

Students' perception regarding digital education amid the COVID-19 pandemic

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Abstract

The World Health Organization (WHO) declared Covid-19 as a global public health emergency of international concern on 30th January 2020. Covid-19 pandemic has affected higher education all over the world, including Hungarian colleges and universities. These institutions instantly had to move from traditional face-to-face education to remote education.

The primary purpose of present study is to determine the perceptions of students towards online learning during the lockdown due to Covid-19.

The main objectives include (1) evaluating the quality of online teaching, (2) measuring the quality of student learning, (3) measuring the quality of facilities used in online teaching, (4) evaluating the quality of instructors, and (5) developing some recommendations based on the study findings.

Keywords: Covid-19, students' perception, online teaching, quality, recommendations

Introduction

The World Health Organization (WHO) declared Covid-19 as a global public health emergency of international concern on 30th January 2020 as well as a pandemic on 11th March 2020, Covid-19 being a severe acute respiratory syndrome. At present, the world is already experiencing the second wave of this pandemic.

Like many other aspects of everyday life, Covid-19 has had a serious impact on students, instructors, and educational organisations around the globe (Mailizar, 2020). The pandemic caused schools, colleges, and universities across the globe to shut down their campuses so that students and teachers could follow social distancing measures (Toquero, 2020). However, moving smoothly from an environment of conventional education to distance and online learning could not happen overnight. This rapid

transformation was linked to various obstacles and challenges (Crawford, 2020). But because nobody knows when this pandemic will disappear completely, educational institutions across the globe decided to use the already available technical resources to create an online learning material for students of all academic fields (Kaur, 2020).

Covid-19 pandemic has affected the field of higher education in Hungary as well. Hungarian colleges and universities have also moved from traditional face-to-face education to remote education.

Digital education

Digital education in the highly developed countries is not a current phenomenon. The advancement of technology has enabled many innovations in the educational environment that led to introducing new technologies into the classroom to enhance the learning experience as well as to enrich the educational content in classes (Palloff and Pratt 2007).

More and more academic institutes started to offer online courses in the past years (Van Rooij & Zirkle, 2016; Shelton & Pedersen, 2017; Allen, Seaman, Poulin, & Straut, 2016).

However, the current circumstances are unique; unlike normal digital learning situations, it is more accurately crisis learning (Pace, Pettit, & Barker, 2020). Therefore, there is a stronger need for academic organisations to improve their curriculum and the usage of new instructional methods and strategies should be of utmost significance (Toquero, 2020).

Requirements for online courses and classes

Based on previous experiences, Ilsley (2009) recommended that a rich content of collaborative methodologies is to be considered when designing an online course to enable more engagement of learners. Apart from the use of appropriate methods, supportive online learning environment is also required when designing such courses to encourage collaboration, engagement and to seek satisfaction of students (Lucero, 2006; Rovai, 2002). Moreover, motivation and participation of students are key factors to keep them actively engaged in the learning process (Bloom, 1956), which is not an easy task to maintain during online education.

It has been found out that student satisfaction and learning correlates to the perceptions of students towards the overall usability of the course. In

other words, the student level of satisfaction is significantly affected by the logical layout of the course (Eom et al., 2006). Students satisfaction is a cornerstone and plays a crucial role in the success of online programmes (Kuo et al., 2014).

Therefore, understanding the point of view of students and how they would evaluate online courses is crucial. It will assist the administration of academic institutions in making pedagogical decisions when designing, delivering, and assessing their online content, which will lead to attaining good outcomes with respect to learning objectives.

Online courses in Hungary

Despite the wide use of online learning worldwide, it was hardly ever considered as a part of formal education in Hungary by the majority of institutions until the recent spread of Covid-19. Considering the relatively recent advent of this teaching methodology in Hungary, both teachers and students are still in the process of getting acquainted with the new system.

At this point in time, it is important to find out students' opinions and viewpoints regarding this virtual approach to teaching and learning. We should know whether the learners are attuned to the new methodology, would prefer any modifications, or rather would want to go back to conventional learning altogether; this is an interesting point to explore.

A questionnaire-based research

Aims

The primary purpose of this research was to determine the perceptions of students towards digital learning during the lockdown due to Covid-19.

The main objectives were (1) evaluating the quality of online teaching, (2) measuring the quality of facilities used in online teaching, (3) evaluating the quality of instructors, and (4) developing some recommendations based on the study findings.

The summary of the factors used in this study is shown in the following figure (Figure 1).

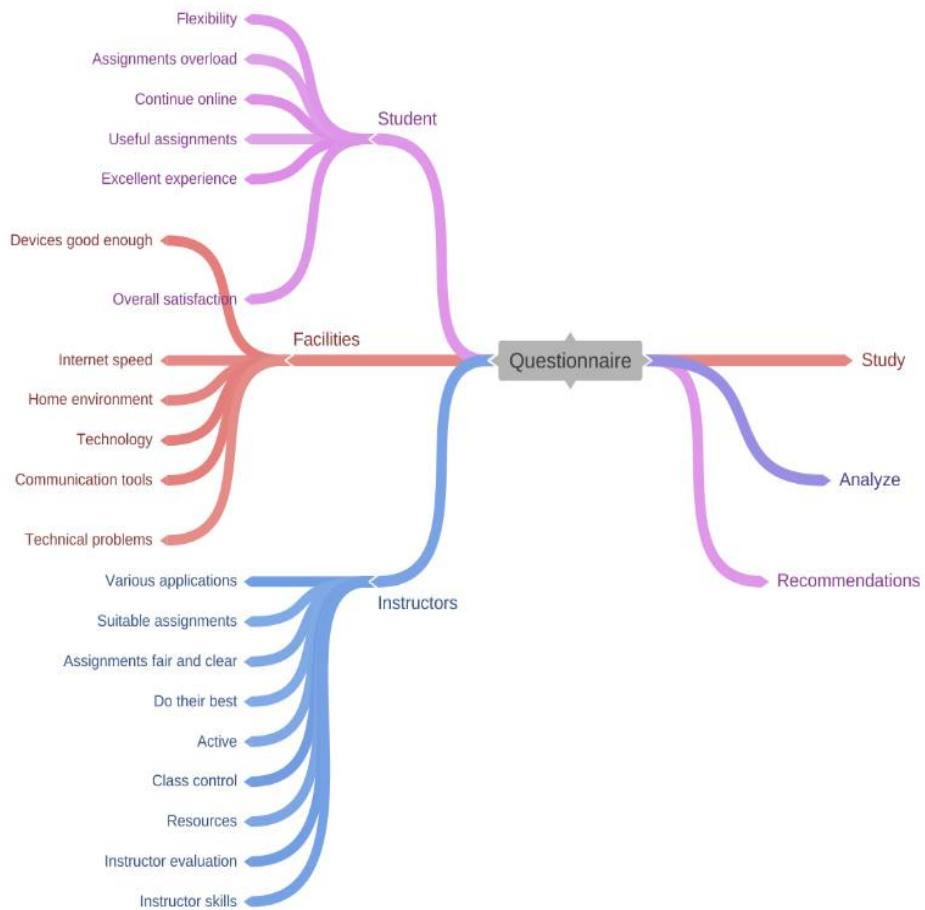


Figure 1 Study factors

Participants

The participants taking part in the study were N=163 Hungarian and international full-time students, N=61 Hungarian corresponding students studying at different Faculties of the University of Dunaújváros, altogether N=224 students. The participants included both males (N=152) and females (N=72), between the ages of 18 and 32 (an average of 20.5) for the full-time students and between the ages of 18 and 54 (an average of 34) for the corresponding students.

Students participating in the research rendered their opinions and experiences regarding digital education which started in March 2019. The questionnaire for this research was open for responses between 12th and 26th October.

Instruments

An online survey technique was used to gather data on the perceptions of students regarding digital education.

The study questions were designed to cover three main categories: (1) Students' satisfaction with online education in general, (2) Students' satisfaction with facilities and (3) Students' satisfaction with instructor performance in online teaching. The questionnaire was developed in both Hungarian and English languages (being identical both in content and structure) using the Google Forms tool.

Questions from 1 to 7 were used to cover category 1, questions from 8 to 14 were used to cover category 2, and the rest of the questions were used to cover the third category.

Student responses were based on a 5-point Likert Scale (except for one question, Item 8) ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. To have a better understanding of student's responses, "strongly agree" and "agree" responses were merged to "agreed", "strongly disagree" and "disagree" were merged to "disagreed".

Results

All of the questions are interpreted as included in the following table to find the total number of "agree", "disagree", and "neutral" responses but the focus in this study is made on the "agree" and "disagree" responses. To see the number of responses for each category and to analyse the feedback from students, the following table was created (Figure 2).

A distinction between full-time students and corresponding students was made considering their average age difference.

Item	Full-time students			Corresponding students		
	Agreed	Neutral	Disagreed	Agreed	Neutral	Disagreed
1	52	43	68	24	16	21
2	81	53	29	43	10	8

3	71	48	44	16	24	21
4	48	42	73	35	13	13
5	59	61	43	27	23	11
6	60	35	68	24	22	15
7	85	54	24	44	12	5
8	I am using the following device(s) for the online education.					
9	144	15	4	54	5	2
10	96	44	23	48	5	8
11	119	34	10	43	13	5
12	120	31	12	47	10	4
13	111	39	13	42	14	5
14	65	49	49	47	5	9
15	81	51	31	44	8	9
16	93	53	17	41	17	3
17	75	68	20	40	19	2
18	114	40	9	48	10	3
19	106	41	16	45	10	6
20	64	43	56	27	17	17
21	62	57	44	29	21	11
22	49	58	56	22	26	13
23	86	53	24	36	16	9
24	105	42	16	49	8	4

Table 1 Total responses for each category

The mean value was also calculated to decide on the items to be considered for analysing the students' satisfaction. Items were selected if their values were more than the mean value. The following table (Table 2) shows the items selected both for the corresponding (c.) and the full-time (f.) students.

Agreed (c.)	Neutral (c.)	Disagreed (c.)	Agreed (c.)	Neutral (c.)	Disagreed (c.)
Item 2	Item 5	Item 1	Item 1	Item 3	Item 1
Item 3	Item 17	Item 4	Item 2	Item 5	Item 3
Item 5	Item 21	Item 6	Item 4	Item 6	
Item 6	Item 22	Item 20	Item 5	Item 21	
Item 7		Item 22	Item 6	Item 22	

Item 9			Item 7		
Item 10			Item 9		
Item 11			Item 10		
Item 12			Item 11		
Item 13			Item 12		
Item 14			Item 13		
Item 15			Item 14		
Item 16			Item 15		
Item 17			Item 16		
Item 18			Item 17		
Item 19			Item 18		
Item 20			Item 19		
Item 21			Item 20		
Item 23			Item 21		
Item 24			Item 22		
			Item 23		
			Item 24		

Table 2 Items selected for analysis based on rules introduced

To get an even more accurate analysis and to have the focus on the "agreed" and "disagreed" responses exclusively, some further rules were introduced. If the values in the "neutral" and "disagreed" categories were equal or close to each other, the "disagreed" items were neglected. Also, if the "disagreed" item value was more than the mean value and less than the "agreed" value, this item was ignored. In that way, the analysis could primarily focus on the "agree" and "disagree" responses. As a result of these rules, the items excluded from the analysis are crossed out in Table 2.

Figure 2 shows the "agreed" responses to the first set of questions regarding students' satisfaction with online education in general. The highest values (70%) are linked to Item 2 (70%), which is "flexibility provided by the online classes is more suitable for me" and Item 7, which is "Overall, I am satisfied with the quality and efficiency of online education" (72%). Not surprisingly, these values are not as high for the full-time students as for the corresponding students since adult learners need more flexibility because in most of the cases they have a job and less time is available for them to learn. The second highest value (57%) is provided by Item 4, which is "After the situation of COVID-19 finishes, I look forward to having some more online

classes". These results might reflect that for adult learners this form of education is somewhat more suitable because of its flexibility.

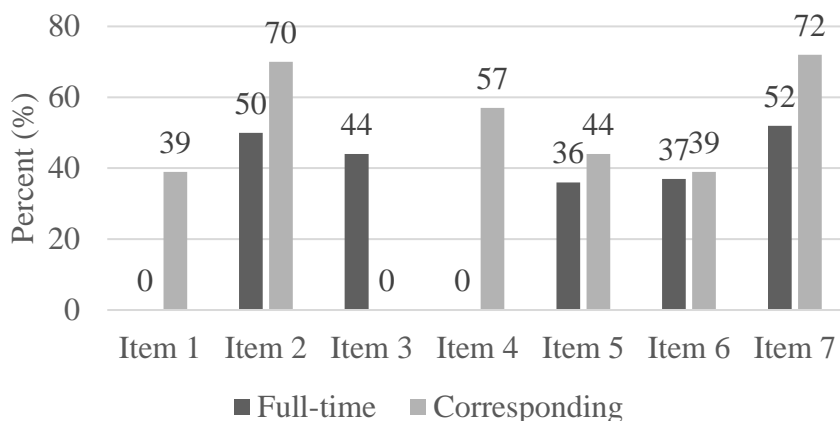


Figure 2 Agreed responses for category 1

Figure 3 shows the "agreed" responses to the second set of questions regarding students' satisfaction with the technological background. The highest value (88%) here is connected to Item 9, which is "My device(s) is/are good enough to use for online education". The satisfaction value is exactly the same for both corresponding and full-time students, so we may see that the majority of our students are in the possession of the technological devices inevitable for digital education.

The lowest value (40%) is linked to Item 14 given by full-time students, which is "Technical problems do not discourage me from taking part in online classes". On the other hand, 77% of corresponding students reported that technical problems discourage them from participating in online classes. At this point, corresponding students seem to be less flexible and tolerant with technical problems occurring in online classes.

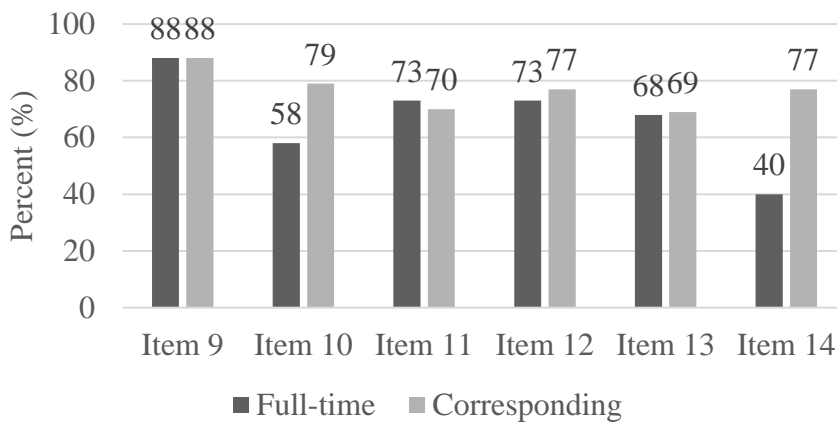


Figure 3 Agreed responses for category 2

Figure 4 shows the "agreed" responses to the third set of questions regarding students' satisfaction with instructor's performance in online teaching.

The two highest satisfaction values are linked to Item 18 (80%) and Item 24 (74%). Item 18 refers to whether "Instructors do their best to deliver the necessary information/knowledge using online teaching", and Item 24 was intended to obtain data on the general opinions of students on teachers' performance in online teaching ("Overall, I am satisfied with the instructors' performance in online teaching."). Both of these values were produced by corresponding students.

The lowest value in this set of questions is linked to Item 22 (36%), which is "I am planning to give my instructors a higher course evaluation in the online classes as compared to the traditional ones." It means that only about one third of the corresponding students would give a higher course evaluation regarding online classes. This shows a rather contradictory result if we consider that more than two thirds of the participants reported to be satisfied with the instructors' performance in online teaching.

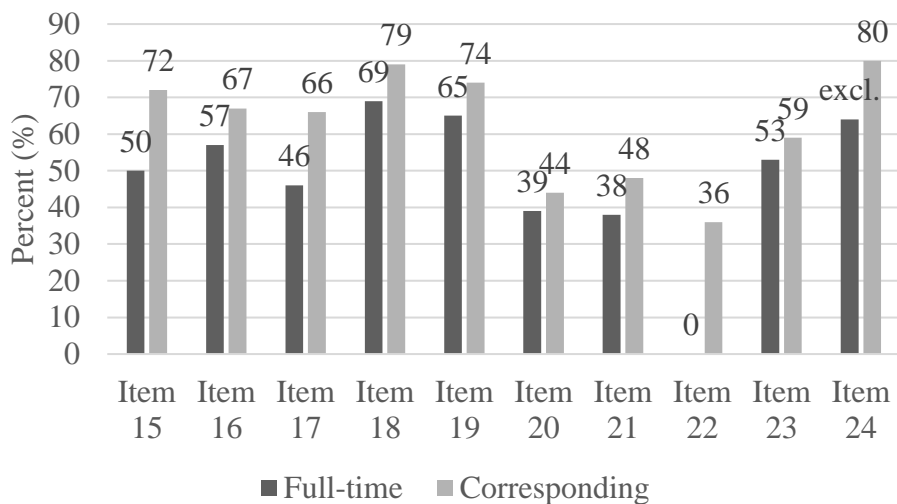


Figure 4 Agreed responses for category 3

Finally, Figure 5 shows the "disagreed" responses selected from all questions. The items shown here have produced very similar results. More than a half of the students (58%) reported that their attendance rate in online classes was higher than it had been in traditional classes (Item 1), 55% of them reported that after the situation of COVID-19 finishes, they look forward to having some more online classes (Item 4), and 58% said that online classes during the COVID-19 outbreak were an excellent experience for them (Item 6).

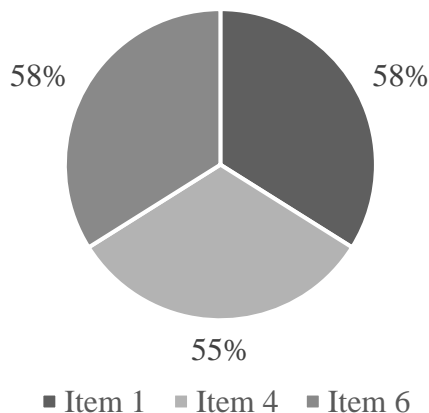


Figure 5 Disagreed responses

Summary

Most of the students believe that they are satisfied with the devices employed in online teaching, they also have highly appreciated the work of instructors, and they are satisfied with the instructor's performance. In the students' opinion, the existing devices such as laptops and other devices are enough to tackle online teaching, also the instructors are well prepared, and they have enough skills to deliver online lectures. On the other hand, a lot of students seem to be dissatisfied and intolerant with the technical issues that occur during online classes.

Some recommendations on instructional strategies in online teaching

Higher interactivity in online course will enhance the overall online class success rate. Sources report that more student and teacher discussion can result in higher interactivity.

Teachers should devise learning material, which is more creative. In other words, students should be offered more innovative and practical work.

A big class lecture should be divided into smaller modules or debate groups to ensure concentration. Teachers should prepare online class materials of less than 30 minutes. This can be done by splitting a big single task into multiple small tasks. This will help students to remain attentive and focused during online classes.

In traditional class teaching, body language such as eye contact, and physical gestures are significant teaching tools. However, in online teaching, teachers should focus more on their voice and vocal functions. Practicing vocal functions like pauses and volume variations are essential in online teaching.

In online teaching, teachers should put greater emphasis on the visuals appurtenant to their teaching materials and use various applications because such educational setting provides an environment that is poor in stimuli.

Conventional classroom socialisation is another major issue in online learning. Students only communicate with their fellows digitally and never see them in person, and this may cause psychological distress and frustration at various levels.

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In SKASE Journal of Translation and Interpretation [online]. 2021, vol. 14, no. 1 [cit. 2021-04-26]. Available online at http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTI20/pdf_doc/01.pdf. ISSN 1336- 7811.

Audio description in 360° content: results from a reception study

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Abstract

The ImAc project was the first European initiative aiming to propose and test the model of implementing access services in 360° videos, paving the way for future studies in the under-researched field of immersive accessibility. This article reports on the methodology and results of a pilot study and a small-scale reception study, conducted in the last months of the project. The results show a favourable reception of extended audio descriptions by AD users. They also indicate interest in the implementation of spatial sound in AD provided for 360° content, which could be tested in future reception studies.

Keywords: *Audiovisual Translation, Media Accessibility, audio description, 360° videos, reception study, presence, extended AD.*

1. Introduction

The media landscape is being reshaped by new technologies and media formats, which are becoming more and more personalised and interactive (Allen and Tucker 2018). Likewise, new user-created content and interactive ways of storytelling, such as object-based media (Hanson 2019) are increasingly available. One emerging media format is 360° videos. They have become a new outlet for journalists, artists and videomakers, offering an interactive way of conveying the story to the viewer. They belong to Virtual Reality (VR), characterised by a high level of immersiveness (Slater and Usoh 1993: 221). Users can access 360° content, sometimes referred to as omnidirectional or spherical videos by means of headsets called head-mounted displays, as well as on smartphones equipped with gyroscopes, PCs, and tablets. 360° videos include both videos with six degrees of freedom and videos with three degrees of freedom (Fidyka and Matamala 2018), the latter being the focus of this article. 360° videos with three degrees of freedom allow users for certain, yet not complete, interactivity; when watching 360° content with three degrees of freedom, users stand in one physical position, triggering images with their head movements, but they are constrained to a fixed viewpoint. In other words, users remain at the centre of the action and have an impression of being surrounded by the storyworld. As they are immersed in the story, the concept of presence, defined as the “perceptual illusion of non-mediation” (Lombard and Ditton 1997: 9) is essential in this media format and it serves as a quality metric employed to evaluate virtual environment content (Lessiter et al. 2001: 282).

In line with an effective legal framework (CRPD 2006) and European directives, namely the Audiovisual Media Services Directive (2010/13/EU) and the European Accessibility Act (EAA), audiovisual media products should be made accessible for all European citizens. In recent years, audio description (AD), a translation form that conveys the visual code of audiovisual productions in words (Braun 2008: 14), has been researched extensively in various European training institutions (Reviere 2016). Nevertheless, with the emergence of immersive content, the need to propose and test a model for implementing AD in 360° content has arisen. Such model should ensure that the viewing experience of AD

users is more interactive than the experience of watching regular content on TV or in the cinema. In other words, as presence is crucial to a satisfactory user experience in this media format, AD should not only grant access to the visual content, but it should also engage its users on a more immersive level.

The first model of implementing AD in immersive environments was proposed within the EU-funded ImAc project. The project started in 2017, together with the early adoption of 360° videos by European broadcasters (EBU 2017: 9). As the project followed a user-centric approach, in its early stages a series of focus groups was organised in order to involve AD users and learn about their needs and preferences. The results of these qualitative studies, discussed in Fidyka and Matamala (2018), show the interest of the actual users in the integration of spatial sound, an audio technology already researched in the AD field (López, Kearney and Hofstädter 2016; Portillo 2018) and the elements of interaction in AD in this media format.

Based on the obtained feedback, a pilot reception study was designed and carried out in the next stages of the project, testing different presentation modes of spatial sound (see section 2.3). However, as the results from the pilot were inconclusive (see section 2.5), the methodology for the actual reception study was reconsidered, testing both a non-standard approach to AD scripting and extended audio description, which offers users a possibility of interaction (see section 3.2).

In order to evaluate the experience of participants when consuming audio described 360° content, presence measures were used in both studies, as they proved effective for assessing the experience of AD users (Fryer and Freeman 2012b; Walczak and Fryer 2017). What follows is a brief summary of the methodology and results of the pilot study (section 2) and the actual reception study (section 3). Finally, suggestions for further research are discussed in section 4.

2. Pilot study

This section discusses the methodology and results of the pilot study, conducted in Barcelona between 11–13 June 2019 in the form of individual testing. The aim of this study was to test the implementation of spatial sound in AD produced for 360° videos and to test the methodology with a reduced sample before the main study.

2.1. Participants

Six participants aged between 23 and 34 (2 blind, 4 partially-sighted) took part in the preliminary test. Only one participant was blind from birth (1) and other participants reported the beginning of their sight loss between the ages of 0-4 (1 participant), 5-12 (1 participant), and 13-20 (3 participants). All participants were frequent users of technological devices, such as smartphones, laptops and tablets, but only two participants reported watching 360° content occasionally on a smartphone and one participant (16.67%) by means of a head-mounted display. When asked about the reasons behind it, two participants pointed to the novelty of this media format (“I have not had the chance to use it”), two participants to the lack of access services (“It is not accessible”), and the remaining two to the lack of interest in immersive content (“I am not interested”). Similarly, none of the participants reported having a device on which to watch immersive content. All participants were familiar with AD and

50% of participants reported using this access service daily (two participants for 2-3 hours a day and one participant for less than 1 hour). Regarding accessing online content, three participants reported using screen readers, one participant using magnifiers, one participant both devices, and another one none of these tools.

2.2. Measures

Three online questionnaires were developed for this study in order to measure presence and preferences. These measures were chosen as presence and spatial realism are two important goals in the field of spatial audio research (Herre et al. 2015: 770). Presence was measured by means of the Igroup Presence Questionnaire (IPQ) (Schubert, Friedmann, Regenbrecht 2001), which includes 14 items on a 7-point scale. It consists of four components: (1) spatial presence – the sense of being physically present in a virtual environment, (2) involvement – attention devoted to the virtual environment, (3) experienced realism, defined as the subjective experience of realism in a virtual environment (Igroup n.d.; Regenbrecht and Schubert, 2002), and (4) a last component related to the general definition of the sense of presence: “I had a sense of being in the virtual environment” (Slater and Usoh 1993). IPQ was chosen as a measurement of user experience, as it has been used in previous studies on presence in virtual environments (Regenbrecht and Schubert 2002; Brown et al. 2003; Krijn et al. 2004; Hartanto et al. 2014; Kinatader et al. 2015), and it is recommended as a measure of presence because of its high reliability (Schwind et al. 2019).

The preference questionnaire, administered at the end of the study, included four questions. It asked participants to (1) rank the AD modes in order of preference, (2) explain the reasons behind their choice, and (3) suggest ways of improving AD. The last question provided space for additional comments. Ethical approval for the study was given by the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB). Consent forms and coded questionnaires will be securely stored at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona for three years after the completion of the project.

2.3. Materials

Because of the novelty of this media format, one challenge related to this study was the limited availability of 360° videos that would meet testing requirements. Three initial episodes of the series “Holy Land” by Jaunt Ryot were chosen as a stimuli, as they were stand-alone narrative pieces, comparable in length. In this travel documentary, viewers are transported to various cultural sites in Israel, guided by the main narrator. Each episode chosen provided enough time to insert AD within the constraints of dialogue and made testing spatial sound possible, as the action develops at various angles of the 360° scene. A Catalan voiced-over version was created for the test, using a professional voice talent.

Another challenge related to the selection of stimuli was related to their length, as although there is no recommendation for an ideal stimuli length when measuring presence, a duration of 10-15 minutes is recommended in gaming context (ITU 2018:12). The 360° videos currently available on the market are shorter, those with a linear narrative oscillating around 5-15 minutes (Allen and Tucker 2018; Agulló 2019). Because of this, the three complete episodes were chosen, as clips should have a duration of typical 360° videos to reach ecological validity (Bryman 2008: 48).

For each episode, three AD modes were created (Classic, Static, Dynamic), referred to for the test purposes as AD-C, AD-S and AD-D.

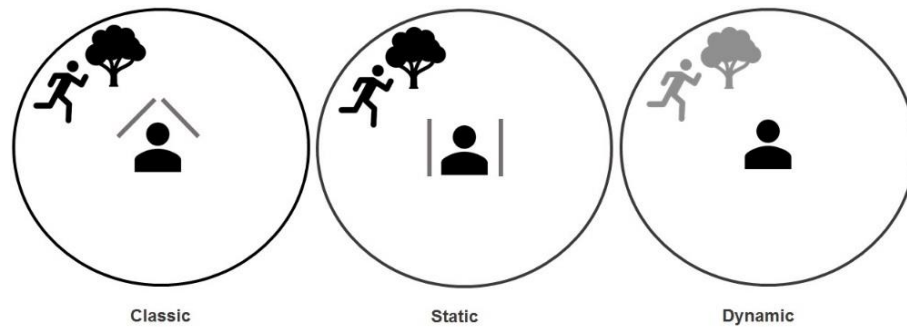


Figure 1 *AD presentation modes used in the preliminary study*

In the first presentation mode, the AD sound was placed above the user's head, while in the second presentation mode it was located on the user's side, as if someone was standing or sitting close to them, telling the story. In the Dynamic presentation mode, the AD sound was placed at different angles of the scene, depending on where the main action or other visual elements relevant to the plot were located. As the last presentation mode allows users to locate the events within the storyworld, our assumption was that it could guide viewers effectively within the storyworld and have a better viewing experience, which in turn would be reflected in higher presence scores.

The AD script for three episodes was originally written in English using the ImAc project editor, following existing AD guidelines (Ofcom 2000; Remael, Reviers and Vercauteren 2015), the reason being that the same test was conducted in the UK. This English AD was then translated into Catalan and voiced by a Catalan professional voice talent (female). An audio introduction was also created and voiced by a professional.

2.4. Procedure

The test was developed with a head-mounted display, and it was administered by the main researcher and a research assistant. Firstly, participants were welcomed, then presented with the ImAc project and the aim of the test. Secondly, they were assigned an individual participant's code and asked to sign informed consent forms. In the next step, participants replied to the questions in the demographic pre-questionnaire and listened to one general audio introduction (sound only). The actual AD test was comprised of: watching three video clips with randomised audio presentation modes, and replying to the IPQ questionnaire after each of them. At the end of the study, participants answered a preference questionnaire. All participants had the questionnaires read aloud and their responses were recorded by researchers on written online forms. For the purposes of this paper, participants' responses were translated into English.

2.5. Results

In the next sections, results from presence and preference questions will be presented, followed by a discussion.

2.5.1. Results from the IPQ questionnaire

Regarding presence, the median values for IPQ in the three conditions for each subscale are shown in Table 1 below:

	General presence	Spatial presence	Involvement	Experienced realism
Classic	3.00	3.40	3.00	1.75
Dynamic	4.00	3.70	3.00	2.13
Static	4.00	2.70	4.00	2.50

Table 1 IPQ scores – preliminary test

Non-parametric Friedman tests reveal no statistically significant differences between the scores of any subscale between conditions: general presence (Chi-Square(2)=.200; N=6; $p=.905$); spatial presence (Chi-Square(2)=.087, N=6, $p=.957$); involvement (Chi-Square(2)=1.810, N=6, $p=.405$); experienced realism (Chi-Square(2)=1.00, N=6, $p=.607$).

2.5.2. Results from the preference questionnaire

Regarding the preference questionnaire, the results from questions 1 and 2, which asked participants about their preferred sound option and the reasons behind their choice, show that participants based their choice on script characteristics, rather than audio presentation. This is confirmed in comments such as the following: “It is hard for me to distinguish the three videos. [...] The criterion has been the videos that I have enjoyed the most” (participant 1), “There were details that captivated me more” (participant 2), “AD of places was better, and you could hear the noise of the environment, streets, music” (participant 5), “I liked it more because it had more details than other [videos]. I have noticed things that I would not have noticed otherwise” (participant 6). Similarly, one answer in additional comments (participant 5) pointed to the difficulties in differentiating between the three sound modes: “There are no differences in the three videos, between the types of sound. You only notice changes in the content of the audio description which could be improved by adding more details.”

In questions 3 and 4, participants made several suggestions on how to improve AD. Firstly, the following comments suggest that two participants prefer more detailed descriptions to create a more complete mental image of the storyworld:

- (1) “[...] perhaps by creating a more specific description of the places. I understand that there may be not enough time to describe more things. But everything is very general. I missed more elements, a more specific way of explaining [...]” (participant 5).
- (2) “By adding more. It gave me the feeling that there was little description, and at certain times I did not know what was happening on the screen” (participant 1).

Secondly, related to the question of how AD could be improved to allow participants to be more immersed in the story, two comments pointed to the interest in listening to the original music of the video or background sounds: “I would also like to hear more music or more ambient sound from the scene” (participant 2), “The ambient sound is very important” (participant 5).

Thirdly, some comments focused on the improvements which could be implemented to make 360° content more immersive. Although these comments are beyond the scope of this article, as they focus on storytelling techniques in 360° content, they can, however, serve as a recommendation for future content creators who wish to integrate access services already at the production stage. In this regard, participants suggested more slowly-paced content, with less sudden shifts of location, and more hearable ambient sounds.

2.6. Discussion

The results from the IPQ and preference questionnaires are inconclusive, as they demonstrate that participants were not able to clearly perceive the differences among the three audio treatments. Regarding the Dynamic presentation mode, none of the users noticed that the sound of AD was placed at different locations, depending on where the action took place.. The reasons for this could be content-related. It is possible that participants could not perceive the differences in the AD correctly because the original videos were not recorded in spatial sound. It is also possible that the AD instances in these episodes were too short and the differences in audio would be more perceivable in content with longer pauses between the dialogues. In spite of the inconclusive results as regards preference for audio treatments, qualitative feedback on users’ needs was gathered thanks to the adopted methodology. Based on participants’ preferences, the AD presentation modes were reconsidered for the main reception study.

3. Main study

The main reception study followed the same methodology as the pilot test. To respond to users’ preferences, a solution had to be found regarding the need of a more detailed AD. This posed a challenge; although the 360° storyworld is larger than standard content and it can contain more narratologically-relevant elements, AD is time-constrained, as it needs to fit in between the dialogues. Therefore, it was decided to test the Extended presentation mode which included additional descriptions, activated at the user’s will (ISO/IEC 20071–11, WCAG 2017).

Secondly, it was decided to test an unconventional approach to AD scripting in order to see if it could have a positive impact on AD users’ presence. Previous studies in the AD field have researched non-standard approaches to AD, including first-person AD (Fels et al. 2006), AD with elements of film language (Fryer and Freeman 2012a), or AD based on the production’s screenplay (Szarkowska 2013; Walczak 2017). Previous reception studies have shown that unconventional AD scripting can increase a sense of immersion in the presented story for persons with sight loss compared to standard AD (Walczak and Fryer 2017). However, this question has not yet been tested in relation to more immersive content.

3.1. Participants

30 participants took part in the main reception study, with ages ranging from 22 to 78. Most participants had a university degree at an undergraduate (20) or postgraduate (7) level. 18 participants defined themselves as partially-sighted and 12 participants as blind. 10 participants taking part in the study reported onset of sight loss from birth. All participants reported using mobile phones on a daily basis, followed by television (20), laptop (14), PC (12) and tablet (9), which suggests that participants are frequent users of technological devices. As far as immersive technologies are concerned, only one participant reported using a head-mounted display on a daily basis, and most of the participants had never watched Virtual Reality content before. Similarly, only two participants reported having a device to access VR content (PS4 and PlayStation VR). The most frequent reason behind not watching such content was not having had the chance to use it (20), followed by a lack of accessibility (5) or lack of interest (2). Regarding the level of interest in immersive content, most participants were strongly interested (12) or interested (11), followed by a neutral attitude (“neither agree nor disagree” – 6), and only one participant chose the option “strongly disagree”. All participants were frequent AD users. Regarding the usage of assistive technologies, most participants reported using screen readers (13), two participants reported using magnifiers, eight participants chose the option “both” and seven chose the option “none”.

3.2. Materials

The same comparable clips were used as in the pilot test, with new presentation modes, referred to as Classic (AD-C), Radio (AD-R) and Extended (AD-E). The original English script was written by RNIB (the Royal National Institute for the Blind) and the Catalan translation was prepared by the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. The text was rephrased and adapted, where necessary, to fit in the time slots between the dialogues. While the first presentation mode was the conventional AD, the second presentation mode followed an unconventional scripting style, which may be seen as a combination of the first-person narration introduced by Udo and Fels (2006) and audio drama (Fryer 2010). Audio description in Radio presentation mode was presented by a guide who accompanied the viewer, pointing to the most relevant visual elements of the storyworld. The viewer was addressed directly, in a conversational manner, and with a use of colloquialisms, nominal phrases, and discourse markers of casual speech (Table 2):

Classic	Radio
Una botiga ven articles de pell. En una altra, una dona mira collarets de granadura.	Practiqueu la cara de pòquer i el regateig abans d’entrar en aquest mercat. Prepareu-vos!
[back translation] ‘One shop sells leather goods. In another, a woman looks at beaded necklaces.’ (ep. 1)	[back translation] ‘Practice your poker face and haggling skills before entering this market. Get ready!’ (ep. 1)

<p>Més pelegrins esperen en una llarga cua a l'entrada d'un santuari.</p> <p>[back translation] 'More pilgrims wait in a long line outside the entrance to a shrine.' (ep. 1)</p>	<p>Veniu d'hora si voleu calma i no haver de fer cua. L'any passat van venir aquí 4 milions de turistes, i cada cop en són més.</p> <p>[back translation] Get here early if you want to be calm and avoid the queues. Last year, 4 million tourists travelled here, and each year the number is going up. (ep. 1)</p>
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Table 2 *Classic and Radio scripting style*

The rationale for choosing this scripting approach was two-fold. Firstly, while the first presentation mode describes the events, characters, and surroundings following the existing AD guidelines, the second presentation mode positions the viewer as an observer inside the presented world, as shown in Table 3 (discussed elements in bold):

<p>Una dona de mitjana edat amb un mocador blanc al cap i una faldilla llarga i grisa contempla les pintures religioses de les parets del passadís del costat. La gent va amunt i avall. Alguns estan asseguts, esperant el seu torn. Una dona puja pels esglaons de la gruta, que són molt alts, mentre un home s'agenolla i pressiona el front contra l'esglaó superior. Un altre home es descalça en senyal de respecte.</p> <p>[back translation] A middle-aged woman in a white headscarf and long grey skirt gazes up at the religious paintings on the walls in the adjoining corridor. People go up and down. Some sit on chairs to await their turn. A woman climbs the steep steps out of the grotto, which are very steep, while a man kneels and presses his forehead to the top step. Another man takes off his shoes as a mark of respect. (ep. 3)</p>	<p>Per entrar a la gruta, us heu d'ajupir i passar per una petita porta amb un nom ben adequat: Porta de la Humilitat. A dins, està molt decorat: llums brillants, frescos i cortines de vellut. De seguida s'omple; haureu de fer cua. Fora, Betlem és una ciutat animada, però no heu d'anar gaire lluny per recordar la història de Maria i Josep. Si ets el típic turista, hi ha molt per fer. Hi ha un antic basar ple de vida.</p> <p>[back translation] To go into the grotto, you have to duck and go through a tiny door aptly called the Door of Humility. Inside, it's very ornate: sparkling lanterns, frescoes, velvet curtains. But it gets busy here so you have to wait your turn. Outside, Bethlehem is a pulsing city, but you don't have to go far to be reminded of the story of Mary and Joseph. Still, there is plenty to do if you're a regular tourist. There's a lively Old bazaar. (ep. 3)</p>
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Table 3 *Classic and Radio scripting style*

Secondly, this approach includes sentences that convey the atmosphere of the presented scenes. Examples of such sentences include the following:

Com he dit: increïble! Jerusalem és nova i antiga: edificis moderns, carreteres transitades, palmeres tropicals. Tot això més enllà dels merlets de la ciutat vella i la dona que toca l'arpa a la porta de Jaffa. Una estranya harmonia.

