Translation and Linguistic Innovation: The Rise and Fall of Russian Loanwords in Literary Translation into Dutch.

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Abstract

This paper examines the use of Russian loanwords in Dutch translations of Russian literary texts from the period 1970-2009. In an increasingly globalized world, as more information is exchanged across cultural borders worldwide, one might expect a growth in the number and use of loanwords, even between cultures that are relatively distant from each other such as Dutch and Russian.

In the case study conducted, which was based on a representative corpus of 20 Dutch translations of Russian novels, we found that while there was a relative growth in the number of loanwords used in the 1970's and 1980's, the trend since the 1990's has been downwards.

In the earlier period the public's interest in dissident Russian literature and in the cultural developments of the *Glasnost* period was intense, which in turn stimulated literary translators to use foreignizing translation strategies, bringing the (Russian) source text closer to the (Dutch) target public. With the rise of new genres (postmodernism and crime novels) in Russian literature and the changes in publishing policies this tendency diminished and the number of loanwords in translation decreased, which indicates a rise of domesticating translation strategies in Dutch culture in recent decades.

1. Translation and globalization

This paper examines (literary) translations from a loanword perspective. More specifically it focuses on the influence of current processes (globalization) on the behaviour of Dutch literary translators, i.e. on their decisions to use either a domesticating or foreignizing translation strategy when translating Russian literature into Dutch.

There is a considerable amount of recent research on the complex relationship between globalization and translation (e.g. Cronin 2003, Pym 2006, Ho 2008, Shiyab 2010). However much of this concentrates on translation in general, which means that literary translation is only partially dealt with. It is my opinion that the latter deserves greater attention because literary translators adapt as well to the processes of globalization as general translators, which can be illustrated by an analysis of the use of loanwords as a parameter of foreignizing translation behaviour.

In reference to this issue Venuti (1995: 1-5) stressed (more than a decade ago now) how domesticating translation had become normative in Anglo-American culture and how reviewers of literary translations responded to this norm by demanding fluent translations and 'invisible' translators. According to the norm the use of foreign elements (stylistic and syntactic features from the source text, but also lexical elements such as loanwords and other borrowings) should be avoided as much as possible in order to accommodate the preferences of Anglo-American readers who supposedly do not like deviations from fluent and transparent English discourse.

As cultures all over the world increasingly feel the impact of globalization and the dominance of the current lingua franca (English), translators working within non-Anglo-American cultures seem, in recent years, to have adapted to the same requirement of fluency and transparency mentioned above. This is especially the case when a minority language at the periphery receives information that is produced at the core, i.e. in English.

The increasing number of political, economic and cultural contacts, indeed, leads to ever greater quantities of information crossing linguistic and cultural borders, mostly in an asymmetrical way, from the bigger languages at the core to minority languages at the periphery (cf. Bielsa 2005: 9), and therefore translation activities are not undiminished.

In this paper we want to investigate whether and the extent to which the changed global linguistic interrelations may have an influence on the activities and individual decisions of literary translators. More specifically this article examines how the translation of Russian literature by Dutch speaking translators has been affected by

globalization and the dominance of Anglo-American translation norms. It looks at the extent to which translators consider foreign elements acceptable for readers and therefore use more or less of those elements than the translators of earlier generations.

2. Borrowings and loanwords

According to the *Dictionary of Translation Studies* we speak about a borrowing when "elements of ST are replaced by *parallel* TL elements" (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 17). This means a borrowing is "the simplest type of translation, since it merely involves the transfer of an SL word into TT without it being modified in any way" (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 17).

In articles on translation the terms borrowing and loanword are sometimes used to indicate a similar concept, but the words are by no means synonymous. The former has a double meaning: not only does the word borrowing indicate "a translation procedure where the translator carries over a word or an expression from the source text into the target text", but also "any product of this translation procedure" (Delisle, Lee-Jahnke & Cormier 1999: 122). The latter term loanword is only used in the sense of a product of borrowing, and therefore we prefer the term "loanword" in this paper to refer to particular words that are brought into the target culture by means of translation.

Borrowing is indicated by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/ 1995: 85-91) as one of the seven major translation procedures, along with calque, literal translation, transposition, modulation, equivalence and adaptation. Vinay and Darbelnet describe two possible reasons for the use of borrowing: (1) to "overcome a lacuna" in the target language, usually to refer to a "new technical process" or an "unknown concept", and (2) to "create a stylistic effect" or "introduce the flavour of the source language" (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/ 1995: 85). Breiter (1997: 90) adds a third reason for borrowing to this list: "the establishment of some positive (or negative) connotations which the equivalent in the target language does not possess". This positive connotation is especially topical in a situation where

translation is involved from a dominating language (English) into a minority language.

