

Challenges Posed by Religious-bound Terms while Rendering Classical Persian Literature: English Translations of Sa'di's *Gulistan* in Focus

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Abstract

The present study concentrates on Sa'di's Gulistan and its two English translations by Burton (1888) and Eastwick (1880) to explore the way they coped with challenging religious-bound terms. The Gulistan, abounding with RBTs, is a world-renown literary-religious masterpiece. Ivir's (2003) taxonomy was employed as the model of the study. Findings revealed that the categories of 'concrete religious concepts', 'proper names', 'religious verdicts' and 'abstract religious concepts' posed great challenges to translators. It was also found that while most of the RBTs were rendered via the use of 'substitution' and 'definition' (84%), 'lexical creation' was never used by any translator.

Keywords: religious-bound terms, literary-religious texts, Sa'di's *Gulistan*, substitution, Ivir's (2003) taxonomy

1. Introduction

One of the formidable barriers in translating literary texts is to cope with culture-bound items (CBIs) or the terms embedded in the source text conveying concepts entirely unfamiliar for the target-language readership. They may cover lexical items related to a social custom, a sort of drink, food, a religious belief, etc.

As far as rendering different text-types is concerned, religious texts are undoubtedly among the most difficult ones since they are considered as 'sacred' texts. Religion is part of a culture, and, consequently, religious-bound terms are included in CBIs. The SL cultural concepts or culture-bound references pose great challenges to literary-religious (and even non-literary) translators. The SL cultural concepts or culture-bound references pose great challenges to literary-religious (and even non-literary) translators (Cómitre Narváez & Valverde Zambrana 2014; Nazari Robati 2015; Arnita, Made Puspani, and Nyoman Seri Malini 2016; Pérez 2017; Afrouz 2017, 2019, 2020, 2021; Thawabteh 2017; Putrawan 2018; Setyawan 2019; Bywood 2019).

The fact that most of the works in classical Persian literature is replete with references to religious concepts has made rendering such texts to be considered as a real challenge. Translators need to be both linguistically and culturally competent to appropriately cope with the difficulties posed by religious-bound terms. Resorting to specific procedures can help translators deal properly with CBIs in general, and RBTs, in particular. Such procedures are usually proposed by translation studies scholars in the form of a model. Ivir's (2003) model is used in the current study to analyze the data.

The Gulistan or *Rose-Garden* is Sa'di's most well-known masterpiece composed in rhythmic and rhymed prose or *mosajj'a* mixed with verse. It has been rendered into many languages. In the present paper, two English translations by Edward Eastwick (1880), Richard Francis Burton (1888) are investigated. The researcher conducted the study to find answers to these questions:

- 1) What are the procedures used by the two translators? How is the distribution of procedures?

- 2) To what extent translators were consistent in applying procedures? Were all Persian RBTs translated into English via the use of a certain procedure?
- 3) How consistent were translators in selecting equivalents for the same RBTs occurred in similar contexts (but various chapters) of *the Gulistan*?
- 4) What are the RBT categories in *the Gulistan*?
- 5) How is the distribution of procedures used in rendering RBTs classified under each category?
- 6) Does the type of RBT influence the type of procedure used by translators?
- 7) How is the distribution of untranslated RBTs in various categories? Which translator left more RBTs untranslated than the other?
- 8) Which category of RBTs were probably more challenging for translators?
- 9) How is the relationship between the frequency of a procedure and its efficacy interpretable?

2. Literature Review

2.1. Literary-religious texts

Literary-religious texts pose great difficulties to translators due to the fact that they are steeply rooted in the source-text culture. That is why Weissbort and Eysteinnsson (2006) attach paramount importance to the idea that translators of sacred texts should inevitably possess profound cultural knowledge.

Another challenge faced by translators of religious texts is that lexical items embedded in such texts usually have “multiple meanings” (Afridi 2009: 21). Under such circumstances, referring to comprehensive dictionaries and exegetic texts can be thought of as a feasible solution. RBTs in general, and Qur’anic terms, in particular, as is confirmed by Abdelwali (2007: 7), can be effectively rendered into English if there could be found “bilingual dictionaries” precisely documenting different meanings of Arabic lexical items and explain “the range of contexts” wherein such terms occur.

2.2. Previous studies

The *Holy Qur’an* is considered by Muslims to be the greatest religious-literary book of all time. In Persian language, classic literary works by Sa’di, Molavi, and Hafiz are ranked among the top-ten greatest literary-religious texts. As the order of the lexical items ‘literary’ and ‘religious’ show, the *Holy Qur’an* is primarily a religious book which is considered to be a great literary work, as well, while the mentioned Persian literary works are first and foremost literary works deeply rooted in the *Holy Qur’an*. Due to the limitation of space, only a limited number of studies were selected to be reviewed—those dealing with *the Gulistan* and/or *the Qur’an* which focused on the frequency and/or efficacy of procedures.

Akbar Khorrami (2004), in his thesis, focused on the second chapter of *the Gulistan* and identified that there were no consistency in resorting to specific procedures of rendering CSIs. Ordudari (2006), concentrating on the proper name allusions, mentions that the most frequently employed strategy of rendering the PNs (preserving the exact graphological and phonological form of the name) could not be considered as an effective one.

Focusing on CSIs in the series *Friends*, Zhao (2009) reached the same conclusion as Orudari and pointed out that ‘frequency’ and ‘efficacy’ of a procedure do not correlate—in his study, the relation was found to be that of opposite.

Pahlevannezhad and Shirinzade (2010) concentrated on three translations of ten stories randomly selected from *the Gulistan* (i.e., “Rehatsek (2004), Eastwick (1979) and Ross (1890)”). The researchers’ findings revealed that the most frequently used procedure was “obligatory explicitation” (p. 129).

Similarly, Babapoore (2014) worked on *the Gulistan* and its three translations by Gladwin (1808), Eastwick (1852) and Arnold (1899) through applying Klaudy's (2004) model “to investigate aspects of the explicitation hypothesis”. He finally realized that “obligatory explicitation is the most common strategy used by the three translators” (p. ii). The results are absolutely in line with that of Pahlevannezhad and Shirinzade (2010).

Moradi and Mohammadsadeghi (2014) explored the procedures used in rendering merely 52 CSIs in English translations of *the Qur'an* (Shakir 1985, Yusuf Ali 1996, & Pickthall 1996). The most regularly employed strategy was (i.e., literal translation), was realized by them to be the best procedure. They provided no justification for their claim.

Nazari Robati (2015) worked on one single RBT “Jilbab”. The word is mentioned in *the Holy Qur'an*. She totally investigated sixty four English and Persian translations of the RBT (12 in English and 54 in Persian). She employed Davies’ (2003) taxonomy for analyzing the data. The model included seven procedures ‘addition, preservation, creation, omission, globalization, transformation, and localization’. In general, the researcher realized that male translators showed great tendencies to employ “localization”, while female translators were more inclined to the two procedures of “addition” and “globalization” (p. 64). Nazari Robati (2015) did not focus on the issue of efficacy of translation procedures.

Exploring the way Muslims rendered *the Holy Qur'an* into English, Afrouz (2019: 1) found that “translator’s religious background” did not have a key role in adopting particular translation procedures of translating RBTs. The researcher found that none of the translators consistently resorted to one single procedure in rendering all items.

As far as the researcher knows, no study was yet conducted to be sharply dedicated to the study of RBTs in the classical Persian literature. Due to the significance of the issue, the present study was carried out to fill the research gap.

3. Method

3.1. Material

The current study is a corpus-based descriptive research focusing on Sa‘di’s *the Gulistan* and its two English translations by Eastwick (1880) and Burton (1888). *The Gulistan* was selected as the material since it is considered as a great literary-religious masterpiece in Persian and possesses a fairly high position in the world’s literature. The main reason, however, was that *the Gulistan* replete with RBTs due to the fact that Iran had been gradually Islamized from Sassanid era on (Zandjani 2019).

3.2. Models

Newmark's (1988: 81-93) model, considered as one of the earliest frameworks for dealing with cultural concepts, included: transference, functional equivalent, naturalization, cultural equivalent, recognized translation, componential analysis, synonym, paraphrase, through translation, modulation, compensation, descriptive equivalent, couplets and notes. Another related taxonomy was presented by Hervey and Heggins (1992: 28) which included five procedures: cultural transplantation, exoticism, calque, communicative translation, and cultural borrowing. The last model in the twentieth century, presented for coping with the issue of cultural terms, was probably that of Mailhac (1996: 140-141) whose classification covered nine procedures: literal translation, cultural borrowing, lexical creation, combination of procedures, definition, deliberate omission, compensation, footnote, and cultural substitution.

In the early twenty first century, other theoreticians presented their own framework. Ivir (2003: 117) proposed the following seven procedures to fill in the cultural gaps between the two languages involved in translation: "substitution" (i.e., replacing a culture-bound SL term with its culture-specific correspondent in the TL), "borrowing" (i.e., directly transferring the SL term), "definition and paraphrase" (i.e., providing either intra- or extra-textual notes for the SL term), "lexical creation" (i.e., coining a new term in the TL as an equivalent for the SL lexical item), "literal translation" (i.e., providing each SL term of a phrase with one single TL term), "omission" (i.e., leaving the SL term untranslated) and "addition" (i.e., providing equivalents for underlying sense-components of a SL term through componential analysis).

Ivir's taxonomy is a model recently employed frequently by researchers working on literary/religious texts (e.g., Alizadeh 2010, Hajiannejad and Salman 2017, Nazari and Jalali Habibabadi 2018). Therefore, his model is selected to be used in the current paper for meticulous analysis of the data.

3.3. Procedure

The following steps were taken to carry out the study:

1. Persian RBTs in Sa'di's *the Gulistan* and their English equivalents were identified;
2. RBTs were classified into nine categories;
3. Procedures employed in rendering each RBT was identified;
4. It was explored whether each translator was consistent in applying a certain procedure or he changed it in different occasions;
5. The distribution of untranslated RBTs in various categories was specified;
6. It was attempted to answer the research questions based on the findings presented via tables and figures.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. RBTs, their equivalents and procedures

The present study aimed at exploring the challenge imposed by RBTs in translating Sa'di's *Gulistan* into English. This end in view, first, Persian RBTs and their equivalents were extracted from the corpus understudy and procedures employed in their rendition were

identified. Due to the space limitation, just a number of selected RBTs were presented in Table 1.

Note that in the column of ‘RBTs’, the first and the second number within parentheses respectively signify the number of the chapter and the story wherefrom the RBT were extracted. Moreover, procedures are abbreviated in the following way: substitution (Sub), borrowing (Bor), definition and paraphrase (Def), lexical creation (LC), literal translation (LT), omission (Omi) and addition (Adi). The Persian words are transliterated based on the UN System (1972) Retrieved from <http://ee.www.ee/transliteration>.

Table 1 A selection of RBTs, their equivalents and procedures

Translator RBTs	Burton	Eastwick
(15-7) ائمه /ae‘meh/	illustrious man	great man
	Sub	Sub
(17-1) قبله /qebleh/	Qiblah	place
	Bor	Sub
(29-3) مصلا /moṣallā/	Masalla	Musalla
	Def	Bor
(12-5) سماع /samā‘/		‘mid dance and song
	Omi	Sub
(16-3) موسي /mūsā/	Moses	the prophet Musa
	Sub	Def
(20-7) تسبيح /tasbīḥ/	rosary	rosaries
	Sub	Sub
(7-1) حوران /ḥūrān/	huris	Houris
	Sub	Sub
(4-4) ملأهده /molāḥedeh/	unbeliever	heretic
	Sub	Sub
(23-1) صدقه /ṣadaqeh/	oblation	
	Sub	Omi

The term ‘سماع’ /samā‘/ signifies “hearing” (During and Sellheim 2021), and “[t]he practice of *samā‘* is clearly an extension of the more basic practice of *dhikr* (‘remembrance [of God]’ or ritual chant and praise)” (Avery 2004: 4). *The Holy Qur’an* “prescribes the constant remembrance and praise of God, and all these ritual activities have as their source the recitation of *the Qur’an*” (ibid.). As Anvari (2000) points out, the word ‘سماع’ /samā‘/ is a special kind of “singing” that influences the hearer greatly, but it can also refer to the party wherein such a singing occurs (p. 214). It should be noticed, however, that this kind of singing is exclusive to the Sufi. While the RBT is entirely omitted by Burton, Eastwick referred to two sense components “dance” and “song”.

The lexical item ‘ملأهده’ /molāḥedeh/ refers to “the followers of Hassan Sabbah and that of the so-called religion Ismailia” (Anvari 2000:189). None of the equivalents chosen by the translators (i.e., ‘heretic’ and ‘unbeliever’) could convey the senses underlying the term.

The term ‘حوران’ /ḥūrān/ is the plural form of ‘حور’ /ḥūr/ which refers to the “white skinned” beautiful damsels or “virgins of paradise” whose large beautiful eyes have “deep black” pupils (McAuliffe 2001: 456). Burton and Eastwick transliterated the RBT and treated

it as an English term and made it plural just by adding a plural ‘s’—thus employing ‘naturalization’. The big question is ‘how are the TT readership supposed to recognize such a process?’

The RBT ‘قبله’ /qebleh/ refers to the direction towards which Muslims perform their prayers—it is towards Ka’ba in Mecca. Burton and Ross preferred to transliterate the RBT and leave their readers in the dark. Employing informative notes of any kind could be a possible way out of this predicament. Eastwick’s equivalent (i.e., place) is too general to be considered as an adequate one.

The word ‘موسى’ /mūsā/ refers to Prophet Moses—the equivalent opted for by Burton. In such cases where there is a naturalized equivalent for the original PN, it is unjustifiable to use merely provide the TT readership with a transliterated version. Eastwick accompanied his transliteration with the word ‘prophet’. Eastwick was consistent in dealing with names. In other instances, ‘فرعون’ /fero’n/, ‘مصطفى’ /moṣṭafā/, and ‘هاملان’ /hāmān/, he had first used the transliterated version (i.e., Fira’n, Mustafa, and Haman) in the main text and then provided a footnote. His footnotes were quite informative. As in the case of ‘هاملان’ /hāmān/, Eastwick (1852) pointed out in the related footnote: “the only Haman we know being the favorite of Ahasuerus. However . . . Haman appears to be the vazir of Pharaoh, and therefore only of the same name as our Haman, not the same person” (p. 118).

The RBT ‘صدقه’ /ṣadaqeh/ is an offering in the way of Allah. Burton used the equivalent ‘oblation’ which denotes “something that is offered as a religious sacrifice” (extracted from the online Cambridge Dictionary: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org>). The English term is actually a ‘cultural equivalent’ substituted by the original term.

The term ‘مصلا’ /moṣallā/ refers to a great mosque in which Muslims gather to perform congregational prayer on Fridays and some special Islamic festivals. As this lexical item is an RBT rooted in Islamic culture, most of the English TT readers would be normally unfamiliar with its underlying meaning; therefore, the mere use of the procedure ‘transference’ (employed by Eastwick) undoubtedly does not suffice. Burton was the only translator who employed footnote.

4.2. Answering the research questions

The percentage of procedures is illustrated in Figure 1.

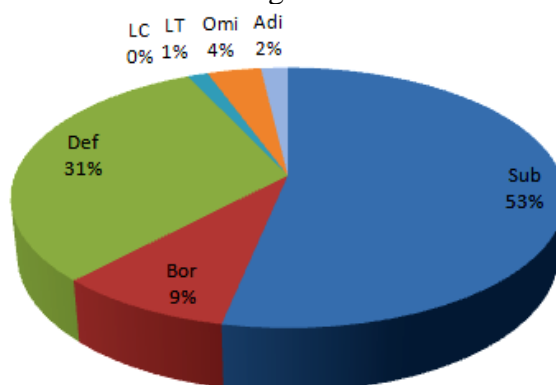


Figure 1 General distribution of procedures

The frequency of procedures employed by each translator is illustrated in Figure 2.

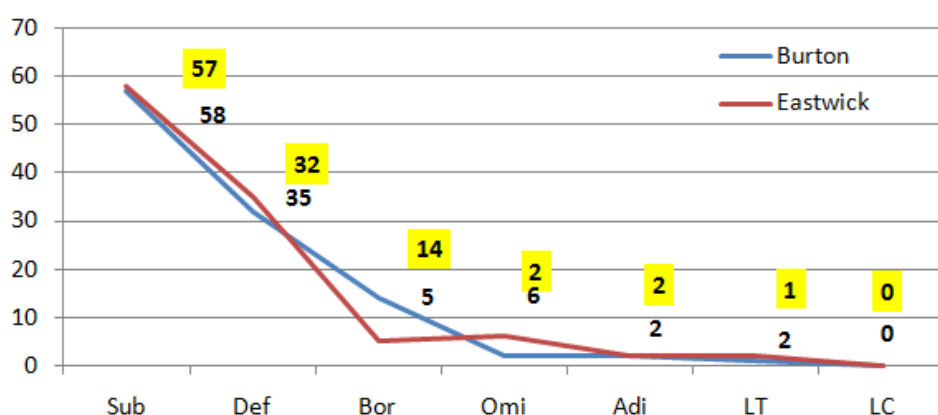


Figure 2 Frequency of procedures

Table 2 presents the percentage of the seven procedures employed by each translator.

Table 2 Percentage of procedures

Procedures Translators	Sub	Def	Bor	Omi	Adi	LT	LC
Burton	53%	29%	13%	2%	2%	1%	0%
Eastwick	55%	31%	5%	5%	2%	2%	0%

As an answer to the first research question (i.e., *What are the procedures used by the two translators? How is the distribution of procedures?*), Figure 1 reveals that ‘substitution’ (by 53%) and ‘definition’ (by 31%) are the most frequently used procedures by the two translators, while ‘lexical creation’ was the least employed one.

Figure 2 and Table 2 confirmed that there was a sort of similarity in the tendencies of the two translators in employing the seven procedures.

As an answer to the second RQ (i.e., consistency in employing procedures), it was found that translators, depending on the situation, altered their procedures and did not prefer the consistent usage of one single procedure for rendering all RBTs embedded in the work.

Concerning the third RQ (i.e., the issue of consistency in equivalent choice), only one case of such inconsistency was detected. While the RBT ‘حلال’ /ḥalāl/ (i.e., lawful / based on Islamic law or *Shari‘a*), firstly occurred in Story 36-Chapter 2 of *the Gulistan*, was translated by Eastwick as ‘lawful’, the same translator rendered it as ‘takeable’ in the second appearance of the word in Story 27-Chapter 3.

