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(EDS)**

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Preface

This volume is the result of the second Translation Studies Doctoral and Teacher Training Summer School held in Piran (Slovenia) in June-July 2013. For these two weeks again researchers and teachers from five different universities (University of Ljubljana, University of Eastern Finland, University of Turku, University of Granada and Božazići University) organized a summer school that responded to the needs of translator teachers and to those of young researchers and doctoral students in the field of translation studies. In the 2013 summer school, we have had the pleasure of hosting guest professor Douglas Robinson from the Hong Kong Baptist University, while the training staff included also Yves Gambier (University of Turku), Vojko Gorjanc, Tamara Mikolič Južnič and Špela Vinar (University of Ljubljana).

Among the 18 participants from several countries (Australia, Austria, Finland, Lithuania, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Turkey) of this summer school, there were a number of already established researchers and trainers who were especially interested in the teacher training programme of the summer school. This publication itself, on the other hand, is largely the work of young researchers, either doctoral students in the final stages of their research or who have just finished their PhD theses.

The five articles collected in this year's edition explore a wide range of topics. In the first section, there are two articles dealing with literary translation. Robert Grošelj presents the problem of multilingualism, i.e. the presence of foreign language passages in a literary text, within the realm of translation. He compares four translations into different languages of the Slovene novella *The Ballad of the Trumpet and the Cloud* by Ciril Kosmač and concludes that the concepts of "otherness" and "sameness" related to the use of multilingualism cannot be rendered in the same way in different languages and cultures and consequently different translation techniques are employed to render them in the analysed translations.

Muazzez Uslu draws parallels between the "in-between" or "third-space" in which the main characters of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and the author himself are caught and the role of the translator in the postcolonial framework. She argues that what Conrad is doing can be seen as an act of translation and concludes that the author and the translator's experience is similar in that they share the same feeling of isolation.

The remaining three articles each tackle a topic related to a different domain. Promotional websites and their adaptation to different cultural environments from the perspective of contrastive rhetoric are at the centre of Martin Anton Grad's research. In his article, he presents a pilot study where he attempts to verify the usefulness of the Cultural Values Framework by analysing a (small) set of English and Slovene websites and uncovers several culturally specific rhetorical differences.

Damjan Popič is interested in language policy, and specifically in the way translation correction is typically performed in the translation workflow. Starting from the relevant European standard (SIST EN 15038:2007), he identifies the discrepancies between the standard and what usually happens with translations intended for publication in Slovenia. His research is based on the analysis of the corpus Lektor, a corpus of non-fiction texts with annotated revisions.

Last but not least, Niina Syrjänen presents the initial findings of her research in the area of wartime interpreting and military translation culture. She focuses on the issues connected with researching military archives about the profiles of translators and interpreters for the Russian language during the Second World War in Finland. In her case study, she is faced with the limitations of such research, which is completely dependent on few scattered documents, and with the unregulated way Finnish Defence Forces recruited people of different background and skill for their linguistic needs.

As this second volume of the series is being finalized, a new round of articles from the 2014 edition of the summer school has already entered the reviewing process. And as it was the case for the first volume, as well as the current edition, a group of internationally renowned referees has been summoned and each author will receive two anonymous reviews to ensure that the final products represent a fresh and interesting, carefully worded and scientifically rigorous contribution to the TS landscape.

Tamara Mikolič Južnič, Kaisa Koskinen
and Nike Kocijančič Pokorn

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Section One

Multilingualism in literary translation: the case of The Ballad of the Trumpet and the Cloud by Ciril Kosmač

Robert Grošelj, University of Ljubljana

ABSTRACT

The paper offers a case study of multilingualism in literary translation on the basis of Ciril Kosmač's Slovenian novella *Balada o trobenti in oblaku* (*The Ballad of the Trumpet and the Cloud*) and its Serbian, Polish, Russian and German translations. The study shows that, for the most part, the analysed translations preserve the multilingualism, i.e. the foreign-language passages, of the source text by adopting foreignising translation techniques such as conservation/repetition and extratextual gloss. Translations thus acquaint the target audiences thematically and textually (linguistically) with the socio-cultural and historical context of the novella and with Ciril Kosmač's writing style and narrative mode.

KEY WORDS: multilingualism, literary translation, foreignising translation strategy, translation technique, Ciril Kosmač

1 INTRODUCTION

Multilingualism (or heterolingualism) in literature refers to the use of foreign languages and social, regional or historical language varieties in literary texts. Even though multilingualism in translation studies remains predominantly associated with translation problems (e.g. untranslatability), it has also become, in recent decades, a sociologically relevant topic as it stresses the ethics of translation in the context of asymmetrical power

relations.¹ One of the goals of the study of multilingualism in/and translation is therefore to improve our understanding of identity construction and socio-cultural dynamics in multilingual and multicultural contexts (e.g. the link between translation policy and political, ethnic and ethic questions). In such a way, translation studies are confronted with their social, ethical and political responsibilities, shared with other humanities fields (Meylaerts 2006:4-5; 2010:227-230).

The present study belongs to the field of literary translation – its purpose is to analyse the phenomenon of multilingualism in different translations of a literary work. The text researched is the novella *Balada o trobenti in oblaku* (*The Ballad of the Trumpet and the Cloud*; henceforth *Balada*), written by a Slovenian social realist writer Ciril Kosmač and first published in 1956-1957. The reason for choosing Kosmač's novella for the analysis lies in its partial multilingual nature: in selected chapters of the book the author employed several foreign-language passages (in French, German, Italian and Latin), embedded in a Slovenian text, to portray as realistically as possible particular characters and the setting of the novella (the Second World War in the Slovenian North West).

In order to establish the way in which the multilingualism of the source text (ST) is preserved or not in the target texts (TTs), it was decided to analyse the translation techniques of foreign-language passages in Serbian, Russian, Polish and East German translations of Kosmač's *Balada*. All the translations are based on the same version of the novella and they were all published in roughly the same historical period (1970's, early 1980's), in socialist European states, which makes them belong to the same broad ideological-political framework. In relation to Slovenia, the translations appeared in geo-historically and geo-culturally more or less "distant" countries (regions) – Serbia (the closest), East Germany, Poland, Russia (the most distant), which could have affected the translation strategies and/or techniques. In addition, some of the selected translations call attention to the phenomenon of alphabet mixing (Serbian and Russian translations) and to the change from an "embedded" foreign-language in the ST into the "matrix" language of the TT (German translation).

After presenting the findings of selected recent studies on multilingualism in literary translations and describing Ciril Kosmač's work, including *Balada*, the function and typology of the foreign-language passages in the novella are analysed. The successive chapters are dedicated to a brief presentation of the selected translations of *Balada* and to the micro-level analysis of the translation techniques adopted for "trans-coding" the multilingualism of Kosmač's novella. In the final part of the study, the analysed translation techniques are linked to the socio-cultural and historical character of the literary work in question.

¹ Relations between translation and multilingualism are thus not confined to literary texts but characterise the whole domain of international public and private institutions in today's global world (cf. translation services in the European Union) and of national language policies (cf. multilingual societies with historical or new immigrant minorities; Meylaerts 2010:228-229).

2 RECENT STUDIES ON MULTILINGUALISM IN LITERARY TRANSLATION

In order to contextualise the present research, a brief introduction to multilingualism in literary translation is needed. In the analysis of more recent studies on this topic (by R. Grutman, M. Suchet, J. Berton and U. F. Arcia), particular attention is paid to the “fate” of multilingualism in translation, especially to the way translation scholars view its preservation – as one of the solutions adopted for its “trans-coding”. An important issue are also the consequences its preservation (or deletion) can have for the translation itself. By analysing literary multilingualism in English translations of French-Canadian author Marie-Claire Blais, Rainier Grutman concentrates mainly on sociological translation-related issues. In his opinion, multilingualism in translation cannot be limited to the textual level. (In)tolerance of foreign words, according to Grutman, reaches beyond the notions of ‘familiarity’ vs. ‘foreignness’ or ‘sameness’ vs. ‘otherness’ – it reveals “the power imbalance between literatures in different languages and/or from different countries” (Grutman 2006:24).² The choice between deleting or maintaining the multilingualism of the ST depends not only on the translator’s ethics, but also on the status and prestige of the source literature with respect to those of the target literature, as well as on collective socio-cultural and socio-political attitudes towards the source language (Grutman 2006:26). Grutman analyses two translations of Marie-Claire Blais’s works, Ralph Manheim’s American domesticating translation of the novel *St. Louis blues* and Ray Ellenwood’s Canadian foreignising translation of Marie-Claire Blais’s *Les nuits de l’Underground*, and concludes that although Ellenwood’s Canadian translation reflects the linguistic, cultural, etc. richness of Blais’s text, it was the domesticating translation of a respected American translator, Ralph Manheim, that brought Blais the international visibility and prestige she could not otherwise have achieved (Grutman 2006:38-40).

In her analysis of translating literary heterolingualism (the Paraguayan Spanish-Guaraní diglossic coexistence) in the three French versions of the novel *Hijo de Hombre* by the Paraguayan writer Augusto Roa Bastos, Miriam Suchet views *translation as an act of reenunciación* implying a total remodelling of the ST. On the basis of the notion of *ethos*, which permits the characterisation of translation as discursive strategies, she suggests that the reenunciación by each translator’s narrator constructs a TT from a specific viewpoint (each TT has its own *ethos* towards the ST; Suchet 2009:160-162). Suchet then describes the French translations of Roa Bastos’s novel by adopting Clem Robyns’s scheme of four prototypical stances of translation discursive strategies (with an ideological conception of identity). In Roa Bastos’s case the three translators adopted, respectively, an *imperialist* attitude (by denying and transforming otherness), a *defensive* one (by transforming an otherwise acknowledged otherness) and an ethnological *defective* strategy (TT acknowledges and incorporates otherness), while none of them used the

² Pascale Casanova (cf. 2004:133), in addressing the status of a translation in the international literary context, also emphasises the importance of the translator’s stance towards the translated text.

trans-discursive strategy (TT with a similar *ethos* to the ST; Suchet 2009:162; cf. also Venuti 2000:337-338).

When translating Scottish multilingual literary works (with English, Scottish and Scottish Gaelic elements) into French, Jean Berton strives primarily for the control of the phonetic and orthographic realisations in the TT, while non-standard English elements (lexemes, phrases, utterances), already glossed in the ST, can remain unchanged. In the case of Gaelic or Scottish onomastic features with a symbolic value, the translator can decide on whether to use footnotes or a glossary (Berton 2010:9, 14, 16). In such a way Jean Berton wishes to acknowledge the languages of Scotland as an important sign of the Scottish identity (Berton 2010:2).

Ulises Franco Arcia believes that translators of multilingual texts should aim at preserving the aesthetics of the ST's otherness in the TT – one of the aspects of the *skopos* of a multilingual literary text is to create “a more realistic portrait of a bilingual society/community” (Arcia 2012:81-82). In his translation of the short story *Strictly Professional* by Chilean author Francisco Ibáñez-Carrasco, Arcia opted for the *mirror-effect translation* strategy, which transformed the main character's Spanish-English bilingualism into English-Spanish bilingualism in the TT (cf. Arcia 2012:80-81). With the *mirror-effect translation* strategy, combining the above-mentioned *skopos* and the foreignising perspective, the reader experiences the multilingual dimension of the ST (Arcia 2012:80).

On the basis of the analysed studies, the preservation of the ST's multilingualism can be regarded as *foreignising*, as it falls in the general category of the preservation of the original cultural context (settings, names, etc.; cf. Paloposki 2011:40) and poetic (or stylistic) features in translation (cf. Jones 2011:118). Berton and Arcia discuss primarily textual aspects, opting evidently – in the case of multilingualism – for foreignising translation strategies and techniques (cf. Berton's phonetic and orthographic variation, borrowing and amplification, Arcia's mirror-effect translation strategy), as a result of which the TT's readers can experience the cultural and stylistic dimension of the ST. On the other hand, Grutman and Suchet point out also sociologically relevant translation-related factors. According to Suchet, each translation is reenunciated from a translator's (or his/her narrator's) specific viewpoint (*ethos*), which can be trans-discursive, imperialist, defensive or defective. Grutman, on the other hand, calls attention not only to the importance of the prestige of the source and target languages and/or literatures for the international success of a text and its author, but also to the translator's status in the international literary community; his status can bring – irrespective of the 'poetic injustice' done to the multilingual ST in translation – international visibility to the translated text and its author.

3 CIRIL KOSMAČ AND HIS *BALADA*

Ciril Kosmač (1910-1980), born in the north-western part of Slovenia, near the town of Tolmin, is a subtle, insightful and deeply reflective author, renown mostly for his shorter literary works. He is considered to be one of the leading Slovenian social realists (together with Prežihov Voranc, Miško Kranjec, Anton Ingolič, Tone Seliškar, etc.). In his

early works in the 1930's (the collection of short stories *Sreča in kruh / Happiness and Bread*), Kosmač described the precarious life in his native valley: with profound sensitiveness he depicted the national and social struggle of the people in the Tolmin area, frequently placing the lives of local eccentrics at the centre of his stories. After the Second World War (Kosmač spent most of the war years in France and London) his prose changed. The protagonists of Kosmač's post-war narrative are mainly ordinary people, characterised by a higher moral perspective, which can become heroism; his prose is often interwoven with profound personal meditations and reflections on the artist's (writer's) creativity (cf. *Balada* and the novel *Pomladni dan / A day in spring*). For this reason, Kosmač's post-war social realism is sometimes considered poetic (lyric) and even modernist (cf. also the novella *Tantadruj*; Glušič 1975:20-24; Kos 1976:363-365, 400; Cesar 1981:20-23, 159-163).³ Kosmač's novella *Balada* was published initially in sequels in the literary journal *Naša sodobnost (Our Contemporaneity)* in 1956 (nos. 1-6) and 1957 (nos. 1-2) and afterwards as a book in its own right: first, in 1964, with the novella *Tantadruj*, by the publishing house *Cankarjeva založba*, in 1968 (reprint in 1974) in the collection *Kondor* by the publishing house *Mladinska knjiga* (responsible also for all the subsequent editions), in 1970 as the second part of the collection *Ciril Kosmač Izbrano delo (Ciril Kosmač Selected Works; reprints in 1971, 1973, 1977)* and in 1978 in the collection *Petdeset najlepših po izboru bralcev (The Best Fifty as Selected by Readers)*. For the book version, Ciril Kosmač made substantive changes to the text of the novella (cf. Glušič 1968:133; Cesar 1981:137).⁴

In *Balada*, after the Second World War, the writer Peter Majcen takes up lodgings at farmer Črnilogar's home in Črni log to write in tranquillity the novella *Prvi in poslednji boj (The First and the Last Fight)* about a simple, but heroic farmer in the Primorska region (Littoral). The farmer, seventy-year old Jernej Temnikar, risks his life and home to save twelve wounded Partisans (members of Yugoslav antifascist movement during the WWII) who have been hidden in the forest by their comrades. On Christmas Day 1943, five members of the White Guard (Bela garda – Slovene anticommunist political and paramilitary groups during the WWII) stop at Temnikar's home; they want to find the wounded Partisans and kill them. Temnikar decides to prevent them from doing this and hurries into the forest. He kills four of the White Guard soldiers, but falls into precipice after a heavy fight with the fifth; both he and his opponent die. The next day their bodies are discovered in the woods. A group of German, Italian and Russian soldiers, Chetniks (Yugoslav monarchist paramilitary organisation during the WWII) and White Guard members, led by a German officer (referred to as *nemška smrt* – 'German Death'), set out to revenge the deaths of their soldiers. They bring Temnikar's body to his home, kill his

³ Up until 1989, Kosmač's works had been translated – according to data from the Ciril Kosmač Library in Tolmin – into at least 23 languages (www.tol.sik.si/ciril_kosmac.html). The data of the Slovene Writers' Association – Društvo slovenskih pisateljev (cf. www.drustvo-dsp.si/file/5240/prevodi-posamezniki.doc, www.drustvo-dsp.si/file/4515/prevodi-antologije.doc) are less precise.

⁴ Up until 1982 (cf. Jevnikar 1982:139) Kosmač's novella *Balada* had been translated into 13 languages. The current data of the Slovenian bibliographic system COBISS confirm translations into at least 14 languages.

son Tone and daughter Justina, and decide to burn down the farmhouse. The German officer orders Zaplatarjev Venc, a local traitor, to behead Temnikar's wife Marjana. Majcen narrates the tragic story of Temnikar family (the story itself represents the cause of Majcen's intimate "battle" with the literary creative process) to the farmer Črnilogar and his wife. The Črnilogars are distraught – they are heavily burdened by their own guilt: during the war they didn't warn the neighbouring Blažič family that their house was surrounded by White Guard soldiers. A shepherd-girl Javorka, who went to warn the Blažič family, got captured and the soldiers cut off her tongue and engraved a star on her chest. The same White Guard soldiers set fire to Blažič's house; Blažič's wife and his three Partisan sons were left to die in the fire, because they did not want to surrender. Črnilogar in despair hangs himself. Peter Majcen becomes aware of his crucial role in Črnilogar's suicide, having revealed to Črnilogar the subject of his writing (cf. also Jocif 2003).

4 MULTILINGUALISM IN *BALADA*

In two out of ten chapters of his novella, Ciril Kosmač used several foreign-language passages (in French, German, Italian and Latin) – together with other content-related and textual elements (e.g. selected features of the spoken Slovenian) – to depict as accurately and realistically as possible the plot, the situations and, of course, the characters in the novella. Kosmač's characterisation reflects a precise spatio-temporal setting, with social and psychological features that make his characters believable, almost real (cf. Cesar 1981:142).

4.1 At the beginning of the second chapter, when Peter Majcen starts to write Temnikar's story, he challenges his hero to a symbolic fight. The invitation in French (cf. example (1)) bears a considerable resemblance to Rastignac's apostrophe to Paris at the end of Balzac's *Père Goriot* (cf. "A nous deux maintenant!"; Balzac [1834] 1910:343);⁵ this intertextual hint emphasises the emotional and symbolic power of Majcen's invitation.

- (1) [...] in poklical ga je nekam zviška, kakor bi ga pozival na boj:
 »*Et maintenant, Temnikar, à nous deux!*« (Kosmač 1964:39)
 LT: [...] and he called to him somewhat haughtily, as if inviting him to fight:
 »*Et maintenant, Temnikar, à nous deux!*« [Fr. *And now, Temnikar, to us two!*]⁶

4.2 The only fragment in French is followed in the fourth chapter by German, Italian and Latin passages. The chapter itself is textually very complex: in an actual moment after

⁵ It is interesting that Rastignac's apostrophe changes to "Et maintenant, Paris, à nous deux!" in two later French novels – in Aurelien Scholl's *Les amours de théâtre* (1862:99) and Octave Mirbeau's *La 628-E8* ([1907] 2003:378). Ciril Kosmač could have used this citation variant as a source for Temnikar's apostrophe – after all, Kosmač was a writer (and so is Peter Majcen!), he was fluent in French, he read and translated French literary works (by Bourdet, Camus, Anouilh; Jevnikar 1982:136, 139).

⁶ All the literal translations (LT) and the bold emphasis were added by the author of the paper.

WWII, the writer Peter Majcen imagines a drama unfolding at the Temnikars in the winter of 1943 (the killing of Temnikar's family and the burning of the house); the central point of the chapter is a conversation between the local traitor Zaplatarjev Venc (aka *Prekleta strešnica* or 'Damned Roofwater'), Temnikar's wife Marjana, the German officer ('German Death') and an Italian officer. The dialogue between Zaplatar and the German officer is in German (individual answers in German also refer to the questions of the Italian officer). Even though the utterances are short (mainly composed of single words), the awkwardness of Zaplatar's German is obvious, cf. example (2). The author was successful in structuring – linguistically and orthographically – the low linguistic competence of Zaplatarjev Venc in German (the result of this structuring, i.e. the 'Slovene-ness' of his German, could be interpreted as Zaplatar's 'sameness in otherness'): cf. an unverbation of an entire sentence (*Javolheršturmfiirer* for Germ. *Jawohl, Herr Sturmführer*); the erroneous German phrase *niks banditen* with the structure "indefinite pronoun/article word *nichts* + nom./acc. pl." (*nichts* as an article word is normally followed by a nominalised adj. gen. sing. n.), signalling a superficial knowledge of German syntax (the expected answer would be (*Es gibt*) *keine banditen*. 'There are no bandits.');

- (2) – ***Javolheršturmfiirer!*** – *se je sunkovito obrnil Prekleta strešnica in nato hrešče javil: – Niks banditen, her šturmfiirer!* (Kosmač 1964:84)

LT: – ***Javolheršturmfiirer!*** [erron. Germ. for *Jawohl, Herr Sturmführer!* Of course, *Herr Sturmführer!*] – *Damned Roofwater quickly turned round and then announced in a croaky voice: – Niks banditen, her šturmfiirer!* [erron. Germ. *Nix Banditen, Herr Sturmführer!* No bandits, Herr Sturmführer!]

4.3 The German officer addresses Zaplatarjev Venc with a Germanised pronunciation (expressed through an orthographic adaptation) of the family name Zaplatar – *Saplater*, which marks the linguistic-national identity of the officer, cf. example (3).

- (3) – ***Saplater!*** – *se je prav tedaj pločevinasto oglasila nemška smrt.* (Kosmač 1964:84)
 LT: – ***Saplater!*** – *uttered just then in a metallic voice German Death.*

The remaining short utterances of the German officer are in standard German, cf. example (4).

- (4) – ***Was?*** – *je siknila nemška smrt in se ozrla v Temnikarico. Nato je s členkom koščenege kazalca potrkala Preketo strešnico po čelu in se zarežala: – Nicht die Alte! Die Uhr!* (Kosmač 1964:93)

LT: – ***Was?*** [Germ. *What?*] – *hissed German Death and looked at Temnikar's wife. Then, with a knuckle of his bony forefinger, he knocked Damned Roofwater on his forehead and grinned: – Nicht die Alte! Die Uhr!* [Germ. *Not the old woman! The clock!*]

4.4 The German and Italian officer discuss the glorious history of the Roman people in contrast with their less noble fate and the murdering of Temnikar's daughter and wife in standard Italian (two shorter phrases are in Latin, e.g. *justitia romana, justitia germanica*; cf. example (7)). The Italian passages are – compared with the other foreign-language fragments – somewhat longer.

- (5) – *Un grande popolo i romani, – je rekla nemška smrt.*
 – *Un grande popolo! – je zažarel pribočnik in spet zrasel.*
 – *Adesso i romani sono piccoli, – je rekla nemška smrt, se vzravnala in zviška premerila svojega pribočnika. – E sono cristiani. Non tagliano più le teste ai santi, tagliano le teste alle galline.* (Kosmač 1964:89)
 LT: – *Un grande popolo i romani, [It. A great people, the Romans,] – said German Death.*
 – *Un grande popolo! [It. A great people!] – glowed the adjutant and grew again.*
 – *Adesso i romani sono piccoli, [It. Now the Romans are small,] – said German Death, rose and looked down at his adjutant: – E sono cristiani. Non tagliano più le teste ai santi, tagliano le teste alle galline. [It. And they are Christians. They don't decapitate saints anymore, they decapitate chickens.]*
- (6) *Nemška smrt je vzdignila roko, da bi jih pobrisala izpred sebe, a v tistem trenutku je laški pribočnik poskočil, z razširjenimi rokami je pokazal vanje in vzkliknil:*
 – *E la figlia? E la figlia, la maledetta puttana?* (Kosmač 1964:96)
 LT: *German Death lifted a hand to wipe them in front of himself, but at that very moment the Italian adjutant jumped, pointed at them with spread arms and shouted:*
 – *E la figlia? E la figlia, la maledetta puttana?* [It. And the daughter? And the daughter, the damned whore?]
- (7) – *Lapidare? – se je zviška namršila nemška smrt. – Justitia romana! – je zaničljivo zamahnila. Nato je težko položila orokavičeno roko na toporišče sekire in trdo odsekala: – Justitia germanica: decapitare!*
 – *Decapitare? – se je zgrozil laški pribočnik. – Ma questo è orribile! È orribile!* (Kosmač 1964:100)
 LT: – *Lapidare?* [It. To stone?] – *frowned haughtily German Death. – Justitia romana!* [Lat. Roman justice!] – *he waved his hand scornfully. He then put his gloved hand heavily on the axe helve and replied with roughness: – Justitia germanica: decapitare!* [Lat./It. German justice: to decapitate!]
 – *Decapitare?* [It. To decapitate?] – *shuddered the Italian adjutant. – Ma questo è orribile! È orribile!* [It. But this is horrible! It's horrible!]

The foreign-language passages in Kosmač's *Balada*, as evident, help to create characters in the novella (from a linguistic, socio-cultural and psychological point of view), contribute to the setting (the spatio-temporal, historical frame) of the story and they can carry, in addition, a symbolic literary value by alluding to emblematic episodes in other literary

works (cf. intertextuality in 4.1). Consequently, they can be considered also an important feature of Kosmač's stylistic variation and narrative mode.

5 TRANSLATING *BALADA'S* MULTILINGUALISM

To establish the way in which the multilingualism of Kosmač's *Balada* is "trans-coded", the translation techniques of foreign-language passages in its Serbian, Russian, Polish and German translations were analysed.

5.1 Selected translations of *Balada*

The examined texts, i.e. Serbian, Russian, Polish and German translations of Kosmač's novella, were selected, as already mentioned (cf. introduction), on the basis of their common historical and ideological-political "background", different geo-historical and geo-cultural contextualisation with respect to Slovenia and interesting linguistic-orthographic features. A synthetic macro-level translation analysis (cf. Lambert and Van Gorp [1985] 2006:46) has also shown that all four translations are based on the book version of the novella (for the present study the 1964 edition was mainly used), although three texts (Serbian, Polish and German) do not mention the version of the ST, while the Russian translation indicates the journal version as the ST.

The Serbian translation (Kosmač 1981) was published in Novi Sad by the publishing house of Matica srpska, the oldest and most important Serbian cultural-scientific institution, in a volume *Ciril Kosmač: Prose* (the volume consists of several translations of Kosmač's works by different translators, accompanied by an introduction to Kosmač's prose and a biographical note on his life and work). Kosmač's *Balada* was translated by Milorad Živančević (1933), an eminent scholar in Serbian and Slavic literatures (he was Professor at the Department of Serbian literature at the University of Novi Sad), literary critic, writer and translator of Slavic literatures into Serbian (his translations include many works of Slovenian "classics" – France Prešeren, Ivan Cankar, Simon Gregorčič, Ivan Minatti, Ciril Kosmač, etc.).

The Russian translation (Kosmač 1976) was published in Moscow by Progress Publishers (an important Soviet and Russian publishing house known for its foreign-language editions and Russian translations of foreign literature). It was translated by Aleksandr D. Romanenko (1932), Russian literary critic, literary comparatist and translator (he translated numerous works of modern Slovenian narrative and poetry). The novella appeared in a volume *Ciril Kosmač: Selected works*, consisting of six translations by different translators and a critical foreword (introduction to Kosmač's work and life); the book is a part of a series entitled *Library of Yugoslav literature*, in which numerous translations of works by Yugoslav authors were published.