[back translation] Like I said: unreal! Jerusalem is both old and new: modern buildings, busy roads, tropical palm trees. All this beyond battlements of the old city and the woman who plays the harp at Jaffa Gate. **There's a strange harmony.** (ep. 2)

El monestir de Sant Jordi és una meravella! Penja entre penya-segats al desert de Judea. Us semblarà un lloc perfecte per trobar una mica de pau.

[back translation] The monastery of Saint George is a marvel! It is perched on the cliff in the Judean desert. **It will seem like a perfect place to find some peace.** (ep. 3)

Regarding the Extended presentation mode, it consists of the main script written in the style of Radio presentation mode and additional descriptions. These descriptions can be optionally activated by the user after hearing a special bell sound, informing about the availability of an additional commentary. This option was suggested in focus groups organised at the beginning of the ImAc project (Fidyka and Matamala 2018). After hearing such an audio cue, participants have a 5-second interval to play the AD by clicking on the controller of the head-mounted display. Upon activation, the main video is paused and the extended track is played until the end. In non-testing conditions, the activation of the extended description is optional, and it can also be activated by voice interaction with devices such as Amazon Echo Dot. However, for testing purposes, participants were asked to activate every additional track with a controller. Additionally, in non-testing conditions, the return to the main AD would be possible earlier, without having to listen to the extended track until the end.

The extended descriptions were inserted whenever a new landscape or an architectural object relevant to the plot were introduced in the episodes, allowing for a description of the visual elements that would not be described otherwise due to time constraints. For example, the first extended track in the first episode included the description of the presenter, Naomi Darg, who was also present in the remaining two episodes. Including such detailed description that allows persons with sight loss to visualise the character would not be possible without pausing the main narration:

Hola, gràcies per treure el cap darrere l'escena! Aquí és on us donem tota la informació adicional. Comencem per la protagonista. Naomi Darg, en pantalla, presenta Holy Land. Diria que té entre 30 i 40 anys, és de complexió normal i té els cabells arrissats. Li arriben fins a les espatlles. Com que som a Jerusalem i visitem llocs sagrats, duu roba còmoda i més aviat discreta, de colors neutres, adequada per al clima càlid: vestits llargs, faldilles, samarretes de màniga llarga i mocadors de cotó. A la Cúpula de la Roca, porta un mocador fosc que li cobreix el cap.

[back translation] Hi, thanks for joining me behind the scenes! This is where we give you all the extra bits of information. Let's start with the on-screen talent. On screen, Holy Land is led by Naomi Darg. I'd say, she is in her 30s, average build, with curly hair that falls to her shoulders. Since we're in Jerusalem and visiting some of the Holy sites, Naomi dresses modestly in loose fitting clothes in neutral shades, appropriate for the warm weather – long dresses, skirts, tops with long sleeves and cotton wraps. At the Dome of the Rock, Naomi wears a dark head scarf. (ep. 1)

Similarly to the style of the main AD, all extended descriptions were written in a chatty and engaging way. Apart from the description of the visuals, most of them also provided information about historical context or cultural titbits:

El llançador de flors, de l'artista Banksy, és un grafit d'un home amb mocador i gorra de beisbol que llança un ram de flors. L'home i l'embolcall del ram són en blanc i negre; les flors i les tiges que sobresurten de l'embolcall són de color. **El grafit**

d'aquest artista sigil·lós és només un dels molts que han convertit el mur de separació israelià en un ampli llenç. Per molts turistes, són l'atractiu principal de Betlem.

[back translation] “Flower Thrower”, by the artist Banksy is a graffiti of a man wearing a kerchief and baseball cap throwing a bouquet of flowers. The man and the flower wrapping are in black and white; the flowers and the stems protruding from the wrapper are in colour. **The graffiti by this stealthy artist is just one of the many graffiti that have turned the Israeli Separation Wall into a vast canvas. For many tourists, this is the main attraction of Bethlehem.** (ep. 3)

The AD was recorded by a professional studio with a male voice to differentiate the audio description track from the main narration read by a female voice. While the script of the Classic presentation mode was read with neutral intonation, AD in the Radio presentation mode was read aloud in a livelier and more engaging way. Additionally, some AD instances were read with non-standard prosodic features. For example, in a scene happening in a mosque filled with tourists, AD was read in a whispering voice. Furthermore, as sound effects often interact with dialogues and music to create a more vivid mental imagery in radio drama (Fryer 2010), AD was complemented by ambient sound effects. For example, when the story was taking place on narrow, winding streets of Jerusalem, AD was reinforced by ambient sound reminiscent of street noises and when the story moved to a windy desert, AD users could hear the blowing of the wind, which established a sense of place.

3.3. Procedure

Similarly to the preliminary study, an audio introduction was presented to participants before exposing them to the three episodes. Apart from familiarising participants with 360° videos, and providing a broader context to the series, the introduction included information on how to activate the extended audio description. Our assumption was that the Radio and Extended presentation modes would have a direct effect on the reception of the videos, as they give persons with sight loss a chance of a more engaging experience.

3.4. Results

The following subsections discuss the results obtained in the main reception study, both from the IPQ questionnaire and additional preference questions.

3.4.1. Results from the IPQ questionnaire

A paired samples t-test was used in order to compare the scores on each subscale across the different types of AD. None of these comparisons gave a statistically significant difference (all $p > .05$).

	General presence	Spatial presence	Involvement	Experienced realism
Classic	4.73	4.62	4.98	3.40
Radio	4.70	4.55	5.04	3.54
Extended	4.73	4.64	4.86	3.63

Table 4 *Median scores for all participants (N=30) in each subscale across AD type*

A one-way ANOVA comparing the results of the blind and partially-sighted users shows that there are significant differences between these type of users in their scores on IPQ. Planned comparisons show significant differences in General presence across all types of AD and that the scores are higher for partially-sighted users (see Table 5). In addition, for Classic AD, scores for spatial presence are also significantly higher for partially-sighted users. There is also a trend to significance for Radio and Extended presentation mode ($p=.087$). Table 5 shows statistics and p value for each comparison. Highlighted cells mark significant differences:

		General presence	Spatial presence	Involvement	Experienced realism
Classic	Blind	3.50	3.5500	4.6667	2.7292
	Partially-sighted	5.56	5.3333	5.1806	3.8472
	p=	0.004	0.004	0.332	0.075
Radio	Blind	3.83	3.9167	4.8750	3.1458
	Partially-sighted	5.28	4.9778	5.1528	3.8056
	p=	0.040	0.087	0.640	0.280
Extended	Blind	3.83	4.0333	4.5208	3.3750
	Partially-sighted	5.33	5.0444	5.0833	3.8056
	p=	0.036	0.087	0.313	0.529

Table 5 *IPQ results from persons with sight loss*

A one-way ANOVA comparing the results of the blind and partially-sighted users shows that there are significant differences in general presence across all types of AD and that the scores are higher for partially-sighted users. In addition, for Classic AD, scores for spatial presence are also significantly higher for partially-sighted users. There is also a trend to significance for Radio and Extended AD ($p=.087$).

3.4.2. Results from the preference questionnaire

In the preference questionnaire, 12 participants indicated Extended presentation mode as their preferred option, 10 participants selected Classic presentation mode and the 8 remaining participants stated a preference for the clips with the Radio presentation mode. Two participants commented in open questions that they appreciated every description.

	AD-C (Classic)	AD-R (Radio)	AD-E (Extended)
1 preferred mode	10 (33.33%)	8 (26.67%)	12 (40%)
2 preferred mode	10 (33.33%)	10 (33.33%)	10 (33.33%)
3 preferred mode	10 (33.33%)	12 (40%)	8 (26.67%)

Table 6 *Results on preferences in the main study*

Upon analysing data for the blind and partially-sighted participants separately, the results are following:

	AD-C (Classic)	AD-R (Radio)	AD-E (Extended)
Blind persons			
1 preferred mode	1 (3.33%)	2 (6.67%)	9 (30%)
2 preferred mode	4 (13.33%)	6 (20%)	2 (6.67%)
3 preferred mode	7 (23.33%)	4 (13.33%)	1 (3.33%)
Persons with partial sight loss			
1 preferred mode	9 (30%)	6 (20%)	3 (10%)
2 preferred mode	6 (20%)	4 (13.33%)	8 (26.67%)
3 preferred mode	3 (10%)	8 (26.67%)	7 (23.33%)

Table 7 Results on preferences in the main study

The most frequent comments from participants who selected Classic presentation mode in the first place suggest that this scripting style allowed them to create a more complete mental representation of the storyworld (1), had a more appropriate level of detail than another scripting style (3), and was more coherent with the style of the main narration.

The most frequent reason behind choosing the Radio presentation mode as the preferred option was the integration of ambient sounds (2), which made the experience more realistic. One comment that focuses on the relation between ambient sounds and presence seems particularly relevant:

I would like for the ambient sounds and the sound effects to be more in the first line than the explanations. I would like to have audio description more in the background and the sound effects more underlined to feel that the presented world is real. The explanations were fast with strong intonation and this way of explaining is a bit tense. I would like it to be more natural, relaxed.

Similarly, another participant who chose Radio presentation mode as the preferred option commented that this type of scripting, which combines verbal description of visuals with evocative sound effects, seems more appropriate for this innovative media format and added that Classic presentation mode does not make the viewing experience different from watching standard films. Another participant commented positively on the engaging use of language in this presentation mode. Participants who least preferred this presentation mode pointed to the following reasons behind their choice: this presentation mode resembles a separate narration rather than AD (2), the level of detail is not sufficient.

The results obtained in the first and second questions also show a favourable reception of the Extended presentation mode. Out of 12 blind participants who took part in the study, 9 blind participants selected Extended descriptions, including 2 congenitally blind participants. What participants appreciated the most was the possibility to listen more at will (9), the possibility to interact with the content (1), being provided with more details (5), and feeling more immersed (2):

I was feeling more present in the virtual world in AD-E, as it had more information and a better quality of information that made me less conscious of the real world.

Two participants placed Extended presentation mode as their third choice. The reasons for this can be related to the testing conditions, as participants were asked to (1) activate all extended tracks and (2) listen to them until the end.

In the third question, participants proposed some improvements that could enable them to have a more immersive viewing experience when watching content in this media format. Chief among these are the possibility of being guided towards the described places, characters and objects (5 participants), and being able to listen to extended descriptions (7 participants). Interestingly, one participant commented that she/he would prefer to have extended descriptions in all three episodes watched during the study. Other suggestions include watching content with spatial sound (2 blind participants), integration of ambient sounds (2) and having the possibility to adjust the sound of AD independently from the video (1).

Regarding the improvements that could be made in the Extended presentation mode, the following comment suggests integrating music or other sound effects at the beginning and at the end of each extended description:

The background of the extended audio description should convey the same background as the narration so that there is no interruption [upon activating extended AD]. I would like extended AD to be more integrated in the video. The interruption is very noticeable, extended AD starts abruptly. I would like extended AD to start with background music, then to have a description, and to finish with the same background music.

Among other improvements, two participants would prefer a more distinctive sound signalling of extended descriptions. Their comments suggest that the sound should be changed or first introduced in audio introduction in order to familiarise users with it. Additionally, one participant suggested that these additional tracks should contain only audio description and not titbits. This participant further specified that such information should be provided only in the video.

3.5. Discussion

The three presentation modes yielded similar levels of presence for all participants, which suggests that none of them can lead to a significantly higher immersion in the story, but it also shows that none of them expelled participants from their viewing experience. The differences in the presence scores between blind and partially-sighted persons obtained in two presence subscales suggest that blind persons need additional solutions in order to feel more present in the 360° storyworld. As two blind persons suggested the possibility of spatial sound to feel more immersed, this sound technology could be further tested.

The qualitative results from the preference questionnaire suggest the positive response of participants towards all presentation modes. Additionally, although it cannot be concluded from this study that combining verbal description with ambient sounds may stimulate presence, additional feedback suggests that persons with sight loss may appreciate this solution. As for Extended descriptions, one participant put forward an interesting comment in the second question:

AD-E gives a little more details, it would be interesting for me to have the possibility to activate more extended descriptions of different points of the video. AD-R is like listening to an audiobook, like any documentary that I can watch on TV. At the AD level, it is poorer. The second (AD-C) gives more visual information and its details allow me to imagine (the storyworld).

In this test, although Extended descriptions were not linked to a given point within the video, it would be interesting to test this option with users in future studies. In such a case, extended descriptions would not be linear descriptions activated by a click, but instead participants would be able to stop the video and trigger different descriptions by head-movements.

4. Conclusions

The aim of this article was to discuss the first exploratory approach for implementing AD in 360° videos. It follows previous studies in the AVT field which measured the impact AD may have on the quality of end-user experience in 2D content (Fryer and Freeman 2012b, 2014; Wilken and Kruger 2016; Wissmath and Weibel 2012; Walczak and Fryer 2017), but it takes the previous research further, testing presence levels in a media format in which users have a degree of control over their experience.

The results of the main reception study show the positive response of participants toward extended audio description. They also show some possible improvements that could be made in order to better respond to their needs. There are several advantages related to integrating such solutions in this media format. Firstly, thanks to the possibility of pausing the main narration, users can be provided with more visual information than is present in the 360° storyworld and that could not fit in between the dialogues, or with additional tidbits that are given in standard content in audio introductions. It also provides persons with sight loss with a possibility of interaction. This solution can also prove useful for describers, who deemed content selection in this media format challenging in the focus groups carried out within the project.

This is a small-scale, exploratory study and its limitations must be acknowledged. First and foremost, one limitation is related to the reduced sample. To obtain more reliable results, future studies should be conducted with more users. However, as stated by Orero et al. (2018), smaller sample sizes are acceptable when conducting research with persons with sight loss. Secondly, as only self-report measures were used in this study, data could be triangulated by using objective measures. Also, the present pilot study testing the implementation of spatial sound could be replicated with other video clips that contain more pauses between the dialogues and whose original sound is recorded in spatial audio technology. Additionally, more attention should be given to the presence measures in future studies. Existing self-report presence measures are designed for sighted persons, and they include statements such as “I felt like I was just perceiving pictures” (IPQ), which may not be appropriate for persons with sight loss. This is why validation of presence measures with persons with sight loss would be needed to ensure the validity of results when conducting research.

Several possible research avenues emerge from this study for future research into AD in 360° videos, or other types of immersive environments, that will increasingly emerge on the market in the upcoming years and reshape the landscape of Audiovisual Translation.

Firstly, taking into account the interest of users, the technology of spatial sound in AD in 360° content could be further explored, including the object-based sound (Simon, Torcoli and Paulus 2019), which allows sound technicians to place the sound exactly on the object. Secondly, the research on spatial sound could focus not only on AD, but also on audio subtitles (AST), as it could enable users with sight loss to locate the characters in 360° scene.

This article aims to contribute to an emerging line of research in AVT, and it is hoped that the preliminary results it presents will contribute towards a better understanding of AD users' needs in 360° content to ensure not only access to this type of content, but also a more captivating viewing experience.

Acknowledgements

We owe our warmest thanks to B1B2B3 Association for their support in finding volunteers for this study and to all the participants who took part in our experiment. We are also grateful to Ryot and Jaunt VR for letting us use “Holy Land” for our study.

ImAc has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme under the grant agreement 761974. The authors are members of TransMedia Catalonia, an SGR research group funded by Secretaria d'Universitats i Recerca del Departament d'Empresa i Coneixement de la Generalitat de Catalunya (2017SGR113). Blanca Arias-Badia's participation in this research has been financially supported by the Spanish Research Agency, in the framework of the postdoctoral scholarship programme Juan de la Cierva Formación (FJCI-2017-32064). This article is part of Anita Fidyka's PhD in Translation and Intercultural Studies at the Department of Translation, Interpreting and East Asian Studies (Departament de Traducció i d'Interpretació i d'Estudis de l'Àsia Oriental) of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

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In SKASE Journal of Translation and Interpretation [online]. 2021, vol. 14, no. 1 [cit. 2021-04-26]. Available online at http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTI20/pdf_doc/02.pdf.
ISSN 1336- 7811.

Reading and Translating Faiza's Guène's *Kiffe kiffe demain*: A Postcolonial Perspective

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Abstract

Situating itself in a Postcolonial Studies framework, the present article centres on Faiza Guène's 2004 debut novel, Kiffe kiffe demain, and its 2006 English translation, Just like tomorrow, by Sarah Adams. After providing an outline of key trends in postcolonial theory and an overview of Kiffe kiffe demain, this study suggests how Guène's work lends itself to a postcolonial reading. Subsequently examining the multiple translation challenges to which Guène's novel gives rise and how these have been handled, this study argues that Adams' target text (TT) can be located within a postcolonial Translation Studies paradigm.

Keywords: Faiza Guène + Kiffe kiffe demain + reading and translating + postcolonial perspective.

Introduction

i) Postcolonial Approaches within Critical Theory and Translation Studies

The wide-ranging and now flourishing field of Postcolonial Studies focuses on such issues as the history of former colonies, the effects of the unbalanced power relations which exist between colonisers and colonised peoples and the resistance of colonised peoples to the colonialist process. Postcolonial theorists with a specific interest in literature often view texts as vehicles for expressing dissent against the authoritarian regimes which persist in decolonised countries; such texts thus serve to further liberate the people of these countries by giving them a more powerful voice. Although the purpose of this study is not to provide a comprehensive review of postcolonial critical theory, it is nevertheless apt to cite here some of its most notable examples; these range from the anti-colonialist work of Frantz Fanon, whose *Peau noire, masques blancs* (1952) critiques the effects of colonial racism on the human psyche, through Khatibi's *Le roman maghrébin* (1968), which views North African literature as a means of recording and analysing the drama of decolonisation, to Edward Said's highly influential *Orientalism* (1978), which denounces the West's patronising representations of 'the East'. Indeed, as Boehmer and Tickell (2015: 1) highlight, those critics who shaped and consolidated Postcolonial Studies in the 1990s, such as Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak, also worked with the legacy of Said's thought.

Many of the texts which belong to the growing body of French-language, North African literature produced since Algeria's 1964 War of Independence and the subsequent decolonisation of the Maghreb, clearly reflect those countries' prevailing political and social issues. From the 1980s, *beur* literature,ⁱ that is, the writing of second- and third-generation French people whose parents or grandparents were immigrants from North Africa, has flourished. Following the economic migration of male North Africans, the then Président de la République, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, introduced in 1974 the concept of *regroupement familial* [family reunification], which encouraged North African women to relocate to France to be with their husbands. These women's struggle to integrate both linguistically and culturally resulted in large-scale ghettoisation in the suburbs of some of France's major cities. Indeed, the issues of problematic integration, xenophobia and the role and treatment of

women are thus recurrent themes in *beur* writing, as is exemplified perfectly in the first official *beur* novel, Azouz Begag's 1984 *Le Gône du Chaâba*, and in the work of contemporary, female *beur* writers, or *beurettes*, such as Saphia Azzedine (2009; 2010) and Leila Slimani (2015).

Following the 'cultural turn' which dominated the field of Translation Studies in the 1980s, elements of postcolonialist thought also became evident in this discipline. In the 1990s, a number of translation scholars began to apply the concept of colonisation metaphorically and likened source texts (STs) to colonised peoples whose identity is suppressed and overwritten by the coloniser; according to this line of thought, STs thus lose much of their identity when they are rewritten, particularly in a dominant, world language such as English. Cautioning against this, Tejaswini Niranjana (1992: 171) writes: 'We must identify the means by which the West represses the non-West and marginalises its own otherness'. This concept is also a major focus of the work of Antoine Berman (1985), who identifies 'deforming tendencies' in the way in which linguistic variety in STs is often erased in TTs and argues that 'arbitrary homogenisation' of such language should be avoided (1985: 243), so that the true character of the original work is visible to target readers. More political in focus, André Lefevere (1992) emphasises the interaction between a translation and a translator's ideology, or that ideology which is imposed on them by a commissioner or editor, and Lawrence Venuti (2008) argues that the decision to adopt a domesticating translation approach, which erases the identity of TTs and which is prevalent in American- and British-English translations, involves 'an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to receiving cultural values' (2008: 15). This line of thought is also developed by feminist theorists in the field, notably Sherry Simon (1996), who draws a parallel between the status of translations, which are often considered to be derivative and inferior to original texts, and that of women, who are so often repressed in society and literature. Similarly, Gayatri Spivak (1993) not only stresses the ideological consequences of the translation of third-world literature into English and the risk of eliminating individuals and cultures which are less politically powerful, but also identifies women's double subordination by both colonisers and patriarchal societies.

ii) Structure of the present study

Against this theoretical background, the present article centres on *Kiffe kiffe demain*,ⁱⁱ Faiza Guène's 2004 debut novel which received much attention by the European press, in part due to the riots which occurred in France's heavily North African suburbs in 2005. After providing an overview of Guène's work, this study will detail the key themes which, when explored, suggest how Guène's work lends itself to a postcolonial reading, namely: the class divide within French society; immigration and xenophobia; and the role and treatment of women. It will then explore how these themes are reflected in the language of *Kiffe kiffe demain*, and the translation challenges which arise, within three main categories -- representations of French language and culture; representations of Arabic language and culture; and representations of attitudes to, and treatment of, women -- and a number of related sub-categories. Examining how these challenges have been handled by English-language translator, Sarah Adams (2006),ⁱⁱⁱ this study argues that Adams' translation approach can also be located in a postcolonial Translation Studies paradigm.

2) *Kiffe kiffe demain*: Overview^{iv}

This work of fiction focuses on the life of its narrator, Doria, a 15-year-old French girl of Moroccan descent, who lives in a socially-deprived suburb of Paris with her mother, a single parent. Written in the first person and the present tense, this linguistically hybrid novel, which contains much contemporary French slang and Arabic vocabulary and transcribed pronunciation, often reads as a personal diary and, at times, addresses its readers directly ('Ah oui, je vous avais pas dit...' (105)). Indeed, Doria occasionally appears to confide in her audience ('Ouais, on a vraiment discuté de tout. Même du... du truc qui me faisait un peu honte, quand même. Ce que vous savez' (180)). Adopting a sometimes anxious and caustic, but consistently witty, tone, Doria describes her relationships with family members – her close, respectful connection with her mum (26), who speaks little French but who works long hours as a chambermaid in a motel to support herself and her daughter (14), and her acrimonious feelings towards her father, who returned to Morocco to marry a younger woman when her mum was unable to have more children (10). Doria writes affectionately of other members of her estate, some of whom are involved in drug dealing (102) and car thefts (141), but she is much more critical of the middle-class professionals -- psychologists, social workers and school teachers -- who nevertheless do try to help her. She also mentions repeatedly how she and other females of North African origin are considered to be inferior to men and are subjected to abusive, sexist behaviours (91). Despite this fundamentally serious subject-matter, Doria's telling of amusing anecdotes -- which cover a broad range of subjects, including boys (46), puberty (49), the unfashionable, second-hand clothes which she is mocked for wearing at school (74), her father's drink habit (156) and her vocational hairdresser training (173) -- and her ultimately positive attitude, ensure that the work is both a humorous and a positive read. The novel ends on a particularly optimistic note as Doria is hopeful regarding her future and that of the people about whom she cares.

At this juncture, it is apt to examine in more depth three of the work's key themes -- the class divide within French society; immigration and xenophobia; and attitudes to, and treatment of, women -- which, when explored, suggest that *Kiffe kiffe demain* can, arguably, be read from a postcolonial perspective.

3) Reading the Source Text: A Postcolonial Perspective

i) The Class Divide in French Society

Kiffe kiffe demain is set in the notorious *banlieues* [suburbs] to the north east of Paris, in an economically-deprived *cité* [housing estate] in which social problems are rife. Doria's descriptions of this *cité* are sometimes poetic ('Dehors, il faisait gris comme la couleur du béton des immeubles et il pleuvait à très fines gouttes, comme si Dieu nous crachait dessus' (70)),^v and are often highly descriptive and evocative of the environment in which she lives (37):

Le gardien de nos immeubles, il s'en fout de l'état des tours, on dirait. Heureusement que des fois Carla la femme de ménage portugaise nettoie un peu. Mais quand elle vient pas, ça reste bien dégueulasse pendant des semaines, comme là ces derniers temps. Dans l'ascenseur, il y avait de la pisser et des mollards, ça sentait mauvais, mais on était quand même contentes que ça marche. Heureusement qu'on connaît l'emplacement des boutons par rapport aux étages, parce que la plaquette est grattée et ça a fondu. On a dû les brûler au briquet.

Although very young, the narrator is socially aware and reflects on the reasons why local councils appear to neglect these housing estates and their residents ('Je me dis que c'est peut-être pour ça que les cités sont laissées à l'abandon, parce que ici peu de gens votent' (96)). Doria has first-hand experience of the social implications of her own poverty; she is repeatedly mocked by other young girls due to the unfashionable, second-hand clothes which she wears (109). She also describes the stark divide between her own social housing estate and a neighbouring, middle-class suburb; a divide which is both literal and figurative ('Il y a quand même une séparation bien marquée entre la cité du Paradis où j'habite et la zone pavillonnaire Rousseau. Des grillages immenses qui sentent la rouille tellement ils sont vieux et un mur de pierre tout le long. Pire que la ligne Maginot ou le mur de Berlin' (90)).

Understandably, Doria feels some acrimony towards members of the middle class and she is aware that she has a tendency to be judgemental of others ('Elle a peut-être raison Mme Burlaud quand elle me dit que je ne supporte pas qu'on porte un jugement sur moi mais que je le fais tout le temps avec les autres' (64)). Although a number of professionals try to help her, Doria seriously doubts that they have good intentions or really care about her. Her criticisms are levelled at her teachers ('M. Werbert [...]. Il se la joue prophète social. Il me dit que si j'ai besoin, je peux prendre rendez-vous avec lui... Tout ça pour se donner bonne conscience et raconter à ses potes dans un bar parisien branché comme c'est difficile d'enseigner en banlieue. Beurk.' (26)); mental-health specialists ('C'est ça qui est relou avec les psychologues, psychiatres, psychanalystes et tout ce qui commence par 'psy'... ils veulent que tu leur racontes toute ta vie et eux, ils te disent rien' (40)) and social workers ('[...] même si je la trouve conne, elle joue mieux son rôle d'assistante sociale de quartier qui aide les pauvres. Elle fait vraiment bien semblant d'avoir quelque chose à cirer de nos vies. Parfois, on y croirait presque' (69)). Indeed, it is with irony that Doria suggests that a male social worker who has recently left the profession has done so in order to pursue an easier, more stereotypically bourgeois, way of life (19):

[...] il a arrêté le travail d'assistant social. Il s'est installé à la campagne à ce qu'il paraît. Si ça se trouve, il s'est reconverti en maître fromager. Il passe avec sa camionnette bleu ciel dans les petits villages de la bonne vieille France, le dimanche après la messe et vend du pain de seigle, du roquefort tradition et du saucisson sec.

ii) *Immigration and Xenophobia*

A large proportion of the residents in Doria's *cité* are of North African origin. In addition to her own family which is of Moroccan descent, the narrator mentions friends and neighbours from Algeria and Tunisia. Doria's descriptions of the cultural traditions (35) and professional activities (77) of these people paint a convincing picture of the culturally hybrid environment in which she lives, adding depth and authenticity to her narrative. If these North African peoples coexist harmoniously, they are nevertheless subjected to instances of blatant racism by native French people. This occurs both on the streets of the *cité* ('[...] quand je vois les policiers qui fouillent Hamoudi près du hall, quand je les entends le traiter de 'p'tit con', de 'déchet', je me dis que ces types, ils connaissent rien à la poésie' (28)) and in Doria's mother's place of work (14):

Au Formule 1 de Bagnolet, tout le monde l'appelle 'La Fatma'. On lui crie après sans arrêt, et on la surveille pour vérifier qu'elle pique rien dans les chambres. Et puis le prénom de ma mère, c'est pas Fatma, c'est Yasmina. Ca doit bien le faire marrer, M. Schihont, d'appeler

toutes les Arabes Fatma, tous les Noirs Mamadou et tous les Chinois Ping-Pong. Tous des cons, franchement...

iii) *Attitudes to, and Treatment of, Women*. Doria peppers her narrative with examples of the ways in which North African and *beur* women [*beurettes*] are treated and viewed by men. These not only relate to her own upbringing but also draw on the experiences of other local women. Before returning to Morocco to marry a woman who was younger and more fertile than Doria's mother (10), the narrator's father made his view of women clear ('Mon père était comme celui d'Hamoudi, il pensait que les filles, c'est faible, que c'est fait pour pleurer et pour faire la vaisselle' (135-6)). Understandably, this had a detrimental effect on his daughter's sense of self-worth ('J'ai aucune photo de moi jusqu'à l'âge de trois ans. [...] Ça me rend triste de repenser à ça, j'ai l'impression de pas exister complètement. Je suis sûre que si j'avais eu un zizi, j'aurais eu une grosse pile d'albums photo' (101)). Other anecdotes which Doria tells relate to patriarchal attitudes prevalent in Morocco (22) and events which have occurred in her immediate neighbourhood (91). In spite of such adversity, Doria's mother's hard work pays off and she inspires her daughter to follow her example ('C'est en voyant [Maman] aller mieux tous les jours, se battre pour nous faire vivre toutes les deux que j'ai commencé à me dire que tout se rachète, et qu'il va peut-être falloir que je fasse comme elle' (173)). Over time, Doria finishes her therapy (175), meets a boyfriend (180) and attends her professional training regularly (173). Other, oppressed female neighbours also demonstrate courage and escape from the abusive, domestic situations in which they are trapped, eventually flourishing (147; 166). As Adams so aptly writes: 'Guène's point is that, in abandoning these women, the father releases them to fulfil their own potential' (2006: 3).

4) Translating the Source Text: A Postcolonial Perspective

Against this background, Sarah Adams' 2006 translation of *Kiffe kiffe demain*, entitled *Just Like Tomorrow*, will now be examined. Guided by the above-discussed themes, the following analysis will work with three categories: i) Representations of French Language and Culture; ii) Representations of Arabic Language and Culture; iii) Representations of, and Attitudes to, Women. Within each of these, a number of sub-sections will focus on a representative sample of the translation challenges which Guène's ST presents, and Adams' corresponding solutions to these, in order to establish how Adams' translation approach may also be deemed postcolonial in nature.^{vi}

i) Representations of French Language and Culture

In the interests of clarity and concision, discussion of the ways in which French language and culture are represented by Guène and rendered in English by Adams, will be divided into six sub-categories: i) Slang vocabulary; ii) *Verlan*; iii) Vulgar language; iv) Grammar; v) Mockery of the middle class; vi) French cultural references.

In his *The Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (1929), Mikhail Bakhtin rightly identifies that, when spoken language features in a written work, it is not used as spontaneously as it would be in an everyday, extra-literary context (ibid: 62). In an interview given to her translator (Adams 2006), Guène acknowledges that such careful representation of spoken language was, indeed, inevitable in her *Kiffe kiffe demain* (ibid: 2): 'If I'd wanted to create a ghetto language, you wouldn't have understood anything – there'd be too many

Arabic words'. Nevertheless, as Adams herself writes, it is thanks to Guène's judicious 'dosage' of slang that her work is so accessible, while remaining wholly authentic (ibid).

a) *Slang vocabulary*^{vii}

In Adams' TT, there are very occasional instances in which register is under-translated; 'ses ongles un peu crados' (107) is, for instance, rendered as 'his filthy nails' (99), where 'gross' may have been a more accurate translation, and 'Hamoudi fricote avec Lila' (134) is translated as 'Hamoudi is sleeping with Lila' (126), where 'bedding' may have been a more appropriate choice in the TL. Nevertheless, Adams preserves much of the slang nouns and verbs employed in *Kiffe kiffe demain* by using contemporary, TL equivalents (all my emphases):

On lui doit <i>du flouse</i> (25)	We owe her <i>dough</i> (17)
Je crois que j' <i>ai gaffé</i> (17)	I guess I <i>messed up</i> (9)
Tu <i>fraudes</i> à la Gare du Nord (148)	You're <i>fare-dodging</i> at the Gare du Nord (140)

On yet other occasions, some over-translations of the SL can be noted; arguably, these serve to compensate somewhat for the occasional instances of under-translation. In the following example, 'Ah bon?' could, for instance, have simply been rendered with 'Really?':

Ah bon. Elle appelle ça carrément un épisode ? (72)	Come again. Straight up, she calls it an episode. (64)
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Adams' task becomes more complex when Guène employs slang which can be rendered variously in English, according to the context in which it is used. Repeated examples of this phenomenon include the expression *c'est trop l'affiche*, which describes something which is very obvious and therefore causes embarrassment, the term *grave*, which refers to a large quantity or degree of something, and *de ouf*, from the French exclamation *ouf* [phew], which describes something impressive. In all of the following examples, Adams succeeds well at recapturing effectively in the TL the individual contexts in which this language was originally used (my emphases):

<i>C'est trop l'affiche</i> (25)	<i>How embarrassing is that?</i> (17)
Déjà, vu l'aspect du paquet, <i>c'est trop l'affiche</i> (83)	Even just the packaging is <i>like big shame</i> (75)
Dans les moments où il y a <i>grave</i> du monde (25)	When there's <i>this many</i> people around (17)
On était <i>grave</i> en galère de thune (112)	It was <i>a nightmare</i> us being skint (104)
J'imagine un super mariage, une cérémonie <i>de ouf</i> (41)	I'm picturing a big fat <i>wedding</i> , <i>with the whole works</i> (33)
Là, ils annonçaient un gros cyclone dans les Caraïbes, un truc <i>de ouf</i> qui se préparait à faire pas mal de dégâts (31)	So there he was, talking about this huge cyclone in the Caribbean, and <i>it was like oh my days, this crazy thing</i> getting ready to do loads of damage (73)

The manifestation of this linguistic phenomenon which poses the greatest translation difficulty is undoubtedly the use of the Arabic-inspired, French expression, *c'est kif-kif* [it's the same] and the verb, *kiffer* [to like], on which the book's title itself plays. When these uses occur throughout the work, Adams employs a number of techniques in order to recapture them accordingly in the TL. At times, she renders the verb closely, sometimes also italicising it for emphasis, and to add a certain connotation:

Elle kiffe Bertrand Delanoe (162)	She's been in love with Bertrand Delanoe (154)
Olivier et Trav, ils se kiffent (144)	Olivier and Trav <i>like</i> each other (136) (Adams' emphasis)

At other times, Adams employs an idiomatic TL equivalent:

Olivia est toujours <i>en kiffe</i> (144)	Olivia's still <i>feeling the moment</i> (136)
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On yet other occasions she borrows the original term in her TL (Vinay and Darbelnet's 1958 'emprunt'), explaining the term obliquely (ibid):

Alors que pour moi, c'est kif-kif demain (76)	With me, it's just kif-kif tomorrow, AKA different day, same shit (68)
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It is only on the penultimate page of her narrative that Doria explains the evolution of her use of the words *kif-kif* to *kiffe kiffe*. This highly self-conscious paragraph, which clarifies the linguistically hybrid and bitter-sweet nature of the novel's title, gives rise to further translation difficulties, largely due to its metalinguistic nature. In response to these challenges, Adams rewrites elements of the ST in order to ensure that the language is preserved for the TL reader, despite the different linguistic and cultural context in which the TT is read. If she retains the Arabic *kif-kif* (line 1, below), she nevertheless eliminates self-reflexive references to the SL (lines 2 and 3) and then modifies the semantic content of line 4, from the SL sense of her being impressed by her own linguistic explanation, to viewing the future more positively in the TL. In doing so, Adams also justifies her very apt, polysemic, translation of the book's title, *Just Like Tomorrow*.