As an answer to the fourth research question, it was found that RBTs appeared in the corpus understudy could be classified under the following categories: Concrete Religious Concepts (CRC), Abstract Religious Concepts (ARC), Location (L), Religious Labels and Attributions (RLA), Religious Activities (RA), Religious Times (RT), Religious Verdicts (RV), Supernatural Religious Concepts (SRC), Proper Names (PNs). However, due to the space limitation, just a number of selected RBTs were presented in Table 3. Transliterations and equivalents are respectively presented within slashes // and brackets [].

Table 3 Classification of RBTs

CRC	(23-1) /ṣadaqeh/ صدقه؛ [rosary] (12-2) /moṣḥā/ مسح؛ [rosary] (20-7) /tasbiḥ/ تسبیح [offering]
ARC	(20-7) /nazr/ نذر؛ [reliance on God] (47-2) /tavakkol/ توکل؛ [piety] (16-1) /taqvā/ تقوی [alms] (20-7) /zakāt/ زکات؛ [vows]
L	(29-3) /moṣallā/ مصلّا؛ [Ka'ba] (17-1) /kabeh/ کعبه؛ [great mosque] (10-1) /jām'e/ جامع [mosque]
RLA	[a descendant of Imam Ali] (33-1) /alavī/ علوی؛ [devotee] (12-1) /parsā/ پارسا؛ [muezzin] (13-4) /moa'zzen/ مؤذن؛ [a learned man] (2-3) /faqīh/ گیسو بافتن؛ [twist one's ringlets] (32-1) /gisūbāftan/ گیسو بافتن؛ [a special singing party] (12-5) /samā'/ سماع
RA	[Ramadan] (40-1) /ramazān/ رمضان؛ [Festival of sacrifice] (32-1) /eideāzā/ عید اضحی [the night of Qadr] (43-8) /shabeqadr/ شب قدر
PNs	(2-3) /fero'n/ فرعون؛ [Prophet Jonas] (4-1) /jūnes/ یونس؛ [Qarun] (18-1) /qarūn/ قارون؛ [Pharaoh] (20-7) /ṣāleḥ/ صالح؛ [Prophet Salih]
SRC	(9-2) /kerāmāt/ کرامات؛ [the beautiful women of paradise] (7-1) /ḥūrān/ حوران [miracles]
RV	(17-5) /harām/ حرام؛ [Halal] (36-2) /ḥalāl/ حلال؛ [disgusting] (20-2) /makrūh/ مکروه [forbidden by Islam]

Table 4 demonstrates the frequencies (F) and percentages (P) of procedures opted for rendering RBTs in each category:

Table 4 Distribution of procedures in each category

Procedures Categories		Sub	Bor	Def	LC	LT	Omi	Adi
CRC	F	16	2	2			2	
	P	73%	9%	9%			9%	
ARC	F	11	1	4			2	
	P	61%	6%	22%			11%	
L	F	10	2	6				2
	P	50%	10%	30%				10%
RLA	F	35	5	12		2		
	P	63%	9%	24%		4%		
RA	F	12		8		1	1	
	P	55%		36%		4%	5%	
RT	F	1	1	4				
	P	16.5%	16.5%	67%				
RV	F	10		2			2	
	P	72%		14%			14%	
PNs	F	16	7	29			2	2
	P	29%	12%	52%			3.5%	3.5%
SRC	F	4						
	P	100%						

As for the fifth RQ, (i.e., distribution of procedures in each category), Table 4 revealed that, except for the categories of RT and PNs, ‘substitution’ is the most recurred procedure used in rendering RBTs. ‘Definition’ is by far the most repeatedly used procedure in translating items classified under the two categories of RT and PNs.

‘Lexical creation’ was never used by translators in rendering any RBT in any category. ‘Literal translation’ was only used for categories of ‘Religious Labels and Attributions’ and ‘Religious Activities’. Interestingly, while ‘substitution’ and ‘definition’ were used in translating almost all nine categories of RBTs, ‘addition’, ‘literal translation’, and ‘lexical creation’ together were used for translating items of only four categories.

As an answer to the sixth RQ (i.e., ‘Does the type of RBT influence the type of procedure used by translators?’), Table 4 demonstrated that not all RBTs classified under a certain category are rendered via resorting to the same procedures. Therefore, the type of RBT cannot be considered as a key factor influencing the type of procedure selected by translators.

The distribution of untranslated RBTs in each category is presented in table 5.

Table 5 Frequency and Percentage of untranslated RBTs

Translators Categories		Burton	Eastwick	Total
CRC	F		2	2
	P		33%	22%
ARC	F	1	1	2
	P	33.3%	17%	22%
RA	F	1		1
	P	33.3%		12%
RV	F		2	2
	P		33%	22%
PNs	F	1	1	2
	P	33.3%	17%	22%
Total	F	3	6	9
	P	33%	67%	

As an answer to the seventh RQ, Table 5 illustrates that Eastwick left twice as many RBTs untranslated as Burton did. As far as the distribution of untranslated items in each category is concerned, it is revealed that no RBT belonging to the following categories is left untranslated by the translators: L, RLA, RT, and SRC. The highest amount of untranslated RBTs occurred in the categories CRC (22%), RV (22%) and ARC (22%). Therefore, concerning the eighth RQ, Table 5 implies that translators experienced more challenges in rendering RBTs related to ‘Concrete Religious Concepts’, ‘Religious Verdicts’ and ‘Abstract Religious Concepts’.

Table 6 demonstrates the frequency and percentage of the ‘footnotes’ being used for rendering RBTs in each category.

Table 6 Distribution of 'footnotes' in each category

Categories Translators		CRC	ARC	L	RLA	RA	RT	RV	SRC	PNs	Total
Burton	Frequency		2	2	2		3	1		12	22
	Percentage		9%	9%	9%		14%	4%		55%	49%
Eastwick	Frequency			4			1	1		17	23
	Percentage			18%			4%	4%		74%	51%

The use of footnotes can indicate that translators most probably deemed it an urgent necessity to considerably provide the TT readership with clarifying information concerning the RBT. In other words, when translators face such challenging items requiring explanatory information, they show tendencies to resort to 'footnotes' which have probably the capacity to convey detailed informative notes to the readers. Most of the footnotes were provided for the PNs (i.e., 55% and 74% for the case of Burton and Eastwick, respectively). The reason translators deemed such a category a potential challenge for their TT readers underlines the fact that religious proper-names have allusive references which can be conveyed to the readers and via explanatory footnotes. It should, however, be noted that it does not mean that when translators did not provide footnotes for RBTs classified under a specific category, s/he found them absolutely easy-to-understand items. In fact, failing to provide informative notes for challenging ST items, in general, and RBTs in particular, can, in some cases, indicate translators' lack of religious-cultural knowledge. It is, actually, difficult to exactly pin point the cases where either providing or not providing items with notes denote their challenging or unproblematic nature of these categories. Therefore, we just limited our interpretation to the category of PNs for which we could find a probably justifiable reason for our claim.

As for the last question, when we consider the total number of procedures employed by the two translators in general, no absolute correlation was found between the frequency of a procedure and its efficacy. The most frequently used procedure (i.e., substitution) could not prove to be the most efficient one. However, when it comes to less efficient procedure of 'omission', its low occurrence in the two translations partially confirms a sort of correlation between the frequency of a procedure and its efficacy. To phrase it differently, while we do not assertively put forward that the most frequently employed procedure is the most efficient one, we found that one of the least frequently used procedures could also be classified among the least efficient ones. Therefore, no strong or deterministic claim could be made in this regard.

5. Conclusion

The present study focused on Sa'di's *Gulistan* and its English translations by Edward Eastwick (1880), Richard Francis Burton (1888) to investigate the procedure used by them in rendering religious-bound terms classified into nine categories.

As far as consistency in resorting to specific procedures was concerned, the results of the present study confirmed that of Khorrami (2004) and Afrouz (2019) indicating that none of the two translators showed consistency in resorting to one particular procedure.

Composing the original literary-religious text, the ST writer had undoubtedly counted on the shared cultural knowledge with the ST readers. But the TT was naturally prepared for a

different readership who did not share the same cultural-religious background. Therefore, providing footnotes containing detailed explanations for the TT readers seemed unavoidable. Interestingly, both translators of *the Gulistan* resorted to footnotes in translating about 22 RBTs.

Furthermore, concerning the relationship between the frequency of a procedure and its efficacy, the findings of the study could neither entirely refute nor totally confirm the results achieved by Ordudari (2006), Zhao (2009), and Moradi and Mohammadsadeghi (2014).

Finally, it was found that translators of *the Gulistan* experienced more challenges in rendering RBTs related to ‘concrete religious concepts’, ‘proper names’, ‘religious verdicts’ and ‘abstract religious concepts’. As an implication, therefore, potentially prospective translators of *the Gulistan* would be highly recommended to boost their knowledge in the aforementioned categories before trying their hands at rendering this world-famous classical Persian masterpiece.

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Insights into Translations of Ancient Historiography

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Abstract

The article is a special reference to the translation principles of historic texts of the 5th century Armenian historiography and its English translation. The focus of the paper are the extracts of the invention of the Armenian alphabet, which like impeccable gems decorate and reveal the outstanding parts of Armenian history. The article outlines both the theoretical and practical principles of the translation of ancient historic texts into modern languages, which from philological point of view is a complicated procedure.

Keywords: *Armenian alphabet; historiography; Mesrop Mashtoc; translation; natural translation.*

1. Introduction

The art of translation remains on the agenda of modern scientists and theorists attempting to bridge the gap between theory and practice, thus providing insight into the usefulness of current academic research to the practical needs of the profession. It is a well-known fact that translation is pivotal for the development of national culture where the crucial role is given to the cross-cultural communication of source and target languages. One cannot fail to observe that translation is a complex and difficult procedure which excited even the antique theorists and philosophers who attempted to formulate the peculiarities of the art of translation, among them were Herodotus (The origin of the class of Egyptian interpreters, *Istoria*, mid-5th century B.C.), Cicero (De Oratore, Translating Greek orations into Latin), Jerome (The best kind of Translator), etc. In this vein Goethe formulated tripartite scheme of translation considering that every literature should pass these phases. The first phase presupposes the acquaintance of foreign linguo-cultural peculiarities, which is actual in today's globalized world, in the second phase the translator tries to enter the foreign consciousness and reconstruct it in the translation, in other words "parodistic" translation. The third phase is the highest phase as there should be perfect identity between the source text and the target text. An example was Johann Heinrich Voss - the translator of Homer and whose work Goethe considered to be an impeccable gem and an essential work in bringing German Hellenism (Латышев, Семенов 2005, Goethe 1819, Steiner 1976, Lefever 1977). Russian theorists formulated a special link between original and translation by establishing the communicative opportunities of the source and target readers which has logical transition like: $a=b$, $b=c$ thus $a=c$ (Латышев, Семенов 2005), where a – is the source reader, b - is the translator, c -is the target reader.

Nowadays translation is considered as a cross-cultural communication, which bridges the gap between the source culture and the target culture. In this connection Becker (1979: 2) describes the translation from pragmatic point of view.

Translation, as every translator learns quickly, is not just a matter of imitation, or finding our words to imitate their words, but it is also the recreation of the context of the foreign text Lawrence Venuti (2018: xii-xvi) underlines three theses about translation.

1. All translation, regardless of genre or text type, including translation that seeks to register linguistic and cultural differences, is an interpretation that fundamentally domesticates the source text.
2. The terms “domesticating” and “foreignizing” do not describe specific verbal choices or discursive strategies used in translation, but rather the ethical effects of translated texts that depend for their force and recognition on the receiving culture.
3. Not only does the translator perform an interpretive act, but readers must also learn how to interpret translations as translations, as texts in their own right, to perceive the ethical effects of translated texts.

Ernst-August Gutt (2014: 5) makes his own contribution in the theory of translation thus underlying the problem of determining the domain of the theory. He stated that it is not clear a priori what translation itself is. In this connection he pointed out major approaches of the domain of the theory. Gutt underlines that the process of translation is based on intuition and cannot be characterized in a systematic way, however as he points: “Translation will be what a culture takes it to be”.

Translation is pivotal for bridging the gap between two cultures and especially the translation of historic texts has its own value and appreciation in the sphere. Historic texts are culture – oriented, which intertwine the identity of nation, its spiritual values and cognitive procedures. As cross-cultural communication the translation of historic texts reflects and combines two cultures: the source culture and the target culture. The translation of Armenian historic texts is pivotal for disseminating the cultural, historical treasures of the Armenian nation, as one of the ancient civilization of the world (Lang 1970: 3-10, 58-59). The Armenians are an ancient people who live in an ancient land. Their home lies in the highlands surrounding the biblical mountains of Ararat, upon which tradition tells us Noah’s ark came to rest after the flood. (Gen. 8:4).

2. Methods and Materials

Dwelling upon the observations of historiography, the present paper is carried out along the material of the 5th century historians Koryun and Movses Khorenats’s and their translations into English. The extract under discussion is the invention of the Armenian alphabet, which has peculiar importance for the Armenian people.

Koryun was the earliest 5th century Armenian historian who wrote about the invention of the Armenian alphabet by Mesrop Mashtots. After the death of Mashtots, Koryun initiated to write the biography of Mesrop Mashtots by the order of Hovsep Haghatsmetsi, one of the spiritual leaders at that time. Now his work is known as "Varq Mashtotsi" (Life of Mashtots). In the modern period it was translated into Russian, English, French and German. The English translator of historic text is Bedros Norehad (1981).

The next historian who mentioned the invention of the Armenian alphabet was Movses Khorenatsi - a prominent 5th century Armenian historian who wrote “The History of Armenia”. The history was written at the behest of Prince Sahak of the Bagratuni dynasty and has had an enormous impact on Armenian historiography. It was used and quoted extensively by later medieval Armenian authors. “The History of Armenia” was translated into many languages as well as in English (translator was Robert Thomson (1978/2006)).

The methodological approach is multifaceted, as it may comprise the comparative and descriptive analysis of historical events.

3. Literature review

The translation of historic texts is not an easy procedure it presupposes the awareness of theory and practice of translation studies in general. Touching upon the question of theoretical approach of translation studies T. Givon underlined that the perfect translation is an illusion, moreover the theorist entertained the hypothesis of perfect translatability, which is; a) translating from one language to another can only be done by a bilingual individual, therefore, b) translation from one culture to another can be done by a bi-cultural individual, c) being bi-cultural means holding two incompatible world-views, d) in translating words from one world view into another, one changes their meaning by embedding them in a different context. Nonetheless, Givon admitted that cross-cultural translation is a matter of degree and rough approximation, as it is an illusion to share an identical viewpoint in the same context. For successful cross-cultural communication there should be a reasonable degree of context-negotiation, which aims at realizing a reasonable degree of overlap in points of view. So, the exact or complete translation is a mirage. (Givon 1989: 11-19).

Pym carried out his own assumptions about the concept of equivalence by underlying that there is always assumed equivalence between two languages and texts and perfect equivalence is just an illusion. He distinguishes between natural and directional equivalence. Natural equivalence exists between languages prior to the act of translating, and, secondly, it is not affected by directionality. Directionality on the other hand is optional as the translator has the freedom to choose between various translational strategies, which may be dictated either by source language norms or by target language norms (Pym 2010: 26-37).

As P. Newmark (1988: 3-10) stated a satisfactory translation is always possible, but a good translator is never satisfied with it. It can usually be improved. There is no such thing as a perfect, ideal or “correct” translation. The “sixth sense”, which often comes into play during the final revision, tells the translator when to translate literally and also instinctively and the translation of Armenian historiographical text of the 5th century is not an exception.

The 5th century was the Golden Age for Armenians, as many prominent historians, theorists and theologians lived and created historiography, which decorates and emphasizes the national identity of the Armenians. It was in the Golden Age that the Bible was translated for the first time, which was qualified by the 18th century Armenologist La Crose as the “Queen of Translations”. The fifth century historians were inspired with the biblical themes and on the basis of biblical canons, morals and wisdom was created the 5th century Armenian historiography - a unique piece of historical literature, which gives valuable information of historical, cultural, geographical, religious and political peculiarities not only of the Armenian people, but also of the neighbors’ civilizations.

The focal interest of the research will also be based on the target text reader perception and the relevance of “naturalness” in translation (Nida, Taber 1969: 35-60). The “natural” target text should meet the following requirements 1) the translation should make sense, 2) the target reader should perceive the language of translation in an ordinary way. However, the essential principle of translation process is based on a pivotal procedure; there should be a dialectical unity between the original and the translation. According to Russian theorists the bridge between the original and translation can be established not only by transferring the meaning, but also the impression; both the source reader and the target reader

should perceive the inner context of the work, its atmosphere and spirit. There should be the influence on the same nerves (Латышев, Семенов 2005: 5-26).

In general, the translation of historical text is a multifunctional procedure, which involves linguistic and extra-linguistic awareness, the possibility to interpret and perceive the entire gist of the content and the author's intention. The Armenian historiography has exclusive stylistic peculiarities it is not only the pure utterance of information, facts and data, but also a unique piece of literature where the function of impact of language predominates. Consequently, for natural translation the translator should observe and analyze the vertical and horizontal context of the source text, penetrate the author's style and language thus revealing and reverberating it in the target text. The notion of "natural" translation of historical texts essentially presupposes 1) the existence of universal conceptual "code" between the source text and the target text, 2) the natural flow of utterance in target text with the possible preservation of source culture and way of thinking (Newmark 1988: 75).

Based on the theorists' assumptions there is a special procedure for text interpretation and by applying this procedure the translator can be ready for the initial step of historical text translation. The first step presupposes a thorough evaluation of the historiographical text, i.e. the epoch of the text, the author's intention, the geopolitical and cultural situation of the country or kingdom. Naturally, the translator concerns the all-important question of understanding of extra-linguistic factors of the text. The second step is philological interpretation. The theorists Spencer and Gregory connect the process of text interpretation with two-stage activity. 1. Cognition or the diagnosis of the text - the underlying principle of which is the illustration of linguistic and stylistic peculiarities of the text, in this case the historic text, 2. Description- where the texture of the text is revealed through cultural realia, toponyms, proper names, stylistic devices, allegory, etc. (Spencer, Gregory 1970: 73-95).

But there is another important circumstance, which cannot be ignored in the process of translation of the historiography of the 5th century: the time and space between the author/historian and the translator, thus the synchronic / diachronic principles should be considered in translation. The translator should be guided by the diachronic principle, as the translator is in a certain time distance and in a different social, historical, cultural atmosphere. Of paramount importance is the accumulation of the "background knowledge", "global vertical context" and "awareness of the linguo-cultural aspects" of the 5th century historiography (Виноградов, 2006: 55-98).