Kosmač's *Balada* was translated into Polish (cf. Kosmač 1974) by Maria Krukowska-Zielińska (1915-2013) and published by the Czytelnik publishing house (the oldest publisher in Poland after the WWII) in Warsaw. Krukowska-Zielińska, born in Zagreb and fluent in all the languages of the region, worked mainly as a translator of Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian literatures (her translations from Slovene include works by

established 20th century-writers, such as France Bevk, Ciril Kosmač, Ivan Potrč, Andrej Hieng).

The German translation (Kosmač 1972) was published in Berlin by Aufbau-Verlag, the biggest publisher in East Germany, specialising in fiction and poetry. Kosmač's novella was translated by spouses Manfred and Waltraud Jähnichen, both born in 1933. Manfred Jähnichen is a retired Professor of Slavic literatures (he taught at the Humboldt University of Berlin); he specialised in Czech, Slovak and South Slavic literatures, from which he extensively translated. He often worked in pair with his wife Waltraud Jähnichen, a well-known writer and translator in her own right (cf. the above mentioned literatures). Their joint translations from Slovene include works by Janko Kersnik, Juš Kozak, Miško Kranjec, Ciril Kosmač, etc.; Manfred Jähnichen is also known for translating several works by the most important Slovenian writer, Ivan Cankar.

5.2 General translation technique

In all the analysed translations the translators have opted – on a micro-level (cf. Lambert and Van Gorp [1985] 2006:46) – for a *foreignising* translation technique by preserving the foreign-language passages. In this regard, the analysed translations respect and retain the ST's socio-cultural context and stylistic features (Paloposki 2011:40; Jones 2011:118; cf. also the ethnological *defective* strategy in Suchet 2009:162; Venuti 2000:337-338).⁷

⁷ The translators have also chosen, for the most part, foreignising translation techniques in the case of culture-specific items (cf. Aixelá 1996:61-65; Yılmaz-Gümüş 2012:119-120).

Cf. personal and locational references: geographical references *Krn* 'mountain in the western Julian Alps' (Kosmač 1964:60): *Крн* (Kosmač 1981:380) = transliteration; *пик Крн* 'peak Krn' (Kosmač 1976:62) = transliteration + minimal intratextual gloss; *Krn* (Kosmač 1974:68) = repetition; *Krn* (Kosmač 1972:62, 185) = repetition + endnote; *Črni log* lit. 'black grove' (Kosmač 1964:15): *Црни луг* (Kosmač 1981:338), *Черный лог* (Kosmač 1976:27), *Czarny Las* (Kosmač 1974:14) = linguistic translation; *Črni log* – *Schwarzer Grund* (Kosmač 1972:13) = repetition + linguistic translation/intratextual gloss; personal and family names *Peter Majcen*: *Петар Майцен* (Kosmač 1981:331) = synonym + transliteration; *Петер Майцен* (Kosmač 1976:21) = transliteration; *Peter Majcen* (Kosmač 1972:5; 1974:5) = repetition; *Črnilogar* (Kosmač 1964:19): *Црнолугар* (Kosmač 1981:343), *Czarnoleśny* (Kosmač 1974:20) = linguistic translation; *Чернилогар* (Kosmač 1976:31) = partial phonetic adaptation + transliteration; *Črnilogar* (Kosmač 1972:18) = repetition; nicknames *Prekleta strešnica* lit. 'Damned Roofwater' (Kosmač 1964:82): *Проклета стреха* 'Damned Roof' (Kosmač 1981:401), *Der Verdammte Dachsparren* 'Damned Rafter' (Kosmač 1972:87) = limited universalisation; cf. *Проклятая Каланча* 'Damned Beanpole' (Kosmač 1976:79), *Ślotniany Wiecheć* 'Thatch Sheaf' (Kosmač 1974:95) = naturalisation; *nemška smrt* lit. 'German Death' (Kosmač 1964:83): *немачка смрт* (Kosmač 1981:402), *Немецкая Смерть* (Kosmač 1976:80), *der deutsche Tod* (Kosmač 1972:88) = linguistic translation; *szwabski kat* 'the Swabian hangman' (Kosmač 1974:96) = synonym, etc. Historical and political references: *Primož Trubar* (Kosmač 1964:63): *Примож Трубар* (Kosmač 1981:383) = transliteration; *Примож Трубар* (Kosmač 1976:65) = transliteration + footnote; *Primož Trubar* (Kosmač 1974:72) = transcription + footnote; *Primož Trubar* (Kosmač 1972:65, 185) = repetition + endnote; *belogardisti* (Kosmač 1964:24): *белогардисти* (Kosmač 1981:347) = transliteration; *беля гвардия* (Kosmač 1976:14), *bialogwardziści* (Kosmač 1974:26) = linguistic translation + footnote; *Weißgardisten* (Kosmač 1972:24, 185) = linguistic translation + endnote; *četniki* (Kosmač 1964:84): *четници* (Kosmač 1981:403) = transliteration; *четники* (Kosmač 1976:81) = transliteration + footnote; *czetnicy* (Kosmač 1974:97) = transcription + endnote; *Tschetniks* (Kosmač 1972:89, 185) = transcription + endnote, etc.

In the case of the first textual instance, the passages are accompanied by an amplification (cf. Molina and Hurtado Abir 2002:510), i.e. an explanatory extratextual gloss, which is viewed – at least by some translation studies scholars (e.g. Aixelá 1996:61; Yılmaz-Gümüş 2012:120) – as a conservation (source-text oriented, foreignising) procedure. The glosses (a footnote in the Serbian, Russian and Polish TTs, an endnote in the German TT) include translations of foreign-language fragments, linguistic information and, in the case of the Serbian and Polish TTs, the glossed foreign-language passages. Furthermore, the Serbian and Russian TTs maintain, for the most part, the original non-transliterated form of passages (i.e. in the Latin alphabet), producing – in a Cyrillic text – an additional foreignising force.

The most apparent deviations from the above mentioned techniques are found in the case of originally German foreign-language passages in the German TT (cf. sections 5.4.2, 5.4.3), while the remaining TTs show interesting approaches in translating Zaplatar's German (cf. section 5.4.1).

5.3 Translating French

The passage in French (cf. example (1)) is preserved and accompanied by an extratextual gloss in all the analysed translations, cf. Serbian and German TTs (examples (8) and (9)).

- (8) [...] а дозвоа га је некако с висине, као да га позива с бој:
 „*Et maintenant, Temnikar, à nous deux!*“¹ (Kosmač 1981:361)
¹ А сада, Темникару, нас двојица! (Франц.; Kosmač 1981:361)
 LT: [...] and he called him somewhat haughtily, as if he were inviting him to a fight:
 »*Et maintenant, Temnikar, à nous deux!*«
¹ And now, Temnikar, we two! (French) = footnote
- (9) [...] er rief ihn ziemlich selbstbewußt, als fordere er ihn zum Zweikampf heraus:
 „*Et maintenant, Temnikar, à nous deux!*“ (Kosmač 1972:40)
 40 *Et maintenant, Temnikar, à nous deux!* – (franz.) Und jetzt, Temnikar, zu uns beiden! (Kosmač 1972:185)
 LT: [...] and he called him rather self-consciously, as if he were challenging him to a duel: »*Et maintenant, Temnikar, à nous deux!*«
 40 *Et maintenant, Temnikar, à nous deux!* – (French) And now, Temnikar, to the two of us! = endnote

References from social and daily life: *vila* 'a fairy-like creature in South-Slavic mythology' (Kosmač 1964:56); *вила* (Kosmač 1981:376) = transliteration; *вила* (Kosmač 1976:59) = transliteration + footnote; *rusalka* 'water nymph in Slavic mythology' (Kosmač 1974:63) = synonym; *die Vila* (Kosmač 1972:119, 186) = repetition + endnote; cf. also synonym *die Fee* 'fairy' (119); *džezva* (Kosmač 1964:35); *џезва* (Kosmač 1981:357), *джезва* (Kosmač 1976:43) = transliteration; *džezwa* (Kosmač 1974:36) = transcription + footnote; *das Kupferkännchen* 'a small copper pot' (Kosmač 1972:39) = absolute universalisation, etc.

The glosses include only the most essential information, i.e. the translation of the passage and the linguistic information; none of the translators drew explicit attention to the similarity between Majcen's French utterance and Rastignac's apostrophe (in its modified version, cf. note 5). Interestingly, the glosses, with the exception of the endnote in the German TT (cf. "Jetzt zu uns beiden!"; Balzac 1950:274), do not even hint at the possible link between the utterances – with an existing (established) translation of Balzac's text, cf. Serbian *A сада [...] нас двојица!* 'And now [...] we two!' (Kosmač 1981:361) ~ *A сад је на нас двоје ред!* 'And now it's the turn of the two of us!' (Balzac 1901:249); Polish *A teraz [...] ты двај!* 'And now [...] the two of us!' (Kosmač 1974:43) ~ *Тераз ты się spróбујemy!* 'Now we will compete!' (Balzac 1881:224); Russian *А теперь [...] мы одни!* 'And now [...] we alone!' (Kosmač 1976:46) ~ *А теперь – кто победит: я или ты!* 'And now – who will win: me or you!' (Balzac 1952:253). It seems that the intertextual reference was not obvious to the translators; nonetheless, the translations preserve the French passage.

5.4 Translating German

5.4.1 The awkwardness of Zaplatar's German (cf. example (2)) is preserved in all the translations, although translators achieved this feature in different ways. Zaplatar's answers in the Serbian and Russian TTs are, in general, transliterated in the Cyrillic alphabet⁸ and "blended" into the TT, producing a partial (alphabetic) 'familiarity' or 'sameness' of Zaplatar (both translations perpetuate Zaplatar's 'sameness in otherness'), cf. examples (10), (11). However, with an approximate phonetic or, strictly speaking, orthographic adaptation, the Serbian and Russian translators also established a differentiating relation between Zaplatar's "bad" and the German officer's "good" German (the latter in the Latin alphabet).⁹ The accompanying footnotes include translations of Zaplatar's utterances, while the Russian translator also added information about the imperfection of Zaplatar's German (Russian *искаженный немецкий* 'distorted German'); there are no additional hints as to the quality of his German in the main text.

(10) – *Јаволхерштурмфирер!* – нагло се окрену Проклета стреха и затим промукло јави: – *Никс бандитен, хер штурмфирер!*⁴ (Kosmač 1981:403)

⁴ Nichts Banditen, Herr Sturmführer (немачки): Нема бандита, господине поручниче. (Kosmač 1981:403)

LT: – *Јаволхерштурмфирер!* [translit. *Javolheršturmfirer!*] – turned quickly *Damned Roof and then raucously announced:* – *Никс бандитен, хер штурмфирер!* [translit. *Niks banditen, her šturmfirer!*]

⁸ The translators were, however, inconsistent (consciously or not) in following through with the transliteration technique. In the Serbian TT (Kosmač 1981) the following answers from Zaplatar remain in the Latin alphabet: *Tot!* 'Dead!' (410), *Halt!* 'Stop!' (410), *A-a-ber* 'but' (411, 417, 419), *Die Uuuuhr ...* 'The clock ...' (413); cf. the Russian TT (Kosmač 1976): *Tot!* (87), *Halt!* (87), *Die U-u-uhr ...* (88).

⁹ Cf. also example (11) from the Russian TT with the univerbation of the second part of Zaplatar's answer, missing in the ST (cf. example (2)), which adds to the clumsiness of his German.

⁴ Nichts Banditen, Herr Sturmführer (German): There are no bandits, sir lieutenant.
= footnote

- (11) *Явольгерритурмфюрер!* – молнией повернулся на каблуках Заплатар и прежним скрипучим голосом доложил: – **Никсбандитен, герритурмфюрер!**¹. (Kosmač 1976:81)

¹ Нет бандитов, господин штурмфюрер! (*искаж. нем.*) (Kosmač 1976:81)

LT: – *Явольгерритурмфюрер!* [translit. *Javol'gerršturmführer!*] – *Zaplatar turned on his heels like lightning and added with the same raspy voice: – Никсбандитен, герритурмфюрер!* [translit. *Niksbanditen, gerršturmführer!*]

¹ There are no bandits, sir Sturmführer! (*distorted German*) = footnote

The imperfection of Zaplatar's German – his 'sameness in otherness' – is also highlighted in the Polish TT: his utterances are transcribed according to Polish orthography (Zaplatar's awkward, foreign-sounding German vs. the correct German officer's German) and accompanied, in the footnotes, by their translations and information about the language quality (*zniekształcony niemiecki* 'distorted German'; cf. example (12)).

- (12) – **Jawolherszturmfirer!** – odwrócił się gwałtownie Słomiany Wiecheć i ochrypłym głosem zameldował: – **Niks banditen, herszturmfirer!** (Kosmač 1974:97)

Jawolherszturmfirer! Niks banditen! (*zniekształcony niem.*) – Tak jest, panie szturmfirerze! Bandytów nie ma! (Kosmač 1974:97)

LT: – **Jawolherszturmfirer!** – turned suddenly Thatch Sheaf and announced with a hoarse voice: – **Niks banditen, herszturmfirer!**

Jawolherszturmfirer! Niks banditen! (*distorted German*) – Of course, sir Sturmführer! There are no bandits! = footnote

In the German translation Zaplatar's German becomes part of the "matrix" (dominant) language in the TT;¹⁰ however, to underline the 'Slovene-ness' of his German, not corresponding to the standard language norm (Zaplatar's original 'sameness in otherness' transforms into 'otherness in sameness' in the German TT), the translator kept the "peculiar" linguistic features from the ST (see section 4.2; cf. also an additional univerbation of *Herrsturmfihrer*) and adopted a non-standard orthography to represent Zaplatar's strange German pronunciation (cf. example (13)).

- (13) „**Jawollherrsturmfihrer!**“ Blitzschnell fuhr der Verdammte Dachsparren herum und meldete krächzend: „**Nix Banditen, Herrsturmfihrer!**“ (Kosmač 1972:89)

LT: „**Jawollherrsturmfihrer!**“ Like lightning Damned Rafter turned round and announced croakily: „**Nix Banditen, Herrsturmfihrer!**“

¹⁰ Endnotes with translations of German utterances are, understandably, missing in the German TT.

5.4.2 The German officer addresses Zaplatar with a German pronunciation of his Slovenian family name (*Saplater* instead of *Zaplatar*, cf. example (3)). The ‘foreign-sounding’ address is preserved in all translations, although in different ways. In the Serbian and Russian TTs the Germanised address is transliterated in the Cyrillic alphabet, with an additional phonetic-orthographic adaptation in the Russian text (*Сапльатер* /*Sapl’ater*/, in one case inconsistently *Саплатер* /*Saplater*/, cf. Kosmač 1976:95); the first address in the Serbian translation is followed by a footnote with the information about the Germanised version of the family name Zaplatar. In this way, the address-form becomes part of the “matrix” language in the TT, while its ‘otherness’ is indicated by a footnote (Serbian TT) and/or the contrast between different realisations of the name Zaplatar: *Саплатер* (Serbian TT) or *Сапльатер* (Russian TT) by the German officer, cf. examples (14), (15), and *Заплатер* /*Zaplatar*/ by others (the narrator included).

(14) – *Саплатер!*² – управо тада се плеханим гласом јави немачка смрт. (Kosmač 1981:402)

²Заплатар (понемчено). (Kosmač 1981:402)

LT: – *Саплатер!*² [translit. *Saplater!*] – uttered just then with a metallic voice German Death.

²Заплатар [translit. Zaplatar] (germanised). = footnote

(15) – *Сапльатер!* – прозвучал в этот момент дребезжащий голос Немецкой Смерти. (Kosmač 1976:80)

LT: – *Сапльатер!* [translit. *Sapl’ater!*] – rang out at that moment the rattling voice of German Death.

In the Polish and German TTs the ‘foreignness’ or the ‘German-ness’ of the above mentioned address is indicated by the same phonetic adaptation as in the ST (*Saplater*), cf. examples (16), (17), and by the contrast with all the other mentions of Zaplatar’s family name.

(16) – *Saplater* – odezwał się szwabski kat blaszanym głosem. (Kosmač 1974:97)

LT: – *Saplater* – said the Swabian hangman with a metallic voice.

(17) „*Saplater!*“ bellte gerade im selben Augenblick blechern der deutsche Tod. (Kosmač 1972:88)

LT: „*Saplater!*“ barked metallically just at that very moment German Death.

5.4.3 All the other utterances by the German officer (cf. example (4)) are preserved in the original German orthography; in the Serbian, Polish and Russian translations every new utterance is accompanied by its translation in a footnote. It has to be stressed that the Serbian and Russian texts, in most cases (with the exception of fragments analysed in sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2), mark the ‘otherness’ of the foreign-language passages three

times: by linguistic (also orthographic), alphabetic and extratextual features (the alphabetic 'otherness' is, of course, missing in the Polish TT), cf. examples (18) and (19).

- (18) – *Was?*¹⁷ – просикта немачка смрт и упре поглед у Темникарицу. Затим чланком кошчатог кажипрста куцну Проклету стреху по челу и искези се: – **Nicht die Alte! Die Uhr!**¹⁸ (Kosmač 1981:411-412)

¹⁷ Шта? (нем.) (Kosmač 1981:411)

¹⁸ Не старицу! Сат! (нем.) (Kosmač 1981:412)

LT: – *Was?*¹⁷ – hissed German Death and fixed his look on Temnikar's wife. Then, with a knuckle of his bony forefinger, he knocked Damned Roof on the forehead and grinned: – **Nicht die Alte! Die Uhr!**¹⁸

¹⁷ What? (German) = footnote

¹⁸ Not the old woman! The clock! (German) = footnote

- (19) – *Was?* – syknął szwabski kat i spojrzął na Temnikarową, po czym przegubem kościstego palca stuknął Słomianego Wiechcia w czoło i zarechotał: – **Nicht die Alte! Die Uhr!*** (Kosmač 1974:108)

Was? Nicht die Alte! Die Uhr! (niem.) – Co? Nie starą! Zegar! (Kosmač 1974:108)

LT: – *Was?*¹⁷ – hissed the Swabian hangman and looked at Temnikar's wife, after which he, with a knuckle of a bony finger, knocked Thatch Sheaf on the forehead and chortled: – **Nicht die Alte! Die Uhr!***

Was? Nicht die Alte! Die Uhr! (German) – What? Not the old woman! The clock! = footnote

In the German text the officer's German utterances, just like Zaplatar's, become part of the "matrix" language frame of the text; however, the native language competence of the German officer is made evident by the contrast with Zaplatar's linguistically and orthographically adapted clumsy German (compare examples (13) and (20)).

- (20) „*Was?*“ zischte der deutsche Tod und blickte sich zur Temnikar um. Dann klopfte er dem Verdammten Dachsparren mit dem Knöchel seines knochigen Zeigefingers auf die Stirn und grientete. „**Nicht die Alte! Die Uhr!**“ (Kosmač 1972:98)

LT: „*Was?*“ hissed German Death and looked back at Temnikar's wife. Then he knocked Damned Rafter with the knuckle of his bony forefinger on the forehead and smirked. „**Nicht die Alte! Die Uhr!**“

5.5 Translating Italian (and Latin)

In all the analysed translations the Italian passages (cf. section 4.4) are translated according to the general translation technique, i.e. by conservation/repetition and by providing an extratextual gloss (as mentioned, the Serbian and Russian TTs preserve also the 'foreignising' original Latin alphabet), cf. examples (21) and (22).

- (21) – *Adesso i romani sono piccoli*, – сказал лейтенант, выправляясь и глядя на него свысока. – *E sono cristiani. Non tagliano più le teste ai santi, tagliano le teste alle galline*³. (Kosmač 1976:85)

³ Теперь римляне измелъчали. К тому же они христиане. Они больше не рубят головы святым, они обезглавливают кур (*итал.*). (Kosmač 1976:85)

LT: – *Adesso i romani sono piccoli*, – said the lieutenant, straightening himself and looking down at him. – *E sono cristiani. Non tagliano più le teste ai santi, tagliano le teste alle galline*³.

³ Now the Romans have crumbled. Furthermore, they are Christians. They don't cut heads to saints anymore, they decapitate chickens (Italian). = footnote

- (22) Szwabski kat podniósł rękę, jakby ich chciał usunąć sprzed oczu, gdy wtem przyskoczył do niego włoski adiutant i wskazując rękoma na nich zawołał:

– **E la figlia? E la figlia, la maladetta puttana?*** (Kosmač 1974:112)

E la figlia? E la figlia, la maladetta puttana? (wł.) – A dziewczyna? A dziewczyna, ta przekłeta dziwka? (Kosmač 1974:112)

LT: The Swabian hangman lifted a hand, as if he wanted to remove them from his sight, when the Italian adjutant jumped to him and, pointing at them with his hands, shouted:

– **E la figlia? E la figlia, la maledetta puttana?***

E la figlia? E la figlia, la maladetta puttana? (Italian) – And the girl? And the girl, that damned slut? = footnote

In this way, the contrast between the dominant (“matrix”) language and the foreign language (Italian) enabled the translators to re-create the distinct, well-defined national, cultural and linguistic identities (with an ideological symbolic value) of the Italian and German officers.¹¹

The Latin fragments (cf. example (7)) are preserved only in the Serbian and Polish TTs, while the Russian and German translators opted for an Italian “trans-coding” (maybe as a result of not having recognised the text as Latin; cf. examples (23) and (24)). Although a minor change, it diminishes, in the TT, the linguistic richness of the ST and the linguistic competence of the German officer, who – most likely – intentionally and vainly pointed out his Latin knowledge.

- (23) – *Lapidare?* – надменно нахмурился Немецкая Смерть. – *Giustizia romana!* – презрительно качнул он головой. Потом, твердо сложив руки в перчатке на

¹¹ The quality of the above mentioned technique is somewhat diminished by the following typing and orthographic errors: Serbian TT – *E orribile!* instead of *È orribile!* ‘It’s horrible!’ (Kosmač 1981:418); Polish TT – *Un ben lavoro!* instead of *Un bel lavoro!* ‘A beautiful work (of art)!’; *E sono cristiani.* instead of *E sono cristiani.* ‘And they are Christians.’ (Kosmač 1974:103); *E la figlia, la maladetta puttana?* instead of *E la figlia, la maledetta puttana?* ‘And the daughter, the damned whore?’ (Kosmač 1974:112); Russian TT – *Avanti! Corraggio!* instead of *Avanti! Coraggio!* ‘Forward! Boldly!’ (Kosmač 1976:88).

топорице, решительно отрубил: – *Giustizia germanica: decapitare!*⁴ (Kosmač 1976:93)

⁴ Римское правосудие! Германское правосудие: обезглавить! (итал.) (Kosmač 1976:93)

LT: – *Lapidare?* – *frowned arrogantly German Death.* – *Giustizia romana!* – *he scornfully shook his head. Then, after having put his gloved hands firmly on the axe helve, he strongly retorted: – Giustizia germanica: decapitare!*⁴

⁴ Roman justice! German justice: to decapitate! (Italian) = footnote

- (24) »*Lapidare?*« Der deutsche Tod musterte ihn herablassend. »*Giustizia romana!*« Er winkte verächtlich ab. Dann legte er die behandschuhte Hand auf den Griff der Axt und hackte mit harter Stimme: »*Giustizia germanica: decapitare!*« (Kosmač 1972:105)

Lapidare! Lapidare! – (ital.) Steinigen! Steinigen!

Giustizia romana! – (ital.) Römisches Recht!

Giustizia germanica: decapitare! – (ital.) Germanisches Recht: enthaupten! (Kosmač 1972:186)

LT: »*Lapidare?*« German Death eyed him patronizingly. »*Giustizia romana!*« He waved his hand scornfully. Afterwards he put his gloved hand on the axe helve and retorted in a rough voice: »*Giustizia germanica: decapitare!*«

Lapidare! Lapidare! – (Italian) To stone! To stone! = endnote

Giustizia romana! – (Italian) Roman justice! = endnote

Giustizia germanica: decapitare! – (Italian) Germanic justice: to decapitate! = endnote

6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The multilingualism in Ciril Kosmač's novella *Balada o trobenti in oblaku* (*The Ballad of the Trumpet and the Cloud*) consists of several foreign-language passages (in French, German, Italian and Latin), embedded in a Slovenian text, that exhibit a complex function – in terms of characterisation, setting-creation, stylistic variation. For the most part, the analysed Serbian, Polish, Russian and German translations demonstrate a *foreignising* perspective by preserving the multilingualism of the source text.

The foreignising translation techniques with which individual foreign-language passages were “trans-coded” into target texts consist mainly of conservation/repetition and accompanying extratextual gloss (footnote in the Serbian, Polish and Russian texts, endnote in the German text), containing the translation of the passage in question; by preserving the original form of foreign-language fragments (in the Latin alphabet) in a Cyrillic text, the Serbian and Russian translations accentuated their ‘otherness’ even more. The most obvious deviations from the above mentioned techniques are found in translations of the clumsy German of Zaplatarjev Venc, which was – for the most part – linguistically, orthographically and alphabetically adapted (transliterated or transcribed) to demonstrate its awkward ‘sameness in otherness’ in the Serbian, Russian and Polish target texts and ‘otherness in sameness’ in the German translation. A different technique

was also chosen by the German translators for the originally foreign-language German utterances of the German officer: by preserving them, the translators, understandably, “blended” them into the target text; however, the officer’s native language knowledge (i.e. his ‘German-ness’) is indicated by the contrast with the awkward non-native linguistic competence of Zaplatarjev Venc. In such a way, the discrepancy between the formal education of the officer (who also speaks Italian and Latin) and his base human nature, on one hand, and the servility of the domestic traitor, on the other, remains evident on a linguistic level as well.

Multilingualism in/and translation covers a wide range of phenomena, from translation-related issues arising in multilingual communities and institutions to translation problems related to literary texts, intertwined with foreign-language passages. Multilingualism in Kosmač’s novella is used as an essential part of literary characterisation, and although it does not have the same function as in the above mentioned Canadian, Chilean and Scottish literary works, where it also represents an intrinsic feature of the national/regional character itself, it offers a unique literary insight into the complexity of – above all – intercultural and interlinguistic relationships in the western parts of Slovenia during the Second World War. By acknowledging the multilingualism in *Balada*, the selected translations acquaint their audiences – not only thematically, but also textually and linguistically – with socio-cultural and psychological profiles of the characters, a precise spatio-temporal context and, last but not least, with Ciril Kosmač’s original writing style and narrative mode.

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A Translational Reading of Heart of Darkness from Elsewhere

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ABSTRACT

Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, a novel about the exploitation of African lands and people, is a colonial story and an example of self-translation based on Conrad's journey to the Congo. Moreover, the novel provides some interesting parallels with the postcolonial thought in Translation Studies since the main characters and the novelist speak from a "third space" (Bhabha 1994). Being stuck in a position of "in-between" (Tymoczko 2003), between the colonizer and the colonized, Conrad and the main character of *Heart of Darkness* reflect the split stance of a translator, a story teller and a travel writer. The paper aims at illustrating how the term third space can be fruitful for a postcolonial reading of the book. The ambivalent language Conrad uses when giving voice to the story teller is a technique reflecting the isolation of the main characters, of the novelist, the story teller, the translators and the migrants of the modern metropolises. Furthermore, to create a translation effect, which is peculiar to hybrid texts, the story is told by two narrators, which makes their translatorial role of dividedness even more visible.