1)C'est plus kif-kif demain... [...] 2)Maintenant, kif-kif demain, je l'écris différemment. 3)Ca serait kiffe kiffe demain, du verbe kiffer. 4)Woah. C'est de moi. 5)(C'est le genre de truc que Nabil dirait...) (188)	1)No more ' <i>kif-kif</i> tomorrow' [...] 2)Now I'd say it differently. 3)I'd say I just <i>like</i> tomorrow. 4)Yeah, I'd give that ratings. It's more me. 5)(Plus it's the kind of thing Nabil would say.) (177-78)
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b) *Verlan*. Pilard (2002: 89-90) provides an accurate and succinct explanation of *verlan*, and its presence in *l'argot des cités*, as it is represented in *Kiffe kiffe demain*, when he writes:

This code-language is formed by inverting the syllables of words and making any spelling changes necessary to aid pronunciation. The word *verlan* is itself the inverted form of 'l'envers' ('back to front'). Some *verlan* terms have passed into spoken French generally and are used or understood by a great many speakers, e.g. *laisse béton* (*laisse tomber*: 'forget it') [...] and *meuf* (*femme*: 'woman'). [...] *Verlan* is an extremely generative form of slang. Though it has always existed, it has become extremely popular with the young over the last twenty years or so, and it accounts for the vast majority of words used in 'l'argot des cités'.

In this vein, Guène selectively peppers Doria's speech with uses of *verlan*. It would clearly be impossible to translate closely language which is so context-bound and culturally loaded. As Landers (2001: 117) writes in his discussion of the translation of dialect: '[...] [It] is always tied, geographically and culturally, to a milieu that does not exist in the target-language setting. Substitution with an equivalent dialect is foredoomed to failure [...]'. He nevertheless concedes that (*ibid*): 'It is possible to hint at unorthodox ways of speaking, if done sparingly. [...] Where extended passages in dialect are the case, the best we can hope for is a kind of generalised adaptation to spoken discourse [...]'. It is precisely this approach which Adams adopts in her translation of *verlan*. When rendering *keuf* [*flic*: policeman], for instance, she employs the highly colloquial TL verb 'squeal': 'S'il m'invite pas, j'le balance aux keufs' (163) therefore becomes 'If he doesn't, I'll squeal on him' (155). In her translation of *chelou* [*louche*: odd], she compensates for the semantically correct, but stylistically more standard, 'weird', by supplementing her sentence with the colloquial expression, 'oh my days': 'Mme Burlaud vient de me proposer un truc chelou' (39): 'Oh my days, Mrs Burlaud's just suggested something weird' (31). Similarly, when local girls laugh at Doria due to her second-hand clothes, one of them remarks: 'Téma la fille, habillée encore plus mal que sa daronne' (109), Adams renders the *verlan* term *téma* [*mater*: look at] with the idiomatic TL 'check out' and increases the informality of register by using the term 'garm' rather than clothes. The SL sentence thus becomes: 'Check out the daughter, her garm's even worse than her old lady's' (101). Furthermore, when Doria uses the expression *du chinois* [double Dutch], then *verlanises* it herself to produce *du noich*, Adams translates the expression as 'Chinese'. While this solution itself does not preserve the semantic content of the original SL utterance, Adams compensates for this by adding the oblique explanation 'Gobbledygook': 'Du chinois. Du noich.' (158): 'Chinese, you get me. Gobbledygook.' (150). It is interesting to note that Adams also provides a one-page explanation of *Verlan* on the final page of her text (2006: 184). This inclusion of paratextual material makes both the non-standard uses of the TL, and herself as translator, distinctly visible (Venuti 1995).^{viii}

c) *Vulgar language*. Doria is aware that her use of language is sometimes vulgar, and occasionally tones this down herself, which Adams preserves closely in English (my emphases).

[...] ça me donne <i>la chiasse</i> . Pardon, <i>la colique</i> . <i>Ca fait moins dégueulasse</i> . (153)	[...] it gives me <i>the squits</i> . Sorry, <i>butterflies</i> . <i>Sounds less disgusting</i> . (145)
Quelle **** (<i>c'est de l'autocensure</i>)! (138)	What a **** (<i>I'm doing some censoring here</i>)! (130)

When the SL itself is more vulgar, Landers (2001: 151) stresses the importance of preserving this closely in translation:

What you cannot do is apply your own standards of decency or morality, or those of any hypothetical audience, to the task [...]. A prissy or sanctimonious translator, or an unscrupulous one, can totally skew the target-language reader's perception of a writer; as translators, we do not have that right.

If Adams occasionally under-translates instances of vulgarity -- 'leur conne d'assistante' (18) is rendered as 'their stupid social worker' (9), where 'stupid bitch of a social worker' would have been a more apt rendering --, on many occasions she recaptures perfectly the semantic content and linguistic register of the SL in her translation:

De toute façon, le ski, ça pue la merde (40)	Whatever, skiing stinks of shit (31)
[...] anonyme et couillonnée, comme tous les autres (72)	[...] faceless and fucked over, like all the rest (64)

d)Grammar. The urban slang which Doria uses is also characterised by multiple, non-standard uses of French grammar. (All of the emphases in the following examples are my own.) In addition to omitting the French negative *ne* and eliding vowels, the inaccuracy of which is, admittedly, not easy to preserve in the TL ('J' m'en fous, j'suis proper, j'ai rien à me reprocher' (119): 'I don't care, I'm clean, I've got nothing to blame myself for' (111)), Doria misuses tenses in *si* clauses, which Adams recaptures with the inaccurate TL 'wouldn't of' as opposed to the correct 'wouldn't have': '*Si j'aurais su, j'aurais même pas eu mes règles*' (85): 'If I'd known, *I wouldn't of had* my period' (77)). Furthermore, the narrator uses the rarely used French *passé surcomposé* [double compound past] tense, instead of the much more standard pluperfect tense, which Adams recaptures with an informal TL usage: 'Dès qu'on *a eu fini*' (96): 'When *we'd done*' (88).

e)Mockery of the French Middle Class. Doria's aversion to, and consequent mockery of, the French middle class is reflected in her discourse and presents its own set of translation challenges; these require that the translator adopt a linguistically creative approach if they are to be preserved accurately in the TL. When Doria's friend, local drug-dealer and likeable rogue, Hamoudi, begins a new relationship, his partner gives him the affectionate new nickname, Moudi. Partly jealous of this new woman, Doria criticises the nickname which she finds both meaningless and 'middle-class'. If Adams recaptures the linguistic playfulness of the original very accurately, the class connotation present in the SL is nevertheless lost in translation; 'ça fait couple bourgeois' [that makes them sound like a middle-class couple] is rendered as 'nicknames are *so* smug-married':

C'était signé 'Moudi'. Un surnom. C'est nul comme surnom [...]. Mais 'Mou dit quoi ?' Il dit rien, plus rien du tout. Les surnoms, ça fait couple bourgeois (159)	It was signed 'Moudi'. A nick-name. A crap nickname [...]. Moudi. Moody... schmoody... what? Doesn't mean anything. Doesn't say anything. Nick-names are <i>so</i> smug-married (151)
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On another occasion, Doria recollects how, when reading aloud a passage from the Bible in her French class one day, her teacher, Mme Jacques, reproached her for mispronouncing a name and corrected it, employing a highly exaggerated and middle-class French accent. Despite mistranslating *notre belle langue* as 'our beautiful literature', Adams

provides a useful oblique explanation of the correct pronunciation of the name ‘Job’ and succeeds well at both reproducing the volume of the original utterance by using capital letters, and reproducing the exaggerated French pronunciation by transposing a stressed ‘r’ onto the TL:

[Madame Jacques] m’avait engueulée parce qu’à mon tour de lecture, au lieu de prononcer Job, j’ai dit ‘Job’. Je l’ai prononcé à l’anglaise. Et cette vieille folle de Mme Jacques, elle m’a accusée de ‘souiller notre belle langue’ et d’autres trucs aussi débiles. J’y peux rien, je savais pas qu’il existait, ce type-là, Job. ‘Parr votrrre faute, le patrrrimoine frrrançais est dans le coma!’ (150)	[Mrs Jacques] shouted at me because when it was my time to read, instead of pronouncing it Job-rhymes-with-globe, I said ‘Djob’. Like the English word for work. And that crazy old bag accused me of ‘sullyng our beautiful literature’ and other moronic stuff. Wasn’t my fault. I didn’t even know this Job guy existed. It’s because of PEOPLE LIKE YOU that our Frrrench herrrrittage is in a coma!’ (142)
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Doria’s dislike of, and disrespect for, her social worker is also reflected in her use of language, as she cannot even be bothered to remember this lady’s surname. Assuming that her social worker’s name suggests her belonging to the upper-middle class, Doria deliberately distances this woman. On the first mention of her social worker, Doria mentions a number of possible French names and Adams transposes these directly into her TT (Adams’ emphasis):

La nouvelle [assistante sociale], je sais plus son nom. C’est un truc du genre Dubois, Dupont ou Dupré, bref un nom pour qu’on sache que tu viens de quelque part (17)	I don’t remember what the new [social worker]’s called, but it’s something like Dubois or Dupont or Dupré, a name that tells you she’s from somewhere <i>nice</i> , you get me (9)
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However, on subsequent mentions, Doria creates a range of names to further suggest her lack of esteem for this professional. In turn, Adams chooses a range of TL equivalents, which she uses interchangeably when the names are used in isolation throughout the text, and when they appear in a more concentrated fashion in the concluding pages of the novel. For instance, *Mme Dumachin* is rendered as ‘Mrs Thingumyjig’ (31/23) and ‘Mrs Wotsit’ (18/7); *Mme Dutruc* appears as ‘Mrs Thingumyjig’ (18/10; 111/102) and ‘Mrs Wotsit’ (31/23; 67/59) and *Mme Dubidule* is recaptured as ‘Mrs Thingumyjig’ (68/60) and ‘Mrs Wotsit’ (57/49; 80/71). By contrast, *Mme Duquelquechose* is translated as ‘Mrs Thingumybob’ (19/10).

f) *French Cultural References*. *Kiffe kiffe demain* teems with references to a range of French items and institutions, and these play a significant role in depicting the dominant cultural context of the SL narrative. On a number of occasions, Adams handles these by adopting a ‘foreignising’ translation approach (Venuti 1998: 242), thereby preserving the French context of the original work for the TL reader. Occasionally, Adams merely transposes the reference into the TL, when she deems that this will be known to her readers (*Paris-Match* (138/130). More often, however, she both transposes the reference and provides an oblique explanation of it (Vinay and Darbelnet: 1958), to ensure that the references are accessible to TL readers (all my emphases):

Il m'avait emmenée à <i>Hippopotamus</i> (24)	He'd take me out for a meal at <i>the Hippopotamus Steak House</i> (16)
Je croyais que <i>Zadig</i> , c'était une marque de pneus (47)	I thought that <i>Voltaire's Zadig</i> was a brand of car tyre (39)
Je me disais qu'elle devait travailler <i>aux Galeries Lafayette</i> (60)	I pictured her working <i>at a department store like Galeries Lafayette</i> (52)
Elle est caissière <i>au Continent</i> de Bondy (60)	She's a cashier <i>at Continent supermarket</i> in Bondy (52)

This said, Adams' principal approach to rendering such references is a contrasting, 'domesticating' one (Venuti 1998: 241). While always ensuring that their basic semantic content is preserved, Adams frequently eliminates such references, a technique which erases much of the French identity of the ST (all my emphases):

J'y vais, <i>c'est remboursé par la Sécu</i> (10)	I go, <i>it's free</i> (1)
Ca se passe pas comme <i>au Carrefour</i> (10)	It's not like <i>at the supermarket</i> (2)
[...] ça sent <i>le vin de table Leader Price</i> (13)	[...] it smells of <i>cheap wine</i> (5)
C'est un agent <i>de la RATP</i> (148)	[He] <i>works for Paris transport</i> (140)

On other occasions, Adams employs alternative references which are semantically similar, but exist in both the SL and TL cultures ('Son gobelet en carton *Quick*' (30): 'His *McDonald's* paper cup' (22)) and, very significantly, she occasionally recaptures SL cultural references with TL ones, thus creating a certain cultural displacement in her translation (Landers 2001: 117):

J'aurais bien voulu changer de père et récupérer <i>Tony Danza</i> dans <i>Madame est servie</i> , mais il était déjà pris (117)	I'd of given anything to swap Dad for <i>Joe McGann</i> in <i>The Upper Hand</i> , but he was already taken (109)
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4)Translating the Source Text: A Postcolonial Perspective

ii)Representations of Arabic Language and Culture

a)Vocabulary.

On a number of occasions throughout *Kiffe kiffe demain* Doria uses Arabic words, either explaining these literally for her French-language reader, or ensuring that the context in which they are used makes their meaning explicit. This decision to infiltrate the French text with the language of its North African, immigrant people could be interpreted as subversive, and as a linguistic attempt at decolonising, and therefore empowering, the latter. On each occasion, Adams not only transposes the Arabic term into her English translation, but she also italicises it, exoticising the term somewhat. In doing so, she makes the Arabic language more visible and valorises it, as the following three examples illustrate. In addition to this, English translations of all Arabic words features in the TT are provided in a separate glossary at the end of the main text.^{ix}

Quel destin de merde. Le destin, c'est la misère parce que t'y peux rien. Ca veut dire que quoi que tu fasses, te te feras couiller. [...] Chez nous, on appelle ça le mektoub (19)	Fate stinks. It's a pile of shit because you've got no control over it. Basically, whatever you do you'll always get screwed [...]. Back home, we call it <i>mektoub</i> (11)
Si [...] fait ça, c'est la honte. La 'hchouma' (107)	If [...] did that, it'd be big shame. We call it ' <i>hchouma</i> ' (100)
Il n'a pas dit au revoir, ni salut, ni beslama (156)	Didn't say goodbye, see you, <i>beslama</i> (148)

b) Arabic pronunciation of French. Many of Doria's family members and friends are of North African origin and their native tongue is therefore Arabic. At times, the French spoken by these characters is transcribed phonetically in the novel, and is done so to humorous effect. In such instances, Adams preserves some of this, and also adds grammatical inaccuracies, in her TT. Such is exemplified in the following extract which presents the speech of Algerian shop owner, Azziz:^x

L'institutrice elle demande à Toto : 'Combien ça fait douze bouteilles de vin, à dou euros la pièce ? Et il répond quoi, le p'tit ? Il répond 'Trois jours Madame' (77-8)	Ze teacher ask Toto : 'What it iz twelve bottles of wine, at two euro ze bottle?' And the little boy he say wot? He say 'Three dayz, Meez' (69)
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At times, Doria's anecdotes centre on instances in which her family and friends' mispronunciation of French words results in confusion and, subsequently, humour. In order to recapture these in the TL, Adams rewrites the original plays on sounds very successfully, as the following two examples illustrate (all my emphases):

Cet enfoiré de <i>M. Schihont</i> , il a cru que Maman se moquait de lui parce qu'avec son accent elle prononce son nom ' <i>Schiant</i> ' (15)	That bastard <i>Schmidt</i> thought Mum was disrespecting him because, with her accent, she pronounced his name <i>Shit</i> (7)
Une fois, il y a longtemps, [Tante Zohra] expliquait à Maman qu'elle a inscrit Hamza au ' <i>gigot</i> '. Maman, sur le coup, elle n'a rien compris. Et quelques jours plus tard, à la maison, elle se met à rigoler toute seule. Elle a compris que Tante Zohra voulait dire qu'elle avait inscrit Hamza au <i>judo</i> (35-6)	Once, way back, [Zohra] was telling Mum how she'd signed Hamza up for ' <i>carrots</i> '. Mum didn't have a clue what she was talking about. Then, a few days later, she started giggling. She realised Aunt Zohra had meant <i>karate</i> (27-8)

c) North African Cultural References. A number of North African cultural items are named discreetly in this novel, as it is likely that they will be familiar to French, SL readers. However, as was the case above, Adams italicises these terms, making them immediately more visible for her TL audience, and also includes translations of them in her glossary. Once again, this approach also makes herself more visible in her role as translator (Venuti 1995).

On marche en babouches à la maison (18)	Seeing as we wear <i>babouches</i> at home (10)
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Y avait plein de jeux pour gamins, de stands de thé à la menthe et de pâtisseries orientales, le barbecue frites-merguez d'Elie, un animateur socio-culturel du quartier [...] (51)	There were loads of stalls with mint tea and cakes, barbecued <i>merguez</i> with fries cooked by Elie the community coordinator [...] (43)
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d)Representation of Attitudes to, and Treatment of, Women. Doria and her single mother, Yasmina, experience some challenging times on their own; the narrator's descriptions of these sometimes have a poetic quality and are recaptured very accurately by Adams:

[...] on a un peu parlé mais des fois même les mots, ils suffisent pas. Juste, on regardait par la fenêtre et ça voulait tout dire. Dehors, il faisait gris comme la couleur du béton des immeubles et il pleuvait à très fines gouttes, comme si Dieu nous crachait dessus (70)	[...] we talked a bit, but sometimes words aren't enough. We just stared out of the window and that said it all. It was grey outside, the same colour as the concrete of the tower blocks and there was a fine drizzle, like God was spitting on us (61-2)
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Doria repeats the words of her mother, who is obliged to work long hours as a chambermaid in a motel to support herself and her daughter. Yasmina's anxiety can be felt in this indirect speech, as can Doria's anger at the end of the following extract. Again, Adams preserves these tones closely in her translation:

C'est [Fatouma] qui a commencé à dire tout haut que les femmes de l'hôtel se faisaient exploiter. Maman m'a dit qu'elle aurait bien aimé faire la grève avec les autres filles de l'hôtel mais qu'elle peut pas. Fatouma et les autres, elles ont leur mari qui les aide, mais nous, on est toutes seules. Résultat : comme la plupart des autres femmes de chambre sont en grève, Maman a mille fois plus de boulot (63-4)	[Fatouma] was the person who started making a noise about the women workers being exploited. Mum told me she'd like to go on strike with the girls from the motel, but she can't. Fatouma and the others, they've got their husbands to help them, but we're on our own. Result: seeing as most of the other cleaners are on strike, Mum's got a thousand times more work (55)
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As well as causing financial problems, Doria's father's departure left his daughter with a sense of sadness, guilt, a wish that she was male, yet a sense of disappointing resignation to the fact that she is a girl. Once again, Adams preserves all of these sentiments in her translation by adapting a semantically close, yet linguistically concise, approach:

[...] si j'étais un garçon, ce serait peut-être différent... Ce serait même sûrement différent. Déjà mon père serait encore là. Il ne serait pas reparti au Maroc. [...] J'aurais bien aimé être un garçon. Mais bon, il se trouve que je suis une fille. Une gonzesse. Une nana. Une meuf, quoi. Je finirai par m'y habituer (168-9)	[...] if I was a boy, maybe it'd be different. Matter of fact, I bet it'd be different. For a start, my dad would still be here. Rather than in Morocco. [...] I'd have had no problem being a boy. But what can you do, I'm a girl. A babe. A chick. I'll get used to it in the end (160)
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Throughout this work, there is nevertheless a marked and very positive shift in tone which is, once again, preserved very closely by Adams. As the narrator comments, very significantly: '[...] je me disais que la vie, franchement, c'est trop injuste. Mais là depuis quelque temps, j'ai un peu changé d'avis... Plein de choses sont arrivées qui ont changé mon point de vue' (173). When her Mum leaves her strenuous job at the motel and starts to feel much better, there is relief, and some pride, in Doria's tone:

Maman s'est enfin cassée de ce putain d'hôtel pourri où elle tirait la chasse d'eau derrière les riches, tout ça pour être payée trois fois rien (79)	Mum's finally split from that over-stinky hotel where she got paid twice nothing for flushing the loo after rich gits (71)
[...] elle va mieux. Elle est libre, lettrée (enfin presque) et elle a même pas eu besoin de thérapie pour s'en sortir (188)	She's doing better, by the way. She's independent, she can read and write (or nearly) and she didn't even go through therapy to get sorted (178)

As regards her own personal progress, Doria writes with slightly self-deprecating humour:

[...] ce qui me rassure, c'est que je me débrouille pas trop mal à l'école cette année. Remarque, si j'avais été nulle en CAP coiffure, je me serais inquiétée (173)	The one thing that comforts me is knowing I'm coping all right with school this year. Mind you, if I'd been useless at hairdressing, then I really would have been worried (163)
Mme Burlaud m'a dit que la thérapie était terminée. Je lui ai demandé si elle était sûre. Elle a rigolé. Ca veut dire que je vais bien. Ou alors qu'elle en a marre de mes histoires. Elle doit péter un câble avec tous les trucs que je lui raconte (175)	Mrs Burlaud told me my therapy was finished. I asked if she was sure. She laughed. That means I'm all right. Or else she's had enough of my stories. She must be flipping her lid with everything I tell her (165)

For Doria, the icing on the cake is the prospect of a holiday by the sea with her Mum, thanks to special funding from social services which will be approved by her social worker. The narrator's excitement and gratitude are particularly apparent in the following extract, and are preserved closely by Adams in her corresponding translation:

[Mme Dutruc] a dit qu'elle essaierait de débloquent encore un peu de sous au service social pour qu'on parte en vacances l'été prochain, sans doute au bord de la mer. Alors là... j'suis épatée. Peut-être qu'en fait Mme Dubidule, c'est la fille naturelle de l'abbé Pierre et de sœur Emmanuelle et qu'elle est la générosité incarnée... Soudain, je l'aimais notre chère et adorée assistante sociale. Au bord de la mer ! Si c'est pas beau... Je retire	[Mrs Thingumyjig] said she'd try and squeeze a bit more money out of the social services so we can go on holiday next summer, probably to the seaside... Well... what can I say? Maybe Mrs Wotsit's actually the secret daughter of Mother Theresa and St Francis of Assisi. Generosity personified... Suddenly, I liked our dearly beloved social worker. A beach holiday! Oh my days... I take back everything I said about you, your
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tout ce que j'ai dit sur toi, ton mari et ton bébé Dutruc. Pardon. T'es peut-être une gentille fille au fond (184-5)	husband and little Thingumyjig. Maybe you're nice after all (174)
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5) Reading and Translating *Kiffe kiffe demain*: A Postcolonial Perspective

Analysis of Findings / Conclusions

In her *Kiffe kiffe demain*, Faiza Guène focuses primarily on an economically deprived social housing estate in the north-east suburbs of Paris, but also makes a number of critical references to members of the French middle class. It could thus be argued that Guène thereby seeks to validate, and in some way 'decolonise' the former. Similarly, in this work, France's North African immigrants, amongst which many *beurs*, are represented and the racism to which they are subjected is exposed; descendants of these former colonies are therefore also given a voice. The patriarchal, misogynistic North African attitudes which Guène depicts in her work additionally lend themselves to a comparable, postcolonial, and indeed feminist, reading.

The above pages have illustrated that, when faced with the multiple, non-standard uses of language which are represented in *Kiffe kiffe demain* -- including slang vocabulary, *verlan*, vulgar language and non-standard grammar -- and the contrasting mockery of the language employed by members of France's middle class, Sarah Adams does an admirable job of recapturing these in the TL. Her decision to append the text with a detailed explanation of *verlan* constitutes a further attempt to draw attention to that which is non-standard and is significant as it also makes her 'visible' in her role as the translator (Venuti 1995). Most significantly, when dealing with the multiple French cultural references which feature in Guène's ST, Adams adopts a blend of distinct approaches, at times 'foreignising' her TT (Venuti 1998: 242) and thus again making herself visible, but mostly 'domesticating' (Venuti 1998: 241) the references by replacing them with oblique, culturally neutral explanations and thereby erasing the identity of the dominant culture, the metaphorical coloniser. Of course, it is important to acknowledge that it may not have been Adams' decision to adopt this approach. In Western society, translation decisions are often guided by key figures, including those in the publishing industry (Lefevere 1992).

Adams' approach to the translation of Arabic language is quite different. If she succeeds at transposing an exotic accent onto her English-language translation in order to render instances of Arabic-accented French, which inevitably involves an element of rewriting, she is at pains to ensure that all Arabic words and cultural references are both italicised in the TL and translated into English in her accompanying glossary. Some believe that the inclusion of English glossaries reduces the 'Afrocentric' aspect of Franco-African texts (Sellin 1989: xxxi) and that all intervention should be avoided in order to give a precise denotation of African reality (Gandonou 2002: 27). However, in the present case it could be argued that, by consistently exoticising Arabic words, Adams gives priority to the Arabic language (the language of the colonised) rather than to French (the language of the coloniser) and validates her own role as translator, when the work of these linguists is often invisible. By adopting such an approach, Adams restores the North African flavour of the original work while making the language and topic fully accessible to her TL readers and therefore furthering Guène's agenda.

When rendering the ways in which attitudes to, and the treatment of, women are represented in *Kiffe kiffe demain*, Adams adopts a similarly valorising approach. On occasions when these representations are negative, Adams gives women an extended voice by making their plights known to a wider, Anglophone readership. However, when the tone of the ST becomes increasingly positive, Adams preserves this in her translation and shares their progress. It could thus be argued that Guène and Adams illustrate the female protagonists' freedom from individual father figures and from the patriarchal, metaphorically colonising, hierarchy which still prevails in North Africa to this day (Slimani 2015). In sum, Faiza Guène's 2004 *Kiffe kiffe demain* and Sarah Adams' 2006 English-language translation thereof, *Just Like Tomorrow*, can undeniably be viewed from a postcolonial perspective. Indeed, both are not only responses to the phenomenon of colonisation, but also accurate reflections of related issues which continue to exist in twenty-first-century France.^{xi}

ⁱ The word *beur* was coined using the *verlan* term for *arabe* [Arab / Arabic]. It is applied specifically to those people who have a hybrid culture between their North African roots and their status as someone who was born and raised in France or Europe. *Verlan* is discussed in some depth at a later stage in the present article.

ⁱⁱ Faiza Guène was born in Bobigny, France, in 1985 to parents of Algerian origin. After growing up in the north-eastern suburbs of Paris, she has established herself as a writer and director. To date, she has published three novels and has also directed several short films.

ⁱⁱⁱ Sarah Ardizzone (née Adams) is a prolific, award-winning translator of French literature. She has translated in excess of 40 titles, including the work of Gael Faye and Daniel Pennac, and has been awarded a number of prestigious prizes, including the Marsh Award for Children's Literature in Translation (2005/2009) and the Scott-Moncrieff Prize (2007).

^{iv} All page references in this section of the present article refer to Guène's 2004 *Kiffe kiffe demain*.

^v This view is shared by Lucinda Rosenfeld (2006: 2)

^{vi} Henceforth, all double page references will refer to Guène's 2004 *Kiffe kiffe demain* and Adams' 2006 *Just Like Tomorrow*, respectively.

^{vii} While 'slang' may be defined as 'a type of language that consists of words and phrases that are regarded as very informal, are more common in speech than writing, and are typically restricted to a particular context or group of people' (OED 1998: 1748), Pilard (2002: 90) stresses that *l'argot des cités* '[...]' is a type of slang spoken by young people in the underprivileged areas on the periphery of large cities, mainly Paris. [It] is noticeably different from the more traditional type of slang that used to be spoken up until thirty or thirty-five years ago. It has kept a number of terms from that traditional slang but [...] it has added a great many *verlan* words as well as English words (mainly from American rap songs) and terms from Arabic (this is because of the big influx of immigrants from North Africa after the Second World War, when France needed labour for its expanding economy)'.

^{viii} In his *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995), Venuti argues that translators who work in contemporary American and British cultures are often invisible in their work; they have a tendency to translate 'fluently' into English in order to produce an idiomatic, readable TT which creates an 'illusion' of transparency.

^{ix} This approach is very similar to that adopted by Alec Hargreaves in his 1985 translation of Azouz Begag's *Le Gône du Chaâba* (1985).

^x For extended discussions of the creative challenges presented by transposing foreign accents onto the TL, see Ellender (2013; 2015).

^{xi} This stance aligns closely with opinions expressed by Pavel Medvedev. In his *The Formal Method in Literary Scholarship* (1928), Medvedev identifies that literature constitutes both an accurate reflection, and an integral part, of the society in which it is produced.

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In SKASE Journal of Translation and Interpretation [online]. 2021, vol. 14, no. 1 [cit. 2021- 04-26]. Available online at http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTI20/pdf_doc/03.pdf. ISSN 1336- 7811.

Claire Ellender. Reading and Translating Faiza Guène's *Kiffe kiffe demain*: A Postcolonial Perspective.

Problematising Historical Relevance for the Study of Women Agencies in Translation: Methodological Insights and Research Proposals

Elena Castellano-Ortolà

Abstract¹

Departing from Rundle's proposal (2012) to conceive translation as an interpretive prism for history, this paper advances an understanding of Translation Studies, and of Feminist Translation Studies in particular, as a transdiscipline, a crossroads for the feminist efforts pursued by different disciplines. In the means of analysing normative and non-normative female agencies across time periods and geographies, a series of methodological synergies are proposed between Feminist Translation Studies and Feminist social history. The goal is thus to suggest less constrained concepts of historical relevance, possibilitating the study of female agencies through the interpretive prism of translation. In a subsequent section, a case-study is proposed, illustrating potential interpretive shifts in the historical analysis of female agencies in the Bible. The multiple and often oppositional (re-)translations of this text have been at the core of crucial breakthroughs in both Eastern and Western thought. Given its instrumental role in the perpetuation of patriarchal systems, gender constructs are an essential analytic category for historicising purposes (see Scott 1999). Taking a gender-informed stance on Bible translating, the methodological and ideological (re-)positionings suggested here shall attempt to provide alternative explanations and research venues for a feminist political history of knowledge.

1. Introduction

The point of departure for this paper is Rundle's crucial call for interdisciplinarity when defining the potential synergies between translation and history. For this scholar (2012), Translation Studies, a young discipline, is generally portrayed as indebted to the well-established methodological and notional frameworks of fields like History. This hampers an understanding of the capital role of translation praxis for historical evolution. Upon a critical exploration of the timid, implicitly historiographical scope of Translation Studies, authors like Bandia and Bastin (2006) have contributed to this new perception of the translation phenomenon as a prism fore more consolidated fields, while promoting the disciplinary autonomy of Translation History.

It is in this ground-breaking line of inquiry that the paper work intends to problematise translation-mediated female agencies throughout history. Here, I shall advocate for the establishment of Feminist Translation History as the ultimate transdiscipline, an epistemological crossroads where feminist efforts from different fields of study may converge. For this propose, I shall suggest certain synergies between Feminist Translation Studies (Castro and Ergun 2017) and Feminist History (Scott 1999), in the means of effectively tackling both discourse and context when surveying female agencies across time periods and geographies. Through this, I expect to underscore the need for a new concept of translation-bound, historical relevance (see Pym 2014). As an illustration, a case-study proposal shall follow regarding historical female agencies in the Bible, whose multiple and oppositional translations are at the core of crucial breakthroughs throughout History. By employing, upon Scott's suggestion (1999), the notion of "gender" as an analytic category, I

intend to suggest various lines of research where gender constructs are fundamental in order to explain the political history of knowledge through translation.

2. Fruitful Synergies: Interdisciplinary Methodologies for Feminist Translation History

The present work advocates for the consolidation of a new transdiscipline, Feminist Translation History, in which many of the current, gender-informed efforts made from different fields of study may converge. This assertion takes as a point of departure an understanding of translated texts as the "melting pot" of history, the production of which entails non-stop negotiations among agents who now collude with, now oppose to, dominant social conventions. According to Berman (1984: 51ff), besides the undeniable "historicité générale de la tradition", particular translation projects have been at the core of major historical breakthroughs, playing a role "(...) d'inapparente médiation qui contribue bien évidemment au mouvement de l'histoire". This "pur pouvoir historique de la traduction" (Berman *ibid*: 53), unsurprisingly exemplified by Berman through Luther's heretic translation of the Bible into German, is often subject to "retraductions", or re-negotiations of the originals' symbolic premises and ideology on the basis of other groups' interests.

It is my belief, in line with Scott (1999), that the male/powerful-female/weak dichotomy is the ultimate signifier of power relations underlying patriarchal discourse production. Its implication in ideological forms of reported speech like translations, where relational differences between communities have been negotiated throughout history, has received little attention from mainstream historians and translato-logists alike, remaining within the often distrusted scope (Eshelman 2007) of Feminist translation theorists (see Chamberlain's seminal, 1988 paper). A first goal of this paper is therefore to reflect on the potential synergies between two established disciplines, whose methodologies could certainly inform a historical deconstruction of female agencies through translation: Descriptive Translation Studies, from now DTS (see Toury 2012 for an overview), and Feminist History (for an overview, see Scott 1999).

From the inception of the Polysystem school, descriptive theorists have been concerned with what they identify, perhaps in an unfortunate sign of prescriptivism, as literary systems, as well as with the relationships between systemic forms of discursive production. Systemic approaches have provided our discipline with the first historical models to survey the role of translation within each society, displaying a ground-breaking combination of sociological insight and text analysis. Throughout the last decades, they have consolidated a brand-new disciplinary tradition, targeting chronologically and geographically distant literary spaces in their studies. Their suggestion that each system's discursive networks responds to a series of agreed-upon norms (once again, see Toury 2012) has opened up new venues for a socio-critical study of translation (see Brisset 1989), therefore enabling feminists, among other groups, to devise their own critical and theoretical instruments.

Once the Manipulation School managed to raise new concerns over the ideological premises underlying systemic consolidation (see Lefevere 1991), a series of "turns", among which the "cultural turn" (Bassnett and Lefevere 1998) and the "power turn" (Gentzler and Tymoczko 2002), have progressively shaped a more humanitarian focus for DTS, one able to encompass the vindication of social groups falling outside the Western nation-state scope required for consideration by DTS. Indeed, in another example of interdisciplinary productiveness, Bassnett and Trivedi insist in re-considering translation from a postcolonial

perspective, questioning whether traditional forms of its praxis have actually enabled truthful dialogues across nations. As Lamoureux argues (2001), the fact that unequal power relations are often interpreted through a "gender metaphoric" (Chamberlain 1988), portraying hegemonic nations as masculine and subjugated ones as feminine, seems to point at an urgent need, thus far ignored by the various disciplines concerned, of re-assessing gender-informed agencies in translation from a historical standpoint.

Women, as an "interpretive community" (Godard 1987: vii) without which (and often against which) both hegemonic and postcolonial nation-states have been configured, have profited considerably from this progressive de-construction of DTS' analytic tools, signaled by the aforementioned 'turns'. Of especial relevance for us are the new subject-oriented approaches to the discipline, and especially Chesterman's "Translator Studies" proposal (2009), underscoring for the first time individual agencies over broader and more imposing collectivities like nations. Today, the finally acknowledged importance of cross-cultural exchanges for the outcome of various power struggles has encouraged new fields of research, problematising unequal transnational relations through translation. Relying on the antecedent of Postcolonial Translation Studies (see Bassnett and Trivedi 1998), Feminist Translation Studies (see Castro and Ergun 2017) has generated a new space for debate about gender-related transnational inequalities, configuring a true transdiscipline in the intersection of Gender Studies and DTS. This new transnational scope has compelled its members to a consistent critique of previous contributions to this line of research, problematising Canadian Feminist Translation (for an outline, see works like Simon 1996 and Flotow 1997) as a form of white, colonial feminism produced from an hegemonic part of the globe (see, among others, Castro 2009).

Understandably, feminist revisionism has prompted various theorists to emphasise the need for a historical re-construction of female subjects and their activities. Flotow, for instance, proposes a clearly historical research question for future advances in our field: "How have women fared in translation?" (Flotow 1997: 90). Ergun (2010: 310), on her part, considers the re-writing of history from a feminist perspective an explicit goal of Feminist Translation efforts. Under the new transnational paradigm in which these and other theorists are currently immersed, one may expect a subsequent de-construction of traditional nation-state hegemonies as the primary source of identity for female and feminist agencies, and subsequently an exploration of specific, subject-centered methodologies replacing patriarchy's notions of relevance. In praxis, this would imply a displacement of the traditional historian's focus from warfare and national milestones to private settings, personal affinities, and individualism. And yet, little to no attention has been paid to pre-existent research venues possibilitating a historically-informed critique of female agencies. Similarly, an often underscored, overtly historical goal of implementing Foucault's archaeology (Foucault and Kremer-Marietti 1969)² in order to recover lost matrilineages is yet to be fully explored, either from a methodological or an empirical side³.

As the previous paragraphs suggest, both mainstream and Feminist Translation Studies are still in a process of devising the necessary tools to analyse agencies from the perspective of gender, a notion constantly subject to historical, as much as geographical, (re-) interpretations and updates. It is here, in my view, where cross-disciplinary synergies may be most useful. Feminist history has lately undertaken a de-construction of traditional notions of historical truth on the basis of post-structuralist theories, re-defining it as a discursive product at the service of patriarchy. As a result of this "linguistic turn" (Canning 1994), the conflicted notion of "gender" is re-considered from Feminist historians' privileged intersection between

history, philosophy, and ideology. A pioneer in this group, Scott (1999: 2) describes this concept not simply as a sociological construct, but as a multiplicity of ideological forms of knowledge, configuring different patterns of oppression across time and space. Drawing inspiration from social history, feminists displace historical relevance from the milestones of patriarchal politics, almost invariably related to warfare and border control, to more quotidian contexts and private spaces, finding support in apparently secondary, and often literary textual sources rather than in typically historiographical ones.