4. Discussions

The Armenian historian Koriun dedicated his work to the description of the life, activity, and a light doctrine of the creator of the Armenian letters and literature - Mesrop Mashtots. Koriun was the pupil of Mesrop Mashtots and the first historian who aimed at depicting the honorable lifeline of the creator of the Armenian alphabet (Armenian Philology in Modern Era: From Manuscript to Digital Text, 2014: 231-232). The history of Koriun is based on the truthful facts and events, as he wrote about his teacher not from the ancient storytellers, but as his contemporary and the witness of his spiritual works, as an associate "satellite" of Mashtot's life and activity. The theorist M. Abeghyan stated that the exact date of the history is not known, probably it was written between 443-451 by the order of Mashtot's apprentice Hovsep. The value of Koriun's history is enormous, as the Armenian people will know little about the invention of the Armenian letters, its creator and its further

impact on the Armenian cultural, historical, political events. Mesrop Mashtots was the first who undertook the role of the invention of the Armenian letters, as well as made translations, opened schools in various sections of the country, established monasteries, wrote sermons and epistles. (Abeghyan 1968: 9 -20, Delisle, Woodsworth 2012: 6-9)

Therefore, taking with him a group of young men Mashtots, by the consent of the King Vramshapouh and Saint Sahak (Armenian Catholicos), came to the region of Aram and assigned one group of his pupils to the Assyrian school in the city of Edessa, and the other to the Hellenic school in Samosata. And through prayers he invented the Armenian alphabet. Here are the ancient Armenian, English extracts from Koriun.

- (1) *Եվ նորա իւրովք հաւասարօք զսովորականն առաջի եղեալ զաղօթս և զտքնութիւնս և զպատասանս արտասուալից, զհատամբերութիւնս, զհոգս զաշխարհահեծոս, յիշելով զասացեալսն մարգարէին, եթէ՝ “Յորժամ հեծեծեցես, յայնժամ կեցցես”:*
Եվ այնպէս բազում աշխատութեանց համբերեալ վասն իւրոյ ազգին բարեաց ինչ օճան գտանելոյ: Որում պարգևէի իսկ վիճակ յամենաշնորհէն Աստծոյ. հայկական չափուն ծնեալ ծնունդս նորոգ և սրանչեղի՝ սուրբ աջովն իւրով. նշանագիրս հայերէն լեզուին: Եվ անդ վաղվադակի նշանակեալ, անուանեալ և կարգեալ, յօրինէր սիրողալիք կապօք (Կորիւն “Վարք Մեսրոպ Մաշտոցի”, էջ 90):

He then resumed, with his co-workers, his usual prayerful labors, his tearful pleadings, his life of austerity and his anxieties, remembering the word of the prophet: “In retiring and rest shalt thou live”.

Thus, he experienced many tribulations in order to serve his nation. And God the All-Bountiful finally granted him that good fortune; for with his holy hand he became the father of new and wonderful offsprings-letters of the Armenian language, and then and there quickly designed, named, determined, their order and devised the syllabication (Koriun “The Life of Mashtots” translated by Bedros Norehad, 1964).

According to historian Koriun, Mashtots invented the Alphabet through prayers and a divine vision helped him to become the father of impeccable gems of the Armenian nation – the letters. According to Dum-Tragut and Winker monasticism is the essential notion of Armenian clergymen, it is a life of simplicity, isolation from others. Spiritually it is expressed through prayers and meditations, secluded life in hermit places (Dum-Tragut, Winker 2018: 25-45). Miracle occurred which in the proceeding centuries would unite the whole nation, its culture and tradition. Koriun described the divine vision with the help of the following pattern *սուրբ աջովն իւրով* (word for word translation is; *his holy right*), which in the target text is displayed as *with his holy hand*. One cannot fail to observe that the translation of historiography requires both factual and fictional interpretation, as the original text is a dialectical unity of heterogeneous functions (the informative function and the function of impact). Facts cannot be neglected, however the 5th century Armenian historiography is flavored with expressive-emotive-evaluative overtones and stylistically colored words and combinations. It is well known that the basic feature of any piece of speech consists in the possibility of combining linguistic elements due to the established rules of language and combinability of the word patterns, nevertheless the Armenian historians used the language material in a unique way by arousing the emotive feeling of the readers. Consequently, the translator of the historic texts should bridge the gap between the original in classical Armenian and its translation in modern languages. In classical Armenian the word *աջովն*

comprises the combinability of two words and has the following structure: *right hand*. The English translation depicts the semantic field of the context thus applying the widely used expression *holy hand*. The combination condenses and makes parallels with semantically and stylistically close meanings in English like, *holy Lord, holy Soul, holy Spirit, holy Ghost*, etc. which sounds ‘natural’ in English. The research has shown that in some versions of the Bible we may come across with the following expression as well: *O sing unto the Lord a new song; for he hath done marvelous things; his right hand and his holy arm, hath gotten him the victory (Psalm 98: 1)*.

If we draw parallel with the Biblical themes of the divine vision and its miracle influence on humanity we can recall the story of Moses the prophet who saved the Israelites from slavery and became a lawgiver. The principles of the Ten Commandments known as Decalogue were told to Moses by the Lord; *And the Lord said unto Moses, come up to me into the mount, and be there, and I will give thee three tables of stone, and a law, and commandments which I have written; that thou mayest teach them (Exodus 24:12)*. After passing forty days and forty nights in the mount Moses declared that the Lord gave him two tablets of stones *written with the finger of God (Deuteronomy 9:10)*. As the embodiment of the creation of the Ten Commandments, the image of Moses was referred and analyzed by Hellenistic literature and became crucial for different religions as Judaism, Christianity.

If we draw a parallel between Moses and Mashtoc both reached the divine grace through lent, prayers, repentance of sins and at that period they both led a hermit life. Mashtoc was glorified and was accorded great honors by the Bishop, the Church and the people so with proud joy he arrived in Armenia. Mashtoc began the translation of the Bible, first with the Proverbs of Solomon;

- (2) *Ճանաչել զիմաստութիւն և զհրաւտ, իմանալ զբանս հանճարոյ – To know wisdom and instruction, to perceive the words of understanding.*

The next step is the discussion of the extract from the other Armenian historian M. Khoretantsi’s “History of Armenia” translated by R. Thomson. Based on scientific objectivity and truthful facts the historian presents the history of the Armenian nation (up to the 5th century). The originality of the author’s imaginative thinking and aesthetic taste make the peculiarities of Armenian national identity more vivid and bring out the value of its cultural treasures.

- (3) *Առ սա երթեալ Մեսրոպայ, և յայսմ ևս անշահ մնացեալ՝ յաղօթս սպաւինի: Եւ տեսանէ ոչ ի քուն երագ և ոչ յարթնութեան տեսիլ, այլ ի սրտին գործարանի երևոյթացեալ հոգւոյն աչաց թայծ ձեռին աջոյ՝ գրելով ի վերայ վիմի. Չի որպէս ի ձեան վերջը գծին՝ կուտեալ ունէր քարն (Սովխիսի Խորենացիոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց, 1981: 404):*

Mesrop went to him, but still gaining no result in this matter, he took refuge in prayer. And he saw not a dream in sleep, not a vision while awake, but in depths of his heart there appeared to his eyes of his soul a right-hand writing on rock; for the stone retained (the shapes) as tracks are traced in snow (Moses Khorenats’i “History of Armenians /translation and commentary on the literary sources by Robert W. Thomson, Caravan Books, Ann Arbor, 2006: 315).

The extract of the invention of the alphabet carries expressive-emotive-evaluative overtones, which help the reader believe in the magical power of divine vision. The style of M. Khorenatsi is rich with high and exuberant expressions, like *նչ ի քննի եղաւք և նչ յարթնութեան տեսիլ* - *not a dream in sleep, not a vision while awake*, *հոգւոյն աչսագ* - *his eyes of his soul*, which are translated both in English word-for-word and express the semantic meaning of the alphabet invention. Perhaps the mechanisms of translating the informative texts of historical genre made the translator transmit the concrete representation of the original. The same picture is in the case of *աւրա ձեռնիւ աջոյ* - *a right hand*. The expression is translated straightforwardly and there is no ambivalence from the original. Naturally, for adequate and full perception of the context the target reader should have “background knowledge”, so called “the necessity of going deep into the essence”. The elaboration upon the theme and a key moment of the role of heaven in the invention of the alphabet is crucial for understanding the role of Christianity in the life of the 5th century Armenians and in the further centuries.

Passing to further observations of the divine vision in the Armenian historiography we may refer to the description of St. Echmiadzin Cathedral, the spiritual center of Armenia. According to the Armenian historiographer Agathangelos, Echmiadzin is the embodiment of Paradise in the Earth, its spiritual atmosphere, its position and the unique architectural solutions inspired the humanity and the Armenian people. The architect who formed the plan of this Cathedral, according to the tradition, which prevails among the Armenians, was Jesus Christ, who drew the plan in the presence of St. Gregory (the preacher with the help of which in 301 Christianity was adopted in Armenia) using a ray of light instead of a pencil. Agathangelos in his “History of Armenia” described the divine vision as following:

- (4) *And (there was) an awesome vision of a man, tall and fearful, who governed the front and the rear guards and, descending from above, advanced as leader. And in his hand was a great hammer of gold, and they all followed him. He himself flew swiftly in the likeness of a fleet-winged eagle. And he descended and came down near to the ground, and great and immeasurable rumblings sounded in the depths of hell. And the whole earth as far as the eye could see was stuck as level as a plain.*
“And I saw in the middle of the city, near the royal palace, a circular base of gold, as great as a hill, and on it an exceedingly tall column of fire, and on top of that a capital of cloud, and on top of that again a cross of light (Agathangelos History of the Armenians, translation and commentary by R. W. Thomson, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1976).

Conclusions

There are few materials dedicated to the principles of translation of ancient historic texts, especially in the sphere of Armenian studies. However, the accumulation of certain theoretical and practical materials gives an opportunity to conclude that the translation can be based on the principle of diachronic approach of translation when there is a time distance between translator and the historian. The role of translator is the preservation of style and language of the historians, thus highlighting the overtones of the ancient Armenian versions. Yet, as we have seen the English translations have their own undeniable merits. Preserving the semantic peculiarities of the original the translators transmitted the interplay of words and

made the reader perceive and interpret the essence of the historical context passage. At the same time, it has valuable essence as the translators help the target reader in natural cognizing of a work of historical creativity in the axiological estimation and appreciation thus putting the mechanisms of the modern target reader's "global vertical context", "shared world-view" and the historians' perception of the epoch.

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Translating Expressive Language: Some Socio-Cultural Insights

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Abstract

Expressive lexical units are culturally bound and deeply rooted into socio-cultural contexts; their connotative dimension accentuates their implicit meaning dependent on extralinguistic factors which are related to cultural notions and ways of using them within a society. The purpose of this paper is to show that contrastively analysing expressive language in translation can shed light on some interesting insights into socio-cultural similarities and differences between English and Macedonian with regard to certain types of expressive language. The results of the survey confirm that differences in socio-cultural and historical conditions have differently affected the ways in which concepts and notions are perceived in these languages, leading to differences in the use of expressive words and their metaphorical dimension in both languages and posing challenges to translators.

Keywords: language, culture, translation, society, expressive language

Introduction

In the context of various sociological and anthropological researches aiming at illuminating culture and its implications on different aspects of human life, linguists have been among the first scientists to perceive the close relationship between language and culture. Snell-Hornby (1995: 40) mentions Humboldt as one of the first linguists who perfectly understood that culture, language and behavior are interdependent. He understands language as an expression of culture and individuality of the speaker, who perceives the world through the language. Jones (1999: 24-25) makes reference to Sapir and Whorf, who gave impetus to the theory according to which there are culturally based ways of speaking and languages of different cultures create distinct systems of representation which might not always be equivalent; a language encodes certain aspects of reality and influences the thought processes of its speakers.

Speaking of translation as a process which is primarily based on language, the inseparable connection between language and culture indicates that it is furthermore reflected on translation. According to Schaffner and Wieseemann (2001: 14), the first insights into the connection between translation and culture were initiated by the advent of the functionalist approach to translation, according to which “texts are produced and received with a specific purpose, or function in mind; translation is not only, or exclusively, a linguistic activity, but rather a purposeful activity, embedded in and contributing to other purposeful activities“. In the late 1970s, Vermeer (1989 in Venuti, 2000: 221-232) initiated the Skopos theory, according to which translation is a specific kind of communicative action and its purpose is its most decisive criterion. A translation is information offered in a TL¹ culture about information offered in SL² and culture. Since language and culture are interdependent, translation is transfer between cultures.

These standpoints will pave the way for what is today known as the cultural turn of translation studies in the 1980s. Snell-Hornby (2006: 48-49) maintains that this trend actually laid the foundations of a new paradigm for the study of literary translation, according to

which translation has been related to some new key terms such as descriptive, target-oriented and functional. Consequently, it was not the linguistic features of the source text that were dominant when it came to translation, but rather the function of the translation in the target culture.

Expressive language and its socio-cultural dimension in relation to translation

According to Ристић (2004), expressive language³ is one of the language aspects which clearly show the interconnection between language, culture and society since it is culturally bound and deeply rooted into socio-cultural contexts. Expressive language is a rather broad term which may be related to various linguistic units conveying emotional, expressive⁴ and emphasising nuances such as admiration, disapproval, irony etc. Expressive words such as slang, idioms, vulgarisms, taboos, dysphemisms, offensive words, diminutives and hypocorisms, interjections and onomatopoeic words⁵ have additional meanings providing the speaker with the possibility of expressing his/her thoughts in accordance with his/her attitudes and emotions.

In spite of different definitions and classifications, the most important feature that these words share is their connotative aspect. Ристић (2004) explains that this component, which is characterized by expressiveness, emotionality, evaluation and imagery⁶, is part of their lexical meaning which supplements its basic, denotative meaning and it is through the connotative meaning that most of their sociological and psychological associations are reflected as well as the speaker's attitude towards what is being communicated. Бояджиев (2002: 263-264) explains that "while denotation denominates, connotation evaluates concepts and actions. This evaluative nuance is the core of connotation, which contributes to the expressiveness of these words and their stylistic markedness". Furthermore, Ристић (2004: 22-23) adds that connotation can be perceived from a pragmatic aspect, meaning that it is related to cultural notions and traditions as well as to other extralinguistic factors.

This paper aims at showing that contrastively analysing expressive language in translation can reveal some interesting insights into socio-cultural similarities and differences between English and Macedonian with regard to certain types of expressive language. The results of the survey will be used to confirm that different socio-cultural and historical conditions influence the ways in which concepts and notions are perceived in these languages, leading to differences in the use of expressive words and their metaphorical aspect and posing challenges to translators.

Corpus and methodology

The corpus from which the examples are excerpted consists of two short stories collections, "What We Talk about When We Talk about Love"⁷ by Raymond Carver and "The Most Beautiful Woman in Town"⁸ by Charles Bukowski written in English and its Macedonian translations⁹.

252 examples of different types of expressive language from the originals were compared to their Macedonian translations. Having in mind the text typology of Katharina Reiss and her functionalist approach to translation¹⁰, it was analyzed whether the translators were able to provide functionally equivalent translations for the expressive language from the

originals, ensuring the same stylistic effect on the reader through choosing appropriate forms in Macedonian.

The contrastive analysis of the examples included detecting translation procedures used and evaluating the stylistic effectiveness of translation equivalents within the translation methodology applied to form-oriented texts. Special attention was paid to the translation equivalents which were found to be unsuccessful by not conveying the connotative nuance of the original expressive words, which is crucial for a form-oriented text. The effects of the unsuccessful translations on the overall translation quality were studied and alternative translation equivalents were offered with a view to providing better results and effect on the reader.

For the purpose of contrastively analysing the examples from the corpus, various dictionaries and encyclopedia in English were used in order to define the expressive words and to reveal their connotative, often implicit meanings (Cambridge Dictionary of Idioms, Collins English Dictionary, Merriam-Webster Advanced Learner's Dictionary, Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, Oxford Dictionary of Modern Slang, The Free Dictionary and Thesaurus Online, Urban Dictionary etc.). Several Macedonian dictionaries were consulted as well (Македонска фразеологија со мал фразеолошки речник, Дигитален речник на македонскиот јазик, Англиско-македонски речник на идиоми, Македонско-англиски речник на идиоми, Речник на жаргонски зборови и изрази). However, it has to be noted that searching for Macedonian equivalents with appropriate stylistic effect was more difficult and challenging, having in mind the lack of specialized dictionaries in Macedonian. Therefore, in order to obtain as relevant results as possible, a questionnaire was administered among 3rd and 4th year students of translation at the Translation and Interpreting Department within Blazhe Koneski Faculty of Philology in Skopje. They were supposed to provide expressive synonyms in Macedonian for different concepts that expressive lexical units from the originals refer to. The findings and the conclusions are based on the examples drawn from the corpus, as well as from the dictionaries and the questionnaire.

Findings and discussion

In addition to tackling the issues which translators may face when working with strongly connotative and socio-culturally infused language, the analysis of the examples gave some very interesting insights into certain socio-cultural similarities and differences between English and Macedonian with regard to certain types of expressive language.

Slang meaning “drunk” or “under the influence” – The analysis shows that both English and Macedonian abound with slang words meaning *drunk*. When it comes to English, dictionaries give exhaustive lists of words with this meaning:

- (1) loaded canned flying stoned wrecked soaked lit up trashed
 merry tight tipsy well-oiled bombed boozed up tanked wasted

Macedonian language also has a variety of colourful expressions with the same meaning:

- (1a) мoртyс дyпкa ģoн дрвo гaјдa лeтвa лeш пoд гac тaпa
 coм кyтyк кoр ģyбpe флeкocан цyцoсaн

It can be noticed that some of these expressions in Macedonian and in English show analogy when it comes to their metaphorical aspect (stoned – камен, wasted – ģyбpe). Furthermore, the semantics of both Macedonian and English words indicates that there is an evident gradation with regard to the quality expressed (↓merry – tipsy – loaded – stoned – ↑wrecked, ↓пoд гac – гaјдa – лeтвa – кaмeн – ↑кoр). The difference is that English words display a greater variety of different gradation nuances related to the meaning *drunk*, whereas Macedonian words focus on the high degree of the quality they describe.

This could be put down to similar traditions and social practices connected with the consumption of alcohol in both cultures. It is a common phenomenon in both cultures; however, excessive consumption of alcohol is considered to be socially unacceptable in both cases. This situation influenced the way in which drunkenness is perceived in both societies and it is manifested in both languages through a variety of expressive words, most of which are extremely colourful and create vivid associations in language users.

