, this absence may be linked to the fact that the standards do not require translation revisers to have any specific training in the field.

Both translation standards do refer to the notion of *professional competences of revisers* suggesting that it should be possible to validate the acquired competences in some way. However, there is no official body in Portugal that can issue such certification. Furthermore, the International Standard shows less concern for text-linguistic issues, when compared to the previous European Standard. This will inevitably have repercussions on the way future training courses are designed, because the specific competences of revisers remain to be set out in the normative documents.

All in all, the shortcomings identified in this paper may have a partial explanation: the main purpose of the standards is to certify the quality of the production process rather than the quality of the textual products that are produced. Nonetheless, if the goal is to specify requirements for the delivery of quality translation services, it is hard to understand how this can be ensured without providing more details on revision practices. Additionally, on the one hand, a translator does not necessarily have to be a reviser since “in this, as in many other issues, one size does not fit all” (Kelly, 2008, p.118). On the

⁷ Original quotation: “o trabalho de emendar é o único que nunca se acabará no mundo” (Saramago, 2008, p.14).

other hand, translators and revisers are language and communication experts, text producers and, for this reason, the useful contributions from the field of Linguistics should not be overlooked when tackling these questions.

In conclusion, this paper illustrates that the translation standards that have so far been published do not promote either revision or reviser competence, and leave the current situation unchanged by not filling the gaps between professional practice and qualification needs among revisers.

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Section Two

Ideology in Neutrality. Case study: Soviet discourse in bilateral treaties

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ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the presence and influence of ideology in a text type that is considered to be highly standardised, regulated and neutral – bilateral treaties. The concept of ideology has been approached in translation studies from a variety of perspectives, and many scholars have adopted the initial assumption that ideology is always present in all lingual utterances. However, the majority of research dealing with ideology and translation has focused on literary or political texts. This paper discusses approaches that can be applied to studying ideology in legal texts. This article introduces a case study in which the issue of ideology in legal text was analysed by means of searching for elements of typical Soviet language in treaties concluded between USSR and Finland. It was discovered that such elements can, indeed, quite easily be found, albeit they are of a subtle nature, manifested in the choice of words, or even in the way a neutral word or phrase is used. This reaffirms the notion that ideology can hardly be separated from language use and that it is a viable topic of research even in less typical text types.

KEY WORDS: ideology, legal translation, bilateral treaties

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper stems from the notion that text is never created in a void. There are always certain background factors that influence the author and, consequently, the text. These influential background factors can be personal (such as age, gender, and education) or contextual (related to the period of time and surrounding society, for example), and their influence can be obvious or subtle, intentional or subconscious, but it can, nevertheless, hardly ever be completely ignored or offset. Christina Schäffner and Susan Bassnett (2010, p. 2) point out that linguistic interaction is embedded in and determined by socio-cultural, historical, ideological and institutional conditions. Taking the idea even further

in his theory of sociology of knowledge, Karl Mannheim emphasises that all human thought is anchored in a socio-historical context:

Strictly speaking it is incorrect to say that the single individual thinks. [...] Every individual is [...] in a two-fold sense predetermined by the fact of growing up in a society: on the one hand he finds a ready-made situation and on the other he finds in that situation preformed patterns of thought and of conduct. (Mannheim, 1960, p.3)

In the case of translation, the amount of influential background factors is multiplied, as the background of the original author, the translator's understanding and interpretation of this background and its influence, as well as the translator's own background factors all play a role. Gideon Toury (1995, p. 13) points out that there is little point in studying the process of translation without accounting for the cultural-semiotic conditions under which it occurs. In keeping with Mannheim's view, Toury also argues that the cognitive apparatus of the translator – and cognition itself – is influenced, probably even modified by socio-cultural factors (ibid, p.54).

The visibility of and tolerance for such extra-textual features in text – whether original or translated – depends on the text type in question: for example, fictional literature revolves greatly around the author's personal style of writing and political writings are built on a certain ideology, whereas legal texts and research reports should, ideally, be as “impersonal” as possible. Studies of the presence and role of various background features in texts are often focused on text types representing the obvious, intentional end of the spectrum, such as literature, religious or political texts (see e.g. Schäffner et al., 2010). However, if we accept the notion set out by Mannheim and Toury, among others, that a total neutrality of thought – and, consequently, text – can never be achieved, this gives an interesting starting point for research into the reflection of various background factors in texts where they are not usually expected to be found, such as legal documents.

This paper focuses on one particular phenomenon that intersects with many of the aforementioned background features: *ideology*. It is addressed in the context of the bilateral treaty, more specifically treaties concluded between Finland and USSR. Thus, it contributes to the rising trend of interest in ideological issues in legal translation, which has emerged in the recent years, for instance in critical and poststructuralist approaches (see e.g. Engberg, 2017; Vidal, 2013).

As a text type, the treaty is highly regulated and standardised: In Finland, for example, the preparation of treaties is governed by the Treaty Guide (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, 2017) and the production of all legal texts is more specifically instructed in the Legal Writer's Guide (Ministry of Justice of Finland, 2014). In Russia, the corresponding guideline is titled Recommendations on the Preparation of Materials Concerning the Concluding and Termination of International Treaties (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 2009). The purpose of such detailed guidelines

and instructions is to guarantee maximal homogeneity within the genre, which entails that the impact of treaty writers' and translators' personal background factors should be minimised. However, as instruments of international law that deal with matters referring to and specific of national societies, treaties can hardly achieve total detachment from society-specific textual practices – or ideologies. As agreements between two states governed by different ideological systems, Soviet–Finnish treaties provide an apt corpus for testing this claim.

This article draws on the hypothesis that Soviet–Finnish bilateral treaties do contain ideologically charged elements, more specifically elements reflecting the Soviet ideology. However, with regard to the type of text in question, the underlying presupposition was that any reflections of ideology in the treaty text would be found in the form of very subtle nuances. Therefore, the material was analysed using a method that combines quantitative and qualitative analyses. A further hypothesis was that even though most of the studied treaty texts are hybrids containing segments of text written directly in both parties' language as well as translated segments respectively (for a more detailed explanation on the methods of treaty preparation, see Part 3 below), it could be deduced that the parts containing elements of typical Soviet discourse were originally written on the Soviet party's initiative. In other words, markers of ideological influence in the text can also serve as markers of translation activity. Furthermore, analysing the relative amount of segments that can be deemed translated in a certain direction (in this case, from Russian into Finnish) can give grounds to certain conclusions regarding the position of each party in the treaty negotiations.

The first sections of this article deal with ideology as a concept, its role in and interaction with language and translation, and the latter part introduces a case study in which traces of ideologically loaded discourse were sought in bilateral treaties concluded between Finland and USSR.

2 IDEOLOGY

At the most general level, ideology can be defined as “a system of ideas and ideals, especially one which forms the basis of economic or political theory and policy” (Oxford Living Dictionary). Ideology, its role and influence in various contexts, as well as its relation to language are popular topics in various disciplines but despite the wide-scale interest, no consensus on a specific definition of the concept has been reached.

Ideology has been dealt with, defined and explained from a number of perspectives. Hannu Kemppanen (2008) distinguishes at least three different juxtapositions through which ideology is approached in research: neutral vs. negative, abstract phenomenon vs. practical action, and culture-specific vs. universal. Another dimension, which is linked to the abstract vs. practical axis, is the division between normative and common-sense;

whether ideology is something that is dictated or something that is simply lived in everyday life (ibid, p.27, 30). Norman Fairclough emphasises the common-sense aspect, stating that the ideologies embedded in discursive practices are most effective when they become naturalized and achieve the status of common sense (Fairclough, 1989, p.87).

Approaches rooted in the social sciences typically depict ideologies in relation to such factors as class, social movements, power, the political economy, gender and culture (van Dijk, 1998, p. viii). As Freedon (2003, p.2) formulates it, ideologies map the political and social worlds for us. Elaborating on the same notion, Eccleshall et al. (2003, p.2) explain that ideologies help us make sense of the complex social world in which we live by providing a description of society, an intellectual map, which enables us to position ourselves in the social landscape.

Ideology is often linked with *meaning*. Thompson (1990, p.7), for example, defines ideology as “meaning in the service of power”. According to Freedon (2003, p.53), ideologies are the systems of thought through which political concepts obtain a specific meaning, and this is achieved by legitimating one meaning of each concept and delegitimizing the others. However, it must be borne in mind that ‘meaning’ is not a constant; people read and understand representations in different ways, for example because they mirror them against their individual background factors. Texts do not sanction one authoritative reading; the meanings of words and sentences – and, consequently, ideologies – cannot be pinned down unequivocally. Therefore, in order to decode the meaning of a text, we should mirror it against the context in which it was written (Freedon, 2003, pp.48-49).

The ambiguity of meaning is also an interesting issue with regard to multilingual legal texts, contracts in particular. Where more than one language version of a contract are deemed to be authoritative, the corresponding words in each language version are, by default, deemed to have identical meanings. However, this is not always possible due to reasons related to the linguistic specifics of different languages or different legal and socio-cultural contexts. For example, the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties states that the terms of the treaty are presumed to have the same meaning in each authentic text, but if a difference of meaning appears, the meaning which best reconciles the texts shall be adopted (UN, 1969, Article 33).

When dealing with meaning, *representation* must also be accounted for. As Norman Fairclough states, ideology is a relation between meaning (and therefore texts) and social relations of power and domination, and it is also a matter of representation (Fairclough, 2006, p.29). Teun van Dijk (1998, p.vii) approaches ideology in terms of a triangle formed by the concepts Society, Cognition and Discourse. However, indicating that he also sees ideology as an everyday-life phenomenon, he also points out that while discourse, language use and communication do play a special role in the reproduction of ideologies, ideologies are also being expressed and reproduced by practices other than

those of text and talk (van Dijk, 1998, p.191). Also using a triangular perspective, David Hawkes (2003, p.i) argues that ideology ultimately refers to a distortion of the relationship between ideas, matter and representation.

To summarise the above, we come up with the somewhat circular conclusion that

- ideology is one of the background factors that influence our thinking and therefore also the creation of texts;
- ideology is reproduced, i.e. in a way created, by representations, such as texts;
- ideology is influenced by the other background factors that also influence our thinking.

This, for its part, underlines the complexity of the concept and also supports the notion that it is unlikely for any text to be completely free of ideology. It also affirms that the presence of ideology in different types of texts is a viable topic of research.

The case study addressed in this article deals with ideology at two different levels: On the one hand, it stems from the assumption that ideology is a background factor that is to some extent reflected in all texts, regardless of text type. In light of this approach, ideology must be seen as something universal. On the other hand, the study deals with bilateral treaties, which are legal texts representing official governmental systems, and when dealing with such official texts, we are, naturally, also dealing with the official, normative, culture-specific dimensions of ideology.

2.1 Ideology and language

The ties between ideology and language can be manifested at different levels: for example, at the individual level, within a certain group or institution – or at the level of society. Each society has certain unique objects, practices, phenomena, etc. stemming from its ideology, which are denoted by certain words and expressions that are, correspondingly, unique and specific to that society and its language.

In some cases, language is actually harnessed for the use of ideology with the aim of spreading and rooting the desired worldview and mindset throughout the society, as it is widely believed that it is possible to affect people's views and mental habits through language. For example, the potential force of ideology for establishing different world views is widely recognised within Critical Discourse Analysis (Lassen et al., 2006, p. viii). It appears that the more totalitarian the ideology of the society, the more common this practice is. Control over people is exercised not only by limiting access to information and filtering what is shared with the public but also by controlling how this information is expressed. In keeping with this assumption, discourses of totalitarian states such as the Soviet Union, China and even Nazi Germany are often reviewed in the same context (see e.g. de Saussure et al, 2005; Andrews, 2016). This phenomenon has also been studied by comparing the German language and discourses in the two German states before and after their unification (see e.g. Schäffner & Porsch, 1997).

However, it must be borne in mind that not all texts are created within the framework of a society as in a state or a specific national culture. International institutions (such as the UN or EU, for example) form discursive entities of their own, and while they may foster a multilingual scheme of text production and publication, the discursive practices used within these entities primarily reflect those outlined by and for the institution and not those of the target audiences in different countries (although it can be questioned whether the influence of the author's personal background factors, such as nationality, can be entirely omitted in the text production process). Kaisa Koskinen (2008, p.22) points out that in institutional translation, the voice that is to be heard is that of the translating institution. Furthermore, to produce the image that the institution speaks to you directly in many tongues, institutional translation often (although not always) hides its translational origins. (Koskinen, 2011, p.60). The same also applies to instruments of international law, such as treaties: even though they are, as instruments, adopted into the national legislation of each signatory country, as texts they are situated in a space of their own.

Moreover, the ways in which ideology is reflected in a text vary greatly between different types of text. In some texts, such as political pamphlets, ideology is the key component and it is deliberately highlighted in every possible way. In literature, ideology can be featured intentionally, overtly or covertly, or it may be present as a subtle background factor only. At the opposite end of this spectrum there are texts aiming at maximal neutrality, such as instruments of international law, in which the impact of ideology is deliberately minimised. Fernando Prieto Ramos (2014, p.318) describes the language of international law as 'institutional legalese' that is tailored to the needs of international harmonisation.

Whatever the context or degree of visibility, the reflection of ideology in language is never limited to the level of individual words denoting specific items or phenomena. Attention must be paid to the interdependency of words and their meanings: they are located in a network of relationships with other words and obtain certain meanings in that particular context. As Freedon (2003, pp.45-46) points out, ideologies, as expressed through language, even have their own grammatical peculiarities; ideology can be reflected in such features as the variation of the active and passive voice, frequencies of different parts of speech, sentence length, etc. This is a particularly interesting dimension, as grammar, for native speakers, exists at a subconscious level and, similarly, ideological assumptions can be held unknowingly.

In the Soviet Union, the way of using the Russian language was revamped quite drastically, extending all the way to banishing certain words altogether or labelling them as bourgeois and therefore alien. For example, the Russian word for charity, *благотворительность*, became very rarely used for decades (see e.g. the frequency trend in ruscorpora.ru); according to the official ideology, there was no poverty and hence

no need for charity in the Soviet Union. The Soviet discourse was based on a strong polarisation between 'the good we' and 'the bad others'. This was manifested, among other things, in terms of referential and temporal quantifiers and even in terms of modality: the 'we' were referred to using words describing unity (*every, total, whoever*), continuity (*always, eternal, immortal*) and necessity (*must, need*), whereas the 'others' were described with words reflecting dispersion and isolation (*some, certain, not all*), instability (*sometimes, rarely, temporary*) and uncertain possibility (*may, can*). (Weiss, 2005, pp.254-256) In this way, language was used to root the prevailing ideology at the common-sense level, where it is believed to be the most effective (cf. Fairclough as cited above in Part 2).

The case study featured in this paper focuses on the aforementioned types of linguistic elements that can be classified as ideologically loaded and representative of the typical Soviet discourse in Finnish-Soviet treaties. In the analysis, particular attention was paid to the collocations and contexts in which certain words were used. This approach proved to be effective, as it revealed a number of examples of ideologically loaded language use in the treaty texts. These findings are addressed in more detail in Section 3.

2.2 Ideology and translation

As Maria Tymoczko (2003, 2006) states, ideology is always a factor in the translation process. Tymoczko summarises the relationship between ideology and translation as follows:

Even in a simplified model, the ideology of a translation will be an amalgam of (1) the subject of the source text and the source text's representation of that subject, (2) the various speech acts instantiated in the source text relevant to the original context, (3) layered together with the translator's representation of the source text, (4) its purported relevance to the receptor audience, (5) the various speech acts of the translation itself addressing the target audience, and (6) resonances and discrepancies between these two "utterances". (Tymoczko, 2006, p.448; cf. Tymoczko, 2003)

Indeed, in light of the background assumption that ideology is to some extent present in all human thinking and therefore also in all texts, and that it is manifested in the form of a complex network of contexts, meanings and representations, it is easy to see how the presence of ideology in translations is quite a multifaceted, complex phenomenon. As a professional agent, the translator should always be aware of the existence of ideology as an influential factor and recognise its manifestations or reflections in the source text. However, as a reader, the translator inevitably interprets such manifestations or reflections in an individual manner, based on their personal background knowledge and mindset. Hans Georg Gadamer (cited by Schulte, 1985, p.1) states that reading is already translation, and the process of translating comprises the whole secret of human understanding of the world and of social communication. Furthermore, once identified and interpreted, the ideological elements can be treated using a variety of different

strategies – both deliberate and subconscious – and it is not always the translator who makes this choice of strategy.

As is the case with ideology and language, ideology and translation also come together at different levels, including state policies. Translation as such can be used as a vehicle of ideology, a way of introducing certain ideas in the target culture in the target audience's own language. Correspondingly, analysing what is *not* translated can also reveal a lot about the communication policies – and ideologies – of a society. Throughout history, there have been cases where the mere possession, let alone translation, of unacceptable texts has constituted a punishable act (for example, see Pokorn, 2012, p.15). Apart from text choices, various policy-makers, such as governmental decision-makers and publishing houses, also influence the choice of translation strategies, and these choices are often reflective of ideology. In a similar manner, an individual translator can also use translation – the choice of text published or suggested for publishing in another language, as well as the translation strategies applied – to promote certain personal ideological goals, as has been the case with the feminist movement (on feminist translation, see for example Castro & Ergun, 2017).

Sometimes the ideologically motivated translation strategies – whether chosen by the translator or by a higher institution – are so manipulative that it can be argued whether the target text is an adaptation rather than a translation of the original. For example, in socialist Yugoslavia, translated children's literature in particular was subject to ideological censorship, whereby references to religion and other such unfavourable phenomena were omitted or replaced with ideologically acceptable alternatives; for example, Christmas was changed to New Year and pastor to teacher (see Pokorn, 2012). Apart from political ideologies, such adaptive translation can also be applied to moral issues. For example, the sexual references featured in ancient Greek drama have been translated in different cultures and different periods of time using a variety of strategies ranging from omission to replacement with more chaste expressions and even additions of entirely new passages (Lefevere, 1992, pp.41-44).

Apart from literary and journalistic texts, such strategies have also been applied to legal texts. One well-known example of this is the Treaty of Waitangi from 1840, which is considered to be New Zealand's founding document. Made between the British Crown and about 540 Māori chiefs, the Treaty gave Britain sovereignty over New Zealand. The treaty text was drafted in English and translated into Māori by missionary Henry Williams and his son. While the Treaty in Māori was deemed to convey the meaning of the English version, there were certain significant differences. It has been claimed that in the translation, important legal terms have been replaced with words of biblical nature – in other words, that the translator added ideology to a text that, by default, was supposed to be neutral. Such a language was familiar to the Māori people, as Mr. Williams had been teaching them literacy with the help of religious texts. Whether this translation strategy

was a *bona fide* attempt to make the Treaty more comprehensible to the Māori, whether it was attributable to the missionary's unprofessionalism as a translator, or whether it was a deliberate act of misleading the counterpart by obscuring the Treaty contents, the outcome is nevertheless that the differences in meaning led to divergent interpretations of the English and Māori versions of the Treaty, and it has long been debated whether the Māori chiefs ceded sovereignty over their land without fully understanding what they signed. (See e.g. NZ History: The Treaty in Brief)

Today, treaties are highly regulated and governed by various national and international codes and guidelines (first and foremost by the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, UN, 1969), and it is quite unlikely that such an inaccurate translation could take effect in the modern world. However, the Treaty of Waitangi clearly demonstrates two points that are of utmost relevance in the study of legal language and translation: firstly, the vast importance of the language used in contract documents such as treaties and, secondly, the vast power of ideology in the representation – or distortion – of meanings.

3 CASE STUDY: SOVIET DISCOURSE IN BILATERAL TREATIES

This section introduces a case study that focuses on reflections of ideology in bilateral treaties. As explained above, a distinctive discourse was created in the Soviet Union to serve the purpose of creating, disseminating and upholding a certain, ideologically rooted worldview. This discourse penetrated the entire society, from mass media and public speeches to school books and literature. This case study was conducted to find out whether this discourse even extended to the treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and Finland. The Russian language versions of the treaties were reviewed in order to find traces of ideologically loaded language use. The texts were also reviewed in parallel with the Finnish language version to see how the discovered ideologically loaded elements were treated in them and to analyse whether the findings allow any conclusions regarding translation directions and the positions of the parties during the treaty negotiations.

Treaties can be drafted in three different ways: 1) by means of negotiation, in which case the final texts are of a hybrid nature, outcomes of a long process during which segments of text are written in both parties' languages, translated and back-translated so that ultimately no source or target language can be identified; 2) by the exchange of notes, in which case the treaty text is usually written in one party's language and the other language version is a translation; or 3) by using a so-called intermediary language, which means that the treaty text is typically written in an international language (in most cases, English or French) and then translated into the languages of both parties (see e.g. Probirskaja, 2009, p.47; Ministry of Justice of Finland, 2017, pp.13-14). The dataset analysed in this case study – the Finnish-Soviet treaties from the post-war Soviet era – consists mainly of documents prepared by means of negotiations, i.e. hybrid texts in which no translation direction is explicitly indicated.

Apart from the specifics of text preparation, treaties can also be seen as hybrids in terms of text type. As instruments of international law, they are, first and foremost, legal texts. This categorisation is affirmed, for example, by the fact that in Finland, guidelines pertaining to treaty preparation are included in the Legal Writer's Guide. However, treaties also feature characteristics of diplomatic language, a discourse based on a carefully balanced, restrained, moderate vocabulary developed over the centuries to ensure a particular way of refined control over nuances in the meaning of words (Nick, 2001, p.44). Diplomatic language is particularly reflected in certain standard parts and phrases of treaty texts, such as the initial and final paragraphs of notes exchanged. Furthermore, the text type also intersects with political text, albeit with less emphasis on the appellative function. In light of all of the above-mentioned features, the bilateral treaty makes for a very fruitful material for various analyses and multidisciplinary research.

3.1 Corpus and methods

The research is conducted using a corpus entitled PEST (Parallel Electronic corpus of State Treaties). Compiled and stored at the Tampere University, this corpus currently contains all treaties concluded between Finland and Russia/USSR from 1918 until the present day, treaties between Finland and Sweden, treaties between Sweden and Russia/USSR, as well as international treaties. This corpus composition allows for various comparisons and multidimensional analyses, but the case study featured herein deals with the Finnish-Russian material only. The material is analysed with the help of corpus research tools developed particularly for this corpus, such as frequency and keyword lists, collocate and concordance searches. (For a more detailed description of the corpus, its inbuilt tools and applicable research methods, see Mikhailov, Santalahti and Souma, 2019; Santalahti and Mikhailov, 2019.)

The Finnish-Russian section of the PEST corpus is divided into three subcorpora based on historical periods: A 1918–1944; B 1945–1991; c 1992 until present. The case study at hand was performed on subcorpus B, i.e. treaties concluded between Finland and the Soviet Union in 1945–1991 (N = 128 text pairs). This dataset was compared with earlier (1917–1944) and later (1992 to present) treaties between the same states.

The initial assumption in the case study was that any manifestations of ideology in the treaty language would not be overt and obvious (such as the replacement of certain nouns with completely different ones) but rather subtle, residing mainly at the level of collocations and nuances. In order to find such subtle markers in the text mass, a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods was deployed. Corpus software enables the automated processing of even large masses of data, and the metrics and figures obtained in this way provide an outline that draws the researcher's attention to certain features that can then be observed and analysed more closely. The treaty corpus is very suitable for this kind of a combined research, as the limited size of the corpus easily allows comprehensive qualitative analyses to complement the statistical findings.

In this case study, the first step was the generation of keyword lists from the Russian treaty texts, i.e. lists of words that are significantly more common in the treaties of the examined period (1945–1991) than in the treaties of the reference periods (1918–1944 and 1992 until present) respectively.¹ These lists were then reviewed 'manually' in order to filter out the features relevant for the study at hand. This was followed by a closer review of the discovered features in the Russian context and, finally, an analysis of the corresponding Finnish segments. The analysis and findings are described in detail in the following part.

3.2 Findings and examples

As could be expected, the keyword lists were mainly dominated by words related to the topics of agreement (such as vocabulary related to the demarcation of borders), and hence it was essential to thoroughly review the Russian keyword lists in search of elements pointing towards Soviet discourse. As the result of this review, a short yet interesting list of words was obtained. However, in keeping with the initial assumption, even these words do not strikingly deviate from the typical lexis of legal texts; their ideological nature is mainly based on the way in which they are used in the treaties. Therefore, in order to establish whether the discovered elements were, indeed, ideologically loaded, they were analysed more thoroughly in the monolingual context. Finally, the segments that were deemed to be ideologically loaded were reviewed in parallel with their Finnish counterparts.

The list of words reflecting Soviet discourse in the Russian treaty texts:

- взаимовыгодный, “mutually beneficial”
- дальнейший, “further”
- добрососедский, “neighbourly”
- долгосрочный, “long-term”
- дружба; дружественный, “friendship”; “friendly”
- паритетный, “equal”
- расширение, “expansion”
- углубление, “deepening”
- укрепление, “strengthening”
- успешный, “successful”

As can be seen from the list above, many of the discovered ideologically loaded elements are seemingly neutral words. However, in the studied texts they are used in such meanings and connections that are atypical for the text type. In many cases, the atypicality is related

¹ For a more detailed description of the method and mathematical formulae, see e.g. <http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html>

to the use of excess attributes, which usually do not have a place in the concise, accurate legal language; for example, the Legal Writer's Guide states that unnecessary words that do not carry any actual meaning or content should not be used in legal text (Ministry of Justice of Finland, 2016, p.441). In this research material, the discursive function of these excess attributes was to emphasise such features characteristic of the Soviet discourse as strength, continuity, and unity (cf. Section 2.1). Moreover, the analysis showed that these words were often used together to such an extent that they formed clichés.

In the following, some of these words are analysed in more detail, but it is worth noting that almost all of the above-listed concepts are illustrated in just a few randomly chosen examples. This shows how widely the Soviet discourse was used in the treaties of the studied era, and it also further reinforces the notion that the ideological load of these elements is, above all, based on the 'cumulative effect' of using them in conjunction with one another.

Дальнейший (“further”) is a very common word in treaties, because it is also used in the standard contract phrase *в дальнейшем* (“hereinafter”), which is the most common usage of the word also in the latest treaties of the PEST corpus (i.e. in those concluded after the dissolution of the Soviet Union). However, in the Soviet-era treaties analysed for this study, it is hardly ever used in this function. In these treaties it predominantly serves the purpose of being an intensifying modifier that underlines the element of continuity, or “things getting from good to better”. It is most typically connected to the word *развитие* (“development”), which, by nature, already implicitly includes the idea of “going further” and thus makes the explication redundant. The excess nature of this word is emphasised by the finding that it is sometimes omitted in the Finnish version of the treaty text. This is illustrated in Examples 1a and 1b below.²

(1a) Протокол между Правительством Союза Советских Социалистических Республик и Правительством Финляндской Республики о **дальнейшем** развитии и углублении сотрудничества в области сельского хозяйства и производства продуктов питания [Protocol on the **further** development and deepening of cooperation between the governments of the USSR and the Republic of Finland in the field of agriculture and food production]

Suomen tasavallan hallituksen ja Sosialististen neuvostotasavaltojen liiton hallituksen välinen pöytäkirja maataloutta ja elintarviketuotantoa koskevan yhteistyön kehittämisestä ja syventämisestä [Protocol on the development and deepening of cooperation concerning agriculture and food production between the governments of the Republic of Finland and the USSR]

² All examples are given with back translations that aim at describing the passage of text as literally as possible.

(1b) 1. Стороны будут стремиться к **дальнейшему** развитию и углублению сотрудничества в области сельского хозяйства и производства продуктов питания на основе равенства и взаимной выгоды. [1. The parties shall strive for the **further** development and deepening of cooperation in the field of agriculture and food production on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.]

1. Osapuolet pyrkivät kehittämään ja syventämään **edelleen** maataloutta ja elintarviketuotantoa koskevaa yhteistyötä yhdenvertaisuuden ja keskinäisen edun pohjalta. [1. The parties shall strive to develop and deepen **further** the cooperation concerning agriculture and food production on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.]

As can be seen from Examples 1a (the title of the protocol on agriculture) and Example 1b (Article 1 of the protocol), the word for “further” is omitted from the Finnish title of the treaty, but it is included in Article 1 of the treaty. However, in the Finnish text of Article 1, the word *edelleen* (“further”) is in a somewhat unidiomatic place within the sentence. In both language versions, this word is used in a manner that allows a dual interpretation: reference to time (“as more time elapses”) or process (“moving on from the current status”). In addition, Example 1b also illustrates the use of other concepts belonging to the typical Soviet discourse: equality and mutual benefit.

Укрепление (“strengthening”) also has the concrete meaning “fortification”, but in the treaties of the analysed period it is used in this meaning in only one instance, in the 1947 peace treaty. In most cases, this word is used in the figurative sense in expressions referring to relations, connections, cooperation, etc., hence underlining the element of strength, which, as pointed out in Part 2.1 above, is a typical feature in the Soviet discourse. Example 2 presents the agreement on cooperation in the movie industry (also note that the word for “further” is omitted in this passage as well).

(2) исходя из того, что это сотрудничество содействует **дальнейшему укреплению** взаимопонимания между финским и советским народами [from the starting point that this cooperation will contribute to the **further strengthening** of mutual understanding between the Finnish and Soviet people]

lähtien siitä, että tämä yhteistyö myötävaikuttaa Suomen ja Neuvostoliiton kansojen yhteisymmärryksen **lujittamiseen**, [from the starting point that this cooperation will contribute to the **strengthening** of mutual understanding between the people of Finland and the USSR,]

Дружба (“friendship”) is a special case in the PEST treaty material. The use of this word (as well as its derivate forms such as *дружественный*, “friendly”) roots to one particular treaty: the Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance (*Договор о дружбе, сотрудничестве и взаимной помощи* in Russian and *Ystävyys-, yhteistyö- ja*

avunantosopimus in Finnish; hereinafter, the FCMA Treaty), which was first signed between Finland and the Soviet Union in 1948 and then renewed in 1950, 1970, and 1983. This treaty was of essential significance for the Soviet–Finnish relations. For the Soviet party, its main purpose was to prevent Western or Allied Powers from attacking the Soviet Union through Finnish territory, while the Finnish side’s key interest was to increase Finland’s political independence from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union had signed bilateral security pacts with Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland earlier, but the FCMA Treaty between the Soviet Union and Finland differed from the parallel treaties signed with the aforementioned Eastern European countries. Even though the FCMA is, formally, a treaty prepared by way of negotiation, i.e. drafted in two equally authentic language versions, and we know from history – e.g. from the notes of the Finnish leaders who participated in the negotiations – that the Finnish party made big efforts to influence the contents and wording of the treaty (see e.g. Rainio-Niemi 2014, Vesa *et al.* 1998), this one set of treaties clearly stands out from the corpus material in terms of language use, not only as the primary source of vocabulary related to friendship but in general as a typically Soviet instrument of international agreement.

- (3) Президент Финляндской Республики и Президиум Верховного Совета Союза Советских Социалистических Республик, воодушевляемые искренним желанием и дальше развивать и укреплять отношения **дружбы**, добрососедства и взаимного доверия между обеими странами, [The President of the Republic of Finland and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of USSR, inspired by the genuine will to further develop and strengthen the relations of **friendship**, neighbourliness and mutual trust between the both countries,]

Suomen Tasavallan Presidentti ja Sosialististen Neuvostotasavaltain Liiton Korkeimman Neuvoston Puhemiehistö, haluten vilpittömästi edelleen kehittää ja lujittaa **ystävyyteen**, hyvään naapuruuteen ja molemminpuoliseen luottamukseen perustuvia suhteita molempien maiden välillä, [The President of the Republic of Finland and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of USSR, willing to genuinely further develop and strengthen the relationships based on **friendship**, good neighbourhood and mutual trust between the both countries,]

Example 3, the introductory phrase of the FCMA renewal protocol, quite illustratively summarises the observations described in this section: it involves the elements of friendship and good will, progress and continuity, strength and trust. Moreover, the Finnish text features not only unidiomatic but actually slightly incorrect language use in the expression *molempien maiden välillä* (“between the both countries”), in which the word *molempien* (“both”) is not in keeping with the rules of the Finnish language. This can be attributed to careless translation (which seems unlikely, given the thorough, multifold review process included in treaty preparation), it can be a choice made in the name of the requirement of utmost accuracy, or a way of denoting the “Russian” nature

of this particular instrument. Whatever the reason, this wording is quite a definite sign of this segment of text being originally written in Russian and then translated into Finnish.