However, we would like to stress here that the majority of loanwords in literary translations are used for stylistic effect, rather than to overcome a lacuna. This means that only in very particular cases does the translator have no other choice than to borrow the foreign word, for example to refer to very specific culture-related concepts such as monetary units (*rouble, dollar*) or some food names (*vodka, tequila*). In most other cases a borrowing is used by the translator as a result of "a deliberate choice, not the unconscious influence of undesired interference" (Chesterman 1997: 94). Some of the examples of Russian borrowings given by Vinay and Darbelnet are, indeed, used to create a specific stylistic effect, for example words such as *datchas* and *aparatchik* could easily be replaced by "seasonal home" and "(communist) functionary" (or a similar equivalent) in translation where the translator decides to choose a domesticating translation strategy.

Therefore a (literary) translator should always specify the prevalent norms of translation in the target culture with regard to the use of foreign elements before deciding whether or not to use a loanword (cf. also Listrova-Pravda 2001: 120). As the use of loanwords is a relatively provocative way to confront the reader with the foreignness or otherness of a text, translators should always decide on the level of acquaintance with foreign elements they can expect from their audience and on the level of openness of the target culture. Indeed, as Baker indicates, some cultures, "Arabic and French, for instance, are much less tolerant of loan words than Japanese" and others (Baker 1992: 36). In this paper we will concentrate on borrowings from Russian into Dutch, a relatively small culture located in between the larger English, French and German cultures, that is therefore, in Baker's terms, relatively tolerant towards loanwords.

3. Types of loanwords and semantic fields

Vinay and Darbelnet correctly stress the dynamic nature of loanwords by commenting how "<s>ome well-established, mainly older borrowings are so

widely used that they are no longer considered as such and have become a part of the respective target language lexicon" (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/ 1995: 85). In her dictionary of loanwords in Dutch van der Sijs (2005: 35-36) investigates the dynamic issues of borrowing and she comes to the conclusion that loanwords can be divided into four subsequent levels of development.

In the first instance only a small elite of scientists or specialists use a certain loanword in a certain context with a very specific meaning. In the second instance increasing numbers of people become aware of the meaning of the word and begin to use it, although it clearly remains foreign and mostly does not fit the norms of the target culture. In a third phase the loanword is accepted by the majority of people in the target culture and the word is sometimes assimilated. Finally, a loanword can be totally assimilated and from then on is no longer recognised as such. In this paper we are only interested in the first three phases of the process. Once a word is no longer seen as a foreign element in the target culture, it loses its otherness and can no longer be used to add a particular flavour to a translation.

Whether or not a loanword becomes accepted in another language, depends on a number of factors. As suggested by several authors (Yang 2009: 103, Breiter 1997: 86-88 and also Newmark 1988: 147), some semantic areas or fields are more open to loanwords than others. Small cultures tend to borrow more from the larger ones than vice versa, and the semantic fields involved usually depend on the way(s) in which the two cultures are connected to each other. In a globalized world with changing economic, political and cultural relationships between people and countries, those semantic fields seem to be very dynamic and flexible.

Yang (2009: 104-5) stresses, for instance, how Chinese (Cantonese, Amoy and Mandarin) borrowings in English have tended to be in the first place food items and concepts of high culture (philosophy, religion, history, politics, art and literature), but he foresees new loanwords occurring in various semantic fields as the contact between the two cultures continues to grow.

Borrowings from English in Russian belong to other semantic fields. Breiter (1997: 97) analysed recent English borrowings in Russian and came to the conclusion that those borrowings could be located in several semantic fields, in diminishing order: (1) social and political life, (2) finance, economy and trade, (3) science and

technology, (4) travel and tourism, (5) meals and drinks, (6) clothes and fashion, (7) sports, (8) pop music and entertainment, (9) culture and arts and finally (10) standard forms of communication and interjections (Breiter 1997: 87).

In this paper we will investigate whether comparable correspondences exist in the translation process from Russian into Dutch and how this process evolves over time.

4. The use of Russian loanwords in Dutch (literary) translation

At any given moment in the continuous flux of change and exchange between cultures a (literary) translator has to make an individual decision on whether or not to use a loanword. There is a broad range of different factors that he/ she will to some degree consider before making that decision.