Ethnic slurs – The analysis shows that Macedonian and English manifest certain differences in relation to ethnic slurs. For example, in the English version of the short stories there are pejorative words for the French (2) and for the Americans (2a). Furthermore, English shows a considerable variety of pejorative expressions denoting members of different races, especially the black (2b):

- (2) Frenchy frog foggy

- (2a) gringo

- (2b) negro nigger coloured spade spaerchucker coon ape monkey
 thick lips crow niglet spook

The gap which exists between English and Macedonian related to ethnic slurs comes as a result of different socio-cultural and historical backgrounds in both cultures. Macedonian is also rich in ethnic slurs, but they refer to different nationalities from the ones used in English. This situation can be put down to the fact that in recent history Macedonia never faced such an intensive interaction between so many different people as it is the case with the melting pot of the American society. In Macedonian there are ethnic slurs for people and ethnicities with which Macedonians came into contact or live in everyday life. However, this situation is gradually being changed by the inevitable process of globalization. Consequently, in Macedonian there are pejorative expressions used for black people (2c), but English is far richer and more creative in this regard:

- (2c) цpнчyгa цpнчиштe цpња кyмбe нoќ

These words mirror the way in which certain people are accepted in the society and create possibilities to further develop their metaphorical aspect by creating new concepts, meanings and usages (Циган – a dishonest man).

Offensive words and expressions referring to people with homosexual orientation – English is very rich in offensive expressions referring to males with homosexual orientation:

(3) fag faggot pansy queer bent batty boy nancy poof fairy

On the other hand, Macedonian is not as diverse as English when it comes to these words; the analysis shows that they do exist, but are far fewer in number:

(3a) педер пешко буљаш двоцевка обратен

This could be put down to different socio-cultural trends and ways of understanding different phenomena in both cultures. The American society, perhaps being more dynamic and open-minded, has probably expressed openness to these issues earlier in time. However, although this society advocates sexual freedom and tolerance towards these people, it does not mean that they are widely accepted by the entire society. This has resulted in numerous offensive words and expressions denoting people with homosexual orientation in English. Having in mind the socio-cultural context in the Balkans and the traditional aspect of the Balkan societies, the awareness of and openness to trends like these are relatively recent and exotic, which may be the reason why there are fewer such words in Macedonian.

Dysphemisms emphasising inferiority or imperfection – Since almost every culture disapproves of unacceptable behaviour and negative phenomena or characteristics, English and Macedonian overlap in this regard. In English, there are numerous words denoting a person which is considered to be inapt or in any other way inferior to others:

(4) fucker motherfucker fart dumbbell dolt fool clod born fool
loser goof bonehead jerk sucker birdbrain

Macedonian is also rich in words and expressions evoking similar associations:

(4a) глуперда дебил кретен ретарда глупак дудук ашлак
токмак курајбер лингур морон овчар стока суртук

Speaking of dysphemisms denoting inferiority or a moral or physical imperfection, Macedonian and English tend to overlap when it comes to the figurative dimension these words have. For example, in English many such words denotatively refer to certain animals, but when used connotatively they acquire new meanings by accentuating negative characteristics or flaws:

(5) bat cow turkey monkey swine beast bitch leech

Macedonian language shares the same tendency and some words have the same metaphorical charge like their English counterparts. This similarity could be regarded as a result of universal concepts and associations about animals and their imperfections.

(5a) крава овца гуска мајмун свиња кучка свер пијавица

Vulgarisms referring to genitals, body effluvia and the sexual act – Having in mind that perhaps every culture considers vulgarisms referring to genitals, body effluvia and the sexual act as a taboo, this is another area where Macedonian and English show similarities. For example, in English there is a huge number of vulgarisms referring to penis (6) and to the sexual act (7):

(6) cock dick pecker knob chopper tool string

(7) fuck screw bang shag hump shaft poke lay roger

Macedonian is also rich in words like these and some of them have the same figurative charge as their English counterparts:

(6a) кур курац алат стојко патлак мандало

(7a) ебе дупи работи се онади се кова се опне се

Swears – As these words reflect states of affect common for every culture, the analysis indicates that swears are frequent in both English (8) and Macedonian (8a). It is difficult to measure which language is richer in this regard as both of them have exhaustive lists of swears.

(8) to hell with what the hell (holly) shit fuck (it) fuck you God damn it
up your mother's bunghole

(8a) носи се гони се у курац у пичку матер пичка ти мајчина еби се
да ти ебам срање да му се сневиди

Conclusion

Bearing in mind the strong connotative dimension of expressive words, which emphasises their implicit meaning conditional on extralinguistic factors, culture and traditions as well as on practical usage of certain concepts in a society, it can be seen that differences in socio-cultural and historical background of Macedonian and English influenced the ways in which concepts and notions are understood as well as the metaphorical aspect and usage of expressive language. This contributes to similarities and differences between Macedonian and English in regards to certain types of expressive language.

The analysis indicates that Macedonian and English show similarities regarding slang meaning *drunk*, dysphemisms emphasising inferiority or imperfection, vulgarisms referring to genitals, body effluvia and the sexual act and swears, whereas they differentiate when it comes to offensive words and expressions referring to people with homosexual orientation and ethnic slurs.

These insights prove that culture, traditions, social trends and experiences affect the creation and the usage of expressive language; they are closely connected to these aspects.

The cultural dimension of expressive language is vital because it is contained in the connotative meaning, which is their crucial component.

In regard to translation, the cultural aspect of expressive language is essential; their complex connotative meaning can be very challenging for translators. Connotation should be properly conveyed in translation. If overlooked, expressive language loses its power and creative charge. Especially challenging are those situations in which translators face cultural gaps between the source and the target language because this can lead to differences in the ways in which expressive words are used in different languages. In such cases, their task would be to bridge those cultural gaps, which can be quite a challenge.

Notes:

¹ TL stands for target language

² SL stands for source language

³ There are various types of expressive linguistic units, such as onomatopoeic words, interjections, grammar constructions, elliptical constructions etc. However, for the purpose of this research, this paper uses the concept of expressive language to refer to expressive lexical units only, without taking into consideration other types of expressive linguistic units.

⁴ As it is claimed by Бояджиев (2002: 264), expressiveness can be broadly defined as semantic and stylistic features of language units accentuating their distinctiveness and stressing the intensity of what is being communicated. For further information on expressiveness, see Чаркић (2002: 24).

⁵ There are numerous classifications of expressive lexical units. Some authors like Leech (1990), Dickins, Hervey and Higgins (2013) and Finegan (2004) focus on their connotative aspect and meaning, while others like Минова-Ѓуркова (2003) and Бояджиев (2002) tend to approach them from a semantic or stylistic point of view. For the purpose of this paper, expressive lexical units are classified according to their semantic and stylistic aspects related to the extralinguistic context they usually appear in and their socio-cultural dimension. For more detailed information on different types of expressive words and their most important specificities see Ѓурчевска Атанасовска, Катарина (2018: 42-49).

⁶ For further information on the most important characteristics of connotation, see Ристић (2004: 18-23).

⁷ Carver, Raymond. 2009. *What We Talk About When We Talk About Love*. London: Vintage Books, 2009

⁸ Bukowski, Charles. 2008. *The Most Beautiful Woman in Town and Other Stories*. London: Virgin Books Ltd, 2008

⁹ Карвер, Рејмонд. 1990. *За што зборуваме кога зборуваме за љубовта*. Скопје, Култура; Буковски, Ч. (2009), *Најубавата жена во градот и други раскази*. Скопје: Икона, 1990

¹⁰ For more information on text typology of Katharina Reiss and different translation methods that she offers for different text types see Reiss, Katharina. 2000. *Translation Criticism – the Potentials and Limitations. Categories and Criteria for Translation Quality Assessment* (translated by Erroll F. Rhodes). Manchester & New York St. Jerome Publishing & American Bible Society, 2000

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The Day After. Access to the Final 2016 US Presidential Debate After its Live Broadcast

Nazaret Fresno

Abstract

The final presidential debate in the US was one of the most widely followed programs of 2016. The main broadcasters aired it live on television and streamed it through social media with closed captioning so that all Americans could access this highly awaited political event. After the debate night, most networks uploaded the full program or fragments of it to their websites in order to make it available to viewers who had missed the original transmission. This paper focuses on the closed captioning provided in the videos of the final debate available on the websites and YouTube channels of the most prominent networks that televised the event. Drawing on literature from Media Accessibility, Communication and Internet Studies, an analysis of the availability and functionality of the online captions in those clips was performed, which proved that the accessibility services offered after the debate night to audiences with hearing loss could be substantially improved.

Introduction

One of the most important events in the recent political sphere was the 2016 presidential election in the US. In this country, it is customary that politicians hold a series of televised discussions while running for the Oval Office. Slightly over one year prior to the presidential vote, both the Democratic and the Republican parties engage in a number of debates before electing the candidate who will represent them in the general election. In 2016, Democrat Hillary Clinton and Republican Donald Trump were the winners of the primaries and faced each other in three presidential debates that were widely followed by an average of 74 million people (The Nielsen Company 2016).

As part of the unprecedented media coverage that was deployed for these events, the final debate was broadcast live by all the major television channels and by the most relevant cable networks. Additionally, several broadcasters streamed it online through their websites, YouTube channels or popular social media. In the case of the English-speaking television networks, the debate offered live closed captioning (CC), thus making the event accessible to the hearing-impaired community all throughout the nation. This target group could seem a small fraction of the population but, according to the National Institute on Deafness and Other Communication Disorders (2017), 37.5 million Americans over 18 years old report some trouble hearing, a number that researchers at the John Hopkins School of Medicine elevate to 48 million for individuals 12 years old or older with unilateral hearing loss (Lin, Niparko and Ferrucci 2011). In fact, the Center for Disease Control (2017) considers hearing loss to be the third most common chronic physical condition in the US. The aforementioned figures help contextualize the importance of providing captions that allow hearing impaired audiences to comprehend and enjoy audiovisual products.

The (In)Accessible World Wide Web

According to two recent studies, 93% of Americans get some news online (PEW 2018), while 43% report that they often use the Internet to access information (PEW 2017). The World Wide Web is not only transforming how people become informed, but also how they are entertained (Sigismondi 2011), and even the way in which they participate in social interaction (Rice et al. 2009), politics (Anduiza, Jensen and Jorba 2012) or healthcare (Murray et al. 2005; Lau and Kwok 2009). The Internet has become a digital window that offers many possibilities with just a few clicks. However, using it is often challenging for people with disabilities (Adam and Kreps 2009).

Twenty years ago, Stephanidis and Emiliani (1999) argued that the traditional approach to technological accessibility was reactive, meaning that it was usually implemented as a response to the demands of people with disabilities, instead of considering it from the early stages in the development process. From a practical standpoint, the reactive approach was not efficient since it entailed rebuilding devices or programs, which was time-consuming, could lead to the loss of certain functionalities and had an economic cost. Taking into account the increasing number of people estimated to be using technology in the following years, Stephanidis and Emiliani (1999: 23) cautioned that accessibility could “no longer be considered as a specific problem of people with disabilities, but of the society at large.” Responsibility in accessibility matters should therefore be shared between all the stakeholders, including people with disabilities, advocacy groups, the industry, regulators, policy makers and society as a whole.

Stephanidis and Emiliani (1999) focused on technology, but the same argument could apply to television since the broadcasting industry has not shown a particular interest in seducing audiences with disabilities. The fact that audio description and CC (or subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing¹) are not yet offered on a regular basis worldwide illustrates this idea. Furthermore, if the focus is placed on the US, it took the deaf and hard of hearing community 30 years of petitioning to finally enjoy universal access to televised programming (Downey 2007). Television CC regulations were finally issued, which was a big step and could have been an inflexion point. However, as Ellcessor (2012) notes, these accessibility advancements did not transfer to new technologies, such as the Internet, where many contents remain inaccessible to the hearing impaired. That is the reason why Jaeger (2013: 2015) argues that there is a need for “Internet justice”, so that people with disabilities are guaranteed full access to the World Wide Web. According to Burnett, Jaeger and Thomson (2008), full access entails attaining physical, intellectual and social access. The former occurs when consumers are able to reach the desired source of information. Intellectual access takes place when the contents that have been reached are understood by the user, who will then be able to use them in a variety of social contexts, thus leading to social access. If audiovisual materials and audiences with hearing loss are considered, a necessary step towards intellectual and social access is, of course, the provision of fully-operative closed captions. However, obvious as this may seem, it remains problematic in the case of online videos.

Legislation and Enforcement Mechanisms as the Way Forward

Despite the fact that sustained political and social efforts have been made in the last years to increase awareness on and respect for people with disabilities, strong regulations have proven to be the most effective way to guarantee the provision of media accessibility services. A

study undertaken by the European Commission back in 2013 exploring telecoms, Internet and TV concluded that accessibility services were more frequent and better in those countries that had accessibility obligations in place and mechanisms to monitor their compliance (Kubitschke et al. 2013). Similar findings were reported in Australia by Ellis (2014), who analyzed “catch-up television” (that is, Internet services that allow viewers to stream previously televised broadcasts). According to the researcher, the two public broadcasters included CC in their catch-up programs because they were required to do so. However, when it came to commercial networks (not bound to such obligations), only one provided online captioning, despite the fact that all broadcasts aired on Australian television between 6 a.m. and midnight must display closed captions. When the researcher and her team revisited this issue in 2017, the progress found was “disappointingly minimal” (Ellis et al. 2017: 13).

Concerning the US, Youngblood and Lysaght (2015) explored the percentage of online videos that were captioned as part of a larger research assessing the accessibility features of 128 websites belonging to the local affiliates of four major broadcasters. Their findings, which were obtained when the CC of televised materials reshown online was not yet mandated, showed that only 62% of the websites included captioning. Furthermore, not all the networks that provided subtitles in their online programs did so consistently and for all the videos available. Sometimes, only a few clips hosted on a given website would be captioned, whereas the rest would remain inaccessible to audiences with hearing loss.

Still in the US, Fresno (forthcoming) assessed the quality of the CC accompanying the online reshows of 50 national newscasts hosted on four broadcasters’ websites. In terms of access, her results, which were obtained after CC quality regulations had been issued, showed that 6% of the online videos in her sample were not accessible, either because they did not include functioning subtitles or because they included them but not for the whole video.

The results of these studies, which dealt with access to media contents delivered on television and the World Wide Web in thirty-one countries, suggest that accessibility is seldom a priority for the broadcasting or the Internet industries, and highlight the need for regulatory frameworks. When discussing digital media in the US, Ellcessor (2016) points out that accessibility regulations have multiple manifestations, from legislation to extralegal guidelines proposed by non-profits, internal regulatory practices implemented by the industry, self-regulations adopted by professionals, or initiatives sparked by activists. This shows that different stakeholders understand accessibility in different ways, but it is also a reflection of how different actors have reacted to regulation voids or to regulatory frameworks that do not meet the real needs of people with hearing disabilities. Furthermore, as Stienstra (2006) cautions, accessibility often ends up being regulated through standards or guidelines, which are not always mandatory. Focusing on the Canadian framework, she argues that, when it comes to information technologies, standards have proven insufficient to ensure access and inclusion of people with disabilities. Scholars from a number of disciplines, from Disability Studies to Communication, Media Accessibility or Internet Studies have also warned about the limitations of guidelines, norms and standards (Orero 2005; Orero and Wharton 2007; Orero 2012), and they have often identified powerful legislation as a stronger ally of accessibility (Gregg 2006; Stienstra, Watzke and Birch 20007; Remael 2012; Morettini 2014; Ellis and Kent 2015; Ellis, Kent and Clocherty 2017). Furthermore, Jaeger (2013) argues that the key to achieve Internet justice is not the creation of accessibility regulations per se, but the enforcement of those.

This paper will present the main findings of a research project analyzing the provision of CC in 210 videos of the final 2016 presidential debate in the US. This case study will illustrate the scenario in which regulations for Internet videos are issued but not officially monitored or consistently enforced. Before moving to the analysis, however, it is necessary to provide some information regarding the current CC regulatory framework in the US.

Closed Captioning Regulations in the US

As pointed out by Gernsbacher (2015), research has proven that closed captions benefit hearing individuals of all ages (c.f. Bean and Wilson 1985; Koskinen, Wilson and Jensema 1985; Linebarger 2001; Gordon-Salant and Callahan 2009; de Castro et al. 2011; Linebarger et al. 2010), including language learners (c.f. Price 1983; Koolstra and Beentjes 1999; Bird and Williams 2002; Montero Pérez, Van Den Noortgate and Desmet 2013; Vanderplank 2016). Nevertheless, CC is often conceptualized as a service for people with hearing loss. That is why in the US it falls under the broad framework of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990, and the Telecommunications Act of 1996.

The former mandated that all organizations receiving federal funds offered services accessible to all citizens. Despite dealing with federally-funded institutions, the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 paved the ground for ADA, which was created to eliminate discrimination against people with mental or physical disabilities, and sought to guarantee their participation in all aspects of society. The promotion of this greater social involvement opened the door to the Telecommunications Act (1996), according to which telecommunications equipment had to be developed so that it could be used by all. This included television contents, and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was invited to prescribe specific regulations on CC. One year later, the FCC established that all new programming in English and Spanish would have to be closed captioned beginning in 2006 (FCC 1997). In the following years, broadcasters focused on progressively increasing the number of closed captioned programs that they were offering. Nevertheless, while quantity issues were effectively addressed, CC quality was often dismissed. As a result, several advocacy groups filed a joint petition for rulemaking in 2004, which requested amendments to the existing captioning rules (FCC 2014a). Ten years later, after gathering information from the captioning industry, broadcasters and consumers, the FCC (2014c) issued the first quality regulations for closed captioned television broadcasts.

As per digital media, the Twenty-First Century Communications and Video Accessibility Act (CVAA) was passed in 2010, which promoted better access of individuals with disabilities to technology. Under the CVAA, smart phones, laptops and tablets would have to display captions. Additionally, television programs that included CC during their original emission would have to be captioned when posted online by their broadcasters. Following on this piece of regulation, the FCC (2014d) established the timeline for such online videos to be captioned. In the case of programs that are broadcast live on television with CC (such as the final presidential debate), their online materials must be captioned under the following conditions:

- If they show the full-length program and the live broadcast was aired on television after March 2013.

- If the online video shows excerpts of the program and the live broadcast was aired on television after July 2017. In this case, broadcasters have up to 12 hours to provide online CC.