4 CONCLUSIONS

The case study shows that elements that can be deemed ideologically loaded can be found in the bilateral treaties concluded between Finland and the Soviet Union during the post-war Soviet period. However, these elements are not obviously ideological as such, but their ideological nature is based on the way they are used. In other words, this is a case of assigning a specific meaning to a specific word or expression in a specific context. The most likely function of these elements in the treaty text is not to reproduce, uphold or disseminate the Soviet ideology; they simply reflect it. This is a good example of how closely intertwined language and ideology are, and it also confirms the presupposition that language can hardly be entirely free of ideology.

Addressing the aspect of ideology – as well as other such extratextual background factors – also in text types where the presence of such factors is of a less overt or obvious nature, such as legal texts, also entails the question of methodology. As the translator must adapt the translation strategy to the text type, assignment and communicative situation at hand, the researcher must also “recalibrate the gauge”, adjust the research methodologies according to the nature of the material studied. With regard to the material analysed in this case study, a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses proved to be an apt approach. The quantitative metrics – word frequency lists and keyword lists – alone would not have given a clear idea of the language used in the treaties or the presence of the studied phenomenon but, on the other hand, simply reading the entire material in order to detect the desired elements would have been an inefficient and unreliable approach, even though the corpus is not extremely large.

The case study is part of a larger research project, in which one of the research questions is whether it is possible to distinguish between originally written and translated segments of text. Treaties offer a good opportunity for such research: comparing treaty texts that represent different methods of preparation (see Part 3.1) can help us tap into the influence of translation and identify features that are typical of translated texts. This case study showed that ideology can actually serve as a “marker” in research aimed at identifying translated text and translation directions. When the agreeing parties are states representing different ideologies and when elements reflecting the ideology of one of them can be identified in the treaty text, this quite clearly suggests that such passages have been originally produced in the language of the party whose ideology is reflected and translated into the other party's language. In other words, apart from serving as the object of research, ideology can also have an instrumental function.

In the case study analysed herein, it was discovered that the Finnish counterparts for segments featuring typical Soviet discourse do not have a similar ideological load as the Russian text; the ideologically loaded elements do not resonate with the underlying worldview of the Finnish society and its discursive practices in a similar manner. This is in keeping with the notion that ideology is manifested and reproduced in the form of meanings but meanings, in turn, are context-dependent. Moreover, as could be seen from the examples presented in Part 3 above, the Finnish text in such segments sometimes contained unidiomatic or even incorrect Finnish language. These factors quite clearly point towards the conclusion that such segments were originally written in Russian and translated into Finnish. This is an encouraging finding in light of the future of the larger research project.

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Translating Ideology with Ideology. The Case of Sienkiewicz's Novel *In Desert and Wilderness* and Its Slovenian Translations

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses the Slovenian translations of the young adult novel *In Desert and Wilderness* (1911) by the famous Polish writer and Nobel laureate Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846-1916). It analyses how potentially problematic passages of the original text, dealing with colonialism and Christianity, were translated into Slovenian in order to find out whether the changing ideology of the target culture influenced translation practice. The comparison of the source and twelve target texts reveals distinct difference between the Slovenian editions of Sienkiewicz's novel published before World War II and those published after the war: while the two pre-war editions do not contain any ideological interventions, eight out of ten post-war editions were textually manipulated. This difference can be explained by drawing attention to the political and cultural changes that took place after Slovenia became part of socialist Yugoslavia in 1945. The article thus presents a case study on the issue of translation and ideology and makes a contribution to the previous research on translations of Sienkiewicz's works and on the development of Slovenian literary translation.

KEY WORDS: literary translation, ideology, colonialism, Christianity, Henryk Sienkiewicz

1 INTRODUCTION

To this day, Sienkiewicz's novel *In Desert and Wilderness* continues to be one of the most popular works for a juvenile public not only in Poland but also abroad. Nevertheless, the opinions on the novel's message are divided. While some critics praise the novel as "the most successful version of a parable on the victory of good over evil" (Axer & Bujnicki, 2012, pp.627-628), others find it problematic and claim that it is an "unambiguous and unquestioning endorsement of the colonial model" (Klobucka, 2001, p.251). These conflicting interpretations can inspire an analysis within the framework of translation studies. Since the opinions on Sienkiewicz's novel are not unanimous, it is likely that something similar is true for the translations of the novel. In other words,

various translators (as well as editors and publishers), working in different times and historical situations, had to decide if they want to treat the source text as a didactic story about good and evil or as a dubious defence of colonialism. On the other hand, they also had to pay close attention to the fact that many characters in the Polish original are devout Christians, in particular because the changing political landscape in the 20th century saw many different attitudes towards such religious beliefs.

The aim of the article is to study how potentially controversial passages of the novel *In Desert and Wilderness*, concerning colonialism and Christianity, were translated into Slovenian in order to shed light on whether the ideological positions of the target culture in any way influenced translation. The Slovenian editions of Sienkiewicz's novel are a rich source of material for analysis because Sienkiewicz has been a widely read and translated author in Slovenia since the end of the 19th century. In addition, the last 150 years are characterized by considerable changes of Slovenia's political and cultural situation which are also reflected in the field of translation (see, e.g., Stanovnik, 2005). The article therefore offers a case study on the topic of translation and ideology and also hopes to contribute to the existing literature on translations of Sienkiewicz's works and on the history of Slovenian literary translation.

2 TRANSLATION AND IDEOLOGY

A systematic examination of the issue of translation and ideology can be dated from the 1990s, when translation studies took "a cultural turn". André Lefevere (1994), one of the most important contributors to the paradigm shift, argues that every translation is a rewriting of an original text. Translation occurs within the constraints imposed by either a patronage which supports or restricts reading, writing and rewriting of literary texts, or by a poetics which defines what literature should be in a particular society at a particular time or by an ideology which includes opinions and attitudes considered acceptable in a certain society at a certain time. As Lefevere (1994) puts it: "All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way" (p.vii).

Apart from Lefevere, many other translation scholars touched upon the questions pertaining to ideology. For example, Lawrence Venuti (1995) showed how domestication prevailed over foreignization in English literary translation due to the hegemonic pressure of British and American cultures, Kate Sturge (2004) discussed translation censorship in Nazi Germany and Tejaswini Niranjana (1992) dealt with power relations in the context of postcolonial translation studies.

In Slovenia, the most comprehensive study regarding translation and ideology has been done by Nike Kocijančič Pokorn (2012). She analysed translations of children's literature

published in socialist Yugoslavia in order to identify the prevailing characteristics of the socialist translation practice. To summarize her findings, 77 out of 96 translations from the socialist period, included in the analysis, were ideologically changed, while the main target of textual manipulations were religious elements (Kocijančič Pokorn, 2012, pp.139-140).

In general, research on the translations of the novel *In Desert and Wilderness* from the point of view of ideology seems to be rather scant. Although the ideological framework of the Polish original has been discussed by several researchers from different fields (see, e.g., Ureña Valerio, 2019; for more information, see Section 3) and the translations of the novel have not been overlooked (see, e.g., Rybicki, 2012), only one paper was found that has a similar purpose as this article: Rachel Weissbrod (2008) examined how Hebrew translations treat racist discourse and, among other things, focused on one of the generalizations about Arabs from Sienkiewicz's novel. Weissbrod (2008) calls the original "openly racist" (p.172) and explains that the first translation rendered the passage literally, the second abridged it and the last accentuated it but "apologized" for the offensive content of the source text on the back cover (pp.179-180). Since such aspects of Sienkiewicz's novel and its translations have not yet received much attention from translation scholars, the present article will try to fill this gap to some extent, acknowledging the importance of studying ideological shifts as ubiquitous elements of translations which shape the mediation and the reception of literary texts.

3 HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ AND HIS NOVEL *IN DESERT AND WILDERNESS*

Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846-1916) was an internationally acclaimed, best-selling and Nobel Prize-winning novelist who is considered to be the most famous Polish writer in literary history (Markiewicz, 1996, p.214). He is also the second most translated Polish author of all time, preceded only by the science fiction writer Stanisław Lem (UNESCO, n.d.). In Poland, he is most famous for his *Trilogy (Trylogia)*, a series of historical novels – *With Fire and Sword (Ogniem i mieczem, 1884)*, *The Deluge (Potop, 1886)* and *Sir Michael (Pan Wołodyjowski, 1888)* – set in the 17th-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Internationally, he is best known for the novel *Quo Vadis* (1896) depicting early Christianity in ancient Rome (Markiewicz, 1996, p.209).

The novel *In Desert and Wilderness (W pustyni i w puszczy)* from 1911 is Sienkiewicz's last completed work. It is also an exception among his novels – it is the only one that is intended for younger audiences and that takes place neither in Poland nor somewhere else in Europe. It was inspired by Sienkiewicz's trip to Africa in 1891 (Klobucka, 2001, pp.246-247). The fictional story of the novel is thus set against the backdrop of the Scramble for Africa, i.e. the colonization of the African territory by European powers during the period of the New Imperialism, between 1880s and the beginning of World

War I. More specifically, the backdrop is the Mahdist War which started in 1881 in the Sudan as a rebellion against the Anglo-Egyptian government and lasted for 18 years. It was led by the Muslim preacher Muḥammad Aḥmad ibn al-Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh who proclaimed himself the Mahdi (the “Guided One”), the redeemer of the Islamic world (see Ibrahim, 1985, pp.73-78).

Sienkiewicz’s novel begins at the end of the 19th century in Egypt which was back then a protectorate of the British Empire. The main characters are the 14-year-old Polish boy Staś and the 8-year-old English girl Nel. They live with their fathers who are engineers supervising the maintenance of the Suez Canal. Soon after the news of the Mahdist War reaches Egypt, Staś and Nel are kidnapped by a group of Arabs hoping that they can exchange the children for one of the Mahdi’s distant relatives who was arrested by the British. Later, Staś and Nel pull off an escape. Then they travel across the African continent and try their best to survive “in desert and wilderness”. At last, the story comes to a happy ending – the children return to their fathers and eventually leave for Europe.

Similar to other Sienkiewicz’s novels, *In Desert and Wilderness* was an immediate success both at home and abroad. Readers and critics alike enjoyed Sienkiewicz’s descriptions of suspenseful adventures in far and exotic lands (Gajewski, 2017, p.14). In addition, Staś was seen as a perfect role model for young Poles (Klobucka, 2001, pp.247-248). This is not surprising, since he is portrayed not only as very smart, strong, courageous and loyal for his age but also as a patriot and a devout Christian. Although he is young, he is able to overcome any danger along the way and to protect his weaker companion Nel. At first glance, Sienkiewicz’s novel thus looks like a typical work for younger audiences.

However, research published in the last few decades acknowledged the negative consequences of the Scramble for Africa, such as military conquests resulting in millions of casualties, imposition of foreign rule on African states and economic exploitation (see, e.g., Boahen, 1985; Pakenham, 1991; Hochschild, 1998). Moreover, from the late 1970s onwards, the field of postcolonial studies started to gain prominence (see, e.g., Said, 1978/2003; Thiong’o, 1986; Spivak, 1988). For these reasons, several researchers re-read the novel *In Desert and Wilderness* in a new light (see, e.g., Klobucka, 2001; Cichoń, 2004; Gajewski, 2017). In their opinion, the novel is not so “innocent” after all as it heavily endorses colonial ideology. This makes it, at least from today’s perspective, highly controversial.

In order to better understand the ideological aspects of the novel *In Desert and Wilderness*, attention will be drawn to Rudyard Kipling, Sienkiewicz’s contemporary and the author of another classic work for young readers titled *The Jungle Book*. In 1899, Kipling wrote the poem “The White Man’s Burden” in support of the colonization of the Philippines by the United States. The first stanza reads:

Take up the White Man's burden –
Send forth the best ye breed –
Go, bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild –
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child. (Kipling, 1899/2013, p.111)

According to Kipling, the civilized White Man carries a moral burden to change the ways of the primitive non-white people who are “half-devil and half-child”. Colonization is thus not seen as a benefit for colonial powers but as an unselfish sacrifice for the sake of colonized communities (see Kramer, 2006, pp.11-12).

“The White Man's Burden” was also discussed by Edward Said (1978/2003) in his influential book *Orientalism*. Among other things, Said argues that Kipling's poem is a prime example of the discourse on the relationship between white and non-white people which was widespread throughout the West in Kipling's (and Sienkiewicz's) time. It was based on “the culturally sanctioned habit of deploying large generalizations by which reality is divided into various collectives: languages, races, types, colors, mentalities, each category being not so much a neutral designation as an evaluative interpretation” (Said, 1978/2003, p.227). Such generalizations were then grouped according to “the rigidly binomial opposition of ‘ours’ and ‘theirs,’ with the former always encroaching upon the latter” (Said, 1978/2003, p.227). Since this type of discourse constantly represented “ours” as superior to “theirs”, it put the West in a position of power and ultimately provided a justification for colonial rule. As Said (1978/2003) puts it:

Every single empire in its official discourse has said [...] that it has a mission to enlighten, civilize, bring order and democracy, and that it uses force only as a last resort. And, sadder still, there always is a chorus of willing intellectuals to say calming words about benign or altruistic empires, as if one shouldn't trust the evidence of one's eyes watching the destruction [...] brought by the latest *mission civilizatrice*. (p.xvi)

What are the similarities between Kipling's poem and the novel *In Desert and Wilderness*? First of all, Sienkiewicz's novel seems to be fundamentally biased in favour of European powers or, to be more specific, the British Empire. Africa is depicted as “a land of tears and blood” (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.11)¹ where innocent people suffer due to constant tribal wars, as well as Arab slave and ivory trade. From this perspective, the British arrival is actually beneficial for the African people because the British established peace and order. Thus, they “did not deprive anybody of his liberty [...] but restored it to hundreds of thousands and perhaps even to millions of people” (Sienkiewicz,

¹ All the quotations from the Polish original were translated into English by the author of the article.

1911/2005, p.11). According to Sienkiewicz's novel, any other possible understanding of Europe's involvement in Africa does not really come into question.

Secondly, Sienkiewicz's novel negatively represents the Mahdi and his supporters. The Mahdi is portrayed as "a plunderer and a murderer of so many thousands of people" (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.95) who gained a following by falsely claiming that the British are a danger to Islam. His followers are called "barbarians", "wild and foolish people", "villains and murderers", "savage hordes intoxicated with blood", "outraged savages" etc. (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.10, 36, 71, 79, 88). In addition, they are compared to wild animals multiple times (e.g. Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.89) and their camp is described as "a hell on earth" (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.91). Taking all this into account, the Mahdi's rebellion becomes just an attempt to take back control from the British and make Africa "a land of tears and blood" once again.

The negative representations do not end there. Sienkiewicz's novel also passes judgements on African people in general, no matter if they support the Mahdi's cause or not. On the one hand, Arabs are depicted as careless, greedy and too loud, they are masters of lying, they live in an unhealthy way etc. (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.15, 26, 43, 62, 74). On the other hand, black people are described as lazy, unreasonable and cruel, they resemble animals, they are "children who forget what happened yesterday" etc. (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.132, 194, 241, 243, 266).

Finally, Sienkiewicz's novel emphasizes that it is not enough to just exert control over African territories. If Europeans really want to bring progress to Africa, they have to change the "savage nature" of its inhabitants by introducing them to the European culture, i.e. by civilizing and Christianizing them. The protagonist Staś does exactly that. At one point, he rescues a black boy named Kali who was enslaved by the Mahdi's supporters. Kali then starts serving him and Nel and helps them get to safety. Meanwhile, Staś converts Kali to Christianity and teaches him about European manners. In the last part of the novel, he urges him to start thinking like a white man and to show his tribe how to adopt the same mindset:

The Wahimas [Kali's tribe] have black brains but your brain should be white. [...] They are like jackals and like hyenas – make people of them. [...] God will bless you for this and [...] [Nel] will not say that Kali is a savage, stupid and bad black man. (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, pp.243-244).

A while later, Staś reveals his long-term plans for Kali:

[I]n Egypt and even in England, Kali will be nothing more than a servant, whereas assuming authority over his nation, he, as the king, will spread and consolidate Christianity, soften the savage customs of the Wahimas and make of them not only civilized but also good people. (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, pp.273-274).

According to the protagonist, non-Europeans cannot be equal to Europeans but they can still stand out among their people if they learn and follow the European norms. Interestingly, Kali does not have any doubts about Staś's beliefs and willingly accepts them as self-evident facts. He even says to Staś: "Kali be the king of the Wahimas and the great master [Staś] be Kali's king" (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.243).

Statements similar to those quoted above appear throughout Sienkiewicz's novel. They are made by almost every European character in the story, as well as by the narrator. Moreover, their opinions were shared by Sienkiewicz himself, as evidenced by the collection of non-literary texts titled *Letters from Africa* (*Listy z Afryki*, 1892) which is based on the writer's own experiences during his stay in Africa (see Kowalska, 2018). In the novel, however, the claims by the European characters and the narrator are not only repeated but they are also never truly disputed. The ending of the story even "proves" that they were correct all along.

At the very end of the novel, Staś and Nel, now a happily married couple living in Europe, decide to revisit Africa ten years after their adventures. During the trip, they are pleased to find out that the situation has changed for the better because the British defeated the Mahdi, as well as expanded and strengthened their influence on Africa. Furthermore, Kali managed to fulfil Staś's plans: "Here Staś learned that Kali enjoys good health, that he rules under the English protectorate the entire region south of Lake Rudolf and that he introduced missionaries who are spreading Christianity among the local savage tribes" (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.279). Apparently, everything ends well not only for Staś and Nel but also for African people. This ending, however, seems to be a clear justification of the Scramble for Africa – African people are in a good place as soon as Europeans change their "land of tears and blood" into a colonized land.

4 CORPUS AND METHOD

The focus of the analysis, presented in this and the following sections of the article, was the novel *In Desert and Wilderness* in the Slovenian language. First of all, the most exhaustive Slovenian online bibliographic system COBISS (<https://www.cobiss.si/>) was checked for all Slovenian editions of Sienkiewicz's novel and then a corpus of texts was put together. It became clear that Slovenia, in comparison to other countries, is no exception as far as Sienkiewicz's popularity is concerned. Sienkiewicz is the most translated Polish author in Slovenia to date. Furthermore, his novel *In Desert and Wilderness* is arguably the most widely read Polish literary work among Slovenian readers, since it was published in Slovenian more times than any other Polish book.²

² The last two claims are supported by statistical data on Slovenian translations of Polish literature from 1865 (i.e. the year when the first translation in book form was published) to 2018. The data were collected and analyzed by the author of the article for the purpose of his upcoming PhD thesis.

In Desert and Wilderness was translated into Slovenian twice – once before World War II and once in the post-war period. However, there is a total of thirteen Slovenian editions of Sienkiewicz's novel. The first translation appeared during the last decade of the Austro-Hungarian rule in Slovenia and only one year after the publication of the original. The novel was translated by Leopold Lenard (1876-1962), a Catholic priest, journalist and translator from Polish and Russian (Moder, 1985, p.168). His translation was published in 1911 by Katoliška bukvarna (the "Catholic Bookstore") which was one of the most prominent Catholic publishing houses in Slovenia at the time (Dovič, 2007, p.201). In the interwar period, when Slovenia was part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), Lenard revised his translation in collaboration with Ivan Vouk (1886-1929), a teacher, writer and translator from Russian, Polish, German and Serbo-Croatian (Moder, 1985, pp.344-345). Their work was published in 1931 by Jugoslovanska knjigarna (the "Yugoslav Bookstore") established after World War I as successor to Katoliška bukvarna (Dovič, 2007, p.201).

Following World War II, Slovenia joined the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. At that time, Sienkiewicz's novel was retranslated by France Vodnik (1903-1986), a well-known Catholic poet, critic, essayist and translator from German and Polish (Moder, 1985, pp.341-342). The retranslation was published in 1952 by the state-owned publishing house Mladinska knjiga (the "Juvenile Book") which was established in 1945 and specialized in literature for younger audiences but later expanded its activities and became the largest Slovenian publisher (Kocijančič Pokorn, 2012, pp.28-29). In the subsequent decades, Vodnik's translation was reprinted eight times (in 1964, 1968, 1970, 1974, 1975, 1978, 1980 and 1982). These editions were published by Mladinska knjiga, except for the editions from 1970 and 1975 which were published by another major state-owned publishing house Državna založba Slovenije (the "National Publishing House of Slovenia") (Kocijančič Pokorn, 2012, pp.28-29).

After Slovenia became an independent state in 1991, the last two editions of Sienkiewicz's novel were released. The first one is a reprint of Vodnik's translation published in 1994 by Mladinska knjiga. The second one is a graphic novel adaptation published in 2006 by the media house Delo (the "Labour"). It is based on Vodnik's translation and illustrated by the famous Slovenian comics artist Miki Muster. To fit the graphic novel format, however, Vodnik's translation was abridged to such an extent that the adaptation could not be compared to the Polish original and it was therefore excluded from further research.

After the corpus of texts was put together, a differential analysis of the source and target texts was carried out, focusing on potentially relevant passages based on extra-textual knowledge (see van Doorslaer, 1995). These passages were organized into three groups. The first two covered the passages concerning colonial ideology: one included the passages that endorse European colonization of Africa (e.g. Staś attempts to civilize and

Christianize Kali, the narrator praises the British rule in Africa etc.), while the other contained the passages that negatively represent African people (e.g. Staś states that Arabs are corrupt, the narrator compares black people to animals etc.). Since the majority of target texts were published in the socialist period, characterized by the censorship of Christian elements in translations (see Kocijančič Pokorn, 2012), the third group consisted of the passages in which Christianity appears outside the colonial context (the passages in which it appears as part of colonial ideology were put in the first group). The passages in this group were further divided into three subgroups: (a) Christian expressions and statements on religious topics (e.g. “Thank God!”), (b) Christian prayers (e.g. Staś prays to Virgin Mary), (c) other Christian elements (e.g. the narrator briefly mentions that the Mahdi’s forces captured many Christians or that Staś and Nel celebrated Christmas). In these cases, Christian elements are thus mostly connected to the personal religious beliefs of the European characters in the novel rather than used as a means of colonization.

To sum up, a total of 185 passages were analysed:

1. the passages that endorse European colonization of Africa (16 passages)
2. the passages that negatively represent African people (87 passages)
3. the passages in which Christian elements appear outside the colonial context (82 passages)
 - 3.1 Christian expressions and statements on religious topics (44 passages)
 - 3.2 Christian prayers (8 passages)
 - 3.3 other Christian elements (30 passages)

In order to better understand the results of the textual analysis, the last stage of the research drew attention to the paratexts of the translations in question (see Genette, 1987/1997) and to the Slovenian reception of Sienkiewicz’s works, as well as to the studies dealing with the history of Slovenia in the 19th and 20th century.

5 RESULTS

5.1 Slovenian Editions of Sienkiewicz’s Novel Before World War II

When comparing the first Slovenian translation of the novel *In Desert and Wilderness* to the Polish original, it was found that the translation contains no deliberate textual manipulations. The translator Leopold Lenard retained all the pro-colonial and Christian elements of the source text. The same can be said about the revised edition of Lenard’s translation. The analysis showed that his translation was revised due to linguistic and stylistic reasons. In order to improve readability of the target text, some out-of-date expressions, stylistically awkward turns of phrase and small semantic errors were corrected. All in all, none of the first two Slovenian editions of Sienkiewicz’s novel attempted to ideologically change the meaning of the source text in any way.

5.2 Slovenian Editions of Sienkiewicz's Novel After World War II

In comparison to the editions published before World War II, the majority of the post-war editions – but not all of them – reveal a different approach to translating Sienkiewicz's novel. As mentioned before, France Vodnik retranslated the novel soon after the war. His translation was first published in the 1950s and was then reprinted multiple times in the subsequent years. However, the analysis showed that none of the reprints are based on the initial version of Vodnik's translation, although they do not provide this piece of information. As it turned out, there are actually three different versions of Vodnik's translation: the first one was used in the 1952 edition, the second one in the editions from 1964, 1968, 1974, 1978, 1980, 1982 and 1994 and the third one in the editions from 1970 and 1975.

The most noticeable difference between these three versions is the number of textual manipulations. The first version is by far the most manipulated among all the target texts examined. While the passages depicting African people in a negative way were translated without any interventions, this is not the case when it comes to the passages advocating colonization, as well as the passages in which Christian elements appear outside the colonial context.

On the one hand, 7 out of 16 passages on colonization were tampered with. These passages have one thing in common: all of them, at least in part, concern the Christianization of African people. They range from a few sentences to several paragraphs and, in some cases, also describe other aspects of colonization. However, the translation targeted nothing but the references to Christianization which were either omitted or replaced with secular elements of colonial ideology (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, pp.195-196, 202, 204-205, 217, 243-244, 273-274, 279; Sienkiewicz, 1952, pp.282, 291, 294, 311, 348-349, 389, 398). Due to limited space, only three shorter examples will be quoted here.³

- (1) – Naprzód, Kali i Mea są poganami, a Nasibu, jako Zanzibarczyk, mahometaninem. Trzeba ich więc oświecić, nauczyć wiary i ochrzcić. Po wtóre, trzeba nawędzić mięsa na przyszłą podróż [...]. (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.202)

Translation: “Firstly, **Kali and Mea are pagans, and Nasibu, as a native of Zanzibar, is a Mohammedan. It is therefore necessary to enlighten them, teach them the faith and baptize them.** Secondly, it is necessary to dry the meat for the future journey [...].”

³ Each example consists of: (a) the passage from the source text, (b) the translation of the passage from the source text into English by the author of the article, (c) the corresponding passage from the target text, (d) the translation of the corresponding passage from the target text into English by the author of the article. The parts of the source text that were omitted or replaced are indicated in bold.

»Prvič, treba bo nasušiti mesa za nadaljnje potovanje [...]« (Sienkiewicz, 1952, p.291)

Translation: “Firstly, it will be necessary to dry the meat for the future journey [...].”

- (2) [W] Egipcie, a nawet i w Anglii, Kali nie będzie niczym więcej, tylko sługą, podczas gdy objąwszy panowanie nad swym narodem rozszerzy i utwierdzi, jako król, chrześcijaństwo, złagodzi dzikie obyczaje Wa-himów i uczyni z nich nie tylko ucywilizowanych, ale i dobrych ludzi. (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, pp.273-274)

Translation: [I]n Egypt and even in England, Kali will be nothing more than a servant, whereas assuming authority over his nation, he, as the king, will **spread and consolidate Christianity**, soften the savage customs of the Wahimas and make of them not only civilized but also good people.

V Egiptu ali celo na Angleškem [...] bo Kali samo služabnik, če pa prevzame vlado nad svojim ljudstvom, bo kot kralj oblažil divje običaje Vahimov in napravil iz njih ne samo omikane, marveč tudi dobre ljudi. (Sienkiewicz, 1952, p.389)

Translation: In Egypt or even in England, [...] Kali will be only a servant but if he assumes authority over his people, he, as the king, will soften the savage customs of the Wahimas and make of them not only civilized but also good people.

- (3) Staś dowiedział się na miejscu, że Kali cieszy się dobrym zdrowiem, że włada, pod protektoratem angielskim, całą krainą na południe od Jeziora Rudolfa i że sprowadził misjonarzy, którzy szerzą wśród dzikich miejscowych szczepów chrześcijaństwo. (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.279)

Translation: Here Staś learned that Kali enjoys good health, that he rules under the English protectorate the entire region south of Lake Rudolf and that he **introduced missionaries who are spreading Christianity** among the local savage tribes.

Tu je Stanko izvedel, da je Kali pri dobrem zdravju, da vlada pod angleškim pokroviteljstvom vsej pokrajini južno od Rudolfovega jezera in da vneto širi omiko med tamkajšnjimi divjaškimi rodovi. (Sienkiewicz, 1952, p.398)

Translation: Here Stanko learned that Kali enjoys good health, that he rules under the English patronage the entire region south of Lake Rudolf and that he eagerly spreads civilized customs among the local savage tribes.

On the other hand, 33 out of 82 Christian elements that are not connected to Christianization were manipulated. More specifically, 20 out of 44 Christian expressions and statements on religious topics were eliminated or substituted with similar but non-Christian expressions (e.g. Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.34, 100, 105; Sienkiewicz, 1952,

p.49, 144, 151). The same applies to all the Christian prayers (e.g. Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.46, 178, 265; Sienkiewicz, 1952, p.66, 256, 379). Lastly, 5 out of 30 references to Christianity, not included in the first two subgroups, were replaced by secular elements (e.g. Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.8, 93, 100; Sienkiewicz, 1952, p.12, 133, 143). Here are a few examples:

(4) – Niech ją Bóg błogosławi [...]. (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.34)

Translation: “**God bless** her [...].”

»Dosti sreče ji želim [...].« (Sienkiewicz, 1952, p.49)

Translation: “I wish her lots of luck [...].”

(5) [U]sta poruszały się żarliwą modlitwą. Ostatnie tchnienie, a w nim duszę całą wysyłał ku Bogu. (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.265)

Translation: [H]is lips were moving in a passionate **prayer**. In his last breath, he **was sending his entire soul to God**.

[U]stnice so se mu pregibale v goreči prošnji. Zadnji vzdihljaj, a v njem se je ves predal usodi. (Sienkiewicz, 1952, p.379)

Translation: [H]is lips were moving in a passionate plea. In his last breath, he completely accepted his fate.

(6) A dzielny chłopak, nieodrodny potomek obrońców chrześcijaństwa, [...] stał z podniesioną głową czekając wyroku. (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.100)

Translation: But the brave boy, a true descendant of **the defenders of Christianity**, [...] stood with upraised head waiting for the verdict.

A pogumni deček, vredni potomec svojih prednikov, [...] je stal z glavo pokonci in čakal sodbe. (Sienkiewicz, 1952, p.143)

Translation: But the brave boy, a worthy descendant of his ancestors, [...] stood with upraised head and waited for the verdict.

The second version of Vodnik’s translation is still manipulated but not as radically as the first one. As far as the passages endorsing colonial ideology are concerned, the analysis found no significant differences between the two versions (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, pp.195-196, 202, 204-205, 217, 243-244, 273-274, 279; Sienkiewicz, 1952, pp.282, 291, 294, 311, 348-349, 389, 398; Sienkiewicz, 1964, pp.233, 241, 243, 257, 288-289, 322, 329). Nevertheless, the second version reintroduced the majority of Christian elements that are not part of colonial ideology. There are only eight exceptions: one Christian expression was left out and one was substituted with a non-Christian expression (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.105, 199; Sienkiewicz, 1964, p.124, 237), five Christian prayers were omitted or abridged (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, pp.46, 178, 210, 259-260, 275; Sienkiewicz, 1964, p.54, 212, 248, 307, 324) and one brief mention of Christianity was replaced by a word without religious connotations (Sienkiewicz, 1911/2005, p.100; Sienkiewicz, 1964, p.118).

Finally, the third version of Vodnik's translation employed the same strategy as Lenard's pre-war translation. It closely followed the source text and conveyed its meaning. Therefore, this version reintroduced all the previously censored passages of Sienkiewicz's novel.

To summarize, 8 out of 12 Slovenian editions of the novel *In Desert and Wilderness* (excluding the graphic novel adaptation from 2006) were textually manipulated. While the editions before World War II do not contain any ideological manipulations, the same is true just for 2 out of 10 editions published after the war. In all the manipulated editions, most of the passages concerning colonial ideology were not changed or attenuated, except for the passages referring to the Christianization of African people which were consistently omitted or replaced. However, when it comes to the Christian elements that appear outside the colonial context, the degree of intervention subdues in time: while the 1952 edition censored 40% of these elements, the subsequent editions did so in 10% of the cases.

6 DISCUSSION

6.1 Slovenian Editions of Sienkiewicz's Novel Before World War II

Why did the first Slovenian translation of Sienkiewicz's novel and its revised edition follow the source text so closely? To address this question, attention will be turned to the situation in Slovenia from the second half of the 19th century to the beginning of World War II.