(1) The nature of the source text is a first factor to deal with. A historical novel evidently contains a different kind of lexicon (more archaic words for example) compared to works on contemporary themes, and therefore a literary translator has greater freedom to use a foreignizing translating strategy, for instance by using assimilated loanwords and sometimes even introducing new loanwords (neologisms) in the translation. For the same reason a crime novel can require a quite different translation strategy to used, for instance, in treating a philosophical treatise.

(2) The source culture and the prestige this culture has in the target culture has also to be taken into account when translating literature. Any pair of source and target cultures have indeed different historical, ideological, political or economic relationships and these cultural differences may considerably diminish the number of choices a literary translator can make. As a rule, loanwords or neologisms are more likely to be accepted quickly when the prestige of the source culture (not only at a cultural, but also at a political and economic level) is high.

(3) A literary translator should also reckon with the traditions, norms and nature of the target culture and the expectations of the audience. As was indicated above, some cultures are more or less open to new foreign elements. French culture, for instance, is known to be more resistant to foreign influences than many

others and this kind of situation will have consequences on the work of the translator, whether or not he is providing a literary translation.

(4) Another important agent on the target side of the translation process is the publisher who understandably wants a work to reach the largest possible audience and is therefore looking for products that please rather than irritate the possible readers. In Dutch-speaking countries, for instance, the majority of publishers impose a ban on the use of footnotes to explain foreign words because the presence of footnotes is considered to be a typical attribute of scientific texts, and by extension not acceptable in literary texts.

(5) However, the final decision on whether or not to use a loanword in translation remains the personal responsibility of the translator him/herself. As we indicated earlier in this paper, we are convinced that most of the loanwords in literary translations could be avoided fairly easily by using translating methods other than borrowing, although a part of the particular meaning of a culture-specific element can be lost for the reader. It is the translator with his/her openness to foreign elements and willingness to add some local colour to a literary translation who decides on the introduction of new loanwords and other borrowings. However, at times translators wish to avoid the responsibility of taking this decision, and instead make use of Google as a handy internet tool to check the level of assimilation of particular words in the target culture.

5. Case study

As was indicated earlier in this paper we aim to investigate the use of Russian loanwords in Dutch literary translation from a diachronic point of view. In order to study the changes in behaviour of literary translators with regard to Russian loanwords we compiled a limited but representative corpus of 20 translations of Russian 20th and 21st century literary works. The texts were selected from literary translations from the period 1970-2009, and give a good impression of tendencies in both the source and target cultures. However, to make the study as representative as possible within the scope of a limited corpus, the translations are chosen according to the following conditions:

(1) No Russian author is represented twice in the corpus, in order to avoid a situation in which one specific narrative style exerts too much influence on the research data;

(2) Each translation has been produced by a different Dutch translator, in order to avoid, again, the personal style of one person influencing the whole of the data;

(3) The translations are taken from the four decades between 1970 and 2009. Each of the decades is represented in the corpus by 5 translations, which allows us to look at translations from a diachronic perspective;

(4) The source texts cover different periods in Russian cultural history of the 20th and 21st centuries. (Re)translations of classical (19th century or earlier) Russian novels are not included in the corpus in order to avoid an excess of outdated lexicon;

(5) The works represent the different literary prose genres that reflect the trends in literary production of the particular period. The corpus includes prose works and memoires, but pure historical novels were not taken into account, as they usually contain a relatively high proportion of references to culture-specific elements that are no longer known to the public, sometimes even in the source culture.

Within this Dutch language corpus of 20 translations a manual search for the presence of Russian loanwords was conducted.[1] Only Russian loanwords "proper" have been taken into account in the investigation. This means in the first place that all derivates have been brought together under one lemma: e.g. the different translations for the Russian *car'*, *carica*, *carevič*, *carskij*, ... count only as one loanword, namely *car'* (tsar).[2] The same goes for *sovet* (soviet) which covers also *sovetskij*, and *ikona* (icon) which covers *ikonostas* as well.

Several groups of lexicon have been excluded from the study: calques and loanblends for instance, and also toponyms and proper names (including the names of brands), even when they are used in an attributive position (as in Lenin Street for example). For obvious reasons these words are very rarely translated and

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[1] We would like to thank MA students Nele Derde and Elien Decommer who conducted part of the research in preparation of their MA thesis.