As Gordon, Buhle, and Dye claim (1976: 89), "(...) the writing of women into history necessarily involves redefining and enlarging traditional notions of historical significance, to encompass personal, subjective experience as well as public and political activities". Understandably, as soon as gender is taken as the notional prism in historical research, patriarchal notions of historical relevance must be reconsidered. Researchers must then tackle the seemingly anecdotal, private realms where female agencies have mainly operated, which nevertheless prove to be the environments where each society's symbols and values are first negotiated (Scott 1999). In line with Pym's assertions (2014), then, historical relevance, or "importance", his preferred term, is not an absolute concept, but a relational one, subject to convention, the discursive (re-)negotiation of which in translated texts becomes a subject matter of FTS under this new light.

In my view, however, Pym's problematisation of relevance is not limited to re-defining the pertinent aspects for a portrayal of traditionally marginal agencies. Indeed, it is very much concerned with the very agency of the scholar conducting the study. According to the procedural discussions of feminist historians (see Scott 1999), a major methodological breakthrough lies in asserting the agent's subjectivity in his or her analysis, which is nothing more (and nothing less) than a purposeful discursive utterance, suiting a particular set of interests or social conventions. In contrast, patriarchal scholarship has traditionally asserted methodological neutrality, the impossibility of which becomes especially apparent as soon as their work requires dealing with historical female agencies. In his famous work *After Babel* (1975), for instance, George Steiner recognised that "[i]n most societies and throughout history, the status of women has been akin to that of children" (Steiner 1975: 99). And yet, in the preface to *After Babel's* 2nd edition (see Steiner 1992: 16), he accuses feminisms of having "(...) brutalized or made trivial the complex, delicate fabric of evidence". Steiner's distrust in feminism thus seems to be methodological, fearing an explicitly subjective, and therefore compromised or biased scope. His own approach, however, is no less compromised or biased, portraying translations as feminised products undergoing metaphorical violation through "trust", "aggression", "embodiment", and "restitution" (Steiner 1998: 571ff).

In effect, Feminist Translation Studies, as much as feminist history, constitutes a subjective interpretive framework, delivering subjective interpretive results. However, as Eshelman accurately contends (2007), all kinds of studies rely on different interpretive premises, some dangerously concealed or even unnoticed by the researcher, as it frequently is the case of patriarchal premises in traditional scholarship. Therefore, in this scholar's view, the differential advantage in an explicit form of interpretation like feminism lies in the visibility of the commentator's agency, allowing a second interpreter to confront his or her particular research results with the explicit goals and methodologies purported by this agency. Hence, feminist scopes in any discipline do not run the risk of deceiving other subjects as to what the particulars of an inevitably compromised analytic standpoint are.

As we are about to see, discrediting the neutrality of traditional scholarship, particularly in its treatment of gender-related evidence, implies embracing new concepts of

"relevance". What is more, a gender-informed critique of agency allows for the re-assessment of translators as "non-evenemential" actors by definition, and of translations as the greyest of literatures (Bastin and Bandia 2006: 120ff). Patriarchal critical discourse, as Chamberlain has contended (1988), has established a metaphorical bond between femininity and translation as merely re-productive, passive concepts, as well as between authorship and masculinity as active and creative ones. And yet, as we are about to discuss, the practical role played by translation in the perpetuation of patriarchy, one of clear manipulation, is inconsistent with the preachings of most theoreticians throughout history.

On this basis, Chamberlain (1988: 456) perceives a "double standard" in the gender metaphors of translation, ultimately deterring women and other disempowered groups from being as unfaithful as patriarchal elites in their constant tempering with discourse: "(...) the infamous 'double standard' operates here as it might have in traditional marriages: the 'unfaithful' wife/ translation is publicly tried for crimes the husband/original is by law incapable of committing" (Chamberlain *ibid*: 456). In my opinion, this "double standard" responds to the premises established by the translation(s) of seminal texts for patriarchy, and especially the Bible. In the third section of this paper I intend to survey how Bible translating has contributed to consolidate the prescriptive basis of traditional translation theory, relying on gendered metaphors in order to consolidate discursive power inequalities. The fourth section will apply a feminist notion of relevance in order to shed new light on historically-bound Bible translating practices.

3. A Gender-informed Critique of the Notional Legacies of Bible Translating

As already argued, DTS is generally considered the inception of a historicising concern for past discourses on translation. It emerged in the 70s, a decade of social and intellectual turmoil, witnessing the rise of new concepts of readership, authority, and text, from Foucault's problematisation of the connection between discourse and knowledge (once again, see Foucault and Kremer-Marietti 1969), to Derrida's deconstructive work. Inspired by an unprecedented concern with textual authority, this pseudo-historical field committed itself to a deconstruction of classical, prescriptive differences between translation and original. Importantly, this task entailed, according to Holmes (1975: 67-68), a revision of the apparently subsidiary role of translation in its related fields' past scholarship:

After centuries of incidental and desultory attention from a scattering of authors, philologists, and literary scholars, plus here and there a theologian or an idiosyncratic linguist, the subject of translation has enjoyed a marked and constant increase in interest on the part of scholars in recent years, with the Second World War as a kind of turning point.

The fact that translation was for the first time being conceived as a distinctive discipline, however, did not imply that, as Holmes suggested back then, it had only received "incidental, delusory attention" on the part of previous epistemological traditions. Indeed, the capital importance of translation for the exertion of transcultural power has generated a series of necessarily prescriptive discourses throughout history, with the purpose of protecting its exclusive exploitation by patriarchal elites. Inevitably, these discourses have constituted the traditional basis on which most historicising efforts in our discipline have been produced, with an often unnoticed bias in their outcome. Subsequently, as shall be argued in the

following lines, translation's disguise as historically irrelevant and epistemically subsidiary is explained by a will to conceal the very different reality observed in patriarchal discursive operations, frequently operated through a symbiosis of religion and state. One of the aims of a feminist translation history, therefore, certainly involves exposing the discursive trap of translation's "non-evenementiality" (Bandia and Bastin 2006), and of the historical relevance standard by which it has thus far been judged.

There has been a perception in mainstream DTS that translation-enabled global discourses and mass communication interests are only recent, relying on new technologies and the creation of international institutions from the mid-20th century onwards (Holmes 1975). Conversely, the use of translation, especially by ecclesiastical elites, appears to have been mass-communication oriented since ancient times, in the means of attaining global power and control through discourse. While one may agree with the first descriptivists in that most theoretical preaching on translation has been "delusory" (Holmes *ibid*: 67), several pre-christianity discussions advanced quite liberating notions of translation, surprisingly similar to the de-constructive, post-structuralist views of reader, writer, and text on which feminist translators' agency strongly relies (Godard 1989). For instance, in his paper on imitation as a form of translation, Douglas Robinson (2001: 112) reflects on Cicero's groundbreaking understanding of translation, based on his experience rendering texts by Greek orators into Latin: "Exprimere literally means "to squeeze out"--a powerful image for the translation process as Cicero describes it, akin to giving birth. Figuratively, especially in connection with *imitando*, *exprimere* means to mould or form one thing in imitation of another". Translation here is understood as a process of reported speech or quote, a procedure of re-circulation of previous discourses through a new lens. Similarly, in the same paper by Robinson (*ibid*: 112), the following excerpt proves how mild but definitely anti-prescriptive approaches to translation have silently coexisted with the prevailing, traduttore-traduttore discourses of fear: "As [John Dryden] later remarks, 'imitation of an author is the most advantageous way for a translator to show himself, but the greatest wrong which can be done to the memory and reputation of the dead'".

Since "(...) here as elsewhere, Dryden was only popularizing a sense of the word that had been well-established in tradition" (Robinson *ibid*: 112), one may suppose that a number of theorists throughout History have understood translation as a crucial tool for the definition of identities across borders, a praxis typical of empowered subjects and hegemonic organisations. However, by virtue of these same performative attributes, translation is also a space where such identities may be (re-)negotiated, allowing non-normative agencies to challenge imposed conventions. It is perhaps this what Dryden feared to the extent of fierce condemnation. As a result, rather than inciting readers to an exploration of translation as re-writing, a majority of patriarchal commentators have obsessively attempted to monopolise the definitions of "fidelity" and "equivalence".

On its part, translation fidelity is a historically constructed "politics of transmission" (Simon 1996), often portrayed explained through marital images in line with Chamberlain's aforementioned gender metaphors (1988). Strict faithfulness to original texts has thus been demanded of translators as much as systematically disobeyed by patriarchal elites precisely in the establishment of such originals, often embodying, as already argued, crucial turning points of Western history. Upon approaching the translation of texts on which patriarchal authority resides, a sense of moral duty "feminises" translation agencies on account of their merely re-productive role. Those texts' masculine seed of "universal" truth relies on such feminised mediators in order to ensure a perpetuation of patriarchal values. As a result, the

slightest temptation of "unfaithfulness" by approaching unofficial (metaphorically "extramarital") texts, traditions, or practices has been historically discouraged by theoretical paraphernalia. This manoeuvre constitutes a "double standard" (again, see Chamberlain 1988) in as much as textual infidelity is constantly being committed by patriarchal elites, precisely upon establishing the textual authority of foundational texts like the Bible.

As for the concept of "equivalence", of particular relevance have been, indeed, the standards set by Church-appointed Bible translators, on the basis of the very careful projects officially undertaken by the Christian authorities from early times. As this paper's departing premises have announced (see section 2), bible translations are the key factor in various major turning points in the history of both Eastern and Western thought. Subsequently, the Bible's constant "re-translations" are acts of interested re-negotiation of its meaning and the social constructs thereby presented, confronting nations beyond the East-West axis usually employed in mainstream history. In particular, the Christian foundational texts are mutually-opposing results of compilation, establishment, and reception on a wide variety of premises, constantly inaugurating interpretive traditions for the political gain of different patriarchal elites. It is nevertheless in early Christian translation practices, aimed at establishing both the Biblical source text and its reception, where our field's traditional original/translation dichotomy lies.

As the fiercest example of systematic manipulation, a sort of transediting (Marinetti 2012) combining politically-driven canonizations with controversial re-wordings, the translation projects for the Septuagint (200 BCE-50 CE) and the Vulgate (4th century) are among the greatest, most ambitious translation projects of ancient time. Their goal was to produce, in line with evolving cultural hegemonies, politically profitable versions of the Scriptures into the Ancient World's epistemological koinés: Greek and Latin. The so-called Patriarchs⁴ tempering with Middle-East lines of textual transmission in Hebrew, Aramaic, Coptic, and Armenian ultimately determined which interpretive frameworks were heretic and apocryphal.

This placed translation at the crossroads of Early Christian power struggles, as much as, subsequently, of those in early-modern ones, when new readings of the source texts took place for their translation into European vernaculars. Indeed, Latin being the official language of knowledge transmission throughout the Middle Ages, the Vulgata's textual authority was undisputed for centuries. It was by the end of the medieval period that the progressive consolidation of cultural and political dissent, of prototypical nations, required protecting the Vulgata from the new interpretations and particular purposes to which vernacular translations could subject it. While the Roman Church's alliance with the feudal regime was unquestionable, its idea of absolute cross-cultural power was founded on the inviolability of the Latin version. It is in the first projects of Bible translation into the vernaculars where a new order of alliances between christianity and the emerging nation-states were negotiated, with the subsequent appearance of new religious denominations fighting for cross-cultural hegemony.

This phenomenon of state-church alliance, by which Catholic and Protestant models of patriarchal societies strived for cross-cultural influence, is by no means devoid of manipulative interests. In the means of protecting power exertion through religion, it did not entirely challenge foundational myths on the "miraculous unanimity" (Simon 1987: 429) of sense allegedly reached by the various translators of the Septuagint, inspired by the ultimate, steadfast source of sense: God (Tymoczko 2006: 34). As a result, hermeneutics, a process inherent to translation, has successfully remained a purely scholastic prerogative till recently

(see Hermans 2009), with the emergence of feminism, among various other explicitly manipulative frameworks. However, Protestant Bible translations did indeed erode what feminist theorist Barbara Godard (1989: 42) defines as a "poetics of transparency", producing more approachable renderings for autonomous, unmediated Bible reading.

4. Gendered Agencies in Patriarchal Bible Translating: New Perspectives to Classical Interrogations

The point of this section is to suggest certain lines of research into the treatment of Biblical female agencies through translation, as well as, ultimately, to prove how gender relations have been crucial (re-)signifiers in Bible translation. Despite several disclaimers from reputed feminists like Beauvoir or Kate Millet (see Simon 1996: 105), discouraged by the seminal role of this set of texts in patriarchal societies, various translation-related issues in the treatment of Biblical female agencies have been dealt with from a feminist, historical perspective. In her book *Gender in Translation* (1996), Sherry Simon has offered a comprehensive survey of gender-relevant phenomena both in the general textual characterisation of the Bible, as well as in particular aspects of its translation. In regard with the Bible's overall textual layout, a crucial aspect for feminist critics lies in a deconstruction of Biblical authorship, especially considering the various narrative voices entangled in its production and the relevance of certain female protagonists like Ester or Judith. (see Millgram 2007). As Simon explains (*ibid*: 164), the earliest source traditionally identified in the Hebrew Bible is the Yahwistic Document (J, 10th century BCE), followed by the Elohist Document (E, 9th century BCE); the Deuteronomistic Document (D, circa 7th century BCE), and the Priestly Document (P, 6th-5th centuries BCE). In line with renowned, mainstream critics like Bloom (1990), it has often been suggested that the 10th-century Yahwist author could have been a woman (Simon 1996: 117).

In particular, Bledstein's influential contribution to this research line argues that Tamar, king David's daughter (997 BCE-?), was a priestess who authored texts having inspired parts of the Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and the Song of Songs (see Bledstein 2016: 77). Interestingly, according to this scholar, she is presented by Ezra and Nehemiah as HaSopheret, "the female scribe", which is in sharp contrast with an overall, intentional blurring of her agency, perhaps due to her loss of dignity upon being raped by her half-brother, Amnon (Bledstein *ibid*). Her narrative, however, must have been regarded as productive given her positive portrayal of her father, king David, whose various wrongdoings throughout his life kept him in silence for a considerable number of years in the Scripture. And yet, Tamar's heroism is undeniable, especially in her first-person interventions after Amnon's brutal attack: "Unlike abused women who feel somehow guilty, so suffer in silence, shame, and self-reproach, Tamar grieves publically, loudly, in the streets of Jerusalem" (Bledstein *ibid*: 83).

Tamar's condition as a priestess, acknowledged on the basis of her distinctively rich garments in the passages where she appears (Bledstein *ibid*), seems to point at a reality of female agencies only partially presented in the Bible: a number of female priesthoods, composed of literate and cultivated members, like Tamar herself in king David's court, led liberated lifestyles in the Jewish and other neighbouring civilisations. Quite interestingly, according to archaeologist Merlin Stone (1978: 396), they followed "(...) ancient sexual customs", which did not prevent them from marrying afterwards, associated to female divinities completely absent from the Hebrew Bible and other contemporary texts. Especially

on the account of its multiple layers, edited primarily by men (Bledstein *ibid*), the Hebrew Bible's historiographical scope has unfortunately been conditioned by its role as the seminal text of a patriarchal nation. As a result of the constant transformations suffered throughout history, the Yahwistic Document, potentially attributed to a woman narrator, should not be analysed from the obsessive standpoint of nominal authorship. Quite conversely, this has led many feminist historians to a sort of "Matilda effect" (Rossiter 1993), mirroring the so-called Mathew Complex (Merton 1968), which consists in attributing any potentially female prowess to the most relevant woman of the period in question. Such is the case of Tamar, whose position as king David's daughter and involvement in some prophecies are sadly the main reasons behind her tolerated appearance in the Bible, despite what must have been a truly empowered female agency.

An effective methodological proposal for these texts would therefore depart from the idea that tightly interwoven, "fragmented authorships" (Hurley and Goodblatt 2009) by ancient male and female voices are virtually unidentifiable. This is reinforced by the fact that patriarchy's contemporary concept of nominal authorship does not match ancient considerations in this sense. What is truly discernible in these pieces is the discursive evidence of past female agencies, of the ways in which they operated, their lifestyle and the gender-related perceptions governing their lives. For this purpose, social history methodologies may be a useful input in discourse analysis. Such is the premise at the core of Walsh's approach to the Song of Songs (2000: 1ff), one of the fragmentary pieces potentially belonging to the Yahwistic Document. An apparently non-religious set of poems, featuring an unmarried couple's eroticism, its first-person account of a young female's sexuality has received attention by several feminist scholars (see, for instance, Pardes 1992). Its attribution, like in other controversial Biblical texts, to relevant male characters like king Solomon is potentially a quibbling to ensure canonisation (Walsh 2000: 5). After much controversy, the centrality of desire in this narration has not prevented an allegoric interpretation of spiritual love between the Jewish nation, often feminised in the Bible, and its male God. This patriarchal interpretation of the Scriptures, based, as usual, on a patriarchally-productive gender metaphors, seems strange since, as commonly agreed-upon, "(...) in the Hebrew culture sex had been demythologized", and considered "(...) a proper sphere for man and not for deity" (Phipps 1973: 83). However, it was probably devised in order to grant historiographical significance to a clearly anti-historiographical text, at least from traditional standards, and famous for its absolute lack of contextual detail (Walsh 2000: 7).

For Walsh, the reader's focus should instead be placed on "(...) desire, how pleasures are described and longed for, and how these pleasures offer at least a glimpse into a culture's attitudes and values toward sexual desire" (Walsh *ibid*: 10). Here, in Walsh's view, social history should assist traditional historiographical sources in accounting for the "(...) facets of Israelite daily life such as livelihood, marital customs, rituals, dining habits, religious and legal beliefs, and the like" (Walsh *ibid*: 9). All these aspects, understandably, contribute to a re-construction of the voices' potential gender conventions. From a feminist perspective, undoubtedly, it is in the contexts evoked by these practices, and not in those portrayed by warfare chronicles and land occupation, where female agencies have a better chance of emerging. Subsequently, this scholar discusses the female speaker's choice of culturally-bound, natural imagery of both pleasure and hardship as commonly antagonistic feelings in the Bible. A great opportunity is therefore granted in the Song of Songs to leave aside the male pleasures traditionally portrayed in the biblical world (women, wine, God, laughing,

etc., according to Walsh *ibid*), and reflect instead on how female agencies pursued their own pleasure and happiness.

Besides its archaeological value for those feminist critics concerned with compiling a different history of humanity, a gender-informed, historical re-construction of cultural images is of great assistance for the discourse analysis required in Bible translation. Biblical Israel's gendered cultural images are found at the core of the most influential translation dilemmas of early Christianity. For instance, Greek philosopher Origen (253 ACE-254 ACE) supplemented his translated passage of the Temptation of Christ with an explanation on the feminine Hebrew word *ruah*, generally understood as "wind". In the particular context concerned, it referred to a non-corporeal presence which he understood as a holy "spirit", a decision potentially drawing Saint Jerome's later attention to this passage (De Santos Otero 1963: 54). Although properly grounded, what was ultimately not sanctioned was his intuition on the importance of this female image's matching grammatical gender. In Origen's discussion, this *ruah* was presented as Christ's "Mother", and not as the ghostly presence of his Father, generally agreed-on afterwards. Unsurprisingly, in an apocryphal Latin version of the Song of Songs, Saint Jerome (419-420) seemed to follow this interpretation (De Santos Otero *ibid*: 41). According to Myers (2010: 427), such was the common perception of Early Christian Syriac speakers who, as she convincingly argues, (...) had the advantage of examining the biblical texts in a Semitic language and from a Semitic culture, similar to the environment in which the earliest texts had originated. Thus, "(...) although striking to western readers, [the metaphor of God's spirit as a mother] is a concept that grows naturally out of the feminine character of spirit in Semitic languages". While Simon briefly discusses how *ruah* became "spirit" from its original sense of "wind" (see Simon 1996: 107), she does not delve into the impact of grammatical gender in the re-negotiation of important cultural images for patriarchy.

Nevertheless, the most important contribution of social history for a feminist analysis of the Hebrew Bible is a de-construction of Biblical gender constructs central for exegesis purposes, as well as a critique of their portrayal in later interpretive traditions. Indeed, the main interpretive schism between Rabbinic and Christian exegesis, Christ's identification as the promised Messiah, lies in a potential distortion of the gender conventions standing in past Israelite societies. This Messiah, as predicted by prophet Isaiah (Isaiah 7) to king Ahaz around the 7th century BCE, was to be born to an 'almah, a term the basic translation of which would be "young lady", apparently mirroring the masculine form 'elem (Steinmueller 1940). And yet, the etymological studies undertaken in regard with this term do not give much hope to feminist causes. Despite deriving from the verb 'alam, which theoretically meant "to become strong or powerful" (Steinmueller 1940: 41), 'elem and 'almah seemed to acquire very different connotations over time. Probably aware of being before a serious interpretive issue, Saint Jerome provided lengthy explanations on this potential stem for 'almah, defining it as "to conceal or hide": a typical action taken in order to protect young virgins till their marriage (Steinmueller *ibid*: 30). The meaning of 'alam seems to evolve quite suddenly also throughout Steinmueller's own discussion (*ibid*: 31), from the general definition of juvenile vigour to a gender-marked "to be strong and virile or robust". That this scholar is by no means objective in his argumentation is observed in his comments to the Palmyrene Tariff (137 CE) a bilingual, Greek-Aramaic document where prices for both male and female slaves were established. Here, he argues that the contextual meaning of 'almah is "slave" or "harlot" (Steinmueller *ibid*: 37), which, besides proving women's universal

semantic derogation (see Schulz 1975), does little to portray virginity as a defining trait for 'almah.

The Hebrew Bible contains nine references to the word 'almah (Steinmueller 1940). None of them categorically emphasises virginity as a sine-qua-non trait of the women falling under this category. Instead, patriarchal attraction for female youth seems to be underscored in its use, from the hagiographic description of a young Rebecca (Gen. 24) to the clearly sexual, closing verse of Proverb 30: (...) "And the way of a man with a young woman" (Prov. 30:19). Given the existence of the specific word *betulah* (see Simon 1996: 164), also present in the Bible, virginity seems to have been at best a peripheral, perhaps desirable, but by no means a defining trait of 'almah, as it was of *virgo*, Saint Jerome's equivalent in the Vulgate. Traditionally, Catholic scholastics have failed to deal with Isaiah's 'almah as the very subject determining Emmanuel's identification in the prophecy, tempering instead with the gender construct behind it in order to suit a particular contender to the Messianic mission. The Bible itself offers a number of clues into the socio-cultural interpretation of 'almah. As StuhlmueLLer rightfully indicates (1961: 172), the "(...) marvelous births of sacred history, from Isaac, Samson and Samuel" usually concerned older, also in other prophecies by Isaiah, barren women, and not young virgins, who unexpectedly conceived great men, mirroring Israel's constant "re-birth" in the face of all trials (StuhlmueLLer *ibid*). This makes Mary's virginal conception an unprecedented sign of God's will.

However, the ultimate sociocultural input for an accurate translation of 'almah must come, once again, from social history. Isaiah's prophecy may have easily been referred to the incumbent king Ahaz, who interestingly re-married around that time, his new, younger wife perhaps bringing new hope to king David's lineage, menaced by a foreign coalition back then. Given the actual relevance of Queen Mothers in Biblical history (see Ackerman 1993), the need to discern the gender-related conventions behind 'almah, especially among royal women, requires increased sociocultural attention to their role as state representatives and appropriate mothers for Davidic descendants (for recent contributions in this matter, see Bach 2013).

On the other hand, after examining a marriage contract of the Babatha Archive, unearthed in the Judean desert, Tal Ilan (1993) has argued that premarital cohabitation was a custom in Ancient Judea, consistent with certain passages of the Mishnah, the most ancient written collection of oral traditions. To what extent was premarital virginity a defining trait for young women? It is my impression that various parts of the Bible suggesting premarital intercourse have been re-channeled under the sociocultural conventions of marriage inherited by the Church from Roman society. This is particularly apparent in the Song of Songs, which has often been asserted to portray a married couple in the means of favouring certain perceptions of gender roles in the Bible over others. For Phipps (1974: 83), the phrase "my dear sister (achoth), my dear bride" may well be understood as "my dear wife". A more extensive, socio-historical explanation of Ancient Israelite kinship than the one provided is definitely required to sustain such this interpretation. As a crucial praxis for patriarchal societies, Bible re-translating and exegesis have implied a constant re-negotiation of gender-related social norms.

5. Conclusions and Future Lines of Research

The main goal of this paper has been to portray gender and gendered agencies as crucial spaces of cross-cultural (re-)negotiation in history, as well as to suggest certain

methodological frameworks to analyse such a (re-)negotiation through translation. Feminist Translation Studies has hence been portrayed as the disciplinary crossroads where a wide variety of feminist interrogations and critical procedures may converge. Patriarchal (re-)translation projects have followed different "politics of transmission" (Simon 1996), ultimately pursuing the promotion of particular forms of patriarchal kinship, laying the basis of our contemporary "nations". Since women are essential re-productive objects in those models of kinship, the assertion of cultural differences in translation often implies important shifts in their discursive representation. More realistic notions of relevance would thus do well in targeting traditionally inconsequential (because typically feminine) realms of cultural signification. As argued so far, Bible translating is one of those spaces where this gender-informed concept of relevance could be useful in a multiplicity of aspects.

Nevertheless, the socio-historical approach proposed in this paper should also encourage future research into what we could identify as feminist *Translator* Studies (see Chesterman 2009), pursuing, among other historically-motivated aims, an explanation on women's particular connection with patriarchal translation praxis. Early women translators' agencies like that of Mary Sidney were often connected with the translation of pious and sacred texts (see Simon 1996). As a consequence of the so-called coloniality of gender (Lugones 2016), women mediators like La Malinche are frequent, sacrificial figures in the history of colonisation processes. What is the relevance of these translator agencies' in patriarchal history? What is the motivation between patriarchal history's reference to these women? The ultimate, gender-informed critique of historical relevance should definitely consider female translators' agencies paradoxically central role in most patriarchal endeavours.

Notes:

1 This work was supported through a 3-year junior research fellowship by the Generalitat Valenciana, and particularly the Conselleria d'Educació, Cultura i Esport, as well as by the European Social Fund, via the ACIF programme, under Grant 2017/9830.

2 Relevant discussions of a feminist praxis of Foucault's Archaeology of Knowledge have been provided by Godayol (2011) and Vidal Claramonte (1998).

3 An exception to the rule may be found in the research carried out by the GETLIHC research group Estudis de Gènere: Traducció, Literatura, Història i Comunicació).

4 Etymology is often a most sincere source in order to survey the politics of history. Interestingly, the original "patriarchate" referred to early Christian authorities, as well as to the male lineage featuring the Old Testament's different books.

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In SKASE Journal of Translation and Interpretation [online]. 2021, vol. 14, no. 1 [cit. 2021-04-26]. Available online at http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTI20/pdf_doc/04.pdf. ISSN 1336- 7811.

Chinese Literary Translation in Spain up until 2020: A Quantitative approach of the Who, What, When and How

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Abstract

Translations of Chinese literature have traditionally been scarce in Spain. The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of both the development and current state of Chinese literature translated in Spain. Working from a database including 695 entries of translated books into Spain's official languages, our analysis reveals that the number of translations has increased sharply in recent decades and now seems to be levelling out. It also establishes that Laozi's Dao De Jing is the most translated work, philosophy and novels are clearly the most popular genres and there has been a steady increase in direct translations, among other findings.

Keywords: *Chinese literature, Chinese-Spanish translation, Chinese-Catalan translation, Chinese-Galician translation, Chinese-Basque translation, literary translation, history of translation*

1. Introduction

1.1. Socio-cultural context

According to the *Panorámica de la edición española de libros 2017* (Overview of Spanish Book Publishing 2017) drafted by the Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte (Spanish Ministry of Culture and Sport) (2018), translations represented 21.1% of the total Spanish editorial production in 2017. This market share represents a 36.8% increase in the number of translated titles compared to the previous year. Translations from English accounted for 51.1% of translated works and all of the most translated languages experienced a significant increase in comparison with 2016, the most notable being from Italian (146.2%), Swedish (39.3%), English (37.5%), Japanese (30.3%) and Portuguese (26.8%). As opposed to a more developed translation market of other distant languages in Spain, such as Japanese (Wang 2016), Chinese is not mentioned in this document, probably due to the discrete presence the translations from this language in this country. The same applies to other official languages in Spain, such as Catalan. As Prado-Fonts (2001) noted, the translation of Chinese literature into Catalan is not the result of careful planning, but is rather more spontaneous in nature. This comes as no surprise, given Spain's weak tradition in Sinology (Wang 2016). The long-established scarcity of Chinese-Spanish translations has had an impact on the academic and more theory-oriented study of translation for this language combination (Ciruela 2003). This has resulted in Spanish sinological studies lagging behind countries such as France, the United Kingdom and Germany (Ciruela 2003). Wang (2016: 65) already noticed that, "the translation of Chinese literature in Spain has not yet reached a satisfactory level, and many original works are still ignored." Given the fact that China has never been colonised by a

western power, and unlike ex-colonies which are closer to powerful western countries, Chinese culture is considered to be more distant and less accessible. In other words, Chinese texts are viewed as marginalised texts in dominant cultures (Wang 2016: 67). The paradox comes when what is considered to be “peripheral literature” in China is viewed as peripheral literature in Western countries, but for different reasons than in China. For example, Rovira-Esteva (2016) observes that in China Chun Sue’s *Beijing Doll* is seen as peripheral culture because it gives voice to non-mainstream culture. In contrast, it is considered peripheral in the West because the original is in Chinese and “target readers have to overcome a series of stereotypes associated with that before they approach it on equal terms with other foreign literatures” (Rovira-Esteva 2016: 202).

However, according to the data on the 26 most frequently translated languages for literary translation in Europe collected by the UNESCO’s Index Translationum (Budapest Observatory 2011), the future of translation from Chinese into European languages looks promising:

Translations from that [Chinese] literature did not stand out until 2002-2003 but then climbed well above the rest. Chinese is likely to occupy a position among the first fifteen source languages of new translated titles published in Europe in the future.

Prado-Fonts (2011: 3) pointed out that Chinese contemporary authors are being increasingly translated into Spanish, finally filling a gap that was both inexplicable and embarrassing. This upward tendency had already been noticed by other sinologists, such as Ciruela (2003: 108), who sees in said trend an end to the cultural disconnection that has characterised Spain and China for decades. Nonetheless, Chinese literature is not a mainstream choice for the average (and euro-centric) Spanish reader, as its anecdotal presence in libraries, bookstore shelves and media testifies. Prado-Fonts (2011) claims that this recent interest in Chinese literature is often dominated by commercial authors whose works are not necessarily tagged “quality”. Also, this change responds to publishing houses opting for works that reinforce our own orientalist expectations that some Chinese authors are willing to satisfy. Rovira-Esteva’s (2016: 203) analysis of the paratexts of the translations into English, Spanish and Catalan of Chun Sue’s *Beijing Doll* also shows that these were domesticated “to conform to target audience expectations (i.e. mainstream ideology) in order to ensure success in terms of market indicators.” Traditionally, the Chinese authors translated into Spanish were either chosen randomly or picked by scholars who almost pleaded with publishing houses and very often translated the works themselves (Prado-Fonts 2011: 4). In fact, renowned scholars translating Chinese classical works is not a rarity given the considerable difficulty this task entails, which cannot be surmounted unless many years are devoted to the study of the work concerned (Ciruela 2003).

Spain is not the only country in which translating Chinese works is infrequent. Lovell (2010) claimed that, despite the strenuous efforts on the part of post-Mao Chinese authors in their quest for an international audience, in countries such as the USA and the UK, the presence of Chinese translations has always been very modest. The reason for this is not only the aversion to reading translations in Anglophone cultures, but also the idea that persisted for a long time that Chinese literature was more of a source of socio-political information about China (and even propagandistic) rather than works with a literary value (Lovell 2010: 202), and in fact, Chinese modern literature has been labelled as “poor”. Lovell (2010) also

observed that among the limited selection of translated Chinese authors, some have not obtained their fellow countrymen's approval. This is the case of Gao Xingjian, who, despite being awarded the Nobel prize, is not well-known in the Mainland and is not considered to be a good representative of Chinese literature.

The growing presence of China in the media due to its re-emergence as an economic superpower has resulted in Chinese culture awakening more interest, including its literature (Sáiz-López 2015). Yet, and as Prado-Fonts (2011: 5) notes, interest in Spain is more of a sociological rather than literary nature. In fact, the Taiwanese literary critic Hsia (1967, in Prado-Fonts 2008) had already complained about Chinese writers paying excessive attention to Chinese national issues. Spanish readers want to know what Chinese people read, what they write and how they live in order to gain a deeper insight into the country that is supposed to (or is already) ruling the world (Prado-Fonts 2011: 5). In the same vein, Marin-Lacarta (2012) alleges that the literary value of Chinese works is given less importance, or even overlooked to highlight its documentary value. Marin-Lacarta (2012: 46) claims the literary works that arrived in Spain before 2000 were mainly realistic, historical and autobiographic novels. Prado-Fonts (2008) exemplifies this lack of literary interest with the reception of the Spanish translations of Qian Zhongshu's *Fortress besieged* (1946) and Nobel laureate Gao Xingjian's *Soul mountain* (1990). Their literary richness and merit have been ignored and are interpreted in an exotic vein which feeds the orientalist view readers, and even critics, hold of Chinese literature (Prado-Fonts 2008: 202). Rovira-Esteva (2016) also illustrates the lesser importance attached to the literary value of Chinese works with Chun Sue's *Beijing Doll*, which she considers to be more important for the western audience for its criticism of Chinese mainstream ideologies and institutions rather than for its literary quality. This stands in stark contrast to what some Chinese authors endorse. Gao Xingjian, for instance, defends what he calls "cold literature": a radical depoliticization of literary works (Prado-Fonts 2008: 262; Lovell 2010). Nonetheless, Rovira-Esteva and Sáiz-López (2008) mention the aesthetic values of some works (for example, the use of new creative techniques) among the reasons behind the selection of a Chinese work to be translated for foreign consumption. Yet, for Rovira-Esteva and Sáiz-López (2008), this is not the only factor taken into account: the literary prizes awarded, censorship and the intermediation of previously existing British, French and American translations also play a decisive role.

Although the type of works chosen to be translated seem to have slightly changed with the translation of authors such as Yu Hua, Yan Lianke and Mo Yan, Marin-Lacarta (2012) examined some paratexts concerning the latter's translated works and confirmed that current editorial and media practices fail to convey what really stands out most in Mo Yan's prose: its contrasts, fantasy and magic realism, and humour, among many other literary features. Blaming only the meta culture and reception process for this would be inaccurate, since Maoism created a conception of literature linked to socialist realism until the 1970s, which had an impact not only on the authors at the time, but also on the idea that earlier authors had to be eliminated from the history of domestic literature. Whatever the case, and as Marin-Lacarta (2012) notes, this phenomenon has relegated Chinese literature to a marginal position in Spain. Conversely, Rovira-Esteva (2016: 202) claims that the mere fact some texts have been selected to be translated and that they are marketed to reach middlebrow readership in Spain entails a "shift from the periphery of the Chinese literary system to a more central position in the target literary system."

1.2. Research background

Research into Chinese-Spanish translation is far from abundant. We can find a handful of papers analysing specific Chinese works, such as that comparing the different translations of Ma Jian's *Beijing Coma* or Mo Yan's *The Garlic Ballads* (Ku 2014 and 2016, respectively). On the other hand, there are a few which focus on specific authors as, for example, Martín Ríos (2007) on Wen Yiduo's poetry, Mi Tian (2018) presenting the figure of Marcela de Juan or Rovira-Esteva and Tor-Carroggio (2020) on Sanmao's *Sahara Diaries* reception through translator's footnotes.

As far as more comprehensive studies are concerned, Arbillaga's (2003) seminal work should be mentioned. Her bibliographical study not only includes both direct and mediated translations of Chinese works into Spanish, including translations carried out in Spain, but also some translations published in China and Latin America. Her corpus comprises a total of 228 works originally written in Chinese. Prado-Fonts (2009) is also one of the few authors offering a brief overview of Chinese-Spanish translation from a historical and critical perspective. Marin-Lacarta (2012: 114) analysed a corpus of 84 Chinese works written from 1917-2009 translated into Spanish or Catalan. Wang (2016) carried out a corpus-based study on Chinese narrative translated into Spanish, including novels, stories, biographies and autobiographies. The list was extracted from the Spanish Ministry of Culture and UNESCO's Index Translationum. A total of 69 works by 41 different authors were recovered, six of which were classical works, 15 belonged to modern literature and 48 were contemporary literature. Her corpus revealed that the number of translations from Chinese into Spanish is much more modest compared to other countries and that many Chinese works land in Spain via the mediated translation of other languages such as English and French. In fact, as Rovira-Esteva points out (2016: 204), the decision to translate a book is often based on its prior success in the English translation or because the publisher has been offered translation rights by an international agency. This clearly shows Spain's dependence on other European cultures that are more powerful, and proves the asymmetrical power relations between languages and cultures, and that translation tends to be a transmission rather than dialogue (Wang 2016). In this vein, Rovira-Esteva (2016: 204) affirms that the Chinese and Spanish cultures function as "minor" cultures in contact with Anglo-Saxon culture and, in turn, Spanish and Catalan cultures function as "major" cultures in relation to Chinese.