Generally speaking, colonial expansion in Africa was not a significant topic of public discussions in Slovenia before World War II. Slovenians, as members of a small nation under Austro-Hungarian rule, were struggling for self-government and were entertaining the idea of a common South Slavic state (Pančur, 2005). This idea came true after the collapse of Austria-Hungary and the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918. Nevertheless, the changed circumstances brought new challenges. For example, Serbia soon started to take control of the newly established kingdom and posed a serious threat to Slovenia's autonomy (Perovšek, 2005). In short, Slovenian politics and society were occupied with local rather than with global issues.

Although Slovenia was not a major player on the international stage, the news on Africa still occasionally reached the Slovenian public. The newspapers covering this topic based their reporting on the information supplied by the colonial powers. Therefore, they simply reproduced the predominant discourse on the relationship between Europe and Africa (Zajc in Polajnar, 2012, p.75). For instance, one of the news reports from that time reads:

In Africa, a company of savage and pagan black people suddenly attacked the Republic of Liberia, cut down 350 people and then roasted and devoured them. What a terrible deed! The word is England wants to put an end to that. (as cited in Zajc in Polajnar, 2012, p.78)

Furthermore, several journalists expressed their dissatisfaction with Slovenian politicians by comparing them to uncivilized black people or by dismissing their efforts as “the washing of black people”, i.e. an expression with a similar meaning as the idiom “Sisyphean task” (Zajc in Polajnar, 2012, p.79). Last but not least, some articles were more sympathetic towards African people and even criticized the negative consequences of colonial rule but at the same time made it clear that African population is inferior and incapable of self-government (Trupej, 2014, p.91).

As far as Christianity is concerned, 97% of Slovenians in the pre-World War II period declared themselves to be Catholic and supported the Catholic Church. At that time, the Catholic Church had the status of a state church, Catholic political parties enjoyed high approval, confessional religious education was a part of the school curriculum and there were many emerging Catholic publishing houses, newspapers and cultural societies. Religion thus had a strong presence in Slovenian society and influenced all spheres of public life (Črnič, Komel, Smrke, Šabec, & Vovk, 2013, pp.208-210, 213-214).

Taking all that into account, the Slovenian response to Sienkiewicz’s works comes as no surprise. As a writer favourably depicting Slavic history, raising national consciousness and promoting Christian tradition, Sienkiewicz was by no means a controversial author (see Hladnik, 2009, pp.261-268). On the contrary, the majority of his works were translated shortly after they were published in Poland because their message strongly resonated with the Slovenian audience (see, e.g., Stroj, 1894; Godec, 1901; Zbašnik, 1903). To quote one of the critics:

We hope that the novel [*With Fire and Sword*] will ennoble the readers, since it depicts many good, exemplary characters; it shows patriots how to put homeland’s interests ahead of those of their own and it shows writers how to make good use of their religious belief and religious consciousness in their works. (Stroj, 1894, p.223).

Therefore, the first Slovenian translation of the novel *In Desert and Wilderness* and its revised edition followed the original wording closely because the translator, the publisher and the target audience of the novel were all Catholics who shared Sienkiewicz’s beliefs and the beliefs of his European characters. Furthermore, Slovenians were most likely indifferent to or agreed with the novel’s endorsement of colonial ideology, since such endorsement was typical for literary and non-literary texts at the time and was generally acceptable throughout Europe (see Said, 1978/2003). However, the target culture was, much like the source culture, not particularly concerned with the issue of colonialism – the focus was on Sienkiewicz’s entertaining storytelling, as well as on the didactic aspects of his novel and their positive impact on young adults. One of the proofs is the article by

the translator Leopold Lenard published in the Catholic literary journal *Dom in svet* (“Home and World”). In the article, Lenard (1917) offers his interpretation of Sienkiewicz’s novel which reveals how the Polish writer was perceived in the pre-war Slovenia: “*In Desert and Wilderness* is without a doubt one of the best novels among those that aim to foster a chivalrous and fighting spirit in young people and to educate them on the nationalist⁴ programme” (p.69).

6.2 Slovenian Editions of Sienkiewicz’s Novel After World War II

Why did the majority of Slovenian post-war editions treat the novel *In Desert and Wilderness* differently than the pre-war editions? Simply put, a difference in approach was a consequence of Slovenia’s joining the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia leading to the transformation of its political system. This claim will be further explored in the following paragraphs.

There are three characteristics of socialist Yugoslavia deserving special attention. Firstly, the President of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito played a key role in the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961. The Non-Aligned Movement was formed as an organization of states that did not want to be aligned with or against the Western and the Eastern Bloc during the Cold War. Apart from Yugoslavia, numerous African, Asian and Latin American countries joined the organization. Among other things, the member states fundamentally rejected imperialism, (neo-)colonialism and racism (Režek, 2005a). This aspect of Yugoslav politics also had an impact on the situation in Slovenia. To take one example, the pre-war colonial discourse completely disappeared from Slovenian newspapers. Instead, the press began to condemn racial discrimination and capitalist exploitation of non-Western countries (Trupej, 2014, pp.91-92).

Secondly, the post-war regime was strongly opposed to religion of any kind. Before the Tito-Stalin split in 1948 caused by Tito’s refusal to make Yugoslavia a Soviet satellite state, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia modelled its policies on those of the Soviet Union, as well as adopted the Soviet anti-clerical ideology. In Slovenia, the main target of the Party was the Catholic Church. The Church was regarded as a reactionary organization which could use its power to turn Slovenians against the socialist rule. Moreover, Christianity was seen as an unscientific delusion which had to be removed from public and political life because it obstructed the progress of society. Therefore, the government put emphasis on secularization, introduced the separation of church and state, confiscated some church lands, surveilled the clergy and imprisoned many priests, restricted religious activities, persecuted those wishing to openly express their faith, abolished confessional religious education in public schools and closed down all but one Catholic publishing house. The most serious attempts to minimize the presence of religion

⁴ Back when Lenard’s text was written, the adjective “nationalist” did not have a negative connotation it has today.

in society were made in the first years after World War II. From 1960s onwards, however, the Party gradually became more tolerant towards the Church (Gabrič, 2005; Režek, 2005b, 2005c).

Thirdly, all Yugoslav republics more or less strictly controlled publishing activity, even though no official censor's office was established. The strongest political and ideological pressure on publishing was exerted during the early post-war years, when this field was covered by Agitprop (i.e. the Department for Agitation and Propaganda) whose goal was to educate people on how to become model socialist citizens. After the dissolution of Agitprop in 1952, the pressure was alleviated but various committees continued to monitor publishing activity. In addition, the general managers, the general editors and the chairpersons of the publishing councils of all major publishing houses were the members of the Communist Party. They kept a close eye on publishing programs, especially if they included works for younger audiences, since the Party believed that the secular upbringing of young people is of essential importance for the development of socialist society (Kocijančič Pokorn, 2012, pp.26-27, 143-147).

The information in the paragraphs above can greatly contribute to the understanding of the post-war editions of the novel *In Desert and Wilderness*. Judging by the number of these editions, Sienkiewicz's novel was even more popular in socialist Slovenia than it had been in the pre-war period. There was only one problem: from the point of view of the socialist regime, the novel's ideological framework and religious elements were no longer acceptable, especially because the novel was primarily intended for younger readers. Therefore, a new translation had to be commissioned in order to protect them from harmful influences.

The analysis of all three versions of Vodnik's retranslation yielded both expected and unexpected results. On the one hand, it is quite surprising that none of Vodnik's versions tried to "correct" Sienkiewicz's colonial discourse (with the exception of the pro-colonial passages focusing on Christianization). However, this does not mean that the endorsement of colonial expansion and the negative representations of African people were not considered disturbing. As a matter of fact, these topics were critically addressed in the afterwords.

The editions from 1964, 1968 and 1980 include the afterword by France Vodnik, while the editions from 1974, 1978, 1982 and 1994 contain the afterword by the journalist, editor and translator Iztok Ilich. In his text, Vodnik positively evaluates Sienkiewicz's writing but mentions that his novel glorifies the British. He argues that such glorification is "understandable only in the context of the period, in which the action of the novel takes place, and is today obsolete" (Vodnik, 1964, p.344). Compared to Vodnik, Ilich dedicates less space to praise and more space to criticise Sienkiewicz's novel. According to him, Sienkiewicz formed his opinion on the Mahdist War by listening to nothing but the British

side of the story. His depiction of African people as “savages”, as well as his portrayal of British colonizers as “liberators” and “bringers of progress” are, in Ilich’s view, biased. Like Vodnik, Ilich finally pleads for tolerance towards Sienkiewicz’s novel. After all, the Polish writer was “just a man of his time” (Ilich, 1974, p.162).

All in all, it seems that Sienkiewicz’s pro-colonial standpoint was seen as problematic in socialist Slovenia but not so problematic that it would need to be textually suppressed. It did not prompt any manipulative translation strategy – it was apparently enough that it was dealt with in the afterwords. This situation can be attributed to the fact that Slovenia never was a colonial power. Sienkiewicz’s treatment of colonial issues was thus most probably perceived as “too exotic” to be truly detrimental to the development of young Slovenian readers.

On the other hand, the findings on the absence of Christian elements in the post-war editions of Sienkiewicz’s novel are more predictable. The first and the second version of Vodnik’s translation clearly reflect the socialist regime’s changing attitude towards religion. Since the first version came out in the period of Agitprop, it is not surprising that this version most severely attenuated Christian elements. Although several brief mentions of Christianity remain in the target text, the European characters are not permitted to openly express their religious beliefs, let alone to spread them among African people. In contrast, the second version appeared for the first time in the 1960s, when the Communist Party took a softer stance on religious sentiment. As a result, Sienkiewicz’s characters are allowed to be Christians but they are still prohibited from praying and converting non-Christians.

The first and the second version, to a greater or lesser extent, changed the meaning of the source text due to the incompatibility of socialist ideology and religion. They omitted or replaced the most explicit Christian references, regardless of whether these references were part of colonial ideology or not. In both versions, Sienkiewicz’s characters can make condescending comments on African people and impose European culture on them as long as they do not bring up God. The present case study thus confirms the previous findings on the translations of literature for younger audiences published in Yugoslavia: the top priority of the socialist translation practice was, at least to some degree, to purge the target texts of Christianity (Kocijančič Pokorn, 2012, pp.139-140).

At first glance, it looks like the third version of Vodnik’s translation from the 1970s disproves the claim above – it was not textually manipulated, even though the circumstances in the 1970s were not drastically different from those in the 1960s. As opposed to the other versions, however, the third version appears in the only two post-war editions that do not target a juvenile public. These editions are part of the series *The Selected Works of Henryk Sienkiewicz* intended for an adult readership (for example, the series also includes Sienkiewicz’s most famous historical novels such as *With Fire and*

Sword and Quo Vadis). While religious elements in translated texts for children and young adults were usually ideologically changed in the socialist period, works for adults were in most cases not subject to manipulative translation strategies (Kocijančič Pokorn, 2012, pp.140-141). To quote a statement made at one of the meetings of the Slovenian Communist Party: “Religion is the main question for the Association of Slovene Youth, we won’t succeed much with the older generation, except within the Party” (as cited in Kocijančič Pokorn, 2012, p.155).

The last question, waiting to be answered here, goes as follows: Who is responsible for textual manipulations in the post-war editions of the novel *In Desert and Wilderness*? As mentioned before, the translator France Vodnik was a Catholic, so it is highly unlikely that he willingly tampered with the Christian passages of the Polish original. Fortunately, the 1952 edition gives a clue to this issue: the last page of the book contains a piece of information that Vodnik’s translation was adapted by the editorial board of the publishing house Mladinska knjiga (Sienkiewicz, 1952, p.410). For this reason, it might be assumed that the third version of Vodnik’s translation, i.e. the only uncensored one, existed as early as the 1950s but it was then altered in accordance with the socialist principles. It is also very probable that the editors used the same tactic when subsequent editions were prepared for publication. However, it has to be noted that Mladinska knjiga reprinted the ideologically manipulated translation of Sienkiewicz’s novel even after the breakup of Yugoslavia. In this instance, there is a good chance that the new editors were simply not aware of the editorial decisions made in socialist Slovenia.

To end this section, a somewhat unconventional remark will be made. Ideologically changed socialist translations are rightfully considered to be ethically questionable because they misrepresent the authors of the originals and mislead the readers (Kocijančič Pokorn, 2012, p.157). However, the manipulated post-war editions of Sienkiewicz’s novel can be also looked at from a different point of view. It may be argued that the editors, who adapted Vodnik’s translation in order to adhere to the anti-religious position of the socialist regime, inadvertently did religion “a favour”. By eliminating all the references to Christianization from the target text, they actually concealed the fact that Christianity was used by European powers to establish colonial rule in Africa. Since Yugoslavia, as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, officially rejected colonialism, it is possible to speculate that an uncensored translation of Sienkiewicz’s novel, accompanied by a preface or an afterword, could serve to shed a negative light on Christianity and to consequently influence the opinion of young Slovenians on religion. In any case, it cannot be denied that the censored versions of Vodnik’s translation still fully comply with the words by the influential member of the Slovenian Communist Party Ivan Maček: “The ideological struggle against religious prejudice shall be long and harsh” (as cited in Kocijančič Pokorn, 2012, p.141).

7 CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of twelve Slovenian editions of the novel *In Desert and Wilderness*, dealing with the strategies used to translate potentially disturbing pro-colonial and Christian elements of the Polish original, showed that there is a substantial difference between the editions published before World War II and those published after the war. While both pre-war editions closely followed the source text, 8 out of 10 post-war editions were textually manipulated. This difference reflects the changing ideology of the target culture which determined the acceptability of Sienkiewicz's novel at a particular time and consequently influenced the decisions made by translators, editors and publishers.

On the one hand, the pre-war editions did not ideologically change the source text simply because there was no reason for adopting such an approach – at that time, colonial discourse was widespread in all European countries and the Catholic Church had a very strong presence in the Slovenian society. Therefore, neither Sienkiewicz nor any aspect of his novel were considered to be controversial. Moreover, the Polish writer was highly regarded by Slovenian public for his religious and patriotic beliefs and *In Desert and Wilderness* was praised for its great didactic value.

On the other hand, the post-war period brought drastic changes as Slovenia became part of socialist Yugoslavia. The new regime condemned colonialism, took a negative attitude towards religion and began to monitor publishing activity, especially the publication of works for younger audiences. Although Sienkiewicz's novel was extremely popular among the Slovenian youth, it was irreconcilable with socialist ideology and had to be retranslated. However, it was not the translator but the editors who adapted the target text in accordance with the views of the ruling Communist Party. As a result of their editorial decisions, three different versions of the retranslation appeared in print.

Interestingly, all three versions conveyed the pro-colonial elements of the source text, excluding the passages describing Christianization. As it turns out, the endorsement of European colonization of Africa and the negative representations of African people were challenged only in the afterwords.

When it comes to the Christian elements (i.e. to those that are part of colonial ideology, as well as to those that appear outside the colonial context), a different tactic was employed. The first version is by far the most heavily manipulated one because it came out in the early 1950s, when the Communist Party exerted the most direct pressure on all spheres of public life. In consequence, all the references to Christianization and 40% of other Christian elements were omitted or substituted. The second version, published in the 1960s and then reprinted six times, mostly followed the first one but it censored just 10% of Christian elements that are not connected to Christianization. This result can be explained by the fact that from the 1960s onwards the socialist regime became more

tolerant of religious sentiment. As opposed to the first two versions, the third version, published and reprinted in the 1970s, targets an adult public. Since translations for adults were, for the most part, not subject to textual manipulations, this version is the only one that is completely uncensored.

To conclude, the findings on post-war editions of Sienkiewicz's novel show that the editions intended for a juvenile public were more prone to ideological interventions in contrast to the editions for adult readers. In addition, it may be assumed that Sienkiewicz's colonial ideology – even though it was seen as problematic – was not regarded as a serious threat to socialist society, since Slovenia never took part in European colonial expansion. It seems that the focus was elsewhere: in the eyes of the ruling political elite, the biggest danger to the young people growing up in socialist Slovenia was apparently Christian religion.

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Section Three

Representations of Gender and The Flow of Events in *Pride And Prejudice* and a Recent Finnish Translation: Looking for translational norms

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ABSTRACT

The cultural context in which any text is written and published has an impact on that text; this is true for both original texts and translations. This preliminary study aims to reveal some connections between the cultural contexts and the language of a literary text and its translation. The method combines Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) and Toury's descriptive translation studies (Toury, 2012) to carry out a culturally relevant linguistic analysis. The analysis shows that various translational shifts have taken place that result in making the description of events more lively and acute in the translation. The portrayal of characters has changed in a manner that seems to be connected to gender: the female characters that were studied had been given a more active role, while the description of mental processes had been accentuated in the case of one male character.

KEY WORDS: systemic functional linguistics, literary translation, translational norms, process types

1 INTRODUCTION

All texts are created in their own temporal and spatial settings and will necessarily reflect those settings; according to Bassnett and Lefevere (1990), "There is always a context in which the translation takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed" (p.11). In this study, I examine some aspects of a literary text and its Finnish translation to reveal how the transfer from the 19th to the 21st century, and from one corner of Europe to another, have changed those aspects; the ultimate purpose of the study is to make explicit the role of cultural factors behind some linguistic choices made in the translation. At the same time, the study constitutes a test of how the selected

method, the systemic functional framework combined with Toury's descriptive method, serves to establish the principles of literary translation.

According to Kim and Matthiessen (2015), representational meaning, also called denotative or cognitive meaning, has been the subject of much research in translation studies. However, it is probably safe to assume that when grammatical categories have been referred to, these studies have relied on traditional grammar and its categories; these fit poorly together with the current trend of looking at language from a discourse analytical perspective. What is needed is a functional grammar such as Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL) that recognises the intricate connections between linguistic expressions and their context. Therefore, while this study focuses on representational meaning, here called the experiential metafunction, a functional grammar is used as the tool for analysis.

Focusing on functional categories of verbs as presented by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), I look at shifts in process types to find out how these have changed the way in which the flow of various processes, or the unfolding of events, is described. As different verb types cast the event participants in different roles, I also examine how the portrayal of male and female characters may have changed – how the participant roles ascribed to the characters build, sustain or change the identity of the characters in the source text and in the translation. Based on the answers to these questions, I then aim to formulate some *translational norms* (see Toury, 2012) that the translator has adopted, and consider possible cultural factors that have influenced them.

Toury (2012) describes the concept of *norm* as something that rises above social conventions, which he holds to be rather vague. Norms translate a community's values or ideas into instructions on what can or cannot be done in a specific situation. Such instructions are manifested as “regularities of behaviour in recurrent situations” (Toury, 2012, p.64). Similarly to any other kind of action, translation is also governed by norms that work at different stages of the translation act. The present study focuses on *operational norms* which guide the decisions that are made during translation:

Directly or indirectly they thus also govern the relationships that would obtain between target and source texts or segments thereof; i.e., they determine what would more likely remain intact despite the transformations involved in translation, and what would tend to get changed. (Toury, 2012, p.82.)

The present study aims to find out exactly that: what remains intact and what gets changed, and what are the norms that can be formed based on these observations.

According to Halliday (1978), in real-life discourse, language is not actually used based on rules such as those listed in traditional grammars, but rather based on choices made by the discourse participants. Language has developed to answer the needs of certain

functions, and should therefore also be examined with regard to these functions (Halliday, 1978). It has long been recognized that the use of language varies according to the social situation. Halliday's view on this variation is that the appropriate register for the situation is not something that is added on top of expressions of content. Instead, the register is “an essential element in the ability to mean” (Halliday, 1978, p.34). Meaning is thus constructed from the way in which things are said, not merely from some specific content element that could be separated from the manner in which it is expressed (Halliday, 1978). Furthermore, it may sometimes seem that an element of the semantic level could be expressed by more than one element of the linguistic system; that there would be synonymous alternatives to choose from (Halliday, 1978). In Halliday's (1978) view, however, in cases where such one-to-many relationship between the semantic and lexicogrammatical level would seem to exist, there usually is a distinction on the semantic level that has just not been detected yet. The idea that style and content are inseparable can be called monism, as opposed to dualism or separation of form and content (Leech & Short, 1981). Kuitunen (2008) states that many researchers have considered the separation of style and content impossible; in her own study of a literary translation, Kuitunen finds that the selected means of expression often play a crucial role in the construction of meanings in a text.

The systemic linguistic model thus brings out language as a tool of expression in a way that is extremely useful to a translator, whose task it is to convey meanings and to select the linguistic means for doing so. As for literary translation, we know that it is an art requiring much creativity of expression; this study provides a small glimpse of what this means from a functional linguistic perspective.

Linguistic studies of literary translation could be criticized for trying to quantify an unquantifiable process that belongs to the realm of art. On a similar note, I believe that all translators use their instincts in their work, and a literary translator must have particularly sharp instincts as to the use of language. Still, a translator's instincts have a firm basis in linguistic competence. It must follow that the increase of linguistic competence leads to even sharper instincts and better use of the linguistic tools available to the translator. Therefore, all translators benefit from a thorough knowledge of how language can be used to construct meaning, and the functional perspective to language is particularly useful for this purpose.

2 THE SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL FRAMEWORK

M.A.K. Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL) has been selected as the analytical framework for the present study. In SFL, languages are described as paradigmatic system networks, which means that users of language construct meaning by making choices from a list of possible grammatical or lexicographical items (Halliday &

Matthiessen, 2014). This choice of perspective makes systemic functional linguistics particularly well suited for examining translations, which are generally seen as a series of choices made by the translator (see e.g. Levý, 2000; Kim & Matthiessen, 2015).

SFL, as described in Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), sees language as an interplay of three lines of meaning, called metafunctions, which coexist in each clause: the textual, interpersonal and experiential metafunction. The textual metafunction builds up discourse by organizing the clause into a theme and a rheme, and the interpersonal metafunction deals with interaction between participants, allowing them to enact social relationships; this layer of meaning is built using the system of mood, which consists of a subject and a finite construction that includes a lexical verb and various finite elements (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The experiential metafunction constructs representations of the actual (or imagined) world, including participants, processes and circumstances, and is realized using the system of transitivity, in which the constituents of the clause are assigned functional roles (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The present analysis applies the system of transitivity with focus on process types and their related participant roles.

According to SFL, the English language has three major and three minor process types that are used to describe flows of events (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The major process types are material, mental and relational processes, complemented by the minor types of behavioural, verbal and existential processes; the three major process types are by far the most common (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) state that material clauses have been found to be the most frequent process type of the English language; in them, the verb indicates a process that is being done or happening, resulting in some kind of change. This process is often concrete, e.g. *The earthquake damaged the house*, but may also be abstract, such as *Our prospects were damaged by poor price development* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The most important participant in material clauses is the Actor, who is the logical subject of the clause, and typically coincides with the grammatical subject (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), mental clauses describe things that happen in a person's consciousness, such as *People annoy me*. They can be used to construe processes of emotion, cognition, perception or desiring; examples include, respectively, *like*, *think*, *notice* and *hope* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). As a participant, mental clauses have a Senser, who is characterised as a conscious creature that is able to have emotions or thoughts, for example; while the Senser is not always human or even animate, it always adopts this human-like characteristic (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

Relational clauses, which are the second most common clause type after material clauses, describe being and having, using verbs such as *be*, *become*, *seem* or *have* (Halliday &

Matthiessen, 2014). According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), these clauses are static by nature, and describe static location, possession or quality; in contrast, changes in any of these are expressed using material clauses. Relational clauses do not express being in the sense of existing, but as a relationship between two elements where, for example, something is or has something else (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The two main relationships that are expressed are class-membership (attributive relational clauses, with a Carrier of that attribute) and identity (identifying relational clauses, which have an Identified participant) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

In addition to the three major process types described above, the system of transitivity, as described by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), includes three minor process types: behavioural, verbal and existential processes. Behavioural processes represent physiological and psychological behaviour by a typically conscious Behaver, e.g. *She laughed out loud* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The Behaver must be a conscious being, which makes this category similar to mental processes, where a conscious Sayer was necessary; however, the behavioural process itself is more like a material process (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

The second minor process type in Halliday and Matthiessen's (2014) model, verbal processes, are most frequently used when presenting sequences of discourse, where they usually receive a human-like Sayer, e.g. *My aunt told us to shut up*. In English, they can also be used in a symbolic manner with a non-human Sayer, which makes them different from behavioural and mental processes (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). However, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) note that in many other languages, the Sayer is restricted to actual speakers and writers. In verbal clauses, the thing that is being said is presented by a separate clause and is thus not a participant of the verbal process, but there may be other participants present: a Receiver, a Verbiage or a Target (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The Receiver is the one to whom the thing is being said, while the Target is an entity towards which the saying is targeted; a Target can only be found with special kinds of lexical verbs such as accuse or praise, e.g. *He accused us of having stolen his book*, where *us* is the Target (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The Verbiage is a participant that describes what is being said, without actually quoting it (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

Finally, existential processes represent things that exist or happen, e.g. *There were a lot of kids at the playground* or *There was much going on*; their only participant is the Existent, which can be used to represent a wide variety of things that exist (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). In the English language, existential clauses typically contain the word *there*, which holds no actual position as either a participant or a circumstance in the system of transitivity (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

Kim and Matthiessen (2015) point out that "reliable and systematic analysis of texts in a particular language cannot be carried out until we have a relevant description of that

language” (p.342). For the purposes of the present study, however, the categories created for describing the English language were also used to describe the Finnish translation, as no satisfactory systemic-functional description of Finnish was found to exist; one such model proposed by Susanna Shore (2012) has been discussed in Korhonen (2017) but deemed unsuited for the purposes of the present analysis. No major problems were observed in applying Halliday’s categories into Finnish within the scope of this study. Halliday’s model has also been previously used in the analysis of Finnish texts, for example in Heikkinen’s (2000) study of the language of administration.

3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The data of the present study is selected from two texts, two works of literature, that at the same time constitute a source text and its translation: *Pride and Prejudice* (1813; a reprint from 1992 was used as the actual source for data) by Jane Austen and *Ylpeys ja ennakkoluulo* (2013), translated by Kersti Juva, a highly esteemed and experienced Finnish literary translator. The texts have been published 200 years apart, which means that their target audiences are not only found in different countries but are also separated by this temporal chasm. The sociocultural contexts in which each work has been produced and published are therefore vastly different, even though both can be said to belong to a Western, or European, cultural hemisphere.

From these two texts, I have selected three passages which describe a situation in which there exists a conflict of interests between the participants. The passages were selected firstly, because they contained ample dialogue, and secondly, because the conflict found in them was expected to result in an interesting variety of expression. The selected passages are the following:

1. From chapter 19, the passage that starts with “Believe me, my dear Elizabeth” and ends in “my proposals will not fail of being acceptable”.
2. From chapter 34, the passage that starts with “In vain have I struggled” and ends in “and accept my best wishes for your health and happiness”.
3. From chapter 56, the passage that starts with “You can be at no loss, Miss Bennet” and ends in “I am most seriously displeased”.

I examined how the characters had been portrayed via dialogue, and therefore excluded any narrator sequences from the selected passages. Although processes are often constructed using non-finite verb forms as well as finite ones, the present analysis only includes clauses that contain a finite transitivity construction (process verb + participants + circumstances) with character participants that have been identified in the clause. Clauses that do not fulfil this definition are only included when they constitute the other-

language counterpart of a clause that does contain a finite transitivity construction with identified character participants.

In total, the data comprised 389 Finnish and 348 English clauses which had a finite transitivity pattern with identified participants. From these clauses and their counterparts in the other language version, 417 coupled pairs were formed. In some of these, the counterpart was a non-finite or noun construction, a finite clause with no identified character participants, or null.

It is not always easy to locate the lexical item that expresses the process type of the clause. The process type is expressed by the verbal group of the clause – to be more precise, by the lexical verb within the verbal group. The wide structural variety found within the verb clause, however, often results in difficulties in establishing which of the verbs in the verbal group carries the actual process that the participants are involved in. Modal verbs, which operate at the level of interpersonal meaning in the systemic functional model of language, are relatively easy to exclude from the analysis. More difficulty is created by abstract verbs which are close to modal verbs in meaning and function and which combine with an infinitive verb form like they do, but which are not included in the very strictly limited category of modal verbs. Other complexities also appear; for a more detailed account of these, see Korhonen (2017).

The study was conducted following the method of Gideon Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies, as presented in Toury (2012). The translated excerpts were divided into segments and mapped on the source text to form coupled pairs. The segments were established as finite clauses that included a process verb and identified human participants involved in the process that was expressed by the process verb. Both language versions were analysed to find all such segments.

The source text segments and the target text segments were analysed to establish the process types used in them as well as the various participant roles found in each one. The analysis of participant roles was limited to four primary characters: Mr Collins, Elizabeth Bennet, Lady Catherine de Bourgh and Mr Darcy. In addition to explicit references using the name of the participant, also cases where the reference was ellipted or expressed in a more circumferential manner were included in this part of the analysis.

All in all, the complexity of language in a literary work such as *Pride and Prejudice* is such that points of dispute cannot be avoided in the analysis. A close scrutiny would probably reveal many problematic instances in the analysis of process types and participants in the present study. In many cases, two or more interpretations would have been possible. The inherently fuzzy nature of process type categories also leaves many cases open to interpretation; for example, is the Finnish verb *kehdata* a verb of behaviour or a mental verb? It has the meaning *to dare* (as in not being prevented by shame from doing something), but this is far from being the only interpretation of the verb.

4 DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENT PROCESS TYPES IN THE DATA

Before considering actual translation shifts, let us take a brief look at the distribution of process types in the data. In the Finnish data, material verbs are the most frequent verb type, while in the English data, relational verbs hold that position. The proportion of relational verbs is, in fact, the one in which the difference between the languages is the most prominent: relational verbs account for 23.1% of Finnish and 30.5% of English process verbs. In other categories, the differences are not as conspicuous. Mental and verbal verbs are fairly common in both language versions, and behavioural verbs remain a marginal group at best. Existential verbs are absent in both languages. Table 1 presents the quantities and proportions of all process types in both the source and the target text.

Table 1. Quantity and proportions of different process verbs found in the data.

Process type	Finnish data	English data
Material verbs	119 / 30.6%	102 / 29.3%
Mental verbs	96 / 24.7%	79 / 22.7%
Relational verbs	90 / 23.1%	106 / 30.5%
Behavioral verbs	11 / 2.8%	5 / 1.4%
Verbal verbs	73 / 18.8%	56 / 16.1%
Existential verbs	0 / 0%	0 / 0%
Total verbs	389 / 100%	348 / 100%

The characteristics of the process types that are used in the text help determine the overall tone of the text. Material verbs, for example, are dynamic by nature, and involve a change that takes place through some input of energy (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Even when describing abstract events, they make these events seem more active than would be the case if the same events were described using other process types. Relational verbs, on the other hand, are static by nature: they describe a state of things, presented as a fact of being or having (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The preference of relational verbs observed in the English source text would therefore indicate that the English text describes events as more static than its Finnish counterpart. The examples given in the next chapters of this article will help demonstrate this difference.

5 TRANSLATION SHIFTS

Analysis of the data showed that 29.9% of finite transitivity patterns had undergone a process type shift during translation (see Table 2). This means that in the majority of cases, the process type had remained unchanged. Of all process types, relational processes demonstrated the highest proportion of translation shifts (40.6%). They were therefore subjected to a closer examination with the aim of finding out the typical outcomes of these shifts, and the reasons behind such a high proportion. In this chapter, we look at

examples of relational processes and their translations and begin to consider the impact of the shifts on the description of events and the portrayal of characters.

Table 2. The quantity and proportion of clauses with and without a translation shift, presented by the source text’s clause type.

Type of ST clause	Shift	No shift	Total
Material clauses	30 / 29.4%	72 / 70.6%	102 / 100%
Mental clauses	19 / 24.1%	60 / 75.9%	79 / 100%
Relational clauses	43 / 40.6%	63 / 59.4%	106 / 100%
Behavioral clauses	1 / 20.0%	4 / 80.0%	5 / 100%
Verbal clauses	11 / 19.6%	45 / 80.4%	56 / 100%
Existential clauses	0	0	0 / 100%
Total	104 / 29.9%	244 / 70.1%	348 / 100%

When looking at which process types had replaced relational processes in the translation, it was found that in 39.5% of the cases, material clauses had been used. Mental processes were the second most frequently used process type (30.2%). Other process types as well as non-finite, noun and null counterparts were marginal at best.