[2] Unless otherwise indicated in the text the loanwords are referred to in transcription from the Russian words, using the scientific ISO R/9 system. When a word appears in the text for the first time, the English translation (loanword and/or explanation) is added between parentheses.

therefore the use of a Russian toponym or proper name cannot really be considered as a foreignizing element in translation.

Also excluded from the study are loanwords that have been entirely assimilated into Dutch and are no longer recognised as loanwords by the audience, words that are included in the translation as part of a pun or a play on words or sounds and the loanwords that are introduced in the text when the foreign origin of this word has to be stressed, for instance when the direct speech of one of the characters is provided, usually followed by an additional phrase, indicating he/ she was saying something in Russian. Finally, loanwords that are clearly of non-Russian origin and used as such in the source text are also excluded.

However, as indicated by Podhajecka (2006: 125) this kind of etymology has a certain margin of error and therefore we have to try to understand how such a loanword is perceived by the public. Whenever a word, even from non-Russian origin, might be perceived by the readers as "Russian", that possibly is taken into account in this study. This is the reason why the following Russian words in the Dutch translations have been included in the list of loanwords, although they are not really Russian: *tajga* (taiga)*, *šašlyk* (shashlik), *ikona*, *kumys* (kumis, an alcoholic beverage made from fermented mare's milk), *mitropolit* (metropolitan bishop), *pioner* (pioneer) and *tundra*. The words *ikona* and *mitropolit* are religious terms, connected with the Orthodox religion and of Greek origin, but equally associated with Russia. *Tajga* and *tundra* are not Russian either, but again many readers do not know the (Turkish and Finnish) origin of the words and associate the terms geographically with Russia. *Kumis* and *šašlyk* belong to the semantic fields of "food and drink". The former word is of Kalmyk origin and the latter is generally associated with the typical Russian barbecue, and therefore included in the list. Finally, *pioner* is added to the list because it reflects an aspect of daily life in the Soviet Union, associated with the Young Pioneer organisation.

The study makes no distinction between isolated loanwords, loanwords with an explanation in the text and loanwords with an explanation in foot- or endnote.

When we applied the described parameters to the corpus of 20 literary translations, we counted a total of 132 different Russian loanwords, with 85 loanwords occurring only once in the corpus and 14 only twice. This means 33 loanwords are

used on a more or less regular basis in Dutch and seem to reflect the local colour the translator wants to add. Among these words are the financial *rubl'* (rouble) and *kopejka* (kopek), the food related *kvas* (kvass, an alcoholic drink of low strength made from cereals and bread), *samovar*, *šašlyk*, *vodka*, the geographical *step'* (steppe), *tajga*, *tundra*, the religious *ikona*, *pop* (parish priest), the measures *pud* (pood, a unit of weight equal to 16.4 kilograms), *versta* (verst, a unit of length equal to 1.067 kilometres) and the *trojka* (troika) as a means of transportation. By far the most productive lexical field for Russian loanwords is that of "social and political life", including among others *banja* (banya, a Russian sauna), *dača* (dacha), *kazak* (Cossack), *car'* (+ derivates), *sovet*, *kolhoz* (kolkhoz), *sovhoz* (sovkhoz) and *bol'ševik* (Bolshevik).

When we look at the distribution of the loanwords in translation from a diachronic perspective, we notice a clear, decreasing tendency (Figure 1). 5 out of the 7 translations with 20 or more different loanwords belong to the period 1970-1990, while 3 out of the 4 with 10 or less loanwords are situated in the period 1990-2010.