1.3. Objectives and research questions

The research carried out thus far consists of either partial studies mainly focusing on just one language pair, author or genre, or out-of-date studies that end in 2012. Therefore, there are no recent studies analysing data extracted from an updated and extensive corpus that can offer a thorough overview of either the evolution Chinese literature has experienced in Spain or its current state. This is precisely the aim of this paper, which will focus on the development and status quo of the Chinese literary works translated into any of Spain's official languages, namely, Spanish, Catalan, Galician and Basque. In order to achieve this aim, we attempt to respond to the following research questions:

- a) Whose works are translated and who translates them?
- b) What is translated in terms of genres and which are the most translated Chinese literary works?
- c) When have the translations been published and can an evolution over time of all of the above-mentioned variables be traced?

- d) How have these translations been carried out as far as language pairs and teamwork is concerned?

1.4. Data and methodology

The open-access database *La literatura china traducida en España* (Chinese literature translated in Spain)² was used (deleted for peer review). This database attempts to include all the Chinese literary works (namely poetry, essay, short story, novel, comic, philosophy and theatre) translated directly or through a mediating language into all of Spain's official languages published in Spain. Only translations published as printed books or with an ISBN are considered eligible and the selection ranges from Juan Cobo's translation of *Precious Mind for Enlightening the Mind* in the 16th century to the latest translations published in 2019, such as Liu Cixin's *The Wandering Earth*. Up to April 2020, the database included more than 700 different entries. One entry can correspond to the translation of more than one work, for example anthologies. Different editions³ of the same translation are gathered under the same entry, are counted only once in this study and the date in which they were first published is the one taken as a reference.

The information collected in this database has been retrieved through a number of different sources, mainly the catalogue of the Spanish National Library, the Spanish ISBN database, the Index Translationum, the catalogue of the Library of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, the websites "China Traducida y por Traducir"⁴ and "Asiared",⁵ general press, the online catalogues of publishing houses, personal libraries and through personal communication with Spanish translators who revised the entries mentioning them and let us know which information was missing. The data in each entry has been maintained as shown in the translations' paratexts so, for instance, authors' names and publishing houses appear as they are printed in the books, whether or not in the official pinyin transcription or belonging to bigger publishing groups, respectively.

The above-mentioned database can be consulted online, but it is a dynamic, open-ended project, constantly being updated and, therefore, constantly in progress. In order to facilitate our analysis, we exported the data to an excel file in February 2020, when the database included a total of 695 entries. For the purpose of data analysis some adjustments had to be made. First, the works that had been assigned more than one genre were retagged taking into account a quantitative criterion. More specifically, the genre was decided based on how many works of each genre were included in that specific translation. For example, in *Invisible Planets* (edited by Ken Liu) there are both short stories and essays revolving around science fiction but, given that the former outnumber the latter, the final genre tag assigned to this book was *short story*. However, this kind of adjustment was only necessary in four cases. The same quantitative criterion was applied to two books that combine both direct and mediated translation. For example, if in a specific anthology the number of poems translated through a language different from Chinese exceeds that of those translated directly from Chinese, that book's type of translation was tagged as *mediated*.

When presenting the names of, for example, the most prolific translators or the most translated authors, efforts were made to create top ten lists, but this was not possible when more than one translator or author had the same number of translations published in Spain. In these cases, lists have either been shortened or extended so that this problem is avoided or so that no one is left out arbitrarily.

The titles of the translations are presented in English to make the paper easier to read, but an annex has been added showing the correspondence between the original title and its translations into English and Spanish.

2. Results and discussion

As previously mentioned, our analysis has been carried out based on a database including 695 entries in total. More specifically, it comprised 618 translations into Spanish (88.9%), 56 into Catalan (8.1%), 15 into Basque (2.2%) and 6 into Galician (0.9%). The results have been divided into four different subsections for more clarity: the who (original authors, translators and publishers), what, when and how.

2.1. The “who” in Chinese literary translation in Spain

2.1.1. The original authors

The database contains a total of 400 identifiable authors. In this section, those cases in which the authorship was tagged as *anonymous* or *various authors* have been ignored. In the light of the results obtained, it can be clearly stated that the most translated Chinese author in Spain is Laozi –with 74 versions of his *Dao De Jing* identified–, followed by another philosopher, Sunzi –with 37 versions of his *The Art of War*– (see Figure 1). This contradicts Arbilla’s (2003: 181) findings, since, according to her, Mao Zedong was the most translated author. Arbilla (2003: 181) also affirmed that, with the exception of some poems, Mao had never been directly translated from Chinese in Spain. However, our data contradicts her findings, since our database includes at least five of his works (essays) directly translated from Chinese in the 1970’s.

Our ranking includes authors cultivating almost all the genres under study except for theatre. Another important fact to bear in mind is that all the authors depicted in Figure 1 are men and that different regions of Greater China are represented, namely, Mainland China (Mao Zedong, Mo Yan), Hong Kong (Tony Wong) and Taiwan (Jimmy Liao). Obviously, and given the historical times they lived in, it is impossible to classify Laozi, Sunzi, Li Bai, Confucius, Du Fu and Wang Wei in these geographical terms. Also, these ten most translated authors belong to very different historical moments, ranging from the 6th century BC (Laozi, for example) to the present time (Mo Yan and Jimmy Liao, for instance).

It is worth mentioning that, among this top-ten of the most translated authors, some have only one work which has been repeatedly translated, i.e. has dozens of versions (such as Laozi or Sunzi), whilst others have a wide range of their literary production translated, such as Jimmy Liao or Mo Yan.

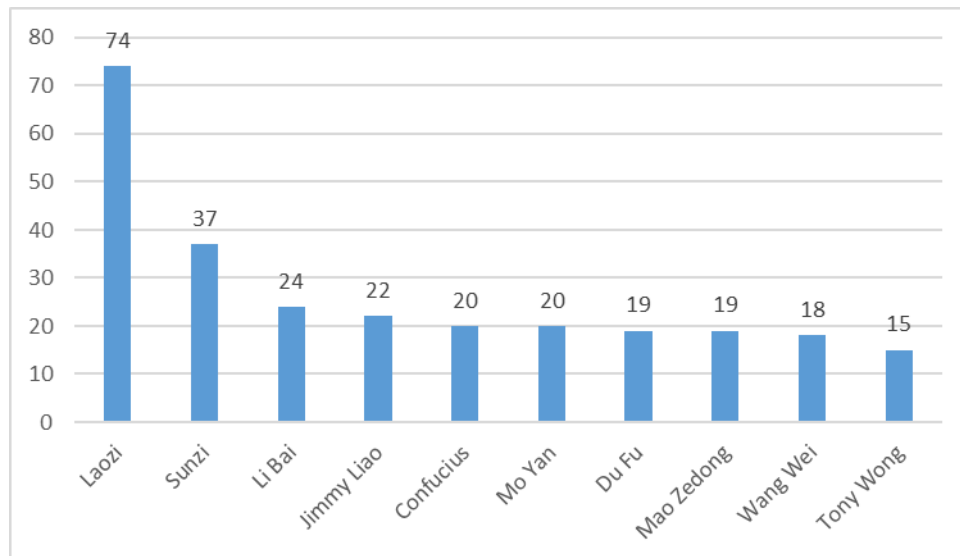


Figure 1 *Top 10 most translated Chinese authors in Spain*

This same ranking was built, classifying authors by genres. Regarding poetry, the major poets of the Tang dynasty have been widely translated. In fact, all the poets in Figure 2 belong to the Tang dynasty, except for Su Dongpo and Li Qingzhao, who lived during the Song dynasty, another splendid age of Chinese poetry. The latter is also the only poetess ranking among the most translated Chinese poets.

It must be noted that the different translations do not necessarily correspond to the same original texts, since in most of the cases, the translated books adopt the form of anthologies, in which translators often select the poems at their will.

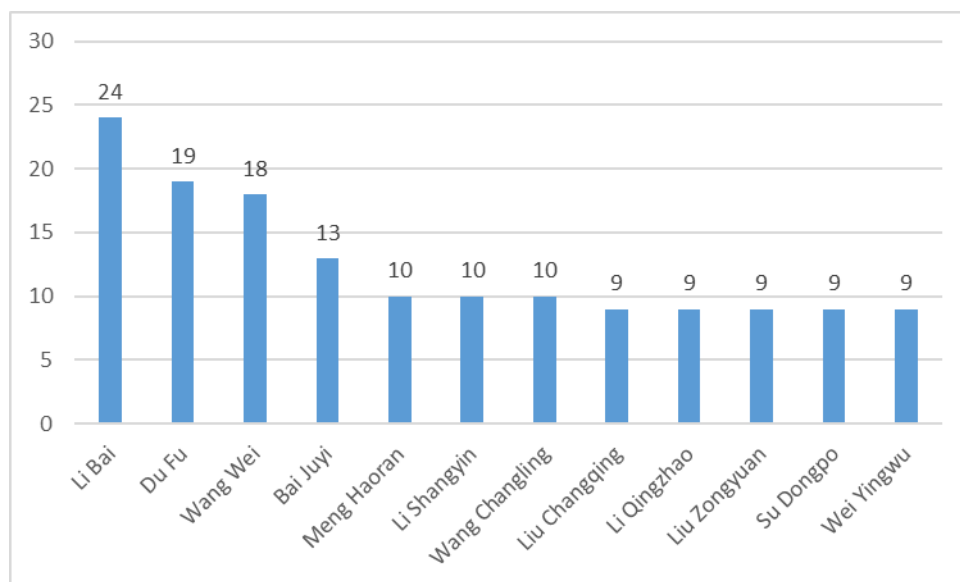


Figure 2 *Number of books of Chinese poets translated in Spain*

Concerning novels, 19 novels of Mo Yan have been translated into Spanish to date (Figure 3). The other author who has more than ten books in Spanish translation is Luo

Guanzhong, although this is a special case that needs to be further explained. Luo Guanzhong's main novel is *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, which has been translated by an amateur translator by splitting the original work into several parts that have been published separately i.e., the 14 translations correspond to different chapters of the same original text. The other Chinese Nobel laureate, Gao Xingjian, is also among the most translated authors, although the number of his translations (6) greatly differs from that of Mo Yan's (19).

Out of the 14 authors listed, nine are still alive (all except for Luo Guanzhong, Ba Jin, Lanling Xiaoxiaosheng, Li Yu and Lao She) and the work (or part of it) of three of them has been banned in China for different reasons. That is the case of Gao Xingjian, Wei Hui and Hong Ying. Novel is the literary genre in which more women have been translated: three out of the 14 listed, more specifically Wang Anyi, Wei Hui and Hong Ying.

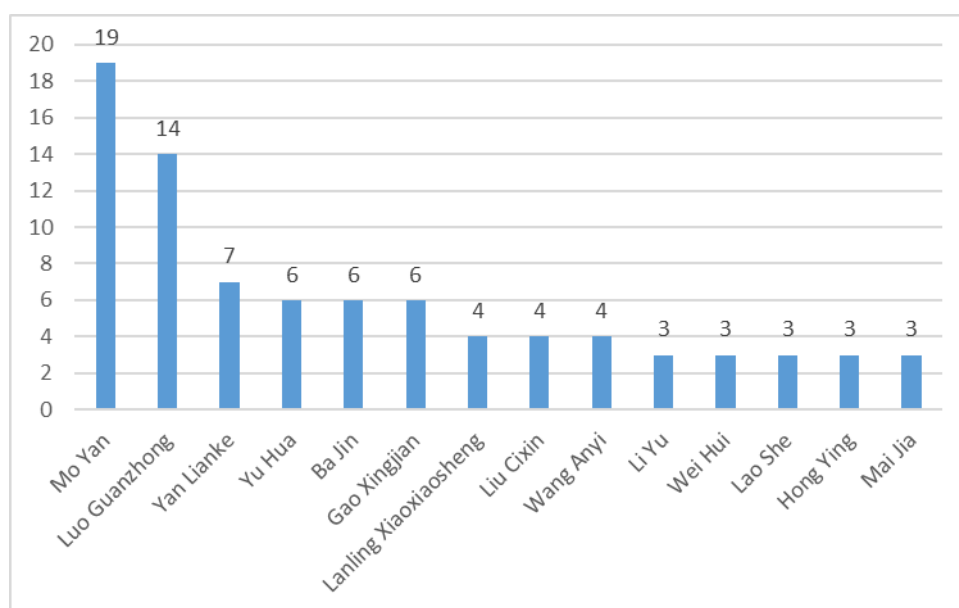


Figure 3 *Most translated Chinese novelists in Spain*

As for the Chinese essays translated in Spain, only three authors have been translated more than once, namely Mao Zedong (11), Gao Xingjian (4) and Lu Xun (2), the former and the latter's texts containing socio-political theories or insights, while Gao Xingjian's writings deal rather with literary and aesthetical issues. As for philosophical works, Laozi and Sunzi are predictably the most translated authors, followed by Confucius (Figure 4). Yet, it must be pointed out that the number of times Laozi's *Dao De Jing* has been translated is more than twice as high as that of Sunzi's *The Art of War*. These extraordinarily high figures concerning the number of different translations of both the works of Laozi and Sunzi can only be explained by their influence and interest beyond sinological circles. Their sayings not only place them in a high position as universal philosophers, but also have been taken by the common people as models of behaviour and attitude in front of life or in one's professional scene.

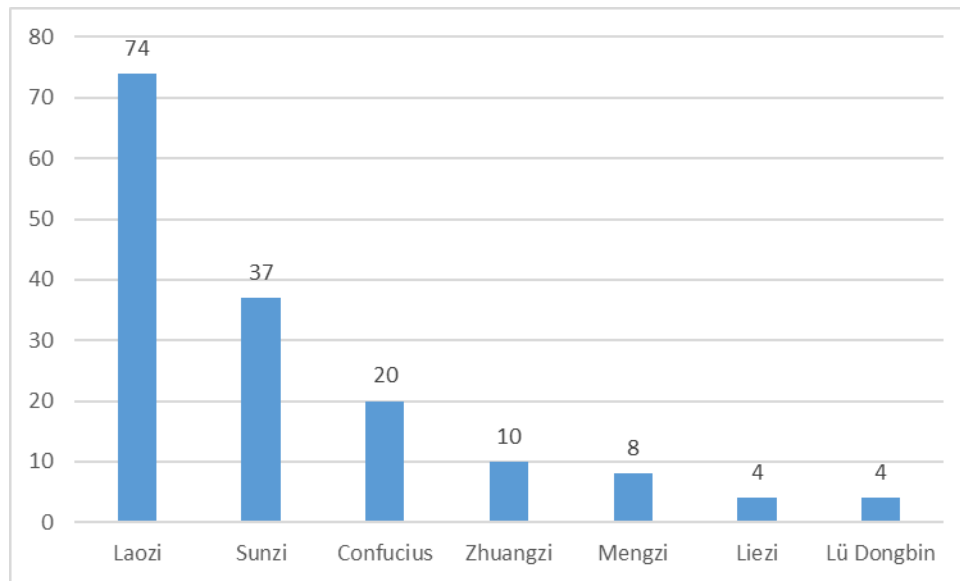


Figure 4 *Most translated Chinese philosophers in Spain*

The short stories penned by the Taiwanese writer and illustrator Jimmy Liao have been widely translated, more specifically into Spanish (Figure 5).⁶ Two women are included in the top most translated short story writers: Sanmao and Zhang Ailing. They have three and two books, respectively, translated into both Spanish and Catalan, a privilege not many Chinese authors can claim. The translations of three of the most translated short story writers (Jimmy Liao, Sanmao and Zhang Ailing) are concentrated in the hands of the same translators and publishing houses.

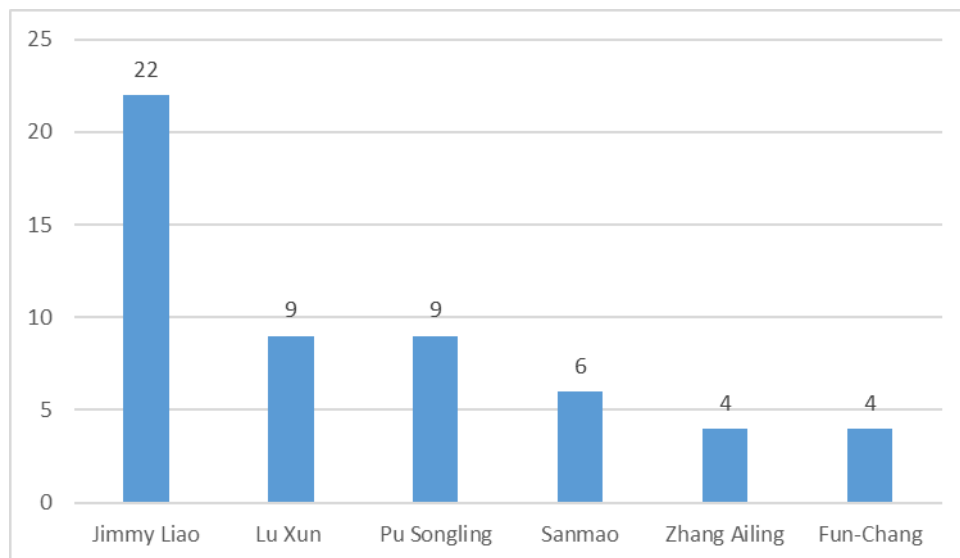


Figure 5 *Most translated Chinese short story writers in Spain*

Given the fact that theatre is not a popular choice among Spanish publishing houses, it is not surprising that no particular name stands out when analysing this particular genre from Chinese origin. In contrast, regarding comics, the names of Tony Wong (15 translations in total) and Selena Lin (10 translations in total) tower above the rest. In these two cases it is

two publishing houses, Iced Lands and Filabo, respectively, that are responsible for all their translations published in Spain.

Generally speaking, the fact that one author has many translations does not necessarily mean that his/her works are more widely known in Spain. For example, in the case of Gao Xingjian, there are 11 different translations of only four of his works, while out of the 20 works authored by Mo Yan, 17 correspond to different originals. In the case of Yan Lianke and Yu Hua, there is only one version of their translated works (eight and six, respectively). Ba Jin and Lao She have three of their works translated in Spain, but amongst these the former's *Family* has four different translations and the latter's *Camel Xiangzi* two. Lanling Xiaoxiaosheng and Li Yu have four and three different versions of the same book, respectively. These examples illustrate the fact that for reasons which need to be further explored some books have been the object of several translations, while others keep on being ignored and are still consigned to oblivion.

2.1.2. The translators

To date, our database contains the translations of 414 different translators in total. Out of these, more than half of them are men, while one third are women (Figure 6). Almost 8% of the translators could not be assigned a sex, mainly because we just had their initials or Chinese names in pinyin, which made it more difficult to guess.

It is also worth noting that in 50 of the entries the identity of the translator is unknown. This is mainly due to the traditionally low value attributed to the translator's work, which has often kept the translator invisible from the editorial process. This situation has slightly improved in Spain since 1996 with the enactment of the Copyright Law.

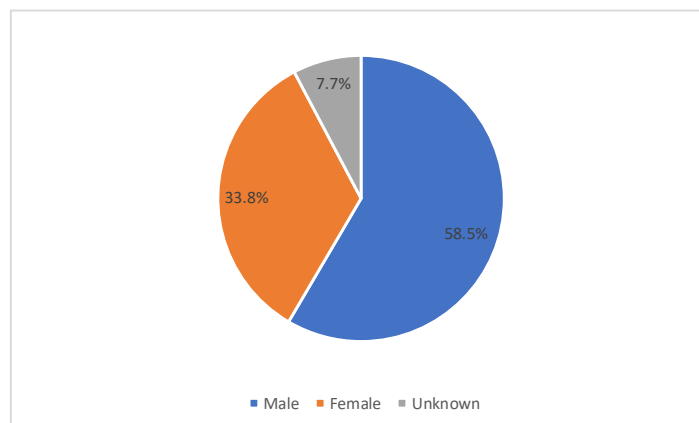


Figure 6 *Translators' sex*

Out of the 414 translators, we found that a total of 183 (44,2%) translate directly from Chinese. Almost half of them were men (48.4%), whilst 39.1% were women. There were 23 translators who could not be gendered for the above-mentioned reasons.

Table 1 shows the list of translators that have translated directly from Chinese the most. As can be seen, all of them translate into Spanish and, apart from some exceptions, they have experience translating at least two different genres. The case of Jordi Ainaud deserves specific mention, since the number of translations he has carried out of just one author's books (Jimmy Liao) launches him immediately to the number one position of the most prolific translators in Spain's ranking, although the texts are extremely short. The two most versatile translators are Gabriel García-Noblejas and Laureano Ramírez, since they both

cover four different literary genres. Table 1 also includes two translators of Chinese origin, namely Chen Guojian and Imelda Huang. The former is a Vietnam-born hispanist of Chinese origin who has been living in Spain since the 1990s, while the latter was born in Taiwan in the late 1950's. It is quite interesting to note that amongst these prolific translators we find very different profiles: scholars or at some point in time university-based translators (Ainaud, García-Noblejas, Suárez, Ramírez and González), schoolteachers (Piñero), priests (Preciado and Elorduy) or professional translators (Cuadra). Some translators even fit in more than one category. This is the case of Suárez and Ainaud, who, apart from working (or having worked) at Spanish public universities, also have long professional careers as freelance translators.

Table 1 *The most prolific translators translating from Chinese in Spain*

TRANSLATOR	NUM. TRANSLATIONS	GENRES TRANSLATED
Jordi Ainaud	24	Short story
Gabriel García-Noblejas	18	Novel, philosophy, poetry, short story
Blas Piñero	16	Novel, poetry
Anne-Hélène Suárez	16	Novel, philosophy, poetry
Iñaki Preciado	14	Novel, philosophy, poetry
Laureano Ramírez	11	Essay, novel, philosophy, short story
Chen Guojian	10	Poetry
Belén Cuadra	7	Novel, theatre
Carmelo Elorduy	7	Philosophy, poetry
Enrique P. Gatón	7	Short story
Pilar González	7	Essay, philosophy, poetry
Imelda Huang	7	Short story

Obviously, this list changes if we examine which translators have translated each of the genres under study the most (Table 2). In some cases, only the name of one translator is presented. This is not due to the genre only having been translated by that translator, but to this person having translated more than one text belonging to that specific genre.

Table 2 *Most prolific translators according to genres*

GENRE	TRANSLATOR	NUM. TRANSLATIONS OF
Comic	Josep Oriol López	3
Essay	Pilar González España	2
Novel	Blas Piñero	13
	Belén Cuadra	6
Philosophy	Gabriel García-Noblejas	8
	Iñaki Preciado	7
	Carmelo Elorduy	6
Poetry	Chen Guojian	11
	Anne-Hélène Suárez	7
Short story	Jordi Ainaud	23

	Gabriel García-Noblejas / Enrique P. Gatón & Imelda Huang	5
Theatre	Alicia Relinque	2

Despite the translators translating directly from Chinese into Catalan and Basque not being so prolific, we detected some names that have significantly contributed to bringing closer together Chinese literature and some specific regions in Spain. Table 3 reveals who these translators are and what genres they have contributed to the most. In contrast, the three direct translations into Galician that we are aware of have all been translated by different translators.

Table 3 *The most prolific translators into Catalan and Basque*

TARGET LANGUAGE	TRANSLATOR (num. of translations)	GENRES TRANSLATED
Catalan	Seán Golden & Marisa Presas (4)	Novel, philosophy
	Manel Ollé (4)	Essay, philosophy, poetry, short story
	Carla Benet (3)	Essay, novel, short story
	Eulàlia Jardí (3)	Novel
	Sara Rovira (3)	Novel
Basque	Mailen Marin & Aiora Jaka (2)	Novel
	Rafa Egiguren (2)	Poetry

2.1.3. Publishing houses

A total of 293 different publishing houses were identified. Figure 7 illustrates the publishing houses that have made the greatest efforts to translate Chinese literature in Spain. All of them publish in Spanish. Kailas has published 26 translations, 15 of which are some of the works of the Nobel Prize winner in Literature 2013, Mo Yan. The rest include classical philosophical works and mainly novels from different authors such as Zhang Wei, Jia Pingwa and Lu Xun, to name but a few. Kailas has even published Chinese poetry, more specifically the Nobel Prize in Peace 2010 Liu Xiaobo's poems. Barbara Fiore Editora follows close with 24 translations, 23 of which belong to the same author: the illustrator Jimmy Liao. Iced Lands has only published translations of Chinese comics (20) and almost all of them are Tony Wong's works. Filabo is also a publishing house specialising in comics and has published only the translation of Selena Lin's comics into Spanish (10). None of the publishing houses shown in Figure 7 has launched any collection specifically devoted to Chinese literature. Yet, both Trotta and Seix Barral have a collection reserved for Oriental works, called "Pliegos de Oriente" (Oriental Sections) and "Biblioteca Oriental" (Oriental Library), respectively. These are not the only publishing houses in Spain offering this type of collection. Conversely, we have found just one offering a series exclusively devoted to China, namely the "Biblioteca de China Contemporánea" (Library of Contemporary China), edited by Edicions Bellaterra. This publisher is represented only with one translation in our database as it mainly publishes academic essays about contemporary China originally not written in Chinese, and falls outside the scope of the database and the present study.

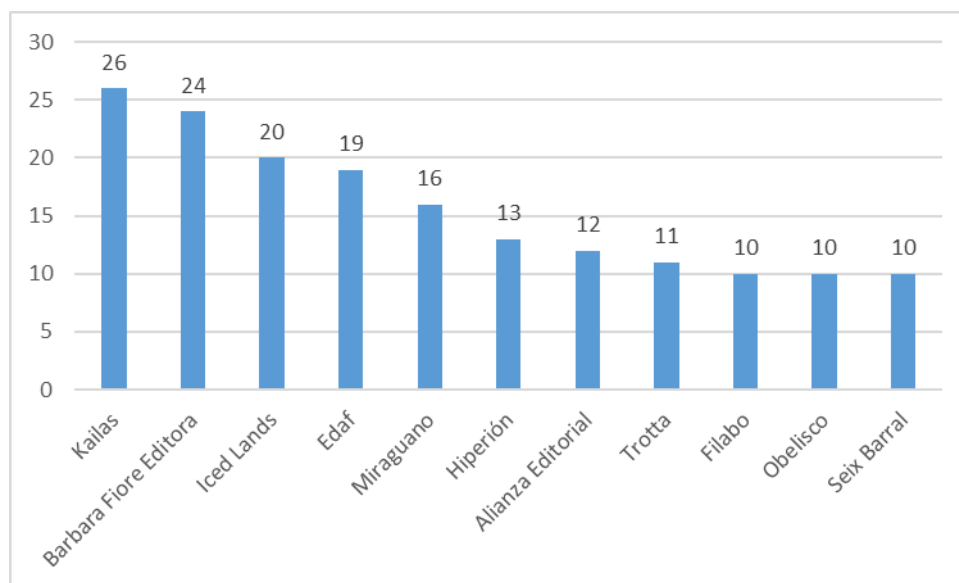


Figure 7 Number of Chinese literary works published by Spanish publishing houses

Regarding the Catalan, Basque and Galician publishing houses most interested in publishing Chinese literature, it can be observed that no particular publisher stands out in either the Galician or the Basque case. This is due to the scarce number of translations in each of these languages. Conversely, there are Catalan publishing houses that have shown visible interest in Chinese literature, such as Proa (with six translations of both philosophical works and poetry) and Columna (with four translations, mostly from Gao Xingjian).

Last but not least, this section on the who in Chinese literature has been translated in Spain should include at least a short mention of the role which Peña (1997) calls *protranslators*. Protranslators are those people or institutions that ultimately promote interest for a literary work through translation subsidies, awards or other incentives that encourage its translation. In this case, into Spanish. Rovira-Esteva and Sáiz-Lopez (2008: 637) pointed out that finding out the identity of protranslators is key to answering the question of why certain books have been selected for translation in front of others. They concluded that, since many of the translations of their corpus were mediated, the protranslators had to be placed outside the Spanish culture. Arbillaga (2003: 181) also claims that, thanks to Chinese institutional protranslators who have provided Spanish translations, we have been able to enjoy many of their works of literature. As Zauberga (2005: 73) points out, translations of minor cultures mostly start with a wish to become known generated on the source culture, rather than a need from the target culture. In sum, there is some evidence that many translations from Chinese literature that have reached the Spanish reader either have originally been carried out in China to promote their literature abroad and later distributed in Spain, or have been introduced through western mediating languages.

Another key factor to be considered within the protranslators category is awards. Gao Xingjian has had all his books translated in Spain just after he was awarded the Nobel Prize in 2000. Mo Yan was not unknown to the Spanish reader before being awarded the Nobel prize in 2012, since eight of his books had already been translated before. However, the Nobel prize clearly boosted direct translations of his works. Before the Nobel, six out of the eight available translations were mediated, while eleven of the twelve translations published after being awarded the prize were direct.

2.2. The “what” in Chinese literary translation in Spain

A total of 282 original works were identified, which have resulted in 508 different translations so far. It must be borne in mind that in the latter number we include all the translations with different originals, regardless of whether they have been published as one single book. Each Chinese original work corresponds to 1.8 translations on average. However, we have observed that certain works have been translated only once while others have been retranslated a considerable number of times.

Figure 8 reveals that the genre which has been translated the most in Spain is philosophy (30.1%), but this needs to be contextualised, since the variety of philosophical works translated is limited: Laozi’s *Dao De Jing* and Sunzi’s *The Art of War* represent more than half of the translations of this genre. The 74 different versions of the *Dao De Jing* have been published by 70 different publishing houses, many of which no longer exist. The oldest edition dates back from 1931 (which means that it is close to a century old) and the newest one was published before exporting the data for this article. This represents almost one new translation per year. Out of the 74 different versions, only 36% are direct translations, while the rest are mediated translations or undetermined. It is also worth mentioning that out of the 34 mediated translations, one took German as the mediating language, six French and 25 departed from an English version (at least 13 mediating English translations were identified). The German mediating translation was carried out by Richard Wilhelm in 1910 which, according to Arbillaga (2003: 180) is considered to be the second translation of the *Dao De Jing* into a western language.

Novels are the second genre most translated, with 166 translations (23.9%). This comes as no surprise since, according to Genette, (1997: 97) the novel genre “is universally said to be more of a ‘seller’ than any other genre.” In this case, the titles chosen for translation are more varied. Short stories follow close behind, with 142 translations (20.4%). Poetry is the fourth most popular genre (15.0%), whilst comics (5.3%), essays (4.5%) and theatre plays (0.9%) are the least popular options. The latter, for example, only accounts for six translations in our database.

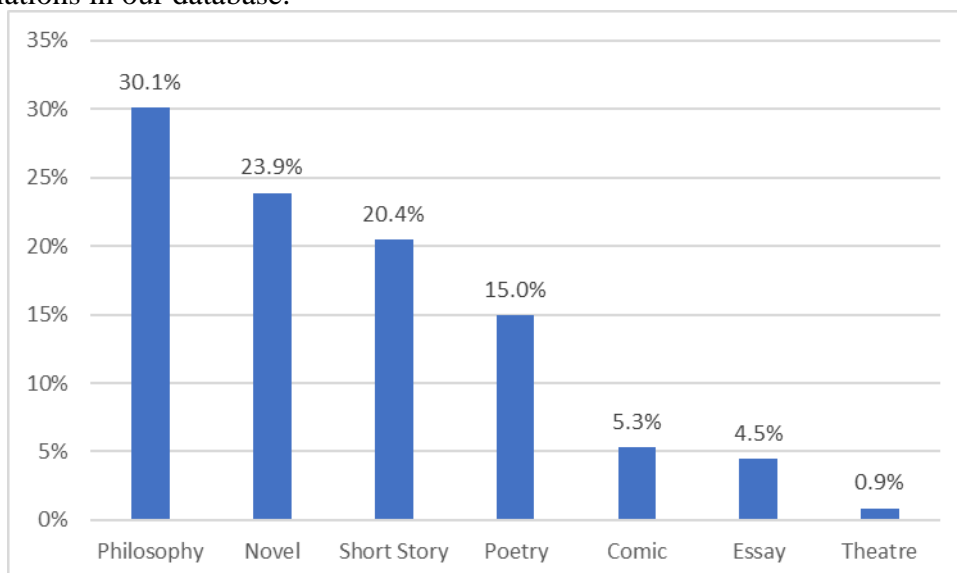


Figure 8 Percentage of literary genres translated from Chinese in Spain

According to Arbillaga (2003), philosophical works were also the most translated works (she collected around 100), followed by short stories (46), essay (34), poetry (33) and novel (15). It must be stressed that her corpus also included translations published in China, without which the availability of some genres in Spain, such as essay, would be non-existent. In any case, with the data at hand, it can be assumed that novels have gained more prominence in recent years.

It was observed that the editorial choices regarding genres differ from one language to another. According to Figure 9, philosophy is the most popular genre in Chinese-into-Spanish translations (31.7%), while Catalan editors have prioritised the translation of Chinese novels (30.4%). Basque publishing houses have opted for translating more Chinese short stories (40.0%) while Chinese poetry is the most translated genre in Galician (50.0%). Taking into account that the translation of Chinese into Basque and Galician started later, it can be said that its evolution is in line with that of Spanish and Catalan, since short stories and poetry had a relevant role when the translation of Chinese literature kicked off in Spain.

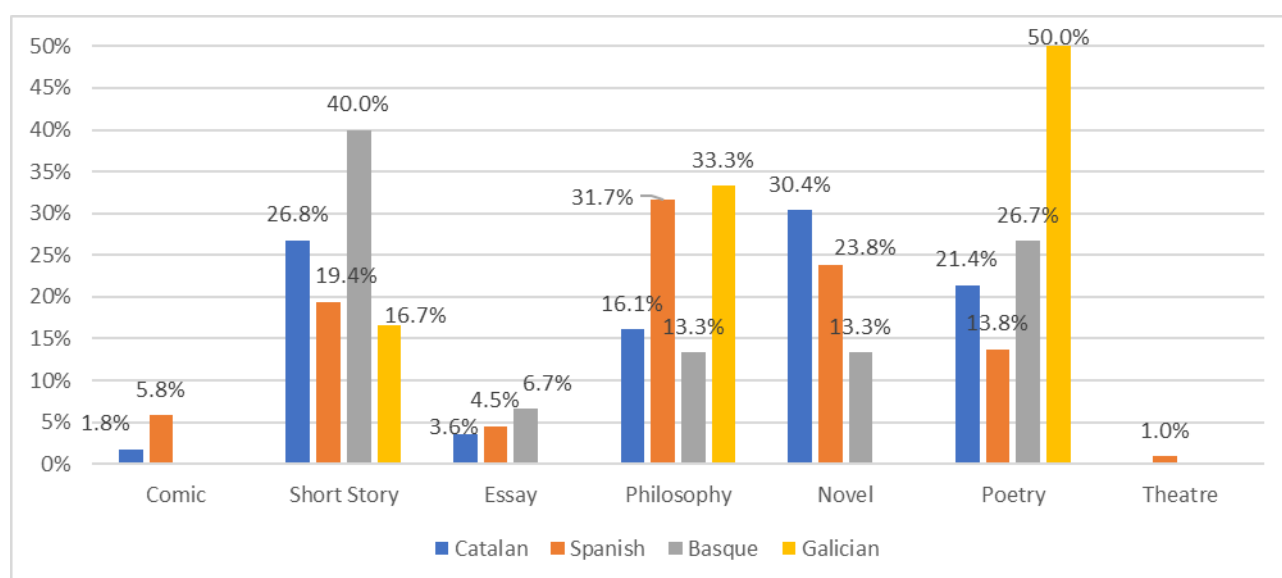


Figure 9 Percentage of translations per genre according to the target language

Regarding specific Chinese literary works that have been translated the most in Spain, it was found that the following have been translated at least four times: Laozi's *Dao De Jing* (74); Sunzi's *The Art of War* (37); *Book of Changes* (14); Zhuangzi (11); Confucius' *Analects* (11); Pu Songling's *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* (9); Confucius, Mengzi, Zisi and Zenzi's *Four Books* (7); Mao Zedong's *Quotations of Chairman Mao* (6); Mao Zedong's *Poems* (6); Lanling Xiaoxiaosheng's *The Plum in the Golden Vase* (4); Ba Jin's *Family* (4); and Lü Dongbin's *The Secret of the Golden Flower* (4) (Figure 10). Also, we found 196 translations lacking an equivalent original work, which we tagged as *no original reference* in the database. This category includes anthologies of short stories, old sayings, legends and poems, as well as collections of essays. In short, this tag comprises selections of works from various authors (including anonymous works) that were published independently in China.