Let us look at some examples of typical translation shift patterns for relational source text clauses. Following Gideon Toury’s descriptive method, I have given precedence to the target text in all examples.

- (1) Etenette hätiköidysti, [You are proceeding in a too hasty manner] / You are too hasty, sir,

In this example, Elizabeth Bennet uses a relational process to state that Mr Collins is currently demonstrating the characteristic of being too hasty. In the translation, however, she casts Mr Collins into the role of an Actor in the process of proceeding (in a hasty manner). The translation could have been a simple sentence such as *Nyt te hätiköitte* ‘Now you are rushing into things’, but the translator has added the lexical item *Etenette* ‘You are proceeding (in a too hasty manner)’, presumably to add a touch of formality to the clause.

Next, we will look at two examples where a relational process has been replaced with a mental one. Both of these can be used to express internal processes, e.g. *She’s happy* (relational *is*) or *She rejoices* (mental *rejoice*); for more examples, see Halliday and Matthiessen (2014). In the following example, Elizabeth Bennet is embarking on an attempt to refuse the proposal of Mr Collins:

- (2) Ymmärrän hyvin, mikä kunnia teidän kosintanne on, [I understand well what an honour your proposal is] / I am very sensible of the honour of your proposals,

Elizabeth's internal process of being aware of the honour of being proposed to is constructed as a relational process in the source text and as a mental process *Ymmärrän* "I understand" in the translation. This makes the description of her cognitive process more immediate in the translation. It can be assumed that the meaning will be easier for the reader to absorb.

In another example of a shift from relational to mental in the description of an internal process, Mr Darcy defends his desire for honesty when explaining his contradictory feelings towards marriage with Elizabeth:

- (3) Mutta minä kammoan kaikkinaista peittelyä. [But I abhor all sorts of disguising]
/ But disguise of every sort is my abhorrence.

In this case, the target structure is not only more straight-forward than the source text, but also decidedly less formal. Dictionaries give the Finnish translation *kammo* for the English *abhorrence*, but the latter is likely to be found only in texts of fairly formal register, while the former can be used in a wide variety of registers. The reduced formality and clear sentence structure result in a translation that is much easier to read than the source text.

From these examples, we see that shifts from relational constructions to other process types can give the text added clarity. They make the description more acute and give the reader a more immediate view into the character's thoughts, for example. It can also be presumed that the aim of the translator has often been to make the text more straight-forward, reducing complexity and making the story easier to read. These shifts also result in casting the participant into a more active role as the Actor or Senser of the process and could lead to important changes in how the reader perceives the character.

As the last case of shifted translations of relational processes, let us look at an example where the relational process has been replaced by a non-finite construction. While non-finite processes can be analysed for transitivity patterns just like finite processes, the tone they give to the text is so different, not being anchored in time and place as finite clauses are (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2014), that in the present study, they have been treated as a separate category.

In the book's first proposal scene with Mr Darcy, Elizabeth resorts to that final argument available when maximum impact must be achieved:

- (4) kun jo tiesin teidän olevan viimeinen mies maailmassa, jonka kukaan voisi suostutella minut ottamaan puolisoikseni. [before I knew your being the last man on earth whom anyone could ever persuade me to take as a spouse] / before I felt

that you were the last man in the world whom I could ever be prevailed on to marry.

The example begins by a shift from an emotive (*felt*) to a cognitive (*tiesin*, “I knew”) mental verb, but the shift that we are now examining is the one where the finite relational phrase *you were* turns into a non-finite relational construction *teidän olevan* “your being (the last man on earth)”. The shift from finite to non-finite results in some loss of directness and perhaps also some of the emphasis created by the finite form used in the source text. The shift could have been avoided by a direct translation *kun jo tunsin, että olitte viimeinen mies maailmassa*, which would have been a natural choice as well. However, it seems from this example as well as others in the data that even if the participant has no role in the transitivity pattern, they are still present in the construction; the wide variety of grammatical structures used in a literary text give ample opportunities for this.

The example above shows a case where a finite process clause with an identified character participant had been replaced in the translation by a non-finite construction. When the entire data is looked at, however, the opposite is much more frequent: the source text data contains 35 non-finite constructions, while the target text only contains 6. The following is an example of a slightly different kind of shift:

(5) *Luettelette vakavia vastoinkäymisiä*, [You list serious misfortunes] / These are heavy misfortunes,

The speaker here is Elizabeth, who is responding to Lady Catherine’s list of reasons why Elizabeth should not marry Mr Darcy. The process *Luettelette*, “You list”, is not mentioned in the source text but has been added to the translation based on the context. This coupled pair was included in the analysis because the target text clause has a transitivity pattern with an identified character participant – Lady Catherine engaging in a verbal process of listing Elizabeth’s faults. The source text phrase constitutes a null counterpart.

In some cases, the passive construction of the source text – which has in the present analysis been included in the category of finite clauses with no identified character participant – has been turned into an active transitivity pattern, adding an Actor:

(6) *Olen kuitenkin tehnyt sen täysin tahtomattani* [I have however done it completely unconsciously] / It has been most unconsciously done, however,

The Actor here is Elizabeth, who is making it clear that she has not meant to cause Mr Darcy any pain and has not known of his feelings towards her. The reader can easily deduce that Elizabeth is the Actor behind the passive source text clause. In the translation,

her position has been made overt. To clarify this impact, let us consider possible alternative translations. In the Finnish language, the passive voice is a common and natural way of expressing things, although considered to make the text heavy when overused. In this case, however, the direct translation in the passive voice, e.g. *Se on kuitenkin tehty täysin tahtomatta*, would have sounded unnatural. Other alternatives would have been available, however, if the translator had wanted to keep Elizabeth from gaining a more active role. *Se on kuitenkin tapahtunut täysin tahtomattani* [It has however happened completely unconsciously] would have been a valid choice. Based on cases such as this as well as the previous example, it seems that the overall tendency is, again, towards more acute description of the flow of events, as well as more immediate portrayal of characters; this leads us to the next section of analysis.

6 PORTRAYAL OF CHARACTERS

In this section, I will take a closer look at the description of the four major characters present in the analysed text passages: Elizabeth Bennet, Mr Collins, Mr Darcy and Lady Catherine de Bourgh. As behavioural and existential processes only played a marginal role in the data, the examination will be limited to material, mental, verbal and relational processes, and the respective roles of these characters as Actor, Senser, Sayer or Carrier/Identified of the process. A quantitative analysis of process clauses only has been carried out; translational shifts have not been considered in this section.

First, let us consider the total number of cases where the characters were cast in any one of the four participant roles. For all four characters, the number of clauses is slightly higher in the translation than in the source text, which indicates that the translation gives the characters more visibility as process participants than the source text does. The increase is 14% for Elizabeth Bennet, 13% for Lady Catherine, 8% for Mr Darcy, and 7% for Mr Collins. The translator thus seems to have accentuated the role of the female characters, although not to any great degree.

For all of these characters, the relative proportion of the Carrier/Identified role is lower in the target text than in the source text. This is consistent with the overall lower number of relational clauses found in the target text. This difference between the language versions is the highest for both male characters, particularly Mr Darcy. This means that the portrayal of male characters has moved away from static descriptions constructed as relational clauses. The greatest increase is found in the role of Senser for Mr Darcy (increasing from 13 to 19 instances), perhaps with the effect of portraying him as a slightly more sensitive person than in the source text. Mr Collins has gained some visibility as both Actor and Senser. The data is, however, too limited to make any strong conclusions based on these proportions.

Let us now take a closer look at any tendencies that can be found in the description of individual characters. Elizabeth Bennet, the protagonist of the story, has gained ground as an Actor (from 26 to 34 instances) and a Sayer (from 24 to 34), and lost some ground as a Senser (with an actual increase of instances from 33 to 35, but a proportional decrease from 26% to 24%) and Carrier/Identified (from 43 to 41 instances). The changes in her portrayal, while not extreme, are nonetheless interesting; while she cannot be considered as a weak character in the original story, she has nevertheless taken on the passive role of Carrier/Identified more frequently than any of the other three characters discussed here. The roles of Actor and Sayer have been the least frequent ones for her. It could be concluded that as a young woman in the 18th century English society, it was appropriate for her to focus on internal processes and static processes of being. She seems to have become stronger and more active in the translation, often found doing or saying things instead of just feeling or being. In the following example, Lady Catherine speaks to Elizabeth:

(7) oletteko kihlautunut hänen kanssaan vai ette? [have you entered into an engagement with him or not?] / are you engaged to him?

While the source text clause only enquires whether Elizabeth is currently in the state of being engaged to Mr. Darcy, the translation casts her as an Actor, giving her an active role in getting engaged to him.

Lady Catherine is perhaps an even more forceful character than Elizabeth, which is also reflected in her being cast as the Actor with relatively high frequency. In the target text, however, she has lost some of this prominence. She takes up the Actor role less frequently than in the source text, and is increasingly often shown as a Senser and, even more importantly, as Sayer. It can be deduced that while she keeps speaking her mind in the translation, she no longer engages in action as often as in the source text.

7 TRANSLATIONAL NORMS IN A SOCIAL CONTEXT

While translation shifts were found in all process type categories, clauses with no shift are still much more frequent in all of them. The prominent translational norm that can be formulated based on the present data is therefore that while shifts are allowed, the process type should be preserved in the translation. However, it seems that the norm of preserving the process type is stronger for some process types than for others. Relational verbs were seen to differ from other categories in this respect; they are subjected to a translation shift more frequently than mental, behavioural, verbal or, to a slightly lower extent, material processes, all of which are expressed using verbs that have a distinct lexical meaning. It can be concluded that the norm of preserving the process type is stronger in categories where the process is represented by a lexical verb. Relational clauses most likely undergo

shifts frequently because their copula verb is relatively void of lexical meaning, and therefore easy to replace.

A more detailed examination of relational source text clauses revealed that when undergoing a translational shift, they were most frequently turned into material or mental processes. What is particularly important in this tendency is its implication for the characterization of the participants: for example, when a relational verb is replaced by a material verb, the role of the participant undergoes an important change from an inactive Carrier/Identified of a static process into an Actor, an active initiator of a process that is typically purposeful. Similarly, shifts from relational to mental processes serve to make the description of a character's mental activity, such as feeling or thinking, more immediate.

It was observed above that clause types such as finite clauses with no character participants, non-finite clauses, nominal constructions and null counterparts were much more frequent in the source text data than in the target text data. A translation shift from one of these clause types to process clauses with nominated character participants usually entails an increase in the prominence of participants or in the vividness of the process, or both. It therefore seems that the translator has followed a norm that allows more direct portrayal of characters, avoiding constructions that obscure the participant of the process.

Examination of the participant roles that the four main characters in the data were cast into shows that changes are also allowed in the participant roles, which is of course a natural consequence of the changes in the process types. There were differences in how the portrayal of the four characters had changed, which means that the translator had made more or less conscious decisions on how to portray individual characters. It seems that the female characters were changed into a more active direction, while one of the male characters, Mr Darcy, had gained prominence as a Senser – not an altogether surprising development in a novel that many readers today read as a predominantly romantic story. These observations could constitute the fragile beginnings of a gender-based translational norm; however, the scope of this section of the study was too limited to allow anything but tentative conclusions. The construction of characters' identities through the use of process types and the related participant roles would, however, constitute a very interesting subject for further study.

What connections do these norms have to the cultural contexts in which the source text and the translation have been published? One of the immense changes that have taken place in Western societies between the publication of the source text and that of the target text is of course the increased equality between men and women. The modern Finnish society is a much more equal one than the English society at the beginning of the 19th century. This change seems to have become visible in the translation, with the female characters being cast in the roles of Actor (Elizabeth Bennet) and Sayer (Elizabeth Bennet)

and Lady Catherine) at an increased frequency compared to the source text. Mr Darcy, on the other hand, has become a more prominent Senser of mental processes, which could be seen as a reflection of the changed roles of men in society and in relationships. In the modern society, a man is able to adopt a more sensitive role.

If any definite conclusions about the participants' attitudes towards each other were to be made, the interpersonal level of language should be examined. Presently, the focus has only been on what kinds of processes the characters were shown to be engaged in, and what roles they were depicted as adopting. It must also be noted that the present study did not include a thorough analysis of the source and target cultures. This must necessarily mean that the conclusions that are made here about the impact of the cultural context on the translation must be preliminary results only. They may, however, offer a working hypothesis for further study. Factors other than the gender of the characters could be considered, and a much more extensive and detailed analysis carried out.

All the norms and tendencies that have been proposed here thus seem to point to the same direction: great flexibility is allowed in the translation of a literary text. A modern audience expects and appreciates lively and dynamic description, which has been achieved through the use of lexical verbs instead of copula, the casting of participants in more active roles, and the preference of process clauses at the expense of the clause types that obscure the process and the participants.

8 CONCLUSIONS

Based on this test of the methodology it can be concluded that systemic functional linguistics can help to shed light on the description of events and the portrayal of characters, and can provide interesting and relevant findings. While translational norms could certainly be established based on an analysis of traditional grammatical categories, these results suggest that functional grammar, which is more directly connected to the creation of meaning, is more useful for translation studies, and yields more relevant results.

In addition to being influenced by cultural factors, translations also create them. According to Bassnett and Lefevere (1998), "Rewriters and translators are the people who really construct cultures on the basic level in our day and age" (p.10). It is therefore extremely important to study how cultural contexts are manifested and recreated in translations.

Gideon Toury's model of descriptive translation research does not aim to give translators practical instructions of which norms they should follow (Toury, 2012). This study, therefore, only aims at revealing the norms that one translator has used when translating

one work of literature in this particular sociocultural context. While the results of the present study provide some basis for a hypothesis of what the translational norms in our culture today could be, each translator will make his or her own decisions with attention to the characteristics of the text and the context and purpose of its translation. The results of this study are not, therefore, meant to be used as prescriptive rules for how to translate, but they do offer translators valuable insight that can be used in making well-justified decisions in their work.

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Finnish Literary Translators and the Illusio of the Field

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ABSTRACT

Even though contemporary Finnish literary translators are very dissatisfied with the pay they receive from their work, they are very satisfied with their working conditions in general. Thus, in this article I investigate what attracts literary translators to continue working in the field of literary translation if monetary gain is only secondary for them. I employ the Bourdieusian concepts of disinterestedness and illusio to examine why the translators find the field and working in it so attractive that remuneration seems to be only secondary for them. The data were collected in 2016 through an online questionnaire that was distributed only to Finnish translators who translate literature into Finnish. The analysis concentrated on the issues the respondents found either decreasing or increasing their work satisfaction. The qualitative analysis was complemented with quantitative analysis of such variables as age, satisfaction with the fees and whether the respondents work as full-time or part-time literary translators. The results reveal that the translators show tendency for disinterestedness of economic capital as they prefer utilizing and accumulating social and cultural capital over economic one. Thus, for these translators the illusio of the field is in finding satisfaction in the work itself.

KEY WORDS: capital, disinterestedness, field, Finnish literary translators, illusio

1 INTRODUCTION

The basic tenet of the Sociology of Translation is to place the focus on the people behind the translated texts and the act of translation, and this is the interest in this study as well. Here, I concentrate in a specific group of translation professionals, contemporary Finnish literary translators, and seek answers to why they are so satisfied with their working conditions and the work itself when at the same time they are very dissatisfied with the translation fees and their income. Thus, my aim is not only to investigate the translators but also the field of translation and its practices as well.

Questions regarding translators' status and agency have gained a great deal of interest in recent years (e.g. Abdallah, 2012; Abdallah & Koskinen, 2007; Dam & Zethsen, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2014; Kinnunen & Koskinen, 2010; Ruokonen, 2013, 2016; Sela-Sheffy,

2016; Siponkoski, 2014). Another focus of research has been translators' identity from different perspectives (e.g. Simeoni, 1998; Sela-Sheffy, 2005, 2010) and many researchers have applied Pierre Bourdieu's different concepts and frameworks to their studies (e.g. Abdallah, 2014; Dam & Zethsen, 2014; Gouanvic, 2014; Heino, 2017; Sela-Sheffy, 2006, 2008, 2014; Vorderobermeir, 2014; Wolf, 2007). What is common in most of these studies is that translators seem to have a relatively low status, regardless of their field of expertise, and that there are significant drawbacks in the field of which the translators are fully aware. However, translators are still rather satisfied with the work itself (see e.g. Dam & Zethsen, 2016; Heino, 2017; Katan, 2009), therefore, it looks like there is "a paradox: a profession that is held in low esteem and that offers sub-standard working conditions, on the one hand, and many happy professionals, on the other" (Dam & Zethsen, 2016, p.177). Also, Ruokonen and Mäkinen (2018, p.14) discovered that even though Finnish literary translators had the lowest income of all between the three major fields of translator specialization – business, audiovisual and literary translation – they themselves still perceived the status of their own work as high.

However, very little attention has been paid in the conflict between the working conditions and work satisfaction so far and what may lie behind it. (see, however, Rodriguez-Castro, 2015 and Dam & Zethsen, 2016) In my previous study (Heino, 2017) I discovered that contemporary Finnish literary translators are generally happy about their work but at the same time they vehemently and openly criticize the meagre monetary compensation they receive from the work. Thus, I wanted to investigate what attracts the Finnish literary translators to stay in this profession when it seems it is not remuneration. In this study I examine the link between work satisfaction and symbolic and economic capital in the context of the field of literary translation. In other words, I investigate the attraction of the field of literary translation from the literary translators' perspective.

It has been argued that the field of translation *per se* does not even exist (e.g. Simeoni, 1998; Sela-Sheffy, 2005; Wolf, 2007; Gouanvic, 2014). Unfortunately, also the scope of this article is too limited to discuss this matter in more detail at this point. Here, I use the concept of *field* simply to refer to the socioeconomic networks where literary translations are produced in contemporary Finland and where my respondents work. I understand that these networks – or fields – inhabit many different agents with divergent agendas, roles and degrees of agency, but in my study, I concentrate only on the aforementioned translators, their symbolic and economic capital and how the conversion between these two types of capital works from their perspective and is connected to their interest in staying in the field. I seek answers to what attracts these translators to reproduce the *illusio* of the field, that is, what is their interest and investment in the game (Bourdieu, 1990, p.195; 1993, p.159) if monetary gain is only secondary for them.

In what follows, I will first explain and discuss the key concepts in this article, that is, work satisfaction, capital, field, disinterestedness and *illusio*, and how these concepts are

employed in this study. This discussion is followed by a detailed account of the material and method. In section five I present the findings and results of the analysis and finally in the last section of this paper, discuss the conclusions and implications of my study.

2 KEY CONCEPTS

Work satisfaction can be defined in many different ways depending on the field and point-of-view, but here I adopt the definition by Rodriguez-Castro (2015, p.32) that “job satisfaction refers to the positive attitude that an individual derives from the work itself”. I use this rather general understanding because of the nature of my data and the conceptual framework I employ in this study. Namely, the questionnaire that was used to collect the data was not originally designed to explicitly elicit information on the respondents’ work satisfaction but about their identity. However, during the first analysis of the data (Heino, 2017) it became evident that the respondents enjoy their work very much, and the apparent conflict between relatively high work satisfaction and the dissatisfaction with the income invited me to investigate this matter in more detail. Also, the multifaceted nature of the Bourdieusian framework of capital, field and *illusio* may invite multiple interpretations of the data, but I want to emphasize that in this study I concentrate solely on the literary translators’ perspective and the way I – as a former member of this profession myself – understand it.

One of the most important concepts in this article is *capital*. It refers to the resources individuals have at their disposal to act in different social settings (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241). Capital is closely linked with how individuals do things as capital gives individuals guidelines and resources to act in a given context (ibid. p.241). Bourdieu (1986, p.242) divides capital into two major types; *economic capital* and *symbolic capital*. Economic capital refers, simply, to money whereas symbolic capital can be either cultural or social in its nature (ibid. p.242). *Cultural capital* refers to, for example, education and degrees, the way we speak and conduct ourselves, and the things we own and consume whereas *social capital* refers to all the social connections and different networks we have cultivated and can utilize when we are actively participating in the social reality of everyday life (ibid. p.242-247). Symbolic capital can be further divided into numerous subtypes, and under certain circumstances symbolic capital can be either converted into economic capital or vice versa, in other words, “economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital” (ibid. p.249).

A *field* is a social space, or in other words, social world is constructed of fields, and capital in its various forms is essential for the operation of any field (Bourdieu, 1986, p.241). According to Bourdieu (ibid. p.241) fields not only function around capital but they are structured and reproduced by capital as well. Individuals enter, inhabit and have varying degrees of agency in different fields, depending for instance on their capital – the skills

and dispositions required in that specific field – which determines their role and position in the field (Bourdieu, 1987, p.106, p.170). Those inhabiting the field compete over capital, that is, they are constantly trying to gain more capital and agency in the field, since those who have the most of the field relevant capital are also in charge of the field and how it functions, hence there are those who dominate and those who are dominated in the field (Bourdieu, 1987, p.105-106; Thomson, 2014, p.68). Therefore, a field is always characterized by competition and struggle (Bourdieu, 1987, p.105, p.173; Thomson, 2014, p.66). Moreover, an individual can only enter a field if they have at least the minimum amount of the field specific capital in their possession (Bourdieu, 1987, p.107). However, it should be noted that the entry to different fields can vary a great deal, for instance, the minimum amount of capital that is required to be able to enter the field in the first place (ibid. p.171). Also, one has to have the knowledge of how that particular field operates to be able to enter the field and have agency in it (Bourdieu, 1987, p.171; Thomson, 2014, p.68).

Different fields value and prioritize different types of capital and have different logics of operation, that is, who can enter the field and have agency in it. According to Bourdieu (1993, p.30) the field of “cultural production” is like any other field; it is “a field of forces” and “a field of struggle”. However, this particular field also has a rather unique characteristic; the field of cultural production shows a tendency for an “anti-economy” (ibid. p.40) which means that the field functions systematically in a way where economic capital is not prioritized and the agents active in the field cannot be sure that their investment in the operation of the field – symbolic or economic – will give them monetary gain at all (ibid. p.39). Bourdieu (1993, p.40) further argues that because of the nature of this particular field those who wish to enter the field must “have an interest in *disinterestedness*” (ibid. p.40, my emphasis) in the first place. In other words, in order to gain entry and participate successfully in the game in the field, the agents should be prepared for a precarious and often uncertain path (ibid. p.43). Consequently, the individuals should have something else that drives them more than economic profit and monetary gain (Bourdieu, 1990, p.194). Moreover, the field of cultural production is perhaps one of the most selective and exclusive fields there is, thus the agents should consider the mere entry and the possibility to act in the field as a profit in itself (Bourdieu, 1993, p.43).

Finally, individuals still need a reason to enter a field and something that motivates them to participate in the struggle over capital and position inside the field. This “commitment to the game” Bourdieu (1990, p.194) calls *illusio*. *Illusio* is “the collective belief” (Bourdieu, 1993, p.72) that there is something worth striving for in the field. It refers to the awareness and acceptance of the so called rules of the game and the willingness to go along with them in a given field, sometimes perhaps despite the nature of the game itself (ibid. p.72). *Illusio* is reproduced in the interplay between agents and field and depending on the field and its *illusio* there may be very different ways of doing things (Bourdieu

1990, p.116). When the agents are willing to invest in the game – to reproduce and reinforce the *illusio* – the field functions smoothly (*ibid.* p.194). Different agents have different agendas and reasons to invest in the game, and when the agents continue to play by the rules they continue to “reproduce endlessly the interest in the game and the belief in the value of the stakes” (Bourdieu, 1993, p.257), hence the illusion. In this article I investigate the *illusio* of the field, that is, what attracts my respondents to play the game and stay in the field of literary translation.

3 MATERIAL

This article relies on data collected through an online questionnaire from Finnish literary translators who are members of either the Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters and its literary translators’ section, or KAOS Ry, a literary translators’ member association of the Union of Journalists in Finland.

The questionnaire had altogether 48 questions, out of which 29 were close-ended and 19 open-ended questions. The questionnaire was divided into three sections; background, education and work life, and the sections had 13, 7 and 28 questions respectively. The questionnaire was drafted with using the E-forms software, it was available only in Finnish and distributed through mailing lists of above mentioned associations.

Altogether 431 people received the questionnaire in November 2016, and 87 translators submitted a completed questionnaire, thus the response rate is approximately 21%. Of the 87 respondents 67 are women and 20 were men, 77% and 23% respectively, and the two largest age groups of the respondents are 40–59 years and 60–75 years of age, therefore nearly 92% of the respondents are 40 years old or older. Regarding their educational background, 81% of the respondents have a degree in higher education, that is, either a Bachelor’s degree (16.5%) or a Master’s degree (65%). Moreover, 66% of the respondents work as full-time literary translators.

It should be noted that naturally not all translators who translate literature into Finnish in contemporary Finland are members of these two organizations, however, these two associations provided a convenient and easy access to a large group of professionals who clearly identify themselves as literary translators, hence the membership of the two major professional translators organizations in Finland. It is also worth mentioning that Ruokonen and Mäkisalo (2018) had a slightly smaller number of literary translator respondents (n=71) and that the number of responses in literary translators’ fee inquiries has varied from 81 to 115 (*ibid.* p.8). Thus, this suggests that 87 respondents is a relatively good sample of the field.

In this study I concentrate in two open-ended questions from part three of the questionnaire, namely work-life. These questions were “What kind of issues increase your work satisfaction” and “What kind of issues decrease your work satisfaction”¹. As many as 80 out of the 87 respondents gave answers to these questions which indicates the respondents’ strong need to address these issues and how necessary it is to bring them to the fore.

4 METHOD

In the present study, the main focus was in the qualitative analysis of the two aforementioned open-ended questions. First, I employed the qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti to create word clouds of the respondents’ answers to get a general picture on what kind of issues they emphasized. Then, I looked more carefully into the most often recurring words and how they occurred in connection to each other, and tracked down larger themes in the respondents’ answers to what either increases or decreases their work satisfaction. Finally, I divided the themes into three categories: economic capital, social capital and cultural capital.

A direct reference to income, financial security, translation fees or grants was simple enough to categorize as economic capital. However, the respondents also talked about the fear of having too little work or, on the other hand, having enough work at all times as something that would impact their work satisfaction, and I classified these themes as implicit references to economic capital, too. After all, having a steady workflow certainly also means a steady income and financial security as well, or vice versa. Either an implicit or explicit reference to economic capital as something that would increase the work satisfaction was mentioned 74 times and as a decreasing factor 78 times.

Under the category of social capital I placed all such references where the respondents talked about their social connections inside the field, for instance, relationship with the publishing houses and colleagues. Further, references to continuity, the possibility to choose what kind of texts to translate and the feeling of being heard and appreciated were categorized as being part of social capital as I interpreted these issues to be closely connected to the networks the respondents have and can utilize inside the field. On the other hand, issues such as the feeling of being undervalued, disrespected and ignored, and loneliness were placed under the category of social capital as well. The respondents referred to social capital as an increasing factor of their work satisfaction 36 times and decreasing factor 37 times.

¹ The questionnaire was available only in Finnish, therefore, I have translated these two open-ended questions and all the respondents’ answers presented in this study into English myself.

Finally, a theme that was associated with cultural capital was mentioned as increasing factor of work satisfaction 41 times and as a decreasing factor 11 times. Under this category I placed all such answers where the respondents referred to utilizing their skills and expertise, the possibility to translate challenging, quality texts and varied, challenging nature of the work, as well as the sense of freedom, or on the other hand, badly written or boring texts and frustration if one needs to work in a hurry and has no chance of using the whole repertoire of their expertise.

In conclusion, economic capital dominated the answers both as something that either increases or decreases the respondents' work satisfaction. The analysis results for both analysed open-ended questions are illustrated in Figures 1 and 2, below.

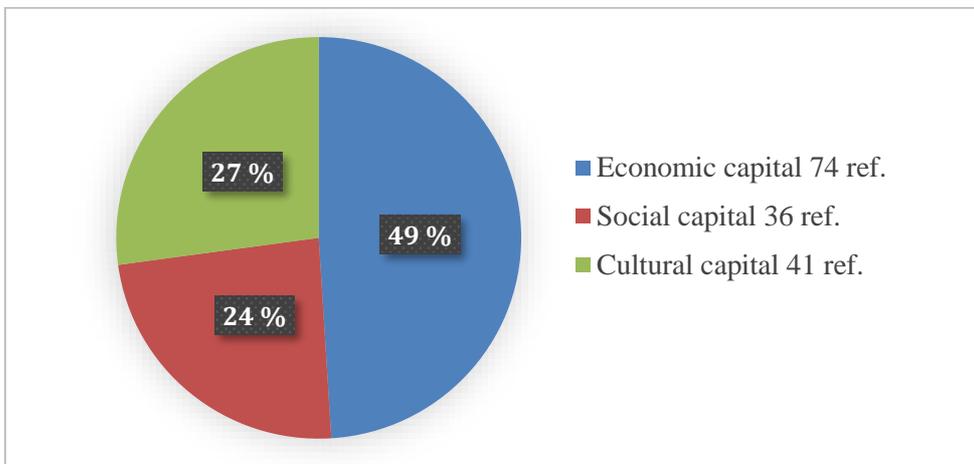


Figure 1. Factors that *increase* work satisfaction.

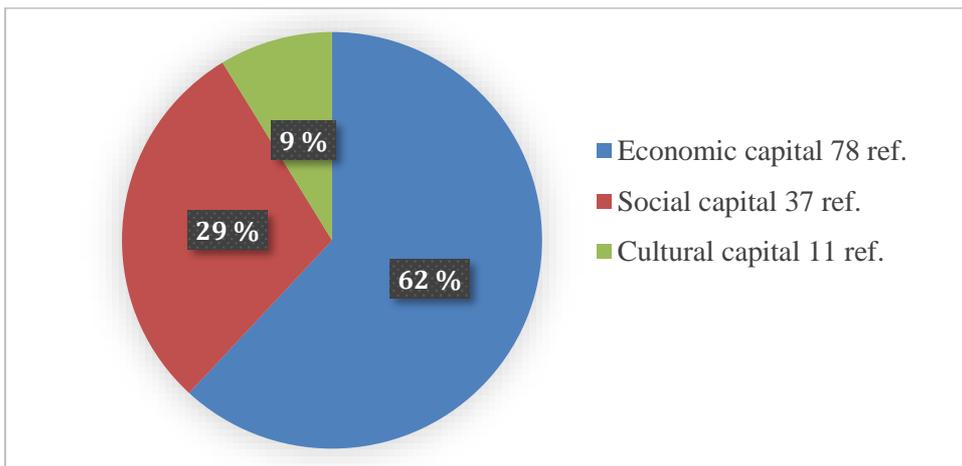


Figure 2. Factors that *decrease* work satisfaction.

The qualitative analysis was then supported by cross-referencing such variables as age, satisfaction with the fees and whether the respondents work as full-time or part-time

literary translators. In this study, I decided to leave gender out of the analysis, as out of the 87 respondents only 20 were male. Also, the effect gender has on the respondents' work satisfaction is a very small one: women are only slightly more satisfied than men. Out of all the women participating in the study (N=67) 75% place their answer between 'fairly satisfied-very satisfied', whereas 42% of the male respondents (N=20) place their answer in the range of "fairly dissatisfied-very dissatisfied" Moreover, both male and female respondents are more or less equally dissatisfied with the translation fees and their income (Heino, 2017), thus, I consider the respondents' gender to be insignificant regarding my aim in this particular study.

5 ILLUSIO OF THE FIELD AND DISINTERESTEDNESS

5.1 Issues that increase work satisfaction

The word cloud created by the software Atlas.ti showed that the most often used word in what contributes positively to the respondents' work satisfaction was "work" in its various inflected forms in Finnish. In fact, the word pair "enough work" was one of the most frequent expressions in which "work" was found. Furthermore, the second most often mentioned word in the answers was "remuneration" in different forms and combinations. A more detailed qualitative analysis showed that the respondents mentioned grants, library lending compensations and satisfactory translation fees explicitly 23 times whereas they referred to income implicitly 51 times. While the respondents seem to shy away from explicitly stating that sufficient income could be something that contributes positively to their work satisfaction, they make implicit references to financial security that comes with a steady workflow, for example: *"I already have two books to translate for next year, that's enough to make a living. [...] Having contracts well beforehand makes planning your work and holidays more simple, it gives a sense of security"* (#37). This could be merely a cultural issue; talking about money and your income is often not acceptable in the Finnish culture. However, this may also suggest that even though the translators do recognize the importance of economic capital, it is not the most relevant type of capital regarding the illusio.