Figure 1: Number of different loanwords in the corpus
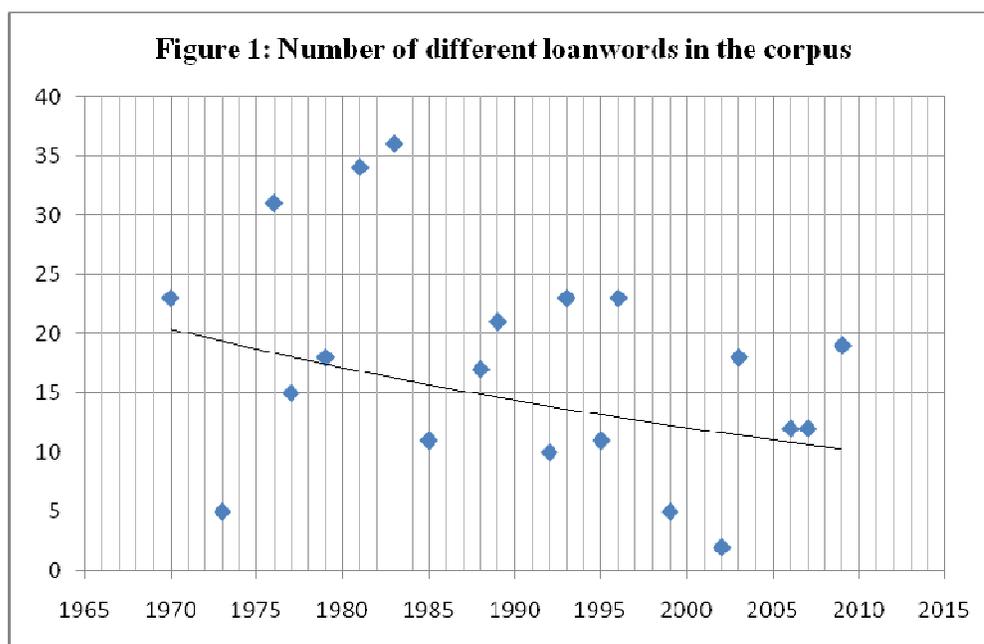
While the average number of used loanwords is still increasing in the 1980's (23.8 Russian loanwords on average per translation) in comparison with the 1970's (18.4), this figure decreases very quickly in the last two decades. The translations in the corpus from the 1990's contain an average of 14.4 different loanwords, compared to 12.6 for the years 2000. This negative trend becomes even more

apparent when we take into account the length of the translated text (Figure 2 gives the number of different loanwords per 100 pages of translated text), but the general observations remain unchanged.

We could usefully ask whether changes in both the source and target cultures might help to explain the contradictory decrease in the use of foreign words despite globalization, with its increasing number of political, economic and intercultural exchanges.

Figure 2: Average number of different loanwords in the corpus per 100 pages of translated text
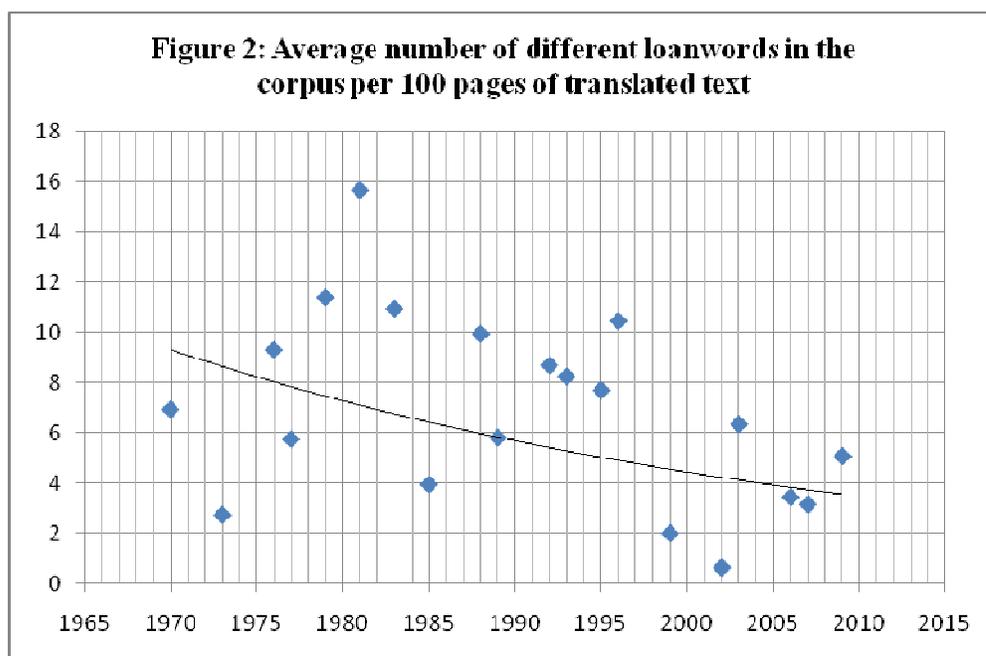
6. Literary translators as innovators

The average number of Russian loanwords in the Dutch literary translations of the corpus is higher in the 1980's than in the 1970's although the chosen corpus contains literary works of approximately equal character and genre for both decades: 4 "soviet novels" and 1 autobiographical work in each group of 5 translations (cf. the list of used translations at the end of the paper).