KEY WORDS: author-translator, third space, hybrid, isolation, ambivalence

1 INTRODUCTION

Heart of Darkness, as its striking title implies, tries to depict the damage and demonic effects of colonization on the soul of the colonizer by including vivid depictions of the crimes and casual cruelty of the colonizers towards the natives of Africa. Joseph Conrad reveals the lie that is used to hide the truth in Africa: under the name of enlightening "the savages" – the natives of Africa – the white men hide the baseness of their true motives. Therefore, the devastation and destruction of African lands and the physical and spiritual

exploitation of its people represent the rotting of European values. The novella thus powerfully challenges the claim that colonization will bring wealth to these lands and civilize African people.

There are parallelisms between Conrad's real life experiences and his fictional creations, in plot, places and characters. In fact, the main material for his work was Conrad's journey to the Congo, which he describes as devastating to his physical and psychological health. It will be shown how Conrad's evocative writing was certainly aided by his Congo diary. Moreover, it is possible to argue the story is a survival tale of Conrad's own experience and self-knowledge based on his journey to the Congo. It is argued here that this novel is a translation of Conrad's actual journey, since a parallel could be made between Conrad and the main character of the novel Marlow, an introspective sailor, who is on his journey up the Congo River to meet Kurtz, reputed to be an idealistic man of great abilities. Marlow sails as a riverboat captain with a company organized to trade in the Congo and witnesses how the native inhabitants of the region at the Company's service suffer terribly from overwork and ill treatment at the hands of the Company's agents. The cruelty of imperial enterprise contrasts sharply with the darkness of jungle that surrounds the white man's settlements.¹

This colonial story is unusual as it is told from the perspective of the colonizer. However, Conrad's writing is an act of speaking from elsewhere, because although Marlow travels to the Congo as one of the colonizers, he criticizes colonialism. The novelist gives a perfect example of the claim that all writing is an act of translation (Bhabha 2009:1). In this context, reading the novel in the light of postcolonial Translation Studies, the aim of this paper is first to analyze how similar the stances of the modern novelist, the travel writer and the translator are compared to Conrad's journey to the Congo. Furthermore, *Heart of Darkness* certainly reminds us how "the translator is akin to the travel writer" (Cronin 2000:109). I intend to question whether travel can be thought of as a translation of true experience in this specific example. Then, I intend to concentrate on a postcolonial reading of *Heart of Darkness* in terms of its relation to the split, in-between or the third space of the novelist and the translator as an individual in the colonial and the modern society.

The main characters of the book, Marlow and Kurtz, represent a split, isolated individual in the colonial world whose experience of a space between the colonizer and the colonized is similar to a translator experiencing a third space in every action of translating meanings from one language to the other. Therefore, before presenting Marlow and Kurtz as characters in the third space, I will clarify the term of the third space and outline its scope. Because Conrad writes from a position that reveals the reality of the colonialism, his criticism of the colonialism is similar to postcolonial translation criticism, so much so that Homi Bhabha (1994:303-304) uses *Heart of Darkness* as an example in his writings. Drawing inspiration from this reference, the accounts of the scholars who have commented on the scope of "elsewhere" will be scrutinized. Maria Tymoczko was one of the first scholars who commented on the meaning of "elsewhere"

¹ For a detailed plot summary, see <http://www.sparknotes.com/lit/heart/summary.html>.

in connection with the term “in-between”. Despite her critical approach to the term “in-between”, she defines it as “an elsewhere that is somehow different from either the source culture and the receptor culture that the translator mediates between” (Tymoczko 2003:185). According to her, the in-between space provides the translators with an advantageous ideological stance (ibid.:185).

Postcolonial writing and postcolonial translation criticism use the notion of the translator’s position as the third space, since it allows them to describe colonial reality more clearly. They try to create a discourse that will integrate the truth of the split individuals both in the colony and the metropolis. It will be argued here that the ongoing debate on these terms is fruitful for Translation Studies because it opens the field of the debate.

In contemporary Translation Studies, the shift has occurred from the focus on only the text, to that on translators and their visibility (e.g. Venuti 1995). Conrad’s method of expressing the third space he intends to convey is very frustrating for the reader. He creates a storyline that is broken into pieces and mixed up. The destruction of the linear flow of plot, the depiction of the characters and the language of the book, which is by no means easy to read, create a void and ambivalent expression of the third space. As Sherry Simon puts it, if “[h]ybrid texts are those which use “translation effects” to question the borders of identity” (Simon 2001:217), then Conrad aims to create a translation effect with his style. Simon is another author who, similarly to Bhabha, interprets hybridity as liberating in her article “Cultural and Textual Hybridity” and appreciates its creative potential.

The lack of historicity makes the story depend on the present time: its characters’ lack of national roots supports this linguistic ambivalence and at the same time represents the exile migrant psychology denying its characters a feeling of permanency. Moreover, it will be argued here that as Conrad opens a space for himself through his main character, he also opens a space for postcolonial writing and translation studies through his style. Marlow as a character has the potential to make the role of the postcolonial writer and the translators more tangible. Conrad as a novelist uses double narration as a technique to put Marlow’s story-telling role forward via the anonymous narrator.² While it is possible to consider Marlow as the central narrator who tells the story to an audience on a sailing boat, the anonymous narrator presents himself as a listener who listens to Marlow’s story among the audience. This double narration opens a gap space for the reader to swing in-between and is a textual evidence of the “dividedness of identity”³ (Simon 2001). Thus, the last part of the paper will be devoted to the analysis of the novel in this context.

² It should be kept in mind that the voices of the story telling character, Marlow, and the narrator are different in the book. That is why the readers read a story that is told by a story teller to an audience and the narrator comments on the story teller from time to time giving us hints about the difficulties of story telling.

³ Simon writes that:

While the hybrid text affirms the dividedness of identity, often becoming an expression of loss and disorientation, it can also become a powerful and emancipatory place for the writer to occupy. The space of translation widens, becoming a territory in which the imagination settles down, takes up its ordinary existence. ... In a global political context

2 CONRAD AS AN AUTHOR-TRANSLATOR WHO WRITES/TRANSLATES HIS JOURNEY

Although any kind of writing can be considered as the translation of self-experience, Conrad's journey to the Congo is unique because the colonized people he speaks for are speechless in his book. In other words, not even one word in any African language is uttered in the book. He comments on their gestures, movements, physical appearance and occasionally cries, the rhythm of their songs and voices but never on their language. The colonizers do not translate the African language. Therefore, the colonial reality, the experience of the colonial is the problem of a life in the midst of the unspeakable. Only on a few incidents the natives talk to Marlow in English. However, it is in Marlow's voice that they are represented to Europe. None of the native characters of the novelist resists to the oppression of the colonizers in the book but the protagonist, Marlow, tells their story to the audience. That is why he is like the translator who translates the colonized. Although he does not try to represent them, he does, however, inevitably take sides via the story he tells.

This "author- translator"⁴ (Paker 2011) mission opens a space for postcolonial criticism, which translation studies can benefit from. Because of this reason, the author-translator is obliged to speak for them and enjoy and endure the privilege and consequences of his two-fold role respectively. Authors do not necessarily come from the communities they translate or write for. This perspective makes their position even more distinctive. For example, in *Heart of Darkness*, Conrad's experience of sailing to the Congo as one of the colonizers surfaces in many instances in the novel, in particular through his character of Marlow. Marlow speaks for the colonized in an indirect manner despite the fact that he does not intend to represent them. In this way, Conrad escapes the criticisms of the theorists who think representation of a certain group by an individual who is not a member of this group is problematic.⁵

It is possible to take translation as a travel and a link between the local and the universal (Cronin 2000:96). As Michael Cronin states, contact with the other "produces the mixed realities of urban melting pots" and "sharpens a sense of difference, acts as a foil for the emergence of separate identity" (Cronin 2000:96). Furthermore, he argues that "[t]he traveler goes elsewhere to encounter other people, places, cultures, languages... However, the journey often leads not only to greater self-awareness but also to greater

which favours the voices of strong, unified identities, the hybrid text has an important message to deliver. (Simon 2001:226)

⁴ In her 2011 work, Saliha Paker sheds light on Latife Tekin as an author-translator. Tekin chooses to describe herself as a translator "as one who interprets, who translates the mute, 'tongueless' world of the dispossessed into the language of this world" (Tekin 1989:69, in Paker 2011:147). Tekin, being aware of the fact that the people in power also yield power over the language, reminds us "the dispossessed do not have words of their own" (Tekin 1989:68, in Paker 2011:154).

⁵ Gayatri C. Spivak, who insists on the muteness of the "subaltern", finds the representation/representation of the "subaltern" by the other intellectuals impossible (Spivak 1988:275). However, as Barth Moore-Gilbert writes, such an insistence on the silence of the subaltern is contradictory in itself as Spivak herself is speaking for, or in place of the subaltern (Moore-Gilbert 2000:464).

cultural self-definition" (Cronin 2000:96).⁶ Indeed, an analysis of *Heart of Darkness* reveals that there are many similarities between the plot of the novel and Joseph Conrad's own journey to the Congo, which was a turning point for him in his spiritual maturation. The novel's main character, Marlow, is a traveler in an in-between place which is defined by Cronin in the following way:

The gap of the "entre-deux" here should be conceived of less as a space, a reified entity tending towards stasis than as a constant movement backwards and forwards in which there is no fixated identification with either of the poles. The continuous oscillation between source text and target text, between home culture and foreign culture, native language and foreign language define both translator and traveler as figures of motion. The translator/traveler embraces the analog mode of both/and rather than the digital mode of either/or. (Cronin 2000:106)

Taking translation as a move or movement which represents transformation is liberating in many senses; consequently, more and more scholars are writing on this matter.⁷ From Cronin's perspective, translation is a dual journey literally and symbolically because it is "interpreting the world to the another" (2006:45). Likewise, Conrad in *Heart of Darkness* interprets the colonial world to the rest of the world. Conrad's impressions of his cruises form symbols and direct transfers for him. First, Conrad almost died and was constantly sick with dysentery and fever during his return journey. In spite of spending one month in the hospital after his return, he could only partially recover and he suffered from malarial gout for the rest of his life (Sherry 1972:63). His main character Marlow, who represents the writer himself, struggled with death and was almost dead at the end of his journey, similarly to Conrad himself.

Second, the fictional character of Kurtz was based on a real character: Georges Antoine Klein, the company's agent in the inner station of the Congo. When Conrad's steamer arrived to the station, Klein was ill with fever and dysentery. Klein was also buried in real life just like Kurtz in the Congo as it is reported in Conrad's diary (Conrad 2013:134). Next, the post available for Conrad as a steamer captain opened due to the assassination of the young Captain by natives depicted in detail in the book. That is why

⁶ Another writer who attaches importance to cities as polyglot geographical locations and places of bilingualism is Sherry Simon. She hints how certain cities can become specific points for memory studies. Moreover, her work "Cities in Translation: Intersections of Language and Memory" reminds us that if language is a carrier of memory, translation is a transmission and testimony of memory. From her point of view accents, code switching and translation are to be valued for the ways in which they draw attention to the complexities of difference, for the ways in which they interrupt the self-sufficiencies of "mono" cultures (Simon 2012).

⁷ See "Going fictional! Translators and interpreters in literature and film: An Introduction" by Klaus Kaindl in *Transfiction: Research into the Realities of Translation Fiction*. In the book transfiction is understood as an aestheticized imagination of translatorial action. The book is particularly interesting because it expands the scope of translation studies by examining translatorial action in its reflections in fiction.

Conrad started the journey filled with fear and doubt. Similarly, also his character Marlow owes his job to a crime. The same story is kept in the book and Marlow feels the same discomfort Conrad himself felt because he gets his job as a result of the unfortunate incident (Sherry 1972:56).

Another indicator of his translating activity in the novel is Conrad's manager, Camille Delcommune, the manager of the Kinchassa Station in real life. His hostile, unfavorable and disagreeable character certainly formed the solid grounds for the character of the manager in the book. Both in the book and in the real life Conrad hated and resented the man (Sherry 1972:58; Conrad 2013:127).

Most importantly, in reality, as a result of his restless spirit Conrad chooses a tiresome job deliberately for the heroic and adventurous attraction it has. Having already been to many places around the world throughout the years spent at the sea, it was time for Conrad to fulfill his child's dream "to travel to the heart of darkness", i.e. to sub-Saharan Africa (Conrad 1988:22). Similarly, Marlow also says that "after a lot of Indian Ocean, Pacific, China Seas – a regular dose of the East" he decides to have another job as a skipper once again. In the book, Marlow confesses that in his youth he had a passion for maps, blank spaces on the map and "one river especially, a mighty big river, that you could see on the map, resembling an immense snake uncoiled" which is the Congo itself (Conrad 1988:22). This was going to be the last sailing of Conrad and Marlow.

3 IN-BETWEEN/IN THE THIRD SPACE

According to Maria Tymoczko (2003), a translator is considered to affiliate himself with a particular country, which is most of the time the translator's native land. Similarly, Gideon Toury (1995:29) argues translated texts are facets of one language and one textual tradition only, namely the target culture. However, this view is challenged currently by postcolonial Translation Studies with alternative choices. The terms "the third space" and "in-between" are introduced as alternatives for the translator's position after the collapse of binary options and the criticism of positivist reflections in Translation Studies. As the affiliation of the translator is conditioned by his/her ideological stance, s/he can be positioned within the receptor culture, within the source culture or elsewhere. The "elsewhere" is defined as *in-between* by Tymoczko (2003) and as the *third space* by Homi Bhabha (1994). In Bhabha's writings, translation is thus placed in a liminal terrain or a hybrid space which stands between the national cultures but does not participate in them. As the notion of the translator's in-betweenness calls for the visibility of the translator, the postcolonial Translation Studies also encourages resistance against the suppressive regimes (Tymoczko 2003). Conrad's writing can be interpreted as such a call for resistance. Likewise, the concepts of "in-between" and "the third space" have the potential to produce the criticism of absolute contrast and polarization in translational metaphors.

In her essay, Maria Tymoczko (2003:185) refers to this in-between space and argues that "[p]ostcolonial translation studies make use of the "third space" metaphor to emphasize the translator's "in-between" position and its split ideological stance as an

interpreter.” However, her criticism of the term is now being questioned. In her article “At the Selves of Discourse: Negotiating the ‘In-between’ in Translation Studies” Karen Bennet argues that Tymoczko, similarly to Schleiermacher and Toury, aims to reassess the translator’s embedment in a cultural and ideological context. Bennet continues:

For [Tymoczko], the concept of the “in-between” is philosophically suspect, not only because it succumbs to the Romantic idea of the translator as ‘a déclassé and alienated intellectual cut loose from specific, limiting cultural moorings and national affiliations’ [Tymoczko 2003:199] but more importantly, because from the perspective of translation as a movement from one system of language and culture to another”, it “returns us to retrograde Platonic notions of meaning...in which meanings and ideas were thought to exist apart from and above any linguistic formulations”. (Bennet 2012:45)

Tymoczko considers an affiliation to one side or the other almost obligatory. Thus, according to her, speaking about in-between is not really acceptable. She criticizes the view of translation as a space in-between as a model because she thinks it grows out of a particular Western capitalist paradigm of the translator as an isolated individual worker who independently acts as a mediator of languages (Tymoczko 2003:185-198). Rather, she supports the idea that meaning is language specific and exists within a language game, a discourse or linguistic practices (ibid.:191). Her line of thought is certainly similar to that of Schleiermacher.

According to Anthony Pym, “[t]he in-between space is certainly colorful, even if unlovely” (Pym 2012:23). Contrary to Tymoczko, who argues that “there is no room for neutrality, no intermediate position, and no place to straddle the line”, Pym (2012:27) believes that translators or writers can willingly choose to remain “in-between” (ibid.:30). Pym (ibid.:28) ironically opposes cultural belonging of a strict kind. Bennet also supports the use of the term “in between” and makes a reference to the conception of the text as a “textual weaving” as follows:

Translation is presented as a performative act, which spins a new symbolic fabric, a textile knit of yarns drawn from pre-existing tapestries. Hence, it cannot help but be an “in-between”, not in the static sense understood by Tymoczko, but as an ongoing dynamic process which, like the hybrid postcolonial writing described by Bhabha, brings “newness” into the world. (Bennet 2012:56)

In her article “The Third Space in Postcolonial Representation” Michaela Wolf (2000:130) also stresses that postcolonial scholars “consider ‘writing’ as a social praxis engaged in the construction and dialectical reformulation of the other and argue in favor of an ethnographic writing which opens itself to a plurality of voices”. In contrast to the idea of embedment of a writer into a certain culture, Wolf writes that “[m]eaning is produced beyond cultural borders and is principally located in the third Space, a sort of ‘in-between

space' located between existing referential systems and antagonisms" (Wolf 2000:135). According to Wolf, the third space is therefore "the contact zone of controversial potentials, presaging powerful cultural changes" (Wolf 2008:13).

A more detailed reading of Bhabha's writing shows how fruitful the term is. He describes the generative potential of the "in-between" as follows:

I am more engaged with the "foreign element" that reveals the interstitial; insists in the textile superfluity of folds and wrinkles; and becomes the "unstable element of linkage" the indeterminate temporality of the in-between that has to be engaged in creating the conditions through which "newness comes into the world". (Bhabha 1994:325-326)

Though he does not refer to the actual translation process, he nevertheless points out the elusiveness of all communicative attempts and linguistic signification in *The Location of Culture*:

The act of interpretation is never simply an act of communication between the I and the You designated in the statement. The production of meaning requires that these two places be mobilized in the passage through a Third Space, which represents both the general conditions of language and the specific implication of the utterance in a performative and institutional strategy of which it cannot "in itself" be conscious." (Bhabha 1994:53)

In Bhabha's writing it is possible to see how the terms "in-between place", "the third space" and "hybridity" are interconnected. Wolf comments on him as follows:

Under Bhabha's concept of hybridity, cultural dimensions, such as space and time, can no longer be understood as being homogeneous or self-contained. Cultures are never unitary in themselves, nor simply dualistic as in the relation self/other (1994, 36), rather there is a Third Space, which can neither be reduced to the self nor the other, neither to the First nor to the Third World, neither to the master nor to the slave. Meaning is produced beyond cultural borders and is principally located in the Third Space, a sort of "in-between space" located between existing referential systems and antagonisms. (Wolf 2000:135)

Bhabha attracts attention to the inter or in-between space that carries the burden of the meaning of culture; his writings encourage eluding the politics of polarity in translation studies and creating a new politics of in-betweenness for a reassessment of the creative potentialities of liminal space (Bassnett and Trivedi 1999:5).⁸ For Bhabha the third space

⁸ As Moore-Gilbert puts it:

Bhabha extends the site of the political to the zone of psychic relations "in-between" the dominant and subordinate cultures, across which an unstable traffic of continuously (re)negotiated (counter-)identifications is conducted. While Bhabha suggests that such

becomes an alternative space for minorities or exiles within a dominant culture. From his point of view the third space is a challenge to the limits of the self reaching out to what is liminal in the historic experience, and in the cultural representation, of other peoples, times, languages, texts (Bhabha 2009). The people(s) in the third space are not represented by the dominant culture. Thus they remain silent and almost invisible historically and culturally. They are in a liminal, unconscious or void space. He takes postcolonial migration and the liminality of migrant experience not only as a "transitional" reality but also a translational phenomenon.⁹ The perplexed histories of the living people, their cultures of survival and resistance become a non-synchronous, incommensurable gap in the midst of storytelling (Bhabha 1994:232). Also in *Hearth of Darkness*, the main character Marlow is the translational character who reflects the liminality of himself as a migrant in a foreign language whose speakers seem very much unreachable. Though Bhabha states the liminality of migrant experience and their in-betweenness as a fact, he warns us against the dramatization of the untranslatability.¹⁰ Bhabha uses Marlow as an example in his discussions of the third space. The empathy Marlow shows when he tries to understand the colonized or natives represent a translator's or a writer's effort to communicate the cultural position of the people s/he translates. From Bhabha's point of view, the character of Marlow illustrates the notion of respect for the other's identity or humanity as a universal subject (Bhabha, 2009:3). Moreover, Marlow's anxiety to transfer the truth and his conscious and unconscious reflections can be compared to the difficulties a translator faces in the process of translation.

Similarly to Bhabha, Robert J.C. Young describes the third space referring to the changing migrant psychology as follows:

The third space is not a space, nor is it a place. If anything, it is more like a shifting caravan site, a place where people come unobserved and where they go without trace, the trace which determines their lives for the moment they pitch

negotiations point to a certain degree of complicity or "partnership" between colonizer and colonized, the affective "borderland" between them also opens up unexpected and hitherto unrecognized ways in which colonial power can be circumvented by the native subject, in a process which might be described as psychological guerrilla warfare. (Gilbert 2000: 458)

Conrad's novella is a colonial story describing such a borderland and the author himself is engaged in fictional guerrilla warfare.

⁹ For further scrutiny of "cultural translation" see Fazilet Akdoğan Erdoğan's article "Cultural Translation: Jhumpa Lahiri and the "Interpreter of Maladies"" in *New Horizons in T. Research and Education 1*. (pp.1-27)

¹⁰ Bhabha argues:

The migrant culture of the "in-between", the minority position, dramatizes the activity of culture's untranslatability, and in so doing, it moves the question of culture's appropriation beyond the assimilationist's dream or the racist's nightmare of a "full transmissal of subject-matter"; and towards an encounter with the ambivalent process of splitting and hybridity that marks the identification with culture's difference (Bhabha 1994: 321).

their tents there, a place which is not a space because it is the site of an event, gone in a moment of time. (Young 2009:81-82)

For Young the third space is not a fixed site but one that moves from one place to another (Young 2009:82). The migrants and exiles appear nationless and rootless just like the individuals of metropolises. Conrad's novel and his characters, Marlow and Kurtz, combine these two kinds of third space definitions, of the colony and of the metropolis. Therefore, the novel can be used as a good example and provide a suitable context to explain the term third space.

4 MARLOW AND KURTZ IN-BETWEEN THE COLONIZED AND THE COLONIZER

The fictional characters of Marlow and Kurtz have central roles in *Heart of Darkness*: they are alike and they both experience their own third spaces in the novel. It is even possible to think of them as of two different reflections of the same split and isolated self in the third space¹¹ (Farn 2005:12). This part will focus on how they are similar and distinct from one another in terms of their in-betweenness and how similar they are to a translator.

In spite of the fact that he is an employee of the company, Marlow devotes his stay in Africa to find only one man, Kurtz. Although he is terrified by the brutality of the attitude towards the colonized natives which culminates in a massacre, he neither takes action nor participates in the colonial attempt to make the utmost profit from the virgin lands by exploiting any resource, subject or object. In fact, in this novel Conrad manages to provide the most severe criticism of the colonization with a vivid depiction of the colonized world and with an ironical description of the idealized colonial lies of Europe. The story shows the natives of Africa were treated very badly, beaten, paid with ridiculous worthless staff and killed with indifference.

The constant destruction of the continent by the colonizers reveals their evil intentions. Their idleness and greed are described in the novel as follows:

They wandered here and there with their absurd long staves in their hands, like a lot of faithless pilgrims bewitched inside a rotten fence. The word "ivory" rang in the air, was whispered, was sighed. You would think they were praying to it. A taint of imbecile rapacity blew through it all, like a whiff from some corpse. (Conrad 1988:38)

¹¹ Regelin Farn elaborates this argument psychologically in the following words:

Kurtz and Marlow are sometimes interpreted as two aspects of the same self, with Kurtz standing for the Freudian id (the anarchic desire to gratify basic instincts) and Marlow standing for the ego (the human consciousness negotiating between the id and the superego, or conscience). In the quest for his alter ego or even for a presumed superego embodied by the "remarkable man" who has some ideals, Marlow thus finds an addict of "monstrous passions" or his own id (Farn 2005: 12).

Before long, Marlow sees the real purpose of the company hiding behind idealized lies, and ironically quotes the words of the manager: "Each station should be like a beacon on the road towards better things, a centre for trade of course, but also for humanizing, improving, instructing" (Conrad 1988:48).

On the other hand, Marlow's interaction with the workers and sailors of the steamer, whom he trains for the jobs, signals that he does not take them as inferior and does not hesitate to communicate with them. He calls them "fine fellows – cannibals – in their space" (Conrad 1988, 50). He finds these people an intrinsic part of nature and judges the way they are treated in the following words:

The conquest of the earth, which mostly means taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much. (Conrad 1988:21)

Another hint of Marlow's positive attitude towards the colonized is his pity and terror for the indigenous inhabitants who were exploited as workers, have consequently fallen weak and ill, and were left to die in starvation.

Marlow's journey on the river Congo is aimed at finding Kurtz, the main agent of the company in the farthest part of the river. For Marlow, Kurtz raids the country (Conrad 1988:72) because he has control over the native inhabitants. It is evident that he can speak and understand the African language; he lives among the African natives and uses these people to find the buried ivory. A significant fact of the story is that no European in the Congo except Kurtz understands or speaks the language of the natives. However, he never translates their utterances to his fellow men. He is glad that these people are speechless and untranslatable to the rest of the world.

For Marlow, it was very easy to create a bond between himself and Kurtz. Their marginality and difference from the rest of the colonial subjects make them similar. Kurtz trusts Marlow and will leave his personal belongings to nobody but him. What makes Kurtz different from Marlow is Kurtz's denial of all modern civilized norms. For Marlow, Kurtz was "an impenetrable darkness" (Conrad 1988:88). As he transforms into a hollow man, he is a failure to his own men, to the natives and to the two women in his life, one of them of European and the other one of African origin. He tries to remain in-between these two worlds penetrating both of them. Instead of that he ends up being totally isolated, despised and destined to be forgotten. He is the responsible agent in the inner station in the farthest part of the Congo River and in the deepest part of the jungle and the geographical location of the station supports his position on the borderline in the wild world of natives. His brutality towards and exploitation of the native population triggered by his wish to provide the company with the largest amount of ivory is terrifying. Kurtz is certainly an alienated character. Although his ethnical roots are only partially known, we learn that his mother was half-English, his father was half-French, signaling that all of Europe contributed to the making of Kurtz. It is evident Conrad tries to create a character for whose ominous deeds every European nation can be held responsible.

In translational terms, Kurtz is the translator who steals from the source culture, robs the source culture with no feeling of loyalty, denies the source totally, uses it for his own cheap desires and leaves a ruin behind.¹² As his deeds have no ethical borders, as a result he loses his own dignity and respectability. Although he is a representative of the tyrant, racist, imperialist community, he does not want to return to his original lands. He demands high status as well as prosperity. Having turned himself into a man-God, he tastes the pleasures of the primitive life.¹³ Bhabha comments on Kurtz as a person who “turned into a Goat and crawled back to the ghetto, to his despised migrant compatriots. In his mythic being, he has become the ‘borderline’ figure of a massive historical displacement-postcolonial migration – that is not only a translational reality, but also a ‘translational’ phenomenon” (Bhabha 1994: 320). Kurtz’s blasphemy is certainly another clear sign of his translational identity. It is a proof of his borderline state. If Kurtz managed to adopt the primitive religion of the local population, this could have had positive implications in translational terms. However, his resistance to the primitive tradition reveals his hypocrisy in the end. Kurtz is an extreme example even in the eyes of the colonizers. At first, he was a man admired for his eloquence, but now he has become an indescribable character. As such, his body is simply buried into a muddy hole. The company is no longer interested in him, the only thing that interests them is the papers he has left behind as they might be used against them.