Age in general seems to be a decisive factor when it comes to the respondents' work satisfaction. All in all, the most satisfied translators in the data come from the age group of 60–75-year-olds; 33% of them state that they are "satisfied" with their present working conditions. Also in the biggest age group (40–59-year-olds; N=62) the most popular answer is 'fairly satisfied' (31%). Age is also a factor in how satisfied the respondents are in the monetary compensation they receive from their work. The senior translators are the most satisfied with the translation fees; 13% of 60–75-year-olds and 33% of over 75-year-olds indicate that they are happy with the fees they receive, and they are also the most satisfied with their work situation in general. As the respondents' average working years as literary translators in this age group is 35,1 years, this could suggest that the

senior translators have such an extensive backlist of translated literary texts that for example the library lending compensations have become a major part of their income, thus they are not as reliant on the translation fees as their only source of income. On the other hand, one could also suggest that these respondents are already able to make a living even with a more meagre income; they may not have children to support or mortgages to pay anymore. However, as only two of the elderly translators (N=18) in my sample already work part-time and only translate literature as a supplement to their pension, there must be something more alluring than money to stay in this profession as well. One respondent from this age group even said *“I will continue translating as long as there’s life in me and I can still hold a pen”* (#37) and another one stressed that (literary) translation is the only work they know how to do: *“[...] I feel this is my thing. I enjoy my work, I immerse myself in it and feel like I’m doing something important and something I am good at.”* (#68). Thus, the *illusio* may have less to do with money as the translators find work as a way of life, a vocation and a rewarding activity in itself, and many of the elderly translators do not even wish to retire.

The respondents also value the possibility of utilizing their cultural capital, that is, their skills and expertise. The majority of all the respondents have a degree in higher education and 32% of them have majored in translation (Heino, 2017, p.6), thus it would be fair to argue that for the translators, the *illusio* of the field has also to do with putting their cultural capital into work and utilizing it in a meaningful way: *“[it increases my work satisfaction when] I can translate a lot from French but occasionally also from English, having variety is refreshing”* (#4). The respondents also appreciate the possibility to translate novels they like, find interesting and of good quality: *“Translating challenging quality literature is the best part [of this job] [...] In general [I enjoy] how mentally rewarding this work is”* (#81). When the translators can translate intellectually challenging texts they are also accumulating more cultural capital, thus gaining more cultural capital is clearly important for them as well and part of the *illusio* of the field. The respondents also value the flexibility and freedom that comes with the work. Also, the varied and challenging nature of the source texts and the possibility to learn something new every day were mentioned often, in other words, accumulating more cultural capital. However, even though the respondents stress the importance of freedom as a factor increasing their work satisfaction, they are not in full command of their own workflow as they have to rely on commissioners who employ the translators they see suitable for the job: *“Even though I have had enough work so far, there is always an element of uncertainty; will I get another assignment or not”* (#5) and *“There is very little actual choice, you have to take what is offered to you”* (#2). Freedom and on the other hand insecurity seem to be two sides of the same coin, that is, literary translation as a profession: the work itself is varied, flexible and free but at the same time one also has to accept at least a certain degree of uncertainty that comes with the work.

Moreover, by gaining the commissioners' trust as someone who can be employed regularly, the translators have managed to turn their cultural capital into social capital. They have proven that they have the skills and expertise needed in the field and to perform the work the commissioners require, thus they have gradually also accumulated social connections necessary inside the field, for example: *"I have gained a position as someone the publishers can trust. That means I can rest assured, more or less, that there will be enough work for me in the future as well"* (#78). Even though this exchange between cultural and social capital may not necessarily result in economic capital, the respondents seem to value gaining "symbolic profit" (Sapiro, 2013, p.74) more, that is, gaining social and cultural capital instead of monetary one. Also, accumulating symbolic profit in turn increases their work satisfaction, thus acting as a motivating factor to stay in the field.

5.2 Issues that decrease work satisfaction

After the first analysis of the data the most prominent features of what kinds of issues affect the respondents' work satisfaction negatively were "uncertainty", "no work", and "fees". All these are connected to making a living and thus economic capital. The more detailed analysis revealed that monetary issues in their various manifestations dominated the respondents' answers making economic capital the most prominent feature in all the answers. It is a well-known fact that the translation fees in the industry are low, therefore it is not surprising that 78% of the respondents express their dissatisfaction with the fees. The Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters conducts a survey among its literary translator members about their income annually, and in 2016 – the year my questionnaire was conducted – the respondents' median net income from translating literature was €12.500 a year, that is, only a little over €1.000 a month (SKTL, 2019a). In contrast, the same year the median net income in Finland was €2.500 a month (Tilastokeskus, 2017). Thus, it is not surprising that literary translators are highly dependent on other sources of income, namely grants and the compensations paid for Finnish public library lending of translators' translated works: *"The fees stay low and they do not correspond to the level of difficulty of the work I do. Without grants and Sanasto² library lending compensations, I don't know how I would make a living"* (#15). In fact, in the 2016 income survey conducted by the Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters the median of grants was €6.000 per year and the library lending compensations €2.140 per year (SKTL, 2019a). It could be argued that after 2016 grants and library lending compensations have become even more important to literary translators as a way of making a living, as two years later, the 2018 income survey shows a significant increase in both of these sources of income: in 2018 grants median per year

² Sanasto is a Finnish literary copyright society that "represents thousands of Finnish authors and translators" and "manages for example the compensations paid for Finnish public library lending" (Sanasto, 2019).

was €7.000 and library lending compensations median €3.373, whereas the net income from translating literature had dropped to €11.000 per year (SKTL, 2019b). In other words, two years after conducting my questionnaire, literary translators earned even less by way of practicing their trade and had to rely even more on grants and the library lending compensations in making a living through their profession. Also, it should be noted that not everybody receives grants, and library lending compensations bring a substantial amount of income only to those literary translators who have translated novels that are frequently lent from public libraries. Therefore, it is not surprising that the respondents lament about the translation fees and income. This, too, would suggest that the *illusio* of the field is not about making money but lies somewhere else.

At the same time, those respondents who expressed explicit dissatisfaction with the translation fees, still find their working conditions “fairly satisfying” (32%), “satisfying” (24%) or even “very satisfying” (16%). In other words, 72% of those who criticise the translation fees are still satisfied with their working conditions in general. In addition, all respondents are equally dissatisfied with the pay: those who work as full-time literary translators are no more satisfied with the compensation than those working part-time. This suggests that even though the translators do recognize the importance of economic capital, it is not the most relevant type of capital regarding their *illusio*, that is, why they are willing to participate in the game of the field and why they find the work in itself satisfactory. Also, the unwillingness to explicitly state that one finds the exchange between symbolic and economic capital valuable and necessary may suggest that the public narrative in the field, indeed, encourages the “disavowal of commercial interest” (Bourdieu 1993, p.75) and the actors in the field need to possess at least a certain degree of disinterestedness to be able to stay and succeed in the field.

The most dissatisfied with their working conditions are the members of the youngest age group, that is, 25–39-year-olds; 14% of them state that they are “very dissatisfied”. Among this age group (N=7) there also seems to be a connection between economic capital and work satisfaction as they are the most dissatisfied with the pay: 100% of them are dissatisfied with the translation fees and they are also the most dissatisfied with their current work situation. None of the respondents in this age group work as full-time literary translators either and they have entered the field quite recently, which indicates that they may not yet have gained enough experience and/or connections and a firm enough position in the field – symbolic capital – to be able to negotiate the terms of contract in a way that would provide them with fulltime employment and satisfactory income. In fact, only one of the younger translators has *not* considered leaving the field. The precarious nature of the work, poor fees and the feeling of insecurity – if or when they will be able to land the next assignment – were mentioned as the main reasons they find their working conditions unsatisfactory: “*I want to have a steady income*” (#29) and “*I’ve had to work in many different jobs alongside translating, as the income I get as a freelancer just isn’t enough for making a living*” (#78) and “*general insecurity of whether*

I will get the next translation assignment or not” (#21). In contrast, among the eldest respondents (N=18) only two indicated that they had thought about leaving the field at some point of their career.

However, the younger translators echo the more experienced translators’ feelings and attitudes towards the work itself: *“I’ve always wanted to be a literary translator”* (#65), *“the freedom that comes with this work and its independent nature and love for literature are more important [than leaving the field]”* (#20) and *“The most important thing is the desire to translate literature, interest in translating literature, the feeling that this is ‘my thing’”* (#20). Thus, the illu^{sio} of the field for the youngest respondents, too, seems to be able to stay in the field once they have gained entry to it, for the love of literature and the work itself. Translators of all ages and lengths of career do recognize the importance of economic capital, but it is not the most important aspect that they find attractive and worth striving for in the field. Rather, *“[f]or many, translating literature can be a vocation”* (#33) and *“[t]ranslating literature simply is so wonderful”* (#34). For many of them the mere possibility to be able to translate literature – do something that they love – seems to be a reward in itself and something that outweighs accumulating economic capital.

An unequal or otherwise poor relationship – lack of social capital – with the commissioner or editors was mentioned 12 times as something that makes the respondents dissatisfied with their work. The respondents expressed that they feel that they or their work are not respected or that the publishing houses unilaterally dictate the terms of contracts, leaving the translators very little influence on the fees they get paid. Competition inside the field is also fierce – not only between publishers but also between translators who compete for work with each other. It may take years before one can enter the field: *“it is not easy to become a professional [literary translator] – it requires not only persistence and hard work but also good luck and contacts. In that sense, even chance has a significant role”* (#33). However, some of the translators also consider themselves to be more than *just* translators: *“[b]esides translator into Finnish, I also consider myself as kind of a cultural ambassador [...]”* (#39) and *“I can translate the books I want to, at the moment [I’m translating a novel] I suggested myself [to the publisher]”* (#12). Besides obviously being a gratifying aspect of the work, the increased active agency also suggests more social capital, thus this would further strengthen the argument that accumulating social capital is also something the translators find worth striving for.

General precariousness of working as a literary translator was another recurring feature in the respondents’ answers. The irregular distribution of work makes the work and future feel unsafe and unpredictable: *“[...] it is very difficult to make any plans for the future. Sometimes it is quiet for weeks and then suddenly you get so many offers it is impossible to accept all of them”* (#6). However, many of the respondents also see literary translation as a calling and a way of life, for instance: *“For me this [translating literature] is a calling and a passion, not even poor fees make it less appealing as a profession [...] I wish I can continue doing this for the rest of my life!”*(#78). In other words, regardless of

the field's many drawbacks, the translators find the *illusio* of the field worth competing for, and the mere possibility to occupy the field is rewarding enough for many of them, hence disinterestedness. As long as they can continue doing the thing they know the best and regard as a vocation – translate literature – they find their situation at least “fairly satisfying”.

Finding the work itself rewarding and important reflects disinterestedness in the translators' part. Thus, I would like to argue that literary translators need to possess at least a certain degree of disinterestedness in order to be able to access the field, but more importantly it also acts as a motivating factor in reproducing the *illusio*. My findings would, therefore, support both Dam and Zethsen's (2010) earlier results that translators find translation as a satisfying activity in itself and Ruokonen and Mäkisalo's (2018) findings that income has very little to do with how literary translators feel about themselves or their work. This would further strengthen the image of translation as a profession with lower status and an occupation where monetary gain is just an added bonus, not a goal in itself.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study was to investigate why the Finnish literary translators are so satisfied with their working conditions and the work itself even though they are very dissatisfied with the translation fees. Thus, I wanted to seek answers to what attracts them to stay in the field if it is not monetary gain, in other words, examine what is the *illusio* of the work; the translators' interest and investment in the game. The data were collected in 2016 through an online questionnaire that was distributed only to Finnish translators who translate literature into Finnish and the analysis concentrated on the issues the respondents found either decreasing or increasing their work satisfaction.

Age in general seems to be a decisive factor what comes to the respondents' work satisfaction. All in all, the most satisfied respondents are the elderly ones who have also been working in the field the longest; more than 30 years. On the other hand, the most dissatisfied with their working conditions are the members of the youngest age group, that is, respondents who were under the age of 40 and who had only recently entered the field. However, all the respondents find the work a rewarding activity in itself, a passion, a vocation, and a way of life, and they value freedom and flexibility that comes with the work very much, thus the *illusio* of the field is the same for all translators regardless of their age and time spent in the field. However, since age, time spent in the field and work satisfaction seem to go hand in hand, one could suggest that the younger translators still need to accumulate more cultural and social capital – more work experience and connections inside the field – to be able feel better about their working conditions and succeed in the field in the long run.

The translators participating in this study have a strong sense of commitment to their work and they enjoy the intellectual challenge and fulfilment that comes with translating good quality literature. They do recognize the importance of economic capital and appreciate the security that comes with a steady workflow and income, but at same time economic capital is not the most important factor defining the field from their perspective and not something that the translators prioritize. The analysis suggests that the translators do not first and foremost strive for exchanging their cultural and social capital into economic capital but are more interested in gaining symbolic profit and more active agency inside the field. Thus, at least for these translators, the *illusio* of the field is in seeking more social capital and utilizing and accumulating their cultural capital.

Even though one would sacrifice a great deal of time and effort, and possibly also economic capital, to accumulate field relevant cultural capital, for example through studying and obtaining degrees – as the majority of these respondents have done – it is not always guaranteed that one will be able to turn the cultural capital into economic capital. Therefore, in the light of how dissatisfied the respondents are with the translation fees and their income, it appears that in the field of translation, converting cultural capital into economic capital seems to be difficult and even uncertain. The symbolic capital the respondents have in their possession has certainly gained them an access to the field, but the mere access does not guarantee economic capital in this particular field, as would be the case in some more professionalized fields such as medicine, where institutionalized cultural capital is a necessity to be able to even practice the profession and enter the field.

That having been said, I am inclined to suggest that literary translators are expected to show a tendency for disinterestedness of economic capital in order to gain entry to the field and to be able to be satisfied with the work itself. They regard occupying the field and having agency in it such a satisfactory activity in itself that monetary gain is only secondary for them. I argue that in connection with the concept of disinterestedness, the acceptance of the secondary nature of economic capital and the insecurity that comes with that are an important part of the *illusio* of the field – something that the translators have to accept and internalize if they wish to enter the field and have agency in it. Disinterestedness of economic capital also suggests that the field of literary translation is part of the field of cultural production.

Finally, in order for us to be able to gain more information on the question of translators' agency in the field and what it means for them to be members of this profession, a number of studies relying on empirical data – possibly acquired through interviews – are desperately needed. By way of surveys and interviews carried out in the midst of practicing contemporary translators – be they literary, business or audiovisual translators – we will also, eventually, be able to define the field of translation, or *fields* of translation, as the case may be.

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Section Four

Reception of English Translations of Croatian Tourist Brochures: A pilot study

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents and discusses the results of a pilot study related to the reception of English translations of Croatian tourist brochures that was performed among English-speaking tourists in Novigrad, Croatia and online. The aim of the questionnaire was to test whether English-speaking tourists prefer tourist brochures rich in metadiscourse and to what extent these deviations from their expectations influence the achievement of the communicative purpose the brochures. Therefore, real users of brochures, i.e. tourist, were surveyed. Since English translations of tourist brochures are read not only by native English speakers, but also by non-native ones using English as a lingua franca, a questionnaire-based survey was performed among members of both groups.

KEY WORDS: ESP, English as a lingua franca, tourist discourse, reception of tourist brochures, metadiscourse, translation of tourist brochures

1 INTRODUCTION

This article gives an insight into the reception of English translations of Croatian tourist brochures. Previous research has shown certain differences in the use and distribution of metadiscourse in Croatian and English tourist brochures, with English brochures using metadiscourse more often and using a wider range of metadiscourse. Since it also revealed that English translations of Croatian brochures often do not follow the English language metadiscourse patterns, this study thus considers how these differences are reflected on the communicative purpose of tourist brochures, i.e. whether translated brochures achieve the purpose (i.e. are effective) despite not observing English rhetorical conventions. The aim of the survey performed was to answer two ground questions: firstly, do English-speaking readers, i.e. tourists, really prefer tourist brochures rich in metadiscourse and secondly, what are the implications of tourist brochures not meeting the readers' metadiscourse-related expectations and how does this influence the communicative purpose of the brochures. Since readers of English translations of tourist brochures are

often not only native English speakers, but also native speakers of other languages who use English as a lingua franca (sometimes perhaps they even outnumber native English speakers in terms of using tourist brochures in Croatia), the survey was performed among both groups of readers in order to determine whether there are differences in their preferences and which implications this has for commissioners of translations of tourist brochures. First, a theoretical background for the survey is given, followed by the description of data and methods used. The key point of the paper is the presentation and discussion of survey results.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Swales defines genre as follows: “A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purpose” (1990, p.58). He pointed out that genre has several key characteristics but highlights that communicative purpose shapes the genre: “Communicative purpose is both a privileged criterion and one that operates to keep the scope of a genre as here conceived narrowly focused on comparable rhetorical action.” (Swales, 1990, p.58). Bhatia (1993) highlights that the communicative purpose gives a particular text-genre its meaningful and typical structure. Achieving the communicative purpose is especially important in promotional discourse, such as tourist brochures. Tourist brochures constitute a particularly interesting example, because they combine the persuasive and informative function, and are therefore characterised by a kind of hybridity (Kelly, 1997, p.35). Their purpose is to persuade the readers to visit a certain place, but their communicative function is, at the same time, also to inform the reader about the place in question.

However, genre conventions and discourse patterns typical for a certain genre are not universal but language-dependent. As Kaplan (1976, p.12) points out in his definition of contrastive rhetoric, rhetorical patterns are unique and culturally-coded. In inter-cultural communication situations, they can cause blockages. This was proven by contrastive rhetorical studies that have revealed significant differences in the use of rhetorical strategies in different languages in the academic discourse (Čmejrková, 2007; Duszak, 1994; Hoorickx-Raucq, 2005; Mauranen, 1993a), economic texts and business writing (Jenkins & Hinds, 1987; Mauranen, 1993b), newspaper discourse (Dafouz Milne, 2003; Dafouz-Milne, 2008) and advertising (Fuertes-Olivera et al., 2001). Researchers have also explored hedging and the problem it could pose in intercultural communication (Hu & Cao, 2011; Vassileva, 2001; Pisanski Peterlin & Zlatnar Moe, 2016). Differences in the use of rhetorical strategies between English and Slavic languages have been dealt with in Čmejrková (2007), Duszak (1994), Pisanski Peterlin (2005) and Limon (2008). Contrastive rhetorical studies have mostly dealt with the academic discourse so far, promotional discourse is still insufficiently researched, especially as far as metadiscourse is concerned.

In order to achieve the communicative purpose of a genre, metadiscourse is used. It is a rhetorical strategy manifested through the use of items used by writers to guide and direct readers through the text, i.e. to influence the reader. Metadiscourse thus has an important role in attaining persuasion in a text: “metadiscourse focuses our attention on the ways writers project themselves into their discourse to signal their attitude towards both the content and the audience of the text” (Hyland & Tse, 2004). Likewise, the writer’s ability to write a successful piece of writing depends on his ability to construct a reader-friendly, cohesive and coherent text (Hyland, 1998). Metadiscourse as a contribution to rhetorical patterns is essential in this process. Metadiscourse has proven to be an essential feature of discourses such as academic writing (Mauranen, 1993a; Hyland, 1998, Hyland & Tse, 2004), newspaper texts (Dafouz-Milne, 2008) and company websites (Limon, 2005). However, research has shown that the Slavic languages (to which Croatian also belongs) follow slightly different rhetorical strategies than the English language (Čmejrková, 2007; Duszak, 1994; Pisanski Peterlin, 2008).

Most taxonomies of metadiscourse differentiate between textual and interpersonal metadiscourse (Hyland, 1998; Dafouz Milne, 2008). Hyland and Tse (2004), however, proposed a revised model and claim all metadiscourse is essentially interpersonal. They divide metadiscourse in interactive and interactional metadiscourse and base their typology on the fact that metadiscourse is different from the propositional content of discourse, that it embodies interactions between the writer and the reader and that metadiscourse distinguishes relations outside the text and those among different parts of the text. Interactive resources include metadiscourse used to organize discourse with the purpose of predicting and anticipating readers’ knowledge. Interactional resources, on the other hand, are used to involve readers in the argument and focus on participants in the interaction (Hyland & Tse, 2004; Hyland, 2005). Hyland and Tse’s typology (2004) thus served as a starting point for the analysis of metadiscourse in English and Croatian brochures and their English translations and as a base for developing a model of metadiscourse for the tourist discourse in English and Croatian (Peršurić Antonić, 2016).

Studies focusing on metadiscourse and persuasive rhetoric show that languages differ in the way they use persuasive rhetoric. Fuertes-Olivera et al. (2001, p.1302) analysed metadiscourse with the persuasive function in advertising English and argued that the rhetorical means available to a writer are limited by the value and belief systems prevailing in his or her community. Bruthiaux (2000, p.309) argues that the language of persuasion is often influenced by the complex social relations anticipated by the participants. In terms of reader/writer responsibility, i.e. the expectations related to the degree of involvement the reader is expected to make (Hinds, 1987), which is closely connected with the choice of rhetorical strategies, studies by Pisanski Peterlin (2005) and Limon (2008) have revealed that there are differences between Slovene and English related to writer-responsibility. In English, which is a writer responsible language, the writer is the person responsible for effective communication (Hinds, 1987). Pisanski

Peterlin (2005, p.315) suggests that in Slovene there is less emphasis on writer-responsibility than in English.

In terms of tourist texts, researchers have dealt with several aspects, including their quality, e.g. common mistakes (Durán Muñoz, 2012), differences in discursive patterns (Gandin, 2013) and the importance of the awareness of differences in metadiscourse in tourist texts (Suau Jiménez & Dolón Herrero, 2007). Researchers have dealt with the language of tourism from a sociolinguistic perspective (Dann, 1996) and tried to bring the dimensions of tourism and discourse together (Jaworski Pritchard, 2005). A multimodal interaction analysis of Croatian and Scottish tourism websites (Nekić, 2015) has been performed with the aim of providing a more in-depth analysis of tourist meaning and revealing what is communicated to users through tourist websites. As for Slavic languages in general, tourist discourse has been scarcely researched, but in terms of academic discourse, researchers suggest that Czech, Polish, Russian and Ukrainian in comparison to English rely less frequently on metalanguage (Petrić, 2005).

The question of how cross-cultural rhetorical differences in achieving persuasion are addressed in translation of tourist brochures seems particularly important due to the fact that persuasion is an important element of the communicative purpose of tourist brochures. Tourist translations could be considered a mediation tool (Durán Muñoz, 2011). This is why textbooks aiming at providing training in the translation into English as a foreign language with useful tips for the translator and discussions of certain problematic points of the English language (Stewart, 2012) have been published. Tourism requires a lot of translating, but commissioners in Croatia often do not recognise the importance of translators: a survey among tourist boards has revealed that some tourist boards in Croatia translate tourist brochures on their own, some let the printers of the brochures hire the translator and often the price is the only criterion for hiring the translator (Peršurić Antonić, 2017). Intrusion of non-professionals translating is a widespread problem, not only in tourism (Pérez-González & Susam-Saraeva, 2014). This is especially problematic since various rhetoric-related issues may arise in translation due to the differences in genre conventions across cultures and languages. Several researchers in translation studies have focused on the question of how differences in intercultural genre conventions are dealt with in translations of tourist brochures. Snell-Hornby (1999) noticed that translations often fail to produce the same effect as the originals. Agorni (2012, p.7) points out that a translator has to intervene both at textual and cross-cultural level. Translators should be aware of the fact that their choices in translation of promotional texts affect the promotion itself, thus they should concentrate on the pragmatic effect of their work (Agorni, 2012, p.10).

However, readers of English translations of tourist brochures include not only native English speakers, but also people of various other languages using English as a lingua franca (ELF), due to the fact that the brochures have not been translated into their mother

tongue. ELF speakers even outnumber native English speakers (Graddol, 1997, p.10). Moreover, the influence of ELF can be expected to keep growing (Mauranen, 2010b, p.21). Since these readers come from different cultural settings, the readership of English translations of tourist brochures is heterogeneous in terms of rhetorical traditions. ELF cannot be defined as a stable and homogenous entity (Motschenbacher, 2013). However, it is still unclear how this influences the readers' expectations and preferences with regard to rhetorical strategies used in English texts. Moreover, the readers' level of proficiency in English varies, which also influences their expectations and preferences.

Often, ELF is perceived as poor English. Phillipson (2008) defines ELF as *lingua frankensteinia* and finds it has the characteristics of a colonialist discourse. He questions its neutrality, pointing out the ensuing modifications in lexis, syntax, and discourse pattern. However, Mossop's (2006, p.792) prediction is that, in the future, the quality of non-native English may no longer be seen as problematic and the writing of non-native authors more acceptable. Although often perceived as a threat to multilingualism, research has proven that ELF is not a threat (House, 2003). It is a phenomenon that cannot be neglected. Taviano points out that we cannot ignore the impact ELF has on translating since "the spread of English, combined with globalization processes and practices, should encourage us to reflect on what translating means today and to rethink our pedagogical approaches from new and more challenging perspectives" (Taviano, 2013, p.156). According to her, ELF is a dynamic, hybrid and complex language which has to be taken into account in its interaction with other languages and cultures (Taviano, 2013, p.156). As Pisanski Peterlin (2014, p.195) points out, there has been an increasing awareness that a codified native-speaker model of the language does not describe the linguistic reality of the English language. Moreover, *lingua franca* does not fit the traditional concept that language is anchored in culture (Pisanski Peterlin, 2014, p.199).

The question is then: Can we talk about rhetorical conventions and strategies in ELF? Who are translators translating the tourist brochures for? Taviano (2013, p.163) suggests translation students should be trained to produce texts accessible to an international readership. However, a universal standard English is still applied to the code for writing, with localisation being addressed only recently (Canagarajah, 2006, p.207). Mauranen (2010a) on the other hand wants to identify essential, even universal, aspects of discourse in *lingua franca*. Mauranen (2014) observes that English as a *lingua franca* shares numerous features with native English, but at the same time manifests different, i.e. nonstandard, lexico-grammatical features.

It still remains unclear what the rhetorical strategies used in ELF writings are and how that influences the reception of the writing among native and non-native English speakers. Accordingly, the goal of this study is not simply to improve the quality of translations of tourist texts, but to explore the complexity of the translation process by including all the participants in the translation process into research. Real users of tourist brochures as

participants in the translation process are not to be neglected. An investigation into the reception of translations of tourist brochures that are not in line with the rhetorical traditions of that language and the effect of the used rhetorical strategies on the readers, i.e. tourists, is necessary in order to better understand metadiscourse and the effect unconventional use of metadiscourse has on achieving the communicative purpose of a text. Nobs Federer investigated the reception of German translations of Spanish tourist brochures among German tourists and proved that expectations and evaluation of translations of tourist brochures often do not correspond (Nobs Federer, 2003, 2010). Adversely, Jänis and Priiki (1994) were surprised to find out that tourists evaluated rather positively the translations of brochures they have rated as poor.

The present pilot study builds on the analysis of metadiscourse in Croatian and English tourist discourse by Peršurić Antonić (2016). In the study, three English and three Croatian brochures, together with their translations into English were first manually analysed. Manual discourse analysis of tourist brochures in the two languages has shown that metadiscourse is extensively used in both languages, presumably to develop a relationship with the reader and to persuade him into doing a certain activity. The obtained results were used to build a model of metadiscourse with persuasive function in the tourist discourse. The model was tested on an expanded corpus of tourist brochures, consisting of three subcorpora (original Croatian brochures, original English brochures and English translations of Croatian brochures), with the help of Sketch Engine. The number of occurrences of metadiscourse instances proved to be larger in original English brochures as compared to the Croatian ones and English translations. In addition, English translations of Croatian brochures follow Croatian metadiscoursal pattern, although there were some exceptions (Peršurić Antonić, 2016).

Both discourse and corpus analysis thus confirmed that Croatian and English brochures follow different rhetorical patterns and use metadiscourse in different ranges. English brochures are rich in metadiscourse elements, whereas the Croatian ones have a more limited range of metadiscourse, which is especially the case with interactional metadiscourse where metadiscourse is used almost three times as frequently in English than in Croatian. It is also important to note that interactional resources are significantly more frequent than the interactive ones in both languages and carry a more prominent role in the achievement of persuasion. Interactive metadiscourse includes only evidentials and code glosses, whereas interactional metadiscourse includes hedges, boosters, attitude markers, engagement markers, imagery and self-mentions (Peršurić Antonić, 2016). The most obvious difference between the two languages is in the use of boosters and hedges. Boosters are used by writers to express their certainty in the proposition, whereas hedges withhold his/her complete commitment to the propositional content (Hyland, 2005). The discrepancy in the use of hedges and boosters was also identified between other Slavic languages and English (Vassileva, 2001), with English using significantly more boosters.

Interestingly, when compared to English, Croatian brochures rely more on metadiscourse only in the category of hedges and attitude markers (Peršurić Antonić, 2016).

3 DATA AND METHODS

A questionnaire study was used to obtain quantitative data on the user's preferences in terms of rhetorical conventions. The questionnaire uses makes use of insights gained by previous research of the reception of translations of tourist brochures (Nobs Federer, 2003; Jänis & Priiki, 1994). The pilot survey study was performed in a tourist town, the town of Novigrad, in August and September 2016. Since it was impossible to reach the entire population of tourists, one tourist destination was taken as a sample. Novigrad was chosen as a representative tourist destination with both native English tourists and English-speaking tourists. It is a town of with about 4,000 inhabitants, on the north-western coast of the peninsula of Istria, an Adriatic region which is the most visited tourist region in Croatia. The town regularly records at least 1 million overnight stays annually in tourist accommodation and it has been listed by the New York Times as one of the 52 places to go in 2017 (The New York Times, 2017). Questionnaires were distributed to tourists in the local tourist board office and in a wine bar, without any incentives for the respondents. An online version of the questionnaire was also made in order to collect as many responses as possible. The online questionnaire was compiled using a default online template with the help of SurveyMonkey (www.surveymonkey.com) and the link to the questionnaire was distributed via e-mail, to tourists personally known by me. The first draft of the questionnaire was distributed to a little sample of tourists and based on their responses, the questionnaire was revised and amended in the way that one descriptive question was omitted due to the fact that no one answered it. It was then included as a statement in another question and the respondents had to decide whether they agree or disagree with it.

The questionnaire consisted of eight questions in total, followed by five demographic questions. Both open and closed questions were included, and the number of questions was made as small as possible due to the reluctance of tourists to spend much time on the questionnaire while on vacation. The language and questions in the questionnaire were maximally simplified, also due to the reason that the questionnaire was targeted at ELF speakers.

The first question "Do you read at least some parts of tourist brochures of a place you visit?" as well as the second question asking for reasons of reading tourist brochures served to check whether the respondents are real users of tourist brochures. In the second question, respondents could choose between five given reasons, write their own reason or choose not to give the reason ("I don't know."). They could decide for more than one reason. Table 1 provides the reasons that were given in the questionnaire.

Table 1. The reasons for reading tourist brochures given in the questionnaire (“Question 2. Which statements are true for you? Check all that apply. I read tourist brochures because...”).

No.	Statement
1.	...I want to learn something about the history and culture of a certain place.
2.	...I am looking for interesting places or events or facts.
3.	...of useful information that I can find there.
4.	...I want to check if a place is worth a visit.
5.	...I want to see some interesting photos.
6.	...of other reasons: _____
7.	...I don't know.

The next few questions were the core questions of the survey and regarded their preferences in terms of rhetorical strategies. The third question asked the respondents to choose a text they like better between the two offered texts. Text (1) was taken from an English translation of a tourist brochure about the town of Poreč (“Poreč. You complete us.,” 2014). The 41-page-long tourist brochure, filled mainly with appealing photographs and short paragraphs of text, was published by the Poreč tourist board and does not give explicit information on the author of the text or the translator, but only includes the names of the companies responsible for the text and the translation. Interestingly, however, all the authors of the photographs are credited. The paragraph gives some historical information on the Euphrasian basilica and does not contain much metadiscourse:

- (1) Euphrasian basilica complex and its mosaics are among the most beautiful and best preserved monuments of early Byzantine art in the Mediterranean. The basilica was built in the 6th century on the site of an early Christian church, in the time of Bishop Euphrasia and the Emperor Justinian I, and since 1997 it is inscribed as a part of the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage. In addition to the archaeological ruins and mosaics that date back to the 3rd century there are valuable religious monuments and artefacts from early Christian, early Byzantine and medieval periods.