This increase in the use of Russian loanwords in literary translations is most probably influenced by changes both in the source and target cultures. If we look at

the total number of published translations of Russian 20th century literature in Dutch, we see a steady increase from 18 books in 1970 to 30 in 1989 (cf. Waegemans & Willemsen 1991, TSL 1987-1991). This means that interest in Russian literature did not diminish in the Dutch-speaking countries, despite the existence of the Cold War which cast Russian literature as part of a culture from "the other side".

This can partly be explained by the prestige that Russian literature enjoyed at that time and has in fact held since the end of the 19th century (cf. Meylaerts 2009: 36, Heilbron 2008: 193). The Russian classics (e.g. Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Chekhov) continued to be translated without significant interruption, but the 1970's and moreover the 1980's also marked the public's interest for the growing market of dissident Russian literature. Most notably the works of Nobel Prize winner Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, but also those of Georgy Vladimov, Aleksandr Zinovyev, Andrey Sinyavsky, Vladimir Voinovich, Lidiya Chukovskaya, Vladimir Maksimov and Varlam Shalamov (works of the last 4 writers are present in our corpus) depict a non-official view of soviet reality, and during this period their books were read with eagerness in the West. Moreover, the 1980's saw the emergence of *Perestroika* and *Glasnost*, which created intense interest in how Russian culture would develop given fewer censorship constraints.

One could expect that the growing interest of the audience in Russian literature and culture would stimulate literary translators to use foreignizing translation strategies, bringing the source text closer to the target public and not vice-versa. This could indeed explain why 4 out of the 5 translations in the corpus of the 1980's contain an above average number of loanwords. It seems, indeed, as if translators used the curiosity of the Western reader regarding the relatively unknown and closed soviet culture to introduce substantial amounts of realia of that culture by means of loanwords, especially in the semantic field of "social and political life". Our corpus of the 1970's and 1980's contains several loanwords that reflect soviet reality: *bol'ševik, kolhoz, komintern* (Comintern), *komsomolec* (member of Komsomol), *men'ševik* (Menshevik), *partorg* ("party organizer" appointed by the CPSU Central Committee), *pioner, rabfak* (workers' faculty), *revkom* (revolutionary committee), *revtribunal* (revolutionary tribunal), *sovhoz, sovet, trudovik* (trudovik, a member of a small workers party in early 20th century Russia) and *čekist* (member of the Cheka).

Does this observation fit in with general observations on lexical innovation? If we look at the data in the *Chronological dictionary* (CD) written by the Dutch scholar van der Sijs (2001: 286-288) we see that the 1970's and especially the 1980's were indeed relatively productive for the introduction of new Russian words into the Dutch language. No less than 9 out of a total of 55 Russian loanwords became, according to the CD, assimilated in Dutch in the 1970's and 1980's, mostly words connected with the political situation in the Soviet Union as for instance *agitprop* ("agitation and propaganda"), *apparatčik*, *gulag* (Gulag, or "Chief Administration of Corrective Labour Camps"), *glasnost'* (Glasnost) and *perestrojka* (Perestroika). Two of these borrowings are situated in the 1970's, seven in the 1980's.

This is an interesting statement in the discussion on the role of literary translators on linguistic innovation. Newmark (1988: 81-82) and Fawcett (1997: 34-35), for instance, both stress how journalists usually play the role of innovators:

> Like borrowings, calques often make their first appearance not in translations but as an element in a newspaper article or in some other form of original literature, since journalists and creative writers tend more often than translators to see themselves as word creators (Fawcett 1997: 35).

On the other hand "it seems highly likely that translators will resort more readily to borrowing than to calque, since the guidelines for using the latter are far less obvious than for the former" (Fawcett 1997: 35).

Others disagree with Newmark and Fawcett. According to Vinay and Darbelnet (literary) translators indeed take up an innovative position. They stress how "many borrowings enter a language through translation, just like semantic borrowings or faux amis, whose pitfalls translators must carefully avoid" (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/ 1995: 85) and Breiter echoes this point of view in her believe "that translation provides the most important impetus for borrowing. Borrowing takes place each time translation is hampered by inner-linguistic (systemic) or extra-linguistic (societal) reason" (Breiter 1997: 95).