After Kurtz’s death and his own recovery, Marlow needs to see Kurtz’s “intended”,¹⁴ the woman who cared for his mother during all his absence until her death and loyally waited for him to return. Marlow visits her in order to give her some personal letters of Kurtz. However, he does not tell her how miserably Kurtz died. He also lies about Kurtz’s last words. He does not reveal to her that Kurtz’s last words “the horror, the horror” disclosed Kurtz’s terror at the moment of death and his spiritual hollowness. Marlow’s lack of courage to transmit them to the civilized, modern and ignorant woman is the representation of his being stuck between two distinct worlds. Bhabha describes

¹² If colonialism is represented by the imperialist domestication and smoothing translation techniques – in a sense of clearing away everything different and unfamiliar from the perspective of the so-called receiving culture, devaluation and depreciation of the source culture and erasing the “other” with its whole individual characteristics, *Heart of Darkness* concretizes the reflections of this approach in real life. Apparently, the xenophobic approach of the imperialist domesticating translation techniques stem from such kind of colonial experience (Venuti 1995). Kurtz’s voice repeating the words “my intended, my station, my career, my ideas” (Conrad 1988: 85) reminds all of the possessing nature of assimilating translation strategies.

¹³ Kurtz seems to have wasted many lives of the natives. Though, it is never explained why these men are killed, they are called the rebels. Kurtz has a tribe to follow him and certainly they adore him. Though it is not stated overtly, this tribe seems to worship him. The relation Kurtz has with this tribe has cannibalistic connotations as well. It is probable that they want to kill Kurtz and by eating his flesh they want to guarantee the survival of his spirit and his eternal stay with them. They try to kidnap the dying Kurtz but their reasons are never stated overtly. By resisting their wish, Kurtz surrenders to his worldly Western desires and rejects the savage reality of the lands he enjoyed and exploited for so long.

¹⁴ Although Kurtz never calls her “my fiancée”, they once had a romantic relationship as the woman later explains the reasons of their separation.

Marlow's translatorial agency in the following words: "Marlow keeps the conversation going, suppresses the horror, gives history the lie – the white lie – and waits for heavens to fall" (Bhabha 1994:303). Marlow tells the woman that Kurtz's last words were her own name, which makes her burst into tears. She thinks of Kurtz as a great man with a generous mind and a noble heart. Just like the rest of the world, those who love the colonizers the most are deceived and never lose faith in the ancient imperialist dream of the colonization Marlow depicts at the beginning of the novel (Conrad 1994:20).¹⁵ Marlow's silence and his lie to the "intended" are a symbol for the continuing colonization, which hides behind the lie of carrying civilization to the primitive lands. Marlow's original disgust for lies and hypocrisy is defeated by his passiveness and the white lie he tells to the "intended" (Conrad 1988:42). Marlow's inability to transfer Kurtz's words can also be taken as the difficulties translators face to communicate the truth to the others. Marlow remains struck between the colonial and civilized faces of the West, on a stage where translation is impossible, as the other party seems completely ignorant of the reality of the other side. This lack of communication refers to a pre-translational stage. The colonial world of which Kurtz was only an atomic part is not utterable to the metropolitan woman since she is the representation of the West's own idealized dream.

According to Bhabha, Conrad attempts to create in Marlow's character a narrative that would link the life of the "intended" and Kurtz's dark heart, caught in a split truth and double frame. Bhabha (1994:304) argues that "Marlow's inward gaze now beholds the everyday reality of the Western metropolis through the veil of the colonial phantasm." In modern metropolises and colonies, most people of various roots are incapable of translating their worlds and become even more silent. Their silence is of a disintegrating and isolating kind. These subjects in the third space are not represented in the totalized and collective structure of the societies. The third space metaphor, which describes the position of the translator, thus becomes a metaphor of metropolis.

Through the fictional character of Marlow, Conrad takes a critical stance towards totalitarian ideologies and questions the existence of split identities similar to that of Marlow and of himself. Marlow acts in a ghostly manner between two worlds. Bhabha (1994:303) defines Marlow as the anti-foundationalist, the metropolitan ironist. On one hand, Marlow is a representation of dramatized untranslatability with his lie to the "intended", on the other, he translates the colonial truth through the story he tells. Marlow is represented as a real stubborn personality who does not and will not melt in the colonial world. He is a split and disintegrating agent in the colonial context and is defined as culturally different. In this sense, the translator's position is similar to that of Marlow and those of all the split individuals in the modern metropolis.

¹⁵ Since he knows that for the people outside the colonized world, a white man in African lands is "like an emissary of light, something like a lower sort of apostle" (Conrad 1988: 27), Marlow's aunt talks about "weaning those ignorant millions from their horrid ways" (Conrad 1988: 27).

5 AMBIVALENCE AND DOUBLE NARRATION AS A TRANSLATIONAL STRATEGY TO STRENGTHEN THE THIRD SPACE

The most challenging aspect of the third space is to find a way to make it visible in a text. Although the use of paratextual devices opens a space for the translators to express their approaches to translation and their stance to the source and target cultures, by doing so they can still delegate a subordinate position to the translated text. In *Postcolonial Translation: Theory and Practice* Tymoczko (2003:22) argues that it is the cultural and literary background that makes a translated text comprehensible from the perspective of the receiving culture and functions as “a shell” and “acts as a running commentary on the translated text”. Thus the translator needs to open a space, which is stable enough to express her/his own identity. This luggage the text brings with it appears in the form of glossaries, footnotes, introductions etc. Postcolonial writers use similar strategies, but they run the risk of turning the text into a didactic or instructional one, which is not very desirable for a literary text.

Alternatively, according to Sherry Simon postcolonial writers can deliberately choose to create “translation effects” which are “dissonances, interferences, disparate vocabulary, a lack of cohesion, unconventional syntax, a certain ‘weakness’ in the mastery of the linguistic code” (Simon 2011:50, in Schäffner and Adab 2001:278). These features can be used intentionally to create a hybrid text. Christina Schäffner and Beverly Adab (2001:279) argue that for Mary Snell-Hornby and Sherry Simon a hybrid text uses these effects to mix codes and generate a phenomenon whose existence can be of positive value for the awareness of identities.

Conrad’s style of writing and the language he uses carry the signs of his migrant state and are essentially hybrid. In addition to that, his literary style is also eclectic. He does not show any kind of affiliation or relation to any established literary style. The richness of his language stems from twenty years spent at sea working for Dutch, German, French and of course English companies. As J. H. Retinger states, the languages Conrad spoke add spice to Conrad’s future mastery in the adaptation of English words to his imagination. He was inevitably and unconsciously influenced by his mother tongue. His strange and even alien expressions were transferred to English from his own mother tongue. However, he was never judged negatively for the language he used; in fact, his style eventually enriched the English language. Retinger says: “he never gauged to the full the harmonies of English tongue” (Retinger 1946:111). Conrad, being a Polish migrant, who wrote in a foreign tongue and criticized the colonial violence, was in a different position from that of the oppressor and the oppressed in terms of ethnic and linguistic roots. The text he wrote therefore shared the same purpose of the postcolonial works, that is to “subvert the hierarchies” and “to resist and ultimately exclude the monolingual demand of the readers” (Mehrez 1992:122).¹⁶

¹⁶ But, if postcolonial texts are defined as the “hybrids” or “metisses”, which have a “culturo-linguistic layering” in Samia Mehrez’ identification (Mehrez 1992: 121), and “seek to decolonize themselves from two oppressors at once, namely the western ex-colonizer ... and the traditional, national cultures”, then also Conrad’s writing could be defined as postcolonial texts.

Conrad revives a migrant writing style that owes much to his migrant psychology. He writes from the perspective of the nation's margin and migrant's exile.¹⁷ The criticism he brought to the colonial world and the literary style he developed were a result of his broad vision as an outsider. It was known that Conrad was far too qualified and well educated for the post of a captain he was appointed to (Sherry 1972:54). Furthermore, as an author he was professionally isolated. J. H. Retinger (1946:106) explains his solitude: "Since he never frequented the society of professional writers, his manner of writing was unbiased by heterogeneous influences and not marred by inhibitions taken from some mannerisms of an exclusive literary school or coterie." This third space hero of *Heart of Darkness* therefore stems from Conrad's own experience.

Daniel Just (2008:276) states: "He did not merely describe a slow decomposition of the individual, language and labor and order, but also attempted to perform this integration." Just is convinced that "[t]here might not have been a better way for Conrad to frustrate the nineteenth century reader accustomed to realist narratives than by structuring this story around the void of the missing central situation," (ibid.:277) and adds "[w]hen literary paradigms were undergoing a radical transformation Conrad believed that the experience of colonialism could not be reduced to an extra linguistic phenomenon" (ibid.:278). Though it is possible to find negative statements of both the African and the European people in the novel, the description of asymmetrical power and the abuse of African people are the main criticisms directed against Europe. Thus Conrad creates a postcolonial criticism in his style of writing.

What makes Conrad's description extraordinary is its changing mood and almost living character. He does not adopt a static style or a frozen immobility. By his discursive use of the adjectives and the constant use of opposites such as the darkness and the light, eloquence and speechlessness or inarticulateness, work and idleness to tell the story and description of the characters, Conrad creates such a liminal space. At the beginning of the novel Conrad creates a context, which is almost incomprehensible to the reader. Thus his story seems obscure. Conrad explains the significance he attaches to the context of a story in the following words at the beginning of *Heart of Darkness*:

The yarns of seamen have a direct simplicity, the whole meaning of which lies within the shell of a cracked nut. But Marlow was not typical (if his propensity to spin yarns be expected), and to him the meaning of an episode was not inside like a kernel but outside, enveloping the tale which brought it out only as a glow brings out a haze ... (1988:19-20)

¹⁷ For this same reason, Bhabha (1994: 199) says his term of "dissemiNation" owes something to his own experience of migration. For Bhabha it is time for migrants, exiles, refugees and for those who indentured and interned to gather. Since nation-state ideal is refuted, homogeneity, cohesion and anonymity of modern nation state are not plausible anymore. Boundaries of modernity are enacted now in the ambivalent temporalities. A double and split identity emerges in the margins of modernity and it is found ghostly, terrifying and unaccountable. As its roots cannot be found in the modern ideal of smooth nation-state, it is considered as a phenomenon of the present.

Penetrating the outer, wrapping sphere of the story, namely its time, its place and its characters, is necessary in order to grasp the core of the story. Certainly, readers are invited to seek this outer sphere of the story, which is in disguise, but he does not provide the readers with any additional material apart from the text.

His atmospheric interference, the difficulty and the obscurity are necessary parts of what he is trying to convey. Marlow's and the storyteller's half unconscious mode of telling the events to the audience are a reflection of life with its obscurities and ambivalences. For example the narrator describes the sun at the beginning and at the end of the story as follows:

And at last, in its curved and imperceptible fall, the sun sank low, and from glowing white changed to a dull red without rays and without heat, as if about to go out suddenly, stricken to death by the touch of that gloom brooding over a crowd of men. (Conrad 1988:3)

The sun set; the dusk fell on the stream, and lights began to appear along the shore. The Chapman lighthouse, a three-legged thing erect on a mud-flat, shone strongly. Lights of ships moved in the fairway – a great stir of lights going up and going down. (Conrad 1988:79)

Similarly, in terms of time, the author does not try to give a clear description of temporal framework. The transition he makes between different moments in time and places emphasizes the significance of his interpretation of past events from a present perspective. Conrad's use of time-shifts, according to Watt (1986:83), closely imitates the way our knowledge of others is actually built up in a casual, confusing, and often un-chronological way. This leads to a distortion of the images he creates. Conrad's tale therefore represents a challenge for a reader with its almost mixed up descriptions of events. The author and Marlow seem to be aware of this:

Do you see the story? Do you see anything? It seems to me I am trying to tell you a dream – making a vain attempt, because no relation of a dream can convey the dream-sensation, that commingling of absurdity, surprise, and bewilderment in a tremor of struggling revolt, that notion of being captured by the incredible which is of the very essence of dreams. (Conrad 1988:42)

The asymmetries of the plot and un-chronological depictions of the characters, which make the storyline distorted, are parts of the semi-transparent envelope in which the story is situated. The distortion of the flow of the story and the partial incomprehensibility of the text can be considered as a reflection of the destruction colonialism creates in Africa and of the souls of the colonizers.

To open a space, which is stable enough to make his voice heard, Conrad uses double narration as his main technique. There are two narrators in his story, which can also be interpreted as an illustration of the dividedness of a migrant identity. The principal narrator is Marlow, who tells the story while anchored in the River Thames. The other

narrator, one of the passengers, is peripheral and only gives his impressions about Marlow, the river, its surroundings, the audience and atmosphere. The peripheral narrator's tone encloses that of the principal narrator as s/he comments on him as well. This second narrator introduces Marlow at the beginning of the story and describes him at the end as follows:

He paused. "Mind," he began again, lifting one arm from the elbow, the palm of the hand outwards, so that, with his legs folded before him, he had the pose of a Buddha preaching in European clothes and without a lotus-flower. (Conrad 1988:5)

Marlow ceased, and sat apart, indistinct and silent, in the pose of a meditating Buddha. Nobody moved for a time. (Conrad 1988:79)

If the third space is an unconscious, liminal and void place or site (Bhabha 1994) and aims to transgress the boundaries of conflicting parts, Conrad's style of writing reflects this third space. He tries to reveal the disintegration of the individual in ambivalent terms through the description of Marlow's personality. As Marlow recalls his journey to the Congo in a dream-like state, his speech is not always clear. This semantic void is Conrad's strategy of rendering disintegrated isolated third-space agents. In addition, Marlow's role can also be associated with that of the interpreter and translator. During his disastrous journey, Marlow's role as a translator becomes visible and makes the readers recognize the third space of a translator in his own position. The anonymous narrator defines Marlow as follows: "He was the only man of us who still 'followed the sea'. The worst that could be said of him was that he did not represent his class. He was a seaman, but he was a wanderer, too..." (Conrad 1988:3).¹⁸

6 CONCLUSION

To sum up, Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* is a remarkable work which allows the explication of the postcolonial translation theories. The main characters and the author reveal their split self and the isolation they experience, which reflect their position in a "third-space" – a fertile realm where absolute contrasts and polarities are refuted. *Heart of Darkness*, as a

¹⁸ Marlow starts his story with these words:

"I don't want to bother you much with what happened to me personally," he began, showing in this remark the weakness of many tellers of tales who seem so often unaware of what their audience would best like to hear; "yet to understand the effect of it on me you ought to know how I got out there, what I saw, how I went up that river to the place where I first met the poor chap. It was the farthest point of navigation and the culminating point of my experience. It seemed somehow to throw a kind of light on everything about me – and into my thoughts. It was somber enough too – and pitiful – not extraordinary in any way – not very clear either. No, not very clear. And yet it seemed to throw a kind of light. (Conrad 1988: 6)

mixture of a fictional work and travel writing, created by a novelist who acts as a translator, proves that all writing stems from real life and all writing is a form of translating. The novel illustrates how a translational third/in-between space can be created in fictional writing for the author, the space which is very similar to that of a translator and of a travel writer. The novel also provides a description of the psychological state of migrants in the modern society via the main character, Marlow. The character at the same time also reveals the difficulties and handicaps of the translation process due to the translator's split ideological stance. In other words, Conrad, Marlow and translators share similar positions as they speak from a third space and they all suffer from the same feeling of isolation. The analysis of *Heart of Darkness* thus showed that the use of the concept of the third space can contribute to fruitful discussion in Translation Studies.

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Section Two

Identifying culturally specific rhetorical elements on promotional websites: a pilot study

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the study is to validate the usefulness of the Cultural Values Framework (CVF) proposed by Singh and Pereira (2005) for the purpose of analyzing culturally specific rhetoric on promotional websites. The framework, which is based on Hofstede (1980) and Hall's (1976) cultural dimensions, offers a set of operational website features associated with each cultural dimension. A selection of Slovene and English promotional websites from two different commercial fields is analyzed in terms of five cultural dimensions (power distance, individualism-collectivism, masculinity-femininity, uncertainty avoidance, and low-high context), their corresponding website categories, and individual operational web features. The results of the study confirm that culturally specific rhetorical features exist on promotional websites and verify the merit of the proposed framework for their analysis.

KEY WORDS: website translation, cultural adaptation, rhetorical elements, cultural values framework

1 INTRODUCTION

The article presents a contrastive rhetorical study of Slovene and English promotional websites. The aim of this pilot study is to validate the usefulness of the Cultural Values Framework (CVF) proposed by Singh and Pereira (2005) for critically assessing if, how, and to what extent Slovene and English promotional websites differ in terms of rhetorical strategies. The CVF, based on Hofstede (1980) and Hall's (1976) concept of cultural dimensions, is specifically designed for analyzing the cultural aspect of websites and offers a set of operational website features associated with each cultural dimension.

Culture is a broad and fuzzy concept – various disciplines use and define it in numerous ways. Although defining culture unambiguously is difficult, there is general agreement that cultural differences do exist and that we can, therefore, speak of various cultures. From the point of view of translation studies, it is interesting to observe how these cultural differences are reflected in the language. In his seminal article, Robert Kaplan (1966), considered one of the key figures in contrastive rhetoric, used his now famous “doodles” (graphic abstractions of text organization preferences) to highlight how cultural background is reflected in rhetorical preferences. Although the article received criticism for being over-simplistic and ethnocentric, favoring the Western patterns of paragraph organization, it was certainly revolutionary in that it shifted the focus of study in ESL (English as a second language) from the sentence level to larger units of language and to distinctive culture-based rhetorical tendencies. In most cases, such language differences are merely nuances reflecting cultural preferences. If the purpose of a communicative act between two equally motivated parties is limited to a simple exchange of basic messages, these nuances in rhetoric are not likely to hinder the communicative purpose. But in a communicative act in which one party is trying to persuade the other to buy their goods or pay for their services, everything facilitating the promotion of these goods or services has to be taken into consideration – even seemingly minute linguistic features.

Culture and language are closely related and are both very important factors in business communication, especially advertising. The Internet advertising market, with an annual revenue in excess of \$36 billion for the US alone (IAB 2013) has reached a point of saturation, as “consumers [are] drowning in an overabundance of data and information” (Business Wire 2004). To a large extent companies have realized that universal marketing campaigns are no longer efficient, and that their marketing strategies need to be customized, i.e., the web content has to be linguistically and culturally adapted to the end-target locale (McDonough 2006).¹ Addressing the consumers has to be conducted in a way that is felt as natural and familiar, so that they expend the least amount of effort on decoding the message (Whitenton 2013), thus enabling them to focus on the product or service and not be sidetracked by the form in which it is presented.

Apart from growing consumer resistance and increased negativity toward advertising, J. Walker Smith also points out that these disenchanted consumers have become “more experienced and sophisticated with more technology at their disposal” (Business Wire 2004). Although the Internet provides consumers with access to information, they are in most cases still laypeople when it comes to specific, sometimes technical details of the products they are interested in. For this reason consumers are susceptible to poor judgment based on emotions rather than making decisions based on hard facts, such as comparable technical specifications. Even if we can rationally dismiss the commonly portrayed correlation between buying a certain product and our happiness or any other promised positive attribute, it does not mean that we are unaffected by such marketing ploys. Thus, the packaging, be it physical, digital or

¹ The issue of addressing an unspecified target audience is discussed at the end of this section.

linguistic, is now more important than ever (Constantinides 2004, Kotler and Armstrong 2011).

When companies are using the Internet for the distribution of their promotional materials, they also have to take into account that people have developed special strategies to cope with the overload of information on the Internet. Web content is multimodal, complementing the written word with pictorial, audio, and video materials, and consequently the strategies of online reading differ from those employed in reading more traditional linear text types (Afflerbach and Cho 2009), e.g., time-consuming in-depth reading gives way to scanning the content and focusing on key points instead.

The pattern of text processing, be it traditional or digital, is based on what we expect from the text type or genre. These expectations are in turn based on our past experience, which helps us define genres as generic frameworks or, applying the terminology of schema theory, as textual schemata (Chandler 1997). Genre, as defined by Swales (1990:58), is “a class of communicative events,” for which communicative purposes have to exist. These purposes have to be “recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre,” which influences the structure, content and style. Part of Swales’ definition is also based on the influence of the discourse community in reinforcing usually unwritten conventions governing the genre. The more formalized the text type is, the more rigid the conventions or norms defining it. English written discourse, for example, makes extensive use of signposting, a process by which the author explicitly explains the structure of the text, thus making it easier for the reader to understand and contextualize, whereas other languages, reflecting the values of their respective cultures, may be less explicit. Even if a piece of writing is linguistically impeccable on the level of syntax, if it is structured according to foreign conventions, it may present difficulties or even be rejected by those expecting the text to be organized differently.

As previously observed, communicating effectively is important, especially in online marketing. Because web users approach and process web content differently compared to reading a traditional text type, certain features have to be considered in website design: using clear and simple language, avoiding idea-rich paragraphs, front-loading content (placing the conclusion of a paragraph in its very first line), key words written in bold, using lists etc. (Moss 2013). Website design has to consider everything facilitating effective communication as it is essential for a pleasant web experience. In order to bridge cultural gaps and make communication with target audiences from different cultures more effective, companies nowadays have their websites localized. This process entails “the linguistic and cultural adaptation of digital content to the requirements and the *locale* of a foreign market” (Schäler 2010:209), which may take place after the source language website has been designed, or, increasingly, it is planned simultaneously with the source language variant. The latter is known as internationalization, a preparatory process of “generalizing a product so that it can handle multiple languages and cultural conventions without the need for redesign,” thus facilitating localization (Esselink 2000:2). Closely related to the above strategies is glocalization – a portmanteau word combining two concepts which, at first sight, have opposite meanings – globalization and

localization. The term suggests achieving global presence is achieved step by step, locale by locale. Glocalization, a term first used by Japanese economists in the late 1980s, can be defined as “the tailoring and advertising of goods and services on a global or near-global basis to increasingly differentiated local and particular markets” (Robertson 1995:28).

Localization, viewed either as the product of the preparatory strategy of internationalization, or as an instrument of the broader strategy of glocalization, is a process with a clearly defined goal: reaching a specific target audience by linguistically and culturally adapting given web content. But what if a company wants to address a non-specific target audience, one that is not nationally or linguistically defined, if it merely wants the content of its website available to anyone who does not understand the website's source language? This issue opens up several very interesting and pertinent questions: What language should be used for such a website? If English, which variant – British, American, or a hybrid, perhaps? Do the rhetorical conventions need to be in sync with one of the above, or should an internationalized model be used, i.e., one devoid of any national features, or is it even acceptable to use the rhetorical conventions of the source language?

The decision to use English as the target language in the translation of a website intended for international web users is supported by data on online language use. English is by far the most dominant language used on the Internet – more than half of all websites (55.5% - estimate for September 2013) are in English (W3Techs 2013) – and it is also considered *the business lingua franca*. Because the World Wide Web is a fairly recent invention accessible to the wider public only from the late 1980s, conventions governing online genres did not exist before and had to be developed alongside the technology. With the economic power and a superior e-infrastructure of Anglo-American countries, especially the US, the overwhelming influence of the English language on the development of e-genres cannot be denied. The vast majority of web users who are non-native speakers of English have thus been mostly exposed to and influenced by Anglo-American e-genre conventions, which could in turn mean that the differences in conventions governing these genres are less pronounced than in more traditional ones. For instance, when websites are translated from Slovene into English, we are faced with a rather unusual situation in which “a textual model has been taken from the cultural environment that is at the same time the target culture when the text is translated” (Limon 2008). Even with these reservations in mind, using Anglo-American websites as a model against which other language websites translated into English can be analyzed seems prudent.

Discrepancies between a non-English source language and English which are not culturally adapted in the translated version of the website could, therefore, be disturbing not only to web users who are native speakers of English but also to others. Some, especially those close to the source language culture, however, may find certain instances of breaking English e-genre conventions familiar or natural and may not even notice them, e.g., speakers of related languages from the same language family, which are rhetorically similar but are otherwise unintelligible to one another, who would resort to using the English version of the website. But because the purpose of translating websites

into English is to reach as wide an audience as possible, counting on conventions overlapping could prove a rather precarious strategy.

2 MODEL

Singh and Pereira (2005) propose a Cultural Values Framework (CVF), which operationalizes Hofstede's and Hall's typologies, and provides a comprehensive list of typical website features (for full list see Singh and Pereira 2005:59-60).

The aim of this study is to validate the usefulness of the proposed framework for critically assessing if, how, and to what extent Slovene and English promotional websites differ in terms of rhetorical strategies. The CVF is described by its authors as "an empirically validated, theoretically sound framework comprised of five unique cultural values that account for similarities and differences across global cultures" (ibid.:53). The framework comprises the following five cultural dimensions:

- Power Distance (PD)
- Individualism-Collectivism (IDV)
- Masculinity-Femininity (MAS)
- Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI)
- Low-High Context (CON)

The Singh-Pereira model is based on Hofstede (1980) and Hall's (1976) cultural dimensions – the first four are drawn from Hofstede and the fifth is based on Hall's work. Although Singh and Pereira (2005) apply Hofstede and Hall's dimensions to website design in a general way, the present study aims to determine the usefulness of the framework for analyzing rhetorical features. The five pairs of cultural dimensions offer a sound and validated framework – Hofstede (2001) states that there have been over 200 external comparative studies and replications of his model – which can be used for the analysis of particular cultural differences as manifested through language, or use to verify and define intuitively observed discrepancies.

2.1 Categories of the Cultural Values Framework

2.1.1 Power Distance (PD)

This dimension expresses the degree to which the less powerful members of a society accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. [...] People in societies exhibiting a large degree of power distance accept a hierarchical order in which everybody has a place and which needs no further justification. In societies with low power distance, people strive to equalize the distribution of power and demand justification for inequalities of power. (Hofstede et al. 2010)

Specific website adaptation for high PD cultures should include the following features: company hierarchy information, quality assurance and awards, vision statement, pride of ownership appeal, and proper titles. The above features do not have to be specifically

addressed in countries with a low PD score and emphasis should be placed on the other categories (Singh and Pereira 2005:111-123).

2.1.2 Individualism-Collectivism (IDV)

Individualism can be defined as a preference for a loosely-knit social framework in which individuals are expected to take care of themselves and their immediate families only. Its opposite, collectivism, represents a preference for a tightly-knit framework in society in which individuals can expect their relatives or members of a particular in-group to look after them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. A society's position on this dimension is reflected in whether people's self-image is defined in terms of 'I' or 'we.' (Hofstede et al. 2010)

Website design adapted for a collectivist culture should include or emphasize the following features: clubs and chat rooms, community relations, family theme, loyalty programs, newsletter and links to local websites; on the other hand, the following features are typical of individualist websites: an independence theme, a good privacy statement, personalization and emphasis on product uniqueness (Singh and Pereira 2005:75-88).