According to the FCC (2014b: 12), these requirements “will ensure that the content, including critical news programming, will be accessible to individuals who are deaf or hard of hearing, thus significantly benefiting consumers and serving the stated public interest goal of the CVAA”.

Access to the Online Videos of the Final Presidential Debate: Methodology

The last presidential debate of October 19th, 2016 was originally broadcast live on television and streamed through social media with live CC, which allowed thousands of deaf and hard of hearing Americans to access one of the most expected and widely followed political events in the US election. However, this situation changed on the following day. This section will describe the methodology followed in this study to assess the real access of the deaf and hard of hearing community to the Internet-based videos of the face-to-face after the debate night.

Materials

The corpus analysed in this research was formed by all the videos that eight major broadcasters in the United States uploaded to their websites and Youtube channels between October 20th, 2016 and November 9th, 2016 (that is, from the morning after the final debate to the election day). In total, 210 videos by ABC, CBS, CNBC, CNN, C-SPAN, FOX, NBC and PBS featuring the full debate or extracts of that event conformed the final sample, which comprised over 25 hours of audiovisual materials (the titles and URLs of all the clips mentioned in this section have been included in the Annex for the readers’ reference).

Procedure

All the videos in the corpus were watched from beginning to end using the player on the website that hosted each clip. The CC options available were activated for each video. This simple process replicated the steps that a person with hearing loss would follow to watch the online videos of the debate.

Results

For the sake of clarity, this section will present the main findings encountered in two different categories: those obtained after analyzing the broadcasters’ websites and those found after exploring their Youtube channels.

The debate as posted on the broadcasters’ websites

The results for the five non-cable broadcasters (ABC, CBS, FOX, NBC and PBS) and the three cable television networks (CNBC, CNN and C-SPAN) were as follows:

ABC

Two videos were uploaded to the network's news division website: the first one (ABC News 2016a) showed the full face-to-face, and the second clip (ABC News 2016b) was a 5-minute montage compiling the most memorable lines of the event. The full-length debate did not include the option to visualize captions². However, the user could activate them for the montage. In this case, a tab called "Video transcript" offered a transcript of the video contents, which, according to ABC News, was "automatically generated" and, therefore "may not be 100% accurate" (ABC News 2016b). A closer inspection of the closed captions accompanying this video revealed that they differed from the captions delivered by ABC during the live transmission of the debate. In fact, they were synchronized fragments of the automatically generated transcript. The text of several of those captions is included in table 1:

Closed captions shown on screen	Verbal message uttered by the speaker
You can take the baby and ripped the baby out of the womb in the nineteen months. On the final days and that's that accident.	You can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb, in the ninth month, on the final day, and that's not acceptable.
We stop the drugs at least we sure up the border. The we have some bad hombre he's here and wouldn't get him out.	We stop the drugs, we shore up the border. But we have some bad <i>hombres</i> here and we're gonna get them out.
When it comes to the wall that Donald talks about building he went to Mexico we had a meeting with the Mexican president didn't even raise city child.	When it comes to the wall that Donald talks about building, he went to Mexico, he had a meeting with the Mexican president, didn't even raise it, he choked.

Table 1 Sample of the automatically-generated captions of the debate on ABC News website.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to analyse the poor quality of the captions provided in the aforementioned video. However, the examples above help illustrate what the automatically generated transcript and, thus, the CC offered in this clip looked like.

CBS

If the focus is now moved to CBS, a collection of 15 short fragments of the debate was posted to CBS News website (CBS News 2016a). The duration of each clip varied from 2 to 11 minutes approximately, and all of them offered the option to activate captions in the online player. However, even if the "CC" button was pressed, closed captions would not appear on screen for any of the 15 clips regardless of the browser used.

FOX

On FOX News' website, the debate was divided into a collection of six 12-to-18-minute videos that were uploaded to a single URL (FOX News 2016a). All of them included captions that could be activated in the online player by the viewer. However, the captioning for the first video began 2.5 minutes after the clip had started and finished 1 minute before it ended. Part 2 of the debate had captions on screen only for 11.5 minutes out of the 16.5 of the whole video. The same pattern was observed in parts 3 and 4, where the captions were missing for the 3.5 and 2 final minutes, respectively. In total, roughly 14 minutes out of the 90 that comprised the whole debate were unavailable to the viewer³.

NBC

A total of 20 short clips depicting relevant moments of the debate were available in six URLs covering the storyline dedicated to the presidential election (NBC News 2016a-f). All the excerpts lasted less than 3 minutes and included fully-operative closed captions that could be activated at the user's will. A video of the whole event was also posted online with CC (NBC News 2016g). However, it was only available to cable TV viewers whose subscription allowed them to watch NBC's "on demand" programming.

PBS

The full debate could be found on PBS's website with fully-operative CC (PBS 2016a). Also, the specific web pages of two shows, *PBS NewsHour* and *Washington Week*, offered the full-length face-to-face with properly synchronized captions⁴ (PBS 2016b, 2016c).

CNBC

The full debate was not offered on this broadcaster's website (with or without captions) after the debate night. Instead, the network presented a collection of 13 short excerpts hosted on different URLs (CNBC 2016a-2016m). Despite the fact that all of them showed the option to activate closed captions, these did not work for any of the clips.

CNN

CNN's website offered public access to a video of the full debate (CNN 2016a) and to 22 short excerpts included in a playlist (CNN 2016b). The player on CNN's webpage showed the option to activate captions in all 23 videos, but they were only available in the 18 short fragments that featured unedited excerpts of the full debate. The 4 remaining short clips that had undergone some kind of editing, as well as the complete debate, would not show captions even when the "CC" feature was selected. However, this scenario changed for viewers subscribed to a cable operator who could use CNNgo. This streaming and "on demand" service allowed access to another video of the full debate that included the same CC that was provided during the live broadcast of the event (CNN 2016c).

C-SPAN

Finally, with regard to C-SPAN, a public service created by the American Cable Television Industry, the full debate could be followed on their website with the CC that had been aired live on television on October 19th (C-SPAN 2016a). The text of the captions was identical to the one shown during the debate night, but the timings had been corrected to avoid their original delay. Below the video, two "transcript types" were included for the viewer to choose from: one showing the text of the captions produced on the fly during the debate night in a paragraph format, and another one showing a transcript privately created by C-SPAN. If the former was selected, the following indication accompanied the text: "This transcript was compiled from uncorrected CC"⁵ (C-SPAN 2016a). Both transcript types were synchronized so that, when the video was played, each written dialogue would be shown on screen as those words were spoken by the candidates.

The debate as posted on the broadcasters' Youtube channels

It is important to note that our Youtube study was limited to the channels managed by the eight broadcasters included in this research. No other Youtube sources were taken into account because the CC regulations in the US do not apply to third parties.

ABC

Beginning with ABC News YouTube channel, 17 excerpts from the debate were gathered in a playlist featuring the debate highlights (ABC News 2016c). Each of these clips lasted from 1 to 15 minutes approximately and CC was not available for any of them.

CBS

When it comes to CBS News, two different videos featuring the full debate were uploaded to Youtube. The first one (CBS News 2016b) included captions provided by the network, but when the data for this research was originally gathered, the captions for this video were unreadable, possibly due to some kind of technical issue that made them impossible to understand⁶. The second video featuring the full event (CBS News 2016c) offered no captions at all. In addition to these recordings, CBS News YouTube channel offered 8 out of the 15 short clips that were available on the broadcaster's website (CBS News 2016d-2016k). As was the case on CBS News webpage, none of these 8 clips included CC on YouTube.

FOX

As per FOX, their Youtube channel hosted the same six videos that were available on their website, but this time no CC was available for any of them (FOX News 2016b-g).

NBC

NBC News channel listed 15 short excerpts from the debate (NBC News 2016i-w), each of which lasted a maximum of 3 minutes and included captions automatically generated by YouTube. This video-sharing platform also offered a video featuring the full debate (NBC News 2016h) with captions provided by the network. However, they were not properly synchronized and the first closed caption containing the opening statements of the debate appeared on screen approximately 33 minutes after those words had been spoken by the moderator. As a result, the viewer would be able to read —over half hour late— the captions that should have accompanied the first 60 minutes of the program, but would completely miss the information provided during the last 33 minutes of the debate.

PBS

As per PBS, the Youtube channel of the news program *NewsHour* provided access to the same video that was available on their website. It included working CC (PBS NewsHour 2016a). Another 8-minute video summarizing the most relevant statements in the debate (PBS NewsHour 2016b) was also included, along with a playlist featuring a collection of 35 short excerpts of the discussion (PBS NewsHour 2016c). None of these 36 short clips included CC.

CNBC

Most of the videos hosted on CNBC's website were also displayed in their YouTube channel (CNBC 2016q-ad), together with the whole face-to-face divided into three videos (CNBC

2016n-p). All the audiovisual materials in CNBC's Youtube channel included automatically-generated CC, as indicated by YouTube.

CNN

The same 22 short clips displayed on CNN's website were posted as a collection in the website's YouTube channel (CNN 2016d). They included the same accessibility services for the hearing impaired as those found on the broadcaster's website: 18 offered CC, while 4 were inaccessible to the hearing impaired community.

C-SPAN

After the debate was over, the C-SPAN video with the imperfect captions that were delivered live on television could be found in the same URL that had hosted the live streaming (C-SPAN 2016b).

Table 2 offers a numerical summary of the aforementioned data. Asterisks indicate videos that, despite having captions, would not be accessible to all. They identify those clips that were only partially captioned, those in which the subtitles were impossible to comprehend, and those videos that would only be available to viewers with cable television subscriptions.

	Websites				YouTube channels			
	Full debate with CC	Full debate no CC	Excerpts with CC	Excerpts no CC	Full debate with CC	Full debate no CC	Excerpts with CC	Excerpts no CC
ABC		1	1*					17
CBS				15	1*	1		8
FOX			6*					6
NBC	1*		20		1*		15	
PBS	3				1			36
CNBC				13			16	
CNN	1*	1	18	4			18	4
C-SPAN	1				1			
Totals	6	2	45	32	4	1	49	71

Table 2 Number of videos depicting the debate with and without captions per broadcaster.

Discussion

As explained in previous sections, the final presidential debate of October 19, 2016 was aired by the main TV networks with CC produced in real time. Furthermore, the majority of broadcasters streamed the captioned face-to-face through their websites and social media. A praiseworthy effort was made to bring the final debate to every American household so that all citizens, including those with hearing disabilities, could learn what the candidates had to

say in such a relevant political event. The problems, however, arose the day after the original transmission, when videos featuring the whole debate or parts of it were plentiful on the World Wide Web and little attention was paid to their accessibility.

According to the current regulations in place in the US, the videos featuring the entire face-to-face uploaded to the broadcasters' websites would need CC. However, the clips depicting fragments of the debate would not be bound to offer subtitles since the excerpts of live programming are only required to include CC if their original emission on television took place after July 2017 (the debate was aired prior to that date). Videos uploaded to YouTube would not need to include CC since this sharing platform is considered a third party, independent from the broadcasters themselves. The present research has shown that, for the most part, the videos featuring the full debate found on the networks' websites included CC, but montages and short clips depicting specific moments of the debate did so less frequently, especially when hosted on YouTube. Hence, the scenario described in this paper is in compliance with the regulatory framework established by the FCC (2014d). However, it is our belief that, when it comes to CC, complying with regulations might not necessarily mean that the accessibility services provided to the end users are truly useful.

The analysis undertaken shows that around 50% of the videos reviewed for all broadcasters (106 out of 210) did not offer CC. If only recordings depicting the entire debate are considered, almost all of them had the option to activate captions. However, only 46% of those videos (6 out of 13) included fully-operative CC. The remaining 54% (7 videos) offered partial or unreadable captions, were not accessible to all because they required a cable subscription, or they showed no captions at all. When short excerpts of the debate are taken into account, only 44% of the videos (87 out of 197) featured working captions, while the remaining 56% (110 clips) presented incomplete, hard to understand subtitles, or they incorporated no captioning whatsoever. Figure 1 shows the percentage of videos with fully-operative, defective and no CC.

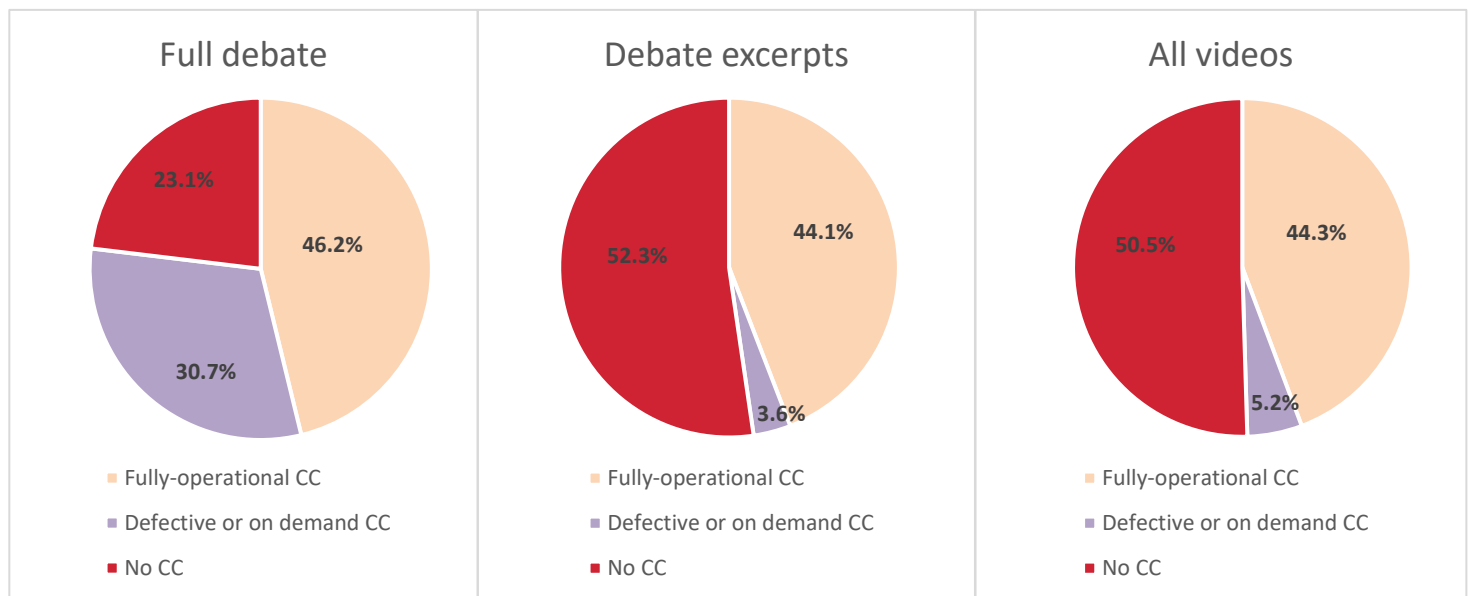


Figure 1 Percentage of videos with fully-operative, defective and no CC.

In practical terms, this translates into a simple idea: the deaf and hard of hearing who wished to watch the final debate after its original emission would find their options limited. The full-length debate was publically accessible with functional CC from the websites and YouTube channels of only two networks: C-SPAN and PBS (both of them devoted to providing public broadcasting services). A hearing viewer, however, would be able to choose from the websites of 4 broadcasters (ABC, CNN, C-SPAN and PBS) and from 4 YouTube channels (CBS, C-SPAN, NBC and PBS). Concerning excerpts, hearing impaired audiences would be able to access fully-operative CC in the clips posted by 2 networks on their websites (CNN and NBC) and by 3 broadcasters —2 of them offering automatically-generated captions— on their YouTube channels (CNN, CNBC and NBC).

Hearing viewers, again, would see their options increased since they would be able to access the excerpts on the websites of 6 broadcasters (ABC, CBS, CNBC, CNN, FOX and NBC) and on 7 YouTube channels (ABC, CBS, CNBC, CNN, FOX, NBC and PBS).

The findings obtained in this case study are in line with those reported for other countries, which point at closed captions being more likely to be offered when there is an obligation to do so (Kubitschke et al. 2013; Ellis 2014, 2017; Youngblood and Lysaght 2015). Furthermore, they support the concerns expressed by those researchers who have cautioned that standards, guidelines and regulations might not suffice to guarantee the provision of effective accessibility services (Orero 2005; Orero and Wharton 2007; Orero 2012). Especially discouraging is the fact that the final presidential debate was televised with CC and the existing subtitles could have been used to accompany the online videos. However, this was not the case in 55.7% of the face-to-face clips, which would not allow end users to achieve intellectual or social access due to physical access not being attained (Burnett, Jaeger and Thomson 2008).

Most likely, the ideal scenario in which live programs would be uploaded to the Internet with impeccable closed captions was not feasible in the case of the final presidential debate. Live captioning, as it was produced during the televised debate, is a complex process in which the captioner needs to listen to the speakers, rapidly type their words in a stenotype machine and launch the subtitles so that they are displayed on screen. Inevitably, this process takes some time, which causes the captions to be available to the viewers a few seconds after the words have been uttered by the speakers. Additionally, captioners make every possible effort to reduce the latency of their subtitles, which leaves virtually no time to correct content or typing errors. For that reason, it is not exceptional to find live CC with mistakes, from misspellings to more serious errors such as information omissions, which can sometimes affect the end user's comprehension. In the case of the debate, reviewing the thousands of captions produced during the live broadcast (or creating new ones if those were not available) would have delayed the online availability of the videos and, consequently, those contents may not have reached hearing impaired audiences in a timely manner that adjusted to their needs and expectations. Precisely due to its relevance to the public, broadcasters made good efforts to offer the online videos to their viewers as soon as possible. However, in some cases, immediacy led to non-existent, non-working, unreadable or incomplete closed captions that did not provide true access to those who relied on them. Perhaps more strikingly, many of the problems that were found in those captions right before election day (November 9, 2016) are still present in the videos at the time of writing this paper (over two years later). This case study shows that Jaeger's (2015) notion of Internet justice extends not only to newly created digital materials, but also to television programming made available online.

Conclusions

The long tradition of the presidential debates in the US and the fact that many millions of voters watch them on television before election day made the 2016 final face-to-face the perfect candidate to be fully accessible when reshown online. Nevertheless, the findings obtained in this research prove otherwise. Overall, the accessibility services provided to the deaf and hard of hearing in the form of CC complied with the requirements in place. The live emission of the debate was offered with live CC, and the videos featuring the event that were later hosted on the websites and YouTube channels of the most prominent networks incorporated captions when those were mandated by the FCC (2014d). However, an analysis beyond the surface showed that the hearing impaired community would not access the political event in the same conditions as the hearing viewers, who would be able to follow the entire debate from a greater variety of sources, and who would also be able to enjoy more short excerpts of the discussion.