In this paper journalistic texts are not involved and therefore the question about who is more innovative – the journalist or the literary translator – will not be addressed, but the paper does give an indication as to the importance of literary translations in terms of the development of language. Although the *Chronological*

dictionary (CD) contains the relatively small number of 55 Russian words, our (limited) corpus counts up to 132 different loanwords. Among the words in the corpus we find *duma* and *čekist* with 4 hits and *banja* and *dekabrist* (Decembrist) with 3, but those words are still not represented in the CD. On the other hand, the loanword *dača* is present in the CD, but with the year 1996 given as its 'year of birth' in Dutch, although the word is seen 10 times in the corpus with no less than 5 hits (1988, 1989, 1992, 1993 and 1995) before that year.

The future will tell whether these translators are either pioneers of Russian loanwords or naive idealists who try (in vain) to pass to their public culturally bound information. In fact, the process of borrowing is a never ending continuum and *Chronological dictionaries* will have to be adapted on a continual basis.

7. Paradoxical effects of globalization

In his paper on *Globalization and its Impact on Translation* Shiyab (2010: 8) looks at the enriching possibilities of globalization for the target culture:

> Globalization has always been a significant aspect of translation, simply because translation brings cultures closer. <...> <P>eople as well as translators need to come to terms with the fact that words adopted from the target language can be enlightening to the reader as they genuinely mirror other cultures and their traditions.

This is a very optimistic view on the effects of globalization and the research conducted on our corpus instead shows some paradoxical effects.

On the one hand, cultures have indeed come closer to each other and we know more about the world outside than ever before. On the other hand, the data from the case study (see Figures 1 & 2) indicate a strong decrease in the use of Russian loanwords in literary translation into Dutch in the last two decades. How could this paradox be explained?

One of the possible explanations is to be found in the source culture, namely in the developments in Russian literary production. Since the initial rise of a new geopolitical and economic order from the ruins of the Soviet Union in 1991 much

has changed. In terms of literature we can see some of the effects of this change by looking at the new generation of young writers in Russia, who turned en masse to new genres: first postmodernism (Pelevin, Sorokin, Yerofeyev) and later crime novels (Akunin, Marinina, Dashkova, Dontsova, Ustinova, Platova). The conditions of a market economy forced publishers to look for bestsellers, which meant that the pure soviet themes of the *Glasnost* period have increasingly been replaced by softer genres that appeal to a larger audience. The translations in the corpus of this paper are representative of this track, for Pelevin (1995), Marinina (1999), Skorobogatov (2002), Sorokin (2003) Platova (2006) and Akunin (2007) all belong to either postmodernist or crime literature.

One of the effects of globalization here can be found in the fact that modern writers in Russia use a more "Western" style no longer referring to Russian realia, but instead turning to Western loanwords themselves. A good example of this development can be found in the Marinina (1999) detective novel in the corpus where the heroes drink cognac rather than the formerly omnipresent vodka.

In connection with this it should also be stressed how the gradual disappearance of communist vocabulary from the source culture is paralleled by an evident decrease of the use of this vocabulary in translation. This pattern can also be illustrated by using the corpus of this paper. In the last 10 translations some generally assimilated (according to the *Chronological dictionary*) Russian loanwords have become rare occurrences, although they used to appear in almost every soviet novel before: *bol'ševik* (3), *kolhoz* (3), *sovhoz* (1). Other communist vocabulary has totally disappeared, as for instance *kulak* (a wealthy independent farmer), *komintern*, *men'ševik, revkom*.

However, the decrease in the use of Russian loanwords in Dutch translation in the last two decades has not only to do with changes in the source culture. Publishers and readers in the Dutch-speaking countries have also changed and translators have to adopt to the preferences of the new audience, as was indicated already by Vinay and Darbelnet: the "decision to borrow a source language word or expression for introducing an element of local colour is a matter of style and consequently of the message" (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/ 1995: 85).

This idea about the importance of the message corresponds to the fundamental ideas of the Skopos theory. According to Vermeer's Skopos theory "the aim of any translational action, and the mode in which it is to be realized, are negotiated with the client who commissions the action" (Vermeer 1989: 221). In the case of literary translation the real "client" is the reader, and in comparison with the reader of soviet dissident literature the average reader of crime stories seems to be more interested in the story plot than the culture-specific references behind the story.

The translated crime novels in the corpus of this paper confirm this assumption. The contemporary crime stories written by Marinina (1999), Skorobogatov (2002) and Platova (2006) contain in translation 5, 2 and 12 Russian loanwords respectively, which is far below the average of the whole corpus – 17.3.