2.1.3 Masculinity-Femininity (MAS)

Masculinity represents a preference in society for achievement, heroism, assertiveness and material reward for success. Society at large is more competitive. Its opposite, femininity, stands for a preference for cooperation, modesty, caring for the weak and quality of life. Society at large is more consensus-oriented. (Hofstede et al. 2010)

Websites in countries with a high masculinity score should include the following features: quizzes and games, to-the-point information, product effectiveness, and clear gender roles. On the other hand, websites in more feminine societies should focus on aesthetics and harmony, and use a soft-sell approach (Singh and Pereira 2005:125-136).

2.1.4 Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI)

The uncertainty avoidance dimension expresses the degree to which the members of a society feel uncomfortable with uncertainty and ambiguity. The fundamental issue here is how a society deals with the fact that the future can never be known: should we try to control the future or just let it happen? Countries exhibiting strong UAI maintain rigid codes of belief and behavior and are intolerant of unorthodox behavior and ideas. Weak UAI societies maintain a more relaxed attitude in which practice counts more than principles. (Hofstede et al. 2010)

Websites in countries with a high UAI score should include the following features: customer service, guided navigation, tradition themes, local terminology, free trials or downloads, toll-free numbers, transaction security, and testimonials. For countries that score low on this category, the above characteristics do not have to be specifically addressed in web design and emphasis should be placed on other categories (Singh and Pereira 2005:93-108).

The bar charts in Figure 1 clearly indicate that all three Anglo-American cultures share certain characteristics exhibiting very uniform scores for individual dimensions, especially when compared with those of Slovenia, which show opposite trends for all four dimensions; PD: An-Am score range of 35-40 vs. Slovenia's 71; IDV: An-Am score range of 89-91 vs. Slovenia's 27; MAS: An-Am score range of 61-66 vs. Slovenia's 19; UAI: An-Am score range of 35-51 vs. Slovenia's 88). The latter is the only category where the US, United Kingdom and Australia show less score uniformity, but a culturally based tendency can still be observed, as their scores are much lower than that of Slovenia.

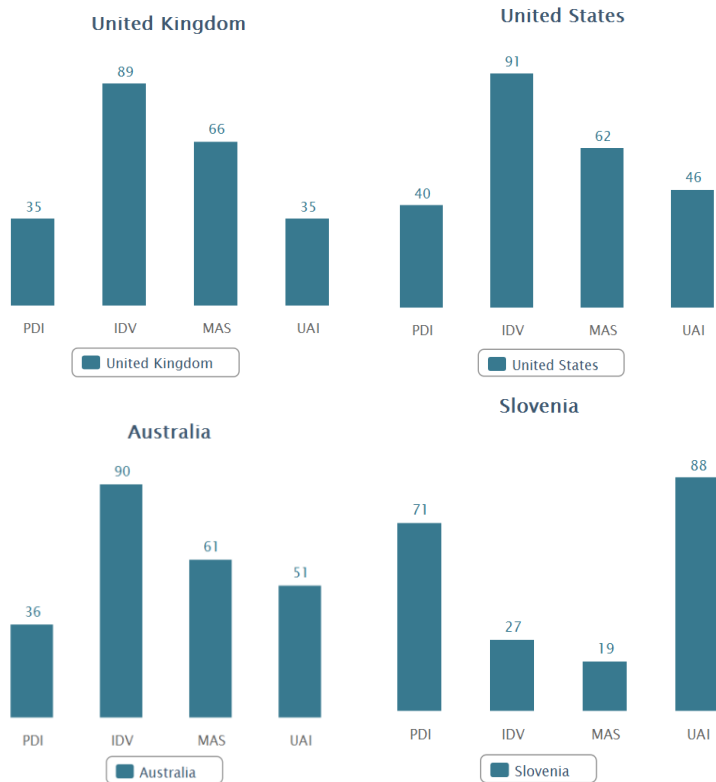


Figure 1: Comparison of cultural dimension scores, Slovene vs. Anglo-american Cultures (Hofstede et al. 2010)

2.1.5 Low-High Context (CON)

Context, as defined by Hall (1976:200), is “the information that surrounds an event; it is inextricably bound up with that event.” Hall’s anthropological work led him to the conclusion that cultures differ in their preferences for high or low context communication.

A high context (HC) communication or message is one in which most of the information is already in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicitly transmitted part of the message. A low context (LC) communication is just the opposite; i.e., the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code. (Hall 1976:91)

High context cultures are usually very homogeneous and many of the meanings being exchanged in communication are non-verbal, e.g., “inference, gestures, and even silence,” because members of such societies “have similar experiences and information networks, and well established social protocols” (Samovar et al. 2009:216). According to Hall and Hall (1990:6) “for most normal transactions in daily life they do not require, nor do they expect, much in- depth background information.” In the context of the Internet, this means that websites that are culturally adapted (localized) for HC cultures should rely less on verbal and contain more non-verbal content (Würtz 2005).

In LC cultures the population is less homogeneous and consequently social networks are more loosely-knit. The lack of communally shared information and experience is reflected in the need for more detailed background information. “In low context cultures, the verbal message contains most of the information and very little is embedded in the context or the participants,” which is reflected in HC communication often being perceived as “vague, indirect, and implicit, whereas [low context] communication tends to be direct and explicit” (Samovar et al. 2009:217).

The category of context could also be viewed from the point of view of Hinds’ (1987) writer vs. reader responsibility. An HC message could be perceived as turning the responsibility onto the reader by someone who is used to a more succinct and explicit manner of expression, although the message may be viewed as entirely “user friendly” and appropriate by a member of a high context culture – a similar view is also offered by McCagg (1996).

Although Hall (1976) did not develop country scores for this category, there are two related cultural dimensions that can help determine the approximate position of a national culture on the continuum from low to high context. Würtz (2005) notes that there is a correlation between the category of context and Hofstede’s individualism-collectivism, as “HC [high context] cultures tend to be collectivistic while LC [low context] cultures tend to be individualistic.” She also points out a correlation with the category of power distance (PD), since “cultures with high power distance include many hierarchical levels, autocratic leadership, and the expectation of inequality and power differences, and are affiliated with HC cultures, such as Japan” (Würtz 2005:279).

Based on the above correlation between categories and the scores for the chosen countries, Slovenia can be positioned at the HC end of Hall's continuum, whereas the three Anglo-American cultures on the LC end (see Figure 1). Applying Hall's dichotomy to the analysis of websites, we can hypothesize that English websites are more direct and explicit, relying less on non-verbal communication and using a hard-sell approach, whereas Slovene websites should exhibit typical HC characteristics, i.e., more context, being less explicit and less direct, employing audio-visual communication channels, being more polite, and using a soft-sell approach.

2.2 Criticism

Although both Hofstede's and Hall's models have been used and validated numerous times, their application and interpretation of the results should be assessed critically. Hofstede's model has been frequently criticized over the years. The most common arguments against his framework are based on the following features: his conceptualization of culture is limited to a somewhat artificial concept of national culture (Baskerville 2003, McSweeney 2002), which can nowadays be viewed as a rather fluid phenomenon due to globalization, migration, and the influence of modern technology; it assumes cultural homogeneity (Jones 2007) – the model and the results are, therefore, seen as stereotyping that does not take into account regional differences, let alone individual peculiarities;² a limited and skewed sample – although the size of the sample is impressive – 117,000 responses from 88,000 people in 66 countries (Baskerville 2003) – all of them were IBM employees, which cannot be considered a representative sample for an entire nation. From the perspective of Slovenia, defining a national culture based on research data compiled throughout the 1960s and 1970s (1967-1973) on a sample of IBM employees seems contentious considering how drastically the political, social, and economic reality has changed since Slovenia gained independence in 1991.

Criticism of E. T. Hall's model is likewise based on claims of stereotyping, as well as a lack of precise empirical methods and statistical data that could empirically validate his hypotheses (Cardon 2008) and position national cultures or countries on the context continuum. Despite the above shortcomings, both models offer a sound and validated tool for assessing certain features that can exist between cultures, which can then be studied further employing a more specific methodological approach.

3 MATERIALS AND METHOD

3.1 Materials

For the purpose of this pilot study, a sample of four promotional websites was taken from a larger corpus (The Corpus of Company Websites, CCW), which consists of sixty company websites in their entirety that have been mirrored (downloaded) by HTTrack,

² Singh and Pereira (2005:57) emphasize that "the existence of these subcultures does little to detract from the broad cultural homogeneity reflected in the behavior of the vast majority of a country's residents - particularly consumer behavior."

an open source web crawler, so as to enable a synchronic analysis and eliminate changes that could occur during analysis to the chosen websites due to their inherent dynamic nature.

The corpus, and consequently the sample, is divided into two sets of websites according to the language (and culture) of origin, namely Slovene (SL) and English (EN).³ Both subcorpora are further divided according to what the companies are promoting via their websites: prefabricated houses (product) and spa websites (service). The rationale for such a division lies in the fundamental differences between products and services that have to be considered. The following characteristics differentiate services from products: intangibility (“cannot be seen, tasted, felt, heard, or smelled before they are bought”), inseparability (“cannot be separated from their providers”), variability (“the quality of services depends on who provides them”), and perishability (“cannot be stored for later sale or use”) (Kotler and Armstrong 2011:236-238). The marketing strategies employed in promoting an expensive, highly specialized product, such as a house, thus differ from those used in the promotion of a far more accessible, non-specialized service (a spa) - an integral part of these marketing strategies is also the rhetoric used. The consumers may be the same people, but the rhetoric used in addressing the two different target audiences can differ. Because buying a house is usually a lengthy project that has serious financial implications, consumers considering such a purchase generally try to obtain as much information about the product as possible in order to make a well-grounded decision. Indulging yourself in a jacuzzi and having a massage, on the other hand, does not represent such an enormous financial burden and the decision over which spa to visit is less likely to be based on facts and more likely to be somewhat intuitive. The information used and the manner in which it is presented, e.g., the use of different rhetorical devices, thus likely differ between a prefabricated house and a spa.

The websites of the following four companies were chosen for the study: Rihter (a Slovene prefab house manufacturer, henceforth H-SL), Terme Olimia (a Slovene spa; S-SL), EnviroHomes (an English prefab house manufacturer; H-EN), and The Sopwell House Spa (an English spa; S-EN). For the two Slovene companies both language versions of their website were considered – the original Slovene and the website translated into English. The two Slovene websites were chosen from a fairly limited selection of companies (the Slovene market is relatively small); they are typical of their class and they do have other language versions (Rihter has four and Terme Olimia has six; in both cases mostly languages of neighboring countries and English). The choice for the two English websites was based on specialized information providers (www.homebuilding.co.uk and www.goodspaguide.co.uk) and was intentionally restricted to websites which do not have any other language versions to avoid internationalized websites, which have already been culturally adapted (neutralized).

³ The term “English” here refers to the language of the websites, although all of the companies featured in the corpus are, in fact, based in England, UK.

3.2 Method

For the purpose of the present study, the analysis of the four chosen websites focuses only on linguistic features of the CVF. The scope of the analyzed material was reduced to web pages with comparable content and qualitative analysis was performed for the English websites and original Slovene websites, but the English translations were also considered. The analysis focuses on CVF features present on the Slovene website and its original English counterpart, and their manifestations are compared against the hypothesized results according to respective cultural value scores. Instances where the original and translated website versions differ are analyzed further.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Power Distance (PD)

Slovenia's PD score of 71 is much higher in comparison with Anglo-American cultures ranging from 35 to 40 (see Figure 1). According to these scores, the following features should be more pronounced on Slovene websites: company hierarchy information, pictures of CEOs, quality assurance and awards, vision statement, pride of ownership appeal, and proper titles (Singh and Pereira 2005:111-123). In contrast, these features are not expected to be as prominent on the English websites.

4.1.1 Spas

When both spa websites, Terme Olimia (S-SL) and the Sopwell House Spa (S-EN), were analyzed in terms of Power Distance, the operational website feature that was analyzed first was the *vision statement*. It is defined in the CVF as "the vision for the company, as stated by the CEO or top management" and is considered typical of cultures with a high PD score (Singh and Pereira 2005:60).

S-SL has a special web page entitled *Vision and mission* containing a presentation of the company by the managing director. Its content is technical, it reads like a sales pitch, and its style is business-like ("We will try to [...] raise productivity [...], and continue to manage costs."). On the other hand, S-EN has no company vision statement anywhere on its website; instead, it has a *General Manager's Welcome*, which is intended as a direct address to the website user and potential spa visitor. Compared to the S-SL vision and mission web page, it is much more subjective in its content and more personal in style ("A warm and friendly welcome awaits you at Sopwell House [...] discreetly tucked away in stunning surroundings. This hidden treasure [...] I am confident that Sopwell House will provide a special and memorable visit [...]").

The analysis of the vision statement revealed another typical feature of countries with a high PD score – the use of *proper titles*, defined by Singh and Pereira (2005:66) as the "titles of the important people in the company, titles of the people in the contact information, and titles of people on the organizational charts." The author of the S-SL vision statement is signed with both his corporate title ("Managing Director"), as well as his academic title ("BSc in Agricultural Engineering"). The use of the academic title from the field of agricultural engineering, which has no direct connection with spa

management, may be seen as redundant by someone from a culture with a low PD score, but to those at the other side of the PD spectrum it is considered an important attribute, reaffirming the CEO's competence. Although the general manager's welcome on the S-EN website reveals his title in the heading of the web page, there is no title referring to his education.

In addition to the above operational website features, the analysis of the spa websites also confirmed another prominent feature typical of high PD cultures - *quality assurance and awards*. S-SL has two special web pages, one dedicated to awards, providing a long, chronologically-ordered list of awards the spa has received over the years, and the other to quality assurance. This feature is not present on the S-EN website at all although they describe their staff as a "professional, experienced spa team" – such a description could be considered fairly subjective compared to S-SL's compliance with ISO quality standard 9001.

4.1.2 Prefab Houses

The operational website feature of *quality assurance and awards* is closely connected with *trust-enhancing features* associated with the cultural value category of Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI). There is a strong correlation between the values of UAI and Power Distance, so overlapping of features is not surprising (for comparative value scores see Figure 1).

The first difference between the two websites is that H-SL has a special web page dedicated to quality, whereas *quality certification seals* are displayed on several H-EN web pages without any additional comments. In this specialized section H-SL exhibits more quality certificates, which have fairly extensive accompanying texts compared to H-EN. It is interesting to note, however, that the Slovene version shows four quality certificates, but only two are retained in the translated English version. To a layperson all four seem equally important and the criteria for retaining only two remain unclear – it is possible that the company is aware of cultural differences regarding quality assurance features and that this omission is part of the website's cultural adaptation, but as more practical reasons exist, this premise would need to be verified.

EnviroHomes list two *awards*, one the company has won and, interestingly, also one it was shortlisted for. H-SL, on the other hand, lists no awards – advanced search in Google indeed yields no evidence of the company receiving any documented awards, which suggests a subjective presentation of the company in relation to their claims of being the best and the extensive use of *superlatives* throughout their website (for details see sections 4.2.2 and 4.4.2).

Rihter has a special web page for the *vision statement* feature, whereas EnviroHomes only refer to the company's vision indirectly and briefly on the *About Us* web page.

Surprisingly, the H-SL website contains no *proper titles* and, even more so, there are no personal names used, not even in the *contact* section, whereas EnviroHomes refer to a customer service staff member using her name. Proper titles are, however, not used on either website.

Although the feature of *pride of ownership appeal* is indirectly implied throughout both websites, H-SL does, however, make an explicit claim suggesting the ownership of its house can also be “an individual’s status symbol.” No such claims are explicitly made by EnviroHomes.

4.1.3 Category Conclusions

Operational website features where most interesting results were observed are: *quality assurance and awards*, the use of *proper titles*, and the company’s *vision statement*.

Compared with the English websites where quality assurance and awards are presented less systematically, both Slovene websites have separate web pages dedicated to these features, which speaks of their perceived importance. These findings are in accordance with PD scores for the two countries where reliability seals, quality certificates, documented test results, and awards are all seen as third-party evidence assuring the web users that they are dealing with a sound and trust-worthy company providing a high-quality product that has been recognized as such by an institution with authority.

The Slovene spa website does make use of proper titles, which is not the case in the English spa. The difference in use here seems to depend on company not cultural preferences, as neither of the two prefab house websites uses any.

4 Although both spa websites include an address by the CEO to its website users, in the Slovene spa it is the company’s vision statement, whereas in the English it is only a welcome. Although not stated explicitly anywhere on the website, the differences in the content of the CEO’s address suggest the two websites may differ in their intended audience – S-SL’s address, resembling a sales pitch, could be intended for potential business partners, as oppose to S-EN addressing the end users of the spa. A similar observation has been made by Limon (2008). The situation is somewhat different for the two house manufacturers: Rihter has a special web page for its vision statement, but there is no mention of its author, whereas EnviroHomes convey the information typically contained in such a statement only indirectly in their general description of the company.

4.2 Individualism-Collectivism (IDV)

Slovenia’s IDV score of 27 is much lower in comparison with Anglo-American cultures ranging from 89 to 91 (see Figure 1). According to these scores, the following features should be emphasized on Slovene websites: clubs and chat rooms, community relations, family theme, loyalty programs, newsletter, and links to local websites. In contrast, these individualist features are expected to be prominent on the English websites: an independence theme, a good privacy statement, personalization and emphasis on product uniqueness (Singh and Pereira 2005:75-88).

4.2.1 Spas

The analysis of the IDV category in the two spas focused on the following website features which are associated with collectivist cultures: *social responsibility policy*, *newsletter*, and *loyalty programs*.

The *social responsibility policy* feature was confirmed for the S-SL website in the form of a web page with the same title. This is combined with the already mentioned typical high PD feature of *quality assurance* – the company establishes its responsible environmental management by compliance with yet another ISO standard (ISO 14.001:2004). Although social responsibility is not declared as explicitly on the S-EN website, support for a local charity is mentioned – this is established on the *Partners* web page.

Singh and Pereira (2005) suggest the *newsletter* feature is typical of websites from collectivist cultures, as it enables the establishment of important relations typical of collectivist societies. However, both websites offer this feature and have a link clearly visible on their respective home pages. A newsletter could, however, be seen not as a collectivist feature enabling “group membership, group involvement, and a sense of belongingness” (Hofstede 1980), but as a channel facilitating more direct communication typical of a hard-sell approach. Such a view could account for its pervasive use both on websites from collectivist as well as individualist cultures. Interestingly, in addition to the *newsletter* feature, S-SL also offers an RSS feed, which is slightly different, as it offers website updates that can be viewed from an RSS reader, as opposed to the more traditional *newsletter* where updates are sent via email.

Special membership programs, a typical feature of the *loyalty programs* category, is, however, only available on the S-SL website - it offers *Wellcard club* membership (a system of collecting points from previous visits that can then be transformed into discounts). The Sopwell House Spa (S-EN) offers no such feature. Although this result is in accordance with the CVF, it could be viewed from a different perspective – similarly to the *newsletter* feature – as a marketing method aimed at increasing sales.

4.2.2 Prefab Houses

Social responsibility, another feature typical of collectivist cultures, is expressed explicitly by H-SL on the *Vision and mission* web page where the company declares its “responsibility for the wider social environment.” EnviroHomes, on the other hand, have no such specialized section, nor do they make any such claims.

Instead of a more traditional *newsletter* feature, H-EN offers an RSS feed option. Rihter also has an RSS feed option, but it is only available on the Slovene version of the website – the English version only has a *news* section that cannot be subscribed to, is very limited in content, and does not appear to be updated regularly. The content of the news section differs between the two website language versions as well, which is to be expected, as more local news features may not be of interest to foreign customers. Although providing an insight into local activities of the company may not be of direct interest to them, it could serve to enhance the image of the company. The cost-effectiveness of such a strategy is, however, debatable.

Contrary to the suggestion that a *privacy policy* feature is typical of individualist cultures, the H-SL website (a collectivist culture according to its IDV score) does have one, whereas the H-EN website does not. Whether required by law or not, having a statement describing how the website owner collects, uses, and shares their visitors' personal information has become standard practice, and a complete lack of a privacy policy statement on a website is rare nowadays – according to TRUSTe, a leading global data privacy management company, “nearly 100 percent of websites today include a privacy policy” (TRUSTe online press release, 2011). Therefore, the fact that EnviroHomes website does not have one can be considered an anomaly, and the underlying reasons are probably not culturally-based.

Product uniqueness, another feature associated with individualist cultures, is explicitly emphasized by EnviroHomes on their *Case studies* web page, where a zero carbon school building is presented, stating it is “the first zero carbon modular school building in the UK.” Contrary to Slovenia’s IDV score, Rihter also claims its product is unique, stating that “all Rihter houses are unique and custom-made according to the customer’s desires.” It has to be emphasized that uniqueness is a defining feature and one of the very important benefits of prefabricated houses – although certain engineering constraints need to be observed, the modular nature of such structures allows for a high degree of customization. The explicit claims of product uniqueness could, therefore, be attributed more to the nature of the product rather than the culture. This feature could also be associated with the use of *superlatives*, another typical low context feature – if a product or company is claimed to be the best, that status also makes it unique.

4.2.3 Category Conclusions

The results for the *social responsibility* feature are in accordance with the countries’ IDV scores in all the analyzed websites, as is the case with *loyalty programs for both spa websites*. In analyzing the results for the *newsletter* and *product uniqueness* features, however, other factors should be taken into account – the communicative power of the former and the inherent nature of the product for the latter. The results for the *privacy policy* feature contradict IDV scores for the two cultures, although a lack of this feature in the English website can be considered an exception.

4.3 Masculinity-Femininity (MAS)

Slovenia’s MAS score of 19 is much lower in comparison with Anglo-American cultures ranging from 61 to 66 (see Figure 1). According to these scores, the following features should be more pronounced on Slovene websites: aesthetics and harmony, and a soft-sell approach to marketing their products. In contrast, these masculine features are expected to be prominent on the English websites: quizzes and games, to-the-point information, product effectiveness, and clear gender roles (Singh and Pereira 2005:125-136).

4.3.1 Spas

The analysis of how masculinity and femininity are operationalized through linguistic features in the two spa websites proved difficult for two reasons – the intangible and

subjective nature of the service (compared to a prefabricated house, which can be promoted using test data) and the fact that many typical features associated with this cultural value are expressed non-verbally, which is outside the scope of the present study.

The *use of imagery and fantasy* on the website is generally associated with femininity (ibid.) and both spa websites would fall in that category, but as suggested above, the intangible nature of the service and the subjective aspect of experiencing it should be considered as important factors influencing the approach used.

Singh and Pereira (2005:126) state that “the key aspects of femininity that can be operationalized on web sites are shared by the cultural value of high context” – employing a *soft-sell approach* and emphasizing *aesthetics* and *harmony*. Since the latter two features are predominantly non-verbal, the analysis of MAS in spa websites focuses on *soft-/hard-sell approach* (see section 4.4.1).⁴

4.3.2 Prefab Houses

Both websites make use of *to-the-point information* (considered a typical feature in masculine cultures), which can probably be attributed to the fact that the promoted product is tangible, expensive and technically sophisticated.

Product effectiveness, as presented through features of *quality information* and *product attribute information*, is probably also emphasized due to the same reasons. Providing technical information enables house manufacturers to highlight advantages over their competition by comparing more objective, measurable construction features, e.g., energy consumption or thermal conductivity figures.

At the same time, however, there seems to be an attempt by prefab house manufacturers and/or their website designers to achieve a balance between the technical information they provide and the more subjective, emotional appeals that they make. Rihter, for instance, suggests the purchase of a new house results in a certain lifestyle and claim their houses provide for a “natural, healthy and pleasant way of living.”

However, differences between H-SL and H-EN websites regarding the above features were observed. A more detailed comparative analysis of *product attribute information* revealed a marked difference between the two websites in terms of the quantity and the type of information provided, as well as the perspective from which it is presented. H-SL provides a lot more technical information about the available construction systems, heating options, and ventilation systems, which at times include very technical details using specialized terminology (see Figure 2).

The scope of technical information provided on the EnviroHomes website is much more limited and presented in a way that is more suited to a layperson with limited technical background and knowledge, e.g., instead of providing thermal conductivity figures, the

⁴ A non-verbal feature that became immediately clear was the difference in the amount of pictorial material. High context cultures prefer pictures and, accordingly, the S-SL web page describing the spa contained far more pictures (10) than the one of S-EN (1 picture).

H-EN website presents the cost-saving aspect of having a well-insulated house, or the improved quality of living in such a home.

$n_{50} \leq 0,6 \text{ h}^{-1}$	$z_a Q_h \leq 15$ kWh/m ² a
$n_{50} \leq 1,0 \text{ h}^{-1}$	$z_a 15 < Q_h \leq 25$ kWh/m ² a

Figure 2: An example of a technical detail chart of passive house airtightness requirements

4.3.3 Category Conclusions

As stated in the introduction of the article, buying a house presents a significant financial burden for most. Consequently, consumers are more likely to try and educate themselves on the technical aspects of the product, so as to be able to compare and better judge the value of various products available on the market. It was therefore hypothesized that prefab manufacturer websites would differ from spa websites, and the results of the analysis of linguistic, non-visual manifestations of features associated with the MAS category in both types of websites mostly confirm this hypothesis.

4.4 Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI)

Slovenia's UAI score of 88 is much higher in comparison with Anglo-American cultures ranging from 35 to 51 (see Figure 1). According to these scores, the following features should be more pronounced on Slovene websites: customer service, guided navigation, tradition themes, local terminology, free trials or downloads, toll-free numbers, transaction security, and testimonials. In contrast, these features are not expected to be as prominent on the English websites (Singh and Pereira 2005:93-108).

4.4.1 Spas

The following two Uncertainty Avoidance website features typical of cultures with a high UAI score were analyzed on spa websites: *customer service* and *transaction security and testimonials* – the former as *customer contact* and the latter as manifested in *testimonials from customers*.

Although both websites provide *customer service options*, the information provided on the S-SL website is very detailed, containing more than three times as many (over thirty) phone numbers and email addresses compared to that of the S-EN. An interesting fact indicative of the company's wish to facilitate foreign customers was observed on the S-SL website – Terme Olimia provides contacts of two consultants specifically for foreign customers. They also provide a special form for inquiries, whereas the Sopwell House Spa only has an email address for this purpose.

A more prominent difference is observed when analyzing *customer testimonials*. Whereas the S-SL website makes use of this feature on various web pages, providing statements of Slovene visitors on the Slovene website version and testimonials from foreign visitors in English on its English website version, the S-EN website does not include any customer testimonials. These results are in accordance with UAI scores.

4.4.2 Prefab Houses

The two websites were first analyzed in terms of the category of *customer service* and its operational feature *FAQ*, which is typical of cultures with a high UAI score. Rihter's Slovene website version has a special *FAQ* web page entitled "Rihter svetuje" (*Rihter advises*) – the information it provides is either in the form of statements, or actual answers to potential customer questions. The scope of this section in the English version is much narrower, providing only general guidelines and advice. EnviroHomes website, on the other hand, does not have an *FAQ* section.