Although the main findings of this research may not come as a surprise to many scholars and users, they bring to light the current tensions in a country that has been promoting closed captioning for the last two decades. While commendable efforts have been made to improve this accessibility service, the aforementioned results illustrate how the Internet is still a hostile platform for people with hearing disabilities. Furthermore, the main findings of this research demonstrate that current regulations are insufficient to guarantee the closed captioning of media contents in all formats. The fact that broadcasters, already familiar with closed captioning regulations on television, do not always include subtitles on the online videos posted on their websites suggests that the current approach to online captioning is too soft to accomplish full accessibility for the hearing impaired.

In the particular case of the final debate, some actions could have been taken to provide better access to the deaf and hard of hearing. For instance, captioning visualization problems could have been easily detected by playing each one of the online videos after uploading them. This basic test would have shown how the captioning was viewed and would have allowed for troubleshooting when necessary. As per inaccessibility due to non-existent captions, all the major networks had provided live CC during the original broadcast of the event, and those subtitles could have been used for the videos hosted on the Internet. From a technical point of view, this entails converting the original captioning file so that it can be read by the Internet video player. In the case of the short excerpts, cutting specific fragments of the original captioning file and resynchronizing them automatically so that the first caption in each fragment matched the beginning of the correspondent clip would also be needed. This solution might not be ideal because the videos would show the imperfect captions that were produced live, but it could be adopted in those cases in which providing rapid access to audiovisual materials is paramount. It is our understanding, however, that the broadcasting industry should aim at providing high-quality captions at all times, on television but also online. Therefore, the captions generated live could be used as a provisional solution during the time needed by the network to prepare the reviewed captioning file.

Since media accessibility is not officially monitored in the US, issues such as the ones found in this research may only be fixed if broadcasters notice them when performing quality control processes or if many viewers address their complaints to the FCC. Prior research has concluded that strong legislation together with enforcement mechanisms are the most effective way to ensure truly useful accessibility services. However, an intermediate solution could be applied in the US, where there is an institutional commitment towards closed

captioning and regulations are already in place. In this case, the FCC (or a designated body) could lead periodical assessments of the availability and quality of the closed captioning delivered to the viewers. Australia and the UK have adopted similar assessment methods in which broadcasters report yearly to the Australian Communications and Media Authority (ACMA) and to the Office of Communications (Ofcom) on the percentage of their programming that includes closed captioning (ACMA 2017, Ofcom 2018). The need to inform about the amount of functioning closed captioning and, if possible, also on its quality could encourage broadcasters to perform frequent quality control procedures on their televised and online captioning, which could help identify and solve problems that would otherwise be missed. Additionally, an official assessment of this kind would benefit end users, who would receive better closed captions. Moreover, they would no longer be the only party responsible for reporting on closed captioning quality issues.

In the end, true access requires not only an effective regulatory framework, but also a real commitment that can make a difference when enforcement mechanisms are not in place. At this stage, extra efforts such as the ones described in this section seem necessary if American deaf and hard of hearing audiences are to be informed and entertained like hearing viewers. As Zdenek's (2015) puts it, the future of Internet video relies on robust CC. We would argue that the future that he described is already the present.

¹ Closed captioning is the usual term used in America and Australia to describe intralingual subtitles, whereas in Europe this practice is referred to as SDH (Subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing).

² This video was played using Google Chrome, Mozilla Firefox and Internet Explorer to make sure that the unavailability of the captions was not due to technical issues related to the browser selection. None of the three browsers tested, which are also the most common, allowed CC activation.

³ These problems were present when using Chrome and Firefox. Explorer did not allow the reproduction of any of the six videos, so it was impossible to check the availability of the captions using this browser.

⁴ Live captions are usually generated in the US using stenotype machines, which are special keyboards that allow captioners to type at very fast speeds. Live captioners need to listen to the speakers' words, type them and launch their captions so that they can be displayed on screen. For that reason, live captions show a slight delay, meaning that they are available to the viewers several seconds after the words in the captions have been uttered by the speakers. In pre-recorded programs or refeeds, since captions can be prepared or adjusted beforehand, they are properly synchronized so that they appear on screen while the speaker is verbalizing that same message.

⁵ Since captioners make real efforts to produce live captions that appear on screen with the slightest delay, they have virtually no time to correct mistakes in their captions. On the other hand, pre-recorded programs allow captions to be prepared beforehand, which translates into errors appearing rarely and far less frequently than in live programming.

⁶ At the time of writing this paper, those visualization problems had been solved.

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Annex

ABC News

Video title	Location	URL	Reference
The Final Presidential Debate	ABC News website	http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/video/final-presidential-debate-42930786	2016a
Most Memorable Lines of the 3rd Presidential Debate	ABC News website	http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/video/memorable-lines-3rd-presidential-debate-42930107	2016b
Third Presidential Debate Full Highlights [Playlist containing 17 videos]	ABC News YouTube Channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NfdRmnT0Weo&index=1&list=PLQOa26lW-uI9xMDNbNb5tU0avO0jO_zat	2016c

CBS News

Video title	Location	URL	Reference
2016 Final Presidential Debate [Playlist containing 15 videos]	CBS News website	https://www.cbsnews.com/videos/playlist/2016-final-presidential-debate/	2016a
Watch Live: The Final Presidential Debate	CBS News YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ye0Xblp_Nb0	2016b
Full 2016 Final Presidential Debate	CBS News YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FZ_G5j9yVIU	2016c
2016 Final Presidential Debate: Immigration	CBS News YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GQy9B5wR1WE	2016d
2016 Final Presidential Debate: Abortion	CBS News YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kqbm2YkMP0Q	2016e
2016 Final Presidential Debate: Russia and Wikileaks	CBS News YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ypl7hWhpfGs	2016f
2016 Final Presidential Debate: Supreme Court	CBS News YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5dLgk6qufyk	2016g
2016 Final Presidential	CBS News	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4RCskP	

Debate: Entitlements and Obamacare	YouTube channel	gypTY	2016h
2016 Final Presidential Debate: Closing statements	CBS News YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cfy05YGXF9Y	2016i
2016 Final Presidential Debate: Economy	CBS News YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RoMGHI76k-I	2016j
2016 Final Presidential Debate: Economic Growth	CBS News YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XsuEQ09LLqo	2016k

CNBC

Video title	Location	URL	Reference
Trump on accepting results: I'll tell you at the time	CBNC website	https://www.cnn.com/2016/10/19/after-trumps-most-substantive-debate-the-focus-was-only-on-one-statement.html	2016a
Trump: We'll take Mosul eventually and Iran will benefit	CBNC website	https://www.cnn.com/2016/10/19/trump-suggests-that-key-offensive-against-isis-is-designed-to-help-clinton.html	2016b
Trump on sexual assault allegations: All lies and fiction	CBNC website	https://www.cnn.com/2016/10/19/trump-blasts-sexual-misconduct-claims-i-dont-know-those-people.html	2016c
Clinton: Trump's tax plan is trickle down economics on steroids	CBNC website	https://www.cnn.com/2016/10/19/clinton-trump-wants-biggest-tax-break-to-wealthy-trickle-down-on-steroids.html	2016d
Clinton: Trump would 'rip our country' apart	CBNC website	https://www.cnn.com/2016/10/19/clinton-trumps-immigration-plans-would-rip-our-country-apart.html	2016e
Clinton: Happy to compare Clinton Foundation with Trump Foundation	CBNC website	https://www.cnn.com/2016/10/19/trump-claims-that-clinton-foundation-is-a-criminal-enterprise.html	2016f
Trump: Abortion issue would go back to the states	CBNC website	https://www.cnn.com/2016/10/19/trump-ill-appoint-supreme-court-justices-to-overturn-roe-v-wade-abortion-case.html	2016g
Clinton on WikiLeaks and Russian espionage	CBNC website	https://www.cnn.com/2016/10/19/clinton-says-trump-needs-to-admit-condemn-russian-involvement-in-election-hacks.html	2016h
Clinton: Only one of us has shipped jobs to Mexico	CBNC website	https://www.cnn.com/2016/10/19/clinton-on-trump-only-one-of-us-has-shipped-jobs-to-mexico.html	2016i
Trump: We have some bad hombres here	CBNC website	https://www.cnn.com/2016/10/19/trump-we-have-some-bad-hombres-and-were-going-to-get-them-out.html	2016j
Trump: I will appoint pro-life, conservative, 2nd Amendment judges	CBNC website	https://www.cnn.com/2016/10/19/trump-comes-out-hard-for-the-second-amendment-attacks-justice-ginsburg.html	2016k
Clinton: Supreme Court	CBNC website	https://www.cnn.com/2016/10/19/hillary-	

needs to stand for American people		clinton-heres-what-i-want-in-the-supreme-court.html	2016l
Trump: Clinton will give you four more years of Obama	CBNC website	https://www.cnn.com/2016/10/19/watch-donald-trump-and-hillary-clinton-face-off-in-their-third-presidential-debate.html	2016m
The Third Presidential Debate (1 of 3): Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aBNh5fAOVkk	2016n
The Third Presidential Debate (2 of 3): Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=upzrO6dg8mI	2016o
The Third Presidential Debate (3 of 3): Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NLkPgnSA_jc	2016p
Top Moments From The Third Presidential Debate CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mg3WcoCKEp4	2016q
Hillary Clinton On WikiLeaks And Russian Espionage CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bAMt1KMqXdM	2016r
Donald Trump: I Will Appoint Pro-Life, Conservative, 2nd Amendment Judges CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wd06ZjhEEek	2016s
Hillary Clinton: Abortion Regulation Need To Take Mother's Health In Account CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UOh8eSTEhgg	2016t
Hillary Clinton: No Conflict Between Saving Lives And 2nd Amendment CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J8I62EZYG-A	2016u
Hillary Clinton: Donald Trump Used Undocumented Labor To Build Trump Tower CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TFR25zpTD5M	2016v
Donald Trump On Russian Hacking: Of Course I Condemn Election Interference CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vOWtSnN7IW0	2016w
Donald Trump: Syrian Refugees Will Be The Great Trojan Horse CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hB4U4Oe-Dfk	2016x

Donald Trump: Must Repeal And Replace Obamacare CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pqBauhAvGw	2016y
Donald Trump: We Will Create An Economic Machine CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8PKztHXhvdandt=5s	2016z
Donald Trump: We Have No Country If We Have No Border CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xp4D1hyECqwandt=1s	2016ab
Donald Trump On Accepting Election Result: I'll Tell You At The Time CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2m5RHWYFUJwandt=2s	2016ac
Hillary Clinton: Donald Trump Would 'Rip Our Country' Apart CNBC	CBNC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4VeVSt3MOh0	2016ad

CNN

Video title	Location	URL	Reference
Entire 3rd presidential debate: Trump vs. Clinton	CNN website	http://www.cnn.com/videos/politics/2016/10/20/trump-clinton-entire-las-vegas-debate-sot.cnn	2016a
Third Presidential Debate 2016 [Playlist containing 22 videos]	CNN website	http://www.cnn.com/videos/politics/2016/10/19/third-presidential-debate-trump-clinton-rigged-election-results-sot-09.cnn/video/playlists/third-presidential-debate-2016/	2016b
Final Presidential Debate	CNNgo	http://go.cnn.com/?stream=cnn	2016c
2016 Third Presidential Debate - Trump Vs. Clinton [Video collection containing 22 clips]	CNN YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL6XRrncXkMaVJERX7R_zbiDC6xCo-C59t	2016d

C-SPAN

Video title	Location	URL	Reference
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Presidential Candidates Debate	C-SPAN website	https://www.c-span.org/video/?414228-1/presidential-nominees-debate-university-nevada-las-vegas	2016a
LIVE: Third Presidential Debate (C-SPAN)	C-SPAN YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ANT_ZBhpvtw	2016b

FOX News

Video title	Location	URL	Reference
Decision 2016: Final Presidential Debate [Website containing 6 videos]	FOX News website	http://www.foxnews.com/live-coverage/presidential-debate-coverage-2016	2016a
Part 1 of third presidential debate at University of Nevada	FOX News YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cyx5e2c1SgU	2016b
Part 2 of third presidential debate at University of Nevada	FOX News YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BgPENwntzKk	2016c
Part 3 of third presidential debate at University of Nevada	FOX News YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cxQ40CwiIhk	2016d
Part 4 of third presidential debate at University of Nevada	FOX News YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O9-738beZkoandt=32s	2016e
Part 5 of third presidential debate at University of Nevada	FOX News YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eZss0JB_SgQ	2016f
Part 6 of third presidential debate at University of Nevada	FOX News YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GcRutfecWIc	2016g

NBC

Video title	Location	URL	Reference
Final 2016 Presidential Debate: 11 Moments the Internet Went Wild For [Video collection containing 9 clips]	NBC News website	https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/2016-presidential-debates/final-presidential-debate-11-moments-internet-went-wild-n669816	2016a
5 Major Takeaways From the Third and Final 2016 Presidential Debate [Video collection containing 5 clips]	NBC News website	https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/2016-presidential-debates/5-major-takeaways-third-final-presidential-debate-n669831	2016b
Trump on Accepting Election Results: 'I Will Look At It At The Time'	NBC News website	https://www.nbcnews.com/card/trump-accepting-election-results-i-will-look-it-time-n669651	2016c

2016 Debate: On Abortion, Trump and Clinton Give Passionate Answers [Video collection containing 2 clips]	NBC News website	https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/2016-presidential-debates/abortion-trump-clinton-let-it-all-hang-out-n669586	2016d
2016 Debate Was Short On Immigration, But #BadHombres Was Trending [Video collection containing 2 clips]	NBC News website	https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/2016-presidential-debates/presidential-debate-guide-where-donald-trump-hillary-clinton-stand-issues-n653536	2016e
A Fight over Late-Term Abortions	NBC News website	https://www.nbcnews.com/card/fight-over-late-term-abortions-n669466	2016f
Decision 2016: The Third Presidential Debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump	NBC News website	http://www.nbc.com/nbc-news-decision-2016/video/2016-presidential-debate-3/3105458	2016g
The Third Presidential Debate: Hillary Clinton And Donald Trump (Full Debate) NBC News	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=smkyorC5qwc	2016h
Hillary Clinton: Senate Should 'Do Its Job,' Confirm SCOTUS Nominee NBC News	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sVOulMdT0E8	2016i
The Third Presidential Debate Highlights: From 'Puppets' To 'Bad Hombres' NBC News	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QEvT74hqbmoandt=28s	2016j
Hillary Clinton: 'Donald Thinks Belittling Women Makes Him Bigger' NBC News	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pizsk0C__2I	2016k
Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump Argue Over Late-Term Abortion NBC News	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h9cpES9X8Ds	2016l
Hillary Clinton: Putin Would 'Rather Have a Puppet as President' NBC News	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cq8f8oU9wYs	2016m
Donald Trump on Accepting Election Results: 'I'll Look At It At The Time' NBC News	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p_4fBYCCx5c	2016n
Hillary Clinton: Donald Trump Has History of Complaining About Rigging NBC News	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oZf7IASx2mE	2016o
Hillary Clinton: 'I'm Reaching Out to All	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cRklML8lRVA	2016p

Americans' NBC News			
Donald Trump Calls Hillary Clinton A 'Nasty Woman' NBC News	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MMBge5yYx9o	2016q
Donald Trump: The Second Amendment Under 'Absolute Seige' NBC News	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oXEkf4dZ72o	2016r
Hillary Clinton: 'There's No Doubt That I Respect the 2nd Amendment' NBC News	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_gs-TvfivFE	2016s
Donald Trumps Insists: 'I Don't Know Putin' NBC News	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bQIyR3ywYB4	2016t
Hillary Clinton: 'Only One Of Us On This Stage has Actually Shipped Jobs to Mexico' NBC News	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AJZ6QpnZdYE	2016u
Hillary Clinton: 'Talking About Energy' In Wikileaks Speech Comment NBC News	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GS5kSYzi9CY	2016v
Hillary Clinton: Nuclear Launchers Would Not Trust Donald Trump with Codes NBC News	NBC YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-369lw6SzIM	2016w

PBS

Video title	Location	URL	Reference
Watch the final presidential debate	PBS website	http://www.pbs.org/video/2365870526/	PBS, 2016a
Watch the final presidential debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump	PBS website	https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/watch-live-final-presidential-debate-hillary-clinton-donald-trump	PBS, 2016b
WATCH: The final presidential debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump	PBS website	http://www.pbs.org/weta/washingtonweek/web-video/watch-final-presidential-debate-between-hillary-clinton-and-donald-trump	PBS, 2016c
Watch the final 2016 presidential debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump	PBS NewsHour YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=84cJdY8wkV8andt=4350s	PBS NewsHour, 2016a
Watch the final debate in 8 minutes	PBS NewsHour YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2wn9o9fP8Mc	PBS NewsHour, 2016b
Third Presidential Debate — Oct. 19, 2016 [Playlist containing 35 videos]	PBS NewsHour YouTube channel	https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLgawtcOBBjr8ItxvwW2Vb4FdV4AZyEj_y	PBS NewsHour, 2016c

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Translation Studies Meets Embodied Aesthetics: On the Narratives of Landscape and National Identity in *Anne of Green Gables* and its Earliest Polish Rendition

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Abstract

Nature and space play a fundamental role in Lucy Maud Montgomery's oeuvre. The author made landscape one of the most important features of her storyworlds. The main aim of this paper is, first, to check whether the implied reader's embodied aesthetic experience with an initial passage pertaining to landscape might be comparable in both the source version of the novel in question and its target translational counterpart, and second, to verify the extent to which the rendering of the landscape narrative reflects the translator's attempts to preserve the national identity and cultural stability specific to her country.

Keywords: *embodied aesthetics, embodied simulation, translation of aesthetic experience, Anne of Green Gables, Lucy Maud Montgomery, landscape, national identity, cultural stability, Polish translation, Rozalia Bernsteinowa*

1. Introduction

This article capitalizes on two theoretical frameworks: embodied aesthetics put forward by Vittorio Gallese and philosophy of landscape aesthetics developed by John Costonis. These two frameworks, which should here be seen as complementary, are deployed in order to refer to the projected reader's potential aesthetic experience with the narrative of landscape.