Apparently, translators of Russian literature in the 1970's and 1980's experienced more stimuli to use borrowings than their contemporary colleagues, who are now more likely to employ a domesticating translation strategy rather than a foreignizing one. On the one hand this is connected to the position of the publishers who follow the laws of the market and are influenced by the huge economic force of the internet. Confronted with an Anglo-American model that demands "invisible" translators, publishers follow a rather conservative policy with respect to translation. Elements in translation that could deter the reader are avoided as much as possible, and therefore the use of footnotes and neologisms (loanwords or other borrowings) in Dutch translations is reduced to the absolute minimum.

On the other hand literary translators themselves also adapt to the laws of the market. They too, apparently, conduct a less foreignizing strategy than their colleagues in previous decades and it now seems that Google has taken over the role of normative word-list provider for the current generation of literary translators.

An experienced translator of Russian literature, Helen Saelman, when asked about her translating strategy, indicated that she prefers to use originally Dutch words as often as possible, even in those cases where the Dutch word is not really a semantic equivalent of the Russian culture-specific element in the source text. She prefers, for instance, the Dutch word *zomerhuis* (summer house) instead of the loanword *datsja* (dacha), even if the local colour of the typical Russian wooden house with

wood carvings might be lost to the reader. Her judgement is partly based on the data from the Google database.

The same applies to Russian loanwords such as *versta* and *valenki* (felt boots). The former, according to the *Chronological dictionary* (CD), has been an assimilated element of Dutch since 1714 and has been used by most of the translators of earlier literary works. In the translation of Platova's detective novel (2006), however, the translator replaced that word (that was indeed used in the contemporary source text!) by the Dutch domesticating *kilometer*, thus reducing the foreign element to a minimum. The latter is not assimilated in Dutch according to the CD, but it has been used in literary translations before, for instance in the memoires of Paustovsky (1970) in the corpus. Again the word is not retained as a loanword in recent translations, e.g. Shalamov (1996), Platova (2006) and Rzhevskaya (2009), but replaced by the Dutch translation *viltlaarzen* (felt boots), although few Dutch readers who have not lived in Russia would have an idea about the culture-specific reference of this word.

The trend to avoid Russian loanwords marks a major change in translation policies. The new lingua franca in the world, English, provides most of the borrowings in Dutch, thanks to the prestige the Anglo-American world has. The borrowings from other languages tend to be controlled by the (purely quantitative) judgement of Google's data. If this tendency was to become normative, then the process of borrowing and the creation of neologisms would be taken out of the hands of literary translators and be moved to the virtual (and barely controllable) world of the internet.

8. Conclusion

If we consider the use of loanwords in a literary translation as one of the parameters for recognizing domesticating and foreignizing tendencies, then we can make some interesting conclusions on literary translation from Russian into Dutch, based on a limited corpus of 20 translations.

At the end of the 20th century, especially in the 1970's and 1980's, literary translators took up their role as cultural intermediaries and introduced several neologisms in Dutch translation, with or without complementary explanation in the text or in foot- or endnote, depending on the level of acquaintance the translator expected from the target public. The number of different Russian loanwords in a translation rose from an average of 18.4 in the 1970's to 23.8 in the 1980's, which might well be explained by the Western public's interest in the dissident tendencies in soviet literature. Because of this general interest, translators were tempted to use Russian loanwords to bring the source culture closer to the reader who could not easily visit the Soviet Union to see the culture-specific elements in the text with his/ her own eyes.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the opening up of its old borders and the broad process of globalization, translation strategies have, apparently, altered. Even in those cases where literary translators would have used a Russian loanword in the past to present a culture-specific item to the reader, albeit with an explanation, the translator nowadays tends to use more domesticating translation strategies.

This can be explained, on the one hand, by the huge changes in Russian society and culture since 1991. Globalization has deeply "westernized" most of the literary scene in Russia, which has led to a decrease in the number of Russian culture-specific references in a literary work. On the other hand, the target culture has changed as well, and it seems as if literary translators have to adapt firmly to the demands of the market. Crime novels (the dominant genre in contemporary Russian literature) are clearly translated in a different (more domesticating) way than, for instance, the dissident novels of the Soviet period.

A more detailed research project on a larger corpus, with representatives of different decades and genres, should make clear whether these hypotheses can be confirmed or not.

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Babel (1979) = Babel, Isaak. *Rode Ruiterij*. Translated by Charles Timmer. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff. Original title: *Konarmija* (1926).

Bitov (1992) = Bitov, Andrej. *Leven in weer en wind*. Translated by Gerard Rasch. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker. Original title: *Žizn' v vetrenuju pogodu* (1989).

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