The analysis of the *customer contact* feature revealed that the H-SL website has somewhat more refined customer contact options – both websites provide phone numbers (H-EN has two; H-SL has one phone number and a fax number) and an email address (H-En has one; H-SL has two for two corresponding departments). The major difference between the two websites is that in addition to the email address, EnviroHomes provide a simple contact form for brief information requests, whereas H-SL has a more elaborate price quote request form with refined categories enabling the company to provide their customers with a more precise quotation.

4.4.3 Category Conclusions

The results for the *customer contact* feature are in accordance with the countries' respective scores – both Slovene websites provide either more extensive or more elaborate contact information compared to the more basic contact options provided by the two English websites.

The results for another *customer service* feature, *FAQ*, were less conclusive: the H-SL website does have a special web page for *FAQ*, whereas S-SL makes use of individual questions and answers to provide information, but has no specialized section. However, the two English websites do not include this feature in any form, which does confirm expectations based on countries' UAI scores.

The situation is similar for *customer testimonials*, as only the Slovene spa website makes use of it. The nature of this feature, however, does seem to make it more suitable for promoting less tangible content which is difficult to measure and compare objectively. On the other hand, although prefab house manufacturers do have more empirical data to work with, incorporating impressions of satisfied customers, especially concerning working relations with company staff, could prove useful.

4.5 Low-High Context (CON)

As already stated, there are no numeric scores for this category. In order to position Slovenia and the Anglo-American cultures on the category continuum, the scores of

related dimensions - Individualism-Collectivism and Power Distance – were considered. Based on these scores, Slovenia can be positioned on the HC end of the continuum, whereas the Anglo-American cultures can be considered predominantly low context. Accordingly, the following features should be observed on the Slovene websites: politeness and indirectness, less explicit and direct communication, and employing a soft-sell approach. In contrast, it can be hypothesized that English websites will be more direct and explicit, relying less on non-verbal communication and using a hard-sell approach in the form of aggressive promotions and extensive use of superlatives.

4.5.1 Spas

The S-EN web page providing a general description of the spa employs a *hard-sell communication approach* by directly addressing the reader, suggesting certain benefits of applying a certain massage (“If you’re looking for a sanctuary of calm and tranquillity then our Spa at Sopwell House is the ideal retreat.”), whereas the respective S-SL web page only does so in the general description of the spa, but changes to a *soft-sell approach* using more general descriptions of individual treatments, not addressing the reader directly (“Da se človek sprosti, je najboljša stvar masaža.” / “The best thing for a person to relax is a massage.”).⁵

In addition to the *soft- hard-sell approach* feature, the category of Context was also analyzed through the typical HC feature of *politeness and indirectness* and the LC feature of the *use of superlatives*. The former, as manifested through the use of *flowery language*, e.g., the English spa being referred to as “a sanctuary of calm,” was observed on both spa websites. There are, however, some differences – although both make extensive use of flowery language and of positive words facilitating the image of wellbeing that they promise, the S-EN website uses it in reference to the setting, whereas the S-SL website utilizes it in relation to more subjective, personal feelings that are promised to the visitor. Again, the use of flowery language may have more to do with the nature of what is being promoted than the general linguistic preferences of the two cultures – spas are not technical products that could be promoted via empirical facts but rather services offering intangible and largely subjective experiences.

Extensive use of superlatives, e.g., “some of the finest,” “the ultimate” etc., was also observed on both websites, but this feature was much more prevalent in the S-EN website, which is in accordance with a hard-sell approach preferred in LC cultures.

4.5.2 Prefab Houses

Both prefab house websites predominantly exhibit features that are typically associated with LC cultures. They both emphasize their *product’s advantages*, although refraining from direct comparison, but rather through the combination of technical data and a fairly extensive use of *superlatives*; EnviroHomes, for instance, refer to an “exceptional feature” of their house. The analysis of the H-SL website revealed an interesting fact; Rihter’s explicit claim of their houses being the best (“Nekaj razlogov, zakaj so Rihter hiše

⁵ For additional comments see Section 4.5.

najboljše" / "Some of the reasons why Rihter houses are the best" [my translation]) appears only in the Slovene version of the website and is replaced by "Here are some good reasons to choose a Rihter house" in the English version. Because the use of superlatives is a typical LC feature, one would expect the opposite. This could be indicative of a translation strategy with an insufficient degree of cultural awareness and, consequently, adaptation.

However, in addition to the above mentioned hard-sell approach features, both companies also employ features typical of a soft-sell approach to portray the intangible aspects of their product and make use of *subjective impressions* – implied benefits for the customers resulting from purchasing their house, e.g., "The EnviroHomes Standard offers a Luxury lifestyle [...]"; "V montažnih hišah Rihter bo vaše življenje prijetno, zdravo in udobno." / "Your life in a Rihter prefab house will be pleasant, healthy and comfortable." [my translation].

Despite the high cost of the product that has already been mentioned in previous sections, only Rihter have a web page dedicated to the typically LC feature of *warranty*. Surprisingly, EnviroHomes do not even mention warranty anywhere on their website.

4.5.3 Category Conclusions

The most interesting results for this cultural dimension were obtained from the category of hard-/soft-sell approach. Contrary to expectations based on the two countries' CON position on the continuum, all four analyzed websites make use of various operational features associated with both approaches. However, differences in the extent and the manner in which individual features are employed were observed. The trend of their use in the two spas is predominantly in accordance with expectations. Due to the nature of their product, the two prefab house websites use more of a hard-sell approach compared to the spas, but contrary to expectations, the Slovene website employs more typically LC web features.

4.6 A Comparison of Original Slovene Websites and Their Translations

Generally, differences in scope between the Slovene websites and their translated versions seem to have a financial incentive rather than acknowledging cultural differences, although the Slovene prefab house manufacturer's website does exhibit some omissions, e.g., of very technical details, which does coincide with culturally-based preferences and could have been based, at least to some extent, on that criteria. To confirm this, however, interviews would need to be conducted. On the other hand, the same website also exhibits a translation decision which goes against any expectations based on cultural dimension scores – translating a statement containing a feature typical of LC cultures with one containing no such feature – a strategy that could be labeled misadaptation, or even counter-adaptation. To verify these speculations, interviews would need to be conducted with those responsible for making such decisions – managers, owners, PR agencies, and, of course, the translators.

A contrastive analysis of some segments of the Slovene spa website reveals a translation strategy aiming to follow the source text very closely, trying to achieve a very

faithful translation. Strict adherence to the form rather than the content sometimes resulted in awkward sentence patterns (word order) not generally used in English, e.g., "To the guests of hotel we recommend that they arrive [...]" The translation of this website also exhibits numerous lexical mistakes, such as misspelling of words ("bi-product" instead of "by-product" or "byproduct," "relaxive" instead of "relaxing," "bouquet" instead of "bouquet," "pilling" instead of "peeling" or "scrub" etc.), or the use of different conjunctions ("[...] vrhunske nege obraza, pedikuro *ali* (or) manikiro." vs. "[...] a one of a kind face care, pedicure *and* manicure"). There are also grammatical errors, most notably frequent misuse of articles, e.g., "During *the* pregnancy, big changes are happening in your body, both physical and emotional (hormones)." – speaking about pregnancy in general – as well as orthographic mistakes, such as the use of guillemets (« ») typical of Slovene instead of the quotation marks normally used in English (" ").

5 CONCLUSION

The aim of the study was to verify the usefulness of the Cultural Values Framework proposed by Singh and Pereira (2005) for the purpose of analyzing culturally specific rhetoric on websites. A selection of Slovene and English promotional websites from prefab house manufacturers and spas was analyzed in terms of five cultural dimensions (power distance, individualism-collectivism, masculinity-femininity, uncertainty avoidance, and context), their corresponding website categories, and individual operational web features.

Although the scope of the analyzed materials is limited, the findings of the pilot study prove very interesting and open up many new research questions that should be explored further. These preliminary results reveal certain culturally specific rhetorical differences – some, e.g., the category of power distance, are in accordance with Hofstede's cultural dimensions' scores, others only partially, e.g., uncertainty avoidance, whereas some even contradict them, e.g., the *privacy policy* (IDV) feature in prefab house websites. The importance of the latter is even greater, as they raise important questions concerning possible shortcomings of the proposed framework, or the way in which it was applied in this study. They also raise questions concerning possible specific genre conventions of promotional websites, or, perhaps even specific product/service related website conventions that transcend languages or cultures – throughout the article questions are raised concerning the role and impact of the nature of what is being promoted on a website on the results – further answers are needed concerning the uniformity of the framework being applied to such diverse websites and the merit of the results obtained using such an analytical tool.

For the purpose of further exploring culturally specific rhetorical differences, the existing framework could be modified, omitting some categories and adding others by drawing on the findings of other studies in contrastive rhetoric. Although the study achieved its intended aim, several important questions will need to be answered before the end result – a valid and operational framework for the analysis of culturally specific rhetorical differences on websites – is reached. These will have to address issues related

to the nature of the Internet as a fairly recent digital medium and the effect on its conventions, the importance, role, and influence of English on other languages and cultures, and issues related to addressing unspecified target audiences.

Despite the above shortcomings and issues that will have to be addressed in future studies, the results of the study confirm that culturally specific rhetorical features exist on promotional websites and, with some reservations, verify the merit of the proposed framework for their analysis.

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Revising translation revision in Slovenia

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ABSTRACT

The article aims to present the status and the process of translation correction in Slovenia and contrast it to the relevant European standard (SIST EN 15038:2007) to identify the main differences in the translation workflow. We propose the hypothesis that Slovenian translations intended for publishing often go without revision (as defined by the standard) and are subject to mere linguistic (with special emphasis on style) correction, not the correction of translational suitability. To provide evidence for the claims made in the article and to provide illustrative examples of translation correction in Slovenia, we provide extracted and annotated examples of corrections from the newly built corpus Lektor (www.korpus-lektor.net).

KEY WORDS: translation revision, language ideology, translation workflow, Slovene, lektor

1 INTRODUCTION

The present paper deals with the status and the process of translation correction in Slovenia. Its main aim is to highlight several correction practices specific to the Slovenian cultural environment, and place them in a wider context, especially in contrast to the standard SIST EN 15038:2007¹ on translation services and service requirements. The paper is based on the hypothesis that the stages of translation correction²—as defined by the standard—in Slovenia are harder to come by, as only one type of correction appears to be prevalent in Slovenia. This procedure is applied on authored texts and translations

¹ As a reference on translation workflow, the Slovenian standard SIST EN 15038:2007 *Prevajalske storitve – Zahteve za storitve* was used. It was put into effect on 1 January 2007, and is identical to the standard EN 15038:2006 *Translation services – Service requirements*.

² The term 'correction' is used generically to mean any form of *post hoc* alteration of the text made by a person other than its author or translator. It is used for disambiguation purposes, as it does not overlap with any of the terms used in SIST EN 15038:2007. In the paper, we deal only with the correction of texts in Slovene, i.e., authored texts in Slovene and translations into Slovene.

alike, and when it is employed on translations, it is not aimed at surveying, achieving or maintaining *translational* quality, but mostly *linguistic* quality, with special emphasis on style. This means that translations are frequently not compared against the original, but are instead only examined for linguistic shortcomings and stylistic choices. This process is called *lektura* (Lat. *legere* 'to read') and appears to be the prevalent if not the only process of linguistic correction in Slovenia. This is potentially problematic for several reasons, the first one being that translations are very rarely compared against originals and are treated as stand-alone texts. The second issue is that the process of *lektura*³ is predominantly stylistic and language-protectionist in nature. This focus on style reflects a widespread belief among the Slovene philologists that the Slovene language should be at all costs protected from the unwanted foreign influence: this belief most probably stems from the country's long record of insecurity in relation to exercising linguistic rights due to influence and pressure from other countries or the countries/cultures dominating within the same geopolitical unit.

The process of linguistic correction in Slovenia has long been a matter of heated debate, due to the intrusive nature of *lektura*. However, there was a considerable lack of studies that would deal with this issue systematically and wholesomely. To provide a research basis, we built a million-token corpus of revised texts in Slovene. The newly built corpus Lektor will be used to both substantiate the claims made in the paper regarding the Slovenian situation as well as to provide demonstrative examples of translation correction in Slovenia. The corpus is openly accessible at www.korpus-lektor.net, and it consists of 29 (popular-)scientific texts that were published in Slovenia, totaling 1,244,029 tokens/944,417 words, and it includes 30,041 annotated revisions. The ratio between translations and authored texts is 2:3.⁴ The corpus contains texts in two parallel forms—the corrected and the original version. All revisions were annotated and categorized in five categories: style, morphology, orthography, syntax, and pragmatics, with 50 subcategories that further define a specific correction. All texts contain metadata, also on authors and revisers (sex, age, education).⁵ This gives us an opportunity to observe text correction in Slovene from different viewpoints and consider several factors at play, with the aim of identifying and exposing ideology in linguistic revision.

³ We use the original Slovene term, as this procedure is not (entirely) comparable to any concept of text correction in English. In some respects it is similar to the process of review, as defined by the standard, but is much more omnipotent in nature. The procedure is carried out by *lektorji* (Slovene plural form of *lektor*), who normally work on the behalf of publishing houses, translations agencies, etc.

⁴ More specifically, the ratio is 0.3834741971380205. The corpus served as a basis for the doctoral dissertation of the author. For full specifications of the corpus, see Popič 2014.

⁵ All texts were written/translated by persons with at least a university degree, with the majority of authors holding a doctorate.

2 TRANSLATION IN SLOVENIA: LANGUAGE POLICY vs. LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

In languages with limited diffusion, the intercultural transfer is often made through translation. Therefore, translations play a role more significant in minor communities than in those that boast greater diffusion (Pym 2006:752). This holds true for Slovenia as well— the Slovenian tradition of translation is of extreme significance for the national body of literary work; the earliest works in Slovene were all translations. Therefore, translations have been considered extremely important and much attention was dedicated to language form in translations.

Thus, translation has always played an important role, as a means of sustaining the language standard of Slovene and preserving its status—even more, in difficult sociolinguistic circumstances of Slovene, translation served as a means of language preservation (Stanovnik and Gantar 1983:87):

Any translation, albeit of the simplest factory guideline, catalogue or advertisement, is a sign of Slovene standing up to other languages, forced upon us by foreign (and sometimes, unfortunately, also domestic) enterprises. Therefore, we need to promote translation on every level and in all domains. Our first concern is to maintain translation, so that our consumers do not receive products with untranslated (Serbo-Croatian, German, English, Russian, etc.) instructions.

All this means that, in the Slovenian context, translations have enjoyed as well as exerted much the same influence on the culture as authored texts (especially during the formation and standardization of Slovene).

For example, the most influential academic and a long time head of the Department of the Slovene language and literature at the University of Ljubljana wrote in 1980s:

“Translation has long been very developed and diversified in Slovenia, and it will become even more indispensable in the future. Many more people do translation than we perhaps imagine, **with more or less linguistic competence**” (Pogorelec 1983:87, emphasis added by the author).

The Slovenian authorities and bodies entrusted with the concern for Slovene (e.g., the most important committee was run by Prof. Pogorelec) were well aware of the significance of translation for Slovene. They were also ahead of their time, as regards placing translation within the language-planning framework.

2.1 Translation in the Slovenian language policy and language planning

Already in the 1960s, Slovenian linguists evaluated the state of affairs in the use and status of Slovene, the assessment being fairly grim. This survey was motivated mostly by the unfavorable position of Slovene in relation to Serbo-Croatian within the Socialist

Federative Republic of Yugoslavia⁶ (Popič and Gorjanc 2014), in which Slovene was not provided with the opportunity to perform the entire range of communicative roles (e.g., in the military, the sole official language was Serbo-Croatian) (Korošec 1989:443). Even though Yugoslavia was formally a federation of republics equal in power and status, it was essentially a centralist autocracy run from the dominant center in Belgrade. Slovenia (frequently backed by Macedonia, later also by Croatia) was always keen on expressing its linguistic concerns regarding the unfavorable position of Slovene, compared to Serbo-Croatian, with the central government in Belgrade often dismissing these actions as unpatriotic and chauvinistic (Gabrič 2005:1080). The central government continually attempted to fracture the homogeneity of Slovene (and Slovenia) by implementing various measures, e.g., the dispersion of Serbo-Croatian through media, strategic immigration of labor force from other republics to Slovenia (Granda 2008:229), etc., but constantly met with strong resistance of Slovenes who were adamant in their claims to the right to use their own language.

This 1960s incentive brought about a wide initiative that was carried out under the auspices of the Slavic Society of Slovenia and the Socialist Union of Working People. It was termed Slovene in Public, and in May 1979 it culminated in a public meeting in Portorož. This was an important achievement of Slovenian linguistics as well as politics, as an elaborate examination of the situation was made, along with a plan of action with which the field of Slovene studies attempted to equip Slovene to be a fully functional language capable of fulfilling all communicative roles as a national language (Popič and Gorjanc 2014).

A considerable amount of attention at the meeting was paid to translation. This is all the more significant, as there are accounts within translation studies (cf. Toury, *in press*) stating that in the past translation had not been included in language planning actions (Popič *in Gorjanc* 2014). Thus, it was pointed out that Slovene—due to various factors, geographical and historical in nature—always was and is open to contacts with others, with translation being among the most visible of consequences of these contacts (Stanovnik and Gantar 1983:87). This means that translation and its placement within language policy were systematically dealt with in 1979, in a very modern manner. The convention focused on the following aspects of translation:

- The required skills for persons correcting translations (Stanovnik 1983:89).
- The main principles and workflow involved in correcting translations (Stanovnik 1983:89).
- The principles of translation criticism (Janež 1983:90).
- Notes on individual translational issues (Bitenc and Smolej 1983; Janež 1983; Klabus 1983; Madžarevič 1983; Moder 1983).

Thus, an active approach was taken, and this was the main contributor for the fact that Slovenia eased into its independence in 1991, as far as the issue of national language is concerned (other Yugoslav republics faced much greater challenges in defining their national language(s) upon independence) (cf. Požgaj Hadži 2013). This active involvement of Slovenian linguists was essential for the field of translation and its

⁶ From 1945 to the declaration of independence in 1991.

gradual professionalization (Popič and Gorjanc 2014). Building on these efforts, translation is regularly included in all language planning and language policy activities.⁷

However, even though such active measures were adopted and even though they brought about considerable success in the field of language planning and language policy with which Slovene successfully established itself as a national language in 1991 and a supranational (EU) language in 2004, little was achieved in suppressing a specific language ideology in Slovene. This ideology is exceedingly relevant to the topic of the present article because it directly affected, even more—(co-)formed the way texts in Slovene are revised.

2.2 Language ideology and the parallel worlds

Language ideology in Slovenia is perhaps best described with the following passage:

A nation is identified as a nation by its language and culture. In our entire history, we were unable to express our culture and language. In our entire history, we were unable to freely express ourselves with our culture and our language when we were not free ourselves. This is where all this love and respect for our culture and our language comes from (Šetinc 1978:173).

The subjective inclination towards language, expressed in the quotation above, is very indicative of the role and attitude fostered towards Slovene as mother tongue, and this attitude penetrated even the ranks of linguists. Many of these struggled with the idea of linguists being only registrars of language use, and advocated active regulatory involvement of linguists (Gradišnik 1986:27). Even more, many linguists dealing with Slovene were convinced that the relationship towards Slovene should not be a research-driven, objective one, but that the attitude to Slovene is a moral issue (Gradišnik 1986:26), and it is thus a moral imperative to actively monitor and attempt to influence language use. This has long been a part of Slovenian tradition, mostly in the form of purism due to the pressures and influences of first German, then Serbo-Croatian, but it was a matter of heated linguistic debate. However, with the institutionalization of the profession of *lektor*, immediately following World War II, the ideology affecting Slovene took a very concrete and present shape.

After the war, the new, autocratic socialist government put great effort into selecting politically uncompromised officials for posts that required a good grasp of Slovene as they dealt with public communication. These officials were often lacking in linguistic competence (meaning that they were not adequately familiar with the language standard), and the level of Slovene in public use quickly began to deteriorate (Verovnik 2005:135-136). The Slovenian government tackled this with the introduction of the job post of *lektorji*, language revisers who were to provide linguistic counsel until officials

⁷ Cf. *Resolution on the National Language Policy Program (2014-2018)*, passed by the Slovenian Parliament on 15 July 2013: http://www.mk.gov.si/fileadmin/mk.gov.si/pageuploads/Ministrstvo/Zakonodaja/2013/Resolucija_-_sprejeto_besedilo__15.7.2013_.pdf.

would be fully independent to produce texts in their own right. However, instead of empowering officials to becoming autonomous in their use of language, the period from the 1960s onwards saw a parallel language norm, that of *lektorji*, taking shape, and this norm endures to this day (Stabej 2000, Verovnik 2005, Popič 2009, Vitez 2009, Popič 2014). This *paranorm*⁸ is different from Standard Slovene, in two main aspects:

- The paranorm is much narrower/stricter and linguistically purist in nature, as it *permits fewer* (near) synonyms and structures (especially those of *foreign* origin).
- It is inductive (prescribed from within, not on the basis of language use) and clandestine (normative guidelines are codified in informal guidelines, accessible only to *lektorji* in a particular organization, and never published as referential works on language use. Normally, such guidelines contain lists of *bad words* along with *more suitable* lexemes).⁹

The paranorm is made up from subjective individual language preferences and fears of foreign influence and language death. Slovenian language revisers are prolific and vigorous in enforcing this parallel norm, arguing that foreign and non-standard language elements lead to language decay and its ensuing extinction (cf. Stabej 2000, Popič and Gorjanc 2013, Popič 2014). The process of linguistic revision has become so vast that paranormal patterns have been introduced into use on virtually every level of Slovene: style, lexis, orthography, syntax, even meaning (Popič 2014). These actions largely based on the assumption that individual texts in Slovene, if they display any (supposed) imperfection, are in need of a rescue, as the following excerpt written by one of the Slovene *lektorji* demonstrates:

I'm extremely particular, critical, perfectionist. And when I lay my hands on a text with a good, original idea, hampered by poor expression and grammatical shortcomings, making it a target practice for my revision skills, I can't help myself. I must make changes. I must grind, polish, iron, and plane. Just like cabinetmakers, I cannot tolerate a rugged board. Yes, I perceive language revision as polishing, planing, and fine-tuning. Where it is necessary, not everywhere. I do not want to sound sentimental, but when I hear the melody played by the author, I want it to sound as clear as possible (Peserl 2003:352-353).

⁸ We use this term to designate a norm that is based on a standardized language norm, but does differ from it in a number of places, and these differences are internally consistent because they are enforced, not brought about by eventual language change.

⁹ One such set of guidelines was published (see Sršen 1996). It is necessary to mention that, in the past, influential linguists and pundits published monographs dictating language use and forbidding so-called barbarisms. These monographs were termed *jezikovni brusi* ('linguistic whetstones'), implying that Slovene was in need of active regulatory involvement, i.e., *sharpening*. In analogy with *paranorms*, we use the term *paracodification* to refer to such guidelines.

This sentiment extends even to the question of the depth of revision—the perception of *lektorji* being that merely *correcting commas*¹⁰ is belittling to the reputation of their profession, cf. Dermol Hvala (2002:156): “I think it is reasonable to ask oneself whether *lektorji* too think that their job is merely to correct commas, as most people seem to think. With this attitude, the position of *lektorji* and their reputation in the society are far from improving.”

The sentiment towards salvaging texts is all the more present as poor functional literacy in the Slovenian environment is almost proverbial (cf. Majdič 2002, Dermol Hvala 2002). Ever since World War II when literacy was, in fact, poor (cf. Kos 2001:125), until today there has been a climate of doubt that people are able to produce texts for public communication in their own right, and a belief that every text is in need of scrutiny of a corrector. This mentality persists and a large portion of texts, authored as well as translations, undergoes scrutiny, with the society of *lektorji* recently even trying to pass a law that would prohibit issuing any text within the public sector without it being subject to *lektura* (cf. Tomažič 2013).

3 TRANSLATION CORRECTION IN SLOVENIA: THEORY AND PRACTICE

In order to see the role of *lektura* in translation production in Slovenia, let us first briefly revise the procedures aimed at ensuring translation quality. The present paper does not deal with its definition, but it does deal with the procedures aimed at ensuring and maintaining translation quality, and these *have* been standardized with the European standard (cf. Biel 2011).

The following section presents the fragments of the standard SIST EN 15038:2007 regarding translation workflow, especially the segments dealing with translation correction. Afterwards, the Slovenian situation is contrasted with this framework. The purpose of the standard is “to establish and define the requirements for the provision of quality services by translation service providers” (European Committee for Standardization 2007:4). The requirements regard several different aspects of translation; for the purposes of the present article, the main issues are human and technical resources, and quality and project management (European Committee for Standardization 2007:6-8).

3.1 Translation correction in theory

Translation correction is necessary for a number of reasons: for instance, a translator may easily produce a text that is understandable/suitable only to them or a text that “may fail to conform to society’s linguistic rules, or rules for translating, or rules for writing in a particular genre. Finally, what the author or translator has written may conflict with what

¹⁰ The phrase is used metaphorically to denote mere linguistic correction without any intervention as far as style is concerned; due to the structural nature of comma placement in Slovene (and complicated rules within the language standard, cf. Korošec 2003), this is also the most problematic issue for speakers of Slovene to overcome, as also corpus data below will demonstrate – if we use the present article as an example, an authored text this long in the corpus would contain more than 82 corrections of punctuation alone.

the publisher wants to convey” (Mosso 2007:17). And because there are numerous areas in which a particular text can be found wanting, editing/revising is “not a matter of a vague ‘looking over’” (Mosso 2007:17).

This means that there is a need for a systematic approach to translation correction as well as for a special skillset that one performing translation correction should possess. This is why it is of vital significance that translators-correctors possess certain traits. Therefore, it is especially worth noting that the standard SIST EN 15038:2007 touches upon this issue and addresses the competences required for the process of translation. The competences are as follows (European Committee for Standardization 2007:7):

- Translating competence
- Linguistic and textual competence in the source language and the target language
- Research competence, information acquisition and processing
- Cultural competence
- Technical competence

The standard touches upon “the entire translation service, the concept of which is broad: it consists of pre-translation, translation and post-translation processes as well as value-added services. Hence, translation itself is only one of the stages, albeit the core one” (Biel 2011). In addition to the clarification and standardization of the competences required for the process of translation, the standard also brings about a structured overview of the post-translation processes, especially in regard to translation correction, as four separate procedures are distinguished (checking, revision, review, and proofreading), with the optional final verification. Thus, the standard aims to enable consistent use of terminology also in this segment of the translation process, as “[t]he terminology has been used inconsistently and interchangeably by translation companies, translators, revisers, as well as in the professional and academic literature” (Biel 2011).