Text (2) is a manipulated version of text (1), where I added additional instances of metadiscourse, mostly boosters (qualifying adjectives, superlatives and boosting expressions), attitude markers (deontic verbs, attitudinal adverbs) and engagement markers (rhetorical questions and direct address to the reader) as the most representative instances of metadiscourse with presumably the most persuasive effect. Boosters and engagement markers were also proven to be used more extensively in English and Croatian, as well as some subcategories of attitude markers (Peršurić Antonić 2016). The text was also simplified, some of the pieces of information were omitted with the aim to achieve two opposite texts:

(2) Euphrasian basilica and its mosaics are definitely a place you want to visit in Poreč! Who wouldn't want to see one of the most beautiful and best preserved monuments of early Byzantine art in the Mediterranean? Of course you shouldn't miss this extraordinary site originating from the 6th century. But what will you discover there today? This historical gem offers you not only archaeological ruins and mosaics, but also valuable monuments and artefacts. It is the best place to catch a glimpse of some distant times, like the medieval period. Even UNESCO recognised its uniqueness and inscribed it as a part of the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage!

After deciding which text they liked better, in an open question, respondents had to explain why.

In the fifth question respondents had to choose tourist brochures headings that sounded interesting to them. More answers were possible here. Table 2 lists all headings that were given.

Table 2. Headings in the tourist brochure.

No.	Heading
1.	A must see
2.	Out & about
3.	Attractions and activities
4.	The town and the people
5.	Information
6.	Family & adventure
7.	Gastronomy
8.	A tasty tour
9.	Manifestations and events
10.	Get out – have fun!
11.	Days out exploring
12.	The town in numbers
13.	Entertainment
14.	Places to stay
15.	Beaches and sea
16.	Cultural and historical sights
17.	Accommodation
18.	Discover
19.	Churches

The headings were taken from various original English brochures (Out & about, Family & adventure, A tasty tour, Get out – have fun!, Days out exploring, The town in numbers, Places to stay, Accommodation, Discover) or English translations of brochures (A must see, Attractions and activities, The town and the people, Information, Gastronomy,

Manifestations and events, Beaches and sea, Cultural and historical sights, Churches). The heading Entertainment could be found in both subcorpora. Some of them are more explicit such as the straightforward “Manifestations and events” and some more implicit such as “Get out – have fun!”, which originally is a heading for a paragraph on cycling, although it can also be interpreted as rude. Several headings contain metadiscourse, including the following headings: “A must see” (attitude markers), “Get out – have fun!” (boosters) and “Discover” (engagement markers).

In the next question, the respondents were asked to rate a text on the city of Zadar, using a five-point Likert-type scale (1= I don't like it at all, 5= I like it very much). The text was taken from the English translation of a brochure on Zadar (Seferović, 2011). It was published by the Zadar tourist office and the imprint gives information on the text, naming the author and information on the translation, naming a company. The excerpt to be rated reads as follows:

- (3) Zadar is a city with a soul. Its irresistible Mediterranean charm has grown out of its city character, which goes back to the deepest historical background. Zadar has always been a city. It had functioned as a significant urban centre, from the Liburnians, Romans, Bizantines and an independent urban commune, across Venice and Napoleon's Illyria and the Austrian-Hungarian empire, all the way to the present Republic of Croatia. It has never left anyone indifferent. It has always been a city fit for living. The Bizantine emperor Constantine Porfirogenet answered wittily back in 950 A.D. to the question of how long the city had existed. He explained that Zadar, Diadora in Greek, meant "already existed", which lead to the conclusion that it had existed before Rome. Traces of continued settlement on the Zadar peninsula go back to the 10th and 9th cent. B.C. The city highlights still take place on the remains of a monumental temple and the impressive Roman Forum, where once the public life took place.

The respondents were also asked to respond to six statements, using a five-point Likert-type scale (1= not at all, 5= completely true). Table 3 provides a list of the statements used in the question. Some of the items could be confusing for the respondents, such as the two items, which are asymmetrical and the third one which is fairly vague.

Table 3. Statements referring to the text on Zadar.

No.	Statement
1.	I am not interested in the text above.
2.	After reading the text, I would like to visit the place.
3.	I miss something in the text.
4.	I think I got enough information about the place from the text.
5.	I find the text boring.
6.	I find the text interesting.

The first draft of the questionnaire included additional questions on what the respondents like or dislike in the text, but since none of the respondents decided to answer these questions, they were omitted from the final version of the questionnaire, making it shorter and easier to fill out, since many respondents were not ready to spend much time on the questionnaire. The last question gave the respondents the opportunity to give comments on the topic or the questionnaire. This question was not obligatory in the online version of the questionnaire.

Respondents were next asked to answer some general questions, including questions on their mother tongue, citizenship, gender, age and highest level of formal education. In this study, proficiency in English was not taken into consideration since self-evaluation was not considered reliable. Furthermore, tourist brochures in English are often used by tourists that are not proficient English users. The questionnaire was however distributed only to ELF users showing relatively high proficiency, according to my estimate.

In total, 31 responses were collected from the respondents on site and 12 responses online. The results were obtained by a joint analysis of both online and on-site responses. The global response breaks down as follows: 25 respondents were native English speakers and 18 ELF speakers. Tables 4 and 5 give information on the citizenship of the respondents.

Table 4. Citizenship of native English respondents.

Citizenship	No. of respondents
UK	13
USA	5
Republic of Ireland	3
Australia	2
Not specified	2
Total	25

Table 5. Citizenship of ELF users.

Citizenship	No. of respondents
Sweden	5
Germany	2
Austria	2
Denmark	2
The Netherlands	2
Slovenia	1
Romania	1
Not specified	1
Total	18

As gender is concerned, among the native English respondents, there were fourteen women and ten men. One respondent did not specify his/her gender. On the other hand, men are slightly more represented in the ELF group (eleven men versus seven women). Figures 1 and 2 show information related to the respondents' education and age.

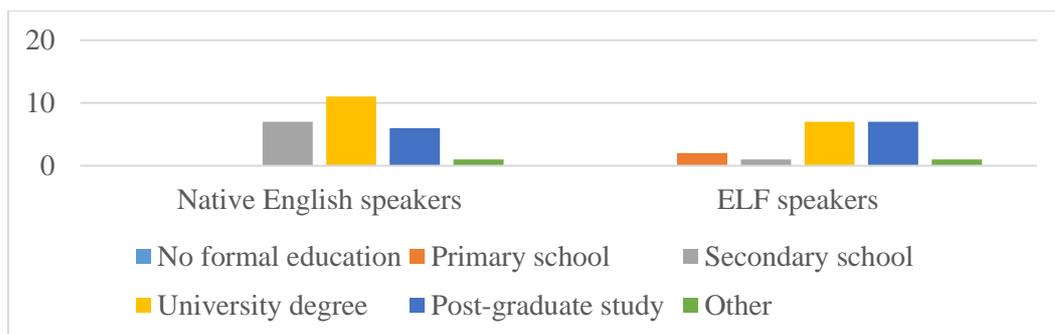


Figure 1. The highest level of formal education completed by the respondents.

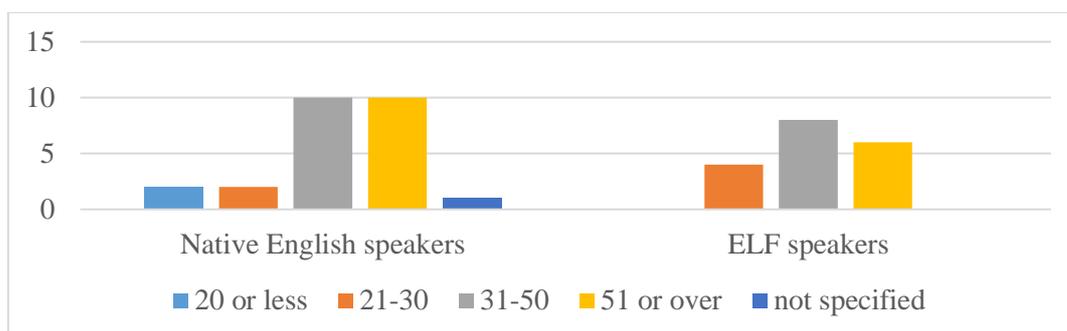


Figure 2. Respondents' age.

3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Only five respondents altogether replied they do not read brochures, four were ELF users and one a native English speaker, which shows that the respondents were real tourist brochures users. Respondents who do not read brochures were not included in the analysis since they are not real users of the brochures.

Table 6 shows the reasons for reading brochures. The first three reasons are similarly represented in the responses of both native English (NE) speakers and ELF speakers, with the wish of finding useful information at the first place, which shows their motivation for reading brochures is both to look for specific information and to learn something about a site. Although the difference between the wish to find useful information and the wish to learn about the history and culture of a certain place is quite small and often the respondents ticked both options, we can say that the wish to find information is stronger than the wish to learn something about a site, which goes in favour of writer-responsible texts. It is interesting that the third most common reason is the wish to check if a place is worth a visit, which says enough about the importance of the appropriate use of rhetorical strategies for the purpose of promoting the destination.

Table 6. Reasons for reading tourist brochures.

Reason	No. of responses by native English speakers	No. of responses by ELF speakers
...I want to learn something about the history and culture of a certain place.	21	14
...of useful information that I can find there.	23	12
...I want to check if a place is worth a visit.	19	11
...I want to see some interesting photos.	10	3
... of other reasons: _____	1	0
... I don't know.	0	0

When given the option to choose between two similar texts, one with slightly more historical information but less metadiscourse (1), 15 NE respondents (or 60%) chose it over the less informative text with more metadiscourse (which was chosen by 10 respondents, i.e. 40% of them). Some of the reasons given by the respondents for choosing it was that it describes the site better, gives better info, is more elegant and formal, more serious and professional, offers authenticity, is easier for the eye and even paced and sounds factual and considered. One respondent stated it is better written, but he stated he preferred the informal style of (2). Several respondents were even annoyed by too many question and exclamation marks in text (2). One respondent pointed out that text (1) allows you to make up your mind if you would like to visit it and does not force it on you, similarly as another respondent stated that text (2) is trying to lead the reader

to conclusions developed by someone else. Citizens of all of the above-mentioned countries with English as their official language chose text (1), with most respondents from the UK (8). The majority of the respondents who chose text (1) were women with a university degree aged 31–50 (47% were women, 40% were 31–50 years old and 60% of them had a university degree). As for the ones who chose text (2), the majority were women over 51 with secondary education, originating from the UK (50% UK residents, 70% women, 60% aged 51 or over and 40% with secondary education). Their reasons for choosing text (2) were that it was easier to read and that it contains more content, moreover, they state it is more interesting to read and more modern. They noted it gives a very positive attitude that makes you want to visit the place and explains why someone shouldn't miss out on visiting it, while text (1) offers plain facts. One respondent stated it is more interesting and that it caught her attention, while the other stated that it is more interesting but also historical. Metadiscourse was also commented by one respondent: phrases such as “who wouldn't”, “of course” and “But what will you discover?” were pointed out as phrases challenging you to visit a place and explaining you what to expect. It seems that, regardless of which text they chose, many respondents were aware of the role of metadiscourse in attaining persuasion.

Headings the NE respondents ticked as the ones that sound interesting to them are given in Table 7, showing that the simplest straightforward headings such as “Cultural and historical sights”, “Gastronomy” or “Beaches and sea” were preferred by the majority of respondents. Headings containing metadiscourse, such as “A must see” or “Discover” ranked high, while “Get out-have fun!” was not so popular. Of course, personal preferences have to be taken into account, but it seems that both straightforward and more covert headings were interesting to native English speakers.

As for the ELF speakers, only seven respondents chose text (1) (39%) and eleven respondents decided they liked text (2) more (61%). Most respondents who chose text (1) were 31–50 years old (71%) men (71%) from Sweden (29%) with a PhD (43%). On the other hand, most of the respondents who chose text (2) were 51 years old or older (55%), had a university degree (27%) and came from Sweden (27%).

When having to choose the preferred headings in a tourist brochure, the most popular heading among ELF speakers was the heading “Gastronomy”, a typical heading in English translations of Croatian tourist brochures, while the second most popular is the heading “A must see”, typically found in original English brochures. Table 10 provides a list of the most popular headings among ELF users. It is interesting to note that almost all five most popular headings among native English speakers were also in the top five headings among ELF users (except “Information”), along with the heading “Days out exploring”. At the top of the list, we can see both the informative “Cultural and historical sights”, “Beaches and sea” and “Gastronomy, but also the more persuasive “Discover”, “A must see” or “The town and the people” headings. Interestingly, the headings “Get out – have fun!” and “Out & about”, that contain metadiscourse, were not chosen by many

respondents in both groups, possibly due to their vagueness and different possibilities of interpreting them (“Get out – have fun!” could also be considered as too rude). It seems the respondents prefer simple and straightforward headings, consisting simply of a noun, as is the case with “Gastronomy”.

Table 7. Headings preferred by the respondents.

Heading	No. of responses by native English speakers	No. of responses by ELF speakers
Cultural and historical sights	18	13
Beaches and sea	16	11
Gastronomy	16	10
Discover	14	9
A must see	12	9
Information	12	9
The town and the people	11	9
Attractions and activities	10	9
Days out exploring	10	6
A tasty tour	9	6
Places to stay	9	5
Entertainment	7	5
Churches	7	5
Accommodation	6	5
Out & about	6	4
Get out – have fun!	6	3
Family & adventure	3	2
Manifestations and events	2	2
The town in numbers	2	1

When having to rate the text on the city of Zadar (3), five NE respondents did not answer the question and the mean rating of the 20 respondents who answered the question was 3.05. Two respondents commented on the text, one describing it as too wordy and badly written and the other wrote question marks on certain parts of the text (possibly to show he did not understand or like those parts or found them questionable about the language). In the following question, where the respondents had to respond to the statements by rating them on a Likert scale from 1 to 5, not all respondents rated all statements. Table 8 provides the calculated mean attitudes for the obtained responses. It is interesting to note that the mean values range from 2.2 to 3.7. It is especially intriguing that the last two statements, one stating that the text is boring and the other one that the text is interesting, obtained a very similar mean score. In the comments section, respondents’ comments on the text on the city of Zadar ranged from the positive ones claiming that they liked the info about the city and the fact that all information is included to negative ones pointing

out you have one sentence to keep the reader’s attention and that the text isn’t it. Some commented they liked the history in the text, but lacked information about other things to experience.

The text on the city of Zadar, where metadiscourse was scarcely used, achieved a similar rating by both native and non-native speakers of English. It was rated by 14 ELF speakers and the mean rating was 3.43. When rating the statements related to the text, ratings by ELF speakers are lower than those by native English speakers, both for statements expressing a positive and negative attitude towards the text. The only statement that was rated higher is the statement on missing something in the text. ELF speakers rated it with a 2.94 compared to 2.2 by native English speakers. In the comments section, ELF speakers did not provide any comments.

Table 8. Mean attitudes by statement.

Statement	Mean value (native English speakers)	Mean value (ELF speakers)
I am not interested in the text above.	2.55	2.22
After reading the text, I would like to visit the place.	3.78	2.94
I miss something in the text.	2.2	2.94
I think I got enough information about the place from the text.	3.34	3
I find the text boring.	2.76	2.58
I find the text interesting.	3.42	3.18

When comparing the two groups, native English speakers and ELF speakers (with representatives from various countries), we can say that the obtained results are quite similar in terms of rating the preferred heading and rating a text with low metadiscourse use. It can be said that respondents preferred headings without metadiscourse. On the other hand, when rating the text without metadiscourse, the ratings are relatively neutral and revolve around the value of three on a scale of one to five (five being the best rating).

However, when having to decide between a text with practically no metadiscourse, (1), and a text rich in metadiscourse, (2), the results are completely different. The results are somewhat unexpected: native English speakers preferred less metadiscourse in a text, while ELF speakers preferred the text with more metadiscourse. It is interesting to note that some respondents were also irritated by the excessive use of metadiscourse and that some recognised the persuasive, i.e. promotional aspect of the text rich in metadiscourse.

The manipulated text (2) seems to be excessively manipulated: with metadiscourse items added for research purposes (by a non-native speaker), in order to polarize the two versions, rendered it artificial. A subtler version of a text manipulated by metadiscourse could provide further insights into the matter. Another issue is the topic of the texts,

revolving mostly around history and culture, which is not necessarily in the focus of interest of all tourists.

4 CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER WORK

The results corroborate the assumption that metadiscourse is preferred in tourist discourse only to a certain extent. It is certainly valid for non-native English speakers. Their expectations and preferences in terms of rhetorical strategies are in line with what was expected from native English speakers. It seems that English language rhetorical conventions could be applied to ELF, too. Moreover, ELF users preferred the reader-oriented approach more than native English speakers. 61% of ELF users preferred the text with more metadiscourse. Likewise, when rating a text with few metadiscourse items, the mean rating for the statement that something is missing in the text was quite high, 2.94, while the statement that they got enough information in the text was rated equally high, with the mean rating of 3, which could mean that they do not lack pieces of information in the text, but possibly metadiscourse. Given the limited number of respondents, the findings should be taken with caution. However, the results offer an interesting insight into the ELF's respondents' reception of tourist brochures with regard to metadiscourse as well as their preferences in terms of the use of metadiscourse.

In the case of native English speakers, the situation is more complex. Altogether, 60% respondents preferred the text with less metadiscourse. Results however vary across different demographic groups. Perhaps the most prominent group are university graduates: 44% of the respondents were university graduates and the majority (81%) preferred the text with less metadiscourse. On the other hand, when looking at the respondents who chose the text with more metadiscourse, the group more or less equally consists of people with secondary education, university degree and post-graduates. Interestingly, when rating a text low on metadiscourse, native English speakers gave it a lower rating than ELF users, despite reverse preferences in the case of choosing between the same text with differences in the occurrence of metadiscourse. Both groups gave the text a mean rating revolving around 3, which shows they do not favour much texts low on metadiscourse. However, the statement on the wish to visit the place after reading the text was rated quite high by native English speakers, while ELF users' rating was lower. In terms of gender, 56% native English respondents were women, while at the same time this was true for only 38% of ELF respondents. This suggests that, along with culture, both gender and education could play a role in preferences towards types of texts with regard to metadiscourse.

The implications should, of course, be taken with caution, since the pilot study was performed on a limited number of respondents. In order to test the results, the survey should be conducted on a larger sample of respondents or focus groups. Furthermore, it

should include different degrees of metadiscourse manipulation and take different purposes of visiting a country/town into consideration. An interview study is also planned in order to gain insight into the expectations of commissioners and the way in which they commission translations.

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Translating Trauma Fiction: A Comparative Study of the Strategies and Challenges of Translating Trauma Fiction from Bengali to English

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the translation of trauma fiction from one socio-linguistic context to another. Trauma fiction captures a foreign experience, assimilating the rhythms, processes and uncertainties of trauma in the structure and syntax of the texts. As the trauma is not only depicted through the theme of the narrative but also embedded in the structure and style of the writing, the narrative is quite challenging to translate. The article engages in a comparative study of Mahasweta Devi's *Hajar Churasir Maa* and its English translation titled *Mother of 1084*, attempting to outline the strategies and challenges of translating trauma fictions from Bengali to English. Though the primary focus of this study will be on the aspects of textual analysis of trauma fiction, a study of the paratextual elements will also be made in order to look into the strategies and politics of translating trauma fiction. The article hypothesizes that the English translations of the Bengali trauma fictions are mostly unable to capture the rhetoric of pain and agony that is embedded in the Bengali source text, thereby being unable to mediate the experiences of suffering to the target reader. Thus, by outlining the challenges of translating trauma fiction, the article concludes by suggesting possible strategies of translating trauma fictions from Bengali to English.

KEY WORDS: trauma fiction, interlingual translation, paratexts, textual repetition

1 INTRODUCTION

In this “Age of Trauma” (Stolorow, 2010) where human existence is ceaselessly threatened from all spheres by natural and man-made calamities and where human life hovers on the singular promise of absolute insecurity, writers, philosophers and critics across the world are turning to historical trauma in order to comprehend and endure the impact of trauma on human life. Today, writers, witnesses and survivors of traumatic events across the world, acknowledging the immense significance of remembering traumatic events in history and contemporary times, have engaged in portraying war, genocides, massacres and unspeakable violence that they have experienced, witnessed or

have been made to witness in order to memorialize the fractured past and give testimony to trauma. These accounts and fictions encompassing an understanding of trauma and traumatic events need to be translated widely across cultures and languages in order to bring the human civilization separated by time and space relate to one another through their shared experiences of suffering. However, trauma, which is said to be an “infinitely foreign” (Avagyan, 2012, p.1) experience and “resist language and representation” (Whitehead, 2004, p.3), is in itself, difficult to “translate” within the framework of language. Translating trauma fictions from one socio-linguistic context to another entails challenges of not only translating the thematic components but also the stylistic elements embedded in the trauma fiction.

This article explores how trauma fiction that captures the unfamiliar or “foreign” experience of trauma and incorporates the “form and symptoms” (Whitehead, 2004, p.3) of trauma in the style and structure of the narrative, is translated from one language to another. For this purpose, the article engages in a comparative study of Mahasweta Devi’s Bengali magnum opus titled *Hajar Churasir Maa* (1974) and its English translation by Samik Bandyopadhyay titled *Mother of 1084* (1997). This novel was selected primarily for two reasons: firstly, the novel captures the trauma of a mother who has lost her martyred son, and in spite of the subjectivity of the event, it is also a universal experience of pain as mothers across the world have lost and continue to lose their children to state-propagated violence. Secondly, the text and its translation by Samik Bandyopadhyay provided ample instances for showcasing the strategies, politics and challenges of translating trauma and trauma fiction from one socio-linguistic context to another. By comparing the Bengali source text with that of the English target text, the study attempts to outline the strategies that have been implemented for translating the novel, portraying the challenges of translating trauma fiction. Even though the primary objective is to study interlingual aspects, a comparison of the paratextual components is also studied to analyze the politics of translating the trauma fiction from Bengali to English.

The article will be broadly divided into three sections. The first section delves into understanding what qualifies as trauma fiction and what makes the selected novel a specimen of a narrative on trauma. Through this elaboration, the section throws light on the possible challenges that could arise when translating a trauma fiction. The second section dives into analyzing the paratexts of the Bengali fiction and its English translation, outlining the external factors and politics of translating from Bengali to English. The third section engages in a comparative and analytical study of the source and target texts, focusing primarily on the interlingual aspects of translating a trauma narrative. The article concludes by suggesting possible strategies of translating trauma fictions from Bengali to English.

2 TRAUMA FICTION AND ITS TRANSLATION

Though the understanding of trauma through psychoanalysis can be traced back to Freud¹, the study of trauma as a distinct area in the realm of literary theory began around 1995, with Cathy Caruth building up on Freud's concept of "*Nachträglichkeit*" meaning "deferred action" or "afterwardness". Attempting to define trauma, Caruth states:

The pathology consists ... solely in the structure of its experience or reception; the event is not assimilated or experienced fully at the time, but only belatedly, in its repeated possession of the one who experiences it. To be traumatized is precisely to be possessed by an image or event (1995, pp.4-5).

What can be inferred from Caruth's observation is that the experience of trauma is far-removed from the "source" or the "original" incident as the full nature of the exposure to the incident can be fathomed only "belatedly", and that it would be paradoxical to be able to assimilate the experiences of trauma into writing for trauma is also accompanied by a total "collapse of understanding" (Whitehead, 2004, p.5). The word "possession" in her definition also elicits images of insanity, aberration, chaos and madness, thereby outlining a state of existence that is beyond the realms of sanity or "order". Much like the state of trauma, trauma fiction captures a disruption, a breach from the usual order of fiction and reason. Calling this an "emerging genre" (2004, p.4) and acknowledging the uniqueness embedded in the theme, form, structure and style of trauma fiction, Whitehead remarks:

Fiction itself has been marked or changed by its encounter with trauma. Novelists have frequently found that the impact of trauma can only adequately be represented by mimicking its forms and symptoms, so that temporality and chronology collapse and narratives are characterized by repetition and indirection (2004, p.3).

Here, what Whitehead seems to be reinstating is that trauma fictions do not follow a linear narrative structure, well articulated with events outlined in a chronological order. Non-trauma narratives are not often repetitive or directionless and do not engage in implementing the techniques of flashbacks or flash-forwards; they retain an essence of order, poise and sanity. Devi's *Hajar Churasir Maa* defies such order and poise in its tendency to be disruptive, repetitive, non-linear and fragmentary.

Like other trauma narratives, *Hajar Churasir Maa* goes "beyond presenting trauma as a subject matter or in characterization; they [trauma narratives] also incorporate the rhythms, processes, and uncertainties of trauma within the consciousness and structures of these works" (Vickroy, 2002, p.xiv). To outline the summary of the fiction in brief, *Hajar Churaisir Maa* (translated verbatim as *1084's Mother*) is essentially a novel about

¹ Critics like Lyotard and Derrida and trauma theorists like Caruth and Felman all attempt to unravel trauma through Freud's understanding of traumatic neurosis, thereby showcasing that Freud's work, especially *Moses and Monotheism* (1939), is one of the foundations of theories of trauma.

a mother's trauma on the sudden death of her son by state perpetuated violence during the Naxal Uprising² of the 1970s. The novel, which is mostly non-linear, opens with a flash-back: on the eve of the second anniversary of the son's death, the mother Sujata is seen recollecting the memories of the time she had given birth to Brati in the hospital, unaccompanied by her husband or any acquaintances; from her unbearable pain of giving birth to the moment of trauma when she had received the call from the Police station to come to the morgue and identify her dead son numbered 1084. Keeping the political upheaval of the Naxal uprising in the backdrop, the novel traces a mother's journey through trauma by repeatedly harking back and forth from the past to the present and showcasing her attempts to accept her grief through her consolidation with other women who have lost their sons to such violence. The novel does not arrive at the mother's recovery from trauma; however, it does outline a mother's ceaseless trials to understand the purpose of her son who is considered to be "a cancerous growth on the body of democracy" by the government (Devi, 1997, p.6) and come to terms with her grief of losing her son.

Though situated in the state of West Bengal in India and though the story revolves around the agony of Sujata with references to mothers who have lost their son during the Naxalite movements, the story is trans-national and universal in the sense that it captures the emotion of motherly affection that mothers across time and space nurture for their children. Perhaps this is why it turned out to be quite popular in India and was finally translated to English in 1997 by SamikBandyopadhyay. It was almost immediately adapted into a Hindi movie titled *Hazaar Chaurasi Ki Maa* [Mother of 1084] in 1998 under the direction of Govind Nihalani. At present, the book has been translated to other Indian languages including Hindi and Malayalam. However, the English translation remains the most widely read in India and abroad and hence it is crucial to understand the strategies adopted for translating this trauma fiction from Bengali to English.

While translating trauma fictions from one language to another, the translator needs to not only translate the thematic components of the text but also the "rhetoric[s] of pain" (Hron, 2009, p.48), that is, the literary techniques that imitate the symptoms of traumatic psyche like "exclamations, rhetorical questions, or repetitive declarative statements...[r]epetition, fragmentation, or the use of ellipses...[t]he epitome, or frequent repetition of a phrase or question for emphasis" (Hron, 2009, pp.48-49) which is embedded in the source text. Before a comparative study of the two texts, I will analyze the paratexts of the two texts. Though initially the understanding of paratext did not seem poignant from the standpoint of analyzing trauma narratives and their translation, a

² The Naxal uprising refers to an armed revolt by the peasant of Naxalbari near Siliguri subdivision in the district of Darjeeling during the early 1970s. Led by the local peasants and tribal community and supported by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the movement gradually spread across the country and was backed by left-wing college students, who were brutally killed by the state. The son in this story happened to be a Naxal revolutionary who was killed for his protest against the exploitation by the state.

reconsideration of the significant role of the paratext showcased the subtle yet crucial part played by the paratext in transmitting trauma and outlined the politics involved in its translation. By reflecting on the paratext of the trauma narrative and its translation, I attempt to show how the paratexts function as “places of potential translation” (Batchelor, 2018, p.32) for they often serve as indicators or transmitters on how a text should be read and perceived by the target reader. Through this process, the study seeks to throw light on how paratexts are sites where translators and other agencies can “signal their agenda” (Herman, 2007, p.33) overtly or covertly, thereby enhancing or diminishing the mediation of trauma through the paratexts.

3 PARATEXTS IN TRANSLATION

The first section of the comparative analysis of *Hajar Churasir Maa* (source text) and *Mother of 1084* (target text) engages in reflecting on the cultural, social, political and commercial implications of the paratexts. Philippe Lejeune remarks that it is “the fringe of the printed text which, in reality, controls one’s whole reading of the text” (quoted in Genette, 1997, p.2). In this analysis, paratext can be defined as

...any material additional to, appended to or external to the core text which has functions of explaining, defining, instructing, or supporting, adding background information, or the relevant opinions and attitudes of scholars, translators and reviewers (Pellatt, 2013, p.1).

The study will not only explore the “visible categories”(Pellatt, 2013, p.2) of paratext like the preface or the introduction and the afterward or the notes but also explore the implications of the less visible paratextual elements like the title, subtitle, cover page or dust jacket and illustrations, among others.

3.1 Book Covers

In the cover of *The Clothing of Books*, Jhumpa Lahiri writes that “if the process of writing is a dream, the book cover represents the awakening” (2016). Illustrations form a very significant part in trauma fictions if one acknowledges the impact of mediated or “transferred” trauma through the graphic or the visual elements in the texts. Considering the translation of *Hajar Churasir Maa* to *Mother of 1084*, the politics of translation can be perceived from the very front cover page if one compares the two covers. Figures 1 and 2 present the front cover pages of the Bengali source text and the English target text:

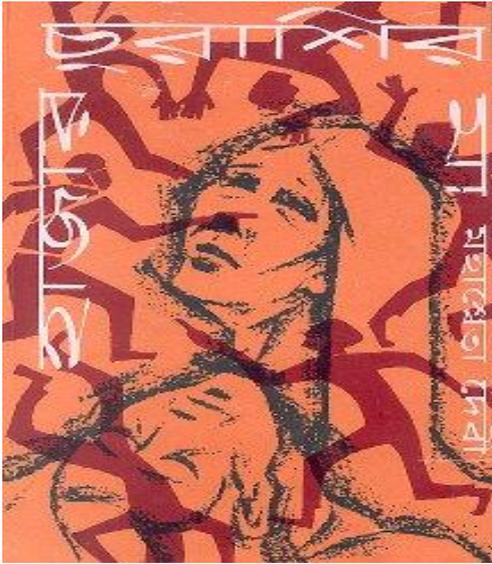


Figure 1. Front Cover of *HajarChurasirMaa*.

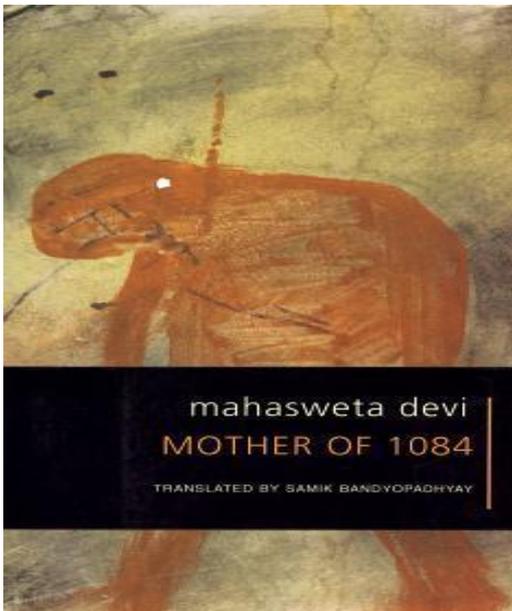


Figure 2. Front Cover of *Mother of 1084*.