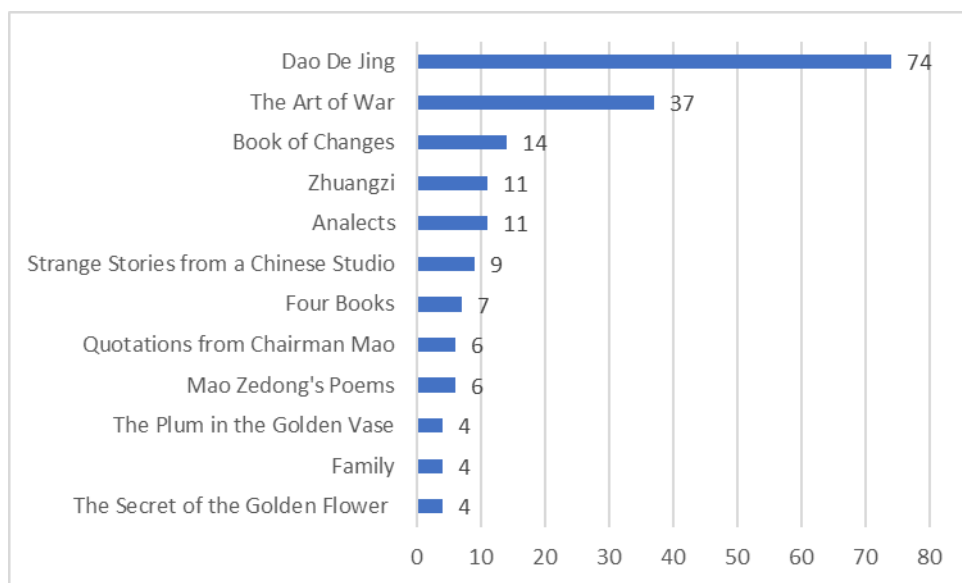


Figure 10 Chinese literary works with at least four translations into Spanish

Arbillaga (2003) also found the *Dao De Jing* to be the most translated work, followed by *The Book of Changes*. Yet, Arbillaga's results do not completely match our findings. This could be explained given 2001 was the year in which Arbillaga's (2003) research ended: 21 new translations of the *The Art of War* have been carried out since 2001, accounting for 36.6% of the total of translations of this work in the database. In contrast, only five new translations of *The Book of Changes* have been published since then.

Although almost all genres are represented in this ranking (with the exception of theatre and comic), the presence of philosophical works is the strongest. Nonetheless, Arbillaga (2003: 181) found some important works to be missing, such as Buddhist classics and a complete edition of the classical works that Confucius interpreted. Fortunately, the situation reported by Arbillaga has improved and nowadays two different versions of the so-called four books of Confucianism can now be found in Spanish through mediated translation. As far as Buddhist classics is concerned, the number of records retrieved from our database when we used the keyword *Buddhism* was 26, which proves that the situation has also been reversed in this respect.

Obviously, this list varies if we analyse each of the target languages included in our database. As far as Spanish is concerned, the ranking coincides with that of Figure 10. Regarding Catalan, our database includes 20 translations of books that do not have a homonymous equivalent in Chinese. Laozi's *Dao De Jing* and Sunzi's *The Art of War* have been translated into Catalan five and three times, respectively. The rest of Chinese works under the Catalan-language umbrella have just been translated once. As regards Basque, our database includes seven translations with no original reference and two translations of Pu Songling's *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*. The remaining Chinese works into Galician have been translated just once. In the case of Galician, there are no translations of the same original Chinese work and our database includes four works that do not have a homonymous equivalent in Chinese. What has been noticed is that, despite the discrete number of translations in both Basque and Galician, the most translated work in both Spanish and Catalan, Laozi's *Dao De Jing* is also among the literary works translated in these two languages whereas Sunzi's *The Art of War* remains untranslated in Basque.

Table 4 shows the Chinese titles that have been translated the most according to each of the genres studied. Undeniably, the role played by anthologies is of great importance, since almost all genres present selections including works of different authors (for instance, the large number of anthologies of poems). Neither theatre plays nor comics are included as the translations do not have a Chinese original in common.

Table 4 *Most translated literary works in Spain according to their genre*

GENRE	TITLES
Essay	No original reference (10) Mao Zedong's <i>Quotations from Chairman Mao</i> (6) Gao Xingjian's <i>The Cause for Literature</i> (2)
Novel	Lanling Xiaoxiaosheng's <i>The Plum in the Golden Vase</i> (4) Ba Jin's <i>Family</i> (4)
Philosophy	Laozi's <i>Dao De Jing</i> (74) Sunzi's <i>The Art of War</i> (37) No original reference (27) <i>Book of Changes</i> (14) Confucius' <i>Analects</i> (11)
Poetry	No original reference (81) Mao Zedong's <i>Poems</i> (6) <i>Book of Songs</i> (3)
Short story	No original reference (75) Pu Songling's <i>Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio</i> (9) Lu Xun's <i>A Madman's Diary</i> (4)

By way of conclusion to this section, it is worth reflecting on the possible reasons behind this retranslation phenomenon. While this translational practice is mainly found for those Chinese classics held in high regard, it is by no means limited to them. Although the issue of copyright has undoubtedly had an impact on what is eligible for translation, there are many of the Chinese classics that are still unknown by the Spanish public, such as *Book of Documents*, *Book of Rites* or the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. To date we have been unable to establish whether retranslations are due to previous versions considered inadequate or outdated in some respect, or simply the publisher or translator are unaware of previous translations. If the answer is mainly the latter, this article and the database it took the data from could help fill in this gap.

2.3. The “when” in Chinese literary translation in Spain

More than 60% of the translations analysed were published in the last two decades, as Figure 11 shows. There were four translations in which this information could not be retrieved. Since the current decade is not over yet, it cannot be stated that this rising tendency translation from Chinese in Spain is coming to an end. Yet, it is already obvious that the number of translations is levelling out. Therefore, our analysis based on empirical data only partially confirms the upward trend foreseen by the Budapest observatory (2011) and also pointed out by some sinologists (Ciruela 2003, Prado-Fonts 2011).

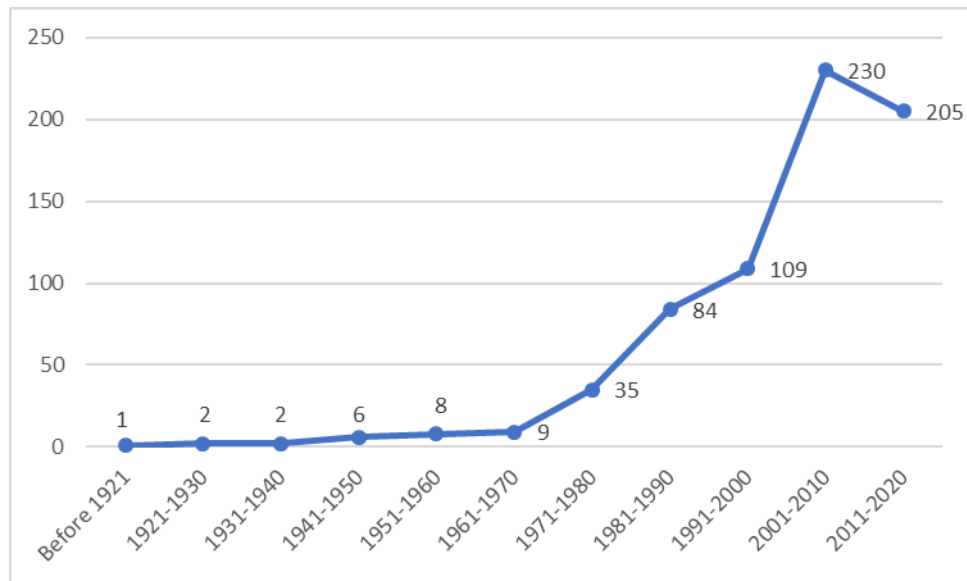


Figure 11 *Number of Chinese literary translations in Spain across time*

According to our data, the number of literary translations published in Spain per year is 23 for the 2001-2010 decade and 22.7 for the 2011-2019 period on average.

Arbillaga (2003) had also detected the rise in Chinese literary translations in the early 2000s and this allowed her to talk about the birth of Sinology in this country. This researcher had considered the 90s to be the most prolific decade for the translation from Chinese, which had started to take off in the 60s. From our data it can be seen that the number of translations from that decade was clearly surpassed by that of the following decade.

Figure 12 points out that translations into Spanish were the earliest, followed by those into Catalan. More specifically, the former appeared in the 16th century while the latter appeared in the 1920s. In contrast, translations into Basque and Galician had to wait until the 1980s to see the light. In these two cases, and unlike Catalan and Spanish, no clear upward trend can be highlighted. In fact, the translation of Chinese works into these two co-official languages still keeps a very low profile, with only three translations into both Basque and Galician in the last decade.

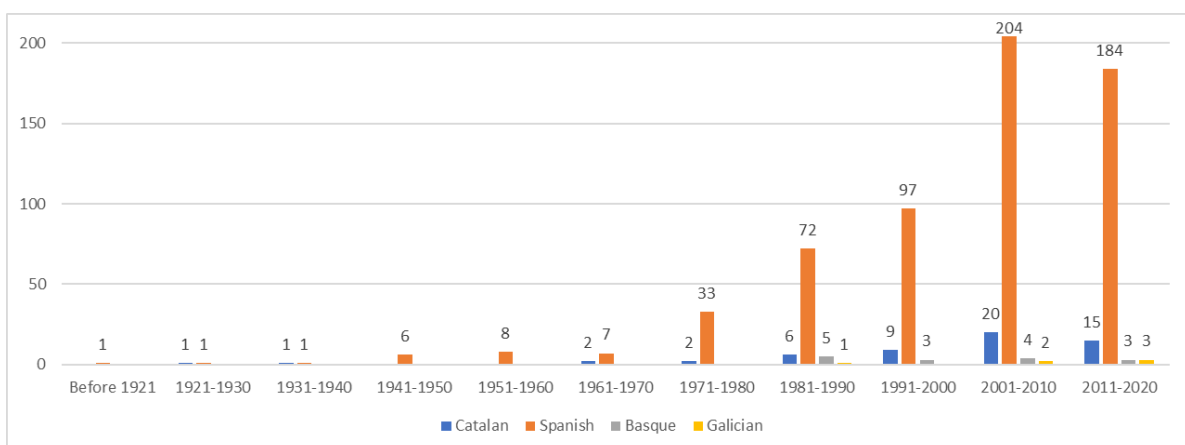


Figure 12 *Evolution of Chinese literary translations into Spain's official languages*

Regarding the evolution according to literary genres, it can be said that the predominance of philosophy has not been constant throughout the years, with the 1990s and the 2000s being the decades in which this genre has stood out the most on the translation scene. Although the current decade is not over yet, it is obvious that the predominance of this genre will end as the number of translated novels continues to rise. It must be noted that the translated novels in our database cover a wider range of original works than in the case of philosophy. In fact, the number of Chinese novels translated has enjoyed a steady growth ever since the 1970s. Figure 13 clearly shows this upward trend. It is also worth highlighting that the books tagged as *philosophy* mainly refer to canonical works on political or religious thought in our database, which makes it a relatively closed category, while new novels and short stories are constantly being written and published. Therefore, the number of eligible originals is much higher in the case of novels and short stories than of canonical philosophical works.

The case of short stories is also worth noting, since it was the preferred genre to translate in the 1980s. This relatively high presence of short stories among the available Chinese literature in Spain could be explained by the fact that through anthologies editors can offer a wider range of authors, topics and literary styles in one single work, which in the context of a society that does not know much about Chinese literature, can be a less risky endeavour. In other words, anthologies are a literary buffet where readers are given the chance to taste new and different dishes before they can decide what they like or dislike. Anthologies also seem to be the preferred option of Chinese protranslators to sponsor Chinese literature in foreign languages.

Yet, and although its presence has always been quite significant in proportion to the total number of translations published, the number of Chinese novels translated this last decade is almost double that of short stories. Theatre plays and comics started to be translated in the 2000s, but no clear tendency has been spotted so far, although from the data it can be stated that to date translations of theatre plays occupy a residual position. The case of comics is surprising for this genre experiencing a sudden and very significant rise in the 2000s while its translation has been almost imperceptible since 2011. This might be the result of Iced Lands going out of business around 2009 and Filabo reorienting its business. This rise in the previous decade could be a collateral effect of the success of Japanese manga in the west, in general, and, Spain, in particular, but there is no way to prove this hypothesis empirically. As a matter of fact, Serra-Vilella (2016: 54) in her research in the translation of Japanese books in Spain for the 1900-2014 period explicitly leaves out the translation of comics, due to their high number, which in her own words, would merit a PhD dissertation in itself.

Nonetheless, and regardless of the genre, it is undeniable that the number of translations performed from Chinese is constantly increasing in Spain, as Figures 11, 12 and 13 evidence.

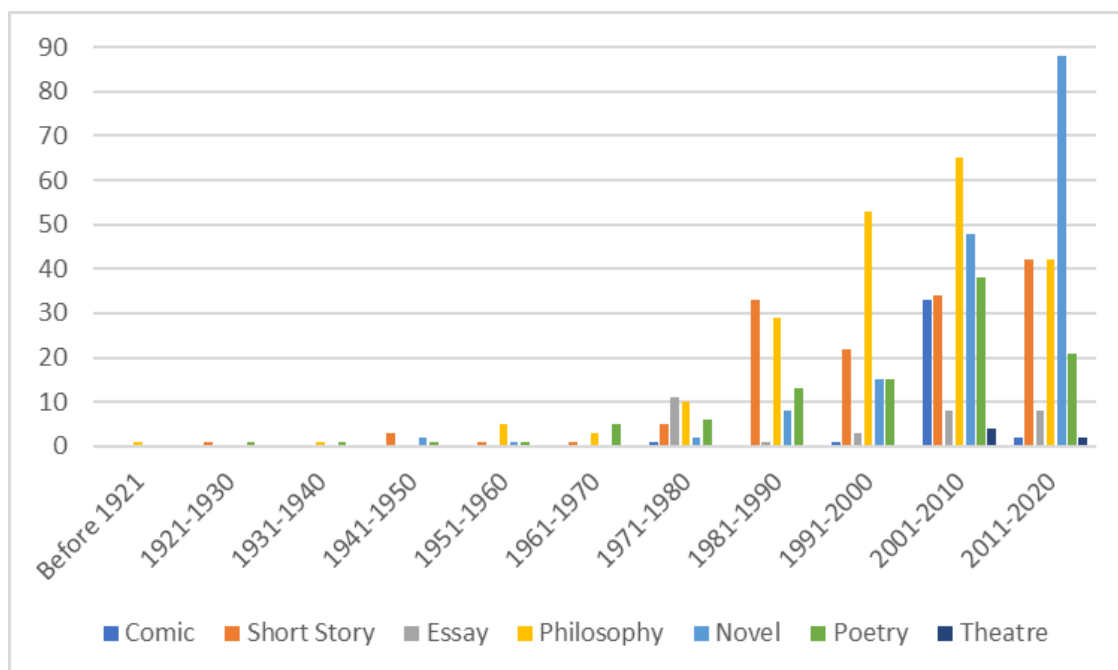


Figure 13 *Number of translations per genre throughout history*

2.4. The “how” in Chinese literary translation in Spain

Regarding the translators’ work dynamics, 83.3% of the translations are the result of individual work. In contrast, 14.4% of the translations analysed were carried out by a team of two or more people. These results do not coincide with those of Rovira-Esteva and Sáiz-López (2008: 635), whose research on Chinese female literature translation in Spain found that at least in 32% of the works in their corpus had been translated by a team of two translators or a translator and a native reviewer. To elucidate the internal dynamics of cooperative translation teams would require a case by case qualitative analysis, which falls outside the scope of the present study. However, our corpus includes teams of more than two translators, and fixed duos than have worked together on several occasions. In our study, around 18% of the cases could not be examined because the name of the translator or translators was unknown.

Although the number of translations into Catalan, Galician and Basque is scarcer than that of translations into Spanish, it must be acknowledged that the number of direct translations into these co-official languages is identical (and sometimes even higher) to the number of mediated translations (Figure 14). In the case of Spanish, 50.3% of the translations were carried out directly from Chinese, while 35.3% were translated from other languages, mostly English (62.4%) and French (24.31%).

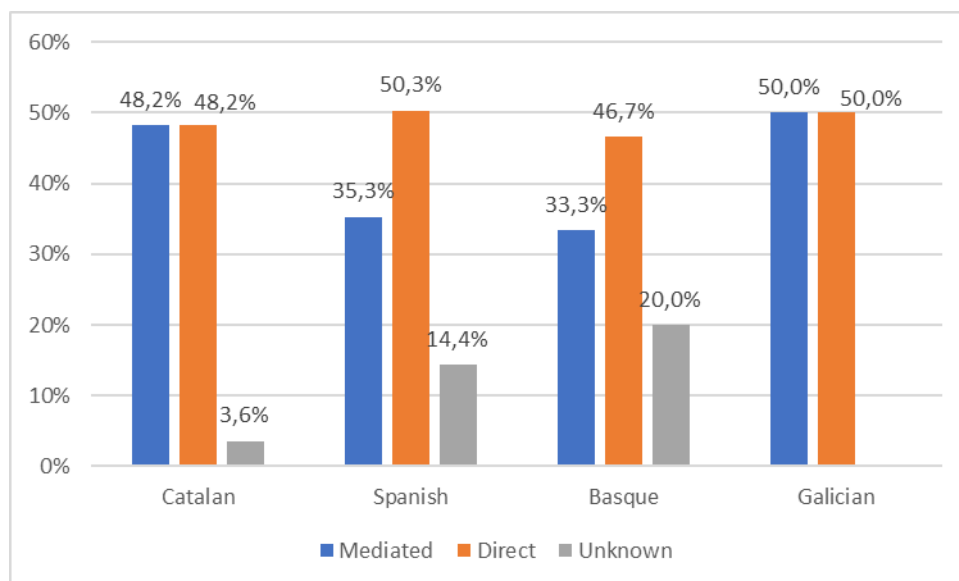


Figure 14 *Type of translation per target language*

Figure 15 shows that direct translations outnumber mediated ones in the case of short stories (88), essays (17), novels (84), poetry (71) and theatre (5). Yet, in the case of novels, the number of direct and mediated translations does not differ much. Only philosophical works (the most numerous) have been translated mostly from an intermediate language. It is also worth mentioning the high number of titles for which the kind of translation carried out is not specified, especially in the case of comics. The authors of this paper must admit we have not been able to check every single translation in paper format personally, but whenever possible the publishers or librarians were contacted to request this information.

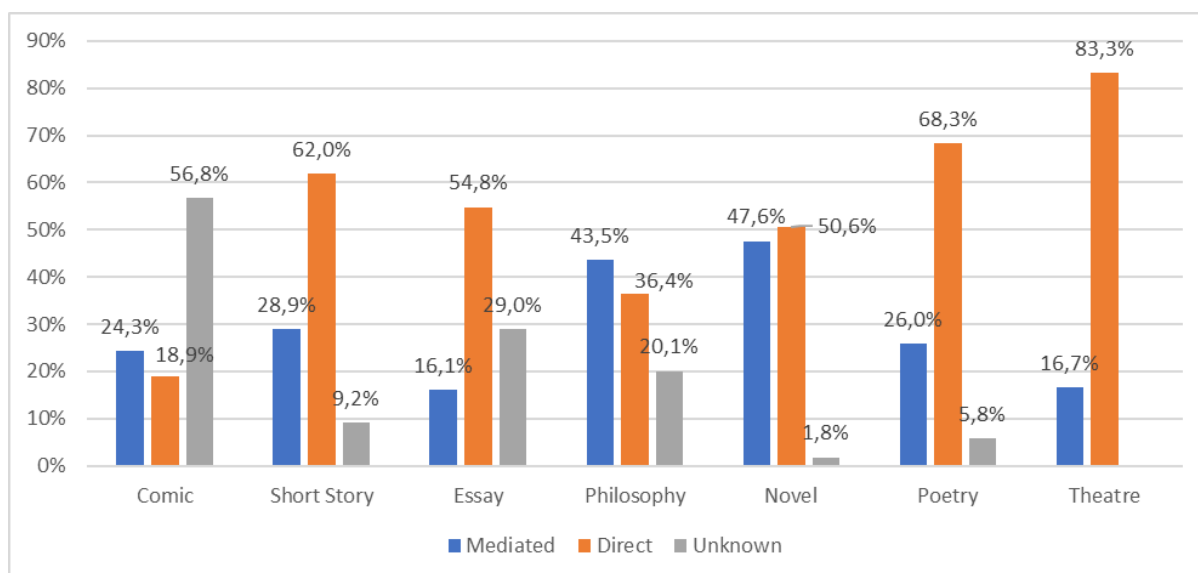


Figure 15 *Type of translation per genre*

The first translation that appeared in the 16th century was carried out directly from Chinese but after that it was not until the 1940s that the next direct translation appeared (Figure 16). Since then, direct translation from Chinese has been on the rise. Mediated translation has also been very present and has followed the number of direct translations closely. However, as Marin-Lacarta (2012: 92) points out, the information about mediated translations is often forgotten, hidden or disguised. In other words, when the researcher cannot find information about the type of translation, the most likely option is that we are faced with a mediated translation. Consequently, if we add the number of indirect and unknown translations, the number is always higher than direct ones. Contrary to what she expected, she observed an increase of mediated translations from 2001 to 2009 (Marin-Lacarta 2012: 284). In this sense, according to our data, it was not until the 2010s that a clear difference is observed between the number of direct and mediated translations, but still the sum of indirect and unknown outnumbers direct ones. Yet, with the data corresponding to the last decade we can affirm direct translations currently outnumber those through mediating languages. This leaves room for hope for translators translating directly from Chinese, as well as readers who place a higher value on direct translations. It can also be stated that in the present decade the number of titles not specifying the type of translation performed has decreased, probably because more direct translations are published, which is something editors feel particularly proud of and like to underline in, for example, book covers. Actually, a clear change of trend can be observed if we analyse given publishing houses. For instance, Kailas, Mo Yan's main publisher, radically changed its policy regarding this after he was awarded the Nobel Prize. All in all, it should also be expected that as both sociocultural mutual understanding increases and there are more and more graduates of Chinese studies, direct translations will become more valuable in the eyes of the readers and the size of the critical mass willing to read direct translations will also increase. Hopefully, all of this will drive publishers to back direct translations, even they might be a little more expensive than mediated translations.

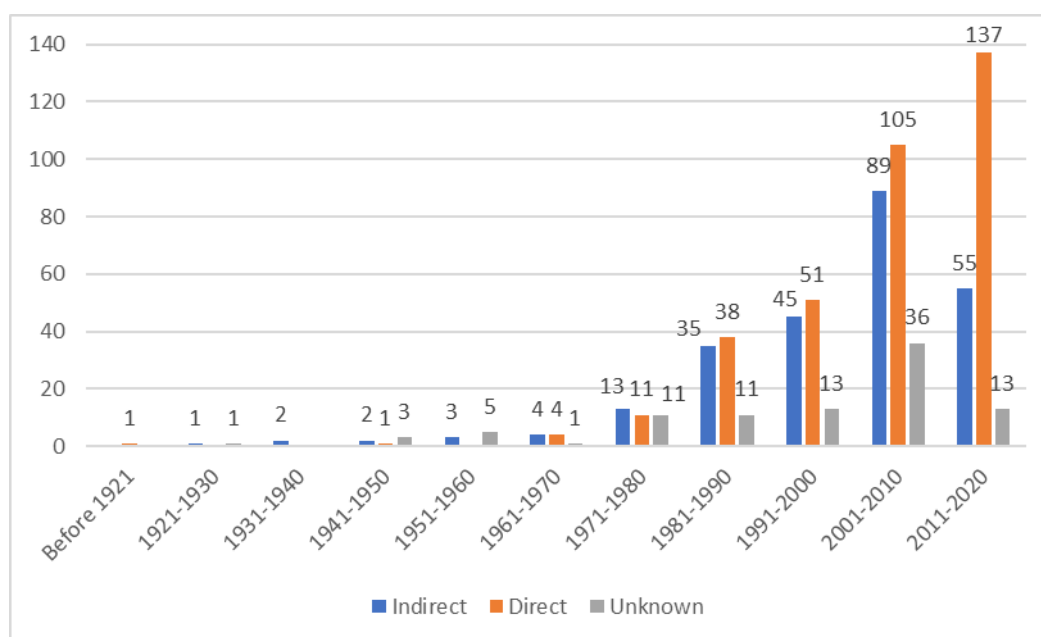


Figure 16 *Type of translation through history*

Arbillaga (2003) ascertained that there was a similar number of direct and mediated translations when she carried out her analysis and highlighted that some of the direct translations were actually carried out in China. Since Arbillaga's (2003) study did not take into account those cases in which this information was unknown and included many translations performed in China by Chinese hispanists (which is technically inverse translation and cannot be equated with those carried out by Spanish native speakers translating to their mother tongue), her results must be taken with caution.

3. Conclusions

This study is mainly an empirical quantitatively based approach to offer an overview of the history and current situation of translated Chinese literature in Spain's four official languages (i.e. Spanish, Catalan, Basque and Galician). Compared to previous studies, this research presents a large-scale, systematic and updated analysis of our object of study, comprising a total of 400 Chinese authors, 414 translators, 282 original works, 695 translated books and 293 publishers.

Our analysis has shown that Chinese literature in Spain is mainly translated into Spanish and Catalan. It is undeniable that, by and large, the number of translations of Chinese literary works into Spain's official languages is constantly increasing, although it seems to be levelling off. This rise could partially be ascribed to Gao Xingjian and Mo Yan being awarded a Nobel Prize in Literature in 2000 and 2012 respectively, since this had an undoubtedly positive impact on the three genres these authors cultivate, i.e., novel (Gao Xingjian and Mo Yan), essay (Gao Xingjian) and theatre (Gao Xingjian). Yet, the most translated genre thus far is philosophy, although the variety of works translated is very limited, with Sunzi's *The Art of War* and, especially, Laozi's *Dao De Jing* being the most translated works. Nonetheless, and for the first time, the most popular genre in the last decade has been the novel. The number of direct translations is also on the rise, with the gap between mediated and direct translations becoming increasingly more pronounced decade after decade. There are currently slightly more men than women performing these direct translations from Chinese and their occupations are varied, ranging from university professors and full-time freelance translators to priests. It should be expected that the more direct translations are carried out, the more Spanish culture is empowered in the face of other major cultures and the less asymmetrical power relations among cultures will be.

This paper could be a starting point of future studies. For example, the paratexts of Chinese translations in Spain could be investigated to analyse the power relations underlying in the circulation processes of literary translation. Furthermore, and also in connection with paratexts, Serra-Vilella (in press) suggests that the names of some of the translators working with the Japanese-Spanish official languages combination are sometimes used as a resource to advertise or to give prestige to a translation. This type of "editorial paratext" could also be evaluated in the Chinese case. Serra-Vilella (in press) also proposes carrying out an analysis of the Japanese into Spanish translations in a diachronic way while contrasting it with the historical context. This could also be an interesting option in the Chinese case to try to justify the editorial decisions made in this regard. The role of protranslators, not only of different agents patronising the translations, but also of awards or films, could be studied in more detail. Another future avenue of research that was also recommended by Prado-Fonts (2008)

is the quality of the reception of the translations, which are usually interpreted superficially, but also the quality of the translations themselves and its correlation with the type of translation. In addition, it would be interesting to find out why Laozi's *Dao De Jing*, Sunzi's *The Art of War* or other highly translated works have been retranslated so many times. The reason might be related to the different applications these two works can have, since philosophy can be applied to different aspects of life or work. Last but not least, reception studies concerning the opinion of both the general reader, sinologists, translators or even publishers on a number of questions related to those translations, such as the variety and quality of the versions available could be carried out.

Our research is not without its limitations, the main one being the risk that the database consulted is still missing some translations or some of its entries being incomplete. For example, those books containing poems of different poets and that have not been examined in person run the risk of not having all their authors included in the database, especially if they do not appear on the cover. Also, since the information presented in the translations' paratexts does not always coincide with the current official transcription, it is possible that in some cases we haven't been able to match the different transcriptions of the same names. This is due to some publishing houses deliberately hiding information or making it confusing. For example, it is likely that some of the translation duos indicated consisting of both a Chinese and a Spanish native speaker are not always real "translation" teams. Rather it is likely that in some cases the Chinese speaker performed the translation, which was later proofread by the Spanish partner. Yet, this is not usually specified in the books, since both persons are tagged as *translators*. This may have somehow biased the results of our analysis.

We believe the descriptive nature of our paper has contributed to a greater understanding of the history translation of Chinese literature in Spain. So far, the selection of works to be translated seems quite erratic, with a few literary works with dozens of translations while others, including masterpieces are consigned to oblivion. Given the lack of apparent strategy when selecting Chinese works for translation, we hope that this overview will guide both Spanish translators and editors to make more informed decisions when choosing the Chinese works to be translated into any of Spain's official languages.

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ANNEX

This annex shows the correspondence between the English translation as it appears in this paper, the corresponding title of the first complete translation published in Spain, the original title in Chinese characters and pinyin transcription and the authors' names in Chinese characters and pinyin transcription. The list of literary works is ordered alphabetically according to the title in English.

ENGLISH TITLE	SPANISH TITLE	CHINESE TITLE	AUTOR
<i>A Madman's Diary</i>	<i>Diario de un loco</i> (1971)	狂人日记 (<i>Kuangren Riji</i>)	鲁迅 (Lu Xun)
<i>Analects</i>	<i>Tratados morales y políticos: Según los textos de Confucio y de sus discípulos Tseng-Chen, Tchu-Hi y otros</i> (1959)	论语 (<i>Lun Yu</i>)	孔子 (Confucius)
<i>Beijing Coma</i>	<i>Pequín en coma</i> (2008)	北京植物人 (<i>Beijing Zhiwuren</i>)	马建 (Ma Jian)
<i>Beijing Doll</i>	<i>La muñeca de Pequín</i> (2003)	北京娃娃 (<i>Beijing Wawa</i>)	春树 (Chun Shu)
<i>Book of Changes</i>	<i>I Ching</i> (1971)	易经 (<i>Yi Jing</i>)	Unknown
<i>Book of Documents</i>	<i>Untranslated</i>	书经 (<i>Shu Jing</i>)	Unknown
<i>Book of Rites</i>	<i>Untranslated</i>	礼记 (<i>Li Ji</i>)	Unknown
<i>Book of Songs</i>	<i>Libro de los cantos</i> (2013)	诗经 (<i>Shi Jing</i>)	Unknown
<i>Camel Xiangzi</i>	<i>La verdadera historia del</i>	骆驼祥子 (<i>Luotuo Xiangzi</i>)	老舍 (Lao She)

	<i>Camello Xiangzi</i> (2011)		
<i>Dao De Jing</i>	<i>El evangelio del Tao: del libro sagrado Tao te ching</i> (1931)	道德经 (<i>Dao De Jing</i>)	老子 (Laozi)
<i>Family</i>	<i>La familia</i> (1982)	家 (<i>Jia</i>)	巴金 (Ba Jin)
<i>Fortress Besieged</i>	<i>La fortaleza asediada</i> (1992)	围城 (<i>Weicheng</i>)	钱钟书 (<i>Qian Zhongshu</i>)
<i>Four Books</i>	<i>Los cuatro libros</i> (1954)	四书 (<i>Si Shu</i>)	孔子 (Confucius), 孟子 (Mengzi), 子思 (Zisi) & 曾子 (Zenzi)
<i>Invisible planets</i>	<i>Planetas invisibles</i> (2017)	(No original reference)	陈楸帆 (Chen Qiufan), 刘慈欣 (Liu Cixin), 夏笳 (Xia Jia), 糖匪 (Tang Fei), 郝景芳 (Hao Jingfan), 马伯庸 (Ma Boyong) & 程婧波 (Cheng Jingbo)
<i>Poems</i>	<i>Mao y la revolución china. Seguido de treinta y siete poemas de Mao Tse-Tung</i> (1968)	毛泽东诗词 (<i>Mao Zedong Shici</i>)	毛泽东 (Mao Zedong)
<i>Precious Mind for Enlightening the Mind</i>	<i>Libro chino intitulado Beng Sim Po Cam que quiere decir Espejo rico del claro corazón, o Riquezas y espejo con que se enriquezca, y donde se mire el claro y limpio corazón</i> (1592)	明心宝鉴 (<i>Ming Xin Bao Jian</i>)	范立本 (Fan Liben)
<i>Quotations of Chairman Mao</i>	<i>El libro rojo</i> (1976)	毛主席语录 (<i>Mao Zhuxi Yulu</i>)	毛泽东 (Mao Zedong)
<i>Romance of the Three Kingdoms</i>	<i>El romance de los tres reinos</i> (2014)	三国演义 (<i>San Guo Yan Yi</i>)	罗贯中 (Luo Guanzhong)

<i>Soul Mountain</i>	<i>La montaña del alma</i> (2001)	灵山 (<i>Ling Shan</i>)	高行健 (Gao Xingjian)
<i>Spring and Autumn Annals</i>	<i>Untranslated</i>	春天秋天 (<i>Chuntian Qiutian</i>)	Unknown
<i>Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio</i>	<i>Cuentos extraños</i> (1941)	聊斋志异 (<i>Liao Zhai Zhi Yi</i>)	蒲松龄 (Pu Songling)
<i>The Art of War</i>	<i>Los trece artículos sobre el arte de la guerra</i> (1974)	孙子兵法 (<i>Sunzi Bingfa</i>)	孙子 (Sunzi)
<i>The Cause for Literature</i>	<i>En torno a la literatura</i> (2003)	文学的理由 (<i>Wenxue de Liyou</i>)	高行健 (Gao Xingjian)
<i>The Garlic Ballads</i>	<i>Las baladas del ajo</i> (2008)	天堂蒜薹之歌 (<i>Tiantang Suantai zhi Ge</i>)	莫言 (Mo Yan)
<i>The Plum in the Golden Vase</i>	<i>Jou Pu Tuan: novela erótica china</i> (1978)	肉蒲团 (<i>Rouputuan</i>)	兰陵笑笑生 (Lanling Xiaoxiaosheng)
<i>The Secret of the Golden Flower</i>	<i>El secreto de la flor de oro</i> (1955)	太乙金华宗旨 (<i>Taiyi Jinhua Zongzhi</i>)	吕洞宾 (Lü Dongbin)
<i>The Wandering Earth</i>	<i>La tierra errante</i> (2019)	流浪地球 (<i>Liulang Diqu</i>)	刘慈欣 (Liu Cixin)
<i>Zhuangzi</i>	<i>Los diálogos de Chuang Tse</i> (2005)	庄子 (<i>Zhuangzi</i>)	庄子 (Zhuangzi)

Acknowledgements

We want to thank la Fundació Institut Confuci de Barcelona for funding the database from where the data for the present research were retrieved. This study has also been partially funded by the Departament de Traducció, d'Interpretació i d'Estudis de l'Àsia Oriental (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona). Both researchers are members of TXICC research group and are grateful to the rest of members, especially Mireia Vargas-Urpí and Helena Casas-Tost, for their insightful comments on the first version of the manuscript.

¹ Both authors are equally responsible for the contents of this paper, since both revised and complemented each other's work via a dialectic process. As they often work together, they have the internal policy of alternating the order of their names in the signature to minimise the impact this might have in external assessment exercises.

² See <https://dtieao.uab.cat/txicc/lite/> [last accessed 1 April 2020]

³ In this paper, the concept of "edition" is understood as a new printing of an already existing translation that incorporates some changes either in the text itself or the paratext accompanying it.

⁴ See <http://china-traducida.net/> [last accessed 1 April 2020]

⁵ See <http://www.asiared.com/> [last accessed 1 April 2020]

⁶ Jimmy Liao is, as a matter of fact, a picture book writer, but no distinction has been made between “picture book” and “short story” in our case.

In SKASE Journal of Translation and Interpretation [online]. 2021, vol. 14, no. 1 [cit. 2021- 04-26]. Available online at http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTI20/pdf_doc/05.pdf. ISSN 1336- 7811.

Medical terminology in an audiovisual product: Voice-over translation

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Abstract

Translation of an audiovisual product is a challenging task for a translator who has to take into account not only the differences between two languages involving translation issues in lexical items, grammatical constructions, culture specific items, etc., but also the constraints that an audiovisual product may impose. The aim of the paper is to analyse translation strategies of medical terminology in an audiovisual product. The study is based on medical terms found in the drama TV series “Grey’s anatomy” and determines the most frequently used translation strategies. To achieve the aim set, the following research questions are addressed: what are the most frequent translation strategies used by the translator in translation of medical terms in an audiovisual product and does voice-over translation cause any difficulties in terms of rendering medical terminology? The study shows that there has to be a lot of sound creativity on the translator’s part since rendering medical terms in the most obvious and direct way might be too complicated in an audiovisual product. Studying these issues may provide helpful practical and theoretical implications and insights.

Key words: voice-over translation, audiovisual translation, medical terminology, translator, source language, target language

Introduction

Since until the 1950s when audiovisual translation (AVT) was an unknown field, many significant changes have been achieved making AVT one of the major scholarly topics within the Translation Studies field with a fast growing interest of many researchers in many languages (Díaz-Cintas, 2009). Along with subtitling and dubbing, voice-over translation has received some attention of researchers in a number of research studies (Díaz-Cintas, 2004, 2009; Díaz-Cintas & Orero, 2010; Díaz-Cintas & Baños Piñero, 2015; Gambier, 2013; Matamala & Orero, 2013; Pérez González, 2014; Sepielak, 2014, 2016). Medical terminology causes a number of issues for translators overall, due to a lack of equivalent terms in the target language. The mode of voice-over adds other issues that may make the translation process even more challenging and the translation product quality in cases obscure.

Inappropriate use and/or translation of medical terms as well as expert jargon may cause a particular concern in the processes of communication and comprehension. There have been studies analyzing translation of medical terminology in dubbing and subtitling modes (Puddu, 2016). However, voice-over, as a translation mode that is relatively free of many restrictions that are apparent in other AVT modes, has been understudied (Grigaravičiūtė and Gottlieb, 1999). The aim of this work is to analyse the strategies used in voice-over translation of medical terminology, as based on an English-to-Lithuanian translated TV series. This work may have relevance in the field of translation studies, especially in terms of medical terminology translation.