The process of translation thus consists of three separate stages: translation, checking of the target text by the translator and the revision that is performed by another translator (Biel 2011). These steps are defined by the standard as follows:

- **Checking:** Obligatory self-revision by the translator before submitting the text: “This process shall include checking that the meaning has been conveyed, that there are no omissions or errors and that the defined service specifications have been met. The translator shall make any necessary amendments” (European Committee for Standardization 2007:11).
- **Revision:** Obligatory step performed by a reviser who “shall be a person other than the translator and have the appropriate competence in the source and target languages. The reviser shall examine the translation for its suitability for purpose. This shall include, as required by the project, comparison of the source and target texts for terminology consistency, register and style” (European Committee for Standardization 2007:11). This means that “the core translation process should involve at least two parties: a translator and a reviser” (Biel 2011).
- **Review:** Optional and performed upon the client’s request and by a reviewer who “shall carry out a monolingual review to assess the suitability of the translation for the agreed purpose and recommend corrective measures. [...]”

The review can be accomplished by assessing the translation for register and respect for the conventions of the domain in question” (European Committee for Standardization 2007:11).

- **Proofreading:** Optional “checking of proofs before publishing” (European Committee for Standardization 2007:5). In this respect, the standard is somewhat vague about the actual scope of the procedure: “The term *proofreading* should have been elaborated in more detail as it is frequently used in the industry to mean ‘revision’” (Biel 2011, see also Schopp 2007:8).
- **Final verification:** Obligatory step carried out by the translation service provider to “verify that the service provided meets the service specifications” (European Committee for Standardization 2007:12).

From the segmentation given above, one can see that translation revision plays a significant role in the European standard. The section dealing with translation revision is not limited to mere terminological delimitation, but it also places emphasis on its importance within the process of translation—there are as many as five different stages of translation revision, although several of them are arbitrary and dependent on a particular commission. It is especially worth noting that the core roles in the process of translation, i.e., translation and revision, are performed solely by *translators*. This is all the more important since this is often not the case in the Slovenian environment, as the following section will demonstrate.

3.2 Translation correction in practice: the case of Slovenia

When translation into and from Slovene is practiced in the EU institutions and increasingly also in some LSPs, the above-mentioned standards are being observed. However, when texts are translated for the publication by Slovene publishing houses, the procedure remains traditional, i.e., that revision and review is replaced by *lektura*. Roughly speaking, there are three main aspects in which the Slovenian situation differs significantly from the provision of the standard:

- Very often, the workflow is not observed—several corrective procedures are morphed into a single one, i.e., *lektura*. This process is also not comparable to any given by the standard.
- As the process of *lektura* is aimed mostly at linguistic quality of the text, and less (or not at all) at translation quality, translations are not compared against the source texts but are treated as stand-alone texts.
- Hence, *lektorji* are not translators, they may even not be familiar with the language of the source text (cf. Zlatnar Moe 2002).

To illustrate that the points above are indeed problematic, we extracted comments of *lektorji* from the corpus Lektor.¹¹ The comments of a particular *lektor* were inserted

¹¹ The full list of comments can be generated by selecting document properties in the corpus menu, or by clicking the following link: http://www.korpus-lektor.net/run.cgi/first?corpname=fidaplus_lektor&reload=&iquery=&queryselector=iqueryrow&lemma=&lpos=&phrase=&word=&wpos=&char=&cql=&default_attr=word&errcorr_switch=e&cup_err_code=Pr-Komentar&cup_err=&cup_corr=&cup_hl=q&fc_lemword_window_type=both&fc_lemword_wsize=5&fc_lemword=&fc_lemword_d_type=all&fc_pos_window_type=both&fc_pos_wsize=5&fc_pos_type=all&fsca_err.type=&fsca_corr

directly into the corrected texts and delimited from the rest of the text with double slashes (//). It is also of note that only one of the authored texts contained comments (15), whereas there are as many as 338 comments in translations. Figure 1 displays a context from a translation in the corpus with several revisions; three of them are comments. The first one suggests adding the word in double slashes, the second comments on the use of ellipsis/triple-dot glyph, and the third one comments on the tautological use of the word 'razpoke'.):

redko kdo si je tako zelo prizadeval za rešitev človeškega pred redukcionističnimi težnjami pluralistične znanosti | , kot | sta si Nicolai Hartmann s svojo ontologijo in Max Scheler s svojo antropologijo. Oba sta razlikovala med posameznimi stopnjami oz. | oziroma plastmi, kot so telesno, duševno in duhovno. Vsaki od teh plasti ustreza ena veda: telesnemu | //ustreza// biologija, duševnemu psihologija itd. Prav iz različnosti stopenj oziroma plasti pa izvira »pluralizem znanosti«. </p><p> ... | //Mislim, da je boljše začeti kar z veliko, brez tropičja, navkljub originalu// in kje ostaja »enotnost človeka«? Kje se torej kot keramična posoda z razpokami in | s praskami s »kakovostnimi razpokami« | //tole je tautologija - 2x je z razpokami; je to ustrezen prevod?// (Hegel) uresničuje in dosega človeškost? Kot je znano, je umetnost definirana kot enotnost v raznolikosti. Jaz pa želim človeka definirati kot enotnost kljub raznolikosti. Kajti kljub ontološkim razlikam, kljub razširi desno >

Figure 1: Contextualized corrections from Lektor.

Comments themselves pertain to all levels of language—orthography, syntax, understandability, citation style, and the issue of the suitability of meaning. In this respect, *lektura* does resemble *revision* as it does deal with meaning. However, the main issue is that these comments are mostly expressing uncertainty or doubt about specific elements and their semantic suitability, as *lektorji* do not even possess source texts to be able to *revise* the meaning. Below, in Table 1, there are several comments expressing inability to perform the desired task due to the unavailability of the source text, followed by translations on the right:

Table 1: Comments made by lektorji (translations done by the author of the article)

Comment	English translation
[//Tole je zelo čuden stavek. Preveriti v izvorniku!//]	[//This is a very odd sentence. Check the original!//]
[//? ker nimam originala ne morem smiselno oblikovati stavka, toda tale je prav gotovo nejasen//]	[//? because I don't have the original, I cannot change this sentence to make sense; at present, it is very unclear;//]
[//kaj pa pomenijo ti narobe obrnjeni lomljeni oklepaji?//]	[//what do these inverted brackets mean?//]

.type=. Alternatively, all corrections are accessible in a MS Excel file available at <https://dl.dropboxusercontent.com/u/13258131/LEKTUREutf2.xlsx>.

[//je tole ustrezen prevod???//]	[//is this a suitable translation???//]
[//je tale zadnji del povedi pomensko ustrezen?//]	[//is the last part of the sentence suitable regarding meaning?//]
[//tole je tautologija – 2x je z razpokami; je to ustrezen prevod?//]	[//this is a tautology, you used “cracks” two times; is this a suitable translation?//]
[//zakaj to ni prevedeno?//]	[//why was this left untranslated?//]

The segment above attempted to describe what is *not* being done during the process of translation correction in the Slovenian environment, while the following section deals with what *is* being done during this process. To try to portray this, revisions of authored texts and translations in Lektor will be compared. The corpus contains revisions in 5 categories: style, morphology, orthography, grammar, and pragmatics.

In the category containing stylistic alterations, there are 8781 annotated corrections—4214 in authored texts and 4548 in translations, which means that stylistic alterations are more frequent in translations (even more so if we take into account the ratio between translations and authored texts in the corpus). Below, in Table 2, there is an overview of corrections in the corpus per source of the text:¹²

Table 2: Overview of stylistic corrections in authored and translated texts in Lektor

Subcategory	Authored texts	Translations
Word choice	1202 (20.06)	1555 (41.70)
Loanword → Slovene word	603 (10.07)	272 (7.29)
Collocation	244 (4.07)	654 (17.53)
Deletion	890 (14.86)	957 (25.66)
Insertion	715 (11.94)	647 (17.35)
Borrowing ¹³	57 (0.95)	75 (2.01)
Valency	198 (5.31)	161 (4.32)
Word-class transformation	41 (1.10)	161 (4.32)
Co-reference	213 (5.71)	80 (2.14)
Other	4 (0.07)	6 (0.16)

As the correction frequencies show, the process of *lektura* is more severe in translations when it comes to word choices and variants, collocations, and with transformations based on word class (mostly due to the belief that Slovene is an *active* language and

¹² As the amount of texts/words in the two subcorpora is not the same, the numbers in this table and in those below are accompanied by brackets with approximated figures of corrections per 10,000 words. Lektor’s concordancer (www.korpus-lektor.net) also gives information on normalized frequencies upon returning query results.

¹³ The difference between this category and the category Loanwords is that here only alterations of a particular lexeme are included (i.e., the adaptation of a particular lexeme to the Slovene orthographic standard), whereas loanwords include corrections with which a particular lexeme was substituted with another lexeme.

should therefore be expressed by verbal structures, less so with nouns). The process of *lektura* is—interestingly—much more invasive in authored texts when it comes to supposed loanwords, which were substituted for words that are believed to be “more Slovene.” With other subcategories, corrections are relatively comparable in terms of frequency. The same goes for the next category, i.e., morphology. This category is more or less systemic, so that comparable frequencies were to be expected. There are 1379 corrections of morphology in Lektor, 708 in authored texts and 671 in translations. Corrections are segmented in subcategories as follows:

Table 3: Overview of morphological corrections in authored and translated texts in Lektor.

Subcategory	Authored texts	Translations
Inflection/form – domestic personal names	1 (0.02)	2 (0.05)
Inflection/form – foreign personal names	37 (0.62)	37 (0.99)
Inflection/form – domestic geographical names	4 (0.07)	13 (0.35)
Inflection/form – foreign geographical names	4 (0.07)	5 (0.13)
Inflection/form – other proper names/common nouns	123 (2.05)	79 (2.12)
Inflection/form – adjectives	175 (2.92)	102 (2.73)
Inflection/form – verbs	171 (2.85)	229 (6.14)
Inflection/form – numerals	99 (1.65)	126 (3.38)
Inflection/form – function words	12 (0.20)	8 (0.21)
Inflection/form – pronouns	82 (1.37)	70 (1.88)

As Table 3 shows, the frequencies within the morphological category between authored and translated texts are relatively comparable. This was to be expected due to the systemic nature of the category, and that would normally hold true for the next category (orthography) as well; however, the results are somewhat different, as Table 4 demonstrates:

Table 4: Overview of orthographic corrections in authored and translated texts in Lektor

Subcategory	Authored texts	Translations
Typo	268 (4.47)	318 (8.53)
Spelling	70 (1.17)	112 (3.00)
Word-formation	131 (2.19)	89 (2.39)
Capitalization – proper names/common nouns	184 (3.07)	297 (7.97)
Capitalization – names of beings	18 (0.30)	34 (0.91)
Capitalization – geographical names	83 (1.39)	30 (0.80)
Capitalization – adjectives	19 (0.32)	29 (0.78)
Sentence/clause capitalization	528 (8.81)	454 (12.17)
Punctuation	4969 (82.95)	2165 (58.04)

Substitution of punctuation marks	1829 (30.53)	828 (22.20)
Spacing/hyphenating words	247 (4.12)	110 (2.95)
Changing form	349 (5.83)	460 (12.33)
Abbreviations	100 (1.67)	85 (2.28)

Table 4 shows that there are significantly fewer orthographic corrections in translations than in authored texts, especially in terms of punctuation. This means that translators make fewer linguistic errors than writers. At the same time, it is also of note that there are more typographic errors in translations than in authored texts, as well as corrections of capitalization with common nouns and proper names of objects. The syntactic category paints a similar picture; however, frequencies of several categories show that there are substantial differences between the process of *lektura* in authored texts and translations. This is especially visible in the subcategory covering corrections involving breaking up a sentence into several sentences. Corrections falling within the purview of this category are much more common in translated texts, as Table 5 demonstrates:

Table 5: Overview of syntactic corrections by authored and translated texts in *Lektor*

Subcategory	Authored texts	Translations
Splitting sentences	65 (1.09)	206 (5.52)
Joining sentences	50 (0.83)	42 (1.13)
Substitution of conjunction	538 (8.98)	470 (12.60)
Transformation of syntactic relation	96 (1.60)	134 (3.59)
Word order	958 (15.99)	969 (25.98)
Transformation: non-finite → finite	26 (0.43)	53 (1.42)
Transformation: finite → non-finite	3 (0.05)	7 (0.19)
Case government	111 (1.85)	67 (1.80)
Agreement	199 (3.32)	83 (2.23)
Proposition	221 (3.69)	128 (3.43)
Other	/	3 (0.08)

It is worth noting again that the inclusion of a certain correction within the syntactic category does not mean that the correction itself is syntactically *motivated*. It means that it is performed on the level of syntax, and not that it is actually a syntactic correction (it may very well be a stylistic correction). However, several subcategories are predominately systemic (and bound to the language standard), and again we can observe that systemic corrections (e.g., case government, agreement, and use of propositions) are much more common in authored texts than in translations, whereas stylistically motivated corrections (e.g., splitting sentences, joining sentences, etc.) appear more frequently in translations.

The final category also gives some interesting insight into the differences between the processes of correction on authored and translated texts, especially because we included

a subcategory of *translational* corrections in the beginning, as we naively expected to find unambiguous cases of *translation errors*, which, of course, was not the case. Instead we mostly found examples of untranslated text in English, and these were more frequent in authored texts than in translations. Therefore, the denomination “translation correction” was changed to “inter-lingual correction” during the process of building Lektor, as Table 6 demonstrates:

Table 6: Overview of pragmatic corrections by authored and translated texts

Subcategory	Authored texts	Translations
Inter-lingual correction	61 (1.02)	49 (1.32)
Meaning	51 (0.85)	23 (0.62)
Factual corrections	184 (3.07)	66 (1.77)
Commentaries	15 (0.25)	323 (8.66)

The frequency of inter-lingual corrections and their distribution mean that corrections during *lektura* that pertain mostly to elements of foreign origin are more common in authored texts—this shows that authors, when writing, are not fully aware of the inter-lingual transfer being in progress (they use English abbreviations in academic writing, leave something untranslated, etc.), as Figure 2 below demonstrates:

Authored text	Translated text
: «Research is not about ownership, but about sharing».	«-pri raziskovanju ne gre za posestvanje
In the modern world, every scientist who wants to publish findings in an international, peer-reviewed journal must write in English	(Znanstveni pristop k znanstvenemu pisanju
(ed.)	v sodobnem svetu mora vsak znanstvenik,
(ed.)	(ur.) . Africa in the World Economy: The
(ed.)	(ur.) . The Physical Geography of Africa
(ed.)	(ur.) . The Physical Geography of Africa
(ed.)	(ur.) . Cheltenham, Understanding Global
(ed.)	(ur.) . People and Environment in Africa
(ed.)	(ur.) . The Physical Geography of Africa
(ed.)	(ur.) . The Physical Geography of Africa
3rd ed.	3. ed. izd. New York itd., Prentice Hall
ed.	izd. New York itd., Prentice Hall, str.
3rd ed.	3. izd. New York itd., Prentice Hall, str.
3rd ed	3. izd. New York itd., Prentice Hall, str.
8th	8. ed. izd. New York itd., John Wiley &
ed.	izd. New York itd., John Wiley & Sons,
12th	12. ed. izd. Hoboken New York, John Wiley
ed.	izd. Hoboken New York, John Wiley & Sons
Version 3	3. verzija . 2011. URL: http://sedac.ciesin.cc
(ed.)	(ur.) . The Physical Geography of Africa

Figure 1: Concordances with inter-lingual corrections in authored texts in Lektor

As we can see in the picture above, inter-lingual corrections in authored texts mostly concern untranslated segments of text. This holds true for translations as well—however, in a more specific sense, since mostly the names of institutions were left untranslated, as the concordances below demonstrate:

the Wellington University of Victoria	Univerza Wellington v Victoriji , University
University of Canterbury	Univerza Canterbury , Nacional University
Nacional University of Galway	Narodna univerza v Galwayu , DICE (Irska
License	. </p><p> ISBN: 978-0-9535605-3-0
Development Awareness Fund pri Department for International Development	sklada Development Awareness Fund pri britanskem
milenijski razvojni cilji	razvojni cilji tisočletja , izobrazba za
Unesco Chair in Teacher Education in Culture - University of the South Pacific	Unescov predstavnik za izobraževanje učiteljev
Za ustvarjanje denarja potrebuješ denar	Denar dela denar . Tisti, ki so se rodili
9. do 17. ure	cele dni . Skupno tem družinam je, da svojih
Development Education Research Centre	Center za raziskave razvojnega izobraževanja
London Institute of Education	Inštitut za izobraževanje v Londonu , Velika
Univerza v Canterburyju	Univerza Canterbury , Nova Zelandija </p>
Federal University of Parana	Zvezna univerza v Parani , Brazilija </p>
the Centre for the Study of Social and Global Justice	Center za študije o socialni in globalni
University of Nottingham	Univerzi v Nottinghamu v Angliji in University
University of Canterbury	Univerza Canterbury v Christchurchu na
the London Institute of Education	Inštitut za izobraževanje v Londonu , Manchester
Manchester University, University of Leicester	Univerza v Manchestru, Univerza v Leicesteru
the Wellington University of Victoria	Univerza Wellington v Victoriji , University
University of Canterbury	Univerza Canterbury , Nacional University

Figure 2: Concordances with inter-lingual corrections in translations in Lektor

It is also worth noting that corrections on the level of meaning and facts are much more frequent in authored texts than in translations. This can have two possible implications—the first one is that there is simply no need for correcting meaning or factual data in translations, and the second one that *lektorji* are not equipped to perform *revision* as they do not have access to source texts in the first place. It is the final subcategory that gives reasons to believe that *lektorji* simply cannot perform proper *revision*, as they are simply not equipped to perform this task, and they are willing to admit this while inserting comments during *lektura*.

4 CONCLUSIONS

The data collected from the corpus was used for the analysis of the question whether or not the procedure of translation correction is comparable to that given in the relevant European standard. More specifically, this issue has two main points in which—we believe—the Slovenian tradition differs from the standard, i.e.:

- Translation and correction workflow
- The manner of translation correction

As regards translation (and correction) workflow, as set out by the European standard, the corpus analysis shows significant differences, the most obvious being the lack of segmentation in the translation workflow. This means that published translations in Slovene are often subject to the process of *lektura*, which is not entirely comparable to any of the “standard” procedures. In addition, the process of *lektura* is often performed by persons who are not translators themselves or who may not even be familiar with the source language and culture. Even if they are, testimonial data from *lektorji* that was extracted from the corpus shows that frequently (judging by the corpus, even as a rule)

they are not *given* the source text and are thus unable to perform the process of translation revision.

In terms of the manner of translation correction of target texts that are intended for publication in local publishing houses in Slovenia, i.e., *lektura*, it is possible to conclude on the basis of corpus data that it is an invasive procedure, as the frequency of stylistic corrections in translations demonstrates. It is especially noteworthy that stylistic corrections are more common in translations than authored texts, whereas systemic corrections (corrections of *errors*, i.e., of linguistic usage that goes against the formalized, standardized norm of the Slovene language) are more common in authored texts. This offers reasons to believe that translators commit fewer *errors* than authors of texts (although translations are more beset by typos than authored texts), and that *lektorji* take on a more authoritarian stance to stylistic matters when correcting translations.

The process of translation correction (if we can call it that, as it is practically the same procedure as the correction of authored texts) in Slovenia, as corpus data reveals, leaves several things to be desired. Although an analysis of translation revision only within translation agencies in Slovenia would probably give a more favorable depiction, since many of them now follow the standardized translation workflow as far as translation workflow is concerned, it is still alarming that translation correction, to a great extent, remains a process that does not include the source text. Of all the issues specified in the article, this is the one that poses a direct threat to the integrity of the target text (other issues, such as the depth of correction, pertain largely to the translator's integrity and respect thereof). As Kingscott (1999:200) puts it, "an error such as 'The patient must not eat for two hours' is not life-threatening, whereas writing 15mg instead of 1.5mg is."

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Translation culture in the military: Russian-speakers in the Finnish land forces during the Second World War

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to present the first forays into military translation culture in the Headquarters of the Finnish Defence Forces during the Second World War in form of a case study on persons skilled in Russian in the Finnish Land Forces in June 1940. The Winter War (November 1939 – March 1940) had thrown the Finnish Defence Forces off guard in many respects, one of them being the need for persons skilled in the enemy language. The enquiry about Russian-speakers in the military after the Winter War can be regarded as Headquarters' attempt to (better) organize the activities related to translation and interpreting, thus shedding light on the larger picture of attitudes towards wartime interpreting and translation.

KEY WORDS: Wartime interpreting, translation culture, the Second World War, Finland, Russian language skills

1 INTRODUCTION

Military interpreters and translators, military linguists, language intermediaries – however one refers to them – are and have presumably always been present in every military conflict between parties representing different languages. The topic of their presence has often been neglected in the historiography of war, which tends to concentrate on the chronological events of a conflict, on the events leading up to a

conflict, and on the ensuing consequences from a national point of view. The historiography of war rarely sees languages as a constituent in those events. Despite their seeming invisibility, languages have nevertheless played an important, one might say even a crucial, role in the events of a war. One might consider, for example, intelligence services offering background information for planning operations: Without skills in the enemy's language, such work would be impossible. Or consider peace negotiations: How could different parties negotiate, if all they know is their own mother tongue? It is thus readily apparent that languages are and have always been included in various situations and areas of warfare and one could easily ask why this topic has been paid short shrift in history. Is the presence of foreign languages so obvious in military conflicts that it has been taken almost for granted? Or does the assumed invisibility and neutrality of interpreters and translators have something to do with this? I argue that because languages seem to have been of such importance to warfare, rather than guessing the reasons for their obscurity, it is more relevant and fruitful to ask the following question: What role have languages, or more specifically, interpreting and translation, played in past military conflicts, and what role do they still play in the recent conflicts?

Over the past few decades, this question has been of growing interest to several Translation Studies scholars, such as Moira Inghilleri (2003, 2008), who has dealt with the interpreter's and translator's role in conflict situations, very much drawing on concepts of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, and Mona Baker, who has applied a narrative methodology for the same purpose (2006). Recent conflicts in particular have provided the impetus for many researchers to study translation and interpreting in conflict. Such scholars include Vicente Rafael (2007) and Jerry Palmer (2007) in the context of the US military operation in Iraq, as well as Zrinka Stahuljak (2010) and Mila Dragovic-Drouet (2007), who focus on the wars following the break-up of the former Yugoslavia and the peacekeeping missions in its aftermath.

A historical approach to the languages and language intermediaries in war is adopted by the large-scale research project "Languages at War" at the University of Reading, the University of Southampton and the Imperial War Museum in London. The ongoing project aims to integrate languages into the historical contexts of war and to embed them within narratives of conflict and peace building. The project concentrates on two case studies: the liberation and occupation of Western Europe for the years 1944-47 and the peacekeeping/peace building mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina for the years 1995-2000 (Footitt and Kelly 2012a).

A somewhat smaller-scale project at the University of Eastern Finland grapples with similar themes: the project *In Search of Military Translation Cultures* examines the interpreting and translation activity during the Second World War in Finland, concentrating especially on the Finnish, Russian and German languages, employing as a starting point 'translation culture', a concept coined by Erich Prunč in 1997. Translation culture may be defined as a "set of socially determined norms, conventions, expectations and values governing translation activity in a given society or institution" (Pöschhacker 2006:229). In our project, the given institution can be either the entire Finnish Defence Forces or merely one of its units, depending on the perspective of the individual study

(cf. Knut Pipping's (1947) sociological study of an infantry company as a society in the Continuation War 1941-44). In the case presented in this article, the Headquarters of the Finnish Defence Forces is taken to be the institution, which is regarded both as a determiner and an operational environment for interpreting and translation in the Second World War in Finland.

In order to gain insight into the larger picture of military interpreting and to be able to reconstruct the military translation culture of the Headquarters of the Finnish Defence Forces, the role assigned by the Headquarters to both interpreters as agents and interpreting as an activity will be examined from different angles. These angles include the instructions and rules for interpreters and interpreting, the variety of languages present in the Headquarters, as well as the tasks for which these language skills were required in the first place. In this article I wish to shed some light on the initial steps taken towards this military translation culture by presenting a preliminary analysis of a case study of persons with Russian-language skills in the Finnish Land Forces in the summer of 1940. I shall further discuss the methodological challenges posed by this kind of research that arise from the fact that data and research material on interpreting and translation lie scattered throughout disparate military archives.

2 INTERTWINING HISTORIOGRAPHY OF WAR AND TRANSLATION STUDIES

For Translation Studies, interdisciplinarity usually implicates new possibilities, offering alternative perspectives and methodologies through which to view translation and interpreting, whereas historiography traditionally confines itself to its own disciplinary principles. Conversely, social sciences and cultural studies, and even linguistics, have had an impact of their own on the development of different orientations and subject matter of historical research and writing, as the German historian Georg W. Iggers acknowledges in his book *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (2005:3-19). Historical research conducted by scholars outside the strict historiography discipline may still encounter reservations, or even conflicts – a matter considered for instance by Christian Rundle (2012) from the point of view of translation history. Since translation and interpreting history, including the context of war, has been left almost entirely in the hands of Translation Studies scholars, constructive discussion of mutually acceptable, interdisciplinary methodologies is essential in order to pave the way for productive collaboration between historians and Translation Studies scholars. A number of potential stumbling blocks on this way are discussed briefly below.

One crucial source of misunderstandings between historians and Translation Studies scholars may lie in divergent manners in which data validity is conceptualised in these two disciplines. For a historian seeking 'the true' course of events, a reliable, valid source of information means an original document, which thus excludes any translation as source material for historiography, since such is viewed as invalid. To highlight the difference in perspectives, one could note Cronin (2006), for example, who draws on Shakespearean drama to illustrate the role of interpreters in the 15th century. In the eyes

of a Translation Studies scholar Cronin's is an interesting viewpoint to the topic, however, one that no traditional historian would dare accept or conclude anything on the basis of such an unreliable source of information.

A further stumbling block to fruitful interdisciplinary collaboration is highlighted by Rundle (2012) as he discusses the methodological differences between historiography and Translation Studies. He suggests a shift in perspective by stating that translation should be an approach to history, i.e. translation history scholars should address their research to historians rather than scholars within Translation Studies. The methodological differences proven to be intricate to specify, the idea of contextualisation is at least one issue to point out. It may not be considered as a method as such, but however, to situate specific events and actions back in their contexts is a fundamental operation within historical research and, one may assume, a quite obvious one in translation history as well. Although contextualisation also figures in many approaches within Translation Studies, one must remember that there is also a traditional orientation searching for similarities, which still influences studies on interpreting and translation in war, as Hilary Footitt (2012) has observed. Summing up the findings of the *Languages at War* project so far, she points to recent studies on languages, interpreters and translators in the military conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan; although innovative, Footitt states that they implicitly tend to generalise conflict and war, and thus the role of the interpreter within it, while historians concentrate on the 'specifics' of an event, or in this case, of a particular conflict, starting from the assumption that every conflict has its own particular (or even unique) context (2012:218).

In our research project the latter, i.e. historian's perspective, is of crucial importance: the unique, bifurcated situation of Finland during the Second World War, fighting as an independent country against the Soviet Union while at the same time fighting alongside Third Reich troops as brother-in-arms in its territory, poses the starting point for the entire study on the interpreting and translation activity in that given context. Adopting a historical framework is one of the three broad methodological approaches proposed by Footitt (2012), which proved to be helpful in integrating the complexities of languages into accounts of war. Below I will consider these methodological approaches in relation to our research project.