As can be seen in the Bengali text, the cover designed by Khaled Choudhary captures the traumatic and violent setting that the story revolves around. On a washed background of vermillion appear figures of men in scarlet red: one is seen with a gun shooting another; an inverted body towards the top-right is decapitated; one is aiming a gun at the shooter; and there are two other fallen bodies, with arms and legs stretched out, outlining the political upheaval that resulted in frequent strife between the Naxalites and the government. However, the illustrator carefully inks the face of the protagonist, that is, the mother with agonized eyes and her reflection (which could also be symbolic of other mothers losing their sons) in the center of the cover, thereby denoting her as the pivotal character in the fiction. The facial expression is one of grief and agony, thrusting the

theme of the mother's trauma which runs as a refrain in the text. Thus, the cover page of the source text reflects the essential theme of the story: it is not so much about the killed as it is about the ones that continue to live and suffer after the death of their loved ones.

However, the illustration designed for the target cover by Sunandini Banerjee, a painting of Arunima Chowdhury, strategically shifts the focus from the "Mother of 1084" to the victim 1084: the painting upholds a bloodied man hanging by the noose, faceless and frameless. Here, the martyred victim of state-perpetuated violence is given the centre-stage whereas the trauma of the mother is eliminated, refracting the plot of the narrative. As also evident from other instances like the reading of the preface of the translation (see next section), this is done to locate *Mother of 1084* as a narrative about the historical Naxal Uprising or the Naxalite movement in the source culture, drawing readers (situated in India and abroad) interested in socio-political events in India. The transfer of focus from the mother's trauma to the victim of state-perpetuated violence indicates an impulse to mark the target text as a narrative about the violence of the Naxalite movement in West Bengal, a subject that would be of more interest and curiosity than a translated text dealing with the universal theme of a mother's trauma to readers versed in English in India and abroad. The illustration shows the blurry figure of a man hanging by the noose, when the victim was actually shot. The use of a modern art work as the illustration of the target text, suggests at an urgency to make the illustration more appealing to contemporary modern readers in India and abroad, attempting to increase the marketability of the translated text. Whether the shift of focus has actually contributed to the marketability of the text is uncertain; nonetheless, the attempt to make the text more acceptable and more contemporary is visible in the cover. Figure 3 shows an empty back cover of the source text.



Figure 3. Back cover of Bengali source text.

The back cover seems to be an extension of the front cover, painted in the same vermilion shade. The back cover remaining blank is common in Bengali fictions, especially the ones written before the turn of the century, and reflects the cultural practices of publishing in the source culture. The back cover of the target text, like most fictions written in English, presents a brief introduction to the fiction written by the author herself (ending with her signature) along with the price, genre, email of the publishing house and the ISBN number. The language in the author’s note resonates with the trauma portrayed in the Bengali source text. The lines read as follows and end with a signature of Devi in italics:

“She looked at the clock. It was six in the morning. She/ looked at the wall. The calendar. Seventeenth January. The whole of the night of the other sixteenth of January/ she had had the pain tearing through her, from/ consciousness to unconsciousness and back again, the/ smell of ether, harsh lights, the doctors moving beyond/ the hazy screen of torpid pain, all night long, all night/ long, then the dawn of seventeenth January/ and Brati was born./ It was the morning of seventeenth January again./ But there lay back in the past, two years ago, yet another/ seventeenth January, yet another dawn, when Sujata/ slept beside the same man in the same manner./ And the telephone rang./ On the bedside table. Suddenly. /Mahasweta Devi” (1997).

Hence, the covers of the target text conform to target publishing conventions in order to fit in the visual aesthetics of English texts.

Another significant observation is that in the back cover, the book is listed as a “FICTION” and the price of the book is printed in three distinct currencies: the dollar of the United States, the Pound of Great Britain and the Rupees of India.

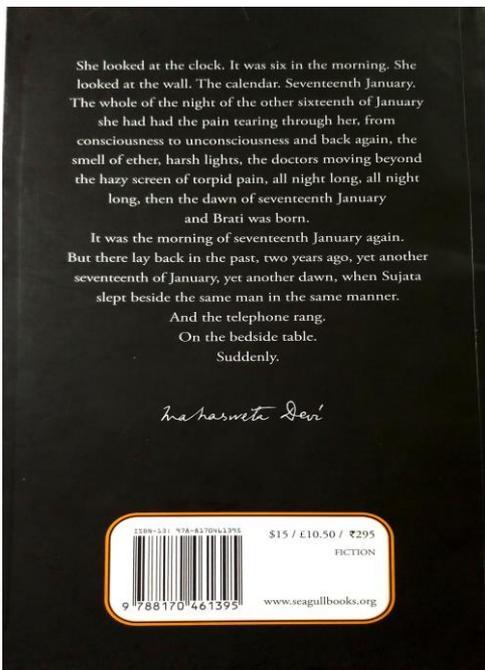


Figure 4. Back cover of English target text.

What this could direct us to assume is that the translation primarily targets English-speaking readers in the United States, Great Britain and India. The target text seeks to transgress the borders of India and amass a wider group of English speaking readers globally.

3.2 Addition of “Introduction”

The “preface” or “introduction” has an impact on the target readers: it directs the reader to approach, read and accept the text in a particular way. This angle of impact is crucial when one considers the translator’s introduction in *Mother of 1084*. The Bengali source text *Hajar Churasir Maa* is devoid of any introduction or preface except for a dedication where the words “*abolokitesher shritite*” (“in the memory of Abolokitesh”) are inscribed toward the top of the page. In the translation, the dedication page is eliminated; instead, an elaborate and detailed “*Introduction*” (1997, pp.vii-xix) written by the translator is added, thereby magnifying the “translator’s visibility” (Batchelor, 2018, p.32) by giving him a platform to voice his opinions, reasons for translating the source text into English and experiences and strategies of translating, and perhaps also to indicate his agenda of translating the given text.

In his extensive thirteen-page “Introduction”, the translator begins by locating the novel within the political backdrop of the Naxalite movement:

When Mahasweta Devi (b. 14 January 1926) wrote the first version of *Hajar Churasir Ma (Mother of 1084)* in 1973 for the October issue of the periodical *Prasad*, the more visible and widespread phase of the Naxalite movement was already over (though it has survived with its militancy intact in some pockets, mostly in a few districts in the south, with the media reporting from time to time ‘encounters’ or clashes that leave several dead – army men, policemen, landlords and their toadies, and of course the Naxalites themselves), the result of repression taking its toll, and scaring away the more faddist section of the urban student radicals who had joined the movement, but were soon running for their lives and cushy positions, and exposing the movement in the ultimate act of betrayal (1997, p.vii).

This is followed by a critical reading of the narrative, reflecting on Devi’s narrative method of writing which is “to rise from time to time from the clinical/ documentary accumulation of facts in objective sequence to a passionate lyrical lift... (1997, p.x) and outlining Devi’s activism during the movement. Bandyopathay writes: “In her narrative, Mahasweta does not give any historical account of the Naxalite movement in West Bengal”; and goes on to elaborate about the political implications. Further, a lengthy paragraph documenting the Naxal uprising is quoted from the London edition of *In the Wake of Naxalbari: The Simmering Revolution* (1980) by the cultural historian Sumanta Banerjee:

With increasing help from the Centre and imported paramilitary and military forces, police retaliation against the CPI (M-L) urban guerrillas began to gain momentum from the last quarter of

1970. No mercy was shown to any CPI (M-L) cadre or supporter if caught... In official parlance their actions came to be known as ‘people’s resistance to Naxalite depredations’ (1997, p.xii-xiii).

This expanse of political and historical information does benefit the target readers situated outside the geo-political space by enlightening them about the historical backdrop of the novel. However, this proliferation of history may manipulate the reader and also shows the “refracted” nature of the text (Lefevere 1992). Lefevere had defined “refraction” as “the adaptation of a work of literature to a different audience, with the intention of influencing the way in which that audience reads the work” (2000, pp.234-235). With regard to the manipulation of translation, Bassnett and Lefevere writes:

All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way. Rewriting is manipulation... But rewriting can also repress innovation, distort and contain, and in an age of ever increasing manipulation of all kinds, the study of the manipulation processes of literature are exemplified by translation can help us towards a greater awareness of the world in which we live (2004, p.vii).

Though the “Introduction” mentions the mother’s attempt to understand her son’s rebellion, it focuses less on the psychological shock or trauma that she was going through; it also does not reflect on the language and stylistic devices of trauma fiction. Hence, in this case, the target text can be perceived as a “rewriting” that does not capture the traumatic aspects of the novel while thrusting importance to the historical backdrop.

4 PUBLISHING HOUSE: FROM KARUNA TO SEAGULL

A comparative analysis of the publishing houses is also crucial in determining the extent of the travel of the target text and its aspiration of global readership. *Hajar Churasir Maa* was published by *Karuna Prakashani* or Karuna Publishing house (for the first time in August 1974, with twenty reprints until January, 2014) which is based in Calcutta (now Kolkata³), the capital of the state of West Bengal, India. The publishing house promotes itself on their web page:

Karuna Prokashani is a renowned publisher and seller of Bengali books. Here books on various subjects are available. There are books of both fiction and non-fiction. If you are in search of good Bengali books, come to us and you will surely be impressed by our collection.⁴

³ Kolkata, the capital of the state of West Bengal in India, used to be known as “Calcutta” until 2001 when it was changed to Kolkata as the present name reflects the Bengali pronunciation of the word. “Calcutta” was the anglicized pronunciation and remained the official name of the city since the British rule until 2001.

⁴ <http://www.karunaprokashani.com/>

The publishing house only caters to the needs of a particular linguistic community, Bengali speaking readers. Founded in 1958, it is a popular publishing house and many well established Bengali writers have published their work with them.

Seagull publishing house published the translation *Mother of 1084* in 1997. This is how the publishing house seeks to define itself:

Seagull Books (est. 1982) has been crafting books with an eye to both exceptional content and radical design. What began as an instinctive and highly risky business of publishing books – books on theatre, visual arts, alternative cinema, philosophy, culture – continues to be a passionately felt need of the hour: manuscripts that need to see the light of day, to reach a readership, to stimulate minds, to change outlooks.⁵

In comparison to Karuna, Seagull Publishers is a more established and widely spread out publishing house, primarily because it deals in English language books, catering for a wider range of readers, in and outside of India. The English translation *Mother of 1084* was published in London, New York and Calcutta by its outlets, targeting English speaking readers not only in India but also across the world. A trauma fiction located in a particular community and published by a smaller publishing house is then molded for global readership by a larger publishing house. However, without sales figures it is impossible to say how large the target audience is outside of India, even though it has gained popularity among India's non-Bengali readers. What can be said is that the publishing house has made the translated text available, readable and historically interesting to readers versed in English across the world.

5 TRANSLATION OF TRAUMA FICTION: TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

This section reports a comparative study of *Hajar Churasir Maa* and *Mother of 1084* and analyzes the translation of the 'rhetoric of pain' to explore the strategies and challenges of translating the language of trauma from Bengali to English. In this process, the research seeks to draw awareness to possible approaches while translating trauma fiction in order to capture the rhetoric of trauma. As stated earlier, the "rhetoric of pain" refers to the "rhythms, processes and uncertainties of trauma" (Vickroy, 2002, p.xiv) that is characteristic of the language or narrative structure of trauma. In Bandyopadhyay's extensive "Introduction" to the translation, the translator writes about capturing "the voices" (1997, p.xix):

There has been an attempt in the translation to capture the voices, and I have enjoyed the rare privilege of the author's active participation in the work... The translation has grown through at least three drafts, and been laid aside for long spells for a really fresh look and consequent revision, all aimed at a dependable translation (1997, p.xix).

⁵ <http://www.seagullindia.com/aboutus.html>

However, nowhere is there a reference to the translator's experience of translating Devi's fragmented, incoherent language structure and rhetorical devices that is so symptomatic of the traumatic theme and tone of the fiction. Keeping in consideration the scope of this article, the analysis will elaborate on the use and translation of three such rhetorical devices that are used extensively in Devi's fiction. These rhetorical devices are repetition, narrative incoherence and exclamation(s). The following subsections will elaborate on each of these devices and their translation.

5.1 Repetition

Repetition, or the compulsive drive or "inherent necessity" (Caruth, 1996, p.63) to relive the traumatic event forms the locus of the experience of trauma. Since the language of trauma imitates the symptoms of trauma, repetition of certain words, phrases and images form a quintessential element of trauma narratives and Devi's fiction is no exception. Whitehead writes on repetition:

One of the key literary strategies in trauma fiction is the device of repetition, which can act at the level of language, imagery and plot. Repetition mimics the effect of trauma, for it suggests the insistent return of the event and the disruption of narrative chronology or progression... Through repetition or correspondence, the simplest event can be invested with a symbolic aura (2004, p.86).

It is thus crucial for the translation to retain the repetitive rhetoric of trauma so as to capture the traumatic theme and structure of the fiction. In the analyzed translation, however, repetitive statements are often ignored and omitted. Observing this tendency in translations of Holocaust Literature, Munyard writes:

Avoiding repetition of words or phrases is part of a set of translation norms which has been found to operate consciously or subconsciously on the translator. In their non-attendance to the lexical texture of the work, however, through the employment of multiple signifiers, in place of one term in the original, translations erase an important allusion to a continuing topos within Holocaust literature (2015, p.97).

This erasure of repeated words or phrases can also be observed in *Mother of 1084*. To understand how this erasure operates, let us elaborate on one of the many paragraphs where the protagonist mother is reflecting or recollecting memories of her deceased son. Here the mother is recollecting giving birth to Brati, a difficult and painful experience, having no one to assist or accompany her. The section in the source text is first transliterated to English, followed by a verbatim translation in English:

- (1) Source text: Abar sulen. Ekhon khub dorkar ek theke eksho guno fela. Doktorer niradesh. Gunleyi betha kome jaye. Gunte ja somay lage, tar modheyi baralga kaaj korte shuru kore. Betha kome... tarpore betha kome. Sujatake klanto, aboshonno, porajito kore betha kome. Betha ekhoni komeche. Ekhon betha koma dorkar. (Devi, 1974, pp.7-8) [Verbatim translation⁶: Lies down again. Now it's very important to

⁶ My translation. I have attempted to retain the rhetoric of the source text in the translation in an attempt to capture the repetition of the refrain "pain lessened".

count from one to hundred. Doctor's command. Once you count, the pain reduces. Within the time it takes to count, the baralgan starts working. Pain lessens... Then, pain lessens. After tiring, exhausting and defeating Sujata, the pain lessens. The pain just lessened. Now, it's necessary for the pain to lessen.]

Target text: Then she lay down again. She had to count from one to hundred. That was what the doctor had instructed. As she counted, the pain subsided. In the time that it took, the Baralgan began to work. The pain abated... The pain subsided. It left Sujata exhausted, overcome. The pain had to subside. (1997, p.4).

The phrase "*betha kome*" meaning "pain lessens" runs as a refrain in the source text; no synonyms have been used for the lessening of pain in order to replay the same event that is so symptomatic of a traumatized psyche. This repetitive refrain is first translated as "the pain abated" and later as "the pain subsided", weakening the source text rhetoric of trauma.

In another example, the narrator outlines how the locality which in 1971 was a zone of ceaseless bloodshed between the Naxal rebels and the state forces had now turned peaceful, erasing the signs of state brutality and relegating the massacre only to the memories of few people. In order to capture the agony of the mother as she recollects and contrasts the present situation with that of the past, four successive paragraphs begin with the same repeated word "*ekhon*" meaning "now":

(2a) Ekhon toh ar kono ashanti nei, kono bhoi nei. Ekhon ar hotat dokanbajare jhap pore na, barike bari dorja bondho hoi na, urdhoshashe chute palai na rikshawchalak, nerikukur, pothchari... (32) [Now there is no trouble, no fear. Now there are no shops and markets suddenly closing down shutters, no house after houses closes door, neither does any rickshaw puller, stray dog or pedestrian flee away frantically...]

(3a) Ekhon ar chute jai na kalogari, helmet pora pulish o military bonduk uchiye tara kore berai na kono arto kishorke... (32) [Now the black cars do not speed across the streets; neither does police forces in helmet nor gun-toting soldiers chase down desperate young boys...]

(4a) Ekhon rastai rastai rokto, kono mayer konther arto bilap anuposthit... (32) [Now the stains of blood on streets, the heart rending cries of mother are all absent...]

(5a) Ekhon ar morte morte kono kishor-koncho chechiye slogan deina... (33) [Now no voice of youth is heard shouting slogans while embracing death...]

This could be called an instance of anaphora, a "literary or oratorical device involving the repetition of a word or phrase at the beginning of several sentences or clauses..." (*Encyclopedia Britannica*), used to add emphasis. The repetition serves to emphasize the

gap between the then and now, the past and the present, the alive and the dead, thereby leaving an impression of recurring pain on the reader. However, this impression of repetition is lost in translation:

(2b) There is no longer any unrest or panic. No shops and markets suddenly pulling down shutters, no doors to houses being slammed shut, no rickshaw pullers, stray dogs and pedestrians running in a mad frenzy... (34)

(3b) No black cars, helmeted policemen and gun-toting soldiers pursue some desperate lone young boy... (34)

(4b) One does not see blood on the streets, nor hear a mother's despairing lament these days... (34)

(5b) Adolescents no longer shout slogans even as they die... (34).

The repeated rhetoric of pain, very rhythmic in the source text, is not captured in the target text. Cutting down on repetitions across the target text results in the target reader missing out on the traumatic undertone and the labyrinths of pain embedded in the very structure of the narrative.

5.2 Narrative incoherence

Narrative incoherence or the inability to narrate one's traumatic experience in consistent, syntactical order and in complete phrases or sentences is widely known to be symptomatic of trauma as "traumatic memories stay 'stuck' in the brain's nether regions – the nonverbal, nonconscious, subcortical regions... where they are not accessible to the frontal lobes – the understanding, thinking, reasoning parts of the brain" (Burke, 2008, p.1). Since trauma resists language and representation, coherence in the language and sentence structure becomes difficult to arrive at in testimonies or narratives of trauma. Whitehead remarks:

The effect of the inherent latency of trauma can be discerned in the broken or fragmented quality of testimonial narratives which demand new structure or reading and reception (2004, p.7).

So, testimonies and trauma narratives are heavily ruptured, fractured and incoherent, thereby attaching the sense of brokenness (that a trauma survivor undergoes) in the very language and syntactical frame of the narrative. Like other trauma fictions (on the Holocaust or the Partition of India, for example), the source text in consideration is mostly written in an utterly incoherent structure and abounds in disjointed, fragmented phrases and sentences. Devi does not hesitate to canvas the fragmented narrative voice that weaves her tale, the voice delving into the flashback and then returning to the present moment time and again, even though it meant creating an incoherent and complex narrative.

The opening lines of the source text (6a) uphold how the protagonist mother, Sujata, kept revisiting a particular morning twenty-two years ago in her dreams. This is a flashback to the time when her son was about to be born, thereby portraying the beginning of what would now be a painful memory resisting expression in its entirety.

(6a) Sopne Sujata bayish bochor agekar ek sokale fire giyechilen, prai e jaan. Nijer bage guchiye rakhen towale, jama, sari, toothbrush, saban (Devi, 1974, p.5). [In dreams, Sujata returned to a morning twenty-two years ago; often returns. Packs the towel, clothes, sari, toothbrush, soap in her bag.]

The sentence in the source text is fragmented, indicating the rupture of the traumatized mind that always returns to the traumatic events and replays itself. However, the target text (6b) makes complete sentences out of this fragmented sentence:

(6b) In her dreams, Sujata was back on a morning twenty-two years ago. She often went back to the morning. She found herself packing her bag: towel, blouse, sari, toothbrush, soap (1997, p.1).

The collapse of narration is mended in the target text; the rough edges are smoothed by constructing two syntactically complete sentences out of the first disjointed sentence, and the second incoherent sentence of the source text is given a coherence that wipes out the fractures embedded in the language of trauma. The sentences are recomposed in the target text and rearranged according to the established idea of a coherent, narrative order. However, this strategy of implementing coherence in the structure of the target text diminishes the presence of the traumatic voice that was so integral to the understanding of the source text. The target readers probably would not be able to detect the fragmented narrative voice, and they have less chance to be affected by the theme of trauma in the text.

Let us consider another example. Here, Sujata visits the house of Somu, another rebel friend of Brati who had died on the same day as Brati. This extract (7a) captures the intensely emotional meeting between Somu's mother and Brati's mother where more is spoken between the grieving mothers in silence than with language.

(7a) Ekhon tar chehara klanto, bidhosto, Somur maa or samne boshe nirobe kadhchilen. Roga, kalo mukh bhese jachilo chokher jole. Ek bochore or chehara aaro jirno hoye geche. Porone moila mota than (1974, p.33) [Now she looks tired, shattered; Somu's mother sat before her, weeping silently. Her shriveled, dark face awash in tears. In one year, she has become more shriveled. Was wearing a dirty, coarse-white sari.]

The source text sentences are fractured. The verbatim translation attempts to retain the incoherence of the narrative voice. This incoherence represents the tone of the fiction and captures how trauma resists and reacts to language. Observing this significance of incoherence in certain narratives, Berman writes, "The signifying shapelessness indicates

that prose plunges into the depths, the strata, the polylogism of language” (2000, p.280). However, the translation (7b) does not attend to this incoherence:

(7b) She looked tired, broken. Somu’s mother sat before him, crying silently. Her frail, dark face was awash with tears. She had become thinner in the last one year. She wore a dirty coarse plain white sari (1997, p.35).

Hence, though the translation attempts to capture the narrative voice, the reconstruction of the sentences by making them coherent reduces the impact of the traumatic narrative voice in the target text.

One of the possible reasons for reconstructing fragmented sentences in translation could be that in 1997, when the text was translated, awareness about trauma in literary studies was not yet widespread in Indian academia. Cathy Caruth’s *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* had just been published in 1995 and it was yet to impact the academic circles in a significant way. The lack of awareness about trauma and trauma studies could be a reason for the translator’s not distinguishing the trauma narrative from other fictions. Again, another reason for the reconstruction of sentences might have been the readability of the target text (perhaps to increase marketability). The translator used simple words and restrained from complex sentences, making clarity a primary quality of the target text. Hence, the traumatized narrative voice often tends to disappear in the target text.

5.3 Exclamation(s)

Exclamations, or exclamatory phrases or sentences, capture the expression of a strong feeling or a profound and deep emotion. Since exclamatory phrases or sentences not only make a statement but also add the expression of emotion in language, trauma survivors or writers of trauma narratives are often seen to use exclamatory sentences in order to verbally express the shock of their traumatic experience. Hron remarks that “writers might convey their anger, frustration, or anxiety through exclamation” (2009, p.48).

Hence, testimonies of trauma are often heavily laden with exclamatory phrases in an attempt to register the pain, angst and shock of the experience of trauma. Devi not only uses exclamatory phrases and sentences to register the shock and trauma of the protagonist; exclamations are also used to express her wrath, disgust, disapproval, contempt throughout the narrative. These emotionally charged exclamatory sentences play a crucial role in shaping the narrative voice of the text and affecting the emotions of the reader. The translation, however, has often toned down these exclamatory sentences, resulting in the emotional narrative voice to fall flat in the target text.

The following extract from the source text (8a) captures the agonized protagonist Sujata reflecting on her identity as a mother and empathizing with other thousands of mothers who have lost their sons:

(8a) sujata ke? Tini toh sudhu maa. Jader hajar hajar hridoye ei proshno aajo kure kure khachhe, tara ke? Tara sudhu maa! (197, p.47) [Who is Sujata? She is only a mother. The thousands and thousands of hearts that are being gnawed upon by this question even now, who are they? They are only mothers!]

The extract ends with an exclamation mark, emphasizing the emotional aspects of the protagonist's reflection. As her reflection on the pain of mothers comes to a momentary culmination, there is an outburst of agony for the thousands of mothers (herself included) whose very existence is gnawed by numerous unanswered questions about their deceased children. The technique of terminating the thought-process with an exclamatory sentence ("*tara sudhu maa!*" ["They are only mothers!"]) projects a release of her trauma, and an attempt to transmit the shock and pain to the reader. This, however, is not reflected in the translation:

(8b) Who is Sujata? Only a mother. Who are those hundreds or thousands whose hearts, even now, are being gnawed by question? Only mothers. (1997, p.51)

The translation does not end with an exclamatory sentence; instead, the fragment culminates with a full stop, stripping the emotions of agony. Let us consider another example. In this extract (9a), two exclamatory phrases register two different emotions:

(9a) Bini, chobita kothay gelo? [Bini, where is the photograph gone?]

Tetalar ghore. [In the room on the second floor.]

Telatar ghore? [In the room on the second floor?]

Baba bollen... [Father said...]

Baba bollen! [Father said!]

...

... sudhu abosonno mone bhebechilen, Dibyanath bolte paren emon kotha. Kintu Bini ki, Naa! Bole badha dite parlonā? (1974, p.11) [She only thought disappointedly, Dibyanath could say a thing like this. But couldn't Bini say, No! And stop him?]

The first exclamatory fragment ("Father said!") registers irony and Sujata's deep contempt, wrath and hatred for her husband's hypocrisy and her daughter's insensitivity (removing Brati's photograph). The second exclamatory phrase ("No!") registers her deep agony. The translation (9b) does not retain these exclamations, effacing the emotions of wrath, agony and irony that were embedded in the source text:

(9b) Bini, where the picture?

In the room on the second floor.

In the room on the second floor?

Father said...

Father said?

...

She felt that it was quite characteristic of Dibyanath to take a decision like that. But couldn't Bini protest and stop it? (1997, pp.8-9)

The target readers only get to read interrogative sentences that fail to capture the outburst of emotion. Neither do the readers capture Sujata's contempt and disgust. Thus, by eliminating the exclamatory sentences in the target text, the English translation is stripped of the traumatic undertone of the source text.

Summarizing the findings of textual analysis, the translation *Mother of 1084* has not reflected the syntactical texture of the source text at large. This is not to say that the translation fails to portray the themes of the narrative, but the research suggests giving more attention to the syntactical structure of a trauma narrative so as to capture and preserve the traumatic undertone in the literary and linguistic make-up of the narrative. The study thus thrusts a kind of moral responsibility on the translator to capture the trauma as depicted in the source text and cast a similar impact on the target reader. By insisting on the transference of trauma in the target text, however, translators could be pushed into translating mechanically, focusing only on the stylistic devices that are typical of trauma fiction. Sometimes trauma fictions "are written and rewritten until they become codified and the narrative form replaces content as the focus of attention" (Tal, 1996, p.6); this is not the aim of this study.

6 CONCLUSIONS

This article has tackled the intricate relation between trauma and translation and outlined some of the complexities involved in translating trauma. In this study, a case of trauma fiction translation from Bengali to English has been presented through paratextual analysis (how paratextual elements play a role in the transmission of the traumatic theme of the narrative) and through textual analysis (how the rhetorical devices of repetition, narrative incoherence and exclamations in trauma fiction tend to get overlooked in translation). There are also some limitations to the scope of the study: first, cultural factors influencing the production of translations (such as publishing house practices) constitute too wide a field to have been included here. Secondly, the study is not necessarily representative of other Bengali trauma novels and their translations into English. There is thus further scope for study in trauma translation. To conclude, the article proposes the idea that language of trauma can and should be resonated in the target text; and through

its understanding of the relation between trauma and translation, the article also calls for wider research on trauma writings from the perspective of Translation Studies.

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Undergraduate and Graduate Writing in Translation. Making sense of corpus data

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ABSTRACT

Academic writing, the role of translation and the acquisition of academic literacy have recently gained substantial research attention. This paper discusses Slovene academic writing, focusing particularly on undergraduate and graduate academic writing at Slovene universities. Although previous studies have focused on academic writing of established Slovene scholars in translation, Slovene undergraduate and graduate academic writing and its translation into English have received little research attention. In this paper, a comparison is made between two corpora comprising academic texts, a specialised corpus of bilingual undergraduate and graduate writing, HEC, consisting of history and engineering thesis abstracts, and KAS, a general corpus of academic Slovene. In HEC, there are English translations of the Slovene abstracts, but it is not clear whether they are translated by the students or by someone else. The corpora are compared in terms of the use and frequency of personal references. Using the results of the corpus study, several process-related issues are identified. These issues include specific discourse-related topics concerning the functions of personal references, as well as general topics concerning the role of different languages in the participants' academic disciplines at the undergraduate and graduate levels. The identified issues are used as a starting point for designing a follow-up interview study to be conducted with 12 undergraduate and graduate students of history and engineering.

KEY WORDS: academic discourse, rhetoric conventions, interdisciplinary comparison, translation, interview

1 INTRODUCTION

Slovene academic writing has different linguistic and rhetorical characteristics compared to the Anglo-American one. The different historical development of the British/American and Slovene academic discourses needs to be considered when comparing the two traditions. The former, in fact, traces back to the beginning of the 17th century, while the latter started to develop in the middle of the 19th century. Slovene academic writing was significantly affected by German, whose influence lasted for more than 100 years,

assuming that Slovene scientific writing gradually started to develop after 1848 (Žigon et al., 2017, p.30). The development of Slovene academic writing progressed with the foundation of the first Slovene university in Ljubljana in 1919 (Pisanski Peterlin, 2005, p.311). Before that, it is plausible to affirm that scientific terminology had already started to develop in the second half of the 19th century. The strong presence of German remained considerable and served as a model for Slovene academics after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary in 1918 and even after WW2 when Slovenia was part of Yugoslavia (Pisanski Peterlin, 2005, p.311). The other language that has defined the development of Slovene academic writing is English. After World War II and specifically since the 1970s, the British and American paradigm has had a noticeable impact on Slovene academic writing as on the academic writing in other cultures, coinciding with the dominant status of English as the lingua franca of science and technology (Eurydice, 2012).

Three additional interesting factors, however, need to be taken into consideration to account for the differences between the Slovene and Anglo-American academic discourses. They involve the linguistic similarities among Slavic languages in comparison to English, the rhetorical differences between English and Slovene, and the recent need for competition on the market (Hyland & Salager-Meyer, 2008, p.324). First, Slovene is a member of the Slavic language group and shares a great deal of syntactic and morphological similarities with other Slavic languages. This may explain why in Slovene, the use of the passive and agentive passives is more limited than in English, as is the case for non-finites (Pisanski Peterlin, 2014, p.62). Second, Slovene is considered to be more reader-responsible than English (Pisanski Peterlin, 2005, p.308), meaning that metatext features, paragraph divisions etc. are also less frequent and, as Mauranen (1993) argues for Finnish, publications in Slovene are intended for a smaller, national audience. Third, the expansion of the market has propagated competition among scholars in European universities and has disrupted the once collaborative academic community, as argued by Yakhontova (2002) for Ukrainian. Different historical, rhetorical, sociocultural and cross-linguistic circumstances have formed diverse academic writing and rhetorical conventions in English and Slovene. Their influence on authors' writing can be seen, for instance, in the examination of the use and frequency of first person references in Slovene and English.

It is important to note there have been to this day no studies focusing on Slovene and English undergraduate and graduate academic writing from the point of view of contrastive rhetoric. While previous studies, e.g. Pisanski Peterlin (2008, 2010, 2015), focused on contrasting English and Slovene academic writing produced by accomplished scholars and researchers in terms of sentence-initial adversative connectives, hedging devices in Slovene-English translation as well metatext features, there has been less research on these topics in students' academic writing. On the other hand, previous research on student academic writing has contrasted Slovene with other languages, for example Balažic Bulc and Gorjanc (2015), who compared the position of connectors in

Slovene and Croatian academic writing, and Heredero Zorzo (2016), who compared the use of discourse markers in Spanish and Slovene student essays. The topic of personal references, however, has yet to be explored in more detail.

There are several ways with which authors interact with the audience. In other words, they may prefer an impersonal style or engage with the reader by using personal and/or possessive pronouns. Research on the development of journal articles (research articles) has shown that the use of first person pronouns was very common in the 19th century, when scientific articles were written mostly in the form of letters (Swales, 1990). However, after the 19th century there was a shift from description and narration to explanation and analysis, an increase of references to other studies, and in particular, the focus of an article was on the investigation itself rather than the writer (Kuo, 1999, p.122). Consequently, impersonal structures and a strictly objective style became distinctive features of scientific reporting (Bennett 2007, p.161).