The two theoretical frameworks remain open fields within translation studies. While it might be said that with the development of cognitive translology, an empirically oriented branch of translation studies and interpreting studies, it has become possible to study the translator's mind with more valid and reliable methodological approaches than ever before, including the embodied, embedded, extended and enactive perspective (for more see, e.g., García & Giozza 2019; Halverson 2014; Muñoz Martín 2010; Muñoz Martín 2017; O'Brien 2011), no inclination toward the use of the embodiment paradigm in literary translation studies has yet been observed. Likewise, although in her article entitled *The neuroscience of translation* Tymoczko (2016: 98) points to certain potential paths, including embodied cognition, along which translation scholars could "walk" together with neuroscientists, and while the author herself admits that "[s]ome of the most exciting advances in translation studies in the near future will result from its intersections with neuroscience", no such intersections have yet been observed within the field of literary translation studies. This lack of translation scholars' interest in applying the latest findings from neuroscience research, in particular those that in one way or another relate to the phenomenon of language processing and understanding by readers of fiction, must evoke a reaction of surprise, especially given how a branch of cognitive literary studies has recently become a productive and fruitful field in its endeavours to connect literature and cognitive sciences (see e.g. Crane 2015; Herman

2010, 2011, 2013; Spolsky 2015). Although this has not been explicitly pointed out in the title, the argument of this paper also deploys one of the fundamental assumptions of Marvin Minsky's frame system theory (1988: 244), according to whom "each perceptual experience activates some structure that we'll call *frames* – structures we've acquired in the course of previous experience . . . each representing some stereotyped situation like . . . being in a certain kind of room". While analyzing the implied reader's experience with the narrative I claim that the recipient understands, interprets and *senses* the depicted landscape on the basis of their previous (embodied) encounters with the physical world in which they live.

For the purposes of this study, a fragment of a landscape narrative from *Anne of Green Gables* by Lucy Maud Montgomery (1908), as well as the earliest Polish version were excerpted, both of which counted approximately 40 words. In Poland, 15 different translations have been produced over the years. However, due to certain space constraints and limitations, only one rendition was chosen. The translation that has been selected is a post-war edition (from 1956) of the earliest translation by Rozalia Bernsteinowa (originally from 1911). The edition from 1956 has been chosen because of its huge popularity among the Polish readership. Despite a relatively large number of other Polish renditions of *Anne of Green Gables*, the edition from 1956 is the one thanks to which many generations of Polish readers have become acquainted with Montgomery's well-known work. For many years, Polish readers had access only to Bernsteinowa's translation, which made the rendition extremely influential not only in the case of regular readers but also translators, who often applied Bernsteinowa's translation solutions, even when these solutions led to translation errors. This paper rests on the hypothesis that the potential embodied aesthetic processing of the landscape narrative in question is different in the target readership than in the source readership, which results from the translator's attempts to preserve for her readers a sense of national and cultural stability, a decision influenced by a historical moment in which the translation was produced. I also take it after Nikolajeva (2017: 66) that the word "potential", which the author also used in her article on applying cognitive narratology in children's literature, means that embodied aesthetic experiences do not "necessarily happen to every actual reader; however, text affordances create a favourable condition . . ." for a particular, less or more intense and vivid, embodied aesthetic experience to take place.

2. The embodied aesthetics paradigm

The embodied cognition paradigm, having its roots in 20th century continental philosophy (see Merleau-Ponty 1945/2020; Sartre 1943), developed as a strong response to substance dualism and to other theories of mind, for example computationalism and mentalese, that is, to approaches underlining the importance of amodal systems of concepts and propositions as a base for mental operations and processes of acquiring knowledge. The main theses of this new interdisciplinary approach were suggested by, *inter alia*, Varela et al. (1991: 172-3), who stated that our cognition capitalizes on the human body's sensorimotor capabilities, which, in turn, are dependent on the social and cultural environment in which we thrive.

One of the most important hypothetical assumptions of this paradigm is that the individual understands language by simulatingⁱ what it would be like to experience the same that has been referred to in the message (for more see Bergen 2017). This assumption has been named the hypothesis of embodied simulation, and it has gained a foothold in linguistics

(see, e.g., Bergen and Wheeler 2010; Kok and Cienki 2017; Liu and Bergen 2016; Matlock 2004; Zwaan 2012), as well as within the field of reading comprehension (see, e.g., Mak and Willems 2019; Mar and Oatley 2008; Oatley 2016; Ryan 2015; Tamir et al. 2016). According to Zwaan's theory of discourse comprehension (2004; quoted after Mar and Oatley 2008), language triggers the process of running simulations in the human brain. The author claims that certain areas of the brain are activated when we read individual words, as if we looked at their referents.

This seems to be possible due to mirror neuronsⁱⁱ (see Rizzolatti et. al. 2001), which, depending on their type, trigger different sorts of reactions within the sensorimotor or perceptual systems (for more see Gallese & Guerra 2015), and due to the so-called Mirror Mechanism (MM), "mapping the perception of others' motor behaviour onto motor representations of the observer's brain" (Gallese 2016: 192). As neuroscientists claim, the latter is in order not only during perceiving actions in the real world, but also while experiencing fictional worlds. "When we imagine a visual scene, we activate the same cortical visual areas normally active when we do perceive the same visual scene" (Gallese 2019: 116). The researchers, being aware of the differences between the real and fictional world, explain the functioning of the Mirror Mechanism in this case by referring to a "suspension of belief" and the "liberated embodied simulation" approach (for more see Gallese 2017: 47).

A natural extension of this paradigm is embodied aestheticsⁱⁱⁱ, a field of study which aims at understanding and explaining the nature of aesthetic experience from the perspective of embodied cognition, in particular from the perspective of the mechanism of embodied simulation. Because simulations are also run in the human mind when experiencing fictional worlds, the assumption is that the mechanism of embodied simulation works in the case of *perceiving / experiencing / sensing* images, too. As Gallese (2017: 43) claims, "We live in relation with other people, objects, and landscapes that are present in our real world, but we live as well in relation with people, objects, and landscapes that are part of the imaginary fictional worlds displayed by the arts. Both kinds of relationship are rooted in our brain-body system . . .". In light of the above, it is plausible to assume that narratives of landscapes, themselves being specific forms of images, trigger mental simulations in the reader, in which case the recipient might simulate the vision of a particular spatial entity and derive from it pleasurable feelings or other forms of sensations leading to processing the narrative image frame aesthetically.

Vision, however, does not only have to do with seeing *per se*. As neuroscientists suggest, ". . . vision is multimodal: it encompasses the activation of motor, somatosensory, and emotion-related brain networks" (Gallese 2017: 43). In accordance with the view above, vision should here be understood as the state of *seeing-as*, rather than purely physical *seeing* or *looking at*. This philosophy of vision also accords with the latest studies on the notion of perception in which it is concluded that perceiving an object entails creating imageries connected with manipulating the object in different ways by using various sensory modalities. As Gibbs (2010: 682) puts it, ". . . perceiving something is not simply a visual experience, but involves nonvisual, sensory experiences such as smells, sounds, and movement of one's entire body, such as the feelings of readiness to take specific action upon the object".

The argument concerning simulating the character's actions might raise some doubts in regards to whom the recipient should simulate in the case of fictional landscape narratives. In order to solve this methodological problem, I take the notion of a hypothetical

“reader/observer of fact” after Currie (1997: 68), who suggests that this is a person other than the narrator, who is familiarized with aspects of the plot much more than the reader themselves, and thus the reader might capitalize on a “factual account” of what a narrative pertains to. Paraphrasing Gallese’s (2017) stance for the purposes of this paper, it could be said that perceiving an image, or just imagining it simultaneously to the act of reading, triggers the reader’s bodily feelings in response to an encounter with a landscape narrative; however, what is different from Gallese’s proposal is that the reader of fiction does not simulate the author’s creative process, but instead follows the hypothetical “observer of fact” encounter with a spatial entity, in which case the unfolding narrative and its elements give rise to embodied aesthetic experience.

3. Aesthetic experience

Aesthetic experience belongs to concepts which are difficult to define. As Marković (2012: 1) claims, aesthetic experience “is one of the most important but also one of the vaguest and most poorly specified concepts in the psychology of art and experimental aesthetics”. Following the author, I suggest that an aesthetic experience, different from aesthetic preferences or judgments, is “an exceptional state of mind which is qualitatively different from ‘normal’ everyday mental states” (ibid.: 12). More specifically, when having an aesthetic experience,

a person is fascinated with a particular object, whereas the surrounding environment is shadowed, self-awareness is reduced, and the sense of time is distorted. Amplified arousal and attention provide the additional energy which is needed for the effective appraisal of symbolism and compositional regularities in ‘virtual’ aesthetic realities. Finally, during this process a person has a strong feeling of unity and the exceptional relationship with the object of aesthetic fascination and aesthetic appraisal. (ibid.)

This definition emphasizes three inherent components of any aesthetic experience: *attentive*, *cognitive*, and *affective* (Marković 2012: 3). Not every encounter with a given object (be it a man-made object, scene, face, etc.) could be referred to as an aesthetic experience. In order for an object to trigger an aesthetic experience, “[t]he main condition . . . is the transcendence from the pragmatic to the aesthetic (symbolic) level of meaning” (ibid.: 12). It is worth underlining that beauty is not the main trigger factor. While beauty can lead to an aesthetic experience, “the object of beauty . . . [is rather] “a provocation of the higher level pleasures of the mind” (ibid.: 2).

It could be summarized, then, that an encounter with a landscape narrative becomes an aesthetic experience when sensory input from the first stage of aesthetic information processing is enriched with symbolic dimensions of meaning, or, in other words, with higher semantic levels of the content. Interestingly, the definition above, in particular its second component, is consistent with the simulationist approach: after having been moved into a “state of intense attention engagement” (ibid.: 3), “a person appraises the aesthetic objects and events as part of a symbolic or ‘virtual’ reality”, a description which accentuates the recipient’s involvement in and attempts to emphasize with an alternate world of fiction. Namely, the recipient, after having been exposed to perceptual (sensory) input and being immersed in the narrative reality (its elements and their physical properties) *by means of a bodily format*, makes a move toward “hidden symbolism” (ibid.: 6) and interpretation of

deeper semantic levels of the content of the landscape narrative as determined by the cultural beliefs and values that the reader holds, as well as by the recipient's previous experiences.

4. John Costonis' cultural stability-identity hypothesis

By rejecting aesthetic formalism and the hypothesis of visual beauty and visual appreciation, I claim after Costonis (1982) that groups of people strive to maintain their national and cultural stability and identity by controlling the environments in which they live and function. According to Costonis (1982: 401), the process of appreciating landscape is based on our "ascribing" aesthetic feelings and meanings to a given spatial entity, rather than "discovering" aesthetically pleasing qualities of landscape ourselves, which indirectly signifies the semiotic nature of experiencing landscape. The semiosis of the approach shares common features with the hypothesis of embodied simulation. Namely, when understanding language the individual runs simulations in response to the sign, which in the case of the communication process might include: letters, words, phrases, sentences, etc. As for landscape, its elements are also specific signs which trigger culture-specific responses dependent on the historical and social context within which the narrative is embedded.

One of the main tenets of the author's cultural theory is the notion of environmental change and its impact on maintaining (or disrupting) cultural values. As Costonis (1982: 381) underlines, the change could either be "culturally disintegrative" or "culturally vitalizing"; however, the logic of the change itself is always determined by the context within which the change is to be implemented. And so it happens in the translation process, or at least it is what takes place in the majority of cases when translating literary works: a given environment, including, but not limited to, landscape, is subject to certain changes which could be either "disintegrative" or "vitalizing", either in harmony with the translator's own environment or against it.

5. Methodology

In order to analyze the concept of embodied aesthetic experience which the target readers could have while reading the translations, the following two broad categories of the experience were delineated: *sensorium*, that is, a direct experience with the landscape narrative by means of an individual's faculties of the mind: cognition, senses, etc., and *non-sensorium*, that is, an indirect experience with the narrative through, *inter alia*, cultural beliefs exerting an impact on the individual's interpretation of the landscape's meaning. Within the category of *sensorium* the following *lexical nodes*^{iv}, or signs, were selected: "the main road", "dipped down" "little hollow", "alders and ladies' eardrops", "brook", "woods". The choice of particular words and phrases and, in this case, predominantly verbs and nouns, has been motivated by the fact there is growing evidence that these parts of speech do evoke visual imageries relating to spatial trajectories in fictional narratives (for more see Bergen et al. 2007).

The model of aesthetic experience presented above (Marković 2012) aligns with the categories suggested for analysis. Essentially, then, *sensorium* corresponds to the first stage of aesthetic information processing—"the perceptual and cognitive appraisal of the object's

basic properties” (ibid.: 6)—while *non-sensorium* could be matched with the main stage of aesthetic information processing, namely, “the detection of more complex compositional regularities and the interpretation of more sophisticated narratives and hidden symbolism of the object’s structure” (ibid.). This is possible because a landscape narrative is structured in such a way as to guide the reader in their aesthetic walks around a given spatial entity. To recapitulate, fictional narratives of landscapes are aestheticized and structured in such a way as to trigger bodily reactions, including simulated movement, in the reader, and it is often done in accordance with the process of aesthetic information processing described above: the objective here is to increase the reader’s attention so that they are strongly focused on and fascinated with a given entity, which is usually achieved through offering sequences of elements of the entire fictional narrative composition being revealed in a successive way. Below I present a table with the source text, its translational counterpart and the counterpart’s back-translation into English, which will be analyzed in the next section.

Source text	Target text	Target text translated into English
Mrs Rachel Lynde lived just where the Avonlea main road dipped down into a little hollow, fringed with alders and ladies’ eardrops and traversed by a brook that had its source away back in the woods of the old Cuthbert place . . . (Montgomery 2008: 11)	Dworek pani Małgorzaty Linde stał w tym właśnie miejscu, gdzie wielki gościniec prowadzący do Avonlea opadał w dolinę otoczoną olchami i porosłą paprociami, przez którą przerzynał się strumyk mający swe źródło het, daleko w lasach, otaczających dwór starego Cuthberta. (Montgomery 1956: 7)	A small manor house owned by Mrs Małgorzata Lynde stood just where a large roadway leading to Avonlea dipped into a valley surrounded by alders and overgrown with ferns through which a brook was sawing, originating very far away, in the forests surrounding an old Cuthbert’s manor house.

Table 1 *Analysed source fragment, its target counterpart and back-translation into English*

6. Analysis

The following three frames will be discussed in detail: Rachel Lynde and her place of living; the main road in Avonlea reaching a hollow ornamented with flowers and crossed by a brook; the brook and the place it starts its course near the Cuthbert farm. It could be assumed that the hypothetical reader perceives the elements of the scene in this particular order, as if they were introduced to the area slowly by a tourist guide, or as if they watched the beginning of a film with their point of view moved closer to the objects on which the director intends the viewer to concentrate at any given moment. The three frames, or sub-scenes, overlap, and in the real world nobody would dissect the scene so deliberately; however, for the purposes of this paper, the analysis will follow the mode of “slow motion” in order to underline those aspects that might be of the utmost importance to the prospective reader’s interpretation of the message. After all, while reading a landscape narrative, one is not presented with the whole composition in its entirety at once. In other words, the reader does not see the spatial entity “from above”, but rather becomes familiarized with it line by line, in accordance with one’s own individual preferences, memories, emotions, cultural beliefs, knowledge, etc.

Let us first focus on the source text. Following the model of aesthetic information processing, the reader first perceives physical objects and their properties by means cognitive abilities allowing the individual to process the mental imagery, including embodied

simulations triggered in response to lexical items. The first sub-scene has as its subject, or figure, Mrs Rachel Lynde. This directs the reader's attention automatically to the female protagonist. Placing the protagonist at the beginning of the sentence might make it easier for the reader to empathize with the character's experience of a landscape surrounding the area. The reader's simulated "walk" through the spatial entity starts with an imaginative construction of the place where Mrs Lynde lives. With no further details concerning the dwelling, the reader has a look at the main road in Avonlea. The adjective "main", meaning "the most important and the largest" (Cambridge Dictionary^v, online), might trigger simulations of the road as being very wide and conspicuous. Besides, "main road" is a lexical unit which means "a large road that leads from one town to another" (CD, online). With concrete background knowledge concerning the specificity of roads and locations of buildings along it and with the engagement of the sense of sight, the reader is able to start composing the place and organizing its constructive elements.

The next element of the frame is a little hollow into which the main road "dips down". The use of the preposition "down" strengthens the reader's experience of downward movement, influencing simulated kinaesthetics and motion down the slope, and might add an important detail about how steep the road could be. Also, hollow, being "a low area in a surface" (CD), reveals interesting inherent features specific to such formations: it is usually low land, surrounded by hills and plants, and crossed by rivers. Such intuitive insights are supported by further details of the landscape's composition, accentuating a set of sensory experiences in the form of colours, fragrances, lights, lines and textures. The reader, once they have reached the hollow, is presented with a row of alders, "tree[s] of the birch family, that usually grow near water" (CD). Although the reader does not see any water reservoir yet, they can mentally concretize the scene by sensing the humidity of the area and hearing the sighing of the wind through the trees. Next, the beholder's eyes are laid on ladies' eardrops, that is, "any of several plants of the genus *Fuchsia*" (Merriam-Webster, online). This is the moment where sensory effects caused by the sighing of the wind through the trees only strengthen the visual aspect of the scene: the reader might "see" the pink, violet and indigo colours of pendulous blossoms, which alternate with the homogenous green of the alders, providing an experience of contrast of colour, shape and texture. The reader might also notice the cylindrical shape of the flowers and their texture: trailing stems and soft petals, as well as a pleasant and almost sweet floral fragrance. The presence of ladies' eardrops, flowers specific to North America, also indicates that the season of the year might either be spring or summer. Depending on the level of background knowledge, the reader could also have an alternating sense of light and darkness within the area: due to the fact that ladies' eardrops usually grow well in shady areas, the recipient could notice the darkening of the place all around them. In other words, the reader, after having been moved downwards from the slope, which obviously offered more light, now enters an area affected by its geological features: it is darker in lower areas because of the specific angles under which the light falls. It is worth adding that Montgomery used the word "fringed" in front of "alders and ladies' eardrops". According to the Cambridge Dictionary, "if a place is fringed with something, that thing forms a border along the edge" (online). It could be assumed, then, that the alders formed a specific border along the edges of the hollow, thus making it even darker and more mysterious. This is supported by the final frame, which draws the reader's attention to the brook, that is a "small stream" (CD) traversing the hollow. With this presence of the brook moving through, and thus, in a way, controlling the hollow, the dynamics of the whole scene is slightly changing. It is the brook which travels through, thus increasing its dominance,

persistence and causative power. The former elegance, nostalgia and sophistication give way to minor brusqueness, abruptness and sudden forwardness. More female-specific features step down and reveal those which are usually associated with manly characteristics. This mixture of female-male attributes in the form of soft flowers and an abrupt brook provides a strong sensation and almost the highest point of aesthetic experience, which returns to its more delicate stage by diverting the reader's attention to the woods where the old Cuthbert place of living is situated. The woods, "an area of land covered with a thick growth of trees" (CD), transfer the reader to a different dimension in terms of the sensory experience. "The woods" trigger a multi-sensory reaction stimulating the sense of sight (colour of trees), the sense of hearing (possible sighing of the wind through the trees), and the sense of smell (woody fragrance). From the woods the reader might notice the "old Cuthbert place", which is rather non-specific as far as sensory qualities are concerned, and thus the location should not evoke any concrete physiological sensations.