Theoretical background and literature overview

Issues in voice-over audiovisual translation

Three main conventional forms of AVT are subtitling, dubbing and voice-over. Subtitling involves the transfer of a spoken to the written mode (Pérez González, 2014). Since normally people speak faster than they read, the subtitled text has to be shorter than the audio because of the necessity for the viewer to read the subtitles and at the same time not to think about the fact that he or she is actually reading (Chiaro, 2009). Subtitling provides an opportunity for the audience to hear original dialogues and gives a prospect of using subtitles as a language-teaching tool (Chiaro, 2009).

Dubbing gives credit to the target audience and its language. According to Chiaro (2009), dubbing makes “the target dialogues look as if they are being uttered by the original actors” (Chiaro, 2009). This is achieved by replacing the original soundtrack with a target language recording which reproduces the original message of the source language. Actors’ lip movements and target language sounds have to be synchronized. Dubbing creates an illusion that actors who are on screen speak the viewers’ language. The choice to dub a product is supported by the fact that it is easy to follow dubbed programmes and target audience does not have to read while watching or follow any redundant information because everything is put in place (Koolstra, Peeters & Spinhof, 2002).

Voice-over is an AVT method that records the soundtrack over the original voice, which is also heard. This AVT technique does not require reading and allows a target audience viewer to enjoy a movie, TV series or any other audiovisual product without worrying about extra information. This method is linked to the translation of documentaries, interviews or news (Franco, Matamala & Orero, 2010). However, certain norms have been formed. For example, voice-over is considered very accurate and authentic and is a dominant mode for the translation of various movies and TV series in countries in Central and Eastern Europe like Poland, Latvia, Russia or Lithuania (Franco, Matamala & Orero, 2010; Koverienė & Satkauskaitė, 2014).

Voice-over can be a demanding AVT mode. A successful delivery of a translated target text is inherently related to three different yet connected factors: the acoustic balance between the original soundtrack and the text delivered by the reader; the quality and the quantity of the translated text; and the timbre and intonation of the reader’s voice, as well as the way in which the reader synchronizes the reading with the original sound (Wozniak, 2012). These factors show the essence of the voice-over translation, although the effect on the audience, which can be caused by the reader’s voice, remains a relatively subjective matter. If one of these factors renders poor quality, the whole translation becomes unsuccessful, e.g., if an audience can only barely hear the original soundtrack, there is no compensation for condensations or reductions made in the target language translation (Wozniak, 2012). Thus, the time limit, which is essentially related to synchronisation, is the most tangible restriction in voice-over translation.

For analysis of audiovisual translation, the following strategies established by Gottlieb (1997) have been employed in some research studies: expansion (expanded expression, adequate rendering); paraphrase (altered expression, adequate rendering); transfer (full expression, adequate rendering); imitation (identical expression, equivalent rendering of proper nouns, international greetings, etc.); transcription (anomalous expression, adequate rendering); dislocation (differing expression, adjusted content); condensation (condensed expression, concise rendering); decimation (abridged expression, reduced content); deletion (omitted expression, no verbal content); resignation (differing expression, distorted content).

Gottlieb and Grigaravičiūtė (1999) acknowledge that voice-over translation is relatively lacking any constraints, but the freedom that it offers for a translator should be wisely exploited. In a study of four random episodes of a Danish TV series, they compared the original soundtrack

and the target language translation – Danish to Lithuanian – of dialogues. The analysis was performed at the level of the structure, i.e., in terms of words, phrases and sentences (Gottlieb and Grigaravičiūtė 1999), and at the level of translation quality. For analysis, the researchers used three categories: full translation, reduction and elimination. Full translation means that a translator intended to convey the whole meaning of an utterance or a sentence and all elements are clear for the target language viewer as they are clear for the source language audience. Reduction implies that a translator decides to cut part of a sentence or merge several elements (e.g., redundant elements, false starts, pragmatic particles, or slang), thus leaving some text untranslated. Elimination indicates that a whole clause or even a sentence is left untranslated and never presented to the target audience (Gottlieb and Grigaravičiūtė, 1999). The researchers claim that their intention was to examine the semantic content of the source language text, which can be preserved or reduced in a performed translation (ibid.).

Gottlieb (1997) has established the conventional classification of translation strategies that originally should be used for the subtitling. However, no particular model for meaning rendering strategies in voice-over translation has been established. Some researchers have interpreted and used Gottlieb's strategies for the analysis of voice-over translation. Garcarz (2007) has conducted analysis of slang in fiction movies translated using the voice-over mode. This analysis enabled the researcher to narrow down Gottlieb's strategies and establish a model of seven translation techniques for voice over: omission, substitution, functional equivalent, literal translation, description, neologisation and compensation.

Issues in categorisation of medical terms

The discussion on what counts as a medical term and their proper categorisation into groups is considered to be outside the scope and focus of this paper. However, certain characteristics of a lexical item or unit categorised as a term have to be mentioned. The level of technicalness (Nation, 2001), i.e., the extent to how which a word is restricted to a particular area or speciality, may define a word or a unit as term. The closer the connection between the term and its field, the more technical the term. Dahm (2012) presents a good example of technicalness in a medical field, e.g., the term *migraine* is closely related to the medical field, but when it is compared with another medical term *progeria* (a genetic condition which causes symptoms of ageing at a very early age), it seems that the term *migraine* can appear in everyday use as much as in medical discourse (Dahm 2012; Nation 2001). Following from this, it can be stated that some medical terms, like *migraine*, do not have a level of fixed technicalness. Therefore, categorisation of medical terms into specifically defined categories is somewhat complex.

Hoffmannová and Müllerová (2000) distinguish the following categories of medical terms: diseases and their symptoms, methods of examination, surgical interventions, medical specialities and hospital departments (p. 77). This classification is considered quite ambiguous. In Černý's argumentation, for example, symptoms are often of a subjective evidence and, thus, may be deemed outside the definition of terms (Černý, 2008, p. 41). Therefore, the distinction into (1) diseases and illnesses (e.g., *laryngitis*), (2) medications (e.g., *aspirin*), (3) medical tools (e.g., *otoscope*) and (4) procedures and methods (e.g., *HRT*) is proposed by Černý as a less subjective and disambiguous way of categorizing medical terms (ibid.).

In defining a term it is important to draw a line between simple words and terms, in this particular instance, medical terms. Medical terminology can be divided into two types: technical and semi-technical (Fage-Butler and Nisbeth Jensen, 2016). Technical terms often come from Latin or Greek languages or are related to the names of medications and can be found and

identified in medical dictionaries. Semi-technical terms can be determined by using examples and definitions and include words that have a minimal relation to the medical field, *e.g. part; pairs; neck; eye* (ibid). Cabré (2003) claims that pragmatic context plays an important role when recognizing whether a word is a term and suggests that any lexical unit can be a terminological unit. Consequently, subcategorization of technical and semi-technical terms into dictionary defined medical terms and co-text defined medical terms is relevant. Dictionary-defined medical terms cover those medical terms that can be found in the dictionary as well as terms that derive from Latin or Greek, *e.g., papillary carcinoma thyroid*. Co-text-defined medical terms are the terms that cannot be found in medical dictionaries, but they carry a specialized meaning when used in medical settings, *e.g., uptake and replacement* (Fage-Butler and Nisbeth Jensen, 2016). Along with dictionary-defined medical terms and co-text-defined medical terms, Fage-Butler and Nisbeth Jensen (2016) add three more categories, i.e., medical initialisms, medication brand names and colloquial technical terms, and establish a taxonomy consisting of five big groups of medical terms.

The categories of medical terms by Hoffmannová and Müllerová (2000), Černý (2008) and Fage-Butler and Nisbeth Jensen (2016) are taken as the basis for the analysis in the work. The classifications are summarised and the categories are established for the purposes of this study as follows: (1) diseases, signs, symptoms and injuries; (2) medications; (3) medical tools; (4) procedures, treatments and actions; (5) medical abbreviations; (6) healthcare occupations; (7) human body parts; (8) common terms in medical context.

Difficulties in terminology translation

The main terminological challenges that are usually encountered in performing a translation of the source and target language terminology are as follows:

- Challenges in the source language terminology: to specify the meaning of the term from the source language text; to confirm the specialised nature of the terminological unit; to know the denominative alternatives of the term and the conditions in which it can be used in texts;
- Challenges in the target language terminology: to know whether there is an equivalent term in the target language; if there is, to know what sources have to be used in order to adapt or create the name needed and then how it can be indicated that is a neologism; to know the most adequate equivalent after considering the topic and approach; to know whether a term has either specific or restrictive grammatical usages; to know the prototypical combination of terminological units; to know the customary phraseology in the particular field; to know the denominative alternatives which can be applied for the single concept; to make sure whether the denominative unit which was selected corresponds strictly to the concept (Cabré, 1999).

The challenges outlined by Cabré (1999) show the complexity of terminology translation. It includes many different tasks starting with the source language terminology when the meaning of the term has to be specified and then confirmed. The translator has to pay attention to many details when performing a translation to the target language and at first he/she has to find out whether there is an equivalent term and how it can be adapted. The translator has to know all features related to the particular term in order to present an accurate translation that would be understandable to the target audience.

Matamala (2010) also delineates terminological difficulties in translation, among which are the following: identifying a term when it also has a general meaning, *e.g. sequence*;

understanding a term; finding the right equivalent; absence of (or failure to find) an adequate equivalent resulting in creation of new terms, paraphrasing, use of loanwords or language mechanisms such as pre-fixation, analogy and blending; dealing with denominative variations in certain languages, e.g. Spanish *detritus* and *detrit* for English *debris*; dealing with transcriptions that might result in mistranscriptions, e.g. *route* and *root* (Matamala, 2010).

Translation challenges are even more demanding when the source and target languages belong to different language families, which results in essential differences in syntax. To add more, this also means that the source and target languages do not share a common word stock with comparable semantics.

Paying attention to the semantic issues in the translation of medical terminology, it has to be pointed out that polysemy is fundamental when examining terminology which appears in life sciences (Temmerman, 2000). It affects almost all medical terminology which comes from the general language, as well as terminology taken from other science disciplines when it is differently applied in both medicine and health management. Everyday words that have the function of a verb mostly are polysemous and have multiple meanings which make their use as terms complicated, e.g. the verb *screen* and a verbal noun *screening*. Both these words are used as medical but in more abstract ways in comparison with their everyday application, e.g., *window screen* refers to the protective shield against the sun. In medicine, *a medical screening* refers to the filtering process when tests to diagnose diseases and dangerous health conditions are involved (Peters, Qian and Ding, 2018; Antia, 2007). It is clear that the identification and translation of words with abstract meanings can be problematic when they become terms.

Other researchers have discussed more difficulties in medical translation, e.g., metaphorical terminology transfer from the source to the target text (Temmerman, 2000) or translation of eponyms (Karwacka, 2015) or compound terms (Karwacka, 2015; Peters, Qian and Ding, 2018). The translation of medical terms is a continuous challenge for the translator when it is essential not only to find the appropriate translation equivalents, but also to keep interest in the progress and advancements made in the field of medical diagnosis and treatment (Montalt, 2011). Translators have to identify or sometimes create new equivalents of medical terms in the target language and know minor differences in words and their meanings between the source and target languages.

Material and Methods

Voice-over translation of medical terminology was analysed in this paper in terms of the distribution of translation strategies over different types of medical terms. Six episodes of medical drama TV series *Grey's anatomy* and the voice-over translation to Lithuanian *Grei anatomija* were chosen for analysis. In total, almost 500 medical terms were found and analysed: first, to find out the frequency of groups of medical terms in the audiovisual product, and second, to identify translation strategies used to render medical terms. The analysis reveals that sometimes the translator is not able to come up with a proper and natural translation, the reasons of which might be the focus of other research studies.

Results and Discussion

The distribution of groups of medical terms found in the voiced-over audiovisual product is presented in Fig. 1, which shows that 29% of the collected medical terms were those referring to diseases, signs, symptoms and injuries, e.g., *hematochezia*, *melena*, *rupture*.

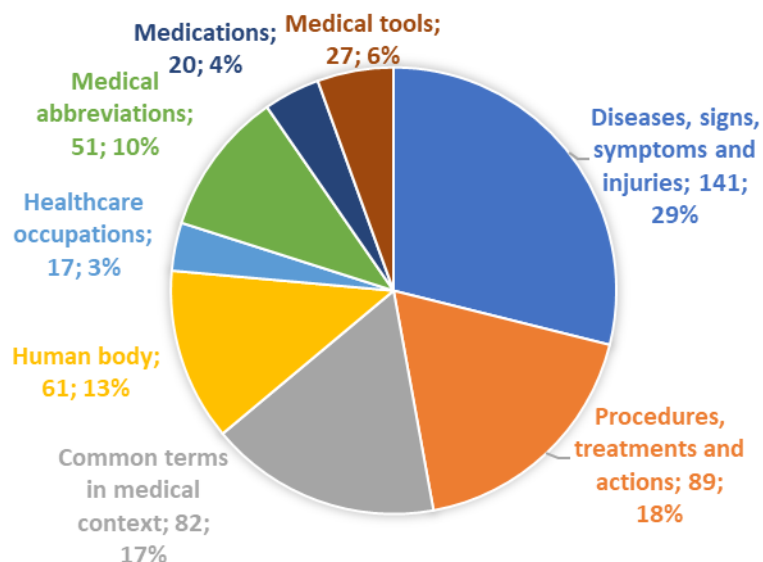


Figure 1 Distribution of medical term groups (n = 488)

Procedures, treatments and actions accounted for 18% of medical terms under analysis, e.g., *harvest surgery*, *tox screen*. Less than one-fifth (17%) of common terms used in the medical context show that a number of medical terms might not be related to a specific area; they are just part of the lexicon in daily situations of the medical context, e.g., *open* in *open a chest*. Medical terms related to human body comprised 13% of all the selected terminological units, which implies that names of human body parts are a part of the communication context among doctors and their patients, e.g., *chest* in *open a chest*. Medical abbreviations were also found to make up 10% of all the collected medical terms, e.g. *EEG*, *NSAIDs*, which shows that medical terms are frequently abbreviated in the source language of the chosen audiovisual product. The percentage of the terms referring to medical tools was only 6%, e.g., *scalpel*. Similar frequency was observed for names of medications (4%), e.g., *dexamethasone*, *phenytoin*, and healthcare occupations (3%), e.g. *radiologist*. The small percentages indicate that these particular groups of medical terminology are less common in the medical TV series.

Figure 2 shows the percentage of the translation strategies used to translate medical terms found in the medical drama TV series.

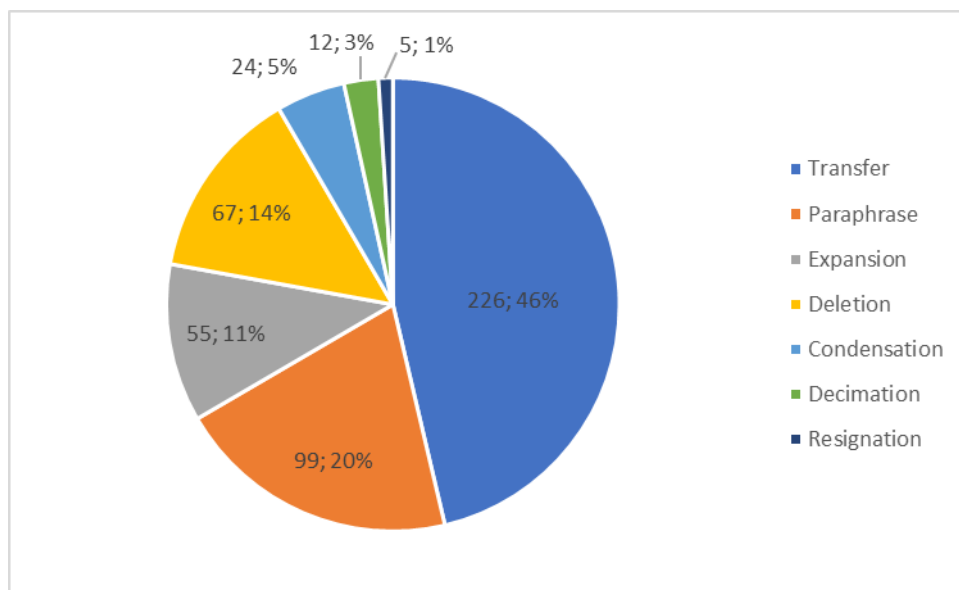


Figure 2 Distribution of translation strategies across all medical terms (n = 488)

The greatest part (46%) of medical terms were translated using the strategy of transfer, e.g.,

(1) S1E3¹

EN OR²: *Oooh – **hemipelvectomy!***

LT TR³: ***Pusės dubens šalinimas.***

BT⁴: *Half pelvis removal.*

In Example 1, the source language medical term *hemipelvectomy* derives from the Latin language: hemi- + pelvis + -ectomy. Hemipelvectomy refers to the surgical procedure when a half of the pelvis and the leg of that side are removed. The example indicates that the translator has chosen to render an original structure of the medical term. The transfer strategy might be a non-complicated way of rendering a source language term because it does not require the translator to search for various other options.

In the collected corpus, as much as 20% of medical terms were paraphrased, which implies that the translator was looking for some other options that could result in being clearer for the target audience reader and possibly better quality of the translation, e.g.,

(2) S1E5

EN OR: *Look at the wall **rupture.***

LT TR: *Sienelė **smarkiai pažeista.***

BT: *[The] wall [is] significantly ruptured.*

¹ Series and episode

² English original spoken text

³ Lithuanian translated version

⁴ Back translation (word for word)

The source language term *rupture* indicates the tearing or disruption of a particular tissue. This medical term can be used in various contexts and that is why it may have different translations. Originally, the word rupture can be translated as *trūkimas*, *trūkis*, *lūžimas* or *išvarža*. These translations cannot be applied in this particular case since such expressions as *sienelės trūkimas* or *sienelės lūžimas* would hardly make sense to the target audience. In this case, the translator has made the decision to paraphrase the whole sentence and the source language term *rupture* was translated as *smarkiai pažeista*.

There were 14% of deletion cases, which refer to the omitted expressions when the translator most probably had no other choice but to eliminate a particular medical term, e.g.,

(3) S1E2

EN OR: *You have a disorder called **multinucleate cell** angiohistiocytoma.*
 LT TR: *Jūs sergate angiohistiocitoma.*
 BT: *You [are] sick [with] angiohistiocitoma.*

In certain cases, the use of deletion strategy helps to avoid the surplus of words; however, considering the case of elimination of a medical term, the translator has to be sure whether this strategy could be applied since it might result in losing the meaning of a sentence. Also, there are limitations to the target language soundtrack and this could affect the translator's decision to use this strategy. Then again, the usage of deletion strategy is arguable because it should be the last option chosen by the translator.

Another 11% of medical terms were translated by using the strategy of expansion, which indicates that some elements were added when performing the translation, e.g.,

(4) S1E5

EN OR: *We need to **open** her up.*
 LT TR: *Teks **atvert krūtinės ląstą**.*
 BT: *[It will be] needed to open [the] chest.*

The original sentence implies that someone called *her* has to be opened up. However, the literal translation to Lithuanian *ją atverti* or *ją atidaryti* would not sound like a logic or natural expression. The need to add some elements appears when more clarity is necessary for the users of the translated version to fully understand the text.

There were 5% of condensation cases, which tells that more concise language was used in order to avoid unnecessary elements that might have possibly raised questions to the target audience, e.g.,

(5) S1E4

EN OR: *Oh, and you are hoping they're gonna give me a **whipple** ...*
 ***pancreaticoduodenectomy**.*
 LT TR: *Tikies, kad operuos. **Pašalins kasą**.*
 BT: *You hope that [they] will operate. Will remove the pancreas.*

In some cases, the original name of the medical term cannot be preserved and directly transferred because it would be too complicated in the target text. Thus, a particular element is adapted or

transformed which may result in the condensed version of a translated terminological unit (Example 5). In other cases, it is also possible that the translator does not come up with an adequate equivalent to the medical term and has no other choice but to produce a concise version which would still render the meaning of the sentence.

In the collected corpus, 3% of all cases were translated by using the decimation strategy, which, in contrast to the condensation strategy, reduces certain elements and an abridged expression is rendered to the target audience language. This particular strategy may also be called an extreme form of the condensation strategy since even supposedly significant references might be deleted and only the most general idea of the source language term expressed. Thus, the translator has to be extremely careful if he/she decides to remove a part of the meaning told by the original reference and make sure that the information which reaches the viewer will not give a distorted view of the original text, e.g.,

(6) S1E5

EN OR: **A bullectomy procedure.** Remove the bullae. Reduce the pressure.
 LT TR: ***Operuočiau.** Pašalinčiau pūlinius, sumažėtu spaudimas.*
 BT: *I would operate. I would remove bullae, pressure would reduce.*

In Example 6, the translation partially renders the meaning; however, the text that follows, namely, *Remove the bullae*, is an explanation in the original text, but when translated it becomes a compensation for the lost meaning in the first part of the

Only 1% of medical terms were rendered by using resignation, which may distort the content. The use of this particular strategy implies that the translator has no other choice but to produce a different expression which results in the essential changes of the meaning, e.g.,

(7) S1E5

EN OR: The patient has a three-**lumbar fusion**.
 LT TR: *Jis **negali gulėti ant nugaros.***
 BT: *He cannot lie on [the] back.*

In Example 7, the original medical term *three-lumbar fusion* refers to the common procedure which helps to treat many types of spinal pathology such as scoliosis and other types of deformity. The term is a specific reference which indicates a lumbar fusion of three or more low back levels treatment. *negali gulėti ant nugaros*. This translation gives somewhat different information in comparison with the original term since it suggests that a patient is not able to lie on his back. Even though it seems that the translator has distorted the content by rendering this particular translation, the transferred information indicates the condition of a patient implying that a particular procedure was performed and because of it the patient feels discomfort in the back. This example shows distortion of the original meaning even though the reference of the source language content is rendered to the target language translation.

Strategies of dislocation and transcription were not found in the voiced-over audiovisual product.

Fig. 3 illustrates the number of cases when particular translation strategies were used in translation of medical terms as represented by separate groups. The blue column indicates the total number of cases in each group, which were found in the corpus of the examples collected

from the audiovisual product (see Fig. 2). The orange column represents the number of cases which refer to the most frequent strategy employed.

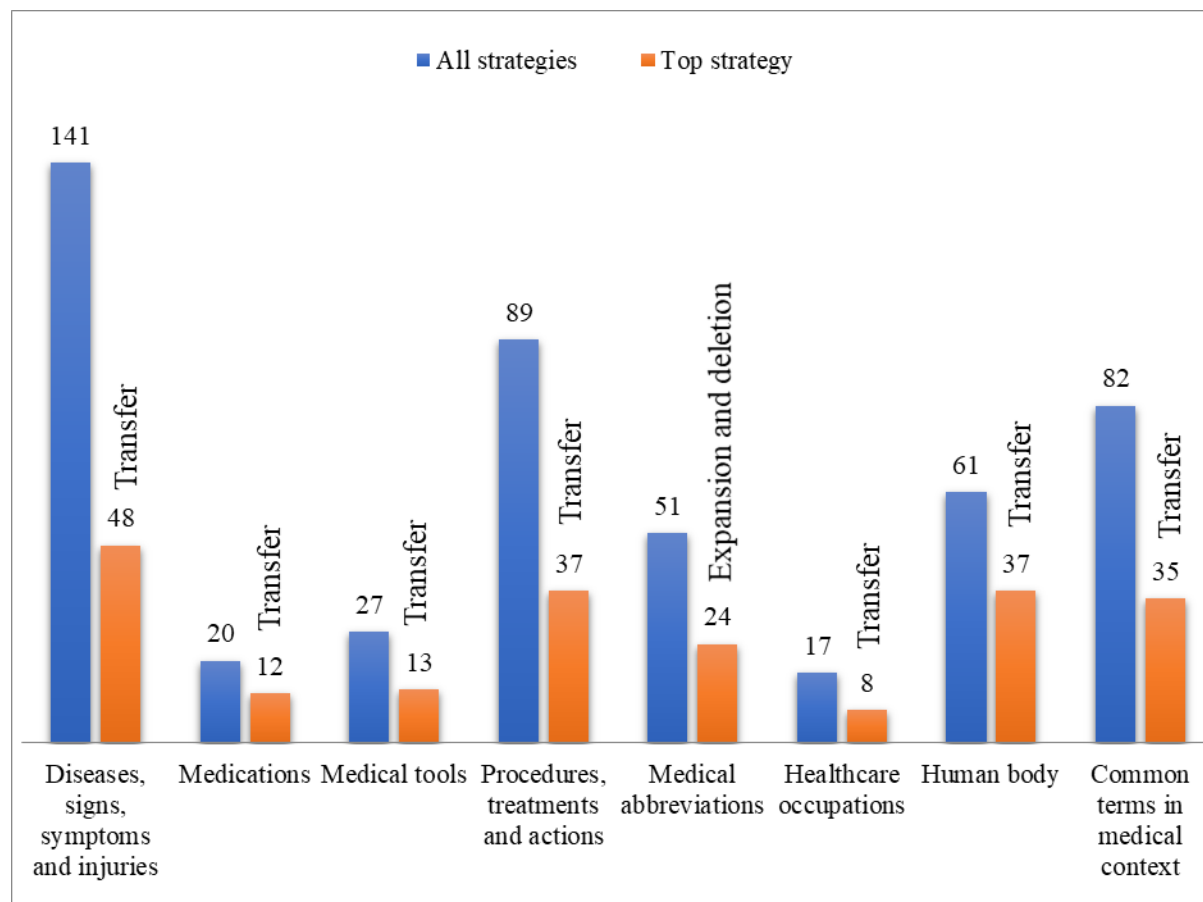


Figure 3 The most common translation strategies employed in different groups of medical terms

Fig. 3 indicates that transfer is the most popular strategy in translation of groups of medical terms separately, which is in line with the result obtained overall (see Fig. 1). Except for the group of medical abbreviations that were translated by using expansion (12 cases) and deletion (12 cases) strategies, the most common employed strategy was that of transfer.

Conclusions and Final Implications

According to different researchers, audiovisual translation is highlighted as one of the most significant translation areas of this era due to the growing number of people who use this kind of production. As it was clarified, the AVT has three conventional modalities: subtitling, voice-over and dubbing, and in this study, the voice-over mode receives a thorough focus due to the characteristics of the selected product (medical drama TV series). The study and analysis of the voice-over translation allowed confirming that the conventional classification of translation strategies, proposed by Gottlieb and originally applied for the subtitling, can be also adapted for the analysis of voice-over translation as it has been previously carried out by several other researchers.

Voice-over translation causes many difficulties in terms of rendering medical terminology. The most common problem is when the medical term does not have the appropriate equivalent in the target language or when the translator does not have enough information about a particular medical term. This implies that the translator has to be creative and sometimes rely on a new translation equivalent of a medical term.

Different translation strategies were found in the selected audiovisual product. The most common solution was the transfer strategy, i.e., leaving the original structure of medical terms. It may be a safe option requiring no alterations and changes in the original structure of the term. However, there are cases when the translator has to delete the medical reference or remove the original meaning by replacing it with a completely new element. These are risky choices which should be performed only when there is no other option, i.e., the source language term does not have an adequate equivalent in the translation language or a particular element will not be clearly comprehended by the target audience.

This paper contributes to the other research on improvement of the audiovisual translation quality by unveiling the essential strategies used for the translation of medical terminology. Further studies are needed as AVT of medical terminology is an under-researched domain. As the world is slowly recovering after global pandemics, there will be likely more movies and TV series where translation of medical terminology will be crucial and the translator's task even more complicated.

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In SKASE Journal of Translation and Interpretation [online]. 2021, vol. 14, no. 1 [cit. 2021- 04-26].
Available online at http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTI20/pdf_doc/06.pdf. ISSN 1336- 7811.

Pragmatic factors in the use of in-text additions as a technique for translating realia in literary translation

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The purpose of this study is to establish the criteria for successful deployment of in-text additions in the translation of realia. Uses and misuses of this technique have been assessed from the conflicting perspectives of foreignization and domestication, with reference to the rich corpus provided by the Russian and English translations of Smagul Yelubay's Kazakh novel, Ak Boz Uy. From the discussion of specific sub-techniques, the primary conclusion emerges that in-text additions are better accommodated in direct, indirect or free indirect speech than in the voice of an omniscient narrator.

Key words: in-text additions, situational realia, pragmatic explicitation, pragmatic presupposition, literary translation.

1. Introduction

Throughout the evolution of Translation Studies, as is usual in many disciplines, an array of concepts have been put forward whose meanings partially coincide. Furthermore, a less common phenomenon has appeared whereby each concept has given rise to a bibliography of its own which has developed autonomously. This has happened, in particular, with realia, presuppositions, explicitation and allusions. Specialists focus narrowly on a single concept and rarely consult the work of their counterparts with alternative foci. Of course, these four terms are not synonyms, and to a certain extent it is reasonable that each sector has moved towards its own objects of study.¹ Even so, overlaps between them are undeniable. Allusions and realia share a field of interest (Ruokonen 2010: 33–34), while subcategories such as ‘cultural presuppositions’ (Nida and Reyburn 1981: 17) and ‘pragmatic explicitations’ (Klaudy 1998: 83) are difficult to distinguish from realia. Therefore, the four sectors overlap sufficiently enough to logically suppose that mutual collaboration going forward would benefit researchers on all sides. The first objective of this article is to contribute to this transfer of knowledge at the most obvious point of intersection, the addition.

A second motivation comes from the lack of attention on the casuistry and variables of each technique, in the literature on realia.² Theoretical works have rarely gone beyond a few examples, while the results of empirical studies have been redirected rather to the global strategies of the translator and to the reception of the original text in the target culture. There are only a few specific studies on addition (Pym 2018 [1992]: 83–99; Mangiron 2006: 99–109, 568–577; Sharifabad 2015).³ In order to help fill this gap, a novel in the Kazakh language by Smagul Yelubay and its translations into Russian and English have been used herein. *Ak Boz Uy* (Yelubay 2005) recounts the crisis and the transformation which has taken place in Kazakhstan and very specifically among the cattle-breeder nomads of the Ustirt area after annexation to the Soviet Union. The three parts of the trilogy, published in 1978 (and 1989), 1993 and 2003⁴ respectively, describe the forced famine of 1932, the Stalinist repression of 1937, and the times of depression after the Second World War. Translators had to deal with a dense number of realia that they resolved by the means of a reasonable and globally satisfactory diversification of techniques. Among them,⁵ the addition was neither the only nor the most common technique, but the frequency and disinhibition with which Lina

Kosmukhamedova and Aslan Zh. Zhaksylykov (Yelubay 2009) and Catherine Fitzpatrick (Yelubay 2016)⁶ adopted it not only in the paratext (footnotes), but also in the mouth of the narrator and the characters attracts our attention.⁷ His work thus constitutes an excellent benchmark against which to evaluate the options and possibilities offered by this technique.

2. The footnotes into the translation

First of all, in the two translations under examination the alternation between in-text additions and footnotes, although it is done quite randomly, seems to be aimed at avoiding imbalances in the use of one or the other option. It is curious to note, however, that despite translating from the Russian rather than the Kazakh version Catherine Fitzpatrick transforms several in-text additions introduced by Kosmukhamedova and Zhaksylykov into footnotes (specifically 20). Here is an example:

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| <p>(1) Shygyrğa jegilgen astaý bas qara nar mañqyp teris aınala berip japyrylyp alğa umtyldy. Ashamaıǵa baılangan qays arqandy julqa tartty.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Yelubay 2005: 9)</p> <p>[The big-headed black nar, harnessed to the shygyr, with its mouth open, turned back and headed forward. It pulled the rawhide lasso tied to ashamay.]⁸</p> | <p>Ogromnyj chernyj nar, vprjazhennyj v shygyr – special'noe sooruzhenie, prispособlennoe dlja vodopoja, – podalsja bylo nazad, no tut zhe vsej svoej massoj snova dvinulsja vpered, tashha syromjatnyj arkan, privjazannyj k sedelke na ego spinke.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Yelubay 2009: 11)</p> <p>[The enormous black nar, harnessed to the shygyr – a special construction, dedicated for watering – leaned back, but then with all its mass moved forward again, dragging a raw lasso, tied to the saddle on its back.]</p> | <p>An enormous black <i>nar</i>, harnessed to the <i>shygyr</i>* was opening its jaws; it was about to step back but once again tipped forward with its whole mass, dragging the rawhide lasso tied to the saddle on its back.</p> <p>*A shygyr is a special device for getting water, a hoist.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Yelubay 2016: 10)</p> |
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Should we deduce, from these kinds of decisions, that the English translator is more in favour of footnotes than in-text additions? Does she censure or punish her Russian predecessors for a *modus operandi* she considers too daring? In part, this is a likely motivation. Just as important, however, is Fitzpatrick's unease about her Russian colleagues' language register, since their in-text additions are rather closer in tone and style to footnotes than the novel in which they fail to camouflage themselves.

In (1), the parenthesis is inserted with all the clumsiness of a foreign body, clearly manufactured by the translator and addressed to the reader of a target text. Scholars who have written about additions have not focused sufficiently on the radical difference between applying them inside or outside the text. In general, they speak of adding 'information', 'clarifications', an 'explanatory paraphrase' or a 'definition'. All of these terms are certainly not the most characteristic of a literary text typology. When considering how the addition should be written, theorists have in mind the modality of the paratextual note, not realizing the friction that can occur between this type of writing and the context in which the addition is going to be inserted. If it can be argued – as an excuse – that such studies do not focus

exclusively on literary translation while in other typologies this friction tends to have less impact, it is more surprising that some literary translators fail to make this distinction. The texts analyzed here show this weakness to the point that many of the in-text additions made, including some kept by the English translator, correspond to the syntactic schemes indicated by scholars, such as parentheses, nouns in apposition, or the inevitable adjectival clauses (Newmark 1988: 92; Moya 2000: 113-114):

- (2) The women pinched their cheeks from outrage – this was a gesture that indicated that [...] (Yelubay 2016: 29)

Of course, there will be literary texts that admit these didactic and lexicographic interferences more than others. Even in the case of a single writer or a single work there will be contexts in which it attracts more or less attention. However, in general terms they are not good travel companions for the literary genre.

Some additions clarify that what is narrated or described must be attributed to the customs and habits of the source culture. Also, this modality often becomes infected with the stylistic mismatch mentioned above, as demonstrated by the following examples:

- (3a) Izbili, ispinali, govoryat, do polusmert i, zadom napered na konskij krup posadiv, vosvoyasi otpravili. Po stepnym kanonam vozvrashchat'sya na konskom krupe da eshche i zadom napered – pozornejshij dlya dzhigita udel. Aul, govoryat, posle takih nechistoplotnyh prityazaniy «gosudarstvennogo cheloveka» s mesta v odin den' snyalsya, ischez v turkmenskikh peskah. (Yelubay 2009: 197)
[It is said that the men of the Aday clan beat and scribbled him up to death, and making him seat on the horseback in reverse sent him away. *According to the nomadic canons, going back on the horseback in reverse is the most disrespectful destiny for a man.* It is said that after such unpure crimes of the “state person”, the village has taken off in a day and disappeared in the Turkmen sands.]
- (3b) – CHto zhe eto ty, moj sokol? – sprosila ona, ne nazyvaya po stepnomu etiketu muzha po imeni. (Yelubay 2009: 36)
[– What have you, my falcon? – she asked, *not calling her husband's name according to the steppe ethics.*]
- (3c) Stariki propeli Koran, proveli tradicionno ladonyami po licu. (Yelubay 2009: 210)
[The old men sang the Koran, *traditionally* stroke their faces *with their palms.*]⁹

As a general rule, in the source text it is unusual to provide information that is already familiar to the reader, so theorists do not recommend that the translator should put additions like those made in the previous excerpts (Mayoral 1994: 85). However, nothing prevents the infiltration of these kinds of additions in a source text if they are used with epithetical and rhetorical value.¹⁰ Thus, the explicitation of the presence of realia is not a subtechnique that must be discarded a priori. It offers the undeniable advantage of warning the reader and thus preventing his confusion. It does not matter if the meaning of the realia is clear, since giving notice that something unusual is happening may suffice, without further explanation. Thus, in (3c) it is no longer reported that the gesture serves to request that the wishes expressed in the prayer come true, because it is considered enough that the reader understands that it has an undetermined symbolic meaning related to the religious tradition. Yelubay's Russian translators may have overused this subtechnique, and without doubt their wording here

continues to betray the style of the explanatory note addressed to a foreign recipient. However, this defect heavily spoils the first of the quotes, with a diminishing effect on the second quote, while in the third quote the addition effectively goes unnoticed. In conclusion, when metarealia can be seen as credible in the eyes of someone who had read them in the source text, and are written without falling into the style of an editor or commentator, they are a resource of unquestionable validity.