In recent years, however, journal articles have shown a more varied and dynamic style, in which the author's personal position and interaction with the audience have also become significant (Hyland, 1994, p.240; Molino, 2010; Grad, 2010; Hyland, 2015, p.23). Some scholars have characterised this interaction as voice, i.e. the way individuals represent or identify themselves in their discourse (Flowerdew & Ho Wang, 2015, p.85). In the case of first person pronouns, they are an important rhetorical device in academic writing, since they, as argued by Hyland, 2002 and Kuo, 1999, "allow writers to emphasise their contribution to the academic debate and construct an authoritative discursal self through the realisation of various discourse functions" (Kuo, 1999, p.130). Previous studies on this topic compare personal references in English with those in other European languages (Vassileva, 2001 for English and Bulgarian; Grad, 2010 for English and Slovene; Molino, 2010 for English and Italian; Pahor, Forthcoming for English and Slovene etc.). The use of personal references varies with respect to different disciplines and in texts written by native or non-native speakers of English. The discrepancy in the use of personal references seems to be caused by cross-linguistic and discipline-related parameters which differ considerably among languages and thus often lead to contrasting results.

Some researchers have focused on the use of both personal and impersonal references. Molino (2010), for instance, compared English and Italian linguistics research articles. She found that personal forms are attested less frequently in Italian linguistics research articles, while impersonal forms are attested at a similar frequency in both languages (Molino, 2010, p.98). Moreover, she claims that differences in frequencies of personal or impersonal forms arise due to the interaction of subjectivity or objectivity with the degree to which academics intervene with specific speech acts (e.g. explaining procedures, announcing goals) in their research articles.

Others have focused on the use of personal pronouns *we* and *us*, and the possessive pronoun *our* (Grad, 2010). In his study of medical articles written by Slovene authors and native speakers of English, Grad concludes that in English the frequency of the personal pronoun *we* is higher among native speakers of English, whereas the frequency of the possessive pronoun *our* is higher among non-native speakers of English (Grad, 2010, p.80). English authors thus seem to be more assertive in their writing than the Slovene ones.

In Pahor (Forthcoming) the purpose was to examine the use and frequency of personal references in two distinct disciplines, engineering and history, and in two different types of theses, viz. bachelor and master's theses. First person plural references were more frequently attested in the field of engineering, in which the students seem to cooperate with other students or professors. Furthermore, the frequency of plural references was higher in Slovene compared to English due to linguistic differences between the two languages. Conversely, first person singular references were distributed evenly in both languages and were unexpectedly attested only in the field of history. The analysis also examined the main functions of personal references in Slovene and English. The most common uses of the plural personal references were: *pluralis modestiae*, which conveys the author's modest and non-imposing approach to the reader (Čmejrková, 2007, p.95), sometimes by referring to a generic third person with *we* and thus also known as "generic first person plural" (Toporišič, 1991, p.499), the referral to a research group, usually of two or three authors, and the discursive function of explaining the work of the research (Grad, 2010, p.78). The functions of singular personal references were to explain the thesis' structure (I will try, I explore, I illustrated) or to express an opinion, amazement or interest (I thought, I was always interested in). The analysis therefore confirmed that discipline- and language-related parameters influence the frequency of personal references.

This article has two main aims. First, the article compares two corpora consisting of academic texts (i.e. bilingual theses abstracts and Slovene theses) to shed light on the main frequencies and uses of personal references in Slovene and English. Second, it uses results from Pahor (Forthcoming) and those of the two corpus analyses to identify issues that arise in the process of translation of theses' abstracts. These process-related issues are revealed through the text but cannot be answered by the corpus study. One of the main issues, i.e. the identity of the (self)translator, will be crucial for the investigation and will be asked in follow-up face-to-face interviews. In order to gain some information about the amount of effort invested into the translation of the abstracts, the goal of this study is to develop research questions and further sub-questions that will be asked to 12 undergraduate and graduate students in semi-structured interviews. The topics covered by the questions include: the identity of the translator, the role of the supervisor and the faculty in the preparation and translation of theses' abstracts, the terminological difficulties encountered by the students, the role of English, Slovene and other languages

in a student's discipline, the cooperation of students with other students or professors and the proofreading of the abstracts.

2 THE IMPACT OF ENGLISH ON HIGHER EDUCATION

In order to understand the wider context surrounding the issues that arise in the translation between Slovene and English in the academic genre, it is necessary to consider the distribution of both languages in higher education.

Many studies have discussed the expansion of English in higher education and its twofold status. Phillipson, for instance, argues that while English can be an opportunity for European institutions, it may also endanger minor languages of those institutions (2015, p.21). He also claims that "English in higher education has become a global commodity, which inevitably affects the nature and goals of universities" (Phillipson, 2015, pp.22-23). A similar view is held by Coleman (2006), who adds that universities are becoming "brands" and students "customers".

Pulcini and Campagna (2015) have discussed the issue of internationalisation and the English medium instruction (EMI) in Italian education. They observed that in Italy, due to the country's complex socio-cultural environment, the use of Italian in the academic context symbolises the effort to maintain a national intellectual identity and prestige (Pulcini & Campagna, 2015, p.68). Furthermore, they suggest that whereas the Nordic countries have a long tradition of EMI, this is not the case for Mediterranean countries, where the overall proficiency of English is considerably lower (Pulcini & Campagna, 2015, p.72). Their overall findings confirm that while English is the lingua franca in the sciences and that translation of terminology from English into Italian can be painful and useless due to the lack of adequate terminology in Italian, this scenario is "totally different" in the humanities (Pulcini & Campagna, 2015, p.83).

Similarly, Gürtler and Kronewald (2015) have addressed the English-medium of instruction and internationalisation processes in Germany. They found out that despite a 1300% increase of English-medium in just over a decade there is still a strong academic heritage in German (Gürtler & Kronewald, 2015, p.90). Their survey targeted teaching staff's motivations and challenges when working with EMI and FLMI (foreign-language medium of instruction) in general. Personal interest, students' and institutions' demand for FLMI and the ratio of exchange students are listed as the main motivations, whereas different language levels of students, their inadequate proficiency in the foreign language and additional instructor workload as the greatest challenges for the teaching staff. In conclusion, the authors remark that Germany should partly internationalise higher education through FLMI without thwarting the development of German in academic settings (Gürtler & Kronewald, 2015, p.112).

There has also been research on the impact of English on Slovene higher education. Kalin Golob et al. (2017) discuss the clash between the national language and internationalisation in Slovene universities. The authors agree with Phillipson (2015, p.21) that there are bipolar opinions about the increase of English in higher education. Their survey comprises three different groups of students and teachers. The first one, labelled “pro-English” by the authors, markedly supports English, referring to better educational and professional opportunities and generally viewing its increase as unproblematic for the preservation of Slovene for academic purposes, while the “pro-Slovene” group highlights that the quality of teaching and learning is better in one’s first language and recognises the symbolic role of the national language (Kalin Golob et al., 2017, pp.1073-1075). The authors follow the suggestions of the third group, i.e. the “cosmopolitan” one, which values multilingualism and interculturalism and advocates for functional language skills in both Slovene and English and their sensible combination (Kalin Golob et al., 2017, p.1076). It is significant to remark that students of the pro-English group had better self-evaluation of their English skills than the pro-Slovene group and used English more regularly. They studied natural sciences or engineering disciplines such as computer science, biotechnology and engineering. This could mean that the quality of these students’ academic work in English would be better than that of the students in the humanities or social sciences who predominantly formed the pro-Slovene group, used English less frequently and evaluated their English skills below average.

All of the examined studies advocate a cautious and planned implementation of EMI in higher education, stressing the right balance between English and the national language. This process is rather complex to achieve and in many cases it reflects what Phillipson (2006, p.70) calls “the European paradox”: on the one hand, universities are keen on intensifying English-medium instruction across Europe by adopting a common *lingua franca*, while on the other hand, they try to maintain linguistic diversity in conformity with the multilingual tradition of education.

To sum up, English has impacted some disciplines (engineering, computer science, biotechnology) to a greater extent than others (history, archaeology), as argued by Gnutzmann and Rabe (2014) for the German academic context, for instance. A similar trend may be observed in the Slovene academic environment and needs to be considered to account for discipline-related factors which may influence the translation from and into English.

The overview illustrates that the distribution of languages in higher education is often asymmetrical and because of this, translation and self-translation from or into English occur very frequently in the context of higher education across various European countries.

3 METHODOLOGY

The present study focuses on identifying the issues that arise in the process of translation of undergraduate and graduate theses abstracts using corpus data and developing the interview guide for a future process-based study. These issues transpire from the results obtained from a comparison of two corpora. The first analysis is based on the HEC corpus (History and Engineering Corpus), the small, pilot, specialized corpus of Slovene academic abstracts and their English translations developed in Pahor (Forthcoming), while the second one is based on KAS (Slo. *korpus akademske slovenščine*, i.e. the corpus of academic Slovene: available online).

3.1 HEC

A 20,000-word pilot parallel corpus of undergraduate and graduate writing in English and Slovene, developed in Pahor (Forthcoming) was used as the starting point for the present study. HEC comprises two sub-corpora: a 9,149-word Slovene sub-corpus comprising 30 bachelors' and 30 master's theses abstracts and a 10,843-word sub-corpus with the matching translations into English of the same set of abstracts.

The 60 abstracts were chosen randomly from a larger set of abstracts available on three online repositories that are being constantly updated. As of October 2019, more than 150,000 texts comprising bilingual abstracts are stored in the repositories. The HEC corpus, therefore, falls under the category of small specialized corpora (Ross, 2018, p.5). While small corpora certainly have their issues, e.g. they are not representative of the language as a whole and their purpose is not to make generalisations about the language or about broad categories of texts (Aston 2001, p.75), they have some important advantages, such better control over genre characteristics and more suitable data for exploration of the academic language (see Flowerdew, 2004, for more details). In this case, a specialised parallel corpus was designed to research language patterns in bilingual Slovene and English abstracts (i.e. the use and frequency of personal authorial references) which could not have been studied on general corpora of either Slovene or English. Additional criteria for the selection of theses abstracts are as follows:

Discipline: the disciplines of engineering and history were chosen. Each sub-corpus consists of 60 theses abstracts, differentiated by two factors: different discipline and different degree level. For each discipline, therefore, there are 30 theses abstracts, of which 15 are bachelor and 15 master's theses abstracts.

Year of publication: the abstracts were retrieved from three online repositories, i.e. RUL (Repository of the University of Ljubljana), DKUM (Digital Library of the University of Maribor), and RUP (Repository of the University of Primorska). All bachelor and master's theses were published between 2008 and 2018.

Place of publication: The University of Ljubljana is the leading institution and biggest university in Slovenia. Moreover, its repository has the largest number of published degrees. For this reason, 40 out of 60 degree abstracts (2/3 of all texts) were chosen from the Repository of the University of Ljubljana. However, there are at least three other important universities across Slovenia: University of Maribor, University of Primorska and the smaller one University of Nova Gorica. For a more thorough representativeness of the results, 20 out of 60 degree abstracts (1/3 of all texts) from the first two were included in the analysis. Out of those, 10 degree abstracts are from University of Maribor and 10 from University of Primorska.

3.2 KAS Corpus

KAS, the corpus of academic Slovene (available online at: <http://nl.ijs.si/kas/english/>), is a monolingual corpus of over 1,500,000,000 words which covers all types of dissertations (bachelor, master's and doctoral) as well as other types of texts published in the period 2000-2018. The corpus was examined to obtain an insight into general uses and frequencies of personal references in the Slovene academic discourse from a range of different disciplines. KAS contains a number of different genres of Slovene academic writing. The vast majority of the texts comprises bachelor, master's and Doctoral theses, while the other academic texts are principally specialist, technical and scientific works (Erjavec et al., 2016, p.60). For the purpose of this analysis, bachelor, master's and Doctoral theses were considered as they represent the development of students' academic writing at Slovenian universities over the last 18 years, offering valuable insight into Slovene academic writing conventions that may be useful for comparison with the specialized pilot corpus HEC. HEC is, of course, not directly comparable to KAS in text type and size, as their purposes are very different. Nevertheless, the comparison can be informative due to the similar functions that are characteristic for personal references.

3.3 Procedure

The two corpora, HEC and KAS, were searched using Sketch Engine for the occurrences of personal references in Slovene and English. In HEC, the focus was on the English pronouns *I* and *we* and the matching verbs in first person singular and plural in Slovene. English and Slovene differ in the way first person references are encoded in grammar. In English, subject pronouns *I* and *we* are indispensable to identify the agent/actor of a given process (Molino, 2010, p.88), while in Slovene, personal pronouns are most often omitted, as the subject is always signalled through morphology in the verb ending (Toporišič, 1991, p.197). Because of this difference, personal pronouns in English and verb endings in Slovene can be considered comparable as they perform the same function. To refer to first person pronouns and verbs, the general term personal authorial references will be used (Molino, 2010, p.92).

The analysis of KAS, on the other hand, focused only on the occurrences of Slovene first person verbs in the writing of undergraduate and graduate students. Two factors were

considered: the grammatical number (singular or plural) of the verb and the different type of thesis in which the verb was found (bachelor, master's or Doctoral dissertation⁷). The analysis was used to obtain a general overview of the use and frequency of personal references in Slovene. The data was further manually examined. All irrelevant occurrences were omitted from the results. Similarly, a manual examination of the data was performed for HEC. Here, however, the analysis considered both Slovene and English personal references in the writing of undergraduate and graduate students. Like in KAS, the occurrences were retrieved from bachelor and master's theses, although not from Doctoral dissertations. In addition, the dual number was not included in both analyses in order to achieve a better singular vs. plural comparison for English and Slovene. Unlike KAS, where all disciplines were considered, this analysis took into account two specific disciplines, i.e. engineering and history, which in turn restricted the size sample of the corpus.

The main features used to retrieve the instances of first person authorial references were concordance simple query for *we* and *I* for English and concordance CQL for the Slovene first person verbs. The Slovene tags applied for both corpora were G.*g.*p.*m.*, G.*p.*p.*m.*, G.*p.*p.*e.* and G.*g.*p.*e.* (where G. stands for verb, g./p. in second position indicate the verb type, i.e. main or auxiliary, p. in the third position refers to the verb number – always first person, and m./e. symbolise plural/singular). The instances in which *we* or *I* was omitted but could be inferred from the context were included in the results (textual ellipsis of the pronoun, e.g. *we analysed and [we] discussed*).

The two analyses were conducted in order to compare the similarities and differences of the results from Pahor (Forthcoming) and KAS. With the examination of KAS, it was possible to acquire more information about the general tendencies on the use of personal authorial references across many disciplines and faculties in the Slovene academic environment.

The central aim of this study, however, was to complement the results of the HEC corpus study which were quantitatively and contrastively already analysed in Pahor (Forthcoming) by comparing them with the results obtained in KAS and understand which translation process-related issues could not be answered by the corpora. In order to address them, the goal was to prepare questions for follow-up face-to-face interviews. Qualitative semi-structured face-to-face interviews enable us to gain insight into the practices and opinions of the interviewees; the advantages and limitations of the method are outlined in Harwood and Petrić (2012, p.88). The questions and further sub-questions are open-ended and seek to stimulate a longer conversation with the students which should improve the possibility of getting the desired information. The questions and

⁷ Doctoral dissertations were included in the analysis of personal references since their impact on the results is minimal.

further sub-questions about the main process-related issues arising from the comparison of the two corpora were developed and divided into six categories. They are presented in Section 4.3.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Personal references in HEC

Table 1 summarises the quantitative results from Pahor (Forthcoming); the raw figures have been normalised and they show frequencies per 1000 words. The results reveal that the frequency of personal authorial references is considerably higher in Slovene abstracts than in the English ones.

Table 1. Normalised frequencies per 1000 words of personal references in Slovene and English abstracts.

Personal references/language	Slovene abstracts	English abstracts
<i>We</i>	12.02 (9.51 engineering – 2.51 history)	7.00 (5.16 engineering – 1.84 history)
<i>I</i>	2.51 (all history)	2.30 (all history)

The pronounced difference between the frequency of personal authorial references in Slovene and English raises questions about the reasons for these differences. In English there is a lack of agreement (cf. Hyland 2002, p.1107, Ivanić 1998) about the recommended usage of the author's interaction with the reader which often clashes with the recommendations for individual disciplines. This is also true for Slovene, where the passive voice is not as frequent as it is in English and the use of plural personal authorial references is not considered as personal and direct (Blaganje & Konte, 1998, p.295). Although linguistic differences certainly account for a lower number of personal authorial references in English, a problem that remains relates to how the translation and writing strategies adopted by the students impact the frequency of personal authorial references in both languages. In some instances, a student may translate Slovene active structures into passive English structures or passive Slovene structures with active English ones. Consider the examples in (1a-b) and (2a-b).⁸

⁸ For the sake of clarity, each example consists of: a) the Slovene text (labelled with Slo.) followed by the English glosses (given in square brackets) provided by the author of the article and b) the translation by the students found in the corpus (labelled with Eng.)

(1a) iz analize FMEA smo ugotovili (Slo.)
[from the analysis FMEA we found out]

(1b) a final FMEA analysis was performed (Eng.)

(2a) se je zasnovala konstrukcija, na kateri bomo preverjali tesnost izdelka (Slo.)
[a construction was designed on which we will test the tightness of the product]

(2b) we designed a construction on which we tested our product (Eng.)

These examples and further instances from the corpus listed below in (4a-c) show that although similar functions of personal authorial references can be found in both languages, changes can be identified in students' translations. Some of these changes involve the reduction (1a) or increase (1b) of personal references, while other changes indicate additions (i.e. *final* in 1b) or omissions (*tightness* in 2b) of some words. This raises several interesting questions about whether such changes were deliberate or coincidental, but also broader questions about the guidance that the students receive on how to write and translate the abstracts in their courses, from their supervisors in the process of thesis writing, and about the attention given to skills in institutional courses of English for academic purposes.

In addition, even though several examples might suggest that the prevalent translation direction is from L1 to L2 (transposition of rhetorical strategies from Slovene into English), it is still difficult to decipher the translation direction without any additional information. Consider the example below (3a-b), where it is ambiguous which text was created first:

(3a) Na podlagi dobljenih nelinearnih gibalnih enačb je izdelana simulacija leta ...
(Slo.)

(3b) Based on these nonlinear equations of motion a flight simulation is designed...
(Eng.)

Another aspect which has been considered by several studies is the impact of cooperation on the use and frequency of personal references in different disciplinary fields. Cooperation is perhaps more evident in research papers, where writing can be seen as a form of collaboration (Becher, 1994, p.158; Pérez-Llantada et al., 2010, p.7). Moreover, writing in (larger) teams seems to be the default writing mode in natural and engineering sciences (Gnutzmann & Rabe, 2014, p.35), whereas this is less frequent in research papers of the humanities and social sciences. Although less frequent, however, this tendency could possibly occur in students' theses abstracts in which students could use the plural pronoun *we* or the plural verb forms in Slovene to account for the work done with the

help of other students or professors. The aspect of cooperation may, therefore, lead to fewer occurrences in history thesis abstracts compared to engineering, as shown in Table 1. Surprisingly, all instances of singular personal authorial references are attested only for the field of history. This might suggest a more individual work which is usually characteristic for history students, who write their thesis in cooperation with usually one supervisor (Gnutzmann & Rabe, 2014, p.36). These students may want to accentuate their own contribution to the field that distinguishes their work from others (Hyland, 2015, p.7).

Pahor (Forthcoming) reveals that (as in Grad 2010) the use of plural personal authorial references in both Slovene and English abstracts comprises three principal functions. First, they are used in the sense of *pluralis modestiae*, which conveys the author's non-imposing view to the reader, usually by referring to a generic third person with the pronoun *we*. Second, *we* can indicate that the author was a member of a research team, and third, plural personal authorial references explain the thesis structure and methodology. This is shown in (4a-c):

(4a) **We** can call the Dutch revolt also Dutch war for independence or Eighty years war.

(4b) **We** also developed a program for the human-machine interface, which was written in Visual Studio C# programming language.

(4c) During the experiment, **we** used the method known as particle image velocimetry to show the flow field.

Singular references have two main functions: they explain the thesis structure or express an opinion, amazement or interest. Consider the examples in (5a-b):

(5a) **I** will describe...

(5b) zgodovina **me** že od nekdaj zanima
[**I** have always had an interest in history]

As mentioned above, these functions may be preserved or changed during the translation process. The next step here is to ask the interviewees about specific reasons for such decisions and to prepare a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the different functions of personal authorial references, as presented in Kuo (1999). Another question, directly linked to the (lack of) guidance on translation, concerns potential terminological issues encountered by the students during the translation process. Finally, the students' attitude toward the translation of thesis abstracts and, more specifically, their opinions on the use of personal authorial references in the two languages also merits attention. Another aspect

that emerged from the results of Pahor (Forthcoming) and could not be presented here due to limited space is the influence of proofreading in both languages on the grammatical accuracy of the original and translated abstracts.

All these issues have generated the need for questions that will be asked to students at face-to-face interviews. The questions are presented in the section 4.3.

4.2 Personal references in KAS

The analysis of KAS provides us with an insight into the use of personal authorial references in Slovene academic discourse across different disciplines. The results show that verbs in the first person plural are by far the most common choice in all types of dissertations with a total frequency of 6,83 per 1000 words (with more than two thirds attested in bachelor theses). Their frequency is very high due to their many functions: in Slovene, verbs in first person plural refer to a smaller or larger research team (e.g. *smo izdelali* “we (have) made/built”), they are used to refer to a generic third person (e.g. *ko govorimo o napetosti* “when we talk about voltage”) and to explain the work, structure and methodology of the thesis (e.g. *v tem poglavju predstavimo* “in this chapter we introduce”). Moreover, in Slovene, plural personal authorial references are a productive grammatical construction also used by the authors as an alternative to the English passive.

Verbs in the first person singular are less frequent with a frequency of 1,72. Their distribution is proportionally very similar compared to the plural personal authorial references, with $\frac{2}{3}$ of all occurrences appearing in the bachelor theses. This could indicate that as students learn more about academic writing in Slovene, they start avoiding the first person singular, especially at the post-graduate level (see Table 2). First person verbs are generally associated with functions such as showing the author’s contribution to the academic community, claiming the authorship of the thesis, giving credit to the supervisor, family and/or friends for their support and explaining the thesis’ overall structure (source: KAS, online corpus).

Table 2. Normalised frequencies per 1000 words of first person singular and plural verbs in all types of dissertations.

Number/Type of thesis	Bachelor	Master’s	Doctoral
Singular	1.74	1.80	1.19
Plural	7.07	6.19	7.31

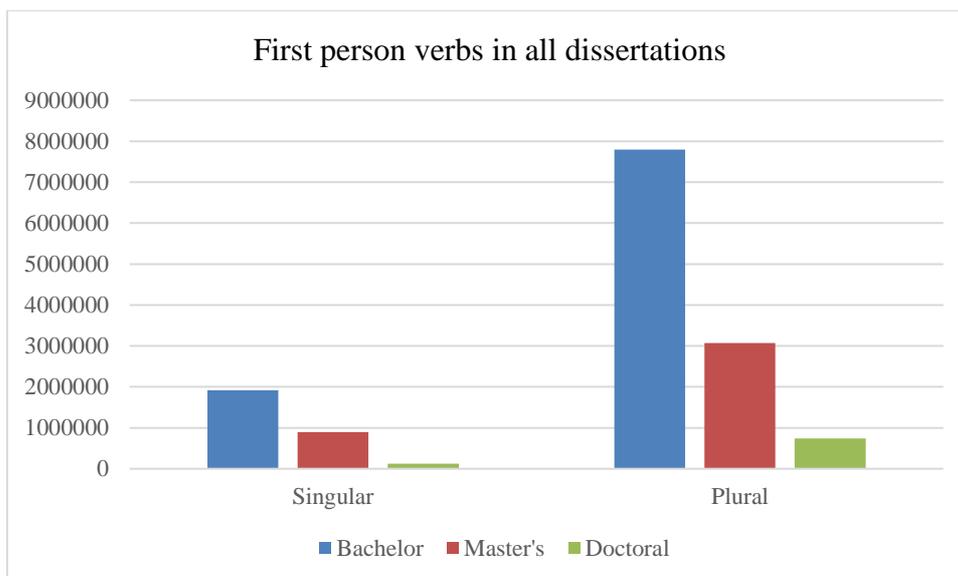


Figure 1. Graphic representation of the results.

The aim of the analysis is to provide quantitative data on the general tendency of the use and frequency of personal authorial references in the Slovene undergraduate and graduate academic context. The results of the analysis raise questions about the impact of English, Slovene and other languages in a student's discipline. The proficiency in English might be discipline-related, since the extent of literature available in English may be greater in some disciplines (e.g. engineering, computer science) with respect to others (e.g. history, archaeology). Furthermore, this analysis contextualises the results of the previous study on the use of personal authorial references in Slovene and their translations into English (Pahor, Forthcoming). It exemplifies how personal authorial references, especially plural ones, may perform many functions in a text, such as *pluralis modestiae*, i.e. including the reader in the discussion by referring to a generic third person with *we* (6a), refer to a research team (6b), or explain the thesis' structure (6c). Similar functions of personal authorial references were found in the corpus study. Consider the following examples from KAS:

(6a) ... kot **vemo**, se tehnologija spreminja iz dneva v dan ... (Slo.)
[as **we know** technology is constantly changing...]

(6b) Podatke **smo pridobili** s pomočjo preizkusov (Slo.)
[**we obtained** the data from our experiments]

(6c) kot **bomo videli** kasneje (Slo.)
[as **we will see** later]

If compared with the analysis of HEC, the KAS corpus analysis observed the frequency and use of personal authorial references in all bachelor, master's and Doctoral theses in the Slovene academic environment and in a span of 18 years. Conversely, in HEC the corpus size was much smaller and restricted to two disciplines, engineering and history. However, it took into consideration also the English translations of the Slovene abstracts. Despite these differences, the use of personal authorial references was still comparable in terms of their discourse functions (e.g. assuming shared knowledge, referring to a research team and describing the thesis itself).

4.3 Developing the interviews

The findings presented in 4.1 reveal intricate changes in the expression of authorial identity arising in translation of thesis abstracts. Moreover, the finding presented in 4.2 provides additional insight into academic writing produced by undergraduate and graduate students across a range of disciplines. The findings raise several questions about the process of (self)translation of thesis abstracts which can be answered using qualitative face-to-face interviews focusing on the practices and opinions of 12 interviewees. The plan is to recruit students who have recently obtained their undergraduate and/or graduate degree or are currently writing it and thus have personal experience with producing bilingual versions of thesis abstracts. Most interviewees are undergraduate and graduate students of engineering and history whose bilingual abstracts were included in the corpus, while some interviewees are selected due to their availability and willingness to participate in the interviews.

The most relevant issues consider the real identity of the translator (students themselves or someone else), the direction of the translation of the abstracts (from Slovene to English or vice-versa), the role of the supervisor in the writing of abstracts, the main linguistic and stylistic difficulties encountered by the students during the translation process, the dominance of English in the student's discipline, and the cooperation with other students and/or professors, among others. To gain further information into these matters, six questions and accompanying sub questions were formed:

- 1) How were the bilingual abstracts of your bachelor/master's thesis produced? As both a Slovene and an English version of the abstract are required, how were they created? What was the translation direction? Can you comment on the process of translation? How do students usually translate abstracts in your discipline?
- 2) In your experience and opinion, what is the role of the supervisor in the writing and translation of the abstract? In your case, did (s)he provide any oral or written guidelines for the translation of abstracts? Did your supervisor intervene and correct your text after it was written or translated? In your view, what is the function of your abstract? Does your institution offer classes on academic writing in English or Slovene or seminar sessions where you could practice academic writing? Do some professors pay more attention to your writing?

- 3) Could you describe if you had any issues with the translation of specific subject-related terminology during the translation of the abstracts? What were the main problems you faced? Was the translation of subject-related terms into English challenging?
- 4) How important is English in your discipline? Did you study, read, write and give oral presentations in other languages too? If yes, which ones and why? How often do/did you have to do such tasks?
- 5) Your thesis is, of course, an original work. However, did you in any way cooperate with other students or professors when you wrote it or did you work on your own? How did you acknowledge the work of others in your thesis? How often would you use plural, singular or impersonal forms in your writing? Does your institution prescribe you to write using the plural forms throughout the whole thesis, including the abstract?
- 6) How important is grammatical accuracy and adequacy of writing in your discipline? Did you proofread the final version of your bilingual abstracts? Did you proofread both versions yourself or had them proofread by a friend/acquaintance/professional translator and proofreader? Would you proofread one language and make someone else proofread the version in the other language?

The first question seeks to determine whether the students translate their abstracts on their own and are the so-called authors-translators which are considered to be “ideal translators” (Markkanen & Schröder, 1989) or have the abstract translated by someone else. The assumption here is that the first scenario is more likely to occur due to various factors such as lack of time and financial resources to afford a translation service. Here, the purpose of the interview is to extract as much information about the translation process as possible (the translation direction, students’ translation strategies, reasons for specific decisions), bearing in mind, however, that the students may have forgotten some details of their translations of abstracts over time. The answers to this question will hint at the preferred direction of the translation and explain the main reasons for such tendency (i.e. either from students’ L1 to L2 or vice-versa).

The second question focuses on the role that the supervisor has in the translation of abstracts. Here, the presumption is that they do not play a major role with respect to this but merely remind the students to write an English version of the abstract besides the Slovene one. The hypothesis is that when the thesis is written in Slovene, it will target a smaller, national audience, meaning that the English abstract will probably not be read by international researchers. The sub-questions aim to shed light on the fact whether the changes in translations were made consciously or unintentionally. In addition, the role of the institution will be addressed, verifying if universities provide any formal courses or seminars of academic writing in either English or Slovene. The expected is that courses of academic writing at Slovene universities are very limited if not non-existent.

The third question provides an answer for the most problematic terminological issues encountered by the students. The premise here is that students of engineering will have more troubles in translating from English into Slovene due to a high proportion of English-medium literature available in their field. In addition, it will explore any further difficulties (e.g. grammatical, lexical) that may have caused problems to students in their translations.

The fourth question tries to assess the level of dominance of English in the student's discipline. This will be accomplished, besides the aforementioned questions, also by asking the student "What is the influence of English in your field?" and by giving additional questions such as "Do you read articles/journals in English?" as well as "Do you write academic assignments in English besides those in Slovene?"

The fifth question is linked with the topic of personal references, since it wants to verify whether students cooperate with other students and/or professors or write the thesis on their own. This follows the argument of Gnutzmann and Rabe (2014) who argue that in the natural sciences and engineering disciplines, students and scholars usually collaborate with each other, whereas this is not the case in the humanities where they act more like "solitary writers". The answers to this question will help to explain if the use of personal references is affected by this factor.

Finally, the last question aims to investigate whether the students proofread the abstract themselves or ask for the help of a friend/acquaintance/professional translator and proofreader. This was seen as a problem already in Pahor (Forthcoming) where it was unclear if proofreading may impact the grammatical accuracy of the abstracts. Moreover, it wants to determine if a student is more confident in his mother tongue or vice-versa and which may be the reasons for such tendency. The answers will give an indication of the overall linguistic accuracy of the abstracts.

5 CONCLUSIONS

The preliminary study presented here explored the frequency of personal references in English and Slovene by comparing two corpora, HEC and KAS. The findings of the HEC corpus analysis show that personal references are more common in Slovene abstracts, especially in those of engineering. It was argued that different rhetorical conventions and linguistic structure of the two languages may have influenced the frequency of first person plural pronouns or verbs in the first person plural, in the case of Slovene. The findings of the KAS corpus analysis have shown similar uses of personal references in the Slovene academic environment, viz. *pluralis modestiae*, explanation of the thesis' structure and methodology, and cooperation among the authors.

The findings of the two corpus analyses were the basis to develop an interview guide for face-to-face interviews with 12 interviewees (undergraduate and graduate students of engineering and history). Several issues, such as the identity of the translator, the translation direction, the role of English, Slovene and other languages in a student's discipline and the proofreading of the abstracts, among others, were identified and to solve them, questions and further sub-questions for follow-up face-to-face interviews were prepared.

The present study sought to identify the issues that may be important in the translation process and prepares the interview guide for subsequent interviews with students.

The results of the study, therefore, provide the basis for future research; however, they also raise additional questions. First, what is the frequency of personal references in other disciplines? Second, which other linguistic or rhetorical aspects might be relevant in the translation process? Further research into this matter will consider personal references in other disciplines such as economics, biotechnology, geography or archaeology.

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