The whole description has been composed according to the dynamics of revealing and hiding (see Kaczmarczyk 2014). The reader "walks" through the area, following the "hypothetical observer of fact" (see Currie 1997) and experiencing the scene with its frames aesthetically by being moved in different directions and dimensions (movements down, up, to the side) and by discovering successive components of the entire composition: the main road in Avonlea leads the reader to the little hollow and flowers, an area which then directs them to travel along the brook's course to the woods within which the Cuthbert farm is situated.

Interestingly, in the Polish translation different solutions were adopted, and they all might possibly exert an impact on the recipient's embodied aesthetic experience with the narrative. First, while in the source text the opening fragment starts with Mrs Lynde as the subject of the sentence, or the figure, the target version introduces a type of dwelling which here becomes the subject. While Montgomery did not specify where Mrs Rachel Lynde lived, the Polish translator did offer such specification, and what is more, in doing so she influenced the implied reader's sensory and symbolic reaction to the text. The lexical unit that the Polish translator used is "dworek" in Polish, a type of dwelling which could be defined as a "small manorial house" (Słownik języka polskiego^{vi}, online). Manorial houses were common elements of Polish villages in the past, in particular before World War I, and they usually consisted of an agricultural establishment that was taking care of the production of food. Apart from organizing an agricultural establishment, manorial houses were also vibrant pre-war centres of cultural life, attracting famous writers, composers, musicians, painters, sculptors and other artists, as well as politicians, which was extremely significant back then at the very beginning of the 20th century when Poland did not enjoy independence, as Poles suffered partitions due to the loss of the sovereignty of their country. It is worth adding that manorial houses were owned by the landed gentry or nobility, affluent and influential people, whose wealth, access to education, and income were far above the average. Seeing the word "dworek" in the novel's opening automatically evokes certain sensory associations in the Polish audience. Following Minsky's frame system theory, it might be said that the reader conjures up the mental image of a large residence, usually plastered white with a double-gable roof, having at the front a veranda with a pillar on each side, situated on a large plot of land with a beautiful garden area and a full circle driveway in the front of the house. Such a manorial house has nothing to do with the Canadian rural place of living from the 19th century, let alone houses built on Prince Edward Island at that time, a province which was the poorest and the least developed among other Canadian regions (Oczko 2013: 52). Because while perceiving an object the individual might also "see" what they could do with it, the

scene in question might trigger sensory associations connected with taking a stroll around the residence and looking at it from some distance, as the manorial house itself is often fenced.

This experience of a rural manorial house and its environment is further strengthened by the lexical unit “wielki gościniec” (large roadway) used by the translator in order to render the English phrase “main road”. “Gościniec” means “a wide rural road” (SJP), and if analyzed from the semantic point of view, the chosen item might seem to be adequate in terms of referential equivalence. However, the sensorial perspective taken in this paper allows us to discern certain incongruities between “the main road” and “wielki gościniec”. As Canadian rural roads in the area where the story takes place are usually extremely varied in terms of the characteristic landform (a plethora of hills and woodlets), the panoramic views they provide, and even the colour of the road, as some of them are marked by red clay, “the Avonlea main road” gives rise to a different sensory experience than Polish rural areas situated in the Mazovian area, a province uniquely rich in manorial houses, also referred to as the centre of Polish cultural life at the time when the first Polish translation of *Anne of Green Gables* was published. Polish rural roads within the Mazovian area are not so captivating in terms of the views they offer, as the landform in this area in Poland is rather flat. The colour of the clay is usually either black or brown and grey, but not red, which, however, might be the case in Avonlea. Even Montgomery herself wrote about it: “It was my good fortune to live in a very beautiful spot – the north shore of Prince Edward Island, where *red roads* would look like gay satin ribbons...” (Lefebvre 2013: 163; italics mine).

The pompous and majestic grandeur of the beginning of the description of the landscape narrative under focus is continued through further sub-scenes. The large roadway descends into a valley, which is surrounded by alders and overgrown with ferns. While in the source text Montgomery strengthened the embodied character of the phrase “the road dips down” by using the preposition underlying the direction and intensity of the movement, the Polish translator largely neutralized this effect by choosing to connect the road moving down with the action of dipping. “Opadać” in Polish could be translated into English as “fall” or “descend”, action verbs which do evoke embodied reactions (associated with moving down) but signify a different specificity and scale of intensity of the movement in question. By using the verb “opadać” (fall), and not “głęboko zanurzać” (dip down), the translator deleted the aspect of the steepness of the hill from which the road rapidly descends.

Yet another difference between the perception of the scene in the source text and the scene in the target text could be noticed with relation to the translation of the phrase “little hollow”. The diminutive disappears from the target text, which means “the hollow” is no longer “little”. The Polish equivalent of the original hollow (“dolina”) should instead be referred to as a “valley” in English, which is defined as “an area of low land between hills and mountains” (CD). The Polish “dolina” is consequently larger than the English “hollow”, and thus the reader can now see the vast space of the area in front of them. Not only is the structure of the valley itself different from the little hollow in the source text. A significant difference could also be noticed in the case of plants growing around the area. While in the source text alders and ladies’ eardrops “fringe” the little hollow, forming a specific border along its edges, in the target text the valley is only surrounded by alders. Such an open interpretation caused by the neutrality of the verb in the Polish version means that the trees do not have to be perceived by the reader as growing close to the valley, but, perhaps, dispersed around the area. Such vastness and grandeur of the land might overwhelm the reader, who could perceive the landscape as rather unfriendly and, perhaps, dangerous. What is also missing is the ornamental, female-specific quality of the edge of the hollow, which in the

source text is strengthened by the passive participle “fringed”, a word semantically associated with ornaments.

The sensory experience in this part of the Avonlea landscape is influenced by the specificity of light around the area. Because the valley is surrounded not only by alders, which themselves take away lots of light, but also by “paprocie” (that is, “ferns”, instead of “ladies’ eardrops”)^{vii}, the reader becomes aware of being situated in the centre of a shady area overgrown with “green plants with narrow leaves like feathers and no flowers” (CD). This lack of colourful flowers in full bloom deprives the reader of the target text of a strong physiological experience activating the sensory apparatus in its full dimension. The image of the plants transports the reader into the symbolic dimension of secrets and supernatural powers, as it is the fern, a magical plant according to Slavic mythology, which usually grows in the depths of the forests, evoking associations with darkness, night, trees and magic. What adds to the variety of this experience, is the herbal smell of forest litter emitted by ferns and the vibrant green texture of the fronds, which are tiny and delicate.

The dominating green colour and the relative silence of the valley are now disturbed by the brook, which in the Polish version not only traverses the area, but saws through it. On the one hand, the use of the verb “przerzynać” (saw) in the Polish version emphasizes the masculine qualities of the brook, which in the target text becomes even more masterful, imperious and hegemonic than in the source counterpart. On the other hand, though, the verb “przerzynać” (“break sth into two halves, to punch a hole in sth inside out; go through the centre of sth”, SJP online; translation mine) enhances the difficulties that the brook must face in order to reach the other side of the hollow. The brook might, therefore, be perceived in the shape of a zigzag, for instance, or in any other external form indicating its constricted and possibly interrupted course, which could also exert an impact on the sound of water travelling through the area. In this case, then, it is the valley, and not the brook, which might seem for the reader to be more powerful. Obviously, the verb “traverse” in the source text might also indicate that the process of going through the hollow is by no means smooth, but the word’s semantic meaning, in particular its connotative layer, does not allow us to conclude that the entire action is as complicated as in the Polish version.

The scene in the target text ends with a reference to the place where the brook starts its course. While in the original text the brook is located “back in the woods of the old Cuthbert place”, the Polish translator chose to render the phrase in the following way: “het, daleko w lasach, otaczających dwór starego Cuthberta” (Montgomery 2010: 11), which might be translated into English as: “originating very far away, in the forests surrounding the old Cuthbert manor house” (Montgomery 1956: 5). First, the reader is transported from the valley into the forests, that is, “a large area of land covered with trees and plants, usually larger than a wood . . .” (CD). The splash of dark green and brown, a patch of colour which is massive because of the size of the forest, might even prevent the reader from noticing the place where the Cuthberts live. This experience enhances the potential modality of sound because trees sigh in a chorus, in particular if directed by strong wind. The auditory effect might be increased by the rustling fir trees which usually grow in the forests. This is the moment where the last phrase of the sub-scene, “the old Cuthbert’s manor house” adds to the visual stimuli: the house, similarly to the one put at the beginning of the scene, is again a big residence, perhaps plastered white, with two pillars supporting a veranda at the front of the building. The large area full of trees contrasts with the whiteness of the manorial house, providing a unique experience augmented by the reader’s awareness of being “immersed” in times when such manorial houses functioned in full swing.

This multi-sensory experience is then different from that in the source text. While it could be assumed that Montgomery intended her readers to mentally see and experience “an area of land covered with a thick growth of trees” (CD), which is not necessarily large and full of trees (a wood might actually consist of only a few trees), and a simple, regular Canadian house built in the 19th century in a rural area of Prince Edward Island, Rozalia Bernsteinowa reframed the original picture and created an image which could imply the existence of a lavish residence situated on the edge of the forest. Furthermore, while in the source text the woods belong to the property owned by the Cuthberts (both structurally and formally), Bernsteinowa did not make it explicit in her translation by suggesting that the forests only surround the property.

Both texts present for the reader a specific cognitive and sensorial endeavour entailing the functioning of various faculty modalities specific to the human brain. Both texts engage the reader’s sensory apparatus, triggering embodied simulations relating to senses of sight, hearing, touch, smell, as well as kinaesthetics, and arousing interest and fascination: feelings which are evoked because of the dichotomy of different kinds of movement performed throughout the stroll and ensuing from them successive elements of the whole composition, gradually unfolding in front of the beholder’s eyes. Both descriptions, each in its own right, foreground features with which many readers could identify: rural areas evoking the feeling of serenity, calmness and picturesqueness. And finally, both texts constitute interesting landscape narratives built around the following dimensions: the space (the structure of the scene, with all its elements placed in particular positions) the temporal dimension (successive stages of the elements being slowly unfolded by the narrator) and the bodily format (the reader’s reactions in the form of embodied simulations and embodied aesthetic experiences) (for more on environmental narratives see Kaczmarczyk 2014: 110).

Nonetheless, where the source text emphasizes the idyllic, tender and *universal* character of certain spatiotemporal aspects, characterized by rhythm^{viii} and harmony, the target text gives special importance to creating a picture of a *specific* rural area, which, far from universality, acquires its specificity through obvious references to elements of nature and architecture which could be spotted not almost everywhere, but in a very concrete region and in a very concrete time period.

An aesthetic experience, however, would be incomplete without its symbolic layer. The Polish translation is full of specific symbols which enrich the reader’s sensory encounter with the narrative, turning the sensations into a unique aesthetic experience. The walk around Mrs Lynde’s property could be understood and interpreted as an effective immersion in the former Polish territory from the beginning of the 20th century, and the translator’s attempts could be perceived as “de-emphasizing visual beauty in favour of . . . groups to protect their identity and, more broadly, cultural stability itself by forestalling threats to environmental features and setting that anchor or reinforce these reciprocal values” (Costonis 1982: 357; quotation modified). The predilection towards reframing the narrative of the source text by maintaining the reader’s cultural stability and national identity is also to be noticed in the translator’s choice to render Rachel as Małgorzata, a typical Polish female name. At the same time, Bernsteinowa’s domesticating strategy was not consistent as she retained the name of the town intact, for instance.

Taking the above into consideration, it has to be underlined that the image that Bernsteinowa created cannot be evaluated in terms of visual beauty, although such qualities are easily discernible in the target narrative. I take it, after Costonis (1982: 377), that “aesthetics connotes the pursuit of cultural stability, in which visual form plays a significant

but not *dispositive* role” (italics mine). Likewise, the image that the Polish translator created is far from being only sensorial in nature. Such an approach to translating should not be of any surprise, as at the time when Bernsteinowa was rendering the novel into Polish, Poland did not function as an independent state but was under partitions perpetrated by three countries: Austria, Prussia and Russia. Therefore, it was so important for intellectual elites at that time to take care of national identity maintenance, whose significant component is language. The domesticating techniques that Bernsteinowa deployed might have been motivated by the translator’s determination to retain the integration of the then Polish society, dispersed, broken and torn apart on many levels. By avoiding foreignizing techniques, as a contemporary translation scholar would call Bernsteinowa’s solutions, and turning toward enhancement of typically Polish elements of the rural landscape, the Polish translator reframed the semiotic properties of the source landscape, but at the same time mediated cultural stability among Poles whose national identity was shattered at that time. Although the novel’s opening was quite neutral in the source text in terms of cultural values, there were certain items that served in the Polish translation as a basis for introducing those elements that could easily be identified by Polish readers with the true spirit of the nation they symbolically represented. And landscape narratives, especially those depicting features common to groups of people, provide an effective way of uniting communities in their endeavours to maintain that which can be lost forever. For as Costonis (1982: 419) rightly put it, “. . . the environment is a *visual commons* impregnated with meanings and associations that fulfill individual and group needs for identity confirmation”.

7. Concluding remarks

The results of the analysis have shown that the implied reader’s interaction with landscape through the concrete experience with the opening narrative of the target text in question is different from the one in the source text, and, what is more, might evoke different reactions to and interpretations of the place of action. While the English narrative might be indicative of a so-called “regional idyll”, universal in its character (Karr 2000: 128), the corresponding initial fragment of the novel in the analyzed Polish translation reduces the idyllic and significantly modifies the effect that Montgomery created. Where Montgomery managed to retain *universality*, the Polish translator strived to keep the text’s *symbolic historicity*. This translational strategy might have an influence on the simulations the target reader could run in response to the reading process. More importantly, however, the translation is indicative of Bernsteinowa’s attempts to preserve the then Polish citizens’ national identity and cultural heritage, which might partially prove Costonis’ (1982: 399) hypothesis. It seems plausible to claim that the translator paid attention not only to sensory qualities of the landscape, but also its “symbolic import”, which was encoded in the landscape narrative. This “symbolic import” constituted a vehicle for carrying sensuous features of a description

[w]hether in the museum or beyond its walls, we respond not merely to an object’s sensuous qualities but, more vitally, to its symbolic import – the *meanings* ascribed to it by virtue of our individual histories and our experiences as members of political, economic, religious, and other societal groups. Absent the intervention of thought, feeling, and culture, these meanings would largely vanish . . .” (ibid.).

It might be concluded that by having an aesthetic experience the individual not only *senses* the object of this experience, but also attempts to *understand* and *interpret* it, that is, ascribe certain meanings to it in harmony with the individual's embedment within a particular socio-cultural context, as well as in accordance with the implied reader's expectations concerning the text they are reading. Obviously, one cannot extrapolate the results to the general aesthetic experience of *real readers* but only to the translator's choices as guided by their symbolic interpretation of a given narrative and to her attempts to influence the aesthetic experience of the implied reader.

Although this analysis only scratches the surface of the problem of aesthetic experience (of landscape) in translation, it makes an attempt to draw attention to the importance of initiating and developing the branch of cognitive literary translation studies, which could rest on the main tenets of the paradigms of embodied simulation and embodied aesthetics. In this way, it could become possible to open new vistas for analyzing potential readers' reactions to the text in terms of prospective recipients' actions, reflections, sensations or feelings as triggered by the target text. The presented analysis is by no means free from serious methodological flaws, as the bodily format treated here as an analytic component, along with its elements in the form of particular sensorial reactions, cannot offer concrete, objectivized findings and conceptualizations. Such analyses must be marked by heightened subjectivization, as aesthetic experience itself is understood and interpreted in different ways depending on the perspective from which it is tackled, and there is no consensus about its structural, philosophical and neurological nature. Therefore in this paper focus was placed not on the real reader but on the implied recipient, a generalized, hypothetical experiencer whose sensorial reactions could be somehow extrapolated to the general readership. Although exploring aesthetics, in particular its embodied branch, in the context of translation studies remains an open field, its potential to integrate translation studies and neuroscience cannot be underestimated.

Notes

ⁱ Embodied simulation should here be understood as “the reuse of mental states and processes involving representations that have a bodily format . . . The activation of embodied simulation is the recall of the background bodily knowledge we acquire during our factual relation to the world of inanimate objects and other sentient beings” (Gallese, 2019, p. 115).

ⁱⁱ Mirror neurons are brain cells that become activated both when a person observes an action and when they perform the action themselves. First discovered in macaque monkeys, they were soon identified in the human brain, too (see Rizzolatti et al. 2001).

ⁱⁱⁱ At this time, the paradigm of embodied aesthetics has been explored within two strands: philosophical (see Scarinzi, 2014, 2015) and neuroscientific (see e.g. Gallese, 2016, 2017, 2019). The latter is also referred to as experimental aesthetics, and it rests significantly on neuroaesthetics, an innovative field of study delineated by Zeki (1999).

^{iv} *Lexical nodes* should be understood as trigger-lexical items, including phrases, which are particularly prone to evoke certain reactions in the reader's sensorimotor and perceptual systems

during the act of reading. The quality of being particularly prone to trigger embodied reactions means that selected lexical items are associated with the functioning of the sensory apparatus of the human being. And thus such words, concrete rather than abstract, should include those items that could be seen, heard, touched, smelled or tasted by the individual. It is also assumed in this paper, in line with Minsky's theory (1988), that the lexical items activate frames of semantic knowledge pertaining to the concepts they represent.

^v Further quoted as CD.

^{vi} Further quoted as SJP.

^{vii} Oczko (2018) suggests that such obvious translation errors could have been traced back to a Swedish edition on which the Polish translator might have capitalized to a large extent.

^{viii} Note, for instance, the repetitive pattern of the rhyming suffix *-ed* in the source message (lived, dipped, fringed).

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