It is also important to underline that prolixity should not necessarily become a target of criticism. In the following passage the Russian translators lengthen the original sentence very generously but they effectively go along with the original free indirect speech, so this addition deserves favourable consideration. When one of their countrymen returns from Afghanistan and describes what he has seen there, the villagers, eager to escape the Soviet yoke and find a place to emigrate, imagine that country as a promised land. The original invokes the ancient myth about Assan Kaigy, who spent his whole life traveling on a camel in search of a paradise called Zheruyuk, which he never found:

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| <p>(4) Malyn baǵyp, otyñ jaǵyp, tek jatqan eldi kóz aldyna keltirgende sharya aýylǵa Aýǵan jeri beıne bir Asan Qaıǵy izdegen Jeruıyqtai eles berdi.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Yelubay 2005: 195)</p> <p>[When peasants imagined the village in which people independently herded cattle and made a fire to cook, Afganistan seemed like a Zheruyuk which Assan Kaigy looked for.]</p> | <p>Kazhdyj predstavil sebe obetovannyj kraj, tihij, mirnyj, ochagi vo dvorah, skotina na pastbi-shche, o chem eshche mechtat'? Kak skazoch-naya strana imenuemyj ZHer Uyuk, kotoruyu legendarnyj Asan Kajgy ves' svoj vek proiskal.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Yelubay 2009: 201)</p> <p>[Everybody imagined the quite, peaceful place of dreams, hearth in the yards, cattle in the pasture. Is there any other dream? Like the fairy-tale country named Zheruyuk which Assan Kaigy had searched for all his life.]</p> |
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The evocative abandonment felt by the characters already invited an extension of the textual material, which was well taken advantage of by the translators. In this sense, rather than just an exception, we are facing an exception that confirms the rule. If there are no particular circumstances like these, the more extensive an addition is, the higher the likelihood that the translator will use a 'footnote' style. Therefore, although not necessarily open to criticism, the length of the addition is often relevant. Even in "the fairy-tale country named Zheruyuk", there are traces of explanatory language. It will be helpful, in this regard, to bring up a recent study on implicature which establishes "bridging" and "commenting" as procedures "to compensate for anticipated knowledge deficits among TL readers" (Jamoussi 2017: 364). For Jamoussi, each one is "applicable to different textual manifestations" (379), the first for "elaborative inferencing", and the second for "evaluative inferencing" (370–376). This division would naturally elicit some objections, but the interesting input in relation to the length of the addition is not the function, but the form of both procedures. Although Jamoussi does not highlight it, the examples he provides by comment-type explicature are either whole clauses or at least contain a verbal structure: "hence shielding him from evil", "as is customary with this welcome display of satiation", "wrapped in the warmth of" (Jamoussi 2017: 375, 379). In contrast, Jamoussi's bridging-type explicatures are limited to a word, which is never a verb, or to a part of a noun group. "The sixty" becomes "The sixty books of the Quran", "Isha prayer" is prolonged as "Isha evening prayer", and "burnoose" is rendered as "burnoose hoods" (Jamoussi 2017: 371–372). Not surprisingly, the word "commenting" clearly points to stylistic features such as those that have been criticized here in translations

of *Ak Boz Uy*, while “bridging” refers to a concise link or transition, namely the minimum required to bridge the cultural gap without resorting to a discursive development.

The danger of incurring the friction between the literary and commenting styles is not the only element in favor of short-range bridging. At least three other closely related arguments can be adduced. One of them runs through the entire history of translation studies and is still largely valid today, despite being somewhat eroded by opinions contrary to the invisibility of the translator. Literary translators continue to be urged not to overreach in the number and especially in the length of additions to avoid excessive intrusion of their voice through the narrator or the characters: “Thus, since translators are not supposed to be authors [...] paraphrase extended beyond the sentence tends to break with the situation of translational exchange, becoming a discourse of addition or nonequivalence” (Pym 2018 [1992]: 86). From this perspective, the passage (4) in the Russian version would exceed the limits of what can be defined as translation and enter the realm of adaptation or free translation.

The second argument relates to the current evolution of translation studies and especially translation practice, which is moving towards foreignization, while support for the readers provided by the commenting mode and the long additions exemplified above belongs to the domesticating line.

Thirdly, Leppihalme herself, dealing with the translation of proper names, anticipated Jamoussi’s dichotomy by distinguishing between “adding a word or two” and “writing the footnotes into the translation”, and warned about the second technique: “an allusion is usually meant to convey its meaning by connotation. It is easy to imagine overt explanations [...] ruining the effect completely” (Leppihalme 1992: 188–189). In other words, the target text should be allusive in those parts where the source text is allusive, and this allusiveness cannot be treated as a secondary or expendable component: “These hidden clues cannot be explained to the TT receiver without running the risk of losing the literary charm of the text” (Nord 2005 [1988], 108–109).

3. The non-addition

What will translation that features foreignising bridging ahead of commenting be like? First of all, it will tend to avoid both procedures, namely all kinds of addition. Indeed, foreignising translators, with respect to their domesticating counterparts, are characterized by granting the reader a great contextualizing capacity and a certain dose of tolerance of incomprehensibility (Pym 2005: 39; Becher 2011: 50–51). Therefore, in the foreignising translation – among other concessions to exoticism – numerous realia will be kept in the original language without any further intervention, as transliterations if the alphabets do not match, and/or typographically marked where appropriate. The reader will only be provided with input to aid their comprehension in two quite obvious cases. Firstly, as alluded to above, if the density of the realia is very high, the techniques will have to be diversified, since an excessive number of foreign words in the whole work or in a certain passage can seriously hinder a reader’s understanding. Secondly, if realia play an important role in the diegesis of the entire work or a particular episode, it will be necessary to worry about making their meaning transparent.¹¹ Both assumptions afford leeway to the translator, and regarding the latter, there are at least three considerations to help them to make a relevant decision about the diegetic role of the realia.

The first consideration affects the pragmatic presuppositions, that is, those presuppositions that are defined not by “the truth-conditions or *content* of what is said”, but by “the *context* in which a statement is made – the attitudes and interests of speaker and audience”, their “background beliefs” and their “mutual knowledge” (Stalnaker 1999 [1974]: 48, 61; Cui and Zhao 2014: 31–32). Without this *context*, “the key that opens the secrets of the conversation” (“la clé qui ouvre les secrets de la conversation”, Rantanen 2012: 16) will be missing. To determine whether or not such a key is missing, the most useful method consists of measuring the weight of the “symbolic associative connotation” of the realia (Tarakov 2016: 69).¹² In recent decades studies on realia (Luque Nadal 2009: 96–97, 105, 107) and presuppositions (Ping 1999: 134) have been influenced by the concept of the symbol, which has made a strong impact in anthropology. According to these studies, symbolism characterizes all realia and cultural presuppositions, which is hardly refutable, yet it is no less true that symbolic meanings and denotative content coexist in them, and one or the other has greater weight in each context. Jamoussi and Mangiron highlight the same distinction when separating “evaluative inferences” from “elaborative inferences” (Jamoussi 2017: 369–376) and when distinguishing “between explicitness, that is, indicating the obvious pragmatic implications for the original reader, and the addition of linguistic, encyclopedic or geographical information” (Mangiron 2006: 572).¹³ In fact, terms that are most commonly called realia (i.e. organs or bodies of administration, furniture, clothing, gastronomy, artistic or ideological movements) belong to the second group (“elaborative inferences”, “addition of information”). Their supposed non-transferability is primarily based on denotative elements (peculiar features or competencies and attributions not shared by foreign equivalents), while their connotative or symbolic dimension does not usually go much beyond the exotic color they provide. Other realia, which are usually related to behavior, situations or habits, already have a strong inherent pragmatic character, and in different contexts they may activate to a greater or lesser degree those additional senses that are not limited to providing local flavor. Depending on the degree of activation of the connotative and symbolic load, different translation strategies will be chosen. In Yelubay's novel the pleasant connotations associated with *kuyrdak*, a traditional meal that is served to honorable guests, are activated very markedly in some scenes, while in others they are hardly felt. These connotations are absent in the first of the following quotations, where preparation of the dish is simply a part of household chores of the main character (Khansulu) before she hears a cry from her children warning her of an unexpected visit that breaks the everyday routine.

By contrast, the second quotation shows a tablecloth laid on the ground with a wide range of delicious dishes, and special importance is given to *kuyrdak*:

- (5a) Túske taman esik aldyndaǵy jer oshaqqa ot jaǵyp, qýyrdaq qýyryp jatqan. “Apa, ana qara!” dep aıqailady shalshyq sý keship júrgen balalary. Balalary nusqaǵan tusqa moıyn bursa, kún astynda shoshayıp bir atty kisi kele jatyr.

(Yelubay 2005: 261)

[By afternoon she lit a fire on the ground hearth in front of the house and was frying *kuyrdak*. “Apa, look!” – her children who were playing in the puddle cried. She

K obedu raskhlopotalas' vo dvore pod nave-som, gotovya v kotle *kuyrdak*.

– Mama, smotri, smotri! – vdrug zashumeli rebyata, igravshie u luzhi vody. Hansulu vzglyanula tuda, kuda pokazyvali deti, i uvidela vsadnika, chernevshego pod kosymi luchami solnca.

(Yelubay 2009: 262)

[By afternoon she was busy in the yard under the tent cooking *kuyrdak* in the pot.

– Mama, look, look! – the children, who

turned her head to the place her children were indicating, and saw a lonely man under the sun coming on the horseback.]

were playing in the puddle, suddenly cried. Khansulu looked at the place her children were indicating, and saw a horseman darkening under direct sun rays.]

- (5b) Sol ádetimen taza jerge ádemilep dastarqan jáip, qorjynda bar azyn-aýlaq azyqty sándep dastarqanğa qoiyp otyrğany baıqalady. [...] Edige [...] jerdegi quraqty kórpesheniń ústine kelip otyrdy. Ot basy, kishkene dastarqan oılaǵanyndaı, muntazdaı taza. Qalaıy dúngirdiń aýyzy ashyq. Īshi toly – pisken qýyrdaq.

(Yelubay 2005: 375)

[Habitually she laid a table on the clean ground, and beautifully put little food from the bag onto the tablecloth. (...) Edige (...) sat on the blanket on the ground. As he expected, the place around fire, the little tablecloth are ideally clean. The tin cask is open. It is full of cooked kuyrdak.]

[...] ona akkuratno nakryla dastarhan, ne zabyv nichego, so vkusom razlozhiv edu na podstilke. [...] On [...] sel na korpeshku. Dejstvitel'no, nebol'shoj dastarhan byl neobyknovenno opryaten, nakryt so vkusom. Burdyuk s edoj otkryt.

(Yelubay 2009: 393)

[...] she tidily laid a dastarkhan, not forgetting about anything, and put the food on the cloth with taste. (...) He (...) sat on the blanket. Indeed, a small dastarkhan was unusually neat, laid with taste. The leatherbag with food is open.]

In the first quotation it follows that the transliteration adopted by Russian translators is sufficient. The denotative hyperonymic meaning of 'meal' or 'food' is perfectly deduced from the rest of the sentence. In the second quotation, substitution of *kuyrdak* with the hyperonym 'food' orients the reader towards the denotative meaning. In this case, the translator's decision is far more questionable, since the connotative meaning deserved the priority. It could have been conveyed by adding an adjective or any other structure with explicit or implicit evaluative charge, for instance with 'delicacy', a term added by translators in another part of the novel for another similar realia, *kurt*:

- (6) Sdobrennyj sol'yu kipyatok daval osobyj privkus tayushchemu na yazyke lakomstvu. Hansulu pokazalos', chto ona moloko p'et. Da ved' kurt-to proizvodnoe ot moloka. Goryachee moloko rastekalos' po zhilam, sogrevaya telo, dushu. (Yelubay 2009: 238)
[The boiled water flavoured with salt gave special taste to the *delicacy* melting on the tongue. *It seemed to Khansulu that she is drinking milk. Indeed, kurt is made from milk.* The hot milk disseminated through veins, warming the body, soul.]¹⁴

The second consideration that is worth making with regard to the relationship between realia and textual diegesis concerns the different diegetic levels. For a foreignising translator the addition (or generalization, if *delicacy* is not added but replaces *kurt*) will be equally expendable when the realia does not act in such a way that it causes a direct effect in the main diegesis, even if it maintains a strong symbolic load. Therefore, interventions will tend not to be favoured when symbolic meanings are merely used with exotic purposes or purposes related more to the setting than to the action.¹⁵ Compare the aforementioned gesture of striking your palms over your face at the end of the prayer in (3c) with that of pinching your cheek in (2) and in footnote 10: the second presupposes a judgment about the behavior of a character; the first has a pragmatic meaning only within the ritual in which it is inscribed. Thus, the decision of the Russian translators to add an explanation to the second gesture and

not to the first is logical. In contrast, the additions that these same translators made when faced with the luxury of details with which Khansulu's wedding is narrated (Yelubay 2008: 57–61; Yelubay 2009: 64–68) will hardly obtain the same consensus. In this case, it may be advisable to resort to generalization or addition according to the assumption regarding the high density of realia, but not according to their diegetic relevance. The description of *jaulyk*, with which the bride is covered, *shashu*, that is scattered along the road that leads to the house of the newly married couple, and the content of *betashar*, sung by the poet, can all be judged as unnecessary information, or deductible from the context in terms that are perhaps approximate or hyperonymic, but sufficient.

The latter scenario invokes the degree of understanding as the third sub-criterion that informs the translator in their choice of strategy. A foreignising translator will not apply aid mechanisms if the sense of realia is not fully, but partially clear from the context. They will leave it in the original language (usually when it is a single word) or they will translate it literally (normally when it is made up of a phrase or clause and each of the component words is translatable). They will not only keep “situations”, but even formulations that are unnatural in the target language. For instance, a translation like “we are guests from God” will be considered good in the following appeal from five Soviet military to the women of the town, so that they do not hide:

- (7) – Aý, habarlas! Aý! Qudary qonaqpyz! – dep aqailady álgi daýys, dúnkildep. (Yelubay 2005: 90)
[– Hey, talk to us! Hey! We are guests from God! – cried the voice groaning.]

“We are guests from God!” sounds clearly bizarre but does not induce erroneous interpretation, because the reader will understand the sentence for what it is, a benevolent *captatio benevolentiae* akin to ‘we come in peace’.¹⁶ The Finnish experts in allusions have already pointed out that sometimes the literal translation can be satisfactory “if the loss caused by the unfamiliarity is considered not serious” (Leppihalme 1997: 91), that is, even if the context facilitates an understanding “incoherent to some extent” based on “general knowledge” (Ruokonen 2010: 41, 80–86, 98–105, 277–282). It is no less pertinent to invoke here the concept of partial but sufficient explicitation, relative to – for example – an in-text addition that does not provide readers with a complete picture of the particular folkloric tradition to which the original alludes, but just with some “indices communicationnels” [communicational clues] which are sufficient to “se faire une idée sur ce qu'elle peut être” [get an idea of what it can consist of] (Aleksejeva 2011: 218).

An additional argument, rarely mentioned in translation studies, in favour of partially transparent solutions comes from the specific field of literary translation. In literature, to a greater or lesser extent depending on the genre and the author, artistic creativity moves the text away from the language of everyday use. The deviation is achieved through allusiveness and suggestive force, which materialize in new and sometimes disconcerting utterances. Thus, opaque or semi-opaque realia can find good accommodation within the framework of this semi-opacity, which characterizes the textual typology of the original work to be translated. From this point of view, the realia are affected, beyond the foreignising or domesticating taste of each individual translator, by the call to avoid the orthonymy that hangs over all the literary translators. Indeed realia can help to perform this duty by giving guidelines that can be extrapolated to the translation of non-realialia.

4. The bridging-type addition

It has been agreed that according to the translation model known as 'foreignising', it is better not to add than to add, and if it is necessary to add, bridging-type additions are better than commenting-type additions. But how are bridging-type additions deployed in practice? The most classic method, as discussed above (see Section 2), favours adding one or several terms, without reaching the structure or length of an entire sentence or clause. Within the framework of this practice, several scholars have identified additions of hyperonymic nouns like 'city' in "the city of Brno" (to translate "Brno", Newmark 1988: 282) as *classifiers*. Perhaps, a more general denomination such as *descriptor* would be useful before entering more specific variants to cover this and any other bridging-type addition of a descriptive nature. These additions should be oriented to limit the meaning of the original term by choosing and providing certain denotative senses that the target text reader does not possess and needs to understand the term within its context. The descriptor category would include not only classifier nouns, but also adjectives like those cited by Christiane Nord in "the *ice-cold* waters of Maine" (Nord 2010: 189) and "*blue* Muzo butterflies" (Nord 2005 [1988]: 106), without which the reader will not receive the main sense of the realia in the particular excerpt from where it is extracted.¹⁷

Along with these descriptors there would be, according to their function, at least two other types of additions. Firstly, those which make explicit that the term or fragment to be translated belongs to the domain of realia ('metarealia'), already exemplified above both in the bridging variant ("traditionally", see (3c)) and the commenting variant (see (3a) and (3b), or "as is customary with this welcome display of satiation" in Jamoussi 2017: 375). Secondly, the additions of evaluative nature preferably oriented to the transmission of connotative values, positive or negative values as a rule:

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (8) | aq boz úi (Yelubay 2005: 17)
[white yurt] | yurta, belaya kak sneg (Yelubay 2009: 19)
[a yurt <i>as white as snow</i>] |
|-----|--|--|

Evaluative additions for the gastronomic realia cited in (5b) and (6) could read: "It is full of *a more than appetizing* kuyrdak"; "The milky *and always delicate* taste of the kurt".¹⁸ Sometimes aligning with this strategy, the Russian and English translations of *Ak Boz Uy* illustrate how the evaluation can be provided even without the need to add a lexical word. In the passage about the *kurt* the initial interjection "Oh" of the English translation, absent in the Kazakh and Russian versions, already brings a pragmatic surprise value to which the rest of the sentence will give positive connotation:

- (9) Oh, what was this drink of hot tea, seasoned with a pinch of salt, the kurt sweetly melting on their tongues; (Yelubay 2016: 257)

At another point in the novel, the mockery that the item *bosaga* (the threshold of the yurt, or more exactly the door jamb) carries with it (someone stands there because of being humiliated) is masterfully captured in the Russian version, jointly by the typical interjection of a laugh ("he-he...") and the attachment of the diminutive suffix with the meaning of contempt to the item itself ("porozhke"):

- | | | | |
|-------|--|---|--|
| (10a) | – A-a, keldiń be, kispurysht! – dedi Shárip qozǵa- | – A-a, golovorez, yavilsya? – ozhivilsya SHarip, smeyas'. | “Ah, the cut-throat has appeared?” Sharip laughed, |
|-------|--|---|--|

laqtap keketip. – Otyrsyn solai! Bosagada!

Sháriptiń sózi Ázbergen-di qamshymen mańdaıdan tartyp jıbergendeı boldy.

(Yelubay 2005: 26)

[– Ah, have you come, you bastard! – Sharip said mocking. – Let him sit that way! At the bosaga!

Sharip’s words were like a blow of a whip on his forehead.]

– Pust'-ka tam i prisazhivaetsya... na porozhke... he-he...

Replika Sharipa Azbergenu – kak udar hlysta po lbu.

(Yelubay 2009: 29)

[– Ah, have you come, you thug? – Sharip said laughing.

– Let him sit just there... at the small threshold... ha-ha...

Sharip’s words to Azbergen are like a blow of a whip on the forehead.]

growing animated. “Let him take a seat there...on the door jamb...haha...”

Azbergen perceived Sharip’s remark like the blow of a whip on his forehead.

(Yelubay 2016: 32)

Kosmukhamedova and Zhaksylykov know how to take advantage here of the extreme flexibility and ease with which the Russian language allows these suffixes. This feature is only partly shared by other languages, as evidenced by the resignation to emulate the diminutive by Fitzpatrick. The damage to the English translation of the passage is not minor, since without the diminutive suffix the laughter (“haha...”) can refer to the situation in general (the entry of the detainee and his humiliation by a member of the court) and not necessarily to the ‘door jamb’. To overcome this challenge it would have been possible to use another subtechnique of the bridging-type: to make a repetition that, unlike interjection or suffix, would not result in a direct evaluative effect, but would indicate the presence of a realia towards which to orient the evaluative effect of the interjection. Here are two possible alternatives: “Let him take a seat there... *yes, there*, on the door jamb... haha...”; “Azbergen perceived Sharip’s remark *about the door jamb* like the blow of a whip on his forehead.”¹⁹ Although less transparent than these, a few lines later, the author himself makes a repetition and emphasis of the realia. All of the translators omitted it. Probably they deemed it unnecessary and even inopportune according to the stylistic norm that penalizes short distance repetitions. In other words, they fell into hypercorrection and orthonymy:

(10b) Ázbergen túsi qabaryp, túnerip bosagáa tize búkti.

(Yelubay 2005: 26)

[Azbergen having swollen and gloomy face bent his knees on the bosaga.]

Eshche bol'she pomrachnev, otchego ego myasistoe lico vspuhlo, Azbergen opustilsya tyazhelo na koleni.

(Yelubay 2009: 29)

[Becoming much more gloomy, and thus his meaty face swelling, Azbergen heavily fell on his knees.]

Growing even more gloomy, which made his meaty face swell, Azbergen fell heavily on his knees.

(Yelubay 2016: 32)

5. The commenting-type addition

From all that has been said so far it should not be deduced, of course, that a total and absolute ban on comment-type explicitations is called for. Commenting does not necessarily involve much greater intrusiveness than bridging. Compare the solution previously proposed for the *kuyrdak* in (5b), “It is full of *a more than appetizing kuyrdak*” with the following: “It is full of *kuyrdak, nothing better could be expected*”. Commenting is limited here to a parenthesis

that, despite its brevity, gives the idea of a dish appreciated by the Kazakhs more clearly than the adjectival solution, where this idea rests on the association that the reader can make between a *kuyrdak* (very appetizing) and all the *kuyrdak* (all equally appetizing). Even with all the pertinent exceptions, a complete sentence usually allows a conceptual development superior to that of a term or phrase, which in certain situations can make it a more suitable or attractive solution.

On the other hand, the translator will inevitably come across especially difficult realia, which they may not be able to resolve with synthetic additions. In the following passage, for example, they will have to face a rare and paradoxical circumstance. The realia plays a relevant diegetic role but does not cause any ‘bump’ in the flow of the text, since it does not give rise to opacity or an erroneous interpretation:

- (11a) Bosaga jaqqa bir kórpe-jastyqty laqtyryp tastady.
 – Al, áne tósegiń! – dedi. Daýysy qatqyldaý estilse de Qozbagargá maidai jaqty. Bundai sóz estimin dep kútpegen goi Hansulýdan.
 Bosaga jaqtan ózi ózine tósek salyp jata ketti. Óz qasyna jatqyzbasa da Hansulýdyń qoly tigen názik átir isi sezilip tur kórpe-jastyqtan. (Yelubay 2005: 64)
 [(She) threw a blanket and a pillow at the bosaga.
 – Catch, that’s your bed! – she said. Even if her voice seemed strict, Kozbagar felt glad. He didn’t expect to hear even such words from Khansulu.
 He made a bed near bosaga for himself, and lay down. Even if she didn’t let him lie near her, he could feel the smell of Khansulu’s tender perfume from the blanket and the pillow.]
- Ona emu odeyalo i podushku na porog kinula.
 – Postel’ tebe! ZHestkovat ton, no dlya Kozbagara on slashche meda. Ne zhdal on ot Hansulu etogo.
 Postelil u poroga i leg. Ne polozhila Hansulu ryadom – da nichego, pust’ obvyknetsya snachala. Zato na podushke i odeyale – zapah ee duhov. (Yelubay 2009: 70)
 [She threw to him a blanket and a pillow at the threshold.
 – That’s your bed! Her voice tone was strict, but for Kozbagar it was sweeter than honey. He didn’t expect that from Khansulu.
 He made a bed at the threshold, and lay down. Khansulu didn’t let him lie near her – but that was nothing, let her get used to him first. Meanwhile, the scent of her perfume was on the pillow and blanket.]
- She threw him a blanket and pillow on the threshold.
 “Make your own bed!” Her tone was harsh, but for Kozbagar, it was sweeter than honey. He had not expected from Khansulu even these words. He made his bed near the door and lay down. Khansulu had not allowed him next to her – but that was nothing, let her at first grow accustomed to him. Meanwhile, the scent of her perfume was on the pillow and blanket... (Yelubay 2016: 81)

Khansulu sends Kozbagar to sleep outside the marital bed, which is quite humiliating and on a par with the tone and general attitude she exhibits towards him. This is the interpretation which the Russian or English language reader will make, as a result of the quasi-literal translation (without additions) of *bosaga* (“threshold”). The symbolic weight of *bosaga* as a realia is omitted without hindering the fluidity and coherence of the discourse, but in reality a misinterpretation does occur, because in the source text the place to which Kozbagar is sent to sleep (the *bosaga*) is part of the humiliation, while this information does not pass into the

target text. The repetition of the realia applied by the author (“He made a bed for himself near the bosaga, and lay down”) will not be enough to make it noticeable. Therefore, the translator who worries about transferring the meaning of *bosaga* may have no other way than to resort to a more elaborate solution, such as the one proposed below, with an additional repetition and an evaluative commenting clause: “– Catch, that’s your bed! *Where nobody wants to be: at the bosaga!* – she said.” Alternatively, a brief apposition at the first occurrence of the term would also attain the objective: “She threw him a blanket and pillow on the threshold, *the place for the undesirable ones.*”²⁰

Does this last proposal contradict with what was said in Section 2 against parentheses and appositions? Not really. The parentheses and appositions of glossary or lexicographical tone, which squeaked in the midst of novelistic discursivity, have been criticized there. Something of that tone remains here as a result of the appositional structure itself and due to the definitory style of “the place for...”. These two factors probably make the proposal “Where nobody wants to be: at the bosaga!” preferable. Nonetheless, the variation of register provided by “the undesirable ones” already distances the sentence from the ‘footnote into the translation’, although it puts it in tune not with the voice of the narrator, but with that of the characters. What makes this solution acceptable is indeed the fact that it can be attributed to Kozbagar's thinking, thanks to the sentences that precede it in its context:

- (11b) Perhaps Khansulu would come and stroke his head as well, he thought. But Khansulu did not approach him. She did not stroke his head. Her tassles just kept monotonously jingling and jingling. She threw him a blanket and pillow on the threshold. (Yelubay 2016: 81)

It is not, then, a coincidence that our two proposals for this realia are part of a direct speech (pronounced by Khansulu) and the other of a free indirect speech. Omniscient narrators run the risk of falling into an excess of didacticism or of providing information that sounds implausible in their mouth because it is too obvious for the source reader. Even more importantly, this kind of narrators does not admit evaluative additions. In conclusion, then, they are not suitable for lending their voice to additions in nearly absolute terms. Instead, characters can express contempt, approval, irony or admiration. They can lower the register and even repeat what is obvious to their environment with the purpose of emphasizing it or projecting their feelings or opinions about it. Note how the examples given in (9) and (10) to illustrate the techniques of interjection, suffixation, repetition, put the realia in the mouth or the thought of a character. The same applies to solutions such as “a more than appetizing kuyrdak” in (5b), “a yurt as white as snow” in (8), and the literal translation “We are guests from God!” in (7). In passage (6) the sentence “Indeed, kurt is made from milk” fails to maintain the free indirect speech, while in (4) it is respected and seconded almost seamlessly. Those apparently exceptional circumstances that were detected when analyzing this last example about the myth of Zheruyuk have revealed, in the end, the recurring circumstances in most of the solutions proposed in the present article. In short, in narrative translation the direct, indirect and free indirect speech offer a more fertile and malleable terrain than the omniscient voice for a satisfactory resolution of the realia problem.

6. Conclusions

The purpose of the present study has not been merely descriptive. An assessment of good and bad uses of in-text additions has been made from translations of a novel that display a considerable number of instances of this technique. Methodologically speaking, the division between bridging-type and comment-type explicitation has been followed. A formal border has been established between them, namely single words or phrase fragments versus clauses or sentences. Also inspired by studies on explicitation, an equally fruitful division of a functional nature has been introduced in the form of the addition of denotative semes, connotative-evaluative semes or metarealia semes.

To begin with, we have rejected the doubtless common tendency to reproduce the glossary and exegetical style of the footnotes, which causes an ugly contrast with the narrator's and characters' diction within the text. Against such imbalances, a foreignising and exoticizing strategy has been considered a valid option if it is implemented by paying special attention to the pragmatic dimension of realia and if – in cases where the addition is deemed to be indispensable – the bridging-type procedure is prioritized over the commenting modality. The objective would be, rather than to explicitate, to suggest or just explicitate the minimum required in order to transmit the associated meanings, conserving to the greatest extent possible the degree of original implicitness. Seen from this perspective, nothing will prevent the translator from adopting solutions with a bearable level of opacity, as well as unusual or unnatural utterances, which by definition will fit with the canons of literary language more easily than the glossary and exegetical style.

Certainly, this approach does not imply a total rejection of the comment-type option. It is logical to assume that the winds currently favorable to the foreignising line will not completely sweep aside the domesticating model. There will always be those translators who want to offer more help to their readers, and a comment-type addition (understood simply as the addition of one or more clauses or sentences) that does not fall into the commenting style (understood as the gloss or definition typical of a footnote) does not raise major objections. Such risk can be avoided by carrying out the technique through the voices of the characters, provided that their tone and register are skillfully captured. In fact, this is the main conclusion to be drawn from the analysis of translations conducted so far: it is very difficult to conceal the foreign origin of an addition in the narrator's voice, while better results can be achieved when they are placed inside the direct, indirect or free indirect speech. More specifically, in the traditional third-person narration evaluating and connoting will be made easier and more natural when rendered in the characters' words. Almost all the in-text additions employed throughout the translation will then be of this evaluative type, especially if the technique has been reserved preferably for pragmatic presuppositions, since these presuppositions refer to attitudes and beliefs, always entailing adhesion to or rejection of the symbolic associations of realia.

It should be noted, however, that in the other two functions, namely addition of denotative semes and what we have called 'metarealia', the mediation of the character is no less important. Here, too, characters are more likely than the narrator to say or think something that is well known to them and their interlocutors, since they will give this information a connoted emphasis²¹ and a more pragmatic articulation. The pragmatic dimension would thus change from a condition to intervene, as it is for the foreignising translator, to the method of intervention, both for realia with or without a pragmatic

presupposition. Compare these two solutions, the first of which has already been cited in (3b):

(12a) – My falcon, what have you...? – she asked, *not calling her husband's name according to the steppe ethics*.

(12b) – His name is Shege, his surname is..., his surname... [...] *As you know, our customs don't allow me...* – Clear, you cannot tell it, here you are, a pencil, write it down.²²

The introduction of the addition is concealed much more effectively in (12b), firstly because the narrator is saved from saying something aimed specifically at the readers of the target text, but also because the addition is used to resolve a conflict between two interlocutors and expresses the anguish and disappointment of one of them. In dichotomous terms (approval / rejection, positive / negative connotation), it can be said that Khansulu expresses rejection, if not towards the taboo itself, then towards the small conversational incident generated by the taboo. In fact, this incident aggravates her relationship with the police officer who must inform her about the sentence that has been handed down against her husband. Similarly, in (12a) the result would have improved if the addition had been worded in an indirect or free indirect style: “she asked, *knowing that she was not allowed to call her husband's name*”.²³ In short, the method would consist of taking advantage of the faint frontier that separates the three possible functions of addition to communicate denotative semes and metarealia by combining them with connotative semes. With regard to addition, subjectivity has always been invoked in extratextual terms: scholars have reflected on the subjectivity of the translator when deciding on the amount and type of information provided to the reader (Pym 2018 [1992]: 94–97; Jamoussi 2017: 376–379). In contrast, intratextual subjectivity has been postulated in this study, not as an ontological issue, but just as a technique of dissimulation. In-text additions, if couched in the subjective voices of the characters and camouflaged with their attitudes and feelings, help to skirt the difficulties presented by an objective explicitation delivered via the narrator.

Notes

¹ The explicitation-translation binomial has been predominantly explored either in theoretical speculation around translation universals, in the wake of the long debate generated by the Blum-Kulka's Explicitation Hypothesis, or, at the practical level, in connectives and textual cohesion (see bibliographic reviews in Becher 2011: 20–76; Mansour et al. 2014: 99–101; Murtisari 2016; Jamoussi 2017: 365–368; Marco 2018: 90–94). Allusions have rather moved towards the field of intertextuality (Leppihalme 1997; Ruokonen 2010). The reflection on the translation of presuppositions has remained substantially faithful to the typology of triggers established in its day by Levinson, with a special focus on deictics, definite articles, factive verbs and change of state verbs (see, for example, contributions by Rantanen, Cui and Zhao, Padiernos and Lee cited in this article). Since Newmark, realia have suffered a taxonomic fever resulting in multiple classification proposals and lists of techniques for translation (consult Molina 2001: 70–117; Molina and Hurtado Albir 2002; Mangiron 2006: 50–118; Fernández Guerra 2012: 5–12).

² Also called cultural references, culturemes, cultural words, culture-specific items, culture-bound terms. On the origin and nuances of each denomination see Inigo Ros 2003: 17–32; Mangiron 2006: 50–60; Ruokonen 2010: 33n.

³ For addition we consider the famous definition of explicitation by Séguinot (1988: 108): “[t]he term ‘explicitation’ should therefore be reserved in translation studies for additions in a translated text which cannot be explained by structural, stylistic, or rhetorical differences between the two languages”. Further to addition and explicitation, the most common denominations of this technique are amplification, definition, description, diffusion, expansion, explanation, paraphrase and reinforcement (see states of the art cited at the bottom of footnote 1).

⁴ The edition the citations of which are taken here (Yelubay 2005) is the first that brings together the three books in a single volume. Subsequently the trilogy has been reissued in 2008, 2011 and 2017.

⁵ About 350 realia are counted throughout the novel that are repeated in a total of 2500 microcontexts. The techniques adopted range from mere transliteration to generalization or specification, from literal translation to recognized translation, cultural analogue or omission, among others.

⁶ According to information directly provided by Aslan Zh. Zhaksylykov to the authors of this article, he translated the second and third books, Lina Kosmukhamedova translated the first. The English translation only includes the first book.

⁷ The present study will be limited to the modality of the in-text addition and, therefore, will not face additions contained in the paratexts (par excellence, the footnotes and the endnotes). The “in-text addition” formula, although not very frequent, has been circulating for some time (see Ma 2002: 76, 251 and Veselica Majhut 78–80, among others). Other scholars have talked of “in-text explanations” or “in-text expansion” (Pym 2018 [1992]: 90–91), as well as “within-the-text notes” (Sharifabad 2015: 15) and “extra-allusive guidance added in the text” (Leppihalme 1997: 84). Javier Franco distinguishes between “intratextual gloss” and “extratextual gloss” (Franco Aixelá 1996: 62).

⁸ English translations in square brackets are always ours.

⁹ In these three quotes, as well as in note 10, the italic is ours and indicates the addition.

¹⁰ The stylistic use of tautology makes Fitzpatrick’s following addition quite plausible: “«You should be ashamed at your age, eh?» The last retort was said by women who pinched their cheeks *to express their indignation*” (Yelubay 2016: 47).

¹¹ Several translators have stated that they add information only when it is necessary “to understand and enjoy the text” (“per entendre i gaudir del text”, Mangiron 2006: 569).

¹² With due precautions, the pragmatic presupposition would not be far from the “situational realia” of Vlahov and Florin (1980: 16, 331), named so because they express themselves “in a situation”, not “by the use of a single word”, which in turn usually occurs when “the peculiarities of behavior, customs, and habits of the people who speak the given language” (Alexeyeva 2004: 172–173) are reflected. Earlier, another Russian scholar, Venedikt Vinogradov, had already spoken of “associative realia”, emphasizing the symbolism of flora, fauna, and colors (Vinogradov 1975: 37, 110, 115). In fact, Tarakov takes up Vinogradov’s thesis.

¹³ The original quotation is in Catalan: “entre l’explicitació, és a dir, indicar les implicacions pragmàtiques òbvies per al lector original, i l’addició d’informació, sovint de caràcter lingüístic, enciclopèdic o geogràfic”.

¹⁴ Addition has been italicized, although the whole passage has totally been remade.

¹⁵ A domesticating translator will probably attach more importance to this documentary component and will consider as unjustifiable loss the fact the original terms or actions are not accompanied or replaced with the gloss or generalization that deciphers their meaning.

¹⁶ Yelubay’s Russian translators use the literal translation as well, but they subsequently add a sentence that from a foreignising point of view would be unnecessary (we emphasize it in italics): “Tak vyhodite! Bozh’i gosti my, nekhorocho vstrechaet!” (Yelubay 2009: 99) [Come out then! We are guests from God, *you are not meeting us well!*].

¹⁷ Italics is ours, and it indicates the additions. The first quotation is taken from an unidentified journalist (“I think of calling to shore while wading into the waters of Maine”); the second quotation (“las mariposas de Muzo”) is from Neruda (poem entitled “Algunas bestias”, line 18, in *Canto general*). Examples in Yelubay’s Russian translation are: “voinstvennogo podroda kunanorys v rodu

adaj” (Yelubay 2009: 82) [the *warrior* subclan of the Aday clan]; “Spasitel'nuyu molitvu – kalimu” (Yelubay 2009: 431) [the *saving prayer* kalima].

¹⁸ Our proposals. Additions are italicized.

¹⁹ Our proposal. Addition is italicized.

²⁰ Our proposal. Addition is italicized.

²¹ Because of their lower connoting capacity, omniscient narrator can resort to emphasis more occasionally (see the example of tautology discussed in footnote 10).

²² Addition in (12b) is our proposal. The addition is italicized. Original text: “– Aty – Shege. Pámilesi... pámbilesi... [...] – Túsinikti... Aíta almamyn de... má... qaryndash... jazyp bere goi!...” (Yelubay 2005: 342).

²³ Our proposal. Addition is italicized.

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In SKASE Journal of Translation and Interpretation [online]. 2021, vol. 14, no. 1 [cit. 2021- 04-26].

Available online at http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTI20/pdf_doc/07.pdf. ISSN 1336- 7811.