3 METHODS FOR ANALYSIS OF INTERPRETING IN CONFLICT

Contextualisation is among the most important issues when studying languages, translation and interpreting in past military conflicts. Knowing and understanding the background, reasons and course of a particular war assists the researcher in placing the data into the appropriate context; it is also extremely useful when searching for the material in the first place. The methodological approaches Footitt (2012:219) suggests in this regard are "adopting an historical framework; following the "translation" of languages into war situations; and contextualising the figure of the interpreter/translator".

The first approach, adopting an historical framework, means simply taking into account that “there is no such thing as a typical war” (ibid.) – every conflict or military operation has its own purpose and the constitution of the military forces vary e.g. from a single national or ethnic group to an alliance of several countries. In Finland, the Second World War is conceptualised and divided into three separate but tightly interconnected military conflicts: The Winter War (30th November 1939-13th March 1940) was a defensive war against the Soviet Union whereas the Continuation War (25th June 1940-19th September 1944) was an offensive war, since Finland wanted to rectify the injustices of the Winter War by re-taking lost territory and in addition, by occupying Eastern Karelia. In the Continuation War, Finnish soldiers fought as brothers-in-arms with German soldiers. Hence, there were Third Reich troops in Northern Finland fighting against the Soviet Union. However, Finland did not succeed in its goals and eventually had to accept the peace treaty’s unfavourable terms. One of its conditions was that German troops would have to vacate Finnish territory by a certain time limit which in turn then led to the third conflict, the Lapland War (15th September 1944-25th April 1945), in which Finland fought against its former brother-in-arms ally, Germany. This roughly explains the historical framework for our project as a whole, which will then be defined more precisely in smaller contexts within individual project studies.

Footitt’s second method, following the “translation” of languages in war situations, aims to reveal military attitudes towards foreign languages and language use and, further, language policies and practices. This may be accomplished by “taking on some of the perspective of the military themselves, looking at the military chronology of events and examining the networks and associations which had produced the terms of any language exchange” (2012:222). The physical as well as the verbal presence of languages on the ground must also be examined. Tracing the ways in which the idea of foreign languages was “translated” into military operations and preparation before deployment reveals often-implicit intimations of language policy adopted by the military. By “translation” Footitt refers here to the formulation of Bruno Latour (2007), being not primarily a linguistic notion, but rather referring “to the stages by which an idea gradually moves into becoming a fact, how a particular product or idea and the demand for that product or idea are simultaneously created” (Footitt 2012:223).

In the Finnish Defence Forces, there are some operative situations and phases during the Second World War, in which the “translation” of languages can be observed (perhaps) more clearly than in other situations. The beginning of the Winter War in November 1939 meant of course not only a huge military effort but also a huge undertaking in organising the translation of Soviet documents and interpreting and interrogation of Russian-speaking prisoners of war. Preparations for renewed conflict during the Interim Peace period from March 1940 to June 1941 included reorganisation of units connected to foreign language, such as Intelligence and Propaganda Offices. The beginning of the Continuation War and the establishment of the brother-in-arms relationship with the Third Reich in June 1941 brought about the establishment of both a Finnish liaison staff in the Finnish-German zone in Northern Finland and a German liaison staff located in the Headquarters of the Finnish Defence Forces. All these

examples underscore the military practices of and attitudes towards foreign language use, interpreting and translation.

The third approach Footitt (2012:228) suggests is to contextualise the figure of the interpreter or translator, which is also part of defining the role of the interpreter or translator in the conflict situation. She aims to broaden the focus from the loyal/disloyal interpreter, creating a more holistic approach to seeing interpreters and translators “as one element in an overall linguistic landscape produced by war”. The variegated circumstances behind the career paths of military interpreters and the various professional or personal concerns they may have constitute an integral part of their – also divergent – roles as interpreters. In historical research, the background of a single interpreter has in many cases proved to be almost untraceable since archival records often give only the name and the military unit of the interpreter. However, the linguistic, ethnic and geographical backgrounds of military interpreters in the Finnish Defence Forces beg a research question for our project and this is also considered in the case study presented in this article, insofar as the research material allows.

4 ARCHIVAL WORK

There should be no doubt that in adopting an historical framework, collaboration with historians, as well as with archivists, is more than helpful. Apart from their extensive knowledge of a certain time period, they also possess the skills to deal with the archives – an undertaking which is not straightforward to a Translation Studies scholar, even with otherwise sound research skills. Since the military archives are the main source of material for the present study, illustrating the structure of these archives is certainly relevant.

The records of the Finnish Military Archives, i.e. the archival materials of the Finnish Defence Administration, are located in the National Archives in Helsinki and all the records are searchable through online databases and catalogues (The Aarre Database is limited to military records only, whereas the Vakka Archival Database searches all the fonds in the National Archives). In addition, seven provincial archives around the country also house related materials, and researchers may also order most National Archives materials through them. Some of the records have been and are continuously being digitized and so items such as war diaries from the Winter and Continuation Wars can be read through the Digital Archives service of the National Archives.

The records themselves are organized according to military detachments so that every office, department or commander or the like under an army corps or Headquarters has its own archives records creator description. The fonds are divided into series, which can consist of records of incoming and outgoing mail, received letters and different kinds of listings, commands, interrogation protocols, maps, etc., which are concretely located in respective files. For a researcher this means that when searching for information on a certain matter, e.g. on interpreting in war, as is the case in this project, one has to know,

or at least surmise, which military unit was (perhaps) responsible for, or somehow attached to, a certain matter and then the researcher must manually search the files of the unit in question, because the database search engine does not access the content of the folders nor the documents within it. This is where the so called tacit knowledge can play a great role: most of the archivists working in the National Archives or in the provincial units are intimately familiar with the archival fonds they are working with and thus can offer a researcher helpful knowledge and hints which are not written anywhere. However, the work with the archives is time-consuming and sometimes frustrating – but sometimes bears surprising fruit in the form of unexpected discoveries about one's research topic. The records of incoming and outgoing mail have proved to be useful in finding and locating documents, since a given unit usually has only letters received in response in its archives, whereas the outgoing mail has been distributed to each receiving unit.

Searching for material in the archives is somewhat similar to Anthony Pym's (1998) method of reconstructing networks as an alternative to corpus work. In his example of Spanish anthologies of translations, Pym started from a reference to one poetry translation anthology, which led him to another discovery, which again broadened the network, and so forth (1998:90-91). This seems to be comparable to the archival search, where one single document (perhaps even uncovered by happy coincidence) can trigger a chain reaction of new findings offering not only new data as such but also networks, which provide insight into command chains and the hierarchical levels attached to organising interpreting.

Still, there is one point to acknowledge regarding researching archives and history overall: there are always gaps. For a historian seeking robust sources, the lack of documents is usually problematic, whereas translation historians dare to make "sophisticated guesses" (Paloposki 2013) to fill in those gaps, of course realising and stating the uncertainty of any such conjecture. These gaps in the archives also mean that in studies on history one is almost completely dependent on the material that still exists, i.e. that has survived or been saved, and is to be discovered. In the case of the Second World War, Footitt (2012:220) mentions the abundance of British archival sources relevant to their project. In the Finnish military archives, such an abundance is not present to the same degree, although our project researchers have indeed found more materials related to interpreting and translation than expected. It is important to note that because the political situation in Finland towards the end of and after the War was marked by a certain apprehension towards the Soviet Union, many documents containing sensitive or purportedly sensitive information were destroyed or concealed at the end of the War. Intelligence personnel in particular were preparing for a possible Soviet occupation and therefore many of the documents concerning intelligence services have disappeared, which means at the same time that documents about language use likely also disappeared, as the links of foreign languages to intelligence services have become manifest in many cases, such as the one presented in this article.

In conclusion, conducting historical research on interpreting and translation on the basis of official archival records includes not only recognising the principles and methods

of historiography but also the skills in the archival work and, in particular, an awareness of the limitations and potential of the archives.

5 THE CASE STUDY: PERSONS WITH RUSSIAN LANGUAGE SKILLS IN THE FINNISH ARMY IN 1940

5.1 Background

The Winter War had ended 13th March 1940. Despite the “Interim Peace” prevailing at the time, Finland was still in state of war and preparing for renewed conflict. The Soviet offensive on 30th November 1939 had thrown the Finnish Armed Forces off guard in many respects, and the need for persons skilled in the enemy language, i.e. Russian, was also something that did not become clear until the Winter War was already underway.

Recruitment of people with language skills was not an officially organised undertaking. Thus, as Headquarters’ need for translators for Soviet documents rose, undergraduate students were hired upon recommendation of their professors; professors of Slavic languages at the University of Helsinki were approached and asked whether they knew appropriate persons for the translation tasks (Porvali 2012:21-22). Given such a context, it is hardly surprising that after the Winter War, the military adopted a more organised approach to searching for persons with language skills and, in fact, Headquarters carried out an enquiry within the Finnish Land Forces in June 1940 in order to find persons with Russian language skills.

The results of this endeavour did produce lists of names (National Archives of Finland (a) and (b)), which did turn up after searching for names and any actual information on military interpreters. Unfortunately, for the purposes of a researcher trying to delve into the backgrounds of these interpreters, these lists have not proved very helpful because names and birth dates are incomplete. None the less, when targeting a reconstruction of an official translation culture the said lists can serve as a starting point from which to explore, in the first place, recruitment practices of and requirements for interpreters and translators in the military, and in the second place, the attitudes of the military towards interpreting and translating and further, the role of the military interpreter from the military’s perspective. Below I will concentrate on the first steps of data analysis, starting from data description and organisation, and concluding with tentative observations and questions for further research.

5.2 What do the lists tell us?

The lists compiled of people with Russian language skills in response to the needs of the Finnish Land Forces in June 1940 contain altogether 666 names. Although precise numbers of the strength of the Land Forces are not readily available, knowing that this military branch definitely formed the largest part of the Defence Forces, the total strength of the Finnish Defence Forces, can offer us a point of comparison: towards the end of the Winter War the strength of the Finnish Defence Forces was almost 350 000 men, decreasing quite rapidly after the war to 195 000 men in the end of June 1940 (Leskinen

and Juutilainen 2005:83). This means that despite the seemingly small percentage, as a number, the nearly 700 Russian-speakers can be considered as a fairly good amount of persons with a special skill in a small army such as in Finland.

The lists were gathered at the army corps, division or even battalion level, sent to the Headquarters of the Land Forces and more specifically to its Command Office and finally forwarded to Reino Raski, who at that time was a Headquarters Intelligence Officer (Porvali 2012:34). His name is to be found in one of the documents among the lists (Figure 1) – a document, on which the required information of a single person has been written in by hand, and for which a strong probability exists that the typewritten text is the actual order. The sender of this letter is the Headquarters of the Land Forces and the letter was dated 21st June 1940.

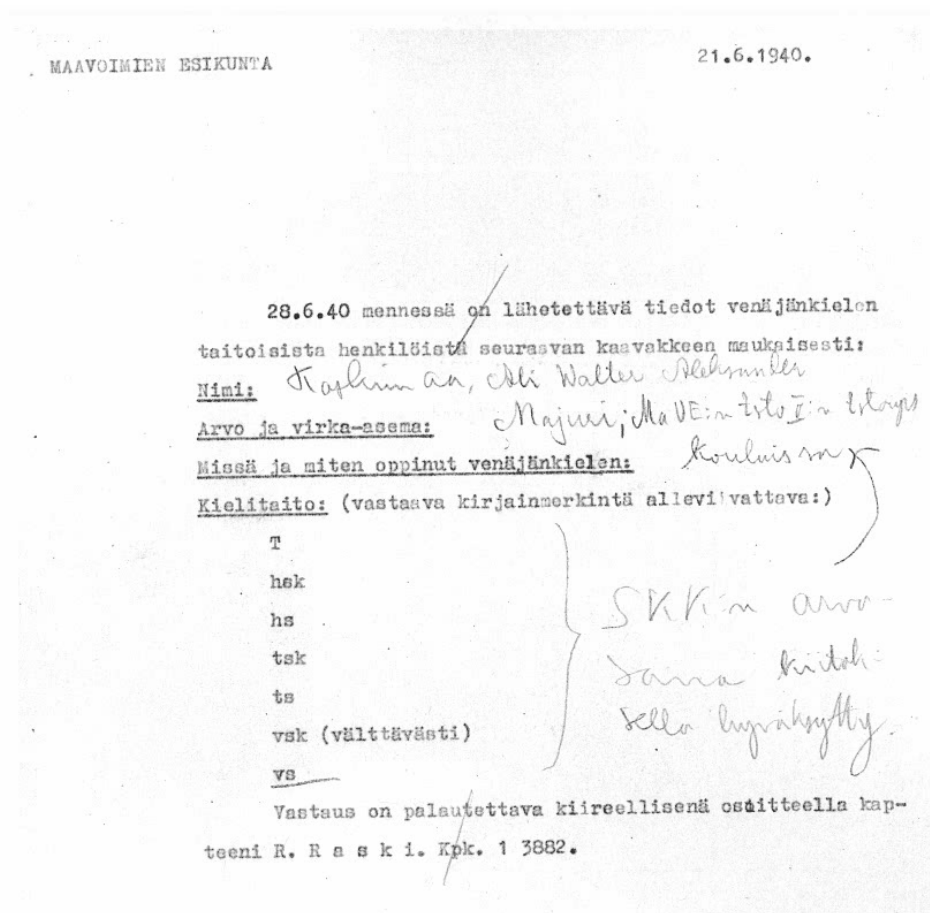


Figure 1: The presumed order

The contents read as follows:

Information on persons with Russian skills must be submitted by 28th June 1940 and information provided must conform to the following

format: name, military rank and position, where and how Russian has been acquired, language skills classification level (underline the corresponding letter code): Range:

'T'	for perfect command of the language
'hsk'	for good oral and written skills
'hs'	for good oral skills
'tsk'	for satisfactory oral and written skills
'ts'	for satisfactory oral skills
'vsk' (passable)	for passable oral and written skills
'vs'	for passable oral skills

Responses must be marked urgent and sent to R. Raski, field post office 1 3882. (Translation by Stuart von Wolff)

The position of the person (i.e. Intelligence Officer) behind the enquiry raises the question of the actual purpose of these lists: it was likely that Russian interpreters and translators were needed for several purposes. All in all, people with language skills were needed to perform several different tasks, especially within the intelligence unit. Such tasks included listening to enemy communications, producing propaganda material in the enemy language, and scouting behind enemy lines. Russian skills were clearly required for successful completion of these tasks, but strictly speaking they may not have involved any interpreting or translation at all.

The individual lists contain the same information in a more or less accurate and organised form, and their contents vary from listings of several dozens of names to the particulars of a single person. As stated in the document in Figure 1, the details recorded were the surname of the person and at least the first initial of his first name, military rank and position, where and how the person acquired Russian and finally his language skills level classification. For this, abbreviations (based more or less on Finnish classification) were employed, as follows: 'T' for perfect command of the language, 'hsk' for good oral and written skills, 'hs' for good oral skills, 'tsk'/'ts' for satisfactory oral and written/oral skills and 'vsk'/'vs' for passable oral and written/oral skills. Interestingly enough, Finnish skills were not of any interest in this enquiry, although from the interpreter's or translator's perspective this is of course relevant information. Were Finnish skills then not considered important at all, or did the enquirer simply ignore this point due to time constraints, or even omit it by mistake? Naturally, we cannot state anything conclusively, but similar lists collected later on during the war, in 1943, do contain information on all the languages a person speaks and/or writes.

S. DIVISIOONAN ESIKUNTA

25.6.40.

N 3767/I/21/L 2400.

3 IL/EK

Koskee: Venäjänkielen taitoisia henkilöitä.

Liittyy: III AKE:n kirj. N 4743/
I/21/L 4805/2 .5.40.

Kenttäpostiosoite:

Kpk. N 1.

8

7000

III AK:n Esikunta.

Liittymiskirjelmään viitaten lähetetään allaolevassa ilmoituksessa venäjänkielen taitoisista henkilöistä:

Nimi: **V a v e l a**, Oiva Johannes S.D:n Koul.
kesk.

Arvo ja virka-asema: Nostomies.

Missä ja miten oppinut venäjänkieltä:

Lukanut Suom.norm.lyseossa venäjänkieltä vuosina
1911 - 1912.

Kielitaito: hsk.

Nimi: **K e r a m o**, Yrjö Valdemar S.D:n Koul.
kesk.

Arvo ja virka-asema: Nostomies.

Missä ja miten oppinut venäjänkielen:

Ollut venäjällä vuosina 1907 - 1919.

Kielitaito: hsk.

Nimi: **L a u r e n t j e f**, Vladimir S.D:n Koul.
kesk.

Arvo ja virka-asema: Nostomies.

Missä ja miten oppinut venäjän kieltä:

Käynyt venäläisen gimnaasin vuosina 1915 - 1921.

Kielitaito: hsk.

Nimi: **K e k k i l e**, Jalmari Alfons S.D:n Koul.
kesk.

Arvo ja virka-asema: Nostomies.

Missä ja miten oppinut venäjänkielen:

Syntynyt Pietarissa ja asunut siellä 21 vuotta.
Suorittanut suomalaisen kansakoulututkinnon venäjän
kielellä.

Kielitaito: hsk.

Figure 2: A letter with a list of Russian skilled persons

An example of one such list illustrates the kinds of information contained in an archived document. Figure 2 is the first page of a letter that contains one such list of names. At the top of the letter, on the left-hand side, appears the sender, which in this case is the

Headquarters of the 8th Division. Underneath this is the file number of the letter, the subject, the file number of the referenced letter and the field postal address. The heading of the letter gives the addressee, which in this case is the Headquarters of the III army corps, followed by the list of persons with Russian skills, and providing details as specified above. The original complete document contains four pages of similar information, including the signatures of the chief of Headquarters and the chief of Office I (Command Office) at the end.

With the help of the number of the referenced letter we can go back in time, tracing correspondence step by step, and search for previous corresponding letters. As the archival unit generally contains only reply mail, it is unlikely that we shall find the referenced letters in the same archival unit as the responses. In this case, that means that the original order enquiring after the names of persons with Russian skills has not yet been located; there might even be several copies of it under the archives of different army corps and their headquarters (or indeed elsewhere!) but it is equally possible that the document has disappeared – a possibility mentioned earlier in section 3. Gaps in the archives – both intentional and unintentional – are always a real hazard in conducting such research.

The classification of language skills level coupled with the question regarding ‘where and how one has acquired the language’ provide a helpful clue vis-à-vis how people were sought out for various tasks: A person’s command of Russian, even if strong, will not be the same for a person who has learnt the language at home in Finland as for a person whose home was in Russia and learnt the language there. Further, Russian skills obtained through contacts with Russian speakers in the border regions differ from the skills obtained at school, whether Finnish or Russian school. In other words, the question ‘where and how’ is actually a question of cultural background. It would be interesting to see if the cultural background really was taken into account when assigning tasks to persons on lists, and if so, how this was accomplished. In the Finnish literature on wartime patrolling, (which include biographies, novels based on true stories and/or on archival material) indications can be found that linguistic and cultural background was indeed one of the most important aspects when assembling patrols to operate behind enemy lines. However, the official practices of recruiting persons with language skills, as well as the employment of the lists of names, remain as yet unexplored.

5.3 Data Analysis

To facilitate a description of persons with Russian skills in the Finnish Army, the lists were combined to form a comprehensive list of 666 names ordered alphabetically by surname, then sub-categorised by the skills level described above.¹ The next step was to define categories for the question regarding where and how the language was acquired in order to gain insight into the linguistic and cultural background of these people.

¹ I am indebted to my colleague Sanna Leskinen, a doctoral student in history, who was of great help at this juncture of my study.

One of the problems that arose in determining suitable categories was due to the inconsistency in the manner in which information was recorded. The instructions may have been quite broad, certainly if the guidelines in the presumed order were the only instructions provided. It is not at all clear, who classified the listed Russian speakers' skills level, nor indeed is it clear according to what criteria the classification categories were determined; for instance, might this determination have been based on the speakers' schooling or education, or could it have been determined by the interviewer's own adjudication and assessment?

The discontinuity in recorded information manifests itself mainly in two ways. First, the same idea is perhaps expressed in many different ways, e.g. 'mother tongue', 'at home' and 'Russian mother' could actually all refer to the same classification. Second, the degree of accuracy varies greatly from one expression to another, e.g. there might be very ambiguous answers like 'born in Russia' and 'in practice'. Others may have responded providing quite detailed accounts, including different schools and the length of their studies. For example 'born in Russia' can refer to several different backgrounds: the person may have been born in Russia or in a Russian-speaking country and be a native speaker of Russian, or the person may have emigrated to Finland as a child, and thus might be considered a native speaker of Finnish; or the person may have lived in Russia but in a Finnish-speaking region, such as Ingria. In other words, the categorisation could not be too rigid since the data in many cases were ambiguous, thus necessitating categorical flexibility.

Nevertheless, in order to draw some reasonable conclusions concerning the linguistic backgrounds of these people, the "where and how" acquisition of information was divided into six categories. These categories were determined according to the manner in which the language skills were acquired, as well as the acquisition context(s), thereby allowing the cultural aspect to be taken into account, as well. These categories are:

- Mother tongue (strong, extensive knowledge of language and culture)
- Language spoken at home (see above)
- Born in Russia (merits a classification of its own group due to the ambiguity)
- Language spoken at school (primary education; language of instruction, extent of knowledge depends on the length and intensity of school attendance)
- Language skills acquired in practice (colloquial language, possibly a sociolect (trade, military, prison))
- Language studied as a foreign language (extent depends on the educational institution or the number of courses; restricted cultural knowledge)

Altogether 251 (38 per cent) of the 666 people analysed under this classification fell into one of the first two categories, i.e. either speakers of Russian as 'mother tongue' (148) or 'language spoken at home' (103). Approximately 20 per cent (136) had acquired their language skills in practice, and 16 per cent (109) had acquired their skills at school. People who studied the language as a foreign language also make up about 16 per cent (103). The smallest group is clearly comprised of the ambiguous classification 'person

born in Russia' with only 7.5 per cent (50). In addition, there are 18 names without any information on place and manner of language acquisition.

The reason behind the large number of Russian native speakers has to do with the history: the Russian minority in Finland had existed for quite a long time and the last wave of immigrants before the Second World War from Russia, or to be exact, from the Soviet Union, came to Finland after the Bolshevik Revolution 1917. People who reported Russian as the language spoken at school or who had learnt it in practice had in many cases lived near the Russian border in Eastern Finland, where many of the schools actually were Russian and communication with their neighbours on the other side of the border was quite usual. Studying Russian as a foreign language, on the other hand, was not very popular in Finland in the 1920s and 1930s, which might in part explain the relatively small proportion of persons who had studied Russian at school.

Taking the language skills level classification as the starting point for analysis, the largest group, approximately one third of people (210), consists of persons with a perfect command of Russian. The rest of the people are divided almost evenly into the three lower-level skills classifications, the smallest group being that of persons possessing satisfactory Russian skills (124). Again, there are a dozen of names with an ambiguous or missing skills level classification.

Analysing the skills level categories at a more granular level, responses to the question regarding place and manner of language acquisition can be quite revelatory. For instance, collapsing the categories of 'mother tongue' and 'language spoken at home', people with a perfect or good command of Russian were most likely to be native speakers of Russian, followed by the option 'language spoken at school'. It was not at all common for people classified as possessing 'satisfactory skills in Russian' to have reported Russian as their mother tongue. However, this group does have the most respondents, when this description is combined with that of 'language spoken at home', ranking ahead of 'language studied as a foreign language'. People with only passable skills in Russian had most likely studied the language at school or acquired it in practice.

A large proportion of native speakers were reported with 'perfect' or a 'good' command of Russian; there is nothing at all surprising in this. There were, however, a dozen or so persons whose skills were classified as only 'satisfactory' or even only 'passable', despite the fact that they reported Russian as their 'mother tongue'. This begs the question: What could have possibly caused such a deterioration to occur in their language skills? Or might this simply be the result of less-than-ideal recording skills, since skills in other languages do not appear on these lists at all?

All in all, the lists reveal that there were great numbers of Russian speakers in the Finnish Land Forces immediately following the Winter War and a remarkable proportion of them were native speakers. The enquiry itself underscores the need for military persons with strong skills in the enemy language. In addition to ranking language skills level, place and manner of language acquisition was also a survey criterion. This second criterion in particular could indicate that Army Headquarters recognised the importance of cultural knowledge as well when recruiting people with language skills for different

kinds of tasks. To validate this contention, further research into the purposes of these lists is required. In other words: For what purpose(s) did Army Headquarters or the Intelligence Unit compile these lists and how exactly did they employ them?

6 CONCLUSIONS

Research on military translation cultures of past conflicts ought to adopt as a starting point the historical framework of the particular war in question. The case study presented in this article, as well as the whole project on interpreting and translation in the wartime Finnish Defence Forces, would lose its significance were the particularities of the Second World War in Finland to remain unexamined. Collaboration with historians (and archivists) is a great advantage in both contextualising the conflict and the roles of interpreters/translators, and in conducting productive searches in the archives. Furthermore, it is important to capitalise on the rich potential of interdisciplinarity for translation and interpreting history methodology, allowing purposeful research with appropriate tools. In the case of Russian-speakers in the Finnish Land Forces, the influence of historiography is strongest and most readily observed in endeavours to seek robust sources (i.e. official military documents) and to tie the military interpreters and translators in with the events of the war. The descriptive part of this study is then complemented by considerations on translation culture, based on the methods and principles of Translation Studies and its sociological orientation.

The military translation culture in the Headquarters of the Finnish Defence Forces in the Second World War can be reconstructed only insofar as the historical documents allow us. Such research is conducted mostly by collecting information, pieces of the historical puzzle, and then placing them in their more precise contexts and joining the dots in order to contribute to the larger picture of the conventions, values, norms and expectations of interpreting and translation activity in the Finnish Defence Forces.

One such research undertaking was presented in this article, leading to the preliminary conclusions that the awareness of the significant role of the enemy language in warfare grew out of the experiences in the ongoing war; despite the efforts to chart the linguistic capacity in the army, the translation culture of the Finnish Defence Forces can, however, be considered rather unregulated and uninstitutionalised – an initial impression evident from the outset by the fact that the information on translation and interpreting lies scattered in the military archival records.

The next step in the case of the Russian-speaking persons in the Finnish Land Forces will be to trace the possible consequences of the enquiry in order to reveal regularities (or irregularities) in the Headquarters' activity concerning translation, interpreting and other linguistic tasks. The question of the full extent of the enquiry remains to be answered as well: Why should the enquiry into Russian-speakers have been carried out only within the Land Forces and not in other units? Are there, in fact, more lists to be discovered? To conclude, Footitt's (2012) three broad methods have proved to be germane in examining the listings of Russian-speakers in the Finnish Land Forces, allowing a contribution to the military translation culture in the Headquarters of the Finnish Defence Forces during the

Second World War. Adopting a historical framework, following the “translation” of languages into war situations and contextualising the figure of interpreter or translator bear fruit not only in the cases studied in the project *Languages at War* but also in research on interpreting and translation in the historical context of the wartime Finland in 1939-1